

Comics doing history and society (intersectional)

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A cross-cultural analysis of Chile and the Philippines focusing
on the use of comics doing and discussing history and society
(with a minor comparison to Peru)

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1. Introduction

In many places around the world comics have great importance in popular culture. This has not been undetected by scientists or educators alike, seeing the chance to use both, the popularity and the way of communication comics can claim to spread information, thoughts or values. But writing about comics is not writing about one phenomenon. It is addressing a broad principle, a whole category of literature at least (Rojas Flores 2016: 33). Here is not the place to bring up the one fitting definition of what is understood as comic(s) – this has been done elsewhere and has to be partly fulfilled within the study itself – but one stressing the importance of comics as a medium of communication as such. Behind “is the conviction that no single culture or country can claim ownership of the medium. The human inclination to tell stories with pictures, to combine image and text, seems universal.” (Mazur & Danner 2014: 07) However, the use of comics as a medium of education, to make or to discuss history is not as far spread globally as comics as a medium are. But looking at the regions or countries focused on here, there can be seen the use of comics within education or to make and discuss history in all, even though in varying degrees. In many places (not only) of the Americas the education with pictures and less text is quite common, especially to fight analphabetism or to reach to rural regions (Corona Berkin 2017: 09). And in the Philippines comics/comic books have been so popular, are to a lesser extend still, they have been used virtually in every area: “Its popularity extended well beyond Manila; and (...) reading comic books had become built into the ordinary activities of Filipinos. These aspects are particularly significant, considering that the trends and customs in Manila are not always shared by the areas outside the capital city, even those within nearby Luzon, for they had their own cultural peculiarities and their own languages or dialects”. (Jurilla 2008: 148)

Reasoning for the focus on these three countries, on Chile, the Philippines and Peru, can be done in different ways and along different tracks of argumentation, and it will be discussed further on the next pages. But as a first argument it can be stressed, that all three have a history of authoritarian rule in the second half of the 20th century, all experienced how rights were neglected and assured only selectively. And at least Chile and the Philippines have a strong comic history and still an important comic industry – however Peru, too, shows the usage of comics to discuss history or society. This allows to argue, that it can make sense to look at Chile and the Philippines to study the importance, reach and development of comics as medium of making and discussing history and society. But, for sure, there can be brought up several arguments against this claim or idea, too. One is the different importance of comics in Chile and the Philippines, a fact that cannot be put aside. Looking for a South or North American

country with a strong comic tradition different to Chile other countries as Mexico or Argentina will come to mind. But there are reasons to look at Chile, and not for example Mexico. Especially these are the relatively late development of an independent children comic sector, as in the Philippines, and the experience of an authoritarian regime or dictatorship – this is judged differently –¹ in the last 50 years, within the hightides of the Cold War, making the fight about political ideas fierce as well as foreign influenced, another link to the Philippines. Other links hold true for most South or Middle American countries, as Spanish colonial, catholic and strong US influence, linking them to the Philippines, too. Also because of this, it makes sense to highlight and discuss the Chilean developments and experiences within a context. This firstly means, that a certain South American and not only Chilean view will be and is needed at times and for certain topics. Secondly, it makes sense to look at another South American country with comparable experiences like and to Chile, to be able to discuss more profoundly and differentiated the developments in Chile. Taking the experience of a dictatorship, or at least a political phase judged by not few as such, ‘leftist’ contra-movements, strong indigenous questions, a late developed of an own comic industry, especially in the sector of children comics, and the use of comics in non-formal and popular political education – meaning, as outlined later, to discuss and make history and society – as characteristics of Chile, the comparing view should and will wander to Peru, that had, and is still having similar coining experiences (Lent & Archambeault 2005: 321ff.; Lucioni 2005: 311ff.). In the end the major analysis here will be one of Chile, enriched by a comparing and closer look at Peru, and the Philippines, because of the availability of sources and the controversy of topics discussed in comics particularly.

Bringing all this together the main ideas and aims of this study are outlined. It will be a study about comics in the Philippines, in Chile and Peru and about their use as a medium discussing and making history and society, in an informal and formal way. Major pillar of this study will be a historical analysis – looking roughly at the times since the end of World War II, more specifically from the late 1960s onwards, on countries influenced by strong US ties as well as ‘leftist’ counter-movements, coined by the experience of a dictatorship, population growth or strong neoliberalism established. The other pillar will be an enrichment of the findings by a political, cultural and comic studies analysis on following, up to recent developments and usages of comics to make and discuss society and history. Both pillars strengthen the analysis

¹ Here clearly the rule of Augusto Pinochet in Chile, Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines and Alberto Fujimori in Peru, at least in parts of Alan García, too, are judged as more or less dictatorial rule. This holds most surely true for Marcos and Pinochet, but Fujimori and García, too, committed at least dictatorial activities. Because of this all four are judged not only as authoritarian but dictatorial rules and regimes here.

of each other, as does the comparison, furthermore enriched by looks at regional and global developments. For example there can be links drawn from developments in comics in Spain in the late Franco years, as stressing social reality (Mazur & Danner 2014: 161f.), to trends in South America, or more specifically Chile, but also globally, as reaching within catholic dialogues to the Philippines. Combining these pillars and views it is possible to discuss hypotheses about the usage of comics for example for propagandist education and its effects on the range and role of comics in the following years, possibly due to mistrust; or about the importance of the kind of quality of comics for making them 'work' to make history and society, to reach a wider audience.

2. Methodology, questions and hypothesis

2.1. Methodology

Methodologically this study will work mainly by empirical and historical research, following developments in the use of comics in making and discussing history and society, setting the frame and, at times and in examples, analyzing comics as well as potential intentions or consequences. This is not a literary or media study in the first place, analyzing texts, textual compositions or narratives, but this is not completely ignored neither. Instead the approach is a multidisciplinary one here. Following the education of the author and their interest in scientific fields and topics, this will neither be a ‘historical analysis’ or a ‘political study’ in the first place, but a multidisciplinary study about comics and their usage to make and discuss history and society in Chile, the Philippines and Peru in the past, up to ‘today’. One focus within will be intersectional discriminations in form of silencing, of historical actors and events or by a chosen stress. Mainly sources as the comics themselves and empirical data are key for this. But also, in lesser part and extend, other sources, as subjective perspectives, are used here to enrich the study, making it truly multidisciplinary in its approaches, too (see Rojas Flores 2016: 16ff. for a comparative approach).

For all this the knowledge of Spanish is needed. In Chile and Peru most comics are in Spanish, the publications about them in majority, too, and perspectives will be available in Spanish most easily. For the Philippines most can be done using English, that is collecting perspectives and doing research about comics and their political or educational use. Government publications are available in English, the major scientific language is English, too. But the ‘komiks’ (the Filipino comics) are in their great majority not in English but Tagalog. Since the author’s Tagalog is very limited, here at times professional translation will be used. Nevertheless, since the corpus of concrete and available komiks making and discussing society and especially history is very limited, this can be handled.

Within all this, different categories of sources might be distinguished, as primary sources such as the comics themselves – potentially split again in the textual and the visible component, that, however, cannot be divided completely – from literature about them. Another option is to distinguish comic-sources along questions of popularity, diversity, format or else – all again not clear-cut separable, but broad and open categories. And there are other potential primary sources as testimonies or interviews (Rojas Flores 2016: 16ff.). All else could be rated as ‘secondary sources’, such as studies or books about the topics discussed here. But again, it has to be stressed that these categories are not clear-cut separated, and because of this here

“primary” and “secondary” will not be separated, not sources from literature, but all rated as interwoven and often mixed in character.

2.2. Questions, hypotheses and frames

There are different hypotheses and classes of hypotheses leading the study. One aspect to be discussed is the question of how the political use of comics / komiks influenced their perception and potentials later on – for example has the political usage of komiks by Ferdinand Marcos limited their potentials in making and discussing history and society later on? Another question to be discussed is the influence of ‘quality’ on the reception and ‘usefulness’ of comics / komiks, or for example if low-quality komiks (defined as, in a working hypothesis, made fast, with limited quality control and/or on cheap paper) were refused more easily and fast, led to mistrust and doubts while ‘higher quality’ was ‘better’ usable in a political sense. All this has to be studied along questions of how the use, perception and reach of comics changed over time in the places looked at, why this happened and which changes in the first place can be witnessed over time. Another question discussed here is who authored the comics / komiks making and discussing society and/or history, who rated and discussed them and who read them. Along these questions intersectional discrimination and privilege patterns can be shown and discussed. It has been shown in studies for example how women writers used fiction to engage in fields otherwise off limit to them, and by this questioning normativity and normative models, openly or covered. This is not limited to questions of strategies, but also looks at effects on ideas or perceptions. In concrete, it has to be discussed, if audiences got engaged to question society and history or if normative stereotypes got strengthened by these comics more (see Fraser 2015: 182ff. for a similar discussion on women writers in science fiction in Peru “to further (...) [their] goal of creating new social knowledge that will provide Peruvians with the necessary tools to move forward into the twentieth century” (Fraser 2015: 190)). Here the fields of education/pedagogy, comics, intersectionality, nationhood, history and state influence intersect and influence the ideas of history, and linked to this of citizenship (Fraser 2015: 191). By following a historical line, effects of such empowerment or silencing by comics and the work for or against normative hegemony using comics can be seen, stressed and discussed, possibly identifying differences over time in the three countries analyzed here. By all this the major hypothesis of this paper can be discussed, that comics played a specific and important role of making and discussing history and society in the Philippines, in Chile and Peru and where medium of intersectionality at the same time.

This is a role so far not stressed enough. More often general tendencies of writing got into focus. So, one major frame of analysis here are acts of “writing back”, or developing or spreading a counter-narrative, more specifically a historical or society counter-narrative, be it stressing indigenusness in Chile or the Philippines or retelling history from the perspective of the not-victorious. This often is linked to transnational postcolonial processes, as to writing back especially against US narratives or US influenced narratives. Here not only words, but pictures and their composition, too, are used to oppose, dismantle and disrupt the normative narration, to question binaries and other schematically ordering. Following this track allows to rediscover and reclaim identities and perspectives and to develop a new perspective with a new voice, stressing differences, heterogeneity or plurality instead of processes of homogenization. By this, authoritative frames of nation-states or governments can come under pressure, positive connotations as of “independence”, “progress”, “sovereignty” or “liberation” can be questioned by adding another or more perspectives. At the same time this allows to stress state power instead of liberation, social inequality instead of progress, and by this showing the perspective of those suffering from intersectional forms of discrimination. This often is a painful path, one strongly opposed and suppressed, as it questions the constructed “social harmony”, yes, the construction of “the nation”, and shows all covered under constructs alike (see for “writing back” for example Chin & Mohd Daud 2018: 02f.). The participation, (re)presentation and expression of those otherwise marginalized can be seen in comics discussing (and by this making) society and history, they can offer a symbolic space, even for “imagined communities” in opposition to the clean-cut and powerful picture of “normality”, “positivity”, “nation” or “ideal” (Chin & Mohd Daud 2018: 03).

2.3. Perspective and self-reflexivity

One aspect of major importance in writing this paper is to reflect my subjective and individual role and perspective within. Me as the writer looks at other societies and their discussions, here via comics. Following anthropological insights, this is not possible without taking part. Taking this, participant observation is done here, not by observing directly, but by observing along comics. Nevertheless, insights about participant observation have to be taken into account here and are base of reflections about insights and analysis’ (see for example Ellis & Bochner 2008: 199ff.). One major aspect of this approach is to reflect on my personal positions to major topics of this text, as to what a ‘society’ is, or a ‘nation’ might be, what ‘history’ can show. All my insights towards these topics as analyzed for the Philippines, Chile and Peru, are and will be subjective and framed by my own positions – in direct observation, but also in all phases of

analysis. This does not mean, my insights are not linked to empiricism, but what is taken from it, how it is framed and read, this always remains subjective. At the same time the positions of others as seen in comics influence my positions while being interpreted at the same time along my before and after positions. These aspects have been discussed in anthropology or ethnology from different perspectives (see for example Kulick 1995: 01ff.).

Another aspect to be reflected in the context of this paper are the perceptions by others while working in the field. However, the initial design of the study was much bigger than what was covered in the end. Especially ravel restrictions prevent fundamental field work in Chile and Peru. Nonetheless much could be encountered, and contacts were built up to at least get some access. As often, the final study was different to the initially planned research, but it offers a brought array of insights still. Though the question of perceptions played a minor role here in the end, since ‘true field work’ has been limited, it still plays and played its role. Because even asking questions, searching for comics and other sources, information in general, is influenced, in direct contact as well as for example in e-mail-contacts by self-presentations and the perceptions of others and of myself. And in the end that often left and leaves me to be a ‘western *white*-male’, even though I would deny some of these categories as fitting for myself. Still, these are categories brought forward for me by others, at least at first encounter, and influence directly what I will be able – and have been able – to find out about society, history or their discussion in comics. Since various forms of identity and their schematization still play a major dividing role in the societies looked at in the following analysis – as in Germany, where I am coming from, too – my access was and is designed and limited not only by the role I take, but the role others give/gave me or expect(ed) from me, too. This problem has been discussed in the context of anthropological fieldwork, too (see for example Dubisch 1995: 29ff. or Killick 1995: 76ff.), but been much less stressed for example in historical research. And I am – and have been – encountered not only as a ‘*white*-(straight)-western-male’ mostly, but as a foreigner in most cases, too, in different degrees, depending inter alia on the grade of language abilities, physical similarities and much else in comparison to the constructed or imagined ‘national population’, standing for different degrees of distance and closeness (see for similar cases Killick 1995: 88ff.). Self-presentation has and had a strategical importance and is/was a strategical aspect here, for example the self-presentation as queer or straight, politically ‘left’ or ‘right’ to gain access, distance or trust, not necessarily being coherent with my own perception and identity (compare Blackwood 1995: 51ff.; Dubisch 1995: 30ff.).

One value of these reflections beyond this concrete study is to question myself respectively oneself – again and again questioning the own role and the own identity along research and

encounters, who I 'truly' am. In all this my identity remains never ultimately defined and can even become more instable, change and transform, as by taking strategical roles and following specific presentations (compare cases as Blackwood 1995: 51ff.). This can allow to see and make seen similarities and closeness where otherwise the construction of 'self' and 'other' would overshadow these similarities. Even though I might be perceived as 'other' by constructing me as 'male', 'straight', 'white' or 'western', by this openness there remains at least the possibility of closeness, an interlink, that not only allows me to study what is outlined here, but to encounter more openly, too, only possible by listening up and by questioning myself always again. As I struggle for myself in different concepts and realizations of society, for my ever-changing identity among others, the looked at 'others' do respectively did so, too. However, all lines constructed between 'me' and 'them' are exactly this: constructions. Because of this not only distance and distancing perceptions by others in contrast to self-perceptions have to be stressed, but also closeness and similarities on the basis of being living beings, or constructed 'humans' other would write; different and equal all the time at the same moment, at least equally human (see for examples inter alia Bolton 1995: 140ff.).

For this openness is key, not only openness in listening, but also in viewing, focusing and doing research, looking more for those silenced than those raising the voice. In concrete this means to look specifically for those comics having a different to powerful or 'mainstream' voice, no matter their reach or 'quality', but because they are the few testimonials of those otherwise left out of archives, reports, presentations or records. Not to re-inscribe exploitation, racism, sexism, or other forms of intersectional discrimination (and by this empowering intersectional privilege), is one major aim here. And for this, open senses to the non-formal, non-fitting cultural products are necessary. In the societies looked at here comics allow for such a view and perspective, to reveal otherwise silenced perspectives, directly, but also in questioning hegemonic perspectives first of all (Ramey Berry & Harris 2018: 04).

3. Theoretical Background

3.1 Comics - what am I talking about here?

“It is controversial whether any extant proposed definitions of comics are adequate. It is also controversial whether a definition of comics is even possible. And it is no always clear what the project of defining comics aims at.” (Meskin 2017: 221)

Surely, we can go along the history of comics to get a more clearly cut idea of what comics are. Then we can see the relation of comics and being comic, or manga meaning ‘funny picture’, but in historical development both terms emancipated from the original meaning (Wessely 2018: 19f.). And it is hardly possible, to find something like the ur-comic, a very first comic, even less to give it significance for the comic studies undertaken here:

“For decades, scholars have debated the origins of comics, sparring over competing claims for “the first comic.” Resolving this question seems less and less important; what we ultimately take away from the debate is the conviction that no single culture or country can claim ownership of the medium. The human inclination to tell stories with pictures, to combine image and text, seems universal” (Mazur & Danner 2014: 07)

Major changes occurred since the early beginnings, in the more recent history getting away from comic strips, away from being comic; but today “comic” stands for a broad variety of content and formats (Wessely 2018: 25ff.). Generally, comics are narrating drawings, narrating more than one situation, one moment, but a process. In this, comics have some formal aspects in common as narrating or telling a story, an often observable reduction to most general aspects, to make something recognizable, and having text to further narrate or explain, but keeping the picture central. Taking all this a comic can overcome tempus, get rid of only one structure of time – be multitemporal – and offer multiple perspectives, make the perspective bigger than for one person possible – allow for polylocation (Wessely 2018: 29). Another specific is the ability of reading thoughts, knowing as reader before what will happen, etc. (Wessely 2018: 35f.).

But this may look either a too broad and open concept or, or at the same time, too concrete and to narrow to include all forms of ‘comics’. There for example are one-picture comics that narrate, not always with text, highly detailed comics, etc. So best is to go with a combination of overall and general formal characteristics – as the general centrality of pictures – and functional characteristics. Here cultural understanding and the context of production and reception play a major role (Wessely 2018: 20f.). And one of these functions can be the educational use, following the insight that many students prefer a mixture of pictures and words or even the dominance of pictures before words (Corona Berkin 2017: 09). But comics not only educate, they can entertain, show morality or even be subversive. These are all functions comics

stand for, but do not necessarily have to have (Wessely 2018: 40ff.). Albeit beside all openness in definition and understanding, since different cultures move towards a communication coined by abstraction, compression, a focus on pictures and the falling of limits and borders, comics have a high significance and validity nowadays. For example, generalizations get and got very common in communication and are observable in comics, too, again and again. Especially since comics can overcome time and make everything narrated a ‘now’, history gets a new role in comics. Meanwhile comics allow to overcome space, too, making potentially all narrated denser and more intense instead of distant and not touchable (Wessely 2018: 38 & 50f.).

Nevertheless, there are attempts for more clear-cut concepts of comics, attempts of definitions that not only combine some formal and functional generalities. And there are anti-formalist definitions, too, focusing on narration, but institutional definitions or historical definitions also, with varying degrees of use and spread (Meskin 2017: 223ff.). As Meskin (2017) notes: “we need to consider both the goals that underlie those projects [definitions, for example of a tapestry as comic] and the extent to which the proposed definitions are effective means of achieving those goals.” (228) In the end we can see a variety of definition attempts stressing different aspects of comics, linked to the concrete direction of an analysis. Some stress the specific of comic pictures – being narrative and static at the same time, autonomous and obligatory, while comics themselves remain open in their design, some the connection of picture and text, in dramaturgy, sequence and even media (Grünewald 2010: 20ff.). Challenging for all this is that the term is used in culturally influenced ways. ‘Comic’ is no scientific term in abstractness, but one of concrete cultural use. This means the understanding of the term ‘comic’ is linked to a historical time and a cultural frame, linked to context and aim of its usage. But this is challenge and opportunity at the same time, keeping the concept open, but not tangible in the end at the same time. The question “what is a comic?” or “is this a comic?” cannot be answered in the sense of eternal or ‘objective’ truth, but leads to ambivalent and unsecure answers, in the sense of open answers. This is something linked comic cultures readily uses, questioning and opening the concept ever again, challenging clear-cut ideas. And for research this is duty and chance in the same moment, making it necessary to describe and analysis every media product, link it to an open concept of comic and questioning this concept at the same time and stay open for a variety of media products (Packard 2016: 56f.).

One attempt to cover for these challenges is to distinguish different forms of comics. Along this path it is possible to have more narrow definitions and concepts, linking some characteristics to a specific form of comic. This has been done for example for Graphic Memoirs (Schröder 2016: 263ff.). One form of comics looked at here could be classified along this path as

“educational comics” – distinguishing these comics from comics mostly aiming to entertain. But the term “fact-based comic”, that is often used more or less interchangeable, leads for example to another direction, making ‘facts’ the base of definition, not their construction and not if entertainment is offered. Same holds true for frames as “non-fictional comics”, “factual comics” or “special purpose comics”. All try to limit the scope of comics looked at and stand for new challenges all the same since limits of categories are only in construction clear-cut. Instead comics are generally much at the same time, entertaining and educating, factual and fictional, etc. Distinguishing along categories alike the above mentioned must remain a limited attempt linked to a concrete aim, as a specific scientific analysis, but cannot lead to a kind of ‘objective’ category. Surely comics could be categorized along topics, as done here in parts, but not by allowing for every comic one major category only. One comic looked at here as historical comic may be seen as autobiographical comic by someone else. What is a comic report for some, may be categorized here as “writing back history” – so all categorization is only temporal and limited in scope (Hangartner 2016: 291ff.).

And if this does not lead to a definition of ‘comics’ here, neither does a focus on the purpose of a comic. Not only because such purposes are generally a construction and not stated clearly and openly, but since purposes may vary and reflect the authors specific position at least as strong as time and place. The comics looked at here want to give information, have a perspective on a time, on events, and by this they clearly want to influence perceptions and ideas. But this not only varies in modes, in topics, in presentation, but most often other purposes could be (re)constructed, too. Plus, purposes could be linked to their ‘success’ – do educational comics educate or inform, do they spread knowledge, work preventive or hold true to their (re)constructed requirements. But this again makes it necessary to question the purpose (re)constructed as well as the rating and judging of ‘success’ itself (Hangartner 2016: 301). Analytically it makes instead much more sense to keep this open, ask what comics looked at as educational comics here could educate about, not if they are educational comics for all or how ‘successful’ they are as educational comics. For this, on basis of a working hypotheses, some comics might be viewed as ‘fictional-fantastic’ and others as ‘factual-educational’, but only to question this distinction along the way always again and see the many lying between these extremes, those combining fiction and factuality, for example by presenting the contrafactual. Nonetheless attention to clearly identifiable purposes is necessary here, to mark out propagandist comics or those with a clear educational and influential impetus, inter alia to construct a specific picture of ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ (Mounajed 2010: 130ff.). This does not mean a comic cannot be educational or informative. To the contrary, comics can enhance the

competencies to critically discuss a certain historical time or phase, allow to deconstruct normative pictures and narrations. Plus, they can enhance media and other competencies (Mounajed 2010: 149). Nevertheless, to look at a certain work as “educational comic” or “comic discussing history” is always only one possible framing and a framing that reveals at least as much about the comic, as about the author of the analysis or the time or production of the analysis. And it is not only framing the comic as “discussing history” but framing the work as “comic” in the first place that is expressive and meaningful, too.

Following the term and concept ‘comic’ remain open ones here. Even though there are some opportunities of generalizations, style, form or content are multiple and completely variable, there is no way to define comics along these lines, only at the cost of missing out much and many.

Because, “[c]omics in the early twenty-first century present(...) a certain paradox. On the one hand, the breadth and variety of comics production seems at an all-time high, as does the translation and distribution of works across language barriers. The acceptance of comics as an art form by younger generations bodes well for the future. With the rising stature of the graphic novel, the ‘mainstream vs. alternative’ division is fast becoming obsolete, as ‘alternative’ graphic novels often reach a broader readership than do superhero comics. But on the other hand, the medium seems to be in a perpetual state of flux as regards formats, methods of distribution and ‘media’ in the physical sense of the term. The fast-paced and disorienting set of transitions from stapled periodicals to the graphic novel (itself an ambiguous concept) and to the multiplicity of new electronic formats makes the shape of comics’ future especially uncertain.” (Mazur & Danner 2014: 293)

Because of this openness some comic researchers go along the identified potentials of comics to define and understand them, to set broad and open borders for term and concept. This does not make every media a comic, but at least many claiming to be a comic can be discussed and analyzed under this umbrella-term, that remains open at the same time, to allow for a richness in potential and variety. And this is stressed for different comic cultures and traditions (Rojas Flores 2016: 33).² These different cultures and traditions never were completely independent from each other and are even less today:

² For Chile this was formulated inter alia by Rojas Flores (2016): “Antes de continuar identificando los aspectos que son comunes a todas las historietas, brevemente pasaremos revista a las diversas formas, temáticas y estilos que comprende. Las historietas no constituyen un cuerpo homogéneo, sino bastante variado y difícil de caracterizar por lo mismo. Ya vimos que, en sus inicios, la historieta tuvo un contenido exclusivamente humorístico. A partir de los años treinta se diversificaron los personajes y las historias. Al género cómico se sumaron el policial, el de terror, el de ciencia ficción y el erótico, entre otros. (...) La diversidad de formatos se expresa en la existencia de una amplia variedad de estilos, coloridos, relatos, contenidos ideológicos y atmósferas.” (36f.)

“While comics developed to a large degree independently in cultures separated by oceans and language barriers, there have always been cross-cultural and transnational influences. (...) [T]he styles of both Franco-Belgian *bande dessinée* and Japanese manga of the 1920s and 1930s were influenced in part by imported American comic strips, whose linear style was influenced by French Art nouveau illustrations, the roots of which can be traced in part to Japanese prints that found their way to Europe in the nineteenth century.” (Mazur & Danner 2014: 07)

One more aspect to stress considering the questions ‘what are comics?’ is the variety between different kind of comics, along different aims, and possibilities of expression. An example here is the not so clear-cut, but often constructed dichotomy between mainstream and alternative comics (Mazur & Danner 2014: 08f.). Part of the popularity of this constructed dichotomy has been the breaking out of certain comics of niches and limits to encounter and use more potentials, in some cases before hidden potentials. This was no gradual process, but happened at various places differently, allowing for the development of new niches and categories for comics along nations, cultures, regions, or languages (Mazur & Danner 2014: 11f.). Of importance in this context was the development from underground to alternative or independent comics in the USA from the late 1970s onwards, especially by those before active in underground comics (Mazur & Danner 2014: 41). But such a development did not happen at many other places, there no clear lines can be drawn between underground and independent comics, as in Chile, which will be taken as an example for discussion in the following paragraphs. The specific of the ‘Chilean case’ can be seen by, for example, looking at Spain in the same timeframe, where comics reacted to the end phase of the dictatorial rule of Francisco Franco, becoming more rebellious than before, stressing social reality, everyday life and struggles instead of ideals or dystopias. These all were developments that could be found in Chile some time earlier, too. But at the same time comics developed in Spain from a children’s media to a more adult media, a development not comparable to Chile (Mazur & Danner 2014: 161). Considering both cases allows not only to stress the openness of the concept and term ‘comics’, but its various and different developments along constructed spaces and limits. The constructed dichotomy of mainstream and alternative along historical US-developments means something differently for both cases. For this challenge stands further the difference between a comic boom in the 1980s in Spain and an ongoing suppression of comics in Chile in this decade, that lead to independent and underground comics there, but more comics along state order and normative-powerful lines in Spain. And even after the dictatorship ended in Chile this did not result in new state ordered comics, as to support artists or culture. In Chile comics remained

highly independent or underground, with all uncertainty of these categories, – more about these developments in Chapter 3 –, while in Spain they became a recognized form of art. This underlines that comparable frames can lead to different developments in comics (Mazur & Danner 2014: 162).

Looking at independent and self-published comics, which have a high significance in Chile still and since decades, again similarities and differences along lines and categorization attempts come into view. As elsewhere, independence and self-publishing allow for less commercial control, more self-determination in style or content and to reach other and different audiences. But roots and developments of these tendencies are different in Chile from many other places, coined by the nearly 20 years of dictatorial experience and media control (for the international developments see Mazur & Danner 2014: 229). Nevertheless, in Chile, too, cross-cultural, and transnational influences on developments are and were strong, be it in styles, composition or aesthetics (Mazur & Danner 2014: 289).

Part of the vast universe of independent and self-published comics are webcomics, that for some years and by some scientists were considered ‘weaker’, or ‘amateur’ comics, seen more as a learning platform for drawing comics than a genre of their own. But as for many other new forms, modes, but audiences, too, that developed in the world of comics at various places and times around the world, it just took time to consider it part of the concept ‘comic’ and nothing beside or even beyond. Now instead for example it is seen, that webcomics especially allow to break down barriers as of languages, cultures, or modes. They can be considered especially transnational forms of self-published and/or independent comics. But forms, styles and media alike are not the end of the development. More and different forms are gaining ground and importance, as reading comics on portable devices or going for multimedia products combining ‘classical’ paper with other media (Mazur & Danner 2014: 306ff.).

Taking all this together, ‘comic’ remains an open concept and an open term – and as such comics will be understood here: A media claiming to be a comic will be analyzed as comic here, but media, too, that combines pictures and narration on paper or online without claiming to be a comic. This could make it hard to draw lines, as to moving images. But all comics looked at here remain static in their pictures, because of this such challenges for and of definition do not play a bigger role here; the comics looked at here would be categorized as comics probably by most without questioning much. Nevertheless, the openness of term and concept is key here for considerations to understand that comics are much more – at least in potential – than ‘picture-stories’ on paper.

3.2. Comics: Entertainment and education

“In the popular and pedagogical imagination, there is a tendency to view the use of comics in teaching and learning contexts as a recent development. (...) [But] comics have been used as instructional tools in classroom settings since at least the 1920s. This usage includes both conventionally published comics in all formats (for example comic strips, graphic novels), as well as comics published with more explicit instructional or informational purpose in mind.” (Tilly & Weiner 2017: 358)

As the citation stresses, this is nothing widely known or accepted. And even so or if comics were or are used for education there is and was often a need for rectification, be it allowing for a satirical view on society, an underground perspective or alike (see for example Hoffmann & Rauch 1975: 02). That this generally holds true for all media did and does not change a specific urge for rectification for comics in educational context. One reason for this is that comics are strongly linked to being entertaining, often without further questioning what this means. Surely comics can be entertaining, understood as being a product with the intent to entertain. But not all take this as first or major aim of comics, by leading the comic towards enhancing the readers experience (see for the discussion of what entertainment may stand for Sayre & King 2010: 05f.). Instead many comics aim first at presenting a content, not without being entertaining, but putting entertainment second, third or even on lesser position in comparison to content or political aims. And even those comics aiming first at entertainment can educate, have a message or a political impact. It holds true, that “every comic book is political, but some are more political than others”. (Goodrum 2017: 421) And this links comics to an overall educational potential, to the potential of influencing, and by this making society.

The ascribed entertaining character of comics can be even of some advantage here. With an uncertain audience, at maximum limited by first distribution channels in the first moments of publication, entertaining comics can have a variety of effects on their uncertain and potentially highly diverse audience, even when the audience remains separated and passive in consumption, anonymous to each other. Not only different, especially so-called new media, allow to link this before anonymous audience, but the entertaining content can influence individually – be it psychological, physiological or behavioral –, too, and have an indirect effect on society by this (Sayre & King 2010: 49ff. & 111). At the same time elements of story and drama, that are stressed as integral for entertainment, allow to cover and direct attention, as to a specific perspective on history or otherwise silenced views and perspectives (Sayre & King 2010: 102f.). Here in this paper the question followed is not how these influences are generated, how entertainment is working influencing individually and masses. This cannot and will not be

a study about media effects – there are many theories about around, as on large and small scale effects (see for example Sayre & King 2010: 112ff.). Important in context of this paper is instead that comics can be influential and entertaining at the same time, that they can influence, direct and give opinions, have minor or major but immediate as well as long time effects, depending not only on the concrete comic, but the individual reader, too. Comics can be entertaining and educational – in the sense of being directly and purposefully educational as well as directly or indirectly influencing individuals and society – at the same time. And all the while they are a special media, not only pictured literature, but a media of their own with an own depth and reach, own stimuli and opportunities. This makes them usable for education, but also educational political outside of concrete education contexts (see for example Syma & Weiner 2013). Entertainment and education are no opposition in and for comics but can come together and enrich each other.

And this not only covers comics made to influence in one direction, but also the critical discussion and analysis of comics, purposefully made to influence or not necessarily purposeful made for this. The first could be propagandist comics that today can be used to counteract views, perspectives and constructions, the second could be seen and analyzed along questions of racism in comics. Here the first play the major role, the second should be looked at only briefly. Long-time, diversity was not common in most comics, especially not those that may be labelled as mainstream, and by this for example racism and classism can be found in most comics looked at here in historical time. However, in the last 20 years diversity even in mainstream comics became not only a new norm, it became a new market, as in superhero comics (Sayre & King 2010: 327). But this does and did not mean racism – open racism as well as covered one, intentional as well as possibly not intentional one – disappeared. Same holds true for other forms of intersectional discrimination and privilege, as sexism that remains strong in many comics (Sayre & King 2010: 333). That comics were being written by and for men holds true for underground comics, too, not only in the USA; this is a clear example of sexism in comics (Sayre & King 2010: 426). However, there are examples of feminist underground comics, too, as in Chile. Plus, there was and is an internationally influential colonial power imbalance in comics, a hegemony of western, especially US pictures, as in many other media products, influencing perceptions of the USA, but of ‘normalcy’, too. And these are often not various, diverse and differentiated pictures, but simplified ones, stressing only some aspects, but these especially strong. Here again racism, but classism, ableism or sexism, too, come in as having a strong impact in comics and on audiences (see for racism for example Sayre & King 2010: 336ff.).

Taking all this, comics can be used to discuss, analyze, or only stress these effects, such influences. Comics that for example could be judged as clearly racist from a 2022 perspective might not be seen as such some decades ago. And still they had these effects, as strengthening stereotypes. This is an argument to take comics as historical and/or cultural source to better understand, detect and follow discourses in pictures and words, influences, and connections. And following this, it can become obvious that worldwide powerful US comics are less uniform US-American but are standing for a culture of incorporating different styles (see for discussion on the fusion of styles Sayre & King 2010: 340f.), topics or ideas, or it can be seen, that even many anti-racist comics are racist in the end in their narration, style or argumentation.

3.3. Comics and history

There exists a vast variety of comics discussing and presenting history. There are comics in documentary style from a personal perspective mixing facts and fiction, but there are more journalistic comics covering historical events, too (Zimmermann 2019: 13f.). Advantage of comics in this context is less the claim of authenticity than the opportunity to present a panorama of diversity instead of moment shots as photos can. Here the ability of comics to use different media facets, as acoustic signals transformed to bubbles and ‘written sounds’ is key. Bringing together imagination, facts and fiction, the complexity of history can be transported in comics, but the construction of history discussed, too. In documentary style this can even claim authenticity in the perspective of many (Zimmermann 2019: 14f.).

At the same time comics are not covering for other media in presenting history, they are no alternative reports, but an approach to history of their own, a narrative approach. Within this approach the author or authors gain power and empowerment, following their very own perspective and focus, having the opportunity to construct sense, logic, complexity, coherence, and, in the end, even ‘truth’. A comic is never only documentary, even though this may be the claim, a comic always has a perspective, a perspective that can go beyond the clearly visible, the factual or the position of eyewitness (Zimmermann 2019: 16). One function here is psychological or even posttraumatic for the author or authors, and possibly for the readers, too. As super-hero comics increased historically in significance in times of war and helplessness, writing a comic about a specific historical time can allow to empower oneself, to overcome trauma or pain by presenting an alternative reading or the own experiences, be it in autobiographical fashion or else. Comics not only retell ‘history’ or present a specific view, they have a function for readers and authors alike and make history, and by this society, at the same time (Zimmermann 2019: 21ff.). This is something that makes them political. The readers are

not passive consumer, they are not able to watch all the same passively, but have to engage with content, style and narration, to move along times and time layers in a discontinuous space with various dynamics and rhythms (Zimmermann 2019: 27).

In comics engaging in history and its narration the aspect of being comic or parody can be challenging at times. Tackling content like the Shoah or crimes by dictatorships being comic can lead to the perception of not fitting the topic. One attempt to cover for this is to call the media Graphic Novel instead of comic. But since this term is even more problematic in its limits, here I stick to the term ‘comics’, not distinguishing comic from Graphic Novel in a loosely manner. With this rejection of the term Graphic Novel, I do not stand alone, as authors and scientists reject the term for various reasons, as for the not clearly distinguishing potential or the marketing potential of the term. At the same time even ‘serious’ topics do not neglect the possibility of being comic at times and in ways, since seriousness and trustworthiness are gained by structure, less by style (Zimmermann 2019: 34). One way here is to move into the mystical, to allow for some parody and seriousness at the same time, to overcome pain in remembrance by taking the position of the otherwise outcast and to relativize playfully. The mixture of a subjective perspective – as in the seek for identity – and a historical framing can allow to tackle even most brutal events without losing either the entertaining character, the political potential in making society and history nor the seriousness of the comic (Zimmermann 2019: 48f.).

There are several examples for the interference between topics like ‘nation’ or ‘nationhood’, trauma and history in comics, as discussed by Nicolas Schillinger (2019) for “Boxers and Saints”, stressing a specific perspective taken therein, the one of the “simple population” and not politics. At the same time volume 2 moves beyond the factual and opens to an alternative historical narrative. All the while identity conflicts are interwoven in the presentation and comic narrative (see 143ff.). The connection between colonial violence, trauma and the construction of a ‘Chinese nationalism’ is something holding the comic series together, challenging and questioning as well as presenting the interlinked pop-cultural myths and legends used and constructed in this time. The, in a sense, artificiality of the ‘Chinese nationalism’, as coming up only after a foreign “other” was and could be constructed, is one major aspect stressed in this context by Nicolas Schillinger. This makes the comic series an example of comics challenging the ‘official’ historical narration by on the one hand showing its construction and on the other hand presenting alternative perspectives on the concrete historical episode, for example by stressing Chinese violence in the comic, too, and not only foreign violence, or by showing that most violence was not directed against foreigners, but Chinese convertites. The comic itself is a historical trauma-narrative and challenges others strong in popular culture at the same time.

This makes the comic series political and educational about and along history, stressing the diversity and plurality of perspectives much more than one being ‘right’ before others, by this re-making history and society (Schillinger 2019: 154f.).

One option to achieve such is to use exaggerations or to overcome the line between funny-children comics and narrative-underground comics (Ahrens 2019: 186). Within this, clichés can be used or staged – in a narrative or iconographic way –, to show them being prejudices in the end, or in an affirmative and often unreflected way. But to be purposefully and critically political and educational at least in parts the first way must be chosen, to use clichés critically, to for example go the way of exaggeration of stereotypes in style or mode (Ahrens 2019: 191ff.). But in some cases, it remains unclear, if stereotypes are used in a critical manner or more affirmative, if the aim is to uncover a stereotype as ideology or to keep it intact in using it. By using a stereotype functionally, esthetically, and effectively it is strengthened, at least at first. To get into a political use of exaggeration of stereotypes instead of an entertaining use, an affirmative use that exaggerates stereotypes as spectacle, not only distance has to be taken and allowed for, but in the end position, too. Without position stereotypes – or violence – are only estheticized or used in dramatical fashion. Then a political or educational aim is hard to reach, if ever there was such in presenting and discussing history in a comic (Ahrens 2019: 196ff.). Albeit, irony or grotesque can be measures to deconstruct historical narration. Within there will be an entertaining feature, sometimes a thin line to being a mere spectacle, that is needed for attention reasons but can move exaggeration towards affirmation and away from critique. Irony might be key here, as stressed by Ahrens (2019), to keep distance and a reflexive perspective instead of merely showing and entertaining, linking stereotypes and spectacle (200).

Another way of presenting history in comics is by metafiction, by not remaining in presenting history but going on a meta-sphere, reflecting how history is appropriated (Kupczynska 2019: 269). Topic here is often less history as such, the narration of events, but the reconstruction of history. This sphere or aim can be reached with links, multiple perspectives and meanings, animalization, dehumanization, confusion or semantic codification. An example here is making cats the victims of mice to allow for a new perspective and a specific stress (Kupczynska 2019: 276f.). Using metafiction, the claim of ‘truth’, of one ‘real’ presentation of history can be tackled. Instead various discourses are shown, as being in concurrence to each other and influencing historical narratives or historiography as such. The plurality of multiple perspectives and narrations of history leaves any claim for ‘reality’ a theoretical only, a claim in the truest sense, nothing achievable. History as a post-narrative becomes instable taking the position of metafiction. This also stresses the discursive, and by power influenced building of

historiography, the artificiality and construction of a cultural self-understanding. By not bringing textual and pictorial codes together, making them incommensurable, conventions are uncovered as constructions, powerful constructions. In this context there can be no “this is how it has been” anymore, instead a plurality of views, perspectives and linked discourses gets into focus. But this does not mean no position is taken. Within the drawings and narrations there can be, and most often are indirect or even very direct hints towards one or several perspectives, for example by using intertextual or inter pictorial references. Reading this, cultural framing comes into view strongly (Kupczynska 2019: 283f.). Another example in this context can be comics using metafiction only in parts and having a clear political aim at the same time, a clear framing giving them sense, as comics designed for official political education (see for an example Jüngst 2019: 327ff.). Here myths can play a leading role contextualizing and questioning ‘knowledge’, being frame for a narration or critical questioning of any. Plus, myths are often very rememberable, playing a major role especially in educational comics. At the same time myths are also a reality of every historiography that can be revealed as (constructed) myths and not ‘eternal realities’ with and by comics (Jüngst 2019: 332).

Taking all this, comics tackling or handling history vary not only in degrees but can be distinguished from each other strongly. While some aim to ‘inform’ or ‘educate’, others mainly want to entertain, some use history as reference, some discuss it and its formation. Some are more documentary, sometimes using fictional elements, others focus more on esthetics and have an instrumental access to comics; but all these make history by this. Following these differences, at times historical comics are separated from documentary comics in analysis, without allowing for clear-cut separations. In general classification depends on self-declaration, concrete aim, frame, or reference, to distinguish if a works is more educational, more informative, or more discursive (Makarska 2019: 352f.). Even though it is common insight, that categorizations here can only have the character of a working hypothesis, attempts are made again and again, with the powerful claim of being ‘correct’ or ‘fitting’. This comes along the construction of dichotomies, as being entertaining or educational (Dolle-Weinkauff 2017: 17f.), or historical narration or not (Dolle-Weinkauff 2017: 22ff.), without stressing the impossibility of such cuts and mixture-forms dominating in reality. Such an attempt can look like the following:

“Documentary comics are therefore intended for historical education, (...) necessarily contain[ing] didactic as well as entertaining aspects. Form and representation are subordinate to this goal, meaning that non-fictional comics convey their content through dispassionate

and realistic narratives, as well as with the help of fictional, under some circumstances even fantastic ingredients. Heide Jüngst correctly emphasizes in this regard that comics often use ‘a fictive narrative frame and fictive figures’ (...) in order to reach their target audience. Accordingly, historical nonfiction comics can be divided into basic forms, one in which the adjective ‘documentary’ in the genre description applies to the narrative dissemination of the material as well as to the sought-after insights, while the other seeks only to convey the relevant historical facts.” (Dolle-Weinkauff 2017: 15)

But this never can be more than an attempt and a construction, looking at what happens “often” or “in general”, but nor allowing for a final concept holding true beyond these limited and concrete attempts to distinguish comics from each other. For sure there can be seen a sense in a typology of comics, as by style, aim or mode of narration – making some (auto)biographical and other more documentary – or by formal characteristics as direct or indirect narration, the target audience or dramaturgy. Comics can be differentiated along questions of who is acting, which and how many perspectives there are or which specific kind of media it is – a strip, a fanzine or a manga (Frenzel 2018: 166ff.). But as autobiographical comics can retell a different ‘truth’ than documentary ones, they can be highly diverse and interlinked with a or the ‘truth’ in varying ways (Kunka 2018: 45). Every typology is always linked to the questions asked, the framing used, the stresses done, but not functional beyond; always some links will be stressed, and others neglected. Taking these limitations, no such attempt of definition to distinguish several forms is undertaken here, but instead an at times more documentary or more narrative way of presentation stressed, because all looked at here play(ed) their varying role in making and discussing history and society. At the same time advantages of comics in general in presenting and discussing history are stressed, as opportunities to overcome and use time, in various different ways and with different and various functions. Panel design as well as narrative setting here can allow to overcome limitations of time (Packard 2017: 57ff.):

“The specify of comics to tear down time and space limits, to allow same-time-narrations of different real times, to use a new chronology / new lines and new causalities makes comics reap to be used for narrating and questioning history and its ‘classic’ narrative.” (Frenzel 2018: 161)

But this is nothing limited to comics, but can be done in belletristic books for example, too, there aspects can be invented, rearranged or narrated differently also. Always the past is changed and challenged by bringing it to the present, by narrating and presenting something in a specific way and stressing certain aspects (Frenzel, 2018: 160f.). This does not mean, comics do not have certain possibilities in handling, presenting and by this making history, but by far

they are not one special kind, not *the one* media specifically designed to break-down historical metanarratives or to handle trauma. But they are a media inter alia allowing for such and are specific as a media at the same time, with specific esthetics and/or traditions, limitations and/or opportunities. But as in other media discussing and by this making history, the presentation of history as such is political and becomes even more political by overcoming one narration, the most powerful narration. Drawing the past is a political act and makes the past political at the same time (Frenzel 2018: 161f.).

3.4. Comics and politics

If comics are understood as entertaining literature, and less as potentially educational, informative or subjective-discursive media, it might be questioned how politics and comics may fit together. This many years dominating perspective on comics has been challenged now for decades, not only, but always again starting by stressing links to political caricature or cartooning. Within this discourse cultural differences can be witnessed strongly, between a more negative-critical perspective and a more differentiated-positive perspective. But no matter the perspective dominating at a specific place, the neglect of links between comics and politics has been challenged latest since the 1980s (Fuchs 1986: 115). And within the linked scientific research a high variety of comics tackling or discussing politics or acting politically came into view, those doing it by (re)narrating history, those that are bluntly political (instruments) or others that appear on the surface more entertaining. Some are affirmative in character, up to be propagandist instruments, others present more minority positions and criticize more mainstream narratives and notions (Fuchs 1986: 120). And in this overall context clear links between comics and politics and comics and history have to be stressed. Discussing and presenting history is a form of political activity, a form of political education, not only in the perspective taken, but also by asking what is presented. On the other side political acting and presenting in comics most often uses a historical framing or historical references, however constructed they are. And even if the most obvious framing might not be history, historical references might be used, as links to myths, meta-narratives or some (re)constructed moments, in political manner or for political purposes. Same holds true for not obviously political comics that nevertheless may act politically, intended or unintended, consciousness or less consciousness, as a dystopian or a fictional comic nevertheless using a historical setting or a 'futurist' setting and by this constructing history towards future. These are reasons comics looked at here vary in their use and reference to history, but all have some; while all vary in

how they are political, but all are political as such. And they can be looked at *inter alia* from the perspective of political education.

Political education, linked to other functions of media in the realm of politics, as informing, influencing, controlling, commenting, etc., is studied in a huge variety of settings, following a not smaller variety of questions and perspectives. But the main focusses are almost always formal education, when it comes to education, and mass or at least classical and new media, when it comes to the mode of spreading political education, and by this the media taking part in politics. Comics, as neither new nor classical, in the sense of being considered among the classical medias like newspapers, radio or TV, and with their educational use being mainly informal, including adult education and reaching towards otherwise not reached people, from analphabets to indigenous, are seldom covered in these contexts. Even in contexts where the special and highly important cultural role of comics is considered and widely seen, this does not mean their role in politics and education, especially in political education is seen, analyzed or discussed widely. They remain mostly out of view or a mere footnote, an anecdote telling some special attempt but neglecting or not fully covering the general potential at the same time. This holds true for example for Japan, where many analyses of the role of media in politics not only do not focus on comics or manga, but not even discuss them at all in many publications (Pharr & Krauss 1996). However, this changed slightly in the last years and comics and their role got more attention, but still limited in reach and diversity of perspectives.

At the same time using comics for education is easily misunderstood. The idea may come up, that this means or meant using ‘children comics’ to address and reach towards children, say using Disney characters or superheroes to teach or exemplify a science. But while globally comics grew out of the niche of being mainly for children since World War II (Mazur & Danner 2014: 11f.) in the Philippines comics, called “komiks” there, have not been for children at all a long time. Children komiks were something imported and translated, not Filipin@-made (Lent 2009c: 83). And something alike holds true for Chile, where comics, or “historietas” as they are called there, for children were mainly imported Disney comics (Rojas Flores 2016: 73ff.). Because of all this the focus on comics as a medium of political education and influence cannot and will not be on children comics here while looking specifically at these two countries.

To cover for such shortcomings in attention and research, it is necessary to define, and conclude to a certain degree, what political education with and via comics can and should mean. I myself studied first the use of comics to spread new population and family ideals in Mexico, by the state, but especially by non-state actors as organized Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) (Faust-Scalisi 2014a & 2014b). And there are many more examples alike, for example of

schoolbooks using comics or that are basically comics. But here has to be drawn a line. Scholar textbooks with a focus on pictures and graphics are common, not only in South America. Following them, changes of official ideals and policies behind can be shown and seen, as of the ideal family. Nevertheless, they are not and have not been comics as such, they are more or less or even largely illustrated books, however with some comic characteristics. But still, their importance of and stress on pictures allows to learn for the analysis of comics used for the same aims, for example to stabilize or challenge gender roles by (re)presenting them graphically (see about these pictured schoolbooks i. a. Margarito Gaspar 2017: 136ff.). And starting from these examples you can move on to comics as mode of education, as to a teaching with small adventures in form of *historietas* (see Cuevas Romo 2017: 200f.).

Here in this paper the focus is on comics as such, understood not only as a way of entertainment (Sayre & King 2010), but also influencing people, inter alia in the sense of educating them. And if the focus is on comics in this sense, it will not come as a surprise that political control of the field was and is something politically focused on, as can be seen looking at cartooning in the Americas:

“Abrupt changes of power, totalitarian regimes, fascist ideologies of state and church, and augmented corporatization of mass media have made cartooning a difficult even hazardous, profession in Latin America. During the continent’s frequent political upheavals, political cartoonists and satirical periodicals have been hit hard, as might be expected because of the targets of their works, but so have some comic books and their creators been adversely affected. In fact, a few of the most horrendous acts of repression in the field have involved comics writers and artists whose stories have had political and social subtexts”. (Lent 2005: 16f.)

But this is not the focus here. Here will not be written the history of comics of the Philippines and Chile in comparison, neither as I will write a historical and/or a political analysis of the use of pictures in education. There are not few studies about both topics, even though not comparing Chile and the Philippines. But here the focus is a more limited one, by this allowing for a very specific study that nevertheless can combine a historical view with a political analysis. In focus are comics as such as a medium of political influence, that can be framed as political education, by discussing, presenting and making history in a specific way.

There are differing and diverse formal concepts of political education. Some stress education for and in democracy, others in the specific constitution of one state or in human rights. Here the aim is not to limit the view to only one of these fields. Political education, as understood here, is not only the preparation of citizens for participation in democracy (Carmeletto 2015:

01ff.). Here political education is understood in a broader sense, also including one sided, ideologically lead education or even indoctrination, and this not only by state actors, but also by a grand variety of non-state actors, from churches across economy actors and further on. Within the established study of political education, the focus is often on formal, “the official” political education, showing and discussing that it generally is a topic within different subjects or topics, but no subject or singular topic as such (Carmelet 2015). Here instead, political education as focused on is not a subordinated topic, but between major aim and side-effect of a special communication, meaning here one via comics. Political education in this sense is not just uttering opinions, but setting and influencing policies in the end, to educate with a purpose, in the sense of influencing as well discourses as positions. However, there is always room to interpret the content, one reason why dictatorships forbade certain publications (Rojas Flores 2016: 485), as well as to decide whether or to which degree a certain publication is considered political education, ‘truth’, opinion or even interesting. An example may highlight the point: there is a broad discussion about racism in comics (see for example Sayre & King 2010: 327), as well as there was a discussion on the spread of so identified ‘imperialistic ideals’ via Disney comics in Chile (Lent 2005: 19f.), but it is and was not the clear aim of all comics characterizes as such to manifest this ideal, to spread racism or ‘imperialistic ideal’, maybe it was even a “fault”. Nevertheless, these comics can be identified, analyzed, discussed and/or seen as racist or imperialistic, while not being able to forecast the effect for sure. This makes these comics nevertheless political, and/or political by using, narrating and making history, as this is the limit of selection and perspective here.

Another aspect to be discussed in this context is the dividing line between formal and informal education. Since the focus here are not pictured scholarly books but comics used for educational purposes or usable for such, the analysis tends toward informal education. But this is no line strictly and schematically dividing two areas. Books of NGOs can and have been be used in state schools (Faust-Scalisi 2014a & 2014b) and state actors can look for a wide distribution and use of their publications, their use by non-state actors, or take part in the development of material used in informal education, as it happened in the Philippines (Lent 2009c: 81). Civil society cannot be separated from ‘the state’ totally and absolutely. Both sides interact and influence each other, civil society does not work outside of a or several states, but within, even if it works against it/them or its/their government(s). Quite often, as in informal education, civil society even does something in the name or at least the interest of a/the state (Betz 2005: 13ff.). And the same may hold true for other actors, with a high variety of interpretations what it may mean to act for, against or in the name of ‘the state.’ Following these insights, a clear-cut line

cannot be drawn between informal and formal political education, formal and informal actors; though, more between planned and as such designed political education, notwithstanding it might be hidden, and not planned influences as well as between educating (on purpose) with comics or not. However, also to keep the topic in a range that can be handled, and because critical perspectives on history, alternative historical perspectives are one major focus here, the focus will be on informal, that is not scholarly or university education in the sense of directed or diffusing influence. This is the main area where comics are used or work by influencing (politically), and this is one, if not, at many places, the major area of political education, understood as political influencing. Surely, states play their role in political education via comics – and this in many countries around the world, as in Germany, the authors native country. Although, at the same time, many topics of political education, as peace or human rights, or differing perspectives on historical events and linked drawn consequences are topics that have been catalyst of civil society activity in many countries, that fostered civil societies and their connections on a global scale. Strengthening these topics or perspectives in a sense of political education, even if state actors already stress them, too, often is the realm and aim of civil society actors (Hein 2005: 41ff.).

Political education is not and will not be done with one comic, it is built up from many sources and attempts, including comics, and these with different topics or perspectives, marking them as potentially specifically important (Palencsar & Tischler 2005: 27ff.). This stresses why state fostered developments and trends cannot be neglected or left aside in this study, as the spread of education in the Philippines linked to ideas of ‘moving up the social ladder’ or developing the Philippines as a country. But informal education in sense of civil society influencing always can work against these trends, and did so, as in the Philippines, not only in the Marcos years (Tiglao Torres 1993: 105ff.). Similar holds true for ideas linked to education in South America and Chile and its development in content and reach in linkage to informal educational attempts (Arizpe 1993: 171ff.). Formal education manifests or changes values, new or old, building on specific historical narrations, but informal education can work against it, as it can be seen looking at Peru (Fernández 1993: 207ff.). This means it would be an empty attempt to look only at comics working as a form of informal political education by a specific use and narration of history without at the same time looking at state activities, the general framing and ‘official’ perspectives as spread via formal education.

Before these links can be made more plausible by looking firstly at historical developments in the use of comics some more words and general remarks about comics in South, Middle and Southern-North America and the Philippines as framework.

3.5 Some general remarks about comics in the Americas and the Philippines

Writing about comics in ‘Latin America’ and writing about latinx comics is not the same. There is a strong and evolving comic scene of latinx comics in the USA. And its artists are influential beyond US borders for many countries of so called ‘Latin America’, building up on the long years of US comic books influence in these countries. This is not the same as comic culture or comics in Chile or Peru, but influential on comics there for sure, especially since some topics are stressed and set by latinx comics. They often have a particular intersectional perspective, even in otherwise heteronormative-male dominated genres like superheroes (García 2018: 163).

“Latinx comic book artists/writers have played an important role in crafting superheroines with Latino and other backgrounds that have helped improve the paradigms of gender, race, and class in American superhero comic books.” (García 2018: 163)

But a question in this context is, if this can be distinguished as such? Is a Chilean artist working in the USA part of US comic book culture or of a Chilean one? Or is a Chinese immigrant in the Philippines writing in English part of Philippine comic book culture, of a Chinese one or a global one? Further complicated it gets, since many younger and new comic artists use the internet, not only for exchange, but to develop and share pieces of work, too. Here the links maybe stronger between artists as the Peruvian Jesus Cossío, who is strong in historical comics as testimonials, the Chilean Marcela Trujillo and PowerPaola from Ecuador and Columbia than of all them to Peruvian, Chilean or Colombian comic culture. Transnationality and transculturality, in topics, distribution but artistic development, too, has overall a higher significance nowadays in comics than years before, not only in the Americas. However, still most artists and their work reconnect to specific sociopolitical frames of one country, even though they may hold true for other countries, too (Merino 2017: 70ff.). This makes a Chilean artist working in the USA but referring to Chilean frames and circumstances still part of Chilean comic culture and a focus of this study, as well as a French immigrant to Chile referring to Chilean frames. At the same time this explains, why there are ‘traditional’ comic hot spots in the Americas besides the USA that influence and frame most work by South American comic artists, no matter where they are from, and these are places like Mexico, Argentina and, to a different degree, Cuba (Merino 2017: 70ff.).

This stresses the difficulty in using terms like ‘Latinx comics’, ‘Filipin@ comics’ or even ‘Asian comics’. All these terms are more a claim, more a construction than reality. Sure, here I write of Chilean comics, of Filipin@ komiks, too. But this must and comes with the reflective position of both being constructions, abstract terms filled with a variety and plurality difficult

to keep under one term. And even more it comes with the knowledge and acknowledgment, that there always have been and are transcultural influences and processes leading to these abstract ‘nationalist’ constructions. This does not say, that a term like ‘Filipin@ komiks’ is wrong as such, but as Filipin@ artists in the USA can produce ‘Filipin@ komiks’ the term itself refers to a plural field of high differences, a complex mixture along transcultural processes. And it comes with the knowledge and acknowledgment that there are cultural centers of influence, be it within a state – Manila for the Philippines – or be it globally, the USA for most other parts of the Americas but the Philippines, too, but Japan for comics in both parts of the world since the 1990s also (Dolle-Weinkauff 2010: 89ff.). But these influences do not go only in one direction, but at least in two. As an example: Comics used for religious education in Brazil are also distributed in the USA for the Brazilian community there, being a specific ‘offer’ in Portuguese and not in English or Spanish. With these comics, religious doctrine and moral are spread, in an entertaining way, and directly mandated by the Brazilian state. In Brazil they aim specifically at poor or hospitalized children, in the USA more broadly at the younger, but also poor older of the Brazilian community. All the while they allow to witness developments along their publication period in stresses and topics within religious education beyond the one done with comics. And they are an example of cross-cultural and cross-national influences (Sayre & King 2010: 292f.). Taking this, it becomes obvious that relating some regions or countries to specific characteristics, as stating ‘there is more freedom of expression in the USA or Europe than in South America’, and drawing from this on cultural products is an unprecise rush job. Even though, this may hold true empirically at times, it is no eternal wisdom and not general marker of European or US comics. This should become obvious latest later in this text looking at underground publications, that indeed span the idea of freedom of expression widely (Kelp-Stebbins 2018: 223). Taking categories as fixed and linking them to specific characteristics or ‘cultures’ is indeed not only wrong but dangerous. Instead, it is necessary to use categories critically and keep them open and in question all the time, as ‘Chilean comics’ or ‘Filipin@ komiks’.

“Lest we (...) come to take ‘home and language for granted’ and allow ‘their underlying assumptions to recede into dogma and orthodoxy’, we must allow our expectations, our literacies, and even our books to be flipped from time to time, that they may flip us in return.”
(Kelp-Stebbins 2018: 223)

Nevertheless, there is a comic history for countries, regions or localities, even though it is a transnational and transcultural one and at least in parts a construction. For most countries of South America comic history there is traceable for example to satirical periodicals of the later

19th century, among other earlier sources (Lent 2005: 02f.). But comic strips alike developed differently from country to country, inter alia with a special popularity in Argentina in the early 20th century of daily strips in many newspapers (Lent 2005: 05). Part of this historical development was the seeking of control over comics, cartooning and alike again and again, making cartooning or satirical drawing a difficult, at times dangerous profession meeting repressions, attempts of ideological and/or political control and steering (Lent 2005: 16f.). But this included not only direct control, but also a kind of preemptive obedience of publishers or artists, of fear or conviction, following experiences of repression or the interest in advantages. And at the same time this was no experience limited to South America, but can be stressed for example for the Philippines, too (Lent 2005: 18).

Taking all this into account the interconnection of a historical and contemporary view combined with a multi-, inter- and transdisciplinary approach may allow best to see the potential of comics about history or using history to make history and by this questioning society in Chile, Peru and the Philippines. This needs a framing when and how comics were used in such a way. For this firstly I will follow historical developments in the second half of the 20th century, (re)construct the historical frame and background. Within this historical analysis, roughly from the later 1960s onwards, the focus will be on comics and their use, then discussing and using history, and linked society, and by this making history and society, in the three countries looked at. The times before, the framing and background to the historical discussions, will have a focus on political developments towards the times looked at with a focus on comics. And before the focus then is set on comics specifically, the frame of developments for these times, from the latter 1960s onwards, will be outlined as a background for the study of and on comics discussing history and thereby society, and by this making both.

After this historical analysis I will move forward in time looking at later examples of comics doing history and society and by this draw longer lines from history to a not clearly limited 'now-time'. Within this the intersectional focus will be stressed and developed further as well as the cross-cultural character of analysis in partial comparison.

Part 1: History

4. The Philippines

4.1. Early colonial developments and historical background

The Philippines were claimed for Spain in 1521 by Ferdinand Magellan but became a formal colony only in 1571. The islands remained little controlled, little militarized and with a focus of Spanish rule on Manila as main port. It worked for the exchange of goods from China and other places in Asia for Spanish-American goods that came from and travelled back to Mexico and from there to Europe (Blitz 2010: 48f.). Before, the Philippines have been isolated from many events and shifts influencing mainland Asia. But even compared to close-by Indonesia foreign influence remained highly limited for the Philippines. And still after installation of Spanish rule, it remained limited to some places, and what now are the Philippines was far of being 'one', neither 'one state' or a constructed 'nation' (see Maestro Yarza 2001: 203). So, even though Spanish colonization proved historically significant for the Philippines, coining culture until today, local developments remained of highest importance in contrast to central developments in Manila for most places. The Philippines were and remained a highly diverse place of plurality along the various islands (Nadeau 2008: 15ff.). One reason was, that the Spanish colonization focused on Manila and the trade especially of spices between Mexico and China via Manila. Major interest in the rest of the Philippines was for Christianization, done by friars and not Spanish soldiers. However, most of the Philippines except for Manila remained more or less closed to foreign influences and transnational influences for years to come (Nadeau 2008: 33).

Spanish rule became more and more contested with Spain getting weaker and loosing most colonial power in the 19th century. Revolts against Spanish rule broke out on the Philippines (Nadeau 2008: 33ff.). But this all remained limited in scope since Spanish rule except for Christian order was limited to few central places and ports. This changed in 1898. With a Cuban insurrection against Spain – Cuba then was, beside the Philippines, one of the few remaining places of Spanish colonial rule – the USA intervened in the conflict after deciding against isolation in fierce debates. Soon the USA decided to expand the conflict to the Philippines where Spanish control was judged to be weak, only outmoded ships anchored there. The “splendid little war” led to the USA taking control of Manila after fast routing the Spanish forces. What followed in the Philippines were US attempts to take control of the rest of the islands, leading to about half a million Filipinos dying. All the while Spain and the USA negotiated about peace without including the Philippines, leading to a new level of escalation within the conflict between the USA and the Philippines. In the coming years the USA tried again and again to gain full control of the Philippines but failed; battles were won, but territory not held (Barreto

Velázquez 2010: 27ff.; Blitz 2010: 51; Go 2008: 109ff). Filipin@ opposition to US control published even an own constitution and continued fighting until 1902. Changing Spanish rule for US control was criticized by various actors and for a variety of reasons (Nadeau 2008: 42ff.). The USA meanwhile tried to combine attempts to ‘win the hearts and minds’ with military control. Allowing for student exchange, building schools and stabilizing the economy was combined with military activities against oppositional actors (Blitz 2010: 52). These actors did not want to accept a new foreign rule and kept fighting for true independence (Barreto Velázquez 2010: 70ff.). Also for internal reasons the USA tried to defend its colonial rule in the Philippines by labelling not ‘colonial’, but making it the laboratory of a new colonialism: the so-labelled administrative advancement towards progress and modernity. Not the least to pacify those opposing interventionism, those still standing for US-isolationism in these times, the Philippines should transform to a global model for foreign intervention not to exploit, but following an intervention by accident and necessity to help. It was explained the USA never had an imperial reason to intervene but were forced to do so, by historical accident, asked to take moral and political responsibility. By this re-labelling US-exceptionalism as well as a declared anti-imperialist tradition of the USA could remain intact while stabilizing its rule in the Philippines and reaching further to remote places seldom touched by Spanish rule (Barreto Velázquez 2010: 48). The traded idea was to declare US-colonialism in the Philippines to be ‘nation-building’, and in this course declaring the Philippines as a nation only to become but not existing as such yet (Barreto Velázquez 2010: 209ff.). And truly, only the ‘common enemy’ of Spanish colonial rule had brought different actors and groups together in the 1890s, no matter religion or status, both stressed by Spanish rule as dividing society. In their upheaval against Spanish rule they became united as Filipin@s, even those rated before as *criollos*, and by this ‘Europeans’. But this process of becoming a nation did not lead to an independent nation-state, but US rule in the end (Blitz 2000: 15f.). To rectify this and to re-label US rule as nation-building the USA used local outposts, as local governments, to govern, ‘win the hearts’ but educate politically in the sense of the USA in the same time. However, side product were clan-structures, corruption and nepotism and in the end a form of government openly not intended in the first place (Go 2008: 122ff.).

“American officials tried to win hearts and minds. They also sought to implant their own preferred meanings and models of governance. But the former attempt was successful only because the latter failed. The elite in both colonies [Philippines & Puerto Rico] accepted American occupation, but they did so as they domesticated it. They classified American rule, its agents, and everything it offered according to familiar types and tales, thereby accepting

tutelage while remaining impervious to its imposed meanings. Note that this domestication was not about a clash of values. It was rather about differences in interpretation and meaning making.” (Go 2008: 129)

Armed conflict went on until 1902. In the same year the US Congress passed the “Cooper Act”, also known as “Organic Act”, establishing US colonial rule in the Philippines. This rule was designed to compromise of a bicameral legislature: a lower chamber of Filipino majority, consisting of elected representatives. Second chamber was a US-dominated commission headed by a US-governor with full veto power. At the same time the Act set limits to US economical influence in the Philippines, limiting the area to be owned by US-individuals or US corporations. However, Filipin@s did not have these limits and some few purchased wide parts of former church land, before purchased by the USA from the Vatican in 1903. Concentration of wealth and influence as well as social inequality increased in these years in the Philippines while US rule was established (Blitz 2000: 31ff. & 52f.).

The US rule led to different measures of secularization, with selling church property and removing education from church representatives. The before far reaching influence of the Catholic Church in the Philippines was reduced under US-presence (Kunz 1995: 32ff.). Nevertheless, the Philippines are today the only country with a Christian majority in Asia, consisting in majority of Catholics, but also having a large Protestant minority. But the links between religion and politics got loosened under US rule while being strong before under Spanish rule (Nadeau 2008: xiif.).

All the while there was a discussion about the ability of Filipin@s to govern themselves, to act democratically and responsibly for themselves, dividing those rectifying US-presence and those neglecting any right for it. The latter saw no reason for an ongoing US presence, the first a virulent need since the ability to govern themselves was either not seen yet or not seen at all for Filipin@s. In this discourse Filipin@s were rated as ‘children’ or other racist reason were brought forward for the inability to govern-themselves – intersectionality argumentation was strong. Discourses alike took place in the Philippines but as well in US Congress (Barreto Velázquez 2010: S. 224ff.). Along these dividing lines resistance to US rule in the Philippines never ended, even though it got less obviously violent after 1902. But all the time US rule was coined by brutality and suppression, too. This led to fierce resistance and the looking for alternative concepts of rule and government, as Marxism, as constant. And by marking US rule explicitly cruel – using terms like genocide – opposition could find together, gain strength together (Renshaw 2019: 29f.). The rule of Woodrow Wilson and World War I changed US policies in the Philippines then. The concept of US rule there changed from eternal rule to

temporary help the Philippines build up their own democracy. School building and the rule of law got supported more and the administrative structure changed, increasing self-government. This however led to conflicts with the still veto-power holding US-governor at times (Barreto Velázquez 2010: 169ff.; Blitz 2010: 57f.).

In the early 1930s the path towards independence got more visible. But before major steps could be taken the global economic crisis hit the Philippines, too. But even more the Philippines were hit by prejudices against Filipin@s working in the USA and against Filipin@ products told to have an (imagined) unfair advantage in competition. Both enforced US actors to argue for Philippine independence, to lessen the access of the Philippines to the US market. Within these discourses and evolving lines of conflict the “Philippine Independence Act” was passed in 1934, declaring the aim of writing a Philippine constitution and a 10-year period of transformation towards full independence. This included the establishment of women’s right to vote in 1935. However, most parts of the Filipin@s still had no right or possibility to take part in votes or politics, the build-up democracy remained an elitist democracy (Blitz 2010: 53ff.; Kunz 1995: 32ff.).

But these plans got interrupted by World War II. With Japan expanding to China the Philippines requested immediate independence to allow for a neutral position and not to bring itself in danger along the USA taking sides. Instead, the USA refused and kept the process of ten years towards independence ongoing, building a new administrative system in 1940. Further steps were then prevented by the Japanese invasion in December 1941, with the USA showing themselves not able to send enough support to hold the Philippines. After month of resistance Japan could establish control of the islands in Mid-1942. In these months and the following years hundreds of thousands of Filipin@s died and the way to independence was blocked. In 1942 martial law was declared and political parties dissolved (Blitz 2010: 55).

However, again a re-labelling of the violent activities took place:

“The Japanese used false rhetoric to justify their taking control of the Philippines. Marching under the slogan of “Asians for Asians”, they announced that they had come in solidarity with the people of Asia to liberate them from colonialism. Like the Americans, the Japanese allowed the Filipinos to operate the government but under much closer scrutiny and supervision. In 1943, Japan held an independence ceremony to inaugurate the Second Republic of the Philippines, but it was a puppet government and the Japanese government pulled the strings.” (Nadeau 2008: 59)

From October 1944 until September 1945 the reconquering of the Philippines took place by US-troops and Filipin@ resistance. Manila was hold under Japanese control until capitulation.

For this endeavor Filipin@ resistance standing with an underground government that hold loyalty to the USA proofed key, especially the Hukbalahap, the National Army Against Japan. These actors were strongly influenced by Marxist ideas and hoped to play a role in the coming independent Philippines. And indeed, the newly ruling USA granted independence to the Philippines the 4th of July 1946. But with kept strong ties to the USA and the upcoming Cold War Marxist ideas had no chance to take official influence in newly independent Philippines. With the Hukbalahap losing influence local countermeasures were taken, up to killing or arresting Hukbalahap actors or supports. The Hukbalahap then changed its name to Hukbong Mapalavang Bayan – People’s Liberation Army. Hopes for a political solution now vanished completely, instead an open armed conflict broke out, using weapons dug in the World Wars. And the People’s Liberation Army gained influence and support, especially in Luzon, spreading the idea of agrarian reform and the cutting of all links to the USA (Blitz 2010: 57). The gained independence by this immediately turned to a violent conflict, in some places an open and full-scale civil war.

4.2. Republika ng Pilipinas

4.2.1 Developments until 1965

Even though the Philippines gained independence in 1946 they had a contract with the USA declaring close economic relations for the next decades; characterized as contracted dependency for the time to come. In this the Philippines had little to negotiate. Being hit hard by World War II and offered formal independence the treaty came more or less as a prize to be paid – for getting some money for the rebuilding of economy –, nevertheless limiting real sovereignty (Juan 2017: 14). Next to it the USA kept more than 20 military bases on the Philippines, guaranteed by contracts for 99 years, not the least in fear of cutting ties and hoping for benefits by allowing for these closeness (Blitz 2000: 82ff.). All the while civil war like conditions marked the first years of independence with upheavals especially on Luzon against the pro-American government. It took until 1950 to bring the upheaval down, supported by US advisors. “On the eve of Philippine independence, one war had just ended, but a new colder one was beginning, and the archipelago would emerge, yet again, as a critical battleground.” (Blitz 2000: 82). Close ties to the USA resulted in participation of the Philippines in the Korean War, too.

The whole political system of the Philippines in these years – and mostly until now – can be seen as a copy of the US system, with a strong president, a Senate and a House of Representatives. However, there is a major difference, lying in the fact, that the Philippine

president not only is leader of the armed forces but can declare martial law by himself, making the president of the Philippines even more powerful (Blitz 2000: 118).

No matter contracts and some benefits all the time the closeness to the USA remained contested, and political divides developed around the question of the relationship between the Philippines and the USA. With independence came an amendment to the Constitution allowing US citizens equal rights for resource exploitation in the Philippines, equal right to own public utilities and businesses. All this limited the opportunities for self-development and made the Philippines more or less a post-colonial territory (Juan 2017: 14). One side here was the bilateral help coming this way to the Philippines, especially from the USA, at the same time binding the Philippines and limiting choice in ways of development. A systematic or clear-cut plan was laid out for the Philippines 'how' to develop – along ideas of 'western' modernity and close ties to the USA, but also other (ex)colonial 'western' powers. Here links have to be drawn to other post-colonial states, that experienced comparatively, all under the label of 'development cooperation'. (And here later US-political maneuverer as the so called 'Alliance for Progress' in the Americas may come to mind). Within this economic and geopolitical interests could intersect, but not always did. Japan had much more economic interest, and played a major role in this field in independent Philippines, the USA at least as much geopolitical as economical interests and remained a major actor there in both. And all the cooperation remained most often, and for the Philippines surely, an one sided affair. The before colonial center extracted natural resources, dictated development tracks and 'helped' in a paternalistic manner much more than leading to sovereign development (Maestro Yarza 2001: 40f.; 223ff. & 248ff.). Self-interests of the 'helping countries' surely intermixed with moments of solidarity or the idea of charitability, to battle hunger or poverty. As a rule of thumb in the Philippines bilateral 'help' tended to focus at least equally on the self-interest of 'donors' while multilateral help could have a more solidaric perspective (Maestro Yarza 2001: 81ff.). And the self-interest again mixed economic and political interests (Maestro Yarza 2001: 89ff.).

Linked to the question of the relationship to the USA was the question how to position the Philippines in the emerging so called 'Cold War'. Marxist ideas and forces remained powerful, especially in some regions. Put highly limited were close links between Global and Philippine history in these years for these regions (Claudio 2017: 147ff.). Closely connected to this was the question of 'what' the Philippines are or what they are standing for. One central frame for this was the construction and narration of a 'Philippine history', defining the 'modern' state as 'one' (Solomon Amorao 2018: 19ff.). At the same time heterogeneity proofed a major challenge for the state constructed along 'western' ideas of 'nation-states'. Especially Mindanao, the

predominantly Muslim island, remained a challenge, as it has been to the Spaniards for centuries, who never controlled the island fully. To enlarge control and influence the Manila-based central government encouraged massively in the 1950s Christian migration to Mindanao. Propagated was the island as (nearly) 'empty' and 'full' of opportunity and resources. Demographically Christian dominance was established, but conflicts did not vanish but remained and even got worse (Marshall & Keough 2004: 236).

One major shift in these years was the election of Carlos P. Garcia for president in 1957, who followed what was called a *Filipino First Policy*, favoring Filipino businesses, and cut down the length of the lease of the US bases to 25 years; allowing for a renewal for five years a time. Despite these changes the presidency lasted only for one period, in 1961 Diosdado Macapagal got elected, the self-declared president of the poor. He tried to fight poverty with economic liberalization and the fight of corruption, all measures being limited by the Senate and House of Representatives. In the end, his presidency, too, remained limited to four years (Conroy Franco 2001: 80ff.). In 1965 Macapagal was defeated by the former President of the Senate: Ferdinand Marcos (Nadeau 2008: 76). This for sure did not end the political problems of the Philippines or brought lasting stability.

These early post-independence political developments built on a political system that had much longer roots, at least to Spanish colonialism, and that mark Philippine politics until today. And there are links in development to many places of the Americas, too, links that might be, as construction goes, be linked to the shared colonial past. Most national parties in the Philippines do not stand for the poorest, surely not rural poor, and especially not so marked and declared indigenous. Instead local political powers play their role. Especially in the early years of independent Philippines access to national politics was limited to or controlled by an elite, mostly made of an oligarchy of landowners. And they clearly had their base and foundation in Spanish colonial times, enlarging their influence and power in US colonial times with a bureaucracy of clearly limited influence, not able to limit their land-based influence. And this small elite kept influence in these first post-independence years, too, by the creation of political parties not highly representative for the Philippines. Stabilized was the system by a close relationship between landlords and dependent peasant population – with questionable results for democracy (even though there is disagreement about how this influence is to be rated or classified) (see about this Conroy Franco 2001: 14f.). One question related is the ongoing relevance of these ties and how this influenced the personalization of politics in the Philippines. For certain, in these historical times regional links were of strong importance, coming with a stress on 'the family' as political and society base. Additionally, this was linked to the 'sacred

family' and got religious power by this. This led to the political practice of 'padrinazgo', itself based on prehispanic traditions of so called 'blood pacts' of allies to build a stable network. Traditionally this has been the base of society bonds, but also for economical conditions or politics. And alike relationships remained influential, especially in rural areas, in post-independence Philippines, too. This went so far, that votes were granted as 'favors', intermixed with constructions of honor or duty, and all this again underlined by Christian narratives and concepts. At the same time this opened doors widely for corruption and networks of dependency and favors for vote once a victory was gained (Maestro Yarza 2001: 203). To stabilize this system, Christian narratives and church actors played a major role. That means one very important actor in all this has been and still is the Catholic Church, even though 'the Church' is not one actor with one voice but split into fractions with different agendas and varying influence. Regional clerical actors play(ed) an important role, but religious personnel on national level, too. In some years and for some topics the Church used its influence clearly (Kunz 1995: 45f.). Surely, the pure religious character of these political system parts lessened over the time of post-independence Philippines, including new social bonds as professional bonds, links from the army or university. Nevertheless, long standing connections and relations remain key in the political system of the Philippines, at least on an informal level. And often from early years of life these bonds are build up to allow for reciprocal advantage. This system has close links to the construction of a 'family', that also knows exclusion of reciprocity if it is not taken care for (Maestro Yarza 2001: 204). All this leads to the ongoing classification of the Philippines as country of a personalized politics with a specific importance of personal links and a focus on one major candidate instead of the party the candidate stands for. Connected is the characterization of political questions as 'personal' questions of even 'questions of destiny', allowing to outplay arguments or rationality if the personal links hold (Eaton 2002: 91ff.). On this Marcos built upon.

4.2.2. Entering Ferdinand Marcos

In 1965 Ferdinand Marcos was elected democratically as president of the Philippines. His first term he used to expand the Philippine military – by being at the same time president and defense secretary. His before existing ties to loyal military officers grew closer by this. He also closed the Philippine ties to the USA again, by allowing a Philippine participation in the Vietnam War, positioning the Philippines clearly as part of the 'West'. In internal politics not only the new spotlights on the army set Marcos apart, he also stood for a centralist and Christian perspective, ultimately leading to the Moro Insurgency on parts of Mindanao (Blitz 2000: 102ff.). When

time for reelection came in 1969 Marcos popularity was limited and a highly corrupted election took place, officially leading to Marcos winning. Mass protests and riots broke out as a result. To restore 'order' – or to fight protests and counter-narratives – US military help was used. Marcos became president again, but nevertheless was faced with rebellions not only in the Mindanao region, but Maoist movements in other parts of the Philippines, too, the New People's Army. Additionally, the Philippines faced a financial crisis with the International Monetary Fund dictating conditions for giving credit: Economy was restructured towards more exports. However, inflation was and remained high, all leading to social unrest added to armed conflicts within the Philippines (Blitz 2010: 59).

But governing with US and military support had a formal end under the umbrella of formal democracy with the constitutional limit of two presidential terms – along the US-model. Two stick to power after the formal end of his second term Marcos needed a rectification for another term. At the same time he was faced with an internal opposition getting more powerful that forced him to proactively allow for a Constitutional Convention in an attempt to overcome demands on his own terms. The years from 1970 onwards got more and more violent all the while, with the so-called Plaza Miranda bombing in August 1971 as one deadly climax (see about this Daroy 1988: 04ff.). And more bombings in the Metro Manila followed soon after. From civil disobedience in the late 1960s it moved to more open and fierce violence, often provoked by harsh police measures. Officially all bombings were conducted by 'communist guerilla groups', but government participation at least in some is controversially discussed, up to the probable position some or all were governmentally choreographed to allow for the proclamation of martial law in September 1972. Not the least since popularity of Marcos decreased from 1969 onwards and his power faded, a construction for the reaction of a conjured coup d'état was seen as a realistic picture. And a rectification for this drastic step was needed to keep the image and narrative of the legitimacy of the Marcos regime at least on the surface intact. The declaration of martial law then not only allowed to overcome the limitation of presidential rule to only two terms, but also the arrest of political opposition and a harsh reaction to civil protests. Mass activities got highly regulated, political parties outlawed, rights restricted, and a curfew imposed. Most important power beside the president became the military That did not bring support back, more to the contrary opposition grew, but it stabilized Marco's rule (Blitz 2010: 59; Blitz 2000: 106f.). And these steps were backed by US support (Agpalo 2007: 51ff.: Blitz 2000: 107ff.; Nadeau 2008: 86).

“Marcos would retain U.S. backing for the next fourteen years of his regime, arguing essentially, like the American soldier in Vietnam, that he had to destroy democracy in order

to save it. U. S. analysts in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the State Department understood this. And a Rand Corporation study completed in November 1972 reported “considerable evidence” that martial law was carried out through U.S. collusion in order to advance U.S. objectives in the Philippines, notably the economic and strategic interests so recently threatened by the constitutional convention as well as the deeper, recurring threat posed by revolutionary opponents. In short, from the moment that the Philippine flag replaced the American one in Manila’s Rizal Park on July 4, 1946, through the September 22, 1972, transition to martial law with Marcos at the helm, global U.S. military strategy and Philippine domestic politics had become increasingly interdependent. This interdependence was outlined explicitly in the 1947 agreement between the United States and the Philippines, wherein the stated purpose of the Philippine military was internal security, while the United States was to provide external security.” (Blitz 2000: 109f.)

Building on this an authoritarian rule was established, violating human rights, assassinating political opponents and leading to a kind of internal warfare (Blitz 2000: 117ff.). Declared aim was to build a “New Society”: Along the ideas of social engineering the *bagong lipunan* should be achieved, by bringing all Filipin@s together under a constructed ‘benevolent dictator’ to overcome chaos and splits, and ‘realize’ the Filipin@ people. Connected were programs to influence all areas and fields of politics and society, as an as well educational as engineering project (see about this Claudio 2017: 130ff.; Tiglao 1988: 26ff.). Part of it was to work on the Philippine history as constructed base for the ‘new’ society. One key here in the 1970s was the Tadhana project, a looked for partnership of Marcos and famous scholars to write a ‘history of the Philippines’ in about 20 volumes. By establishing this canon of ‘national’ and ‘Filipino’ history the foundation of the new Philippines should be set. Even though it was an academic project from the outside, the instrumental character was obvious, the teleological setting towards Marcos dictatorship. Participating scholars were seen by many as instrumentalist, as ‘prostituted’, as ‘mercenaries’, even though they fought openly against such labels and stressed their academic stance and approach. However, seeing them as manipulated or pressed into the project framed the project of writing ‘the Philippine history’ as a propaganda project (see about this Curaming 2018: 237).³

³ This example gives an important hint to the connection of writing (or in later discussed cases: drawing) history and power. If history is written in official position, following a concrete project, even though scientific standards are claimed, it positions itself (as does all writing of history). History – if in books or in comics – never ist neutral, but always political. This was well understood by Marcos, leading to the project, and it is comparatively well understood by those problematizing (parts of) ‘official’ history later on. The idea, that ‘history’ might be an ‘objective’ report never hold – but projects like the Tadhana project show, that the degrees surely vary. Or as Curaming (2018) put it: “By taking official history like Tadhana as a partnership between two entities that mutually need each other, the power of scholars is recognised and made explicit rather than elided or concealed. (...) The

Meanwhile the Constitution lost its significance in these years, showing its limitations, presumed by some because of the additional presidential power (compared to the USA) to declare martial law. Legal opposition was made impossible, many went underground, some left the country, because of fear, or because of disgust and indignation. At the same time the military got more and more politicized and its role grew, in importance and influence. The divide between military and politics lost significance, many leading militaries got political influence and followed on – even after Marcos was down – to aim for it. At the same time under the label of ‘counter-insurgency’ all kinds of violence were tolerated, torture and disappearances. All this only was made possible with US support, on a technical and economical, but also political level. Officially, Marcos stood for US interests in the region and protected them – in return he and his regime were supported and backed. While this allowed his dictatorship to flourish, his dependency on US backing got highly visible. Directly his rule was for example linked to the protection of the US military bases, but also on US investments. And this dependency only grew with the declaration of martial law (Blitz 2000: 182; David 2017: 219). For this disguise played a major role. As the dictatorship beside all its brutality and suppression was framed as necessary way to a ‘new society’, formally ‘democratic’ elements stayed intact: officially the organization of workers was allowed, officially voting remained. However, it was a voting without a true choice and a right to organize that did not mean to organize for protest or even a strike. The dictatorship did call itself a democracy but was quite the opposite. Taking this, labels played an important role in these years, destroying something was called ‘making it more beautiful’ and elections instrumentalized to show off were stylized as in the interest of ‘the people’ (Kerkvliet 2001: xxiiff.).

But this did not mean there has been no opposition. However, in times of fear and danger it changed its appearance, became localized and focused on limited and direct action. There occurred local protests, especially of urban poor or organized labor, but mostly not against the regime itself, but concrete political actions, projects or laws. This did not challenge the regime itself. But with the ongoing time of authoritarian rule organization in opposition grew, especially in the Manila region. A role here played some church groups, while others remained

importance of official history, therefore, lies in the seemingly contradictory but in reality inseparable properties that it possesses. The very notion of official history flags the existence of history or any knowledge that is not ‘official,’ or in other words, not power-driven. On the other hand, official histories such as the Tadhana project are no more than a formalisation and ‘explicitisation’ of power-knowledge interplay that is probably happening, discreetly, on a daily basis, hidden or mistaken for something else. By making this interplay explicit, it endangers the wellspring of power of the scholarly class (...). By treating official histories and other ‘politically transparent’ scholarly endeavours as an exemplification of how embodiments of knowledge and power work together, the important question ceases to be whether knowledge is driven by power, but rather, whose and what types of power underpin whose and what type of knowledge.” (249f.)

supportive of Marcos. The catholic church split in several fractions over Marcos' authoritarian rule, the question how political church action should be, if it should, and if yes, how the church should position itself to political and economic developments (Kunz 1995: 45f.). However, some acted actively for change and allowed for gradual erosion of centralized Marcos-power. At the same time ongoing protests allowed to call into question the legitimacy of the regime itself and led some supporters at least lessen their support. One main door here was the demand for more local decision making and more independent-not-centralized decisions. Especially how to handle unions and work with poverty were topics here; and they allowed for an obvious and visible split in the elite, and by this questioning the legitimacy of a still centralized regime (Conroy Franco 2001: 287f.).

One central question became if elections were necessary to at least on the surface be able to 'show' the 'peoples' support of Marcos and his regime. But finally, US pressure did the job to allow for a beginning of overcoming the Marcos rule. Since 1976 negotiations took place about peace on Mindanao, even though with no real success, since autonomy rights remained restricted in a centralized ruling regime (Marshall & Keough 2004: 236ff.). In 1977 Jimmy Carter became US-president. One of his focus topics were human rights, preventing ongoing US support of a clearly human rights violating regime. Nevertheless, strategic and military interests remained important in US-Philippine relations. To keep them intact the appearance of the regime had to change to allow for strong contacts under a presidency officially bringing forward human rights. The pressure on Marcos rose, combined with the US-threat to no longer support the Philippines economically or even work actively against the support by others. However, first came new aid and new loans before any political change took place. Only in 1978 elections – interim national assembly elections – were held, mostly to please the USA, but with the need for new manipulations and an unwanted attention for oppositional positions. It was no free election, on the contrary, Marcos did all to control its outcome and limit true political rights (Blitz 2000: 129ff.; Conroy Franco 2001: 287f.). Still, the elections made for a change, since they allowed for the first massive protests in the streets in years – judged by some as the beginning of the end of the Marcos regime, that could not control the public and protests in the years to come (Dios 1988: 70ff.).

Within these years the importance of church actors rose. Here transnational links were of high importance, since especially clergy who worked along liberation theology and focused on the poor got in conflict with authoritarian rule, not only in the Philippines, but in South America or Eastern Europe, too, allowing to gather in strategies and the exchange of experiences. By this church supported anti-Marcos protests became part of transnational activities under the

umbrella of fighting poverty, fighting for liberation, but ‘Christianity’, too. And since the regime reacted harsh towards church activities in this field, with arrests and restrictions, the opposition grew together and looked for transnational backing at the same time (Blitz 2000: 119). But this did not mean, all church officials stood up against the regime. Some, but numerically a clear minority officially and strongly supported Marcos, while others opposed him and martial law clearly. But the vast majority only offered minor critics and demanded minor reforms (Blitz 2000: 120).

A new phase took hold again with a change in US politics, the victory of Ronald Reagan and him taking office in 1981. Alongside Reagan-politics hard political measures regained support again, and with this Marcos, too (Blitz 2000: 136ff.). But to allow for stronger US support the image of the regime counted. Here the lifting of martial rule was the symbolic act of choice, and this only days before Reagan took office. With huge US media attention martial law ended on 17th January 1981. However, this did not break Marcos’ power, that had been established in eight years of martial law, the building of official and informal links and a controlled economy, press and political system. All was prepared, that Marcos power was save even without martial law. Plus, the military had now an established powerful role as ally to Marcos. But not only the US public was addressed by this public act, but it was seen also as a symbolic act in advance to the visit of Pope John Paul II to the Philippines (Blitz 2000: 138). To complete the new appearance elections were hold later the same year, with Marcos running for president. Most opposition did not run and boycotted the election expecting fraud and manipulation. And they had good reason for it, neither the elections of 1978, local elections in 1980 nor the presidential elections of 1981 could be called ‘free’ but were repressive, strongly influenced and controlled elections (Conroy Franco 2001: 09). The victory of Marcos was never in danger, but protests grew, and opposition worked closer together as a result, bringing together civic-left and different other political oppositionists (Blitz 2000: 138f.). The presidential election was combined with a plebiscite about a change of the political system closer to the one in France, a semi-presidential system. Both went as Marcos wanted, and both were boycotted by many oppositionists. Even though the protests and boycotts had little empirical effect, they had a strong symbolical value, addressing the Philippines but international spectators, too. Visibility of opposition grew and shared topics and aims could develop in 1981, bringing those together who before stood apart in opposition to the regime (Conroy Franco 2001: 161). But since US pressure stood and was kept to stick to at least a pseudo-democratic appearance – as to show ‘legitimacy’ – this opposition was not fought openly, and it grew stronger under these conditions

(Conroy Franco 2001: 11ff.). However, overall US backing for Marcos kept intact, what can be interpreted as strategic and tactic success of the Marcos government:

“From 1977 to 1985, over 21,000 people were arrested for political reasons, and from 1975 to 1985, over 700 disappeared and more than 2,400 were killed or, in the disturbing lexicon of war, ”salvaged“. Nevertheless, Marcos retained U.S. backing for the next fourteen years [from 1972 onwards] of his regime, arguing essentially that he had to destroy democracy in order to save it. When Marcos learned that the U.S. bases in the Philippines housed nuclear weapons, a fact that Philippine presidents had long suspected but had not known for certain, he used this trump card over and over again to secure U.S. and other support.” (Blitz 2010: 60)

Meanwhile social authority helped oppositions, gained mainly by the catholic church and other Christian groups, that remained strong institutions under Marcos rule, kept at least a partial immunity intact, and had a strong historical rooting and rectification to speak out and act ‘for the people’. This helped to survive as influential in the first years of martial law without getting completely absorbed into the authoritarian system, and that could be used now in the 1980s to gather oppositional forces and protect them at least partially. It is important to again note here, that this did not mean all Christian churches acted unanimously against Marcos rule. To the contrary – he was backed and supported by central catholic actors, who helped him to establish his dictatorship. It is improbable he could have acted alike against all Catholic voices, those church actors backing him allowed him a certain moral authority that stabilized his rule. But now, in the early 1980s, church actors acted to a larger degree openly against the regime and supported the growing organization of oppositional forces (Conroy Franco 2001: 116).

In these years economic problems, that had been a constant challenge for the Marcos regime for years, got worse. The economic system established and built on high debt rates imploded more and more:

„In 1965, when Ferdinand Marcos was elected president, the Philippines had been considered by its neighbors to be a showcase for democratic development. At that time, it had a newly burgeoning and strong middle class and one of the highest literacy rates in the region. It held regular elections and had a functioning Congress and highly effective and legitimate Supreme Court. (...). Marcos took apart this democracy and constructed an authoritarian government (...). Significantly, Marcos resorted on borrowing from outside and inside donors to pay for infrastructure projects. In exchange for loans from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, he further opened up the economy and removed existing trade restrictions on transnational corporations, which markedly increased the

national debt. His government continued the process, begun by former President Macapagal, of hiring western-trained technocrats to plan development. Also, Marcos greatly increased the size of the military and expanded its role in governance. His economic, political, and militaristic restructuring program melded well with U.S. foreign policy at the time, which favored export-driven and top-down development and strengthening the military to fight against the so-called Communist threat.“ (Nadeau 2008: 81)

A major flaw to the Marcos rule occurred in 1983. In this year the beginning of the end is latest to locate. In August 1983 Benigno Simeon Aquino Jr., called ‘Ninoy’ Aquino was assassinated returning from the USA directly at the Manila airport. He was one of the first arrested under martial law in 1972. In 1975 he went on a hunger strike while trials against him went on, no matter how ill he got, only after month he stopped his hunger strike after he was begged by many close. In 1977 he was sentenced to death but spared from the execution. From his prison cell he run in the parliamentary election in 1978 but lost. After heart attacks in 1980 he was transferred to the USA for a successful treatment. Afterwards he refused to come back to the Philippines and did not accept the binding of a before agreed to ‘pact’. However, he decided to return to the Philippines in 1983 to allow for a transition to democracy, based on the supposed declining power of Marcos and Aquino’s fear of a more radical takeover. But the way back was no easy one, he only could get a passport by supporters in key positions. After some stops, he returned to Manila, awaited to be brought to prison. Instead, he was assassinated right at the airport (Blitz 2000: 157f.; Kerkvliet 2001: xxif.). Immediately it was debated what happened and who was involved. All this led to a spread in the protests against Marcos and a rise in their intensity, being all but calmed down by taking out – by killing – a leading person. Millions went on the streets to protest. This was linked to a new involvement of more church officials and elites in opposition who until then had kept mostly quiet. But now the perception spread, that ‘no one was safe’. Especially high-ranking bishops tried to bring violations into the public eye, the domestic as well as the international one (Kerkvliet 2001: xxif.; Kunz 1995: 67ff.). The USA protested only moderately, however they protested officially (Blitz 2000: 159ff.).

“Aquino (...) achieved instant martyrdom as thousands lined up daily to pay their last respects at his wake. His mother chose not to clean the blood from this face, so that all who saw him would understand the brutality of the murder. This proved effective. In the streets of Manila and throughout the Philippine countryside, the three colors of the Philippine flag (...) exploded.” (Blitz 2000: 158)

In 1984 Ronald Reagan was re-elected as US-president. Even though he kept on supporting Marcos officially – as official president –, it was a blow for Marcos, since Reagan had decided

to de facto distance his government from Marcos after the assassination of Aquino. This put high pressure on the Marcos' government and led him to call for parliamentary elections in 1984 before the US elections. But in these opposition united behind the wife of 'Ninoy' Aquino – Corazon Aquino – and won with partners about 60 seats out of close to 200, and this despite boycott calls by parts of the opposition. The Reagan reelection then worsened the situation for Marcos as opposition gained even more strength and support while his position and US economical help remained fragile (Blitz 2000: 162ff.). The election of 1984 never calmed down the situation, but protests remained, calling for a presidential election with Corazon Aquino as candidate, morally rectified by her dead husbands' legacy. The new icon for democracy for the Philippines stood virtually behind her (Kerkvliet 2001: xxif.). All the while the economic situation worsened as well as US worries about their own interests on the Philippines, especially military interests. Pressure grew from the inside of the Philippines and from the outside on the Marcos regime. In 1985 an impeachment was called for, that was not successful itself but put spotlight on corruption of Marcos and of those close to him, their enrichment on cost of the Philippines. In the focus stood especially his wife Imelda Marcos (Almendral 1988: 176ff.; Blitz 2010: 61; Diokno 1988: 132ff.). Or as it was put some years later:

“Ferdinand Marcos earned an entry in the Guinness Book of World Records as the man who allegedly stole the most from a single country. Estimates of ill-gotten wealth belonging to Marcos and his relatives and cronies range from \$5 to \$ 10 billion. Even if the lower figure is accepted, that is almost equal to the total Philippine government budget for 1987 and almost one sixth of the country's \$29 billion foreign debt for the same year.” (Nemenzo 1988: 223)

Plus, Marcos got physically weaker and weaker. Despite all attempts to hide his health problems, as two kidney transplantations in 1983 and 1984, his physical decline got more and more obvious. All this finally led to Marcos calling for a presidential election in 1986 at the end of 1985 (Blitz 2010: 61; Diokno 1988: 132ff.).

This election was the end of Marcos' rule. However, first he was declared victorious. As put by observers: overestimating his abilities for manipulation in this situation with international eyes on the Philippines and a strong opposition plus watchful US observer teams. Calls of fraud were everywhere, and Corazon Aquino threatened to put the vote 'on the streets'. In the USA discussions grew more intense about the ongoing support of Marcos. First Reagan was willing to accept the official result, even though the State Department saw a victory of about 60 to 70 percent of the votes for Aquino. After evidence for fraud could not be neglected anymore Reagan finally withdraw his support. At the same time many high standing bishops stood up

against Marcos (Blitz 2000: 183). In the end it was the so called ‘people power’ that brought down Ferdinand Marcos after more than 20 years of rule. “Although only a few undid democracy in 1972, it took the ingenuity, courage, and commitment of many, working for years in the Philippines and in the United States, to reestablish it.” (Blitz 2010: 60f.) Over one million Filipin@s rallied in Manila. It could be called a culmination point of mass protests, a climax of mobilization and a moment of great unity of opposition forces. One by one the last Marcos supported turned sides. In the end, Corazon Aquino became new president, and a phase of democratic restoration was called for, linked to international trends towards democratization in these years. However, Aquino had to ally herself with some former Marcos supporters who had changed sides to guarantee her presidency. Marcos and his family left for exile on Hawaii, with US military help, taking with them a fortune in gold, jewels, pearls, cash and more. He died in 1989 on Hawaii and struggles broke out about his burial. Corazon Aquino neglected a burial in the Philippines. It took another president later on to allow for bringing his body for a new burial to the Philippines (Blitz 2010: 61; Quimpo 2008: 01). Together it were tumultuous protests, but no violent revolution, to the surprise of many:

“Hardly anyone expected the so-called “New Society” to end in a non-violent way. Having installed itself by arms, it was logical to think it could only be ended by arms. (...) No one believed that the Marcos could be removed in the way he was actually removed. The snap elections called by him in February 1986, on the prompting of the United States, paved the way for Cory Aquino’s totally unexpected rise to the presidency. Having officially lost the election, Cory did not draw her mandate from that election. She drew it rather from the peaceful People Power revolution that broke out in the aftermath of the stolen snap election. That is what justified the declaration of a revolutionary government as soon as Cory assumed the presidency. For nearly one-and-a-half years after assuming the presidency, Cory ruled under a so-called “Freedom-Constitution” which gave her more powers than Marcos ever enjoyed.” (David 2017: 220)

4.2.3. Overcoming Dictatorship

What followed cannot be repeated here in as much detail as the times of Marcos, since the focus will be on the production and discussion of history of the years before 1990 in the following. However, it matters to understand the further development of the Philippines, not the least to contextualize the production of history to come.

Most important for Corazon Aquino to come to power was that opposition united behind one person, one person supported as well by the Church as other society groups. Put differently:

Only with the support of the Church and its actors Corazon Aquino was seen not only as a realistic, but as ‘the right’ candidate to run (Kunz 1995: 147ff.). At the same time this meant, that other oppositional forces, especially the New Peoples Army and linked political forces, lost moment and influence in these times. However, the Philippines returned to the international stage as seen liberal democracy and economic aid came in in vast amounts (Törnquist 1998: 118). But this was no time of stability. Even though a new constitution got developed and was enacted in 1987, a constitution that re-enacted the presidential system, but with less presidential power, several coups – the counts go up to six – took place and the overall government remained rather weak and fragile. Conflicts between elite groups soon broke out again after Marcos was out of power, especially about the way of further development after the shared goal to get Marcos out of power was reached. This did not mean democracy as aim, or first a new constitution, were denied, but further details contested, all this limiting the opportunity of the Aquino government to govern in full support. And the Corazon Aquino government, too, used violence against protests and upheavals, as in 1987 in what was declared a ‘massacre’ by opponents leaving 18 farmers dead after a so declared peaceful demonstration. Additionally, there have been other extrajudicial killings. The economy still suffered, further burdened by natural disasters. However, US support was strong, as long as US interest were considered, as a stable market for business interests and close links to ‘the West’. At the same time a partially new relationship to the USA was looked for, including the not renewal of the military base treaties. In December 1992 the last US base closed down. But the USA did not protest, since with the end of the perceived Cold War the importance of ongoing military presence was questioned in the USA, too (see Blitz 2010: 62; Conroy Franco 2001: 291; David 2017: 220; Juan 2017: 17).

Corazon Aquino ruled until 1992 and allowed for a peaceful transition to her successor Fidel Ramos. Within her government she quelled seven attempts to overthrow her government and to reestablish a military dictatorship. To prevent military opposition to gain strength she had to come closer to the military, who accused parts of her government as Communists (Nadeau 2008: 95ff.). And this closeness to the military was kept by her successor, who also kept strong ties to the USA, beside them not having any military post on the Philippine islands left. Geopolitically and economically the USA remained strongly interested in the Philippines and Ramos kept strong ties along these lines (Juan 2017: 17). In internal politics Ramos aimed for so called ‘reconciliation’, including the move to allow Marcos to be buried in the Philippines. Imelda Marcos had already returned to the Philippines and run against Ramos for presidency in 1992. Another move was to seek peace with Communist actors and insurgents as well as Muslim

rebels on Mindanao. To also appease those that participated strongly in Marcos dictatorship, especially the police and military, he signed a general, but also conditional amnesty in mid-1994. This all finally allowed for a peace agreement with the Moro National Liberation Front in 1995, that was signed in 1996. Only a minor group remained in armed resistance afterwards and the most Muslim coined region of the Philippines switched back and forth between peace and conflict, rebuilding, development and conflict (Marshall & Keough 2004: 235). All this led to only partial 'reconciliation', but to a strengthening of national government. Organized civil society, that had played a major role in the protests against Marcos, had lost ground under Corazon Aquino, and further lost influence under Ramos. Exception to this was the Church, that had gained even more power with its role in transition and remained highly powerful in Philippine politics and society. With publishing houses, newspapers and radio stations owned by the Church, media influence was high. And official statements of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines proved influential in 1986 and the years coming, combining moral authority and political interests. And the overall politics remained highly personalized – as a constant feature of Philippine politics in democratic and authoritarian times – and based on neo-feudal structures of dependency and classism, limiting broad civil society participation and developments towards a plural democracy. Instead the system remained one strongly based on central positions as the presidency and governors (Kunz 1995: 89ff. & 159; Törnquist 1998: 118).

Next election in 1998 brought former vice president and movie actor Joseph Ejercito 'Erap' Estrada to power, mainly by the poorest parts of society due to his pledge to develop the agricultural sector to overcome massive poverty. Another major topic for him was declared to fight crime and corruption, especially corruption in the administration, military and judiciary (Nadeau 2008: 104). At the same time a lure for authoritarian rule remained and a new image of the Marcos years got more and more powerful. This began with simple messages, declaring the leave of Marcos without shooting at the protestors a sign of greatness (a story surviving these years, see for example Agpalo 2007: 149ff.). The years of Marcos were never more or less fully worked off, but more put aside, since the presidency of Ramos under labels like 'reconciliation'. The idea, that authoritarian rule could solve challenges remained strong in the Philippines and was renovated always again not only by the Marcos family. Always major challenges occurred the call for authoritarian rule came out with verve: authoritarian rule lured and democracy remained fragile (David 2017: 230ff.). That allowed Estrada to rule in a very personalized and 'strong leader'-manner in the years of the Asian Financial crisis. Major challenge was the ongoing conflict in Mindanao, bringing Estrada to declare war against the

Moro Islamic Liberation Front. But soon Estrada lost support – due to massive involvement in corruption, leading to popular protests against him and finally the end of his presidency. Against all lure to authoritarian rule democracy and its constitutional barriers could withhold this time (Nadeau 2008: 105f.):

“Estrada’s political image began to fade as he boasted of his many mistresses and surrounded himself with his gambling buddies and business and drinking partners. In the Philippines, access to the president is a great advantage, as all government contracts in excess of 50 million pesos require approval from the president. (...) On December 7 [2000], the Senate began impeachment hearings on Estrada for bribery and corruption charges. (...) By January 2001, however, the Senate impeachment trial lost momentum as the senators voted 11 to 10 not to open incriminating bank records, which brought the impeachment trial to a halt. (...) [S]enators resigned in disdain, as citizen went to the streets in a People Power II revolution demanding Estrada’s resignation. The number of protesters grew to half a million, and on January 19, major military leaders and police joined them and put their support behind Vice President Gloria Macapagal for President. In a stubborn show of resistance, Estrada called his supporters among the poor masses to stage a large People’s Power III rally in an effort to face down the opposition. On January 20, the armed forces withdrew their support from Estrada, and the Supreme Court declared “vacant” the presidency and then declared Vice President Macapagal Arroyo the new president. She was sworn into office the same day.” (Nadeau 2008: 105f.)

With Gloria Macapagal Arroyo the Philippines got the second female president within about a decade. However, this did not end patriarchic structures in society at all. Corazon Aquino always stood at least as strongly for her dead husband as for herself, for some she remained a kind of replacement. And Gloria Macapagal Arroyo remained for many the daughter of the last president before Marcos, of Diosdado Macapagal. Taking this, it would be at least problematic to take two female presidents as evidence for gender equality or even a less patriarchic-heteronormative setting in the Philippines (see Chin & Mohd Daud 2018: 04f.). The government of Macapagal Arroyo, too, faced strong conflicts, fractious coalitions and a military coup attempt leading to the declaration of a state of rebellion. And while people protests put Estrada out of office, other popular protests tried to keep him in. And this game of forces remained intact under the Macapagal Arroyo presidency (Quimpo 2008: 01f.):

“Political and social turbulence has not just been a phenomenon of the authoritarian and postauthoritarian periods in the postcolonial Philippines. (...) The Philippines’ apparent proneness to political and social ruptures has to be viewed within the context of the country’s

grave social disparities, especially those based on class and ethnic cleavages.” (Quimpo 2008: 02)

However, in 2003 Macapagal Arroyo decided to run for a second term and won the election in 2004. Only one year later evidence for a probable fraud became public, which Macapagal Arroyo admitted partly, but not completely. She refused to step down and impeachment failed.⁴ But also attempts of Macapagal Arroyo failed to change the constitution to allow herself stay powerful in a new to be established rule as prime minister. Even though major changes occurred in independent Philippines in political organization over all the years since independence, some roadblocks of constitutional organization proofed themselves quiet stable and lasting (Eaton 2002: 93). Nevertheless, a lure for authoritarian rule in the Philippines remained – linked to attempts for more presidential power to allow for further society ‘change’ –, and there have been ongoing attempts for a positive presentation of the deceased Ferdinand Marcos.⁵ The second term of Macapagal Arroyo ended with various scandals, as illegal killings and illegal deals. Even though, she was succeeded in a democratic election in 2010 by Benigni Simeon Aquino III, son of Corazon Aquino. One major challenge at the end of the term of Macapagal Arroyo was that economy struggled strongly; the domestic economy remained vulnerable for foreign capital influences and many Filipin@s, especially women, searched for work outside the Philippines – making themselves together a valuable commodity for Philippian economy, the Oversea Filipino Workers (OFWs), who worked manly in low-paid jobs as nurses or household help. This way each year billions of US-Dollars came and still come in. And this necessity of especially female-read mobility changed the model-mother-image in the

⁴ Experiences like these kept the image of a partly ‘failed state’ of the Philippines intact – in international perspectives, but also domestic perspectives. Politics remained an area of struggle, polarization and widely viewed with high skepticism. “It has always seemed that we [Filipin@s] are more burdened by politics than served by it, more preoccupied with reacting to recurrent political crisis than with attending to the crucial tasks of governance. The Filipino people’s efforts to find enduring answers to persistent questions have led to experimentations with various sytems of government and various modes of removing governments. Yet the questions have remained: How do we make our elections honest and fair? How can we make our people vote for the competent and qualified rather than for the merely popular? How do we stop corruption in government? How do we make politics and government work for us so that, instead of being a burden, they become the Filipino nation’s tool for long-term survival and growth? If there were easy answers to these questions, I suppose we would not find ourselves in the kind of recurrent political crisis that we have had.” (David 2017: 214)

⁵ E. g. in 2006 was written about Marcos: “What Marcos had successfully achieved during his pañgulo regime (1972-1986) will never be done again after him in the near or distant future; in other words, his feat was unique. No Filipino leader today and in the future will be or would be authorized to perform all the roles he played in 1972-1986, for after what he had done in 1972. 1986, it would not be allowed or authorized once more by the Filipino people. That Marco succeeded in being authorized by the people and by the Supreme Court to play all, or practically all, the roles of a constitutional dictator, boggles the mind of man, whether in the Philippines or outside (...). But that Marcos succeeded in his herculean labors in the Philippines, to establish a New Society and carry out the Democratic Revolution constitutionally and legally, without making use of the French Jacobin revolution was, and will be unique. In brief, Marcos was and remains unique, owing to his intelligence and vision, his indomitable will, and his herculean personality and character.” (Agpalo 2007: 149).

Philippines in the 2000s and coming 2010s. Instead of the ideal of staying at home and giving care, the new ideal was the 'Filipina' 'loving' 'her' family so much to be willing to go abroad to sacrifice the own happiness, even the own body, for the 'best' for 'her' 'family' and 'nation' (see Solomon Amorao 2018: 38). Despite these developments, poverty and economic struggle remained major topics for Philippine society overall.

Benigni Simeon Aquino III. Claimed for his presidency to fight poverty and corruption, to establish transparency and a booming market with the new industrialization of the Philippines. Most importantly he tried to establish himself as 'not-corrupt', 'honest' and not only working along self-interest:

“Politics in the Philippines, with all the patronage and corruption, has been regarded as so murky that ordinary Filipinos have come to derogatorily refer to most politicians as *trapos*. A Filipino term of Spanish origin, *trapo* is an old rag that is used to wipe dirt from any surface and ends up collecting all kinds of grime (...). *Trapo* began to be used early in the [Corazon] Aquino period to mean corruption, fraud, or terrorism, especially those closely linked with powerful political families. Since the early 1990s, the term has become so widely used that many politicians [as Benigni Simeon Aquino III early on] have made great efforts to avoid getting tagged as such and to protect themselves as being non-*trapo* or even anti-*trapo*.” (Quimpo 2008: 04)

Economy grew in this term, but the country was also hit by natural disasters as a major Typhoon in 2013 and regional struggles as on Mindanao. In 2014 another major peace treaty with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front could be signed. And in the same year a treaty opened the Philippines as major military base for the USA again, a step verified by the Philippine Supreme Court in 2016. In foreign policy questions especially tensions with China rose, as about land and sea disputes. All the while the Philippines remained highly depend on neo- and post-colonial ties, especially to the USA (see for example Juan 2017: 20f.).⁶

In 2016 Rodrigo Roa Duterte was elected as president of the Philippines, the first president from Mindanao, before mayor of Davao City on Mindanao. He positioned himself as not-Manila, not-politician, but 'ordinary Filipino', while being linked to bending the law, being sexist and racist, 'speaking up' to canalize anger, prejudices and protest into votes for him. For him elections were a form of protest. First major focus of him was the so labeled 'Drug War', along the promise to wipe out criminality alongside drugs. Under his presidency Ferdinand Marcos was reburied at Libingan ng Mga Bayani, the official cemetery for national heroes.

⁶ “From the viewpoint of the *longue duree*, the history of the Philippines may be read as one long chronicle of the people's resistance against imperialism, a struggle sustained by over twelve million OFWs dispersed around the world laboring for justice, in defense of their human dignity.” (Juan 2017: 20)

Beside fighting ‘drugs’ with violence and death he allowed for martial law in Mindanao for 60 days to fight so labelled ‘Islamist groups’ there in an urban battle in Marawi. However, at the same time under president Duterte the creation of an autonomous Muslim region (the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao) on Mindanao made major steps ahead. On the economic side Duterte established what he called DuterteNomics, grounded in the building of infrastructure and industrialization. In short, by building massive infrastructure poverty was to be reduced. The educational sector was another major topic, allowing for more free higher education (see for example David 2017: 250ff.). In 2022 he was succeeded by Ferdinand Romualdez Marcos Jr., son of Ferdinand Marcos, with the daughter of Duterte, Sara Zimmerman Duterte-Carpio as vice president. Latest in 2022 the ‘reframing’ of Marcos times was widely successful.

4.2.4. Philippine society ‘today’

What is ‘today’? Well – every ‘today’-moment passes, and in writing a book it gets nearly ridiculous to write of any ‘today’. But using this term is nevertheless an attempt to grasp an impression of the actual situation when in writing – so it might be called ‘today from the writing perspective’, or in short ‘today’.

Still, it is important to keep a post-colonial perspective when writing about the Philippines. Even though struggling for domestic development directions, transnational influences have been and remain strong. Not the least this holds true since Philippine economy is so strongly depending on OFWs, and by this, decisions for example in the USA, have strong impacts on the Philippines. Against stand ‘promises’ – others label it ‘fantasies’ – of liberation and self-control, nowadays in searching for a strong regional position, playing the biggest powers in the region, and propagating home rule by politicians like Duterte (see for example Juan 2017: 144). The role and importance of OFWs marked the Philippines for long years; and their importance does not help to overcome high inequality within the Philippines, upheld by different money flows from the outside into the Philippines, but also the international ‘use’ of the Philippines for cheap, but English-speaking labor. This ‘helps’ against unemployment, but not to overcome inequality. And it only widens the divides between those left behind and those standing for ‘modern Philippines’. Many Philippian regions have struggled many years from human rights violations and arbitrary killings while others ‘moved forward’; one reason for the rise of Duterte and than Ferdinand Marcos, Jr. (see for example Juan 2017: xif.).

Within the Philippines – as globally – inequality remains a major challenge. As hinted at in briefly discussing the two female presidents, gender equality is far from being a reality, neither

in a binary sense nor in a more fitting diffuse gender conception. Still *inter alia* ‘adultery’ is considered a major offense by large parts of Philippian society and holding human rights up against these perceptions proves challenging. Here catholic social norms prove their ongoing (problematic) influence even though the power of the catholic church as such is contested (Renshaw 2019: 83). Connected are question of sex education in schools as human rights, how to implement reproductive rights, or sexual and reproductive rights as human rights. Two main questions here are actual education and access to information and contraceptive choices. While both clearly is to be marked as minimal standard to guarantee sexual rights as human rights and by this a major part of gender equality, such measures face strong opposition in society and especially from institutionalized church actors, who had gained and remained influential in independent Philippines, and strongly argued to keep all regulation in line with traditional church teaching. Within these discourses the Church, especially the Bishop’s Conference intermixes arguments along the lines of ‘church teaching’ and ‘the morals’ of ‘the people.’ These actors present themselves as spokespersons of ‘the people’, ‘telling’ what ‘the people’ want and are against, by this fostering more conservative and especially heteronormative patriarchic positions in society. Constructed they put ‘human values’ in opposition to ‘human rights’, to undermine the latter and fight in the name of the first against effective equality and especially sexual and reproductive rights. And this is nothing of the past, and nothing done by a very small or minor influential group, but a major society struggle with one side strongly backed by the Church and their actors (Renshaw 2019: 87). “The idea that access to technologies of reproductive choice contravenes not merely Catholic morality but the morality of the nation is a powerful ideological argument, one that is difficult for religious people, or patriots, to refute.” (Renshaw 2019: 88) But against such opposition sexual rights and reproductive health have been formally established in the Philippines in the 2010s and are upheld by the Supreme Court. This may show, that despite strong struggles and a still powerful conservative and Church actors advancements towards more human rights and equality, at least on the paper, have been reached. However, discourses along these lines remain powerful and mark society divides in the Philippines with an at least problematic role played by major Church officials (Renshaw 2019: 88).⁷

⁷ The problematic lasting view on so read ‘women’ in the Philippines can be seen in participant-observer descriptions like this: “I could not believe it when I first learned that among many working class Filipino couples, what the westernized among us call love-making is referred to as “*paggamit*” or use of a women’s body, and in “*gusto akong gamitin kagabi*” (he wanted to use me last night). But a path-breaking book, *Luto ng Diiyos* (1995), a study of Filipino sexuality, authored by University of the Philippines (UP) Psychology Professor Grace Aguilin-Dailsay et al., vividly documents this phenomenon and shows that it cuts across social classes and ethno-religious boundaries. It is obvious that this linguistic convention is very much embedded in a discourse that instrumentalizes the women in our culture. Therefore, the subjectification (as opposed to the objectification) of women must begin

Tackling the various forms of inequality remains a major challenge for the Philippines. Many who do not see any chance within the Philippines, but are able to work abroad, opt for this way, not matter the costs. While some parts of society see even this road blocked, many others see their only chance in leaving. This partly explains, why the Philippines have one of the largest diasporas of the world, comparative to Mexico. In comparison to population size at least in Southeast Asia the Philippian diaspora is undisputed the highest. And this only worsens inequality within the Philippines, as by the aspect that about three quarter of the OFWs are by passport ‘women’. And their work abroad is nothing taken as ‘stroke of destiny’, caused by postcolonial developments within the Philippines, but even positively marked, propagated and fostered by the state itself. Some even frame it the following way, with a highly problematic silencing of violence and genocidal developments within the maafa of enslavement: “The relentless marketing of Filipino labor is an unprecedented phenomenon, rivaled only by the trade of African slaves and Asian indentured servants in the previous centuries”. (Juan 2017: 02) Even though this goes too far in wording, it shows what a disaster the dependency on OFWs is for the Philippines as a state, but especially as a society.

But there is another effect of all these OFWs and their society importance. Encountering other cultures and political systems many of them nevertheless only seldom lose contact to the Philippines. Instead they became and are powerful and heard within Philippine society demanding inter alia higher democratic standards. And this links them to early oversea Filipin@s who worked or studied in Europe or the USA, from Spanish rule onwards. With modern communication their influence even grew in the last years, making diasporas culture and influence even more important for the Philippines (David 2017: 173). And with their money send to the Philippines society changed and is changing, visible inter alia in growing higher education in poorer segments of society. Remittances from OFWs stand for the global dependency of the Philippines, but are a chance at the same time, changing education, but consumption and the spread of media, too. And, to close the circle, the spread of modern media fostered the upholding of connections to OFWs again at the same time. All of this has and is changing the society of the Philippines strongly, and in parts from bottom up (David 2017: 174). One reason for the importance of OFWs for transitions, too, is the problem of development and gaining influence within the Philippines. Many studies have been conducted discussing various facets of the interlinked problems, as clientelism, an elite democracy and factors of dependency

with their recovery of control over their own bodies. Only a person conscious of her own entitlements as an autonomous subject can claim control of her body and the whole of her life, for that matter. Many Filipino women suffer the brutality and violence of the men in their lives because they are conditioned not to see themselves as persons.” (David 2017: p. 42)

along neo- or post-colonial lines. One factor here is that less than about one hundred families de facto control the economy of the Philippines and by this, at least indirectly, politics. And at least some political conflicts can be explained as conflicts between ‘families’ or linked groups or the fight to keep or regain privileges (Maestro Yarza 2001: 204f.). But none of these pictures for itself is descriptive as such, all cover only factors and aspects. As discussed before, one of these aspects is the influence of some families, dynasties or actors over others, regional and local dependencies, an elite competing within itself. On the other hand, there are movements for more popular influence, for a ‘democracy from below’, and politicians as Duterte knew and know how to use such demands in their favor, without reaching actual participatory democracy. Within the whole political and societal system of the Philippines the surface of democracy plays a major role; even in the years of Marcos dictatorship democratic elements were stressed or formally preserved. It most of the time counted more to manipulate a vote than to not vote at all. Against this, demands arise and arose for more participation; following for example the major influence of popular activities to overcome Marcos, Estrada or to get political activity directed at corruption or manipulation (see for such developments in the 2000s for example Quimpo 2008: 09f.). And the rise of Duterte stands symbolically for struggles alike that mark(ed) Philippine politics not only in the recent years. Part of this are fights out of democratic boundaries, be it of ‘leftist’, self labelled ‘communist’ groups or ‘Islamic’ groups or even terrorists. What did not or does not see any representation within the system fought or fights for representation, or more often their own agenda as such outside the system, not seldom with violence as the mean of choice. One area of conflicts here is civil society and influence within, as between established power-groups, for example the catholic Church, and others claiming a necessity to be heard better, against networks of dependency and clientelisms also powerful within. Here bridges from mass movements to activist groups and spokespersons mark the developments and (partly) decide who remains in their activity outside the boundaries of formal democracy, who tries to change from within, opts for involvement within democratic discursive lines, or the outside (see for developments in the ‘left’ here for example Quimpo 2008: 116ff.). Looking at these developments lines can be drawn between many countries of South America and the Philippines, since in many countries of South America struggles between an elitist concept of democracy and developments towards a more participatory democracy coined the 2000s and 2010s, too, with advancements for example towards new constitutions re-framing states as Ecuador or Bolivia as *plurinacional*, and by this more complex and diffuse open, but also ‘backlashes’ as elections of populist, but clientelist, or straight elitist politicians as Jair Messias Bolsonaro in Brazil or Sebastián Piñera in Chile, as to be discussed later. These

developments have to be analyzed taking the long time tradition and power of clientelism in most of these countries as background, not neglecting that even those countries nowadays declaring themselves to be not clientelist, non-elitist and fully participatory have had a long time of effective clientelism in politics and it at least partly remains intact no matter the ‘re-labelling’. But the straightforward and open elitist democracy got into crisis, in the Philippines, latest after Marcos, but also in many countries of South America, especially after experiences of authoritarian rule, as in Chile, Argentina or Brazil. Taking Chile, this rule was linked to a widening society divide as along extreme poverty. And as in the Philippines in Chile or Brazil the question of how to overcome massive poverty remained high on the agenda after authoritarian rule was overcome and brought into power diverse actors with various promises, but a major stress on the question of poverty as center of the specific agenda. This can be seen for example looking at the Frente Amplio in Uruguay or the Partido dos Trabalhadores in Brazil. One connected major frame in many of these places, be it Chile or the Philippines, was the struggle over terms as ‘neoliberalism’ respectively its reality or overcoming it (see for the developments in the 2000s for example Quimpo 2008: 306f.). And all of this again was and is linked, in the Philippines or many countries of South America, to geopolitical and transnational interests and interferences. Not being able to discuss all of them here, taking as an example US interests within the design of a containment strategy influencing developments and development choices as well in the Philippines as South America (see Maestro Yarza 2001: 44). And nowadays US-China-tensions play a similar role with at least some countries at times trying to playing out these powers.

Long time these interferences with international power actors lead to the attempt to ‘unify’ all islands of the Philippines under one umbrella, that was chosen mostly in symbolical manner, be it one flag, one language or one ‘shared’ history. A country highly distinctive over all its history, and still highly distinctive and bringing together multiple cultures and traditions, tried in its first years of independence to overcome the perceived connected threat of divide by stressing the shared, on the cost of distinctiveness. And there have been arguments for acting alike, as powers working for separation or at least far reaching autonomy, as in Mindanao since the Philippines became an independent republic. These attempts to unify by stressing the shared and neglecting the diversity found a height under Marcos and can be witnessed in projects like the writing of ‘one’ history of the Philippines. One field of major debates about diversity after overcoming Marcos became languages. The Philippines chose one national language next to English as independent nation-state, Tagalog, of which Filipino was developed. Other languages were neglected, especially in official contexts as in education (David 2017: 187ff.).

However, “in the post-colonial years, especially in those societies marked by cultural diversity, the designation of a national language was thought crucial to the task of nation-building and political integration.” (David 2017: 187) Against this beside the ‘official’ native language of the Philippines, Filipino, all other languages of the Philippines were seen as much less important, especially since with the growth of international entanglement next to Filipino English remained of major importance or even got more important. Especially with the huge dependency on OFWs English as language was stressed in Philippine education and administration. But stressing English and Filipino solitarily led to the exclusion of major minorities whose access to education was limited. Not only English-knowledge and mastery, but also the knowledge of and mastery in Filipino divided society and these knowledges marked class belonging and were linked to status and influence. At the same time these divides developed into a challenging problem to bring together all Filipin@s, to speak of the connecting beside all diversity. Especially elite actors had and often still have a major difficulty to interconnect with huge parts of the population. And this divide went along cultural productions, with comics clearly not-English for many years, but a more ‘popular’ media, and by this marked as not ‘high culture’ (see inter alia David 2017: 187). However, in the 2010s major changes occurred in language policies – and this not only in the Philippines. By 2012 a new law made the 12 major local languages in different regions of the Philippines official languages in education – a shift towards education along mother tongues and multi-linguality of the Philippines at the same time. This did not change everything and never endangered the domination of Filipino and English, but at the same time is more than a symbolic act to understand Philippine unity in diversity instead of in homogeneity (see for example David 2017: 190). However, there remain major dividing lines, as in media usage, making books and newspaper even at many universities less and less seen instead of digital media to interconnect and get informed (David 2017: 98). On the other hand, stressing local differences in the Philippines allows to acknowledge the importance of local political connections as base for national politics. Regional differences within the Philippines are huge, and a balance of highly different interests is an ongoing challenge not to stress only particular interests and at the same time not ignoring regional specifics. The political system of the Philippines still is only stable, if regionalism is allowed for and recognized, if decentralization is more than a lose aim. And for this stand regional languages now even as official languages of education. But the other side of the coin is, that, not only from a centralist perspective, a binding element is needed not to drive everything apart but keep more than the image of ‘one Philippines’ intact. Finding a way here without stressing only on side is the ‘high art’ of Philippines politics, and a challenge

always again. While many years, as under Marcos, the so constructed shared and common was stressed, now the stress is since years more on ‘unity in diversity’ which coins Philippines society and politics (see for the early 2000s for example Eaton 2002: 205ff.), not neglecting different attempts of politics working against each other at the same time.

4.3. Comics in the Philippines

4.3.1. Developments towards the early 1960s.

The Philippines has a long-lasting comic tradition. But for sure it is a different tradition to other long-lasting comic traditions of the larger region, as of Japan with a highly differentiated and developed tradition (see Yonzon 2009: 08). Instead, comic culture in the Philippines developed more as a culture of masses. Not high skilled art, but readability and entertainment were key elements here. With the boost in literacy after the US occupation – under Spanish rule the Philippines remained on purpose highly illiterate – cartoons were the first form of comics to develop. They combined other new developments coming with the US occupation as the legal possibility of a critical look at Christianity or freer discourses. And US-Americans brought US comics with them, too, that were fast adapted and changed on this road. Bringing all this together Philippine comics, first especially cartooning, got a boost and rose in significance inter alia in discussing politics (Yonzon 2009: 09). This makes Philippine comic culture, especially its cartooning culture, one of US origin(, too) or at least highly US influenced. However, it is not, and never has been a US comic culture in the Philippines, but a Philippian comic culture based on the US first influence. There is a Philippine tradition for many comic genres, especially in humor and adventure strips. And there are unique drawing styles or contents, making them Philippian and the main characters appearing alike. All these ingredients combine to the unique Philippian comic culture (Lent 2009a: 59). And even though new influences were included in the comic culture, as by Japanese occupation in World War II, a significant and unique Philippine comic culture remained intact. One key pillar of this culture was and remained small comic strips and cartoons. Even though the Philippines were ruled by the United States then, no dependency on US comics was established. But what was established in this time of US occupation was the significance of comics in the ever-developing Philippine culture. This led to the development and establishment of a linked specific kind of Philippine humor. Under US rule Philippian comic culture did not remain limited mostly to cartoons and newspaper comic strips, but developed further in specific magazines, that carried not US comic strips, but Philippian ones (Lent 2009a: S. 35).

Another major step soon followed the formal independence. Now Filipino comic books appeared more widely on the market, the so called '*komiks*'. And this new form of entertainment became key element of Philippine culture in short time. Most first were published every 14 days, then weekly. Base were mostly before popular novels, that had a major importance for Philippine culture before and were read widely across the population. But *komiks* were not only illustrated novels – appearing as serials – but illustrated short stories or 'classical' comic strips, too. These *komiks* not only became popular because of their content, but because of their price, too, being cheaper than most magazines (Jurilla 2008: 127). "In the succeeding decades, comic books would achieve a phenomenal popularity, and their publishing would become an industry in itself." (Jurilla 2008: 127) What now began was the later so called 'golden age' of *komiks*, surely starting in the 1950s, but with various perspectives on its ending, from the mid-1960s, that is the beginning of the Marcos time, to the mid-1980s, that would be the end of Marcos rule. Most see its end somewhere in between. This will be discussed in more depth in the following chapter, here it is important to stress, that from Philippine independence to the begin of Marcos rule *komiks* had a high time. In the fast-developing industry artists and writers used the new opportunity to 'speak' freely after war-time limitations, they blurred media and genre borders, to create the huge universe of *komiks*. Within the *komik*-universe various artistic styles flourished, often depending on the concrete media, as a general difference between the publication of *komiks* as books or their partly use in newspapers for example. But with more popularity came a more nuanced market and industry, *komiks* as books and comics/*komiks* in newspaper became more and more two separated departments of the industry, but pictured novels or comic strips, too (Lent 2009a: 46).

Many long-lasting careers in this sector started in these years, of artists remaining active for decades. However, *komiks* were not 'high art' but a mass product, published in high numbers in shortest time periods. The industry covered not only many people working in it, it covered multiple genres and very high revenues (Lent 2009c: 72). One specific of this industry was that its products were close to all written not in English, as parts of the overall literary production, but in Tagalog, with some specific twists making it a '*komik-Tagalog*' (Lent 2009a: 59). *Komiks* were a new form of media in the 1940s but soon their importance in Philippine culture was much more than being a niche. Especially since they appeared as serials, they could maintain high significance over years (Jurilla 2008: 45). The *komik* "eventually would become the favorite reading matter of the masses and would sell copies in the millions every week." (Jurilla 2008: 45) This influenced the wider culture, too. Until today some *komik* heroes or heroines, or for that matter *komik* villains, have their impact on the overall culture. This starts

with certain expressions or phrases and does not end with shared visual codes. Many personal stories told are linked to komik narratives and komik narratives are used to construct in an understandable manner descriptions and frames. This is linked to a certain pride about the komik tradition of the Philippines at times (see for example Yonzon 2009: 08). Linked artists and writers became known names or even icons, some in the 'golden age', and some beyond. At the same time komiks in the Philippines were generally more literature than magazine, having a major focus on the narration that kept the readers buying the next volume for years (Jurilla 2008: 131ff.). "The comic book functioned primarily to satisfy the public demand for fiction." (Jurilla 2008: 132)

In the 1950s reading komiks was an activity not only of Metro Manila, as many other cultural segments, but spread all along the Philippines, supporting the spread of Tagalog as one central language. And it became an ordinary activity in daily life to read komiks. This made komiks one cornerstone of the developing Philippine culture, allowing it respectively this segment of it to be shared over all islands, no matter differences in culture or languages (see Jurilla 2008: 148). But this did not come uncriticized. Quite contrary, with rising popularity criticism rose, too, not only in numbers, but in intensity also. And this critique was linked to rising crime rates, media attention on juvenile delinquency as in Manila, ingredients bringing Marcos to power soon. And not so few linked these developments to komiks and their popularity as them not only showing but popularizing crimes or violence. For some parts of the komik industry self-censorship was the reaction, for others not. This not only diversified the industry more, it did not cut the popularity of komiks neither (Jurilla 2008: 141).

On the one hand this stable popularity was used and instrumentalized more in the 1960s. It was increasingly positively connotated, even from scientific-academic actors, who before much more neglected komiks and their cultural value. Now more and more komiks were seen and stressed as a form of literature, and more specifically a promising form of literature, that could be used to educate Filipin@s, to influence them and to get in touch with life experiences at the same time. All these links connected to komiks playing their role in the Marcos years, in relation to the handling of komiks, too (Jurilla 2008: 129). But even before these years the seen potentials got more attention. Parallel to developments in the USA comics/komiks changed in the 1960s, new genres and types were developed. And this led to the reorganization of the linked industry, but to the strategic use of komiks to for example spread Tagalog as official language uniting the country at the same time. This function existed before, now it was used more strategically (Lent 2015: 190). And komiks were used in the attempts of 'developing' the Philippines, spreading ideals, 'educating' the masses and influence by campaigns via komiks.

‘Development comics’ were no Philippian invention, but they flourished there as not in many other places. These komiks stand in line with other forms of ‘development policies’ also coined in parts in the Philippines as ‘development journalism’ or ‘development communication’. Behind these ‘development komiks’ stood Philippian and transnational actors, often linked to international population policy attempts that ‘defined’ the concept of ‘development’ in these years (see for example Faust-Scalisi 2014a & 2014b). The most important actors in the Philippines in this area were the Population Center and the government institution ‘National Media Production Center’, that published these ‘development komiks’, mostly handling ‘family planning’. This was linked to academic research about these komiks and their impact, mostly conducted by the University of the Philippines Institute of Mass Communication and the Department of Development communication at Los Baños, testing how to raise the ‘efficiency’ of these komiks (Lent 2009c: 81).

On the other hand, this popularity led to another differentiation of the industry, at least in parts a split of it. This industry had been heterogenous before, as their products. Then to mainstream and popular entertainment an underground structure was added. Komiks had proven popular and highly profitable. At least the first aspect was to be used by underground komiks, that developed in the 1960s, with another acceleration in importance in the second half of the decade. One major topic of these underground komiks was pornography, a trend coming especially from the USA to the Philippines, linked with the idea of spreading ‘liberal ideas’ – so called ‘*bomba komiks*’. These pornographic underground komiks came out on the sly and were often much more expensive than the ‘classical’ industrial mass product (Jurilla 2008: 144). “Ironically, *bomba* culture flourished in a country where the Roman Catholic Church is politically powerful and societally censorious and at a time when the komiks industry was guided by a strict, self-imposed code.” (Lent 2009c: 75) Put differently, underground komiks were not a reaction to the popularity of mainstream komiks, but also their conformity in reaction to criticism, from Church and state actors, a criticism that grew in the 1960s. First company in the Philippines to establish such rules of self-censorship was Ace Publications, that followed 1955 the 1954 establishment of the US Comic Code (see for this Nyberg 1998). But aim was not one code of one company, but one for the whole industry. Result was the creation of the Association of Publishers and Editors of Philippine Comic-Magazines (APEPCOM). And this association soon took action, hand in hand with the Catholic Laymen’s Committee for Decency, and declared its aim to be to free komiks of unnecessary sex, horror, ‘gangsterism’, but also ‘wrong’ morality. This was made practice for the mass market, and with the years led to the

flourishing of underground komiks with much higher prices to price in the risks (Lent 2009c: 74ff.). And this risk grew with Marcos getting in power.

4.3.2. Comics and Ferdinand Marcos

In the first years of the Marcos' regime the impact of his policies on the komiks industry remained limited, even though some komiks were used by Marcos for advertisement up to plain propaganda. For this again it 'helped' that komiks were easily accessible in the Philippines. Written words were simple and straight, as opposed to a verbose and stylized language in classical novels; komiks were accessible and familiar at the same time. This made komiks ideal to be used as accessible propaganda, not only in the sense of 'development komiks', but along the same idea (Jurilla 2008: 145ff.). Another reason to use them as such was that the komiks readers were by far no children. Children komiks were more or less unknown in the Philippines until the 1970s, the average reader of komiks was mostly in the 20s up to early 30s, according to statistics predominantly female from the lower classes but with a university education (Jurilla 2008: 149). However, fast action was taken against certain komiks identified as opposition to the Marcos regime or its ideas at the same time from the beginning of Marcos' rule. But the lines followed here were far from clear-cut in the first Marcos years. One example for this is the komiks artists Nonoy Marcelo, popular since 1963. He played two roles at once, writing and editing for the industry and the government, as for the National Media Production Center. All the while he used something like a language code by mixing Tagalog and English, what permitted him to double-code and to support and to question the regime at the same time. This role was not without dangers. Marcelo lived outside the Philippines, in Hong Kong until 1970, before he moved to New York City. There he became more politically engaged and ended finally on the regimes blacklist and stayed there for years, which hindered his opportunity to return safely (Lent 2015: 194).

Major changes occurred with the declaration of martial law in September of 1972. First step was to close down almost all media, including the komiks industry, allowing to take control of them in their attempt to be allowed to reopen. Most media that got the official allowance to reopen did this under new names and owner structures and all remained under government control, especially content wise. Instead in the reopening komik industry the names remained as the publishers. Anyhow, conditions of publishing changed. Part here was a much stricter and more vivid comic code put into practice. The original code was mainly concerned to limit crime and sex in comics, the new one mainly took care that a positive government image was communicated, and the Philippines were pictured most beautifully. In the later 1950s sex moved

to underground komiks, now topics as poverty or social unrest. APEPCOM transformed in this time and became the Kapisanan ng mga Publisista at mga Patnugot ng mga Komiks-magasin sa Pilipino (KPPKP). Officially aim was to bring komiks in line with the governmental national development goals (Lent 2009c: 81f.).

At the same time komiks were used more bluntly for propaganda. Best known example here is the Metro Manila Commission who produced the komik “Superaide” in 1977 about a streetsweeper and his battle to fight litter and littering. This was thought to support government and governmental projects (Lent 2009c: 84f.). Another example are komiks propagating the so called ‘Green Revolution’. But all time the design was not only to propagate an aim, or some measures taken – as the ‘Green Revolution’ –, but the linked governmental action and policies. These komiks were quite direct instruments of propaganda. Other examples here are statal housing projects, propaganda for family planning services or other measures of population control. Internal migration was an issue the Marcos government tried to influence with komiks, too, trying to make the ongoing move to Manila appear less attractive and support all measures taken against the radical urbanization of Manila. However, these komiks were by far not as popular as ‘ordinary’ komiks, and not even as popular as the ‘development-komiks’. Their overall unpopularity can be linked to a generally very low quality of the illustrations, but also how bluntly they were propaganda. In the end this limited the propagandic scope of these komiks, but not the use of these komiks for propaganda. That remained a constant aspect of the Marcos komiks’ politics (Jurilla 2008: S. 145f.).

The shut-down of the komik industry with martial law ended officially only the legal komik trade, but the underground market could not work further on, too. The market was set completely dry. And all questions of ‘reopening’ were intermixed with the question of control as political aim. This led to a reduction in komiks numbers – only about half of the before published, in titles and their circulation, came back. Especially all ‘bomba komiks’ vanished from the market (Jurilla 2008: 144f.; Lent 2009c: 74). Economically those publishers allowed to reopen were the ones profiting from the decision. And compared to other media as TV and radio they surely were the lucky ones, since in those media reopening was much more restricted. Nevertheless, government control was the price to pay to be able to gain economically again. But many publishers were just too willing to pay this price (Jurilla 2008: 144f.). Other publishers or artists had more difficulties, as those before watched out by the regime, as for example Marcelo. He only found a way back to the Philippines after he made a kind of deal that he would work further on for the National Media Production Center and not publish anything that might be considered offensive by the Marcos administration. However, the deal

thought as safety net by the regime, did not work out. Instead, the National Media Production Center covered all Marcelo produced, the new employer was a security net for Marcelo, not the regime – whatever he draw, it was saved by the stamp of the National Media Production Center. Even though some cartoons were highly political and highly critical, Marcelo remained save and his cartoons unquestioned, were they not ‘official state products’? This way he went on to work even after the political end of Marcos, using the National Media Production Center as safety net in political and economic sense further on. That allowed him to grow his popularity further (Lent 2015: 194).

In the last decade of Marcos several changes occurred in the komik industry, beside blunt propaganda and the – as the Marcelo case shows – not always working attempts to censor all published komiks, as the development of children comics, to expand the readership to younger ones. Until the late 1970s only translated Disney comics existed for children, no Philippian alternatives. This changed with the Islas Filipinas Publishing Company and its *Pilipino Funny Komiks for Children* starting in 1978. This is not directly linked to action by the Marcos administration, but since his government remained harsh control of the komik publishers, it did not happen against its will, partly to keep the use of and demand for komiks high, to keep them usable for propaganda (Lent 2009c: 83). And with the end of martial law culture as such started to flourish more again. Part of this was the adaption of komiks in movies in the 1980s. Generally, a komik adaption was a guaranteed success, always a valuable investment. And the opposite way was established, too, to produce a komik for a movie to enhance the movies impact and success. This all was part of the cultural reopening in the last Marcos years (Lent 2009c: 96f.). Part of this development was more international visibility. One prime example here is Flor Afable Olazo who won the Catholic Mass Media Award in 1981 for a komik about abortion: “Isang Impit na Hiyaw sa Sinapupunan”, and even met the pope John Paul II as part of the win. Surely the ‘golden age’ was over, but a more diversified and heterogenous komik scene developed again, enlarging the media used, now having more links for example to film making (Gimena 2009: 126). But as the ‘abortion komik’ shows, still the educational/propaganda use was seen and taken as advantage. And even Marcos tried until the end of his government to use komiks for propaganda. In his bid for re-election in 1986 his campaign published a komik depicting the accomplishments of his administration, but also presented Ferdinand Marcos as a World War II war-hero, as he presented himself on several occasions. He became his own komik hero, a superhero of his own kind (Lent 2009c: 84f.). However, this did not stop the soon coming end of his administration. And this end of Marcos led to changes in the Philippine history of komiks and comic culture, too.

4.3.3. Comic culture after Ferdinand Marcos

But the re-democratization of the Philippines did not lead to a new flourishing komiks industry. Just the opposite, the strategic use and influence on komiks in the Marcos years discredited them in parts. And independent publishing had a hard time to recover. Plus, new media spread in the Philippines. However, it was a slow process of decline, from a still high plateau of popularity. Even in the late 1980s only radio was more popular and had more reception than komiks, not television, not magazines or newspapers or movies. However, popularity of komiks was constantly declining (Jurilla 2008: 157). And even those parts of the Philippine comic culture that would be considered profiting from a new freedom of expression did not do so much. Cartooning was under harsh pressure under the Marcos administration, but did not recover fully after the so called 1986 'People's Revolution'. The number of cartoonists, especially in Manila, did not decrease fast, but pressure on them was high, with low payment and high workloads. But it was not only economical pressure, but also not reaching the hoped for new discursive diversity, a freedom of expression not fully regained, that put pressure especially on cartooning. This was government pressure, but also business pressure not to report negatively of the Philippines to not scare of investment and 'development potential' (Lent 2009b: 28). "Cartoonists abide by the decisions, practicing very dangerous self censorship, again for economic reasons." (Lent 2009b: 28)

And with the 1990s the wave of new media competition came with full strength. TV became a mass product in the 1990s in the Philippines. And even on the market of paper publications new competition grew with romance novels. At the same time the major vending post for komiks declined, newsstands became fewer and fewer (Jurilla 2008: 158). At the same time investment in komiks declined with instable Philippines burdened by natural disasters and political turmoil. This led to less investment in the komik industry but also less purchasing power of most Filipin@s and by this a decline in demand, especially for serials in oppositional to singular issue komiks. This change in demand did not end the komiks market, but changed it, away from the before classical serials of novel-like endless stories towards single issues (Lent 2009c: 115). And in the cartooning business international developments played their role, too. These were processed by merger and consolidation, the higher corporation of newspapers turning them into a classical business even more than before. This made cartooning more centralized – fewer cartoonists for more cooperating newspapers – and less political at the same time, not to hurt business interests. And, as a trend coming from the US-market, political cartooning ended in some newspapers all along. However, against these trends Philippine cartooning survived, even

though more consolidated, since most newspapers reserved space for Philippian cartooning and cartoonists (Lent 2009b: 32). Additionally, komiks in the Philippines experienced an increase challenge regarding their quality. This is something that coined the later Marcos years, too, but became more visible in the 1990s. With economical pressure and more challenges combined it got harder to keep up the standards of before and get inspired artists and writers to join the market. And the saturated market did not help to get quality into the field in the 1990s neither, common reaction instead was to drop prices and quality to put out more and faster. For this stood the Roces monopoly in the 1990s with its strategy to get more market share with cheap and quickly produced komiks (Lent 2015: 198). The result was: “Komiks production steadily decreased as the 20th century ended. Many reasons were given, one of which pertained to lower quality in work in favor of speed and quantity.” (Lent 2009c: 114)

However, this is not the end of the story. Inasmuch as some comic artists and writers worked against these trends. From the early 1990s onwards, they started to publish comics independently, using local photocopy centers and publishing little numbers. Underground komiks of the pre-Marcos era worked mainly against the codes and self-censorship and produced in segments as pornography. The afterwards developing underground and self-publishing trend was much more differentiated and had inter alia the aim to produce more artistic work. And this is a trend that, even though it started slowly, became highly influential for Philippian comic culture. As in 2010 the majority of all new titles on the market were independent-‘photocopy’ editions. This was only possible with sharing ideas and working together in small collective like organizational forms, not touching the high diversity. One main outlet were university fairs, and they were less the ‘old’ adventure komiks but more inspired by the superhero theme (Lent 2015: 199). But it was not only self-publishing that saved the comic culture in the Philippines, even though it became kind of a norm in the 2000s. Some of those publishing independently even built up their own companies, publishing in commission for others beside their own, for local, national and foreign artists and publishers (Lent 2009c: 135). The other pillar of the survival – or a ‘revival’, as some call it – of Philippian comic culture have been graphic novels. This trend has two sides to it. First it is the popularity romance-novel-like-komiks had for a long time in independent Philippines. This resembled in parts in the demand for story-focused comics, as graphic novels are often and developed as such in the Philippines. Secondly this popularity was part of the fall of the komiks culture from the 1980s onwards, since economic turmoil lead to a breakdown in the demand for these komiks. Many could not afford anymore to buy these seemingly never ending komik serials. However, to this graphic novels reacted with being much less of the endless sort (Lent 2015: 200). Other

ingredient of the 'revival', beside the major role played by enthusiasts and eager artists, is their look at the Philippian komiks culture. Most active within did not and do not understand themselves as separated from the long-standing tradition but stress the importance of the 'golden years' but also of Japanese next to US influences on Philippian komiks and comic culture. However, the 'new' comics look different to the 'classical' komiks they are rooted in. As graphic novels the 'revival' as such has to be seen as a kind of development 'out' of the old, not making the same 'mistakes' again. These 'new comics' are, if possible, often in colors, as US comics, and look much more American than Philippian komiks before. And they often come in English, not in Tagalog anymore (or 'Taglish', that is Tagalog plus English in mixture). This makes them more accessible for some (less for others), as their remaining relatively cheap price. Nevertheless, they do not appeal to the masses anymore as komiks did before, they more appeal to 'cult lovers' or those looking out for them, less those running along the opportunity to buy them. This comes with changes in the outlet strategy, being sold mainly in specialized comic shops or magazine stands directed to an international or urban audience, selling mostly imported titles. All this makes comics more a Manila phenomenon than before (Jurilla 2008: 158). This is not to be confused with an overall more positive positioning of the Philippines towards the USA. The 'revival' was not only an adaption of US-trends but also a stable and in parts growing resistance to US-influences and its picturing of the Philippines as 'to be developed' in a neo-colonial and post-colonial manner. A perspective some academics worked against as 'orientalist' construction (see Quimpo 2008: 40). And some other parts of the larger komiks industry did not survive as well and healthy, as editorial cartooning. With new economic challenges in the 2000s and the continuation of before challenges, it could not recover. Newspaper digitalization was another flaw (Lent 2009b: 30). This does not mean editorial cartooning ended completely, but it did not regain importance and influence of before. Through all changes one aspect of Philippian comic culture remained. This is the use of comics or komiks to educate, 'develop' or raise 'social consciousness'. And here a consistency even from the Marcos time onwards can be witnessed, as with the Communication Foundation of the Philippines founded in 1980 and active there in using comics/komiks for development and education, in English and Tagalog. This segment even grew, with unregular developments. Examples here are a 2008 competition by the 'Commission on Filipinos Overseas – Task Force Against Human Trafficking' for comics scriptwriting on migration or the 'Adolescent Health Issues and Perspective Comics' on topics as puberty, adolescent sexuality or teenage pregnancy (Lent 2009c: 150).

But even though comics still play their role and survived the breakdown of the latter 1980s and 1990s, it is not realistic to speak of a new ‘golden age’ or ‘golden era’. The nowadays comics of the Philippines are not those of the early days of the republic, and their environment neither. Especially technology plays a role here, with more and more comics coming as e-comic, new audiences and new formats developing fast. And new ‘fusion’ comics gain ground, as Pinoy manga, but also the republication of ‘old style’ komiks, some in new settings or styles plus the ongoing adaptation of komik/comic content in films or other media, from movies to advertisement. However, attention to and recognition of a specific Philippian comic culture are rising more and more. In 2010 a bill was passed to establish the Philippine National Graphic Novel Archive, however a goal not yet in 2022 reached, more than ten years later. Academic attention grew, too, seeing (Philippian) comic culture not only as cheap publication format but an art in itself. Around the passing of the bill in 2010 a lot went on, as a government contract with Mango Comics to publish for the governmental Department of Science and Technology a children comic in four issues from 2008 on (see Lent 2009c: 137; Lent 2015: 202f.).

All this stands for the establishment of an overall stable and in parts thrilling comic culture with many new trends and coined by independent and underground structures, too, a ‘new’ focus on graphic novels or ‘fusion styles.’ Nowadays Philippian comic culture still is influential and highly important but is not the mass culture, the komiks culture of before anymore. However, educating or influencing via comics, discussing topics as history via comics is still a central way taken in the Philippines. Out of moments of crisis this influence is more stable and builds on a long tradition nowadays, including mass komiks or ‘development comics’ with a unique Philippian stance in comic culture.

5. Chile

5.1. Early colonial developments and historical background

From 1520 onwards Spain tried to control the area of nowadays Chile, first coming from the South. It took a while until the first *conquistadores* came from the north; the Atacama Desert proved a barrier. However, resistance was fierce against all Spanish settlements and campaigns by various groups of Mapuche. The following centuries witnessed Mapuche resistance, Spanish attempts to control areas further south and a constant swing between times of relative stable coexistence and warfare endangering at times more Spanish settlements, most often Mapuche ones. Treaties like the Treaty of Quillín of 1641, setting the Río Bío Bío as border between Mapuche and Spanish controlled territories were always broken soon. However, most southern parts of nowadays Chile were never conquered and controlled by Spain. Resulting was the image and legacy of the ‘never conquered’ Mapuche, claiming until today to be the only major indigenous group never conquered by the Spaniards but given an autonomous territory since 1641, however fragile it was (Huhn 2011: 16f.; Mallon 2014: 28f.).

After about eight years of fighting against Spanish rule Chile declared independence in 1818 and became an authoritarian presidential regime that witnessed some 15 more years of fighting to come. These were followed by the so called Authoritarian Republic that lasted until 1891 (Huhn 2011: 17f.). One major resource of income for Chile in these years was *guano*, about which another war between Spain and Chile, but Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador, too, erupted that lasted from 1864 to 1866. At the same time the Chilean government tried always again to foster control of the territory nowadays building Chile. In the south the ‘never conquered’ territory became of focal interest. On the one hand settlers were looked for inter alia via advertisement, especially from nowadays Germany, to settle the south. And on the other hand Mapuche resistance was fought fiercely, at times with Chile and Argentina united in this effort. In 1881 the last major uprising of Mapuche was ended in blood and the territory was ‘opened’ for colonization. In many areas genocidal murder of indigenous groups followed (see for example Bengoa 2000). In the north Chile meanwhile fought for control of the Atacama Desert in the War of the Pacific, the *Guerra del Pacífico*, also known as Saltpeter War, between 1879 and 1884. In defeating Peru and Bolivia Chile gained resource-rich territory and Bolivia lost its access to the Pacific. The outbreak resulted from conflicts on the economic use of the region, especially saltpeter. And all the time in the later 19th century there were conflicts with Argentine about the border lines in the South (Huhn 2011: 18f.). However, in their attempts for ‘consolidation’ of the south and their fight against indigenous actors they found a cooperation of enemies at times. Cooperation had the aim to secure both *fronteras interiores*, the inner

borders, meaning conquering and ‘securing’, or ‘pacifying’, as it was called officially, indigenous lands in the south of both countries (Contreras Saiz 2014: 161ff.). But even in general cooperation conflict rose between both countries always when they became active close to or cross the border of the other country in their fights down south (Contreras Saiz 2014: 164ff.).

The closing of the 19th century was time of the consolidation of the idea of ‘nation states’, in Europe as well as the Americas. Closely linked was the idea of a ‘necessity’ of a country to control its own territory, to allow for its progress and allow each nation-state to secure its existence and growth, not only in the present but the future, too. At the same time many borderlines were unclear to not existing. Defining the ‘nation-state’ and the ‘national territory’ can be seen as background of most developments of Chile from independence to the late 19th century. Interior politics were highly influenced of these activities, and both connected to economic interests in a Chile starting to prosper from resource exportations (see for example Contreras Saiz 2014: 153). This shows, looking at the independence history of Chile, it is impossible to understand its complexity without referring to the south of Chile and state-indigenous relations. Creating a national own history also meant to deal with the indigenous legacy and its importance for the unfolding state and nation (Mallon 2014: 23ff.).

After consolidation of the territory, other questions gained ground. Following a short civil war, the presidential system of Chile was overcome in 1891, and a parliamentary system took its place that governed Chile until 1925. In these years copper became the major good in export and Chilean economy. However, the growth of the Chilean economy was instable, demonstrations or uprisings occurred, often overthrown violently. Connected is this with the development of a kind of working class in Chile. In the 1910s communist and socialist ideas found major support in Chile. But in the end, there was no way found to improve living conditions for the masses and pacify society. Tensions maintained high and military coup d’état finally ended the parliamentary system in 1925 – again Chile became a presidential republic (see Huhn 2011: 19ff.). But this only paused major society struggles along a high rate of inequality in Chile. Inequality worsened with the global economic crisis that hit Chile like few others since it nearly completely had built its economy around the export of copper and saltpeter; both lost most of their value within short time. With the economic crisis came political chaos. National-socialistic movements gained ground in Chile, but against their rise a socialist movement was established, too. In 1936 the antifascist *Frente Popular*, the Popular Front was established but resolved soon after again. However, in a violent election the *Frente* got its president elected, overthrowing at the same time an attempted fascist coup (Huhn 2011: 20f.).

In World War II Chile prospered from a copper boom and remained neutral until 1944, inter alia considering the many German immigrants there. These were times of less inner troubles after the later 1920s and 1930s had witnessed violence and suppressions of protests, as of a Mapuche protest in 1934 by the army. The 1950s then changed the political sphere of Chile once again. With the victory of the former dictator between 1927 and 1931, Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, the Christian Democratic Party won presidency and influence. Now more participated in elections, since 1949 women were allowed to vote. But polarization in Chile remained strong. Elections in 1964 saw the socialist candidate Salvador Allende at 39% of the popular vote, the candidate of the Christian Democratic Party Eduardo Frei only won, after the right parties gave up their candidate. Eduardo Frei attempted to pacify society but, in the end, polarized it even further (Huhn 2011: 21f.).

5.2. Chile from Allende until ‘today’

5.2.1. Entering Allende

Eduardo Frei attempted to reunite Chilean society with structural reforms looking politically left and right. In the end this failed, especially on the political right, where the right-wing parties united their efforts. They opposed the ‘chilenization’ of the copper industry, more concrete of 51% of it, but also land and educational reforms. And on the political left radicalization grew, not the least connected to the Cuban Revolution’s victory in 1959. In 1965 the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (MIR – Revolutionary Movement of the Left) was established that declared its support for an armed fight. For the political left all Frei tried did not go far enough, on the right all minor attempts where seen as far of (see Gazmuri et al. 2000).

On the left different parties, from the communist and socialist party, the one of Allende, to Marxist or even Christian parties, united to the *Unidad Popular* (UP – Popular Unity) in 1969. Their candidate for the 1970 election was Salvador Allende, who gained the most, but only 36,6% of the popular vote. He became president with the support of the Christian Democrats in parliament after guaranteeing to not change the constitutional order. Allende became the first democratically elected Marxist president globally, but never had a stable majority in parliament. This limited his ability for reforms which were highly necessary, since Chile witnessed in 1970 a high rate of malnutrition, especially of children, growing homelessness and a major inequality, visible especially in land ownership. However, after his victory he immediately acted in favor of the poorest and least well-of by increasing wages and fixing prices for living and food (see Amorós Quiles 2013; Veneros 2003). One major act was to offer education and health care for free and offer inter alia directly food to poor children which led within short time to a major

decrease in infant mortality. To finance all this the resource industry was nationalized and agrarian land was given to local farmers. Major idea was to make Chile more autarch from the global market and equalize income and wealth to fight poverty. In 1971 all banks were nationalized. This proved a controversial, but economically at least in parts successful policy, leading to a major decline in unemployment and a growth of economy on the one side, but an accelerating inflation on the other. Decentralized planning was the ideal followed here (see González Pino et al. 1997).

All this evolved in an escalating Cold War, with the Soviet Union and Cuba supporting Allende and especially the USA supporting politically right politicians, not stopping this after Allende's democratic victory. In fear of a so called 'domino effect' of socialist revolutions – the in the 1950s postulated 'domino theory' –, US-president Richard Nixon tried to prevent Allende taking office by planning a CIA supported coup. Even though first activities in this area failed, propaganda against Allende was strong from the beginning on, influencing the media within, but also outside of Chile (see Uribe & Opaso Balbontín 2001). The situation radicalized further after the nationalization of the complete copper industry was put into practice, supported by all Chilean parties to appear 'patriotic.' Using some basic math profit was calculated against a potential compensation to spare Chile from paying anything. US reaction was drastic – all support for Chile was stopped and a boycott for Chilean copper organized. This led in Chile to even more foreign currency lacking to finance all measures and imports of industrial goods to improve the machinery in the resource industry. To cover this the Allende government started to print money, which led to a growing amount of money circulating and a galloping inflation (see González Pino et al. 1997). Since US-influenced and backed propaganda paid out at the same time many reactions came together further worsening the situation for and in Chile. Foreign capital fled Chile, fearing further nationalization, and lowering the potential amount of investments further. International credit was out of reach for the Allende administration, and all costs rose with inflation. And because Cuba or the Soviet Union were not able to provide stable foreign currency, situation looked more and more like a downward spiral (see González Pino et al. 1997; Uribe & Opaso Balbontín 2001).

And part of this was that the inner politics of Chile radicalized in these years, strongly supported by the US government, too. In 1972 the Christian Democratic Party changed sides and supported the right-wing parties from then on against the UP. One reason was the murder of one ex-minister of them. At the same time former landowners organized protests, hindering the food production and distribution. The Allende government had to use their limited amount of foreign currency in response to import food. Nevertheless, it became crucial to ration food for

society, too. Reaction were major strikes within Chile, of truck drivers, workers, students or bank employees, all claiming a turn in economic policies, even though not all the same turn. These strikes and protests turned to street battles and Allende declaring a state of emergency. In reaction from the political right measures were tightened even further, the rate and amount of terrorist attacks rose. In the end the military was used to end the strike (see González Pino et al. 1997). Behind these processes of radicalization clearly within Chile stood the US-propaganda campaign, at least in parts, radicalizing Chilean society. However, parliamentary elections in 1973 saw the UP winning even more votes, then 44% instead of 36,6%. But at the same time rightwing parties gained more votes, too, this together standing for an increasing polarization of Chilean society and politics. This gain in votes and seats allowed the political right to declare the parliaments distrust towards Allende together with the Christian Democrats in late August 1973 (see Goldenberg 1990; González Pino et al. 1997). The same time Allende used more and more military personnel to ‘pacify’ society and break down constant strikes. But more and more military personnel positioned themselves against Allende, with a first attempt of a coup d’état in June 1973. In late august Augusto Pinochet was named new commander-in-chief, a beginning of the end of the government of Allende. That Allende offered to stand for a plebiscite to find a democratic solution the 10th of September 1973 could not stop the coming coup d’état anymore (see Goldenberg 1990; González Pino et al. 1997).

5.2.2. Coup d’état and consolidation of Pinochet’s power

“The socialist reforms implemented by the Chilean authorities had led to enormous divisions within the society of Chile. It was the time when paramilitary organisations, both the ones existing before the leftwing government came to power and those established after 1969, intensified their activity. Moreover, the country was beset by strikes, street fighting and acts of sabotage. Not only were government reform programmes unable to pacify social unrest, but they also deepened an increasingly serious conflict with the opposition.” (Ratke-Majewska 2017: 08)

On the 11th of September 1973 the armed forces, led by the new commander-in-chief Augusto Pinochet, performed a coup d’état starting with the bombing of the presidential palace *La Moneda*. Some hours later followed the storm of the palace. Salvador Allende soon ordered the capitulation of all. He himself did not capitulate but went to the into the palace and committed suicide under witness of his physicians. Nevertheless, the believe was born soon his suicide was engineered and his body was examined several times later on (see Goldenberg 1990). Within hours all state organization was under control of the military. The same day the

constitution was suspended, the congress dissolved, all political parties banned, and a strict censorship was established. Only the judiciary was not touched. Nevertheless, weeks of persecution of all seen or constructed as ‘opponents’ began, especially of the political left and intellectuals. Books were burned publicly (see Cavallo & Serrano 2000; Goldberg 1990).

However, the new military regime was recognized by many ‘Western’ states soon, especially the USA. Rectification for the coup and its fast acceptance by the USA was the fight against ‘Marxism’ and to re-establish a potent economy. This was declared the official guideline and rectification in a white book from October 1973 listing ‘crimes’ of the government of the UP and economical chaos caused. The USA however neglected to have played a role in the coup itself (see Uribe & Opató Balbontín 2001). Part of the new spread and constructed official narrative, to rectify all that happened, was the construction of all Chileans being ‘one’ and following dissolving all laws protecting minority rights as of indigenous groups. While resisting Spain and independent Chile long time, with Pinochet declaring all Chileans being one and revoking community rights, declaring their land possession for not existing, they had a hard time, as other groups standing against the official picture of the regime (see Bandowski 2011a: 154ff.).

“At the beginning of Pinochet’s dictatorship, the armed forces seemed to dominate the public interpretation of the events. Similar to the Argentinean military’s rhetoric three years later, the coup of September 11, 1973, was construed as a glorious battle against unpatriotic and godless Marxists who wanted to achieve total power through a civil war. The armed forces used the polarization within the civilian population during Allende’s government to justify the toppling of a democratically elected government as ‘the salvation of a society in ruins and on the edge of a violent bloodbath’ (...). With the connivance of important segments of the local and regional press, the dictatorship attempted to explain away disappeared or murdered activists by pointing to alleged infighting within the leftist movements or their exile; just as in Argentina, their families rejected these explanations. Supported by human rights activists, they started to build a counterofficial narrative in which military repression was presented as a ‘cruel and unending rupture of life, an open wound that cannot heal’ (...). During the 1970s, however, the armed force largely controlled the public sphere”. (Ros 2012: 108)

What followed were nearly twenty years of dictatorship, with a strong and strictly controlling regime until the early 1980s. It all began with a phase of state terror and a personalization of the dictatorship. First Augusto Pinochet was only Supreme Chief of the ruling *Junta*, from Mid-1974 he was single leader. In these first years many Chileans disappeared into the unknown –

the so called *desaparecidos*, often thrown by helicopters into the Pacific Ocean – or were killed in custody. Many died in torture. Immediately after the coup many were imprisoned in public collecting places as the national stadium in Santiago de Chile. The torture however took place in barracks or on navy ships, in later times in specifically designed torture camps. Especially in the far north and south of Chile, in the desert and the colder Patagonia concentration camp like institutions were established. At the same time many thousands left Chile, counting to a million in the total time of the dictatorship (see Dinges 2004).

“Almost immediately, Chilean civil society began to implement a series of initiatives to assist victims of Pinochet’s repression. The first to assume this humanitarian welfare role were the churches and religious groups, which together organized themselves into the Pro-Peace Committee. Before long, the work of the committee was taken over by the Vicaría de la Solidaridad (...) of the Chilean Catholic Church, which continued operating and expanding its mission throughout the dictatorship.” (Escalona González 2017: 178)

While the first years of the dictatorship were of huge and violent chaos and no documentation concerning torture, prosecution and state killing, from about 1976 the documentation improved much, leading in total to unknown, but high numbers of victims. Albeit more or less complete chaos and civil war like conditions only stand for the first weeks or months of the dictatorship, from the later 1973 on the prosecution, torture and killing of stylized ‘opponents’ took on more organized forms. Next to killings, political opposition was exiled or banned to the extreme geographical ends of Chile. With the establishment of a secret police – the *Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional* (DINA) – fear played its role in quietening all opposition or fostering their exile, too (see Dinges 2004 or Stern 2004).

The DINA was dissolved after the killing of an oppositional Chilean in exile in 1977, however this led to more parastatal violence instead of less state repression. And in this time opposition was silenced by something else – economic prosperity and so labelled ‘success’. This started with harsh reforms of the Chilean economy under repression and allowing for poverty of many to decrease inflation. All over the global ‘West’ investments in Chile started and were propagated. An agreement about the external debt of Chile was reached. The cost was an enormous rise in living costs in Chile and more in poverty (see Winn 2004). From 1975 on marked or neoliberal economics – a question of perspective and labelling – were established under the lead of US ‘experts’ following monetarism, the so called ‘Chicago Boys’. They found their ‘playing field’ in Chile to establish a kind of model-neoliberal-state with far reaching liberalizations and privatizations. At the same time the state was downsized, many state employees lost their jobs and the overall state spending was highly limited, putting especially

the educational and health system in private hands. Only the copper industry remained under state control (see Rumié Rojo 2019; Winn 2004). Overall and without looking too deep Chile witnessed economic prosperity due to private investments from the Mid-1970s on, but on cost of high poverty rates and an increasing inequality in society. Nevertheless, for the government and its (re)presentation the numbers counted, and they showed 'success'. Inflation and unemployment rate dropped. With this, and due to years of repression, resistance against the regime got much weaker in the second half of the 1970s. Pinochet tried to use this time of limited resistance and bigger support due to his economic policies to let himself be confirmed in his role by a plebiscite. He found support in numbers, but not in a kind of free vote. However, this official 'backing' led to a first wave of liberalization, allowing inter alia civilians to become part of the ruling Cabinet and the preparation of a new constitution that was confirmed in an unfree plebiscite in 1980. The new constitution confirmed Pinochet's power and him ruling until 1989 – the new constitution established a legal framework for the military rule going on (see inter alia Ros 2012: 108).

This phase of consolidated dictatorial rule and minor attempts for liberalization found an end in 1982. In 1981 the regime had increased the value of the national currency to get more foreign investment and allow for cheaper imports. The 'side effect' was that exports got relatively more expensive and that costed production capacities. This heavily backfired in 1982 with the global recession and falling prices for copper, still the major good of Chilean exports. With huge external debt and a much too high rated national currency the crisis hit Chile extremely hard. The regime reacted with harsh measures itself, cutting of wages in the public sector and cuts in helping programs, as for food (see O'Brien & Roddick 1983). What followed were an increase in unemployment and poverty, about a third of the population being undernourished. But instead of increasing help and governmental spending the harsh and neoliberal politics remained in place. Even after protests broke out by major parts of the population the regime did not change its politics but instead declared a state of emergency in 1983 to act against the protests. Then terror ruled again, this time mostly executed by paramilitary forces. Oppositional political leaders and protesters were killed, at times from cars driving by, in total about 100.000 were arrested in this time period. Especially in the poorest districts of Chile, not only, but mostly in Santiago de Chile, Chileans became victims of arbitrary violence, military activities, and house search. Here the MIR had its major bases and tried to gain momentum with the major protests of 1982/1983. In the end it did not come to what many expected: the end of Pinochet as dictator. But he remained in power by reinforcing violence. Nevertheless, the time of highest and most secure power of Pinochet was over for sure (see inter alia Schneider 1995).

“After the 1980 plebiscite and constitution, human rights organizations increasingly denounced the ongoing atrocities of the regime in the public sphere, joined by professional associations who spoke out on behalf of victimized members. In addition, starting in 1983, ‘union members, working-class neighbourhood residents, and students elevated visibility to the protest held against the regime’ (...). These movements were supported by centre-left and left-wing political parties, which reorganized after the initial repression and coalesced to resist the regime.” (Ros 2012: 109)

5.2.3. Overcoming dictatorship

“During the following years, popular protest against the dictatorship intensified, fueled by hunger, poverty, and unemployment in the context of a severe economic crisis. Artistic expressions from what was known as the oppositional cultural front and avant-garde movements played an important role in restoring ‘a popular we’ and challenging the military logic (...). By the end of Pinochet’s first term [1988], a majority viewed the repression as unjustifiable violence (...). This contributed to his ouster in the 1988 plebiscite with 55 percent of the votes against a second term.” (Ros 2012: 109)

The time following the throwing down of protests in 1983 oppositional forces used to consolidate. Until then the new constitution was blamed as illegal by these forces, but from the Mid-1980s on they began to use the constitution to work against the regime of Pinochet. They started to use the tools the constitution had created in working against Pinochet and his politics (see Ratke-Majewska 2017: 16). Here it helped that the overall liberalization was carried forth after economy stabilized with the harsh reforms of 1982 and 1983. The protests had shown how endangered the system was facing organized opposition. Because of this repression was loosened and economic policies got more pragmatic. This was no uniform process, but only an overall tendency with counteractivities always again. At the same time self-help groups in the poorest districts were founded, standing for the foundation of organized oppositional forces, who fought at times violence with violence. Following, again and again repression by the regime came back (see Bruey 2018). But the later 1980s saw changes in the international framework, too. The so called Cold War began to near its end and military regimes in other places of South America found their end, in Argentina and Brazil. And after a row of scandals US foreign policy was measured more along human right situations. All this together led to less international support for the Pinochet regime. Taking all this together the regime felt more pressure to allow for more liberalization and act with less repression (see inter alia Ensalaco 2000).

From 1987 political parties were allowed again and mock-democratic measures established. This included a plebiscite about another eight-year term for Pinochet in 1988 that officially was won by Pinochet. It took a critical public to expose massive influence on the counting and a revision of the electoral result. Now it became clear Pinochet had lost the plebiscite and a majority had voted against another term. However, he still had got support of more than 40 percent of the vote. And the regime followed the vote – at least more or less. It allowed for free presidential elections by the end of 1989 with about 90 percent of Chileans participating. Winner was the Christian Democratic candidate Patricio Aylwin who run for a coalition from the Christian Democrats to the Socialists. He took office in 1990 (see Ensalaco 2000 & Violi 2018: 420). But Pinochet used the time between him losing office and him losing the plebiscite to secure him and his supporters. For this the constitution, written for Pinochet and his regime, was a major ally. Friends and supporters were installed in influential positions to remain in power even after loosing office. Especially his economic model was secured in these years, a model praised by ‘Western’ conservatives as by Margaret Thatcher. At the same time Pinochet himself remained commander-in-chief of the Chilean armed forces after being replaced as president (see Angell 2007; Ensalaco 2000). “It must be pointed out that in the period of more than ten months between the plebiscite and the day President Aylwin assumed his office, Pinochet considerably increased his influence. He made some decisions, which to a large degree helped to guard the order he had established.” (Ratke-Majewska 2017: 23)

The new president Aylwin tried despite all efforts of Pinochet to secure his power to limit the power and influence of the army and Pinochet’s supporters. And he tried to account crimes against human rights and/or humanity in Chile in times of dictatorship. However, in the end he had very limited success. Pinochet’s regime had worked successfully to stay in control of major parts of politics in Chile despite transition to democracy. The military was too autonomous to be controlled from the presidency, the judiciary worked in Pinochet’s direction still and right-wing parties remained influential (see Angell 2007).

“Unlike the situation in neighbouring Argentina, the armed forces in Chile were far from discredited when they finally gave up power in 1990. Pinochet in particular continued to enjoy strong support from a broad sector of Chilean society. Moreover, the military regime used the time between the plebiscite and the transfer of power to limit its democratic successor’s room for manoeuvre with a series of legislative measures. These had tangible effects on the democratic state’s ability to prosecute security and service personnel responsible for human rights violations. (...) In addition, open threats – not least from Pinochet himself, who continued as commander in chief of the army – helped convince the

democratic government to refrain from taking legal steps against those responsible for the crimes of the past”. (Scheuzger 2018: 629)

The first established truth commission, the *Comisión de Verdad y Reconciliación nacional*, also known as Rettig-Commission proved of limited value, too. Even though criticized by the military for its ‘broad’ investigation, it had no power to publish the name of those who committed crimes in the years of dictatorship, to investigate or work on torture committed. Only those killed or disappeared were finally recognized by the government and a small compensation payment was arranged. And the narration of the coup as ‘necessity to react to chaos under Allende’ was kept up and not challenges. And even for the cases then recognized as crimes the army had protected itself with an amnesty law from 1978 allowing for amnesty for all crimes committed between 1973 to 1978, with only minor exceptions as for infanticide due to US pressure. Because of this only few militaries were prosecuted, and the reconciliation remained limited (Bakiner 2018: 669ff.). Alike many situations and conditions in these years kept been torn between improving changes and at times even worsening situations. Minorities conditions improved in parts. A special law of 1993 acknowledged minority rights by Mapuche to buy their lands back, but as individuals, not as a people. At the same time the growing economy proofed a new hardship for indigenous groups, blocking rivers, cutting native woods and again and again declaring Mapuche activists to be terrorists, using Pinochet law, to allow fighting them legally or with violence. And this two-sidedness remained in the following years, with some legal improvement and at the same time hardship in reality, even though in the following years Mapuche culture was acknowledged, too (Bandowski 2011a: 154ff.). And in economic policies changes took place, too. Social programs were established, and extreme poverty fought. At the same time economy grew. But all minor changes could not end the high rates of inequality withing Chilean society that remained at extraordinary heights. However, overall and at the same time the political and social system as such proofed stable and mostly peaceful in the transition time, not the least because no radical steps were taken but most remained in an in-betweenness (Parra 1998: 285).

“The referendum of 1988 that put an end to the military regime did not yield univocal support for democracy: 44% of Chileans were still in favor of the junta and Pinochet remained commander of the army until 1998, clear signs of a highly divided and far from reconciled society. Facing such a difficult aftermath, the government’s policy of the first period of renewed democratic life in chile, from 1990 to the end of the 1990s, followed what could be defined as a highly cautious path. The government was more concerned with legitimizing its

democratic leadership than dealing with the past in the fear that an all too decisive confrontation with it could destabilize a fragile transition to democracy.” (Violi 2018: 419)

Aylwin served only a shortened term of four years, the next president was elected for six years. In 1994 Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle was elected for the same coalition of parties as Aylwin, him being the son of the Chilean president between 1964 and 1970. In his term neoliberalism remained strong, as well as the individualist model of society, even though some communitarian developments took place. But it did not become an open fight about the development model followed, but in his term, those strongly supporting neoliberalism and those arguing for the need of more state and community tried to influence development tendencies, without working for a fundamental change in these years (Parra 1998: 294f.). Overall, his term clearly witnessed a civil society in Chile gaining strength and an attempt to establish political education, but clearly linked to each other. In South America the organized civil society is since decades one main bearer of attempts to modernize societies and foster political education there. Major topics within have been justice, equality and human rights, as well in Chile as for example in Peru (Valdevieso 2005: 257ff.). Within this context, especially in and since the later Pinochet years, transnational connections have been a major asset to spread topics and at the same time secure organizations and its members (Valdevieso 2005: 259).

Frei’s term was overshadowed by the arrest of Augusto Pinochet in 1998 in London in the course of a medical treatment after Pinochet had stepped down as commander-in-chief. He was arrested due to an international warrant by a Spanish judge in course of investigations of the killing of Spaniards after 1973. Pinochet was put under house arrest while his lawyers claimed him to be incompetent for trial. Only in line of these events the 11th of September was not celebrated as national holiday anymore in Chile. After transition to democracy the holiday had changed its meaning, from national liberation to national reconciliation, but remained holiday all the same (Ratke-Majewska 2017: 30). In March 2000 Pinochet was allowed to return to Santiago de Chile where he was met with military honors but protests, too. Chilean society proved torn between supporters and victims and critics of Pinochet (Violi 2018: 420).

In 2000 a new president was elected, Ricardo Lagos, who himself had left Chile between 1973 and 1978 due to being a Socialist. He was member of the broad party coalition ruling since 1989 and worked for the government. In 2000 he needed a runoff against the right-wing candidate to get elected but finally became the second official Socialist president of Chile after Salvador Allende. It showed again clearly that there remained a strong political right in Chile that had and still supported Pinochet and his policies (Violi 2018: 420ff.). Ricardo Langos inherited the trials about Pinochet, whose immunity as live-long senator had been removed in

the last days of Frei's presidency. Trials began in later 2000. The military tried to end them with the amnesty law as counterargument, Pinochet's lawyers instead used the argument of Pinochet not being fit for trial. However, trials began, and with them a wave of solidarity for Pinochet from rightwing parties and militaries. After some month of trial Pinochet was finally declared not fit for trial – the end of Pinochet's political career but prosecution, too (see Dorfman 2002). Another milestone of the presidency of Lagos was the establishment of a second truth commission, this time dealing with torture, too. The *Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura* published its report the end of 2004 with a focus on torture. Now it was officially recognized that Chileans were displaced, tortured and/or killed only because of the suspicion of being 'left' and that these activities happened systematically. The Commission could prosecute more openly than the first one and with a wider perspective, not the least since Pinochet had lost much of his power by then. Then for the first time ever a high-ranking Chilean military recognized a guilt of the Chilean armed forces (Bakiner 2018: 669ff.). Also because of this a constitutional reform proved successful in 2005 that limited the power of the armed forces in Chile. At the same time major non-democratic elements of the constitution could be deleted and the presidential term was limited to four years again (see Sehnbruch & Siavelis 2013). The transition to democracy had gained major ground in late 2005. However, the dictatorial past remained a burden due to specific circumstances in Chile:

„The Chilean post-dictatorship generation faces different challenges than their Argentinean counterparts. Firstly, since Pinochet was in power for seventeen years, those who were children at the beginning of the coup have clear memories of life under the dictatorship. Many of them organized against the regime and suffered repression, just as their parent's generation after the coup. Secondly, since the junta overthrew a democratically elected government and there were no guerilla movements prior to it, there was no need to depoliticizing the image of the *desparacidos* to advance transitional justice. Therefore, the image of the innocent victim and heroic political past are articulated differently in Chilean collective memory. Thirdly, in Chile, the use of torture was more widespread than the practice of forced disappearance. The traumatic experience of the approximately 100,000 victims of physical and psychological torture and sexual abuse complicates the active transmission of the past. Finally, the continuities between dictatorship and post-dictatorship at the political and economic level are much stronger in Chile than in Argentina, which limits the prosecution of military personnel and impacts the struggles of human rights associations.” (Ros 2012: 107)

5.2.4. Chilean society ‘today’

The presidential election of 2005 needed a runoff in early 2006 again, seeing Michelle Bachelet becoming the first female president of Chile, winning against Sebastián Piñera of the right-wing *Renovación Nacional* (RN). Bachelet became the third Socialist president of Chile. Non the less Bachelet following her taking office was met with massive protests by students of all kinds, occupying schools and showing massive demonstrations in the streets. They demanded for changes in the educational system, the cut of all fees for examens and a new educational law different to the one remaining from Pinochet times. Even though the Bachelet government first demanded the protests to end soon they accepted some claims and established a reform commission (Abujatum Berndt 2013: 282ff.). However, reforms did not go far in this sector of politics. But the government started to work off the dictatorial times, too, an attempt that was credited to Michelle Bachelet having been victim of the dictatorship herself. She had fled to the German Democratic Republic from 1973 to 1979 and her father, a general who kept loyal to Allende after the coup, was tortured to death. This led to attempts to account for the past, now for real (see for example Borzutzky & Weeks 2010).

“Especially since the beginning of the 2000s, with the socialist governments of Ricardo Lagos and Michelle Bachelet, new attention towards the traumatic heritage of the past emerged. Many memorial and commemorative sites of various kinds were opened, often involving contrasts and struggles among different civil society-driven groups, seeking recognition and realization of their projects. A central recurring theme of that period was precisely that of the ‘right relationship’ (...) between state agency and private initiatives regarding the design, construction and overall interpretation of such memorials. Yet, even as early as 1990, during the first democratic government of Aylwin after the end of the dictatorship, civil society was already active in the creation of memorial and commemorative initiatives.” (Violi 2018: 418)

Within all these contexts and political issues central in Chilean society in these years it became evident, that reforms and changes alone, in terms of how a system works, could not be enough. A true and lasting change instead needed different views, morals and concepts spread and anchored in Chile. For this education became a major topic of political acting of civil society actors in Chile, as elsewhere where states tried to overcome experiences and times of dictatorship, as in Peru. This often meant to first reach out towards some selected personnel, for example personnel in the justice system to foster human rights as major base for justice, and then to a broader audience – spreading for example the concept of human rights in the wider population. The first step focuses on competencies in this scheme, the second on knowledge

and understanding. In these schematical two-step-processes acting different civil society as well as state actors emphasized different areas and stages (Valdevieso 2005: 271ff.).

However, not only the death of Pinochet in the end of 2006 showed that Chilean society remained torn between those rectifying the Pinochet years overall, only criticizing some measurements taken, and those declaring the time clearly as dictatorship (Borzutzky & Weeks 2010). Following this torn-society, the next presidency was won by a right-wing politician for the first time since transition, Sebastián Piñera of the right-wing RN who had started his career under Pinochet but declared that he had voted against him in the 1988 plebiscite. Just before he took office a major earthquake killed more than 500 and destroyed major parts of Chile. Society was under shock – from the earthquake, but some from a right-wing winning again in Chile, too. Piñeras presidency from 2010 to 2014 witnessed major protests of students again, demanding social reforms. These protests in 2011 were so far the most massive since 1989, with solidarity from union movements, professor and teacher organization. At times more than a quarter million protestors took part. What began with the occupation of the *Universidad de Chile* became a nationwide strike with state employees, the health sector but the mining industry taking part, too. And indigenous actors played their part, too. One aim connecting all different actors was to allow for a new media coverage, discussing inequality more broadly. The Piñera government declared its willingness to prepare for social reforms, but few happened and in 2012 protests rose again. All repressions the protests met led only to more solidarity and the (re)union behind shared aims (Abujatum Berndt 2013: 274ff.). Then Chile was one of the richest, but one of the most unequal places of the Americas, no matter successes as the cut of poverty between the mid-1980s and 2010, because this cut was unequally distributed, too, favoring *white* poor more than indigenous poor (Bandowski 2011b: 08f.). The protests in the first Piñera years showed Chile was in crisis, especially the economic system was challenged and not seen as legitimate by most (Abujatum Berndt 2013: 299f.). And it was not only education and economy struggled about. One major problem of Chile was – and is – gender inequality, to be seen for example for many years in the impossibility to have an abortion legally besides clear gender roles and men dominating close to everything in society (see for example Dievenkorn 2011: 164ff.) and the problem of domestic violence, which was and is widespread (see for example Bandowski 2011c: 168).

Overall it was obvious in the early 2010s that education in Chile remained a topic of polarization, not only the educational system, but educational content, too. This included history education and the teaching of the idea of Chile, which remained a highly politicized area. Not few linked a wide array of society problems in Chile to educational failures not

allowing for individual development and social functioning at the same time. Especially the vast social inequality was more secured and perpetuated by a highly stratified educational system than there was activity against inequality with help, support and education for those in unfavorable conditions (Abujatum Berndt 2013: 288ff. & López Castillo 2010: 08). But this was not 'solved', instead polarization remained coining Chilean society. It saw another victory of Michelle Bachelet in 2013's presidential election, her serving a four-year term from 2014 to 2018, and in 2017 another victory of Sebastián Piñera who witnessed major protests in 2019 and 2020 again. Finally this led to a plebiscite about a new constitution in 2020 with close to 80 percent in favor of a new constitution that was prepared in following years and approved in 2022. In the end of 2021 again there was a turn from right to left with the leftist candidate Gabriel Boric winning the presidential election against a strongly right-wing candidate. In March he became president of Chile with a distinctively female cabinet (see inter alia Woods 2022).

5.3. Comics in Chile

5.3.1. Early comic culture

Chile has not such a long-standing broad and distinct comic culture like the Philippines. Instead, most actual comics were imported far into the 1960s. Only a minor exception here are comic strips printed in newspapers that have been spread far in Chile at least in the 20th century; but of these, too, most were imported. Most famous exception here is *Condorito*, the anthropomorphic condor living in a fictional Chilean town. The comic character, created in 1949, follows a Disney model – he symbolizes South American clichés as having-nothing, living in the periphery, etc., and was used for more or less one-page jokes. Soon the comic got popularity in many countries of South America (see for example Bolte 2010: 269ff.).

The imported comics were quite successful and found a wide audience. Early on, and linked to discussions about the freedom of the press, discourses took place about the morality of comics, that were commonly linked to libertinage. Especially in the 1950s there were governmental campaigns against comics and further activities that have to be seen as interventionist. Some companies were favored, with paid inserts, some transmissions were made obligatory. At times totalitarian features were described in this context, endangering the freedom of the press, but the step-by-step development of a Chilean comic culture, too. However, this often kept comics – *historietas* in Chile – in these years in niche markets like erotic magazines (Rojas Flores 2016: 64f.).

This changed with the 1960s. In the 1960s high levels of comic consume could be witnessed in Chile, and this along different social classes and layers, with sharing and interchanging allowing for cheaper prices. Even though this was linked to a rise in the import of foreign magazines but a wide variety of titles published in Chile, too, with a growing and prospering industry behind, close to all comics and comic strips remained imported. A tendency for concentration in the overall industry did not help either, Chilean-made comics only had a chance in the smaller magazines (Rojas Flores 2016: 235). Topics and personifications in these Chilean comics were mostly traditional, even though at times breaking out of roles coining Chilean society then, leading over the years to a certain variety of both, content and personification:

“Los contenidos incluían las diversas series en circulación reflejaron las contradicciones de una época que favorecía el cambio en varias esferas, pero sin abandonar completamente ciertos valores que se resistían a desaparecer. La presencia de algunas mujeres en roles protagónicos, por ejemplo, no significó que estas abandonaran la tradicional carga de fragilidad, sensualidad y dependencia. En el caso de los niños, hubo series con personajes infantiles que servían de modelo de virtud y otros que resaltaban los vicios del mundo moderno. La alta oferta de títulos permitió la coexistencia de valores diversos, incluso muy contrapuestos.” (Rojas Flores 2016: 235)

Of major importance became the US company *Disney* for the Chilean comic culture in the 1960s. In Chile it was the company *Editoria Zig-Zag* that published under license Disney-comics from 1962 on, starting with *Disneylandia*. Linked was the foundation of a ‘Club Disneylandia’ and the start to publish just comics – instead of comics within magazines or newspapers – aiming specifically at a young readership. Within two years comics like *Fantasías*, *El Zorro*, *Aventuras Disney*, *Tesoros de Walt Disney* or *Tío Rico* were published. Building on this success from 1964 onwards different Chilean-made comics began to be published by *Editoria Zig-Zag*, including long-standing successful ones as *Condorito*. However, most remained short-lived and experienced many changes in content or design before a certain standardization was reached. And even the Disney-publications of *Editoria Zig-Zag* changed their appearance in the first years over and over again; many comics and magazines, of an increasingly vast portfolio, had no or only short-time success (Montealegre Iturra 2008: 173). Nevertheless, *Editoria Zig-Zag* became dominant, but always fragile actor in the fast growing Chilean comic industry:

“La empresa Zig Zag dominaba el mercado editorial a inicios de la década de 1960. La concentración económica venía observándose desde las décadas anteriores (por ejemplo, con la compra de la Editorial Ercilla), aunque manteniendo la competencia de otras editoriales e

imprentas importantes (como era Universitaria y Nacimiento). Este predominio no estaba exento de problemas internos, a raíz de su amplio catálogo de publicaciones (libros y revistas que no siempre eran exitosos comercialmente) que la llevaron a un endeudamiento excesivo.” (Rojas Flores 2016: 71)

Part of the success-story was that Editoria Zig-Zag was not only responsible for the translation, publication and distribution of Disney-comics in Chile, but in other countries of the Cono Sur, too. And with a despite all fragility prospering Editoria Zig-Zag the whole comic industry and market in Chile got a foundation and grew (Rojas Flores 2016: 73). With this success based on US comics more Chilean comics were produced and spread, making the Chilean comic culture in the run of the 1960s more and more diverse. However, these Chilean comics often had a certain purpose and a nationalist perspective. Many had the clear aim to contribute to the construction, stabilization and spread of a ‘national Chilean identity.’ This included praise of *la patria*, praising constructed historical ‘heroes’ and their deeds. And often it came with a nationalist, conservative stance, blaming left policies or ‘hippies’ for society challenges, and with clear tendencies of sexism and racism. Here *Condorito* played its role in standing for a conservative perspective (Bolte 2010: 269ff. & Rojas Flores 2016: 208). Part of this were comics used for scholarly education as the comics *De la historia de Chile* or *Forjadores de la Historia de Chile* from 1965 and 1966 respectively. Both covered ‘heroes’ along whom the Chilean history and culture was taught. Clearly a *white* perspective was followed here, making the *conquista* a major pillar of Chilean history, next to independence, but not indigenous traits. In perspective of an evolving Chilean comic culture however this was a major step and stood for a rapid development of a, however limited, Chilean comic culture in the 1960s reaching education and schools fast (Rojas Flores 2016: 208). Some of these educational comics clearly had a political character, they were overt moral, political or educational. Other comics worked much more subtle, not leading to less morality or political influence in the end. An example here are the fast-developing romantic *fotonovelas* that clearly transported ideas of a social ideal and political messages, but not on every page and not always up-front (Rojas Flores 2016: 211). Especially in comics in newspapers and magazines a highly political character was visible. Here lines have to be drawn at least to the 1920s as a time of great polarization within Chile were again and again *historietas* were used to make a political position clear or defame political opponents. This came not always in the same intensity, but with the growing importance of comics in Chile in the 1960s it got major significance, partly again. Here especially anticommunism guided comic strips, as within a supplement to the daily newspaper *La Unión* in Valparaíso (Rojas Flores 2016: 213).

In the later years of the 1960s it was possible to witness political changes in Chile within changes in foci of *historietas*, as the foundation of neighborhood assemblies and mother centers in 1968 found more comics about motherhood or ‘neighborhood topics.’ And the political shift to have a bigger focus on workers, farmers, but officer worker, too, made them all more relevant actors in Chilean comics. An example here is the comic *Lo Chamullo, un barrio como el suyo* in the magazin *La Chiva* (Montealegre Iturra 2008: 220). Another example was the magazine *La teja* that contained a comic about a fictitious neighborhood and allowed neighborhoods to raise some money with the sale of the magazine. Prominently presented here was the life a of a teacher within the neighborhood (Montealegre Iturra 2008: 236f.). And the political use of comics got even more importance with the election campaigns of 1970.

“Durante la campaña presidencial la derecha publica la *da palmada en la frente*, dibujado por Lugoze, en la que advierte a través de una historieta lo que pasaría en Chile si triunfara el comunismo. El protagonista, después de sufrir un régimen en que el Estado y el Partido arrebatan los hijos a las familias, se pega una palmada en la frente y exclama: *¡Esto me pasa por votar por Rusia y no por Chile!*” Contrarrestando los rumores y la desinformación, en *La Chiva* se incubaba una revista de información popular con un compromiso claramente político: ‘para atemorizar a la población y volverla contra la Unidad Popular, la derecha ha echado a correr una serie de falsos rumores... se dice, por ejemplo, que el gobierno de la Unidad Popular hará desaparecer la sustancia misma de la democracia...’ Ante ello publica un suplemento de ocho páginas que responde la pregunta *Democracia... ¿para quién?*. La cartilla, ilustrada completamente por *Pepe Huinca* e impresa por Prográfica, es preparada por los Comités de Unidad Popular de CESO-Cultura Popular y revista *La Chiva*”. (Montealegre Iturra 2008: 236f.)

In opposition to these comics of highly political nature, and linked those of a general political nature, not arguing for a specific party but considering more the state of nation or global politics, often with a highly negative diagnose, especially referring to poverty, bloody conflicts in Chile and elsewhere and the nuclear arm race, stood the still highly successful and influential US-comics in Chile, especially those by Disney (Rojas Flores 2016: 227). A study from 1967 had shown that more than a third of all students in primary education named *Disneylandia* as preferred magazine, with those labelled ‘male’ being even much more in favor. Part of this success was the fitting of the comics into a whole universe of products, be it movies or labelled products up to plain merchandise. Especially for children Disney was highly present in the ongoing 1960s in Chile (Rojas Flores 2016: 74). This made Editoria Zig-Zag a major and ongoing influential player in the Chilean comic culture albeit the company’s focus went much

further than Chile, opening branches in Colombia and Argentina in the later 1960s (Rojas Flores 2016: 74). Taking this market power and clearly visible influence into consideration it was no surprise a critical perspective on Disney and its influence in Chile, especially on children, developed, in an overall political time of polarization. Generally, it was not singularly Disney in critical focus, but a comic culture linked to it, including inter alia. the highly popular *fotonovelas*, criticized for forming and stabilizing gender stereotypes or conservative conventions (Rojas Flores 2016: 70). Critical science worked on these influences – leading to a groundbreaking publication in 1971 – and political change was at the door with Salvador Allende being elected in September and October 1970. Both coming together led to a major change in Chilean comic culture, but comic politics in Chile, too, to three years full of new attempts to utilize and transform comic culture within Chile.

5.3.2. Comics and Allende

“El debate sobre el papel alienante de la ideología en la población, la función de los medios de comunicación de masas (televisión, prensa escrita, radio) y el efecto particular de las historietas alcanzó mayor notoriedad durante el gobierno de la Unidad Popular” (Rojas Flores 2016: 255)

The new government followed the idea that it was possible to use comics, and other media, to create change within a society without changing all its structures. In a sense this included the idea of an anti-comic, anti in the sense as standing against the before stressed messages by and via comics. Against this approach in Chile stood not only the habits of readers, expecting certain structures and content in comics, entertainment and no plain political messages, but industry itself (see for example Kagelmann 1986: 137). Here Editorial Zig-Zag played a major role. The company and its comics had served more or less clearly, depending on the concrete comic, the ruling Christian Democratic party – but with Allende’s victory and the Unidad Popular coming into power, the company witnessed major changes. Great parts of the employees had been dissatisfied with the company and its directions for years and now hoped for change. They worked towards bringing the company into economical turbulences, aiming for a government takeover, allowing the new government to use the company for its purposes as for public education. Out of Editorial Zig-Zag a new company was created in early 1971, using the Mapuche name *Quimantú* as new name (Kunzle 2005b: 144).

This takeover made sense from government perspective since comic culture and its importance in Chilean society had made giant leaps in 1970 again. There can be taken a variety of examples for this. One is the publication of *Viejo Verde* from early 1970 on, basically being an erotic

magazine containing comics, but also allowing for political references and position taken. But it was not only the content that was new here, but style and appearance, too. It came in color with a vast number of naked pictures, and a length of about 48 pages. Especially in the first two years the magazine was full of small comics and jokes, made mainly by Chilean artists (Hasson 2015: 25). And at the same time comics remained highly important in the area they had first flourished in Chile: in newspapers. At these times Chile had, in regional comparison, a very high literacy rate and a big circulation of newspapers. Both combined allowed to reach masses with newspapers and comics within – and these often were political, be it obviously or not (Kunzle 1978: 357). This overall politization of comics grew with the years and reached a peak in the time of presidential election and its campaign in 1970. One example for this is *La Chiva*:

“Paradójicamente – escribe el novelista Luis Sepúlveda -, *La Chiva* tenía cada vez más lectores, pero no llegó jamás a ser un éxito de ventas, porque su propio contenido socializante hacía que los lectores socializaran. Pero es indudable que *La Chiva* nos acompañó en la formidable senda de activismo político y social que culminó el 4 de Septiembre de 1970, con la victoria electoral de Salvador Allende’. En efecto, en la media que se acerca la elección presidencial, el apoyo de *La Chiva* a la candidatura de Allende es evidente, polemizando humorísticamente con personajes que representan otra opción... como Perejil, a quien en Lo Chamullo lo parodian como Cilantro. El actor deje de esta solamente en los salones y el palacio. En ese proceso la caricatura de personajes individuales es crecientemente reemplazada por estereotipos que reflejan representaciones sociales.” (Montealegre Iturra 2008: 223)

The political polarization of these years came together with different comics positioning themselves along lines of opposition and government, and this even in media segments before better known to be not or not straight ahead political, as the example of the erotic magazine shows. Taking all this together it built a foundation for the coming efforts to instrumentalize comics and other media even more under the UP government (Rojas Flores 2016: 347).

And here again the dominance of Disney and Disney-like comics was a major issue. On to 1971 especially Disney had tightened its influence and market control in South America, while losing domestic importance in the USA at the same time. Virtually, market saturation was the aim, by US comics in general, and Disney specifically. And these comics did not come in a neutral way ‘just for entertainment’ as critics pointed out, but having a high social influence presenting stereotypes, ideals and models (see for such criticism Kunzle 1978: 372). Breaking this influence then seemed possible with the Editorial Zig-Zag employees arranging for the government take-over, hoping for a new direction of the company by the Unidad Popular-

government (Kunzle 1978: 372). With the take-over the question arose which new direction it should be, struggling at the same time not to interrupt the publication flow. It needed a smooth but rapid transformation, not of distribution and material production, but the comics themselves, while continuing to publish comics. This led to the need to work day and night on the transformation (Kunzle 1978: 372).

The new direction of the comics to be published followed an intellectual controversy about Disney and its messages as well as influences, resulting finally in the publication of Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart's *Para Leer al Pato Donald* in 1972. First part of the publication was the description of the seen problem itself, what Disney comics 'did'. Dorfman and Mattelart explained in their study that Walt Disney was more than a commercial company, it was, along their argumentation, highly influential on collective thoughts and representations, but also used to spread educational and political messages. As examples both noted cases where Disney characters were used to for example promote contraceptives in Central America. Such at the same was identified as happening in Chile, where Disney-comics were used for packages of first aid or even presented as being important for peace and progress. Generally, it was stated in the book, that in many countries local comic heroes stood no chance against Disney-characters, what hold true for Chile with *Condorito*, that was nevertheless most Disney-like programmed and painted (Dorfman & Mattelart 1976: 11f.). In parts this was linked to a critique of modern mass communication and mass culture, that was positively identified as potentially democratizing, but in constant danger of simplification and abuse. All being more informed and linked to more topics via mass culture made mass culture vulnerable for influencing masses. According to Dorfman and Mattelart major concern here was to present seemingly 'simple solutions' instead of presenting existing complexity and argue for differentiation (Dorfman & Mattelart 1976: 20). But this was only the general critique of Disney in their book. Both followed on in their argumentation with a South or 'Latin' American critique of Disney comics specifically, arguing they would present certain pictures of South or 'Latin' America, leading to stereotypes influential in the USA, but South or the constructed 'Latin' America itself at the same time. With the example of 'Atzecland', that is searched for by Donald Duck, they present and problematize all the cliches coming together in one specific comic. Without verbal expression the equation of 'Aztecland' being Mexico is made much to clear by the comic, using all stereotypes and cliches, from donkeys, cactuses and 'indios' to siestas, laziness or machismo (Dorfman & Mattelart 1976: 57). "No importa que el nombre sea otro, porque reconocemos y fijamos al país de acuerdo con esta tipicidad grotesca." (Dorfman & Mattelart 1976: 57) In the end both identify this way of drawing and acting as led by commercial interests, but following

a fetish, too. However, it is not only the hunt for more money, but highly political at the same time, as Dorfman and Mattelart stress, because all ‘real problems’ are just put aside, are not plainly neglected but are romanticized and idealized. Problems from hunger to poverty become parts of the scenery and challenges on a long adventure trip at the same time, creating heroes by singling out some to rescue all. Here the frame of fantasy allows to transfer problems and make them part of a ‘happy-adventure’. With this, as it is identified by Dorfman and Mattelart, the seen world order of the ‘West’ is not only rectified but perpetuated, explaining away misery, making suffering only accessory for a promoted idea of Western prosperity along clearly capitalist lines (Dorfman & Mattelart 1976: 85ff.):

“Pato Donald al poder es esa promoción del subdesarrollo y de las desgarraduras cotidianas del hambre del Tercer Mundo en objeto de goce permanente en el reino utópico de la libertad burguesa. Es la simulación de la fiesta eterna donde la única entretención-redención es el consumo de los signos aseptizados del marginal: el consumo del desequilibrio mundial equilibrado. La miseria enlatada al vacío que rescata y libera al polo hegemónico que la cultiva y consume, y le es servida al dominado como plato único y perenne. Leer Disneylandia es tragar y digerir su condición de explotado.” (Dorfman & Mattelart 1976: 157)

That was the influential ‘identification’ of problems and challenges because of Disney’s role in Chilean, but South American comic culture, too. But both authors did not stop there, writing against Disney and warning of dangers by these comics. They took the identified power of Disney and demanded to use it for another purpose. Taking the identified influence of comics as those by Disney they promoted the idea to create Chilean comics to promote other ideals, spread other pictures and in the end establish another policy. However, they did not write a DIY-book, but worked out an ‘identified need’. The identified destructive nature of Disney-comics had to be countered, according to both authors, but both acknowledged at the same time, that this could not happen as a voluntary act, but needed collective and organized action. This was something to be established, but not already in existence, since experts for cultural change were not readily available. And for this they called for political action, to establish a vanguard to allow for a new social practice along the facilitation of a new expression within and along comics (Dorfman & Mattelart 1976: 160). This was a call answered by the creation of *Quimantú*.

The identified and criticized cultural dependency of Chile upon the USA and specifically Disney was to be countered in the years of Allende’s government with the nationalization of a major publisher, with comics allowing for a different social influence, following the ‘scientific

encounter' of a general social influence of comics. With Dorfman and Mattelart working out that the 'true message' of Disney to Chile and South America was imperialist and bourgeois, and by this insulting and discriminatory, it was 'clear' in 1971, even before the publication of the study, that a new message to Chile should be established. Too long, as the new narrative for the necessity of 'Chilean comics' went, Disney had played a strongly anticommunist and imperialist role at the same time, inter alia by making dictators look like soviets or South Americans in cliché ways. Accordingly, Dorfman and Mattelart joined *Quimantú* as advisers while still working scientifically about comics and their role in Chile (Kunzle 2005b: 143; Rojas Flores 2016: S. 220ff.). According to their thesis it was then, in 1971/1972 time to use the potential of comics shown by their analysis of Disney, a potential in education but propaganda as well, not only for US influences in South America, but state attempts for change and influence (Bolte 2010: 267ff.).

First angle here was to identify the pictures and messages spread by and via Disney. These were, according to Chilean findings, anti-communist and 'Western' ideals, but clichés of 'Latin America', too, degrading people there. In the USA this had major influence, as in the spread of ideas considering most of 'Latin America' as consisting of 'banana republics' without functioning politics and full of cliché-culture. But it had influence on the self-perception within 'Latin America', and here Chile, too (Kagelmann 1986: 132ff.). Even not-Disney, but Disney-like characters and comics worked along this line, as with *Condortio*, the light-skinned and more or less stupid personification of Chile, combing racism and South America stereotypes. This comic, even though being a Chilean one, stood no chance to be one for an expected 'new time' (Bolte 2010: 269ff.). To counter these – in government sense – problematic tendencies, and this was the second angle, own and new formats had to be developed. And to have them not in competition with dominant Disney-comics this meant at the same time to suppress the circulation of Disney and other comics alike. Since within an uncontrolled competition, new formats always were in danger to be compared to the long existing and stable-successful norm of mass comics. One other option here was, however, not to prevent Disney-comics circulation, but to allow success with publications coming for free or being in much wider distribution using state channels. This happened for example with 'educational comics' in Mexico or Peru before, but they remained a niche by themselves, not allowing for mass influence by mass entertainment. Accordingly, *Quimantú* aimed for a new kind of comic, a new 'norm' with new pictures, messages and norm(alitie)s presented (see for example Kagelmann 1986: 139).

First model here was a comic, more a *folleto*, a small informative publication, published by the *Consejería de Difusión de la Presidencia de la República* still under president Frei in 1970: *La*

Firme. Within 1970 two of these *folletos* were published, one about the nationalization of copper and the other about the national budget. They came as informative and educational comics by the government, attempting to not be part of the political discourse, as many other comics of these times, but official mouthpiece and message by ‘the state’. Taking these publications as a model the series became one of the first to be published by *Quimantú*, as a series, starting in new numbering (Rojas Flores 2016: 289). Clear aim was to not allow comics to undermine the hoped for democratic socialist revolution within Chile but instead defend and stabilize it, gain support for it with mass communication inter alia via comics. And for this *La Firme* became basic asset, popularizing governmental positions and at the same time allowing to witness changes within them and their presentation in the few years of rule under Allende (Lent 2005: 19).

Basic idea, especially of *La Firme*, was to present the ‘new society’ and to present and lay down the ideological base of it. Critics framed it as a kind of comic-crash-course of ‘socialism’; surely it plainly presented new ideals and ideas. The comic started to be published biweekly with a circulation of about 50.000 copies per issues. They were sold at kiosks, but distributed for free, too, for example to workers or schoolchildren. Behind stood a collective of three artists and writers. Topics covered the whole range of policies, be it resources and energy, food-production or education and democracy. It was not *La Firme* alone doing this job as a comic, being mouthpiece to the government, but *La Firme* was considered one of a kind, being truly a comic, working with humor and allowing for entertainment and amusement mainly instead being first of all educational. Part of this was to create an own comic universe for the comic, having a complete framework of fantasy and humor, being in part fairy tale and still in part political and socially critical, putting the narration and style at least as far in front as the message. This made *La Firme* more significant than many other comics by *Quimantú* (Kunzle 1978: 377). But this conclusion is not to be confused with the overall significance of *Quimantú* and its publications, having together the aim to overcome identified cultural hegemony by the USA and allow for a new public education. Many of the publications of *Quimantú* remained in line with Disney and other US originals, be it adult or children comics, in format for sure, but often in graphic style, too. However, the content was changed more or less completely to allow to transport ‘leftist’ to ‘socialist’ values and ideas, but Chilean reality as such, too, instead of stereotyped or phantasmatic pictures of a ‘reality’. Following, inter alia *La Firme* did its best to present a diverse Chilean reality in a fantasy setting and without losing humor. Instead of escapism, linked to Disney comics, but also super-hero-comics, attempt was to show the ‘true face’ of US economic and connected cultural hegemony and ‘imperialism’. In contrast to the criticized US-

fantasy about ‘South America’ or ‘Chile’ *La Firme* tried to show Chile as ‘Chile’, using slang expressions, puns and folklore, problematic and challenged as it was, but not without hope and a generally positive idea of potential. Part of this shift was to use human and no animal characters for the stories. While the historical grounding for years of exploitation and inequality was shown and discussed, a potentiality for future was stressed and presented, too. Overcoming ‘underdevelopment’ and ‘exploitation’ was no adventure or the path of ‘the West’ anymore, but presented as a Chilean task and opportunity (Kunzle 2005a: 159f).

Next to *La Firme* the comic *Cabrio Chico* played a major role in the governmental attempts for popular ‘education’ via *Quimantú*. It was a comic aiming at adults and children alike, and as *La Firme* it was conceptualized as a ‘true comic’. However, it was divided in two parts, one actual comic, and a black and white adult supplement about topics as hygiene, child-care or health. In the comic itself children were in focus, children being the ones experiencing ‘adult problems’, making the children in a sense the ‘adults’ in the fantasy world of the comic. This allowed for a learning perspective for and of various generations simultaneously, playing with fun, humor and sincerity at the same time, as having the ‘old system’ satirized as being pedantic and allowing for a perspective of hope to overcome fears of change, that remained strong in some segments of poverty in society. And over the three years of Allende rule there were more alike, children, but adult comics, too (Kunzle 1978: 372ff.).

Soon and fast *Quimantú* became a major enterprise publishing a wide array of magazines and comics, all more or less cheap or even distributed for free describing and promoting the aimed for ‘new Chile’. Many main actors of *Quimantú* were long time Editorial Zig-Zag employees being in favor of the new government, as the head of the comic section. Those who remained reorientated, especially writers, but new writers and artists became part of *Quimantú*, too, delivering fresh scenarios and characters. But here limitations have to be mentioned, too, because change focused on content, not so much style or technical composition. Being aware of the connections between form, style and content a focus on changing mainly content allowed for, or was hoped to allow for more readers to keep on reading the comics even though they had a new content. Overcoming the dominance of comics as those of Disney was seen as only possible when focusing on one aspects of the comics at a time to make the transformation a smooth one. Even though some comics came in new styles or composition, all came with new content. Overall, the circulation was very high, covering even with certain publications other South American countries (Kagelmann 1986: 137; Kunzle 2005b: 143ff.).

At times for the overall aim some radical changes had to be made. One example here is the propagated idea of Chile. Before Chile was presented and considered mainly to be ‘white

Caucasian’, due to its high rate of European descendent population, in Chile itself, but also the USA. This allowed to link Chile to the US and make many Chilean regard the USA a protector of shared interests, constructed ‘crusaders for freedom and civilization’. But in the Allende years it became key to stress the differences, not what was shared, and show by this, that the USA had more in common with for example stereotyped Nazis than Chileans. Part of this was to present Chileans and Chile more as ‘non-*white*’ or not purely ‘*white*’, but instead part of the world suffering from US ‘Imperialism’ (see for an exemplary discussion Kunzle 2005b: 150). A linked topic covered in some comics was to present and discuss a potential future of Chile and ‘the world’, instead of another picture of the past and contemporary ‘reality’. Here clear links to before existing science fiction comics can be seen. But most often mixed in these science fiction-like comics was the discussion of society and the political as such, allowing for dystopian and utopian visions linkable to a ‘reality’ presented in other comics by *Quimantú* (Rojas Flores 2016: 354ff.). And all these comic efforts came together with other forms of media influencing, as murals or book publications, combining always again the idea of ‘the new’, to reach out to society and its ideals of social justice, and the fight against old norms, ideals and stereotypes, united under slogans like fighting ‘imperialism’ in a global ‘class struggle’ (see for example Kunzle 1978: 356f.).

“En las historietas influidas por el pensamiento de izquierda, como las que se elaboraron con un contenido alternativo en Quimantú, no sólo se resalta la justicia y la lucha social. También se proyecta una defensa de la nación amenazada por el imperialismo, para así destacar la inclinación extranjerizante de la clase alta, algo muy propio de la cultura de izquierda.” (Rojas Flores 2016: 374)

However, this overall content and orientation witnessed changes in the three years of Allende’s rule. Best this can be seen looking again at *La Firme*.

“*La Firme* differed from Disney’s comics in form and content. The familiar animals were replaced by ‘rudimentary but recognizably’ human characters, and the plots built around Scrooge McDuck’s money, treasure hunts, etc. were removed in favor of families that sought only health, happiness, and security. Woll’s analysis (1976) of *La Firme* showed it followed the ideological lines of the Allende government. The comic was optimistic throughout 1971 when the government increased wages and jobs; each month, it treated a different industry and explained how it was improved as it shifted from private to government ownership. *La Firme* also tried to improve its reader’s health, using dangers of alcoholism, consumer protection, and preventive medicine as themes of issues. The comic book’s ‘self-effacing wit’ and humorously-educational tone faded after Chile was the victim of the CIA-

engineered general strike of late 1972. The emphasis moved to Allende's enemies – the upper class, opposition parties, and the U.S. Whereas previously, characters of all classes were undifferentiated, now only the lower class was drawn with a simplicity of line, while the upper class was depicted in ornate dress and possessing double chins and potbellies. Representatives of the U.S., multinational corporations, and the CIA had 'frightfully realistic' portrayals, compared to the comic strip guise used to depict Chileans." (Lent 2005: 19)

All this found an end with the coup d'état, and it was a fast, comprehensive and rapid end. Especially comics, but erotic magazines, in Chile often coming with comics, vanished rapidly. Some were allowed to exist for some few more years, the less political the longer, but of the before existing erotic magazines non survived beyond the 1970s, as new topics were defined to be of necessity and importance to society (Hasson 2015: 13). One reason for the massive and comprehensive break with the before in cultural politics, while in other segments and areas the break was not always as fast or as comprehensive, can be linked to the importance cultural politics had for the Unidad Popular government. The Allende-government was not the first Chilean one engaging in cultural politics, but it intervened much more thorough and deeper than all before. It made cultural politics one major pillar of its agenda and intervened directly in the production and distribution of cultural goods. From 1971 to 1973 the Chilean state was primary agent for the production and distribution of books and comics, as never before a Chilean government had been. It tried heavily to influence by and lead with books and comics (Griffin 2016: 15). Taking and realizing this, one of the first acts after Pinochet took over, was to completely end these politics and end the popular education via comics and books, instead of transforming their content in sense of his new dictatorship. The cultural politics of the Allende government were to highly symbolic to be only transformed, they had to find an end – in perspective of the new rulers – to express for the radical and full change with the coup d'état.

5.3.3. Comics and Pinochet

“A partir de septiembre de 1973, la historia del humor gráfico nacional se vuelve un cuento de monos y gorilas. En Chile, llamamos *monos* a los dibujos de las revistas para niños y *gorilas* a los militares golpistas. En golpe militar que derroca al presidente Salvador Allende interrumpe, también, el promisorio desarrollo de la historieta chilena e interrumpe la sátira política. La dispersión destruye una comunidad que se generaban en talleres y revistas, que coexistía con otros oficios y que calladamente se reproducía en una relación de maestros y discípulos; y que había construido, en un contexto de distribución masiva de las publicaciones, una relación con su público, con la familia lectora, que también constituía un

legado. Adicionalmente, la censura, los allanamientos y la propaganda oficial, crean un clima de amedrentamiento con respecto a la tenencia de ciertas publicaciones y de ciertos autores, especialmente de aquellas con el sello Quimantú, que son quemadas tanto por los militares como por los mismos lectores.” (Montealegre Iturra 2008: 249)

From the 11th of September 1973 onwards media production in Chile was not the same as before. Considering the importance media had for the Allende government, including comics, some of the first acts after the coup worked directly against a free media production. All press, radio and TV directly linked – or seen as directly linked – to the Unidad Popular had to suspend its activities. All that were not banned from working on fall under censorship. First much of the media production ended, especially of written and printed media, all else were censored heavily. Fundamental here was the ‘Decreto Ley No. 77’ prohibiting all ‘Marxist propaganda’, ‘Marxist doctrine’ but all ‘in line with its principles and objectives’, too, allowing to work practically against most media along suspicion and allegations (Montealegre Iturra 2008: 249ff.). Within about three years the Allende government had increased media production immensely, from wall-paintings and murals to comics or other cultural products. All linked to this, however loose, came after the coup into focus of attempts of a systematic destruction. This went as far as burning publicly books, not to speak of ‘whitewashing’ murals. To keep the now fought against media products from being circulated privately in spite of contrary state politics, even the possession of some books or posters was made a crime and all press reporting was heavily controlled, especially in the first years of the dictatorship. In the end all that could be summarized or constructed as art and media of ‘workers’ was at least suspicious and for sure prone for repression (Kunzle 1978: 356f.). The perspective of the Pinochet government was to take suspicion as proof. If a message was not clearly in favor of the new government suspicion arose fast of it being against the new government, no matter if this was intended or only a construction of a seemingly intention. How problematic such a perspective is can be seen looking at educational comics, stated aims have to be differentiated from only potential or interpreted aims of a comic, not all comics constructed as educational comics are intended as such. All comics can be interpreted as having an educational aim, but this is not the same as being produced and written for this aim. This differentiation was not made by the new dictatorial government but is to be stressed here in the historical look back as well as all comic analysis as such (see for example Rojas Flores 2016: 485 about these tendencies under Pinochet).

However, those media and art not falling in the range of suspicion kept on being published, as cartoons not considered political. Here regional differences have to be pointed out, as between

the later military dictatorship in Argentina from 1976 onwards, that for example pushed hard against the popular *Mafalda* cartoons, considering them combining humor with criticism of society and politics, and the dictatorship in Chile that aimed mainly against those media directly linked to the *Unidad Popular* first. The ever-famous *Condorito* instead not only survived but remained known and popular while political cartoons became more and less forgotten, while the partly unpolitical, but on the other side more right-wing and conservative oriented cartoon *Condorito*, with clear sexist and racist tendencies, was pushed at least by being allowed to be published widely and being allowed to flourish internationally (see for example Yáñez Morales 2020). Basis for this was the retransformation of *Quimantú*, renaming it as Editorial Gabriela Mistral and bringing it in line with the new dictatorial government and its policies, stopping most comics from being published while pushing some others (Rojas Flores 2016: 408). All not as clearly not suspicious of being ‘left’ or close to the *Unidad Popular* as *Condorito* stood in constant danger. All polemic was dangerous and viewed suspiciously by the new regime. References to tyranny or fighting for rights were seen critically by a regime seeing allegories everywhere, if made on purpose or only constructed by those in control. Censorship worked strongly in the first years of the dictatorship and build the ground for self-censorship soon (Rojas Flores 2016: 484).

In all media that kept on being published after the coup there was a strong tendency towards patriotic and nationalistic messages and images. This was not totally new but became more important and widespread. The new aim was to promote ‘national unity’ against class struggle or international fighting. Strongly linked was to frame ‘the military’ as synonymous with ‘national unity’ and support the military as patriotic act. Since the new dictatorial government was clearly linked tightly to the military the component of ‘patriotic militarism’ became a major pillar to support the new regime in media, too (Rojas Flores 2016: 460). Next to the link of ‘unity’ and ‘the military’ there was the strong tendency to position ‘unity’ against minority rights. While class differences were stressed in government influenced media in times of Allende then in the early Pinochet years all differences were neglected or constructed away. And all still ‘falling out’ were characterized for example as ‘lazy’ or ‘treacherous’ instead of linking classist discrimination to it. Similar tendencies guided the representation of indigenous Chileans. *Quimantú* had made some efforts to denounce their discrimination and promote their dignity and minority rights, going at times as far as presenting ‘them’, in a generalized manner, as victims of ‘Chileans.’ From the late 1973 onwards this changed drastically. As at times before Allende’s rule indigenous Chileans were associated again mainly with crime, robbery or treason, stopping all potential thoughts about needed specific minority rights at once (Rojas

Flores 2016: 466). Taking all this, comics as a mass phenomenon came to a halt in Chile, no matter their view. Especially comics as part of a cultural discourse and in an educational sense and purpose found their end in the later 1973. This did not stop debates about their potentials, but the seen potential instead led to working against comics as mass phenomenon by the new government. More the before and long-time powerful discourse disvaluing comics as ‘lacking content’ and being culturally ‘less worthy’ got influential again. Only in underground and alternative forms comics somehow educating and being critical survived, in small numbers and small circulation, but surely not as a phenomenon reaching out to masses (Rojas Flores 2016: 509). This can be framed as a cultural blackout that coined the 1970s in Chile:

“A cultural blackout involves a decline in cultural production as well as in consumption. During the dictatorship, Chilean citizens censored themselves by not attempting to produce cultural goods and by lessening their consumption of cultural goods already in circulation. Moreover, intense state surveillance of the public sphere and nightly curfews caused an epidemic of self-censorship that affected what people said, how they interacted with one another, how they did business, and what they did in their free time.” (Griffin 2016: 18)

Here it has to be stressed that not all was under control of the newly established dictatorship immediately. Instead, especially in the early years self-censorship played a major role, seen as only way of survival (Montealegre Iturra 2008: 254). This went along with publications allowed by the regime or even more or less supported by it. An example here was the book *Francotiradores del humor* that was published in 1974 and discussed how ‘humor’ had worked against the Allende government. By revitalizing the major themes of these works, originally from between 1971 and 1973, they got a new audience and strength, remained influential meta-narratives about the Allende time, discrediting it and rectifying the coup and dictatorship at the same time. These themes and topics were the inflation and shortages, strike and chaos, but also the construction of Allende politicians as corrupt, not truly ‘left’ but bourgeois usurpers working on behalf of Cuba and preaching a false-peace, using the ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’ only as a frame (Rojas Flores 2016: 367). But it was not only keeping awake images of the Allende-time, but in narrow limits to use comics and other cultural products for themselves, too. One example here is the propagated support of and work for women rights by the Pinochet regime, creating and promoting inter alia the *Centro de Madres de Chile*, led by Pinochet’s wife. However, ‘women rights’ here got a new framing as the aim of the Centro was to incentivize women to become ‘mothers’, ‘wives’ and ‘homemakers’, not paving their own ways. For this aim various media were used (see for example Griffin 2016: 43).

These two tendencies were met with a third one from the mid-1970s onwards: the establishment of a neoliberal economic order and its influence on media publishing. This order privileged those in publishing working primarily for profit instead of cultural production. Aims as education or even social advancement instead were not seen as profitable. And with this new economic order getting more powerful it worked as a kind of self-regulation away from critical publishing towards popular media production, and that was mass publication especially. Book translations and the publishing of few very well selling books was the publishing way supported by government policies, and it helped to keep literary culture, not to mention a diverse or critical literary culture, at bay and less important (Griffin 2016: 19). All this together allowed to lighten censorship at the end of 1976, allowing for media and communication opposing the government again, even though in limits and controlled. Since critical media was brought down so far between 1973 and 1976 this proofed to be of limited risk. Lightening censorship was a mere symbolical act then (Montealegre Iturra 2008: 261).

“El nuevo gobierno no descuidó el componente cultural. A nivel simbólico, todas las expresiones asociadas a la izquierda fueron eliminadas y prohibidas. Los murales y rayados callejeros fueron borrados, el vestuario asociado a la juventud rebelde cayó bajo sospecha y la música andina fue eliminada de las radios, por lo menos en los primeros años. En su reemplazo, se promovió una nueva estética, de rasgos nacionalistas y monumentales, que se evidenció en la ritualidad cívica (juramentos masivos), la actividad artística (promoción del folklore tradicional), los proyectos editoriales y varias otras dimensiones de la materialidad cotidiana. En el aspecto comunicacional, un equipo de asesores civiles, al interior de la Secretaría General de Gobierno, diseñó una estrategia para contrarrestar la acción marxista. El Departamento de Relaciones Humanas y Conducta Social, dirigido por el sociólogo Hernán Tuane Escaff, estuvo encargado de confeccionar un plan de guerra psicológica (develado públicamente en 2002), que contemplaba mensajes dirigidos al consciente y al inconsciente a través de diarios, radios y televisión. Como se puede apreciar, en la programación del plan no hubo referencias a las revistas de historietas. En todo caso, no conocemos en detalle la efectividad de estas estrategias, ni menos si se prolongaron más allá de 1970 [sic!] o si hubo intentos complementarios para ser aplicados en otros espacios.” (Rojas Flores 2016: 404)

Another aspect allowing censorship to be lightened was the general decline of printed media culture from comics to magazines and books. This industry not only suffered from and was transformed by the new economic order but had to fight hard for survival against new popular media, especially television which led to falling sales and resulting unemployment of artists

and writers. And the before supportive media publishing by the government especially showed few interests in publishing and promoting comics. Some series remained, as *Condorito*, some remained with new content in line with the government, but overall comics played a minor role compared to the Allende years. Accordingly, the government, too, used comics only in some few exceptional cases, never slightly as broad and far-reaching as the Allende government. Since this was combined with a market looking mainly for profit and a publishing industry aiming for masses, comics and their artists had a hard time in the 1970s dictatorship in Chile (Rojas Flores 2016: 491). But the hard time was no end to comics and comic culture as such. Despite censorship, despite restrictions and economic hardship on a very restricted level comics remained, at times offering a subtle criticism of the regime and conditions in Chile. A kind of political humor survived these years of hardship, partly in hiding. This allowed to gain more influence and diffusion again in the 1980s, even though the dictatorship remained in power (Rojas Flores 2016: 492).

The times of Pinochet's rule can be divided into several stages, depending on the sector of policy looked at this division can be different. Taking the stability of the regime as guideline the first stage could be constructed as lasting until 1982, with high stability and no majority questioning the regime, instead many either remaining quiet, opting for migration or manifesting publicly support for the new regime. In this time only a small opposition confronted the military dictatorship. However, looking at media production, there is another division, having first some years of tight control and then lightening censorship and control (Rojas Flores 2016: 397). Step by step the hardship for cultural production was overcome in parts, and not only comics regained step by step some more importance (Griffin 2016: 32f.). The 1980s then led to a kind of 'publishing boom', including even oppositional magazines aiming at larger scale circulation, attempting to establish themselves as a 'free alternative' to state-controlled media (Griffing 2016: 33). Here some surviving publishing houses played an important role, next to tendencies of small scale and private printing, because these publishing houses only allowed for an alternative press with broader circulation and offered a kind of partnership at the same time. From periodicals to book-length works were published bit by bit. One aspect here was to offer an opportunity to earn money for oppositional writers and artists again (see for example Griffin 2016: 33). But this was no tendency happily agreed to by the Pinochet government or that was allowed to flourish freely. Especially after the protests of 1982 and 1983 and their throwing down the regime attempted to regain control. To limit the reach of all classified as opposition became significant again. Oppositional magazines, including comics, and the standing behind publishing houses got into focus of new attempts of censorship. But

different to the time directly following the coup d'état then censorship was fought, inter alia using the new constitution and courts to fight for a right of publication (Griffin 2016: 33f.). Next to this, the tendency for independent publishing was strengthened by state attempts to regain control. Surely there was a global trend for independent publishing. But it had a specific importance in the 1980s in Chile not the least to counter state supported monopolization tendencies in editing and publishing but overcome attempts of reestablishing control and censorship of actual publishing houses, too. A local press allowed for some freedom and limited state control (Griffin 2016: 22).

In the end all these tendencies worked together and proofed state attempts to regain control of media production and publication not as successful as before. In 1984 various restrictions of oppositional or independent media production were active, but this could not stop anymore blaming the regime of human rights violations publicly or presenting the ongoing protests. Especially *decretos* prohibiting concrete aspects of a free media, as some 'graphic images of any kind', proved to work as a kind of 'boomerang' in the end (Montealegre Iturra 2008: 272f.). However, this should not be mistaken as a victory of free or critical media production. Even though some aspects working against a critical media in the 1970s were less powerful in the 1980s, as state censorship or self-censorship, another aspect proofed still – and ongoingly powerful: the established economic order. The 'oppositional' media products, as comics produced by not-state-controlled publishing houses had to compete with state-controlled or in line of the regime working publishing houses' products. At the kiosk the lack of publicity and support proofed a true obstacle not easily overcome. Next to competing with the ever growing influence of television only publishing for content and culture, not looking at sales at least too, proofed hardly possible. This was another reason why independent, and mostly non-profit publishing gained such significance and finally played a role in bringing down the dictatorship (Montealegre Iturra 2008: 284).

Looking at the Pinochet and Allende years and their political agenda towards media production and comics in comparison differences are obvious and to be stressed. Nevertheless, some similarities have to be stressed, too. One is the overall role of Chilean commercial publishing that remained of marginal importance under Allende and Pinochet as well. Allende stressed and pushed the state-controlled publishing industry and kept the commercial marginal by this, Pinochet instead supported the publishing industry not at all, no matter if state-controlled or not, but instead allowed for major influence of an international publishing industry in Chile due to his pushing for a neoliberal economic order. The effect was in some sense similar, but the

reasons behind differed highly. Same can be written about the state control of what was published. The Allende government took control by making the publication their own with the takeover and realignment of *Editorial Quimantú*, by this it directly influenced who was able to read what. Instead, the Pinochet government did take control not with a progressive position of attempting to influence what was read by offering more of it but instead a repressive position of censoring most. But again, the effect of taking direct governmental influence on what was read and readable was somewhat similar. Another aspect of a certain similarity is that the Allende government directly pushed the medium ‘books’ – that included comics and other graphic narratives – before other media. In the times of Allende, the book got a specific significance and was framed as superior. And the Pinochet government did the same in a way, but not in supporting books and comics specifically but working against them specifically by focusing censorship on them, and with stressing their (potential) influence. The last similarity was that neither government took the public as main producer of printed culture, a position the public (re)claimed for itself with tendencies of self- and independent publishing in the 1980s, but made the public mainly consumers of cultural goods, be it in the position as readers under Allende or in the limited sense ‘consumers’ in times of Pinochet. But all these similarities are not to be mistaken as the overall tendency: while the Allende government supported, developed and worked for the growth of Chilean literary culture, including comics, the Pinochet government did clearly the opposite and worked as censor and depressor before all else by establishing a strict surveillance and crush all Chilean literary culture in various ways (Griffin 2016: 16f.).

In the end this did not save the Pinochet government, as inter alia media pushed back, and especially independent publishing played its role in overcoming the dictatorship. However, some major tendencies working against a prospering and diverse publishing industry, from books to magazines and comics, remained strong. These were devastations done to the educational systems or a lack of diverse mass culture, but especially the economic order that favored big companies, a focus on large scale books and media, especially international bestseller instead of Chilean cultural goods or even local ones, and hardship for all not looking at profit first. The dictatorship was overcome, but the tendencies and effects of it, for the media and comic market and culture, remained coining and strong (Griffin 2016: 20ff.).

5.3.4. Comic culture after Pinochet’s rule

Pinochet lost power by a referendum in 1988 – however still 44 % voted in favor of Pinochet and Pinochet kept some power for ten more years, as commander of the army. With this

background the newly elected democratic government took a cautious path, concerned with the legitimization of its own path, and much less the past. Same hold true for media policies and production. 1988 was no turning point towards a highly critical publishing industry, instead a critical publication ‘industry’ established more in the area of underground and self-publishing, using for example comics for critical perspectives (Violi 2018: 419ff.). The same time Chilean mass culture remained highly influenced by transnational companies, especially from the USA. Disney was the major company for comics in Chile, before and after 1988. However, the selection of titles and topics was not the same in all countries of South America but had a local blending (Kunzle 2005a: 156). Along politics trying not to look back too much economic pressure framed the developments. Within this environment even those comic segments that had worked to end the dictatorship got less and less influential into the 1990s:

“En cuanto a la sátira social, paradójicamente, la transición se desenvuelve en una atmósfera política que elude los conflictos y ahoga el humor crítico. Marcada por la negociación, la construcción de consensos y la amenaza permanente del león dormido (que siempre está con un ojo abierto desde la comandancia en jefe del Ejército), se inhibe la memoria y lentifica la justicia. Se terminan las revistas del humor y durante la transición – pactada, pacata – los dibujantes que animaran las publicaciones que lucharon contra la dictadura, se quedan sin medios donde continuar opinando con cierta libertad y aportando con su necesario inconformismo. Esas revistas y diarios (...) se terminan en los noventa.” (Montealegre Iturra 2008: 287)

Nonetheless, slowly a market for comics and graphic narration established again, in part with authors and artists active before next to some who have been in exile some time and new ones. Especially comics in magazines had their place in these developments, with models followed not from the USA only, but Europe, too. Some of these magazines clearly had a counter-culture approach (Hasson 2015: 29). And with the early 2000s even the more mass cultural productions opened toward traumatic experiences of the past, especially since Pinochet had lost most his influence by then. Memorization, in public and private, got more room and significance, with commemorative sites, some by the state, some by private initiative, but more publications about the years of Allende and Pinochet, too. In part this allowed political comics to leave the underground area (Violi 2018: 418). But this did not end independent publishing that remained of high significance in democratized Chile, inter alia because these publications were taken as more fitting to Chile or even ‘more Chilean’.

“Furthermore, the general ideology of independent publishing in contemporary Chile assumes that locally owned and operated presses are uniquely capable of producing literary

works that project political concerns and cultural identities authentic to the Chilean experience, whereas multinational publishing conglomerates are only interested in publishing local authors whose literary aesthetics will earn high profits.” (Griffin 2016: 23) This was accompanied by political and civil society initiatives to foster a reading and book culture in Chile again, giving this culture more significance once again. Part of this was the free or low-cost distribution of some media products, increasing access to them (Griffin 2016: 08 & 23ff.). Mass publications were fostered by such initiatives, but a variety of other cultural products, too. In the end the Chilean publication industry gained more strength and significance, inter alia in comparison to multinational corporations (Griffin 2016: 12). But the effect at times was a limited overall access, an access differing along economic conditions. Also because of this in the 2000s the publication industry in Chile differentiated further. One example here are *cartonera* books, made of recycled cardboard, and often being unique one by one with some hand paintings. On the one hand this allowed for an empowerment of independent and small-scale publications, a democratization effect, on the other hand the reach of such publications was always limited. This was countered in a way with many *cartonera* presses – the most per capita in the world – and major networking meetings in Santiago de Chile. Even in their own presentation these publications were clearly directed against the dominating neoliberal logics with labelling them as *artesanía*. But aspects alike put some to many independent and underground publications in contrast to the again more stable publishing industry, that stressed rights, as copyrights, economic logics and a need for mass publications (Griffin 2016: 06f.). “The disobedient behavior of Chilean Cartoneras echoes that of self-publishing groups of the dictatorship years and reveals the ways in which the neoliberal democratic state, like its authoritarian predecessor, attempts to discipline literary culture according to its own political and economic agendas.” (Griffin 2016: 07) In the end both segments had their comic book business, however different the comics were. Mass comics had their role, but politically influencing were more underground and independent comics. But that this was possible stands for a major difference of comic culture under Allende or Pinochet and the following one:

“What most distinguishes the cultural policies of the newly democratic state from those of the previous two administrations is that they put primary responsibility and power of cultural production, distribution and consumption in the hands of Chile’s local publishing industry and the public – or in other words, civil society. Both the socialist state and the authoritarian state worked to strictly control the process of book production and the accessibility of books to the public. While the socialist democratic state defined the value of the book almost exclusively based on its symbolic capabilities, the military state defined it almost exclusively

based on its existence as an economic good. In contrast to these two models, the postdictatorship Chilean state has attempted to put equal importance on the symbolic worth of books as a storehouse of language, traditions, identities, and national culture and on the book's economic value as a material object that can generate economic capital for individuals, the national book industry, and the state." (Griffin 2016: 28)

Even though countercultural or critical comics remained more an independent and underground phenomenon in Chile, and still are in the time of writing, educational ones were used by the state again. This had never ended in times of Pinochet, however not such broadly and in such a manner as in Allende's times, but got some more significance again, non the least to question history and spread 'new' concepts and norms of democracy, human rights, or justice. This was done by the state, but civil society actors, too, especially in times the government was not focusing on working on the past or even tried once and again to 'save' some pictures of the dictatorial past. At times these comics were used for influencing in a broad sense, at times in a narrower sense, in different areas and stages, but once again the importance of drawn pictures and pictured narrations got into focus in democratic Chile more and more from the 2000s onwards (Valdevieso 2005: 271ff.). However, comics generally were only or at least mostly used to reach for the broader audience – as in Peru, the last country I will look at here, even though in minor and more general manner.

6. Peru

6.1. Historical background

Peru was an often so classified 'high culture' in times first Europeans arrived in South America, heartland of the Inca culture, however, in these times a divided Empire. Francisco Pizarro conquered the region for Spain from 1532 onwards, without being able to establish peace and stability. In 1542 the Vice-Kingdom of Peru was established, having Lima as capital but covering much more than nowadays Peru. It was a Vice-Kingdom heavily controlled by Spain itself, regulating immigration and keeping a tight hand on the richness' in metals there, especially silver. Most of the indigenous population died soon, by infectious diseases and hardship. Only in the 18th century the organization changed in parts, and the Vice-Kingdom of Peru was cut down, a development that 'stabilized' the region in the outbreaking wars and fights for independence next to a pragmatic ruling Vice-King. Until then only a Spanish elite was ruling. It needed the intervention of already independent regions of South America to bring independence to Peru in 1824 finally (Clutterbuck 1995: 12; Hunefeldt 2004).

The following developments were unstable and made progress hard to reach. Again and again rebellions took place, presidents were removed or warfare struck – with Bolivia in the 1830s, with Spain in 1866 or with Chile from 1879 to 1884, leading to the loss of southern territory. All the while democratic tendencies grew, and participation was made easier – at least for male read Peruvians. However, still the military or the oligarchy ruled, keeping especially poor parts of the population, and by this once again mainly indigenous Peruvians, at bay. To fight for their interests in 1924 the *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana* (APRA) was established, but soon fought hard by the ruling elite. The *Alianza* positioned itself clearly against the USA and its influence. It had hard times to gain power, but not high numbers in followers. 1931 the party got forbidden (Hunefeldt 2004; Murillo Garaycochea 1976). In de facto alliance with the USA in World War II, Peru got militarily stronger and could establish control of the northern Peruvian Amazonas region, then disputed by Ecuador. However, this only led to more dependency on the USA, especially an economic dependency. Politically these times were more or less instable. In 1945 the APRA was legalized again after supporting the new elected president. But once again from 1948 to 1956 a military junta governed under the lead of Manuel Arturo Odría Amoretti, that established female voting rights, albeit with many restrictions. The APRA was forbidden once again. The junta rule was ended with democratic elections, however soon again a coup d'état ended democracy in 1962 after a probable APRA win, even though officially to allow for new elections in 1963. In 1963 Fernando Belaúnde Terry was elected and started massive developments programs (inter alia Hunefeldt 2004; Murillo Garaycochea 1976).

6.1.1. Peru 1963 to 1990

However, these reforms never were able to change the situation for most. Always again there were protests, up to violent movements. In 1965 the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (MIR) started guerilla activities and planned to establish guerilla posts to allow the countryside to join. These attempts however failed and after many violent clashes the MIR was weakened. Meanwhile in these years in the Amazonas region some indigenous people suffered from genocide like government measures to gain control of natural resources there. But these were only the most violent protests and actions; and instability remained. Part of this instability was a massive inflation leading to a devaluation of the national currency in 1967. Finally, the democratically elected government ended in a military coup d'état (Clutterbuck 1995):

“In 1968 there was a coup d'état by a military junta which ousted the reformist President Fernando Belaúnde Terry, and installed General Juan Velasco Alvarado in his place. This in itself was a familiar pattern of politics in Peru, which had been ruled by military juntas in the periods 1930-9 and 1948-56, and again briefly in 1962-3. The junta which seized power in 1968 differed from the others in that its politics were radical. Its declared objective was a ‘revolution from above’ to pre-empt a revolution from below. Its politics can best be described as ‘national socialist’.” (Clutterbuck 1995: 14)

As radical as the measures of the new regime were, freedom was no aim. Instead, censorship was introduced, and free education was limited to those passing tests – especially the indigenous population felt not represented and ousted out. Self-declared it a was a ‘leftist’ military regime, inter alia counting massively on nationalizations, but in the end only few profited from measures taken (Cook & Olson Lounsbery 2017: 150). At the same time all these measures endangered the economic growth that lost drive. From 1974 onwards massive protests arose, gaining momentum in 1975 and leading to such violent protests that several were killed. In 1975 Velasco Alvarado was dismissed and replaced after some military violent action by General Francisco Morales Bermudez Cerrut; a step not helping the economy to recover (Clutterbuck 1995: 14f.). Protests went on and finally Morales Bermudez Cerrut gave in to prepare a path bringing Peru back to democracy. For this a constitutional assembly was held in 1978 that allowed for a new constitution one year later. This allowed Peru to return to democracy in 1980, but not to peace or stability. Communist countermovement’s had started to establish themselves in the years of military dictatorship, building on attempts from the mid- to later 1960s to seize a revolutionary moment following Cuba. In February 1970 the *Sendero Luminoso* was formed officially, first mostly an intellectual enterprise, formed mostly by those

of higher education (Clutterbuck 1995: 15ff.). By the Sendero Luminoso in 1979 the decision for an armed struggle was made, to be launched in May 1980 – on the day before the first democratic presidential elections since 1968. But it started with only the symbolic seizure of the ballot box, that could be replaced in time. However, the rest of the year violence rose, but first not to high levels. This happened only from 1981 onwards (Clutterbuck 1995: 19f.). New heights were reached in March 1982 by coordinated attacks and an intensified ‘people’s justice’, declaring a death penalty to whomever did not overtly support them. Nevertheless, popular support still existed. It needed until the latter 1982 for the politic to react – the 1980 once again elected president Fernando Belaúnde Terry then finally declared a state of emergency on the worst effected departments. This did not stop the killings, instead it intensified them on both sides the following years. To the mid-1980s the conflict escalated, Emergency Military Zones incorporated finally 60 per cent of Peruvian population. In these zones police and civil authorities were ruled by the army, it were military governor zones (Clutterbuck 1995: 20ff.; Cook & Olson Lounsbery 2017: 150). Even more, from 1983 onwards the Sendero Luminoso was joined by another armed guerilla organization, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movemenet MRTA (Cook & Olson Lounsbery 2017: 151ff.). But “[a]lthough both Sendero and MRTA were active during the same time period, and even shared the same leftist orientation vis-à-vis the government, they never coalesced. In fact, Sendero often targeted MRTA members and other leftists opponents during its campaign.” (Cook & Olson Lounsbery 2017: 153)

In 1985 Alan García Pérez was elected president, with 34 years of age then being extremely young. He tried to end the conflict by reorganizing the army and allowing Sendero Luminoso-prisoners to be together in prisons, in the end allowing them this way to organize and train in prison. But when a strike at prisons of Lima allowed the Sendero Luminoso to take staff hostage García reacted violently and let the army recapture three prisons – with a death toll of more than 260 it became a propagandic weapon for the Sendero Luminoso to blame state cruelty. García and the army lost reputation and support (Clutterbuck 1995: 22f.). By 1987 the Sendero Luminoso started to operate in the coca growing regions more, albeit having less popular support there because of taxes raised. The army allowed the coca growing and trade in exchange for help against the Sendero Luminoso, a successful tactic, allowing for massive operations against the Sendero Luminoso, nevertheless committing human rights violations still (Clutterbuck 1995: 23ff.).

Less violent actions were committed by the MRTA in these years at first; some link this to the MRTA leader and Alan García being childhood friends. However, after reforms did not went as far as hoped for, MRTA took up arms again. In 1986 the MRTA was stronger than ever before

and remained so until the end of the 1980s (Cook & Olson Lounsbury 2017: 154f.). The ongoing violence and massive economic problems characterized the Peruvian situation when the next elections took place in 1990. This allowed the complete outsider and political newcomer Alberto Fujimori win the elections in the second ballot against the writer Mario Vargas Llosa who was leader of liberal to neoliberal political movements in Peru in these years and was clearly favorized in these elections (Godoy Mejía 2021).

6.1.2. Peru and the rule of Alberto Fujimori

In 1990 Alberto Fujimori was elected, standing for the absolute new and not the ‘corruption’ of the two governments before. By then inflation was in the thousands of percent due to uncontrolled spending, the Peruvian economy laid down. And against the Sendero Luminoso president García did not win either. In some regions he established military control, but not all. And morally he was confronted with human right abuses, putting all action against the Sendero Luminoso or MRTA in a bad light. However, the Sendero Luminoso also committed such violations and on a larger scale than many in support stressed. Overall, the Sender Luminoso and MRTA had gained strength in the García years, establishing military organization, raising money by the cocoa trade – both were at their peak and up to start straight civil war following Maoistic theory of Protracted War (Clutterbuck 1995: 25ff.).

Then Fujimori took over. But he had won only the presidential elections, not the Congress – there he faced a blocking opposition. And at courts not much happened against the Sendero Luminoso or MRTA either, due to serious threats. In reaction to this in April 1992 Fujimori dissolved the Congress and suspended judiciary. This was a popular move, since many suffered from the hindered administration. In 1993 the judiciary was reinstated, with new measures to protect witnesses, and in October of the same year Fujimori won a referendum on a new constitution, giving the president more power and allowing for reelection. Plus, a new Congress, more in Fujimori’s sense, was elected, and the USA resumed financial aid, that had been stopped in 1992 (Clutterbuck 1995: 28f.; Godoy Mejía 2021). Another aspect of rising popularity of Fujimori and his actions was the success of his administration against the Sendero Luminoso. In the time 1990 to 1992 counterintelligence was used to find and capture Abimael Guzmán, the leader of Sendero Luminoso, in the end. All the time especially the urban richer feared the conflict to grow into a kind of civil war and because of this supported counter-measures (Clutterbuck 1995: 30ff.). The same time more Sendero Luminoso leaders were captured and a new law established promising high rewards if they cooperated, that proved highly effective. Another measure taken was to arm village defense forces – the *Rondas Campesinas* – which

kept their weapons, not leaking them to the Sendero Luminoso, and cooperated in intelligence (Clutterbuck 1995: 34ff.). Even Guzman declared in 1993 publically the violent fight to be over – triumph would be reached only peacefully –; that led some to surrender, but the Sendero Luminoso to split into two sections, one continuing its fight (Clutterbuck 1995: 36). And these successes came with a prize – the government politics were clearly ‘dirty’, human right violations were committed regularly. And as the Sendero Luminoso governed by terror, torture, maiming and killing those opposing it, the governmental forces acted similar in cruelty. The whole country suffered from terrorism, counterinsurgency, crime, corruption, and drug trafficking (Godoy Mejía 2021).

However, the most open violence stopped after the capture of Guzmán. Since the Sendero Luminoso was organized so very hierarchical, the capture was devastating and finally led to the split of the Sendero Luminoso and it withdrawing into far off regions of Peru (Cook & Olson Lounsbery 2017: 154ff.). But the damage of drastic government actions to human and especially minority rights had longer lasting effects:

“The government, for its part, was quite willing to target civilians as well. Its disregard for the civilian population can be explained in large part by identity. Whether an individual was Indian, Quechua speaking, rural peasant, or leftists, all were considered fair game in the armed struggle against Peru’s insurgents.” (Cook & Olson Lounsbery 2017: 156).

The successes in fighting the Sendero Luminoso had effects on the actions of the MRTA, too. That the Fujimori government fought both less with measurements for example to counter poverty but with open violence and antiterrorism laws making surrender not always more attractive, all that made the fight harder, more cruel, but successful in the end, in the sense of both groups having less influence and power. By the end of 1993 the MRTA had only limited power left (Cook & Olson Lounsbery 2017: 162).

“Counterterrorism efforts of the Alberto Fujimori administration greatly diminished the power of MRTA by the end of 1993 (...), although not entirely. MRTA staged its last and most notable assault in 1996, when a group of MRTA members (...) stormed the Japanese Embassy in Lima and took approximately five hundred people hostage. The siege continued for 126 days, after which Fujimori, having refused any of the hostage takers’ demands, used commandos to retake the embassy (...). All MRTA members were killed along with one hostage (...). The group continues to exist [by the time of writing], although its armed approach appears to have ended.” (Cook & Olson Lounsbery 2017: 154f.)

Fujimori was re-elected in 1995 – his successes against the Sendero Luminoso and MRTA paved his way to this success, but his economic policy, too, liberalizing the market in Peru and

reducing the influence of the state drastically. While this victory happened in a democratic election, now measurements were taken to allow for just another term from 2000 onwards. This was against the new constitution of 1993, but Fujimori tried to ‘legalize’ these efforts by declaring his first victory of 1990 ‘not counting’. At the same time corruption and nepotism rose. The rule of Fujimori had been authoritarian before, now it got even more authoritarian or remained highly authoritarian; a question of perspective (Godoy Mejía 2021). That the Fujimori rule became more and more a dictatorship was getting obvious latest in 2000 when Fujimori run the third time for president. He won the first round after massive manipulations and his opponent Alejandro Toledo declared not to be willing to stand for a second round. Despite this a second round started and even before being declared officially president the army and police declared Fujimori victor. There were massive protests against Fujimori taking the oath, but with no success in the end despite six people dying in cause of the protests after a fire, probably caused by governmental agents. Only some weeks later a video appeared in public showing bribery and corruption. Soon after Fujimori fled Peru to Japan, of which Fujimori was citizen, too, and resigned from there via fax (Godoy Mejía 2021). An interim government took power to organize new elections, but also established a truth commission to work on the counter-terrorism activities. In 2001 new elections took place and Alejandro Toledo won against Alan García, returning from exile (Godoy Mejía 2021).

6.1.3. Peru after Fujimori

Alejandro Toledo governed until 2006, with allowing for stability and a return to human rights and a free press. In the last part of his term the extraction of Alberto Fujimori was negotiated and in 2007 he got imprisoned in Peru. Toledo’s successor became Alan García, who had been president before. Albeit the economy grew steadily and stabile, again and again atrocities happened, especially against parts of the indigenous population, and the military remained a factor of instability. Next to this the family of Alberto Fujimori tried to regain power, in person of his daughter Keiko Fujimori, loosing as second the run-off-elections in 2011 against the ex-military Ollanta Humala Tasso who was seen as ‘leftist’. However, after his victory he did not look for closer links to ‘leftist’ Venezuela or else. Instead of major changes policy remained more or less the same and the before in the run-off to be aim declared system-change never took place. Five years later once again it was Keiko Fujimori in run-off, this time against Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, with the later winning in the end, but with a very low margin. The presidency was highly instable, and the Congress tried several times to declare Kuczynski morally incapable to be president. This led him to step down as president in 2018 and Martín Vizcarra

became new president, before being vice-president. Before that Kuczynski had pardoned Fujimori, a step the Congress tried to revoke. No matter the new presidency, scandal and instability remained and Vizcarra stepped down in late 2020 and Manuel Merino became president, but only for some days, until Francisco Sagasti became president until the next elections in 2021. These were won by Pedro Castillo against, again, Keiko Fujimori, in a scandalous election overshadowed by accusations of fraud. This presidency only lasted until late 2022, when the third attempt to impeach him led to him being arrested, accused of an attempted coup d'état. He was followed by Dina Ercilia Boluarte Zegarra, first female president of Peru, not elected but before being vice-president (see inter alia Vásquez de Velasco et al. 2020).

All the time terrorist groups remained active and poverty a major challenge. No presidency could solve the challenge of inequality, again and again revolts hit and the human rights situation remained a major problem, especially in those regions more far of (Cook & Olson Lounsbury 2017: 162). Overall, Peru is still coined by (post)colonialism; postcolonial conflicts coin the country. Political instability and ideological difference are characteristics, often intermixed with identity politics and questions of minority rights (Cook & Olson Lounsbury 2017: 146).

6.2. Comics in Peru

“Production of comics in Peru has been so inconsistent that even Peruvians doubt there actually is a ‘Peruvian comic’ – as such, with metaphysical quote marks. And it is precisely in this intuitive sense, rather than in an industrial one, that we can confirm its existence. The Peruvian comic is an interesting phenomenon that, in the amateurism of many of its drawers, was able to answer the challenge of narrating with images in a poor and divided country, without limiting itself to mimic the work of Argentinean magazines, first, and Mexican ones, later.” (Lucioni 2005: 311)

Having no significant publisher-market it was easier in Peru to establish local comics in the 1940s and 1950s – Peruvian comics developed especially locally and remained so. This has some similarities to the Philippines and Chile, where localness played a role, too. However, the strong publishing industry behind in both countries was lacking in Peru (Bolte 2010: 276f.). In the end for long years Peru was much more a market of comic consumption than comic production – and in this in Inter-American comparison highly different for example to Mexico or Argentina, but Chile, too. Especially US-comics found a market in Peru, but not only readers, but topics, too. Not in the sense of a more or less realistic presentation of Peru in comics, but

in the romanticized sense as place for treasure hunts or else. This was criticized in Chile in these years, but not in Peru (Kagelmann 1986: 130ff).

Albeit this lack of significance as a producer market, interestingly, in the long run, this allowed for a more local production instead of a national one; instead of a need to emulate primarily US-comics in Peru there was a chance to develop minor and local comics and magazines. Taking this as background from the 1940s onwards again and again local comic magazines developed, at times truly reaching to masses, but at least designed for this purpose (Lucioni 2005: 318f.). And this lack of a national market of comic production of significance allowed for less propagandic use and less censorship than experienced over the years in the Philippines or Chile. Some “cartoonists have faced the wrath of Peruvian authorities, but not to the extent that they feel their work is affected. (...) [One] says he has ‘never felt intimidated by anyone,’ not even during the years of terrorist activity, but that he has been censored a ‘few times.’” (Lent & Archambeault 2005: 326) However, in the late 1980s and especially the times of Fujimori there was political pressure, and some comic artists left Peru, due to pressure by the Sendero Luminoso or state fines by the Fujimori government. For some this was a form of censorship and taking of control, for others not yet. But not matter how this is rated, structurally or individually in retrospective perspective, it was much less control as in Chile or the Philippines. Comics just had not the standing and significance in Peru to focus on their control in years of tension and violence (Lent & Archambeault 2005: 327f.).

Looking at comic artists, the scene in Peru was more or less limited. Always again there were some influential names, but many of these reported to have been more or less solitarian artists, only loosely connected via projects or only for some time (see for example Acevedo 2006: I). But with the ongoing 1990s and more protests against the Fujimori politics a more diverse comic scene developed, too. New styles were imported, and more authors worked as comics artists, using the art of drawing and narrating to discuss several topics (Acevedo 2006: II). This got new significance and dimensions after the regime of Fujimori was overcome. In the 2000s then there was a lively comic scene, at least compared to earlier tendencies in Peru. So in 2006 it was reported:

“El Perú vive un momento muy interesante e intenso de su historia; fuerzas centrífugas y centrípetas ponen sobre la mesa de análisis el tema de su identidad. A ese proceso aporta también el fenómeno que significa la aparición de cientos de autores de historietas. Algunos llegan a hacerse profesionales, otros practican la expresión y comunicación a través de este medio como aficionados, y esto solo ya es muy bueno.” (Acevedo 2006: VI)

But this was not the massive arrival of highly political comics, as they inter alia coined Chile at times. These new Peruvian comics had at times political topics, as identity is and was, but not always took sides or clearly aimed to influence in a political sense. The Peruvian comic market grew, but not necessarily a huge market of comics to influence developed. More entertainment remained cornerstone – at least partially in line with tendencies in the Philippines. However, the bigger and growing market also meant a higher variety of comics and more different paths taken, as a tendency to local fanzines published independently and spread only locally. At the same time the emigration of comic artists to the USA or Mexico got less significant and more engaged to develop a unique Peruvian comic market (Zevallos Velarde 2008: 09). One of the most significant artists paving the way for this developments was Juan Acevedo – “ese notable historietista que llevó su arte a la cima más alta en nuestro [=Perú] país” (Zevallos Velarde 2008: 09).

And with the 2000s going on political and educational comics developed further in Peru, too. Most notably artists here was Jesús Martín Cossío Guevara who published with Luis Rossell and Alfredo Villar the graphic novel “Rupay – Historias gráficas sobre la violencia política 1980-1984” and later alone “Barbarie – Cómic sobre la violencia política 1985-1990” discussing atrocities by the government as well as especially the Sendero Luminoso (see for example [wordswithoutborders 2022](#)). With these cornerstones political and educational comics got a significance in Peru they did not have before. So, the role of comics today is not totally different to the one in Chile or the Philippines, however still with a less powerful publication industry behind, and a much shorter history of comics influencing and acting politically.

6.3. Transition: Influence, comics and propaganda

Looking at Chile in the early 1970s there was a fierce debate of the influence of Disney on values and ideas. Disney, identified by Chilean scientists as spreading ‘imperialistic’ and strongly ‘anti-communist’ ideas and ideals, and at the same time having a stronghold in Chile in South America, got into the focus of a debate what kinds of morals, norms and ideals should be spread, not only, but also via comics. Being aware of, respectively stressing the influence of comics especially, but not only on children, a fight against the identified US-influence via Disney comics started by people gathering around Salvador Allende and his ideas. And indeed, following Allende gaining power a major change in the media production in Chile took hold. The Chilean company before producing Disney comics became state property. This new company started producing Chilean-made comics, addressing children and adults alike, and trying to spread the ‘new’ Allende ideals and values. This got as far as more or less directly

advertising Allendes policy (Lent 2005: 19f.). In fact, this was understood as a mode of political education (Rojas Flores 2016: 289). And this was not only a claim made by the Allende administration, it was seen as such also by the opposition against Allende and his policies. Consequently, one of the first moves after the coup d'état of Augusto Pinochet was to stop this program and put an end to the young state publishing company. His regime put up censorship and media control, not using comics anymore for education, but controlling their educational potential by setting clear limits (Montealegre Iturra 2008: 272f.). Nevertheless, comics again played a role in ending the rule of Pinochet, in a way also understandable in parts as political education, for example shedding light on the crimes of the government (Rojas Flores 2016: 492ff.). Still today comics have their place in political battles and education in Chile, formal as well as in- or nonformal, for example fighting about the assessment of the Pinochet and Allende years or for Mapuche rights (see for example Carvajal et al. 2012 (?)).

Similar, but also explicitly different developments can be found in the Philippines. In the Philippines komiks/comics had and have a different place in culture than in Chile. Looking at the same time as outlined before for Chile, the late 1960s to the 1990s, they were more widely read and spread in the Philippines, by far, than anywhere in South America. Several reasons are brought up for this, the cultural diversity of the islands finding a common ground in komiks/comics, ongoing US-influence after independence, the development of, and work for a Filipino identity, or even Japanese influences due to the occupation of the Philippines in World War II. And all these reasons have their reach in explaining the phenomenon (see for example Jurilla 2008). In the Philippines in these years, it was quite common for diverse political fractions to use komiks/comics to spread their political programs and ideas, interpretable as educating Filipinos politically. But in the Philippines, there was never someone like Allende ruling, and this set clear limits to the variety of komiks/comics used in this field. In the Philippines, seen, especially by the USA, as an important stronghold against communism and 'natural' ally to the USA, 'leftist' movements had no chance to reach towards power (Blitz 2010: 57ff.). Still there were different political ideas fighting against each other, different political movements standing up to each other, often not, or not only on political grounds, but fighting for their ideas sometimes with violence, with guerilla methods, sometimes with suppression and censorship of opponents. New heights were reached in the later methods in the years of Ferdinand Marcos, leading to, partly self-censorship of komiks/comics and other media (Jurilla 2008: 144f.). But soon and always again they came up again – komiks as potential medium to spread political ideas, to spread one political interpretation as 'right' while declaring another one to be 'wrong.' Under the rule of Marcos, they were considered so strong and

influential they were partly banned and regulated. But it did not take too long for comics to gain influence again in the Philippines, not in the heights as before, but still gaining again major room, also in politically educating (Jurilla 2008: 145f.). Exemplified these fights about political ideas and ideals can be seen in different komiks, may it be the komiks used by Marcos “for his 1986 re-election bid (...) that depicted his administration’s accomplishments and his self-proclaimed heroism during World War II” (Lent 2009: 84f.), or komiks used to stress catholic ideals as major base of all politics, that are still and were strong in the Philippines. It was a Philippine komik winning the Catholic Mass Media Award in 1981 (Gimena 2009: 126). And while in Chile comics were used in the post-Pinochet years specifically to fight about how to address the past in a way of in- or nonformal education, and less, but still, to formally allow for political education, in the Philippines komiks/comics were and are used strongly in formal education, too. This does not mean they did not have their role in ending and discussing Marcos’s reign, but also komiks as medium of a more formalized political education were and stayed strong in the Philippines, among other media, not the least thanks to a strong university background in studying and developing them. One topic addressed again and again within comics as medium of political education in both countries was population policy, but this was not the only or always dominating one (Lent 2009: 81).

Different to this in Peru comics never played a comparable role in education or politics. Even though Peru is and was comparable to Chile and the Philippines in several means, historically, looking at society or religion, even witnessing a form of dictatorship and major violence as both, even though a bit later than Chile and the Philippines, this does not hold true for comics and their significance and role in late 20th century history. Instead, and contrary to Chile and the Philippines comics only started to play a bigger role in educating about and discussing the past after the 2000s, later than in both other countries looked at here. Nevertheless, even though the historical significance of comics in Peru is highly different to the one in the Philippines and Chile, the role of comics in ‘doing history’ in the last years is not so different. Instead, there are closer and other links to be witnessed, as discussed in the following, leaving the historical perspective partly behind and looking at comics of the last about ten to fifteen years.

Part 2: Doing and discussing history

7. Comics doing history in the Philippines

Aim of this paper is not only to look at the role of comics in the newest history in the Philippines, in Chile and Peru, but to look specifically at the role of comics in these countries in discussing and by this doing history – and by this society. This allows to enrich the findings so far, by a political, cultural, and comic studies analysis. For this in the following examples of such comics will be discussed – a selected view in greater detail and some in a general and more overview way. This will be done for each country separately, to bring all findings together in some final steps. The selection of comics looked at, both in greater detail and more in an overview, is highly subjective and as such clearly limited, with no claim to completeness or covering most comics available. But however, the selection follows some guidelines. First and most importantly comics published in the last about 20 years will be looked at, comics published in the specific countries, comics doing and discussing history, especially, if available, the phase of dictatorship. Along these criteria the comics looked at here have been selected, next to the question of availability. By this logically some comics will be looked over, will not been seen, or noticed, some others may play a bigger role here in analysis than they have or had in the specific country. But the comics looked at here play and played their role, stand for comics doing and discussing history and by this society in the specific countries, not matter other authors may have selected other comics or examples. These comics looked at here are not representative but none the less stand for tendencies and specifics. In the end the question of similarities and differences is in the room to allow for a more concrete and specific understanding of the role of comics in the Philippines, in Chile and slightly in Peru, not only in recent history, but in the relative ‘today’. This is connected to the question of the participation, (re)presentation and modes of expression of those otherwise or often marginalized in comics discussing (and by this making) society and history, how and if comics can offer for example a symbolic space, even for ‘imagined communities’ in opposition to the spread clean-cut and powerful pictures of ‘normality’, ‘positivity’, ‘nation’ or ‘ideal’ (Chin & Mohd Daud 2018: 03).

7.1. Discussing examples of the Philippines

In the Philippines there can be found many ‘classical’ komiks republished, more celebrating a ‘golden age’ or a certain significance of komiks instead of being part of a contemporary discussion on and about komiks/comics. One example here is “Ang Barbaro” by Francisco V. Coaching, originally published in 1951 and re-published 2016. The 2016 edition contains an introduction by Patrick D. Flores, stressing the significance of the author and the original work:

“In the making of his corpus in komiks, Coaching was a resonant voice in the oftentimes contentious conversation on the subjectivity of the Filipino, which is oftentimes unfortunately reduced to national identity. In this regard, he offered up a visual vocabulary fleshing out the discourse of heroism, history, and everyday life. His komiks spoke of the transformative Filipino through works that dwelled on a range of the possible articulations of the Filipino, from the epic Lapu Lapu, the science fiction Thor, the picaresque Pedro Penduko, and even narratives reminiscent of Jose Rizal’s novels like *El Indo*, headily mixing the registers of allegory, fantasy, and realism. (...) In the end Coaching helped harness verbal and visual literacy and the use of Filipino as a national language through komiks and film. Many of his heroes stand their ground at the margins, considered outcasts, or the *taong labas* who is rebuked, derogated: *barbaro*, *bandido*, *pagano*, *condenado*, *negro*, and *indio*. And Coaching styled them cogently, with the dignity of *tulisan* (brigand) fired up by righteous indignation; *Barbaro*’s *salakot*, *sinampalukan* blade, and *baboy damo* short is emblematic.” (Flores 2016: IX)

This stresses the approach Francisco V. Coaching stood for – to take part in the discourse about a Filipino identity shaped after independence and doing this by looking at the margins. This makes the approach an intersectional one, at least on the surface, and by this creating something emblematic, with influence until the years of re-publication. However, this seemingly intersectional approach is indeed and in the end highly limited. There is a clear male gaze on highly *white* and stereotypical female looking characters. In the end only the ‘hero’ and some few are not predominantly *white* and it is a male-colored-hero-adventure. Not very intersectional in the end (see Coaching 2016). However, historically the specific komik played its significant part in the process of opening up komiks to diverse topics and characters, as stressed by Flores:

“In this instance, *Barbaro* is exemplary and exceptional. Set in the nineteenth century, it is a vintage Coaching evocation of oppression, patriotism, and restitution. But this fraught and arduous process does not transpire without travail. The komiks artists invests labor in carving out characters and situations that play out in tension. *Barbaro*’s compassion is honed against rage; his face-off with the murderer of his father is a necessary drama in the everyday experience of colonialism; his conflicted desire between a native and a foreign woman allegorizes the fundamental impasse of a nation, but a resolute urge as well to stake a position. That position is taken in the novel, and again, without the facile romance, only hard-fought, thieving love from the singular Coaching: teller of tales that turn, author of storied life, limner of nation’s art.” (Flores 2016: X)

Taking this summary, the work looked back in 1951 into times of Spanish colonialism, and that is the time before any US-rule or a time of Japanese rule of the Philippines. This loose ‘time’ is presented in black and white in a komik made of several ‘chapters’, that are independent, but chronologically following comic magazines building a whole narration together. The style of the komik is very traditional, most pages are made up of six panels, only seldom this is overcome. Meanwhile the ‘chapters’ title-pages are differently composed and set the character of the specific ‘chapter.’ The text is close to all in Filipino, only seldom with some words in Spanish. And there is a lot of text overall, only few panels come without any and many are covered highly in text. All this is bringing the reader back into colonial times. But from the time of re-publication the look back is a look even further back, having less in common with the ‘now-time’, and stressing non the less the influence of Spanish colonialism for a diffuse ‘now’. This ongoing influence is made strong, in sense of stressing postcolonialism in lines. But this is done in a more general way, less a concrete theme or topic stressed. Accordingly, it is a fictitious adventure like komik, set in a at least partly diffuse historical time, and by this showing a perspective on this time. But it does not discuss a historical ‘fact’ or historical ‘facts’, a certain episode or a specific person. Topic instead is the complex entanglement of different actors and layers of influence, not all so constructed Spaniards are bad, not all so constructed Filipinos are good, some happening is influenced by circumstances, some by personal links as love or hatred. This makes colonialism a layer, a framework for and of complexity, but does not allow for a specific perspective on this time. There are no ‘answers’ of what the Philippines or Filipinos are from such an approach, but the historic setting stresses the influence of history for any now-time and any debate on identity. This embedded in a hero- and adventure setting, it is more an entertaining journey with some options of interpretation than a new approach to history (Coaching 2016). Most important is that the komik is less a discussion of history than an entertaining komik showing the ongoing importance of history. Much can be interpreted in this or komiks as such, but on the front, there is much less a komik debating or even doing history than a komik using a diffuse idea of ‘history’ as fitting framework. All doing and debating history and identity becomes a side-product here, but not aim and topic.

Similar holds true for another komik published one year later, 2017, “El Filibusterismo” by Rodel Noora. This comic has some similarities to “Ang Barbaro” – it is a black and white komik in Filipino set in the time of Spanish colonial-rule. It has the format of one ‘chapter’ of “Ang Barbaro” but is in itself longer than one ‘chapter’ and with 60 pages the same time shorter than “Ang Barbaro” with 160 pages in total. The design is traditional with rectangular panels, but not only six per page, but more or less, some square, some long and some broad. This makes

the comic compared to “Ang Barbaro” livelier, but only slightly. Here the background is a novel by José Rizal about the rebellion against Spanish rule by “Don Simoun”, a person most of the time wearing a top hat and sunglasses and by this standing apart from most other characters depicted. The story is much less violent than “Ang Barbaro” and less male-hero-focused, especially because Don Simoun dies in the end by poison to ‘to end the struggles’ (Noora 2017: 57). However, still, this is no critical comic on history or identity either. It is a sequel to the comic “Noli me tangere” by Leo Miranda and D. G. Dumaros from 2009, based once again on a Rizal novel, following Crisostomo Ibarra in his rebellion. This Crisostomo Ibarra then comes in “El Filibusterismo” in disguise as Don Simoun. Again, this comic “El Filibusterismo” aims at stressing the relevance of the Spanish rule and resistance against in the 19th century, here the later 19th century, as cornerstone of Filipino identity, this time with no Spanish language used. Major topic is the oppression of all Filipino by Spain and the by this the stressed need for resistance, again in an adventure-like setting and fictitious in plot. The significance of independence for the Philippines is stressed by this, but not so much contemporary topics or more than the general significance of a Filipino independence. Nevertheless, this is rated as ‘political’ in the afterword: “The said novel is political which makes you feel, indicates and awakens even more the fervent desire to obtain the true freedom and rights of the people which is the failed desire of Don Simoun.” (Noora 2017: 63)⁸ But this is limited in scope for actual political discourses since it stresses only a clear majority opinion in sense of a cornerstone of presented self-understanding of the Philippines. Looking back so far in time limits the effects on the now-time further and makes such a comic/komik much more consensual than controversial. It is a political comic, but only in a very general sense.

This is a general tendency seen in most comics/komiks in the Philippine larger ‘now-time’, that they are adventurous and fictitious, and even if they are political, they are hardly controversial or taking controversial perspectives. Especially there are no comics critically discussing dictatorship and the times of Ferdinand Marcos in a wholistic approach. However, there are some partial exceptions. There is not the one comic about the times of Ferdinand Marcos but there is a comic discussing the experience of suppression and violence in times of Ferdinand Marcos: “Dawwang: Kababaihang Tagapagtanggol ng Kordilyera” by Nina Martinez, published in 2021 under assistance by the German Goethe-Institute. It spans in color a timeframe from the 1970s to 2020 in pictures, covering 2021 in the epilogue. The comic itself is all in Filipino while the Epilogue is in English, giving something like an actualization to the

⁸ „Ang nasabing nobela ay pampolitika na nagpadama, nagpapahiwatig at nagpapagising pang lalo sa maalab na hangaring makapagtamo ng tunay na kalayaan at karapatan ng bayan na siyang bigong hangarin ni Don Simoun.” (translation: the author)

story narrated in the comic. The basic story in pictures is of Leticia Bula-at, an indigenous woman from Kalinga in the Cordillera region. She is one of the leaders of the local protests against a dam building project at the river Chico, financed by the World Bank, that would have flooded her village next to others. This was a project by Ferdinand Marcos, but he himself does not play a direct role within the narration, however his regime and ruling does. With their protest the villagers could prevent the dam project in the end, after violence, torture and kidnapping were enforced against them. This plot is embedded in a frame set in autumn 2020 with Covid-19-measures in the Philippines in place limiting civil rights and at the same time covering illegal or para-legal governmental actions. This is frame for the elderly Leticia telling her ‘daughter’ about the ongoing fight after the rule of Marcos ended in 1986. The ‘victory’ of being able to prevent the dam being build was always fragile, as is outlined clearly, but at the same time this ‘victory’ had high significance for indigenous rights and following struggles, as Leticia: “After a long struggle in the dark, hope peeked through. You weren't even born when Marcos was ousted in 1986. But the struggle of the Cordillera was born of the Chico Dam struggle.”⁹ (Martinez 2021: 36)

This comic/komik is very different from the other two looked at before here. It is not only set in the closer past and in a close-to-now-time. It is a comic/komik in color and much less traditional in design and presentation, it follows less the classical rectangular panel design. This is not completely overcome, but embedded in a diversity of styles and designs, as broken pictures, one-page pictures or map-like-drawings. The comic is much more vivid and ‘modern’ than the other two, including moments of emotional closeness, as following Leticia and her remembering from old to become young again between page 9 and 10. And it is a comic/komik written around historical ‘facts’ and not, as the first two, only embedding a fictitious adventure in a more or less diffuse historical time. By this the comic/komik itself is a political and educational one, clearly taking position by putting light on resistance against authoritarian action by the regime of Ferdinand Marcos. It is a comic/komik showing the hardships endured by those standing for indigenous and minority rights. The comic/komik takes readers back in time and allows to ‘witness’ the atmosphere of repression and arbitrariness. Politics of despotism are outlined and the violence to keep them up. This includes various intersectional moments, not only because indigenous rights are in focus. Another major topic included is gender. This can be seen for example in the scenes from page 19 end to 22 beginning: The only partly elderly women uptake a specific way of resistance – undressing themselves. This is

⁹ „Pagkatapos ng matagal na pakikibaka sa dilim, sumilip din ang pag-asa. Hindi ka pa ipinapanganak nang mapatalsik si Marcos noong 1986. Pero ang laban ng Kordilyera ay inanak ng pakikibaka sa Chico Dam.“ (translation: the author)

something explained in the texts as unplanned and happening fast, bringing the soldiers to flee, being afraid of bad luck by looking at ‘them’. This stresses female agency, the role of the ‘women’ in keeping up and uniting resistance and a specific position in society and resistance (Martinez 2021: 19ff).

Next to these intersectional aspects, not in the center of the narration but major pillars none the less, the comic/komik is a political one by drawing a line from history to actual politics. This is doing history by drawing and narrating history, shifting the look back and by this framing the now-time differently. Measures taken for this are on the one side in the framing of the historic narration in authoritarian rule and measures under cover of Covid-19-reactions and on the other the ‘daughter’ talking to ‘mother’ Leticia. Part of this is that Leticia is stressing the ongoing relevance of resistance, the never stable situation of indigenous rights and the ongoing attempts of despotism. She says on the last three pages, where readers see a dam build and then the free floating river surrounded by panels of dying nature and people incarcerated: “But then (...) the president opened up the electricity business to private corporations. That's why those projects are there now. Sometimes, discouraged (...). The mines. The hydroelectric project. The geothermal project. And irrigation pumps by Chinese corporations. The non-stop red-tagging by the government. Lots of problems! Don't lose hope, ‘child’. Let's not give up. Let's just continue with our work. Our own strength comes from us. The world is our witness. And here we are seniors. Even if not forever. Only earth is forever.”¹⁰ (Martinez 2021: 37ff.) Of this the last sentence is pictured with the living nature, a flying bird. But there is a second frame to this, and this is the epilogue, clearly marking the fragility of all success and giving more background to the actions under the government of Duterte: “More than a year and a half of countrywide lockdown has seen an upsurge in human rights violations under the Duterte regime. The government has exploited the lockdown as an opportunity to implement its counter-insurgency campaign. Indigenous activists, community organizers, and peasant leaders are continuously red-tagged, illegally arrested, or slain. Lumad schools in Mindanao are forcibly closed or bombed. At the same time, neoliberal policies such as the Rice Liberalization Law and the 100% foreign ownership of geothermal projects are quickly signed into law. The government’s militaristic pandemic response, its criminal neglect of the people’s health and food security, and unabated corruption despite the worsening socio-economic crisis have demonstrated nothing

¹⁰ „Pero noon (...), ibinukas ng presidente sa mga pribadong korporasyon ang negosyo ng kuryente. Kaya parla nariyan ang maga proyektong 'yan ngayon. Minsan, pinanghihinaan ago ng loob (...). Ang mga minahan. Ang hydroelectric project. Ang geothermal project. Ang irrigation pump ng mga korporasyong Tsino. Ang walang-tigil na red-tagging ny gobyerno. Sandamakmak na problema! Huwag kang mawalan ng pag-asa, anak. Huwag tayong susuko. Tuloy lang tayo sa ating gawain. Sa atin nagmumula ang sariling lakas. Saksi natin ang daigdig. At naririto kaming nakatatanda. Kahit hindi paghabang-buhay. Ang lupa lamang ang magpakailanman.“

but its failed leadership.” (Martinez 2021: 40) And this is followed by the proposed recipe for an answer: “A people united will not be defeated. The stealthy removal by the local government of the Cordillera Heroes’ Memorial in Tinglayan, Kalinga early in 2021 demonstrates the government’s fear of the people’s memory of the victory for Chico River. On April 9, the people of Cordillera reinstalled the monument which had taken almost two decades for the community to build.” (Martinez 2021: 40f.)

The comic/komik clearly wants people to know about certain past events, but to act in the now-time at the same time. By this “Dawwang” is not only narrating, but doing history and acts as a political-educational comic/komik, covering perspectives on the past without neglecting violence and despotism, but bringing crimes by the Duterte government into spotlight, too. However, this is not a comic/komik standing for a whole tradition of political comics doing history in the Philippines, but more an exception in clarity of taking a political position, by a publisher, Gantala Press, clearly defining itself as ‘feminist’ and publishing few ‘komix’ – in their own writing – so far, with “Dawwang” being the most political and the one doing history most clearly, but not the only doing so, as the Zine “Más que la cara. Women, Masks, and Protest” (N. a. 2020) shows, that however reaches far beyond the Philippines. But there are more comics discussing or even partly doing history in a sense in the Philippines, and not only the sense seen in the first two comics discussed here.

7.2. Framing the discussion – further comics doing and discussing history and society

In the time of writing this text there still is a lively comic/komik scene in the Philippines. And there are major comic/komik artists active within. One of the most famous is Gerry Alanguilan also known as Komikero. Komikero worked as inker for DC, Marvel and Image, worked on high profile US series like Batman, Iron Man, X-Men or Star Wars. But next to this Komikero published several Filipino comic series like ELMER. These are quite often superhero comics and linked to US styles. But Gerry Alanguilan also works as a high-profile comic/komik artist of the Philippines to preserve Philippian comic culture. For this he opened the Komikero Komiks Museum, first online, soon in San Pablo City. This is a signifier of a since long and still thriving comic/komik culture in the Philippines and a diverse comic/komik scene. But the komiks covered there or the komiks by Komikero are not political comics/komiks in the first place, but entertaining superhero or adventure comics/komiks (komikerodotcom 2022).

Gerry Alanguilan stands for close links in comic/komik production and narration between the USA and the Philippines. Another example are comics published in the USA by Philippian authors or authors with links to the Philippines and partly covering Philippian heritage in the

USA. For this may exemplary stand “Lola. A Ghost Story” by J. Torres and Elbert Or, published in 2009. It is about a girl from Canada, a Philippian descendant, coming to the Philippines and getting in interaction with the ghost of her dead grandmother. In style it is a more traditional comic of arranged panels, looking less at the surroundings and big pictures, but the inner and the family. Partly here identity is dealt with – the girl defines herself as Canadian, her parents still call the Philippines ‘home’. This makes the comic itself a cross-cultural product delivering an at least partial view from the outside on the Philippines. But this is a highly magical perspective on the Philippines, and the focus are not the Philippines as such, but so constructed and presented ‘Philippian believes’. Following, the comic remains a cross-cultural product at best and is not really interested in the Philippines and its developments. Instead, readers see a picture of the Philippines from the outside, seemingly more written to an audience outside the Philippines. This is even more probable since the language of choice is not Filipino but English. And even though Elbert Or is based in Manila, the audience is less in the Philippines, but in the USA (Torres & Or 2009). Another example for comics linked to the Philippines published in the USA is the comic series “One Hundred Demons” by Lynda Barry, published in the USA and discussing Filipino-American identity and challenges of mixed heritage next to gender questions (see about for example Bürgi 2021: 83ff.). One major point of reference within the series are the Philippines, but topic are not the Philippines as such or their history, but shared features of Filipin@s growing up in the USA, of mixed or only Filipino heritage. Here identity questions, questions of passing in a racist sense, closeness and distance to the Philippines are in focus. The series is a major example of Filipin@-American comic culture, but no example of narrating or doing history in comics, except the personal history in an ‘autobifictionalography’ sense (see Jesús 2010: 73ff.). In the end comics alike are not at all narrating and by this doing history and society in the Philippines but look from the outside at the Philippines and deliver a specific perspective, at times coming close to stereotypes, at least to discuss and show their influence on identity development of Filipin@s mainly in the USA. Next to an ongoing tradition of Philippian comic/komik culture there is a still lively tradition in cartooning and linked publications in the Philippines, as books of comic strip series. Maybe the best known one is “Pugad Baboy” by Apolonio “Pol” Medina, Jr., a series about a community of more or less obese people, the ‘fat pigs’ – with ‘baboy’ being the Tagalog word for ‘pig’. The series was published in different newspapers between 1988 and 2019, and is a humorous comment on daily life, as on political corruption, that developed from the comic strips to TV series, T-Shirts and alike. While this comic series, as other cartoons or regularly published comic strips, are commenting on daily life, daily struggles or politics, they are not narrating and

by this doing history in any sense, and if so seldomly, only in retrospective. Their influence on society is linked to daily comments, not to discussing historical developments or delivering a more or less outlined overall perspective. For sure works like “Pugad Baboy” are educational and political, but they are not intersectionally doing history and by this society (Pol’s Page 2006). Because of this, they are not of further importance for the analysis here. However, it nevertheless has to be noted, that there is a lively scene of cartoons and cartoonists playing a role in influencing and doing politics with comic/komik art in the Philippines. And by doing this, they are also part of an international scene of cartoonists (see for example TALIDE (Ed.) 2015: 39f.). And historically, this played a major role, too. There was a strong cartoonist scene against the dictatorship and politics of Marcos, but only until martial law was declared and free press limited. In such work against the government of Marcos critical publications and critical cartoons or drawings were often combined and came together – as within *The Philippines Free Press*. These cartoons took clear position against Marcos’ politics but were ended immediately following the declaration of martial law. And with this, the critical role of influencing politics and indirectly society by cartoons ended, but was revitalized in parts later on (see for example Escobar 2017). And so, there are nowadays cartoons against Ferdinand Marcos, Jr., especially online in form of ‘fact checks’, critically reviewing and commenting his statements as that no person “was arrested because of political or religious belief” under the regime of his father by delivering numbers of persons killed or tortured. All this is in sense of the message and position taken clearly pictured with Ferdinand Marcos, Jr., hiding the remains of the victims (@julesguiang 2022). This cartoon described here is part of a series of ‘fact checks’ clearly positioned against Ferdinand Marcos, Jr. And in part this actually is doing history in the sense of discussing history. But this is not done by looking at and narrating history in the first place, but only taking history as background. In these cartoons history is a layer of a political cartoon about the ‘now-time’, but not history is discussed or done, actually. Still, history is influencing the presentation, as linking Ferdinand Marcos, Jr. to National Socialism with giving him a Hitler mustache and presenting him in front of a swastika (Akademiya at Bayan Kontra Disimpormasyon at Dayaan 2022). But cartooning like this is not discussing history or presenting history in a sense of doing history to influence society. It is doing politics by cartooning, not doing history via comics.

Taking all this together, there is no major line of comics/komiks narrating, discussing and by this doing history and society in the Philippines nowadays. There are still cartoons, and that is web-cartoons specifically, discussing ‘history’ in a sense, but the look of most comics/komiks

at history, if there is any, is generally highly backwards, looking specifically at times before Philipian independence, not the more contemporary history. But there are some significant exceptions, as “Dawwang”, taking and discussing history to re-do society and taking influence on ‘contemporary’ developments, in relation to the time of publication at least. But this is more an exception than the norm. Comics/komiks, not only in the Philippines, are specifically designed to entertain; only some have a political ambition. But even among the later the ‘use’ of history has no major significance in the Philippines. Historically comics/komiks played a major role in various developments in the Philippines, and they still do, but not by taking history as major topic and reshaping perspectives in narration. Most often in cases history plays a role, history is a frame willingly taken, as for an adventure drawn, but not topic itself to influence or even do society. This is different to political cartoons clearly doing politics and by this society, that still play a role in the Philippines, but there is only a minor line of doing history by discussing and narrating history in comics/komiks. Especially there is no major tradition in discussing the times of Marcos by drawing comics/komiks on this time, with very few notable exceptions as specifically “Dawwang”, discussed here.

This is different to the ‘contemporary’ situation in Chile, where comics historically played a comparable role to the one in the Philippines in doing society and coining historical developments.

8. Comics doing history in Chile

Different to the Philippines there is a huge number of comics discussing, depicting and often even doing history in Chile. There are comics about the colonial period, early independent history or the late 19th century, but a cornerstone of comics discussing and doing history in Chile are comics about the years of Allende and the times of Pinochet, in focus in the discussion of examples of comics doing history here.

8.1. Discussing examples of Chile

One prime example of a comic doing history in Chile is the comic “Historias Clandestinas” by Ariel and Sol Rojas Lizana, published in 2014. It is a personal account to what happened in the dictatorship of Pinochet and is clearly looking at victims and crimes. It is dedicated “A las víctimas de la dictadura militar” (Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 02 (own numbering)). By this a clear tone is set – the times of Pinochet were a dictatorship producing victims. Even though based on personal experiences it remains fictive in the end, allowing for a subjective perspective: “Historias clandestinas es una historia basada en hechos reales y no representa necesariamente el sentir de todos los participantes.” (Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 03) The comic is in Spanish and completely in black and white, combining different styles. First it starts with pictures of masses celebrating the victory of Allende, masses without faces, then zooming in to masses identifiable to come on the third page to smaller panels, all with a lot of black and nevertheless the picture of hope and progressiveness linked to the government of Allende. The foundation of Quimantú is mentioned in this context, not standing for comics, but for cheap books for all here:

“Había una famosa editorial llamada Quimantú que publicaba libros de historia, estudios sociales, poesía, literatura y sociología. Los Allendistas tenían una relación especial y usaban la palabra ‘compañero’ para dirigirse unos a otros. Muchos voluntarios participaron en la construcción del sueño socialista.” (Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 10)

But then comes the “11 de Septiembre de 1973”. Readers see bombers above Santiago de Chile, tanks rolling into the city and a female pictured person hiding behind a window, zooming in on their eyes. Whole-page pictures follow of “Detenciones” and “Ejecuciones”. The last speech of Allende is shown, moving the reader away from the pictures of general events to the family further in focus, capturing the diverging reactions to “el golpe” and the consciousness that a pro-Allende position has to be hidden from then on (see Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 18ff.). “La radio y la TV transmitían listas con los nombres de la gente buscada.” And two panels later: “Por la noche escuchábamos Radio Moscú, nuestra única opción. Todos los medios

de comunicación habían sido censurados. [next panel] El estadio nacional y el estadio Chile se transformaron en campos de concentración.” (Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 27) The narrating ‘we’ – the two authors – clearly is on one side of history, takes a specific perspective, and this perspective is kept in the following, mixing pages of six to seven panels showing some celebrating and others in tears and hiding out of fear, and one-page pictures, for example directly after the listening to “Radio Moscú”, a hand behind a fence, a door of a prison cell, the hand behind the cell door and finally a face behind the door – with the line “Chileno contra Chileno” (Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 31). Here a specific of the comic takes hold – the room between the bars of the prison door is cut into the page, that from the one side a head beyond, the second time a hand beyond can be seen, giving a physical impression of bars, too, when turning the pages. This narration of changes due to the coup d’état ends with an encounter of the narrating ‘we’, and a setting of the line for the following narration, leading to the “historias clandestinas”:

“Una joven pareja llegó a nuestra casa. Dijeron que se llamaban Vero y Ernesto. [next panel] Vinieron a quedarse una semana. Pero se quedaron diez años. [next page] Aunque no lo sabíamos, Ernesto [arriving at their place] era la cabeza del MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria) en Chile, después de la Muerte en combate de su líder, Miguel Enríquez. El MIR era un Partido político de izquierda que creía en la lucha armada... Su llegada cambió nuestras vidas para siempre. Ese fue el comienzo de nuestras historias clandestinas.” (Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 41f.)

What follows is the second chapter “Un nuevo clan” about resistance in the times of Pinochet. While the first part of the comic narrates something like the antecedent leading to the ‘clandestine histories’, the second starts with an introduction to the context for all following, the main characters and the place all happens, the part of Santiago the two building the narrating ‘we’ lived: “Estos somos nosotros de niños. Sol tenía diez y yo, Ariel, cartorce.” (Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 48) After this is set the comic changes its form of narration once again, depicting shorter histories on two or some more pages, with slightly different styles depending on the content, diverging between darker and bigger pictures and pages with a lot of panels. By this the different ‘actors’ get more background, the need of hiding is set, as by introducing a hide-out under the house, or music of resistance. One of this ‘chapters’ is about the importance of “muros” in times of Pinochet, an example for the meta-narrative in a pictured book about pictures and books in times of Pinochet. This section in dark tones and more large pictures starts with a cat on a wall with the title of the ‘chapter’ on it: “Muros”, and the text: “Durante le época de Pinochet la Libertad de expresión fue abouda. Los muros se convirtieron en un espacio de

libertad.” The pictures of black figures painting huge letters “R” in circles on walls ends with the text: “Era importante escribir en las muralias para mantener viva la idea de que teníamos una resistencia organizada. A veces íbamos a pintar en la mitad de la noche. Una vez, nos persiguió la policía.” (all in Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 81) But this initial focus on public actions changes over time. On the one hand personal developments get into focus, like someone close having a baby, but also the question ‘what for’ comes more into focus. After years of dictatorship the comic captures effects of ‘normalization’ of state control and cruelty. This is directly linked to the then grown-up Ariel. A half-page picture of people discussing, one only saying “Pinochet” multiple times, the next doing the same with “Marx”, a third with “MIR” and a fourth with “Pinochet MIR” has Ariel with fingers in his ears in center and the text line beyond: “Después de diez años de reglas estrictas en una casa de seguridad comencé a sentir que las conversaciones del clan estaban totalmente monopolizadas por la situación política.” (Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 95) Ariel comes to a decisión: “A partir de ese día dejé de asistir a las reuniones políticas. Ernesto y Vero respetaron mi decisión.” (Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 96) This brings another turn to the comic – chapter 3 “resistencia” –, now again zooming in on more general developments, nonetheless with a personal twist. Following the story of “tío Ivan” who was imprisoned and tortured after the coup d’état and not giving information: “No sabemos qué le preguntaron, pero probablemente le debemos la vida.” (see and find quotes on: Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 100ff.), the importance of protests against the “desaparecidos” is shown and by this discussed.

“Aunque la Resistencia comenzó inmediatamente después del golpe las demostraciones públicas se demoraron un poco más ya que la represión era brutal. Los primeros en protestar abiertamente fueron los familiares de los desaparecidos y ejecutados que preguntaban dónde estaban sus seres queridos. Tenían el apoyo de un sector de la iglesia católica.” (Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 107)

Here a link to the historically partly parallel events in Argentine is made, to protests of the “madres de la plaza de mayo” or “abuelas de la plaza de mayo”, as they are called here. This again allows to give an impression of the years of dictatorship in dark picture, of insecurity and spies, again ‘Chileans against Chileans’:

“Veíamos gente mirando tras las persianas que podían ser informants. Algunos de ellos sacaban fotos, otros solo miraban. Podían ser inofensivos, quizás periodistas locales o extranjeros que observan las protestas y la violencia policial, pero otros podían ser peligrosas... [next panel] Por dieciséis años crecimos acostumbrados a la idea que nos vigilaban dondequiera que fuéramos. Muchos estábamos paranoicos. Porque cualquiera

podía ser un ‘sapo’, podía ser un vecino, un compañero de escuela incluso un pariente cercano. [next panel] Aprendimos a desconfiar de todos, pensado que detrás de la sonrisa más dulce podían esconderse los dientes mas afilados.” (Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 128)

However, once again resistance plays an at least as big role in the pictures and the narration, here with many one-page pictures or even two-page pictures of resistance all over the city (see Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 124f.). As the comic shows – and by this taking a specific perspective once again – protests never stopped, no matter the personal danger. Following, it is shown that due to internal and external pressure a plebiscite is called for and “No” wins, the option to return to democracy – depicted with a one-page picture with different persons having sings with a “No” on. Celebrations are the result, shown with a picture resembling the picture of the celebrations due to the victory of Allende, however smaller and contrasted with a picture on the same page of bewildered looking soldiers. “El NO ganó el plebiscite. La gente estaba eufórica, celebraba en las calles, mientras los que habían tenido el poder por dieciséis años no lograban convencerse. Nadie había imaginado que una dictadura tan fuerte podía terminar ‘con un voto en una caja’.” (Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 142) But not all is great afterwards, the dictatorship had and has – as the comic stresses – a lasting effect. On the next three pages of one-page pictures, showing someone in suit in a prison window, someone behind bars and surrounded by a snake forming with the bars the symbol of the US-Dollar and one of a mass of people with the head of Allende throning above them, the texts gives the impression of something ‘lost’ forever, next to the pictures:

“Aunque se restauró la democracia el legado de la dictadura había transformando el país. El modelo económico ultraliberal había profundizado las desigualdades sociales y había creado una cultura de consume e individualismo que persiste hasta hoy. [two pages further] Nunca hemos vuelto a ver esa mirada que tenían los trabajadores durante el gobierno popular: ojos llenos de idealismo, fe, esperanza, convicción, pasión, felicidad. Hoy pareciera que algo importante ha muerto, quizás el alma de la nación. Hoy loas cosas parecen estar ‘bien’, el futuro no tiene misterio, es como si alguien se hubiese robando los sueños.” (Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 143ff.)

After this clear message, stressing once again the lasting cruelty of the Pinochet years and the significance of the coup d’état in a negative sense, the comic gets a personal note once again on two of the last pages, narrating on one page what happened to the persons narrated about. But the comic itself closes with a more general message, as the comic started, framing the narration and its messages: “Historias Clandestinas’ es solo un capítulo en la larga historia de

los pueblos y sus sueños de justicia, verdad y libertad. Estas historias continuarán dondequiera que haya poderes visibles o invisibles tratando de manipular a las personas. Cualquiera puede ponerse este guante para continuar esta historia sin fin.” (Rojas Lizana & Rojas Lizana 2014: 148) Overall, this is a comic clearly narrating history, taking a position within this endeavor and by this discussing history. With the personal note and the narration of probably not widely or generally known aspects of resistance, as the background story of MIR, the comic in fact is re-making and re-modeling history. And with the clear messages in the end – the times of Pinochet led to a loss of ‘soul’ of the whole nation – in fact the comic does history in the sense of (re)writing it to take influence on the now-time of readers. Reading the comic in 2014 or 2023 changes the background, but messages outlast, as the significance of dreams and ideals, the need to fight, but also the dictatorial effect of Chileans-against-Chileans. By this the comic also clearly (re)does society by (re)doing history.

The comic “Historias Clandestinas” may be a more than clear example of a comic doing history, but it is no sole exception, but part of a row of publications of comics about these times, however most covering shorter times than 1970 to the end of Pinochet’s rule. But some of these follow the line of a specific or personal account, too. An example for this is the comic “El Cardenal” by Kóte Carvajal and Lucho Inzunza, published in 2017. This comic is coming in colors and appears much lighter than “Historias Clandestinas”. However, again different styles are combined, from pages with panels in various size to pages with broken or not rectangular panels to one side pictures. Again the comic starts with the year 1970: “América del Sur, Chile, 1970. Año de campañas para las elecciones presidenciales para el período de 1970 a 1976.” (Carvajal & Inzunza 2017: 09 (own numbering)) It follows a more or less ‘neutral’ account of the events, much less taking position, just ‘showing’ that Allende won the election. The ‘pre-history’ of the events in focus in the comic is pictured in a rush here on only four pages, Allende winning and the next page stating: “Para la derecha el proceso aún no había finalizado... y se le acusaba de organizar una campaña del terror.” (Carvajal & Inzunza 2017: 10) This campaign of terror and Allendes attempts to govern are topic of pages 2 and 3. On page four readers arrive at the coup d’etat, a one-page picture of the Palacio de La Moneda in flames and under attack, the Chilean flag in rags on top, with the text: “El golpe de estado orquestado por la derecha chilena, EE.UU y las Fuerzas Armadas dio comienzo a uno de los periodos más oscuros de nuestra historia. [next text box] Y los más golpeados, los más desprotegidos, fueron ... [next text box] ... los pobres.” (Carvajal & Inzunza 2017: 12) Here for the first time a clear position is taken, a ‘we’ set: ‘Chileans’, an assessment made: ‘one of the darkest periods’, and the path for the further narration hinted at: Looking at the poorest as those mostly effected. This

‘introduction’ is followed by two one-page pictures, one of a black hat and a crucifix on a chain next to it with the words “Comité Pro Paz” beyond, and a white page only with a grey helmet down on the side. Readers then zoom in for a next time-mark: “Santiago (...), lunes 24 de Septiembre de 1973.” (Carvajal & Inzunza 2017: 15) And the main character of the following is introduced; moving away from the descriptive first pages readers now follow the actions of a certain person: Raúl Silva Henríquez, “El Cardenal”:

“Quizás muchos de Ustedes no me conocen. Me llamo Raúl Silva Henríquez. [next panel] Soy Cardenal de la Iglesia Católica. Soy el representante de una iglesia que es servidora de todos, especialmente de los que están sufriendo. Quiero servirlos y, como el Señor, no pregunto quiénes son ni cuales son sus creencias o posiciones políticas... [next panel] ... me pongo a disposición de los detenidos. Cualquier cosa háganmela saber a través de las autoridades.” (Carvajal & Inzunza 2017: 15)

While “Historias Clandestinas” follows modes of ‘activist’ resistance to discuss the times of Pinochet, “El Cardenal” more follows victims and one person working for them, and by this a different form of resistance. The personal perspective of the comic, of ‘El Cardenal’, is broader, however, giving a subjective impression of patterns forming this specific way of resistance in the times of Pinochet. Readers are taken to encounters of ‘El Cardenal’ with Allende, “Un presidente como yo, masón y marxista...” (Carvajal & Inzunza 2017: 16), but back to the seminar of priests in 1930, too. Aim here is seemingly not to narrate *the* history of times of Allende or Pinochet, it is to allow for a specific perspective by following a history, considered probably not to be known by most. It is a more silent resistance by again and again trying to allow for peace for those that disappeared and their relatives, at least a burial and a place for memory for those close. First the history of the *Comité Pro Paz*, founded in October 1973 in reaction to the coup d’état and the crimes committed, is retold and narrated, then of the *Vicaría de la Solidaridad*, after the Comité was closed down in exchange for freeing some imprisoned members of the Catholic Church. However, the following Vicaría had a more stable standing, being created directly by the Pope. These developments and their context are retold, as well as state terrorism, cruelty, prosecutions, fear, but also relevant context, as encounters with the Pope or the death of one Pope. However, focus remains the various fights for human rights, victims, and various connected actors in Chile. This takes the most pages of the comic, often showing military officials, ‘El Cardenal’, but offices and carcels, too. But it is also shown, that this fight for human rights and victims of the dictatorship is again and again not successful, compromises are broken, the way of negotiation remains fragile and often weak. So, for example ‘El Cardenal’ has to tell those hoping to get hold of the remains of relatives of friends:

“temenos una muy mala noticia. El gobierno ha roto el compromiso que tenía con nosotros para entregarles los cuerpos de sus seres queridos. [next panel] Los cuerpos fueron retirados furtivamente de la morgue y sepultados secretamente en una fosa común. [next panel] Esta ilimitada crueldad fue para evitar que los funerales que preparábamos se convirtieran en un pretexto para alterar el orden público...[next panel] ... y que las víctimas de Lonquén [15 persons, ‘desaparecidos’ from 1973. Their remains were encountered in 1978] se transformaran en el símbolo de la situación que hemos vivido todos estos años.” (Carvajal & Inzunza 2017: 78)

On the four pictures of this scene the addressing ‘El Cardenal’ changes for a shocked audience changing to an audience in tears on the third panel and back to a sad looking ‘El Cardenal’. By this the comic gives a direct impression of the dictatorship and what the dictatorship meant to the victims. In this the comic is less wholistic and more specific, not only in perspective, than “Historias Clandestinas”. Focus in “El Cardenal” is in general the acting of the Catholic Church in these times, but much more specifically the acting of ‘El Cardenal’. In “Historias Clandestinas” on and again general developments are narrated, the framing is complex, differentiated and broad, however never leaving the perspective of a highly critical view on the times of Pinochet. Instead in “El Cardenal” the framing remains limited. In 1983 ‘El Cardenal’ had to step down, reaching the age limit. And from this event the comics moves to the year 1997, not following the last years of the dictatorship. However, in the last speech of ‘El Cardenal’ leading the Catholic fight for human rights in Chile, the Catholic perspective embedded in the comic is shown again, following the position of ‘El Cardenal’ himself, that the Catholic doctrine is leading all actions:

“La tercera cuestión es la defensa de los derechos humanos. Sobre tal cuestión muy combatida por los hombres del actual gobierno, la idea y la doctrina de la iglesia es clarísima: El hombre tiene por sí mismo derechos y deberes que emanan inmediatamente y al mismo tiempo de su propia naturaleza. Estos derechos y deberes son, por ello, universales e inviolables...” (Carvajal & Inzunza 2017: 110).

In the following 1997 setting the readers see the 90-year-old retired Cardenal, positioning himself again:

“Viví tiempos difíciles, y no sería justo decir que siempre supe que sería así. Me tocó contemplar con angustiada impotencia cómo mi patria se sumía en la conflagración fratricida. Y cómo se dividía por años largos y dolorosos. Fui testigo y actor de unos sucesos que quizás hubiese preferido no ver. Y la incapacidad para impedir que ellos dañaran a la gente más débil, a los humildes y a los desamparados, laceró muchas de mis noches. No he

sido un testigo pasivo. No me puedo arrepentir de esto, porque en cada momento crítico sentí a mi lado la palabra de Cristo. (...) Ha tenido que alzar la voz preguntándome a menudo cómo hacerlo sin herir a nadie. Cómo invocar, clamar y protestar sin acusar injustamente a quienes creían estar haciendo lo mejor para todos. Ha habido en mí un gran espacio para el error pero uno muy pequeño para la duda.” (Carvajal & Inzunza 2017: 112)

Clearly here the critique on the dictatorship is less fierce in comparison to “Historias Clandestinas” – the regime failed, but in best belief to do right. This allows for a wide space of pardon and a post-dictatorial future, different to “Historias Clandestinas” that claims that something was lost forever. But “El Cardenal” does not go as far as a complete pardon, more along the line of the Christian idea of even the worst ‘sinners’ need guidance. Clearly it is stated that there have been crimes committed, and they are covered in pictures in this comic. By this the comic takes a clear position. For example, the words following the 1997 ‘El Cardenal’ thinking back are on pictures of a waste land, soldiers arriving and extracting dead bodies of the ground, putting weights on the corpses, putting these in sacks, collecting multiple sacks in a helicopter and the helicopter flying to the sea, presumably to drop the corpses to let them ‘disappear’. Along these pictures move the further thoughts of ‘El Cardenal’:

“Y he tenido esta urgencia que todavía consume mis fuerzas. La caridad, el cariño, el amor de Cristo nos llaman imperativamente a actuar para el prójimo. A ser el consuelo de los caídos, el bastón de los perdidos, la mano amiga de los desamparados. [next panel] Para mí en estas opciones no ha cabido la sombra de una vacilación. [next panel] Pediré perdón eternamente por los inconvenientes que pude causar a muchos hombres buenos en una patria numerosa en hombres buenos. [next panel] Yo podría vivir otra vida con los puros honores que esta tierra única me ha prodigado. La podría construir de memoria, con el solo recuerdo de tantos cariños derramados sobre estos viejos huesos. Yo he sido el sembrador privilegiado: El hombre que tras la larga faena, doblado quizás por la fatiga de los años, ha recibido de dios la bendición de ver cómo sus frutos germinan, cómo sus semillas son cosechadas, cómo echan raíces... ... [next panel] y se hacen fuertes los gozos y las esperanzas, las tristezas y las angustias. Cómo crecen y mejoran los hombres de nuestro tiempo y reciben, al fin, la buena nueva de la salvación.” (Carvajal & Inzunza 2017: 113)

In a sense here is a gap between the pictures of cruelty and the very personal and ‘Christian’ thoughts of ‘El Cardenal’. This scene is followed by three last pages, one showing the events of 1988, 1989, both in one panel, and of 1990 in three larger panels, again with the ‘Christian’ thoughts of ‘El Cardenal’ above and not specific words about the events shown. From a picture of the victorious Patricio Aylwin the comic moves to an elderly Cardenal in a similar pose on

the second last page, zooming in on his face in two panels and then out to him from the back in front of the sea and, on the last page, in a one side picture, children coming for him. Here the thoughtful Cardenal states:

“La recibo solo como testimonio de amor hacia una iglesia que ha querido ser justa, limpia y translúcida. [next panel] ¿Comprenderán por qué en el diccionario que lentamente se va apagando dentro de mí .. [next panel] ... solo dos palabras me acompañarán hasta el último de mis momentos? [two panels further] Sé bien cuales serán: Gracias Señor.” (Carvajal & Inzunza 2017: 115)

Again, here is a tension between pictured narration and the textual thoughts. Overall, from a comic about the cruelty of the Pinochet dictatorship the comic moves after the time covered until 1983 to a more looking-back ‘thoughtful’ and very ‘Christian’ subjective perspective of ‘El Cardenal’. In a sense by this the comic loses its in the introduction stated aim a bit, to show the deeds of ‘El Cardenal’ ‘who acted, when all or most else were paralyzed’:

“Se resistió la brutalidad dictatorial desde el comienzo y divisó rápidamente lo que venía. De su lucidez visionaria emergieron el Comité Pro Paz, la Pastoral Obrera y luego la Vicaría de la Solidaridad. Sin esas tres instituciones la historia negra de Chile hubiera sido aún más trágica y prolongada. (...) Hoy quería anunciarle que hay un libro, este libro, gracias al cual los jóvenes podrán aproximarse a Ud. en un lenguaje nuevo, en que verbo e imagen confluyen a reavivar la memoria y recordar Chile. Lo he leído y estoy segura de que Ud. se sentiría feliz de emprender este diálogo con quienes no tuvieron la suerte de tenerlo cerca en el dolor, en el valor y en la esperanza.” (Hertz 2017: 05f.)

In general, on the one hand, the comic “El Cardenal” follows the line of “Historias Clandestinas”, to follow historic events by and via a personal account, even though at times ‘artistically interpreted’, as stated before the actual beginning of the comic:

“Esta novela gráfica está libremente inspirada en hechos sucedidos realmente. Algunos de los personajes y de los eventos narrados, así como nombres, diálogo y lugares pueden ser fruto de la imaginación y de la libre expresión artística de los autores. La alteración de hechos, nombres, lugares o personas reales se ha debido a exigencias y objetivos artístico-narrativos, y no a un afán de alterar la esencia de la historia narrada.” (Carvajal & Inzunza 2017: 07)

On the other hand, “El Cardenal” much more is an educational comic about the role of a single person and institutions related to the person in the times of dictatorship. Nevertheless, for sure this comic, too, is narrating, and, following the specific and judgmental perspective, discussing history. By this in part history is (re)done, but for sure a different ‘history’ than the one (re)done

by “Historias Clandestinas” – it is a Church, Catholic and individual history bringing the times of dictatorship into new light. And while the frame of “Historias Clandestinas” are inter alia the times of Allende, the times of dreams soon lost, in “El Cardenal” the frame is much more focused on the crimes by the dictatorship of Pinochet, linked to the specific perspective on victims. But both allow for the same in the end, to (re)do society by (re)doing history.

Different to these is another comic covering the same timeframe – “Los años de Allende” by Carlos Reyes and Rodrigo Elgueta, published in 2015, discussed here along the 2018 Madrid publication. This is a comic coming in black and white and in much more traditional layout. Most pages have several panels, however in differing amount. And there again the concept of one-page, here even two-page pictures, combined with panels at times, is in use. The comic begins with a black page and a white printed quote by Salvador Allende and the year “1973” printed in white on black, larger than the quote. Next page the reader is introduced to the narrator here: “Soy el periodista estadounidense John Nitsch, tengo 67 años y hace 40 fui enviado a Chile a cubrir el proceso de Salvador Allende. Allí viví esta historia...” (Reyes & Elgueta 2018: 10). Readers see the reporter hurrying out of the door on the street and are informed it is the 11th of September 1973, 11:30 am, in Santiago de Chile. From this scene time is moved backwards to “06 AM”, to soldiers storming a place in Valparaíso and Allende being informed. “Todo sucedió como en una secuencia cinematografica...” (Reyes & Elgueta 2018: 11). The following film-like development is pictured on the next double page, having the attacked Palacio de La Moneda in center position over both pages and on both sides five small pictures, beyond each other, like a reel of pictures. Readers see on the left a pilot, hands celebrating with some kind of champagne, seemingly a corpse, Pinochet with sun-glasses and a women readable-person looking at a fire and plane from a balcony with a child. On the right it is from above to below a police-person hitting someone on the ground, an soldier-like person with white flag, two soldiers carrying books, the crushed glasses of Allende – a picture used on the cover and before the comic started, too, there with the burning Chilean flag behind; on the cover additionally with the Palacio de La Moneda under attack, too, further behind – and finally the torn Chilean flag (see Reyes & Elgueta 2018: 12f.). From there the narration moves back to the year 1970. A specific of the comic here is the narrated ‘foreign’ perspective on developments in Chile, of ‘John Nitsch’. This is a fictive character allowing for a ‘outer’-perspective on the events, giving the comic more the character of a report about the events in form of a comic, but also allowing to stress more the role of the USA within the events. The fictive character follows a real person known to the authors of the comic, as they explained to make it more real to them, and has at the same time some similarities with the US-journalist Charles Horman, who was

executed only few days after the coup d'état (see Muñoz 2015). Interestingly, this different perspective of the comic to the perspective in the two comics looked at before changes the narration and its tone. With the 'neutral' US-journalist an external observer is 'source' of the comic-story, allowing to bring international relations more into spotlight. But at the same time this makes the comic less a 'Chilean' one, more one about Chile. In short: the 'we' is transformed or even partially lost here. Following, this the comic is more an educational one narrating historical events from an 'observer' perspective, less the subjective, personal impression of events as the two before. So, one major 'ability' of the comic in comparison is a focus on accuracy and 'historical events'. For this it helps much that the timeframe covered is much shorter in comparison to the two comics looked at before, not the Allende and Pinochet years, but only the former. These limited years 1970 to 1973, in narrational order of the comic 1973 and then 1970 to 1973, allow to cover more details of the times of Allende. After zooming back to 1970 the comic narration starts with the triumph of Allende and first counter-movements from the political right, combining, not the least for the claim of authenticity, the drawing of popular media pictures, as the first speech of the elected Allende or of interviews with Allende, and comic-own pictures, as of the narrator. In this context explanations and background information play a major role, for example combining media citations and at times full-page pictures of violence and protests against the Allende government (see for example Reyes & Elgueta 2018: 38). Additionally, some aspects of the Allende government are covered that are left out in the other two comics, allowing for a more detailed and complex picture of these years. For example, here the comic and media policy of the Allende government plays a bigger role, sometimes in a direct way, sometimes more indirectly. At times it is only one 'La Firme' magazine on the desk of the narrator, at other times dialogues about the end of Zig-Zag (see Reyes & Elgueta 2018: 54 & 89). The later is a scene on three pages, of 'John Nitsch' meeting Alberto Vivanco "director de una revista sorprendente: La Firme." (Reyes & Elgueta 2018: 89). Next to the story how leading personal was chosen, readers get basic information here about the project and the connected politics themselves: "Apenas supe que el gobierno había comprador La Editorial Zig-Zag para iniciar un nuevo Proyecto me vine. ¡Era un sueño! Cuando llegué. Estaba vacío." (Reyes & Elgueta 2018: 89) And with the depicted interview moving on, readers get more information:

"Orgullosos me contaron que el nombre Quimantú fue aprobado en asamblea ... que los ejecutivos eran elegidos por los trabajadores y que la opinión del obrero era escuchada. Los populares minilibros, la serie Nosotros Los Chilenos, Hechos Mundiales, Historietas o ..."

Cabro Chico, eran algunas de las publicaciones todas con tirajes desde los 50 000 ejemplares.

Insólito para un país de menos de 10 millones de habitantes.” (Reyes & Elgueta 2018: 90)

These more information-based boxes are followed by a perspective taken, not by the external observer, but the interviewed – by this allowing for a certain Chilean perspective to be transported and take space, here by the explanations of the leaders of Quimantú:

“La cultura no es una mercancía, es un derecho. La entendemos como una expresión popular revolucionaria. [next panel] Por eso creamos ‘El Supercauro’ que lucha contra el desabastecimiento, la corrupción ... Lo aprovechamos para abordar temas como la desnutrición y la pobreza, que siguen siendo problemas graves. [next panel on next page] [Nash:] ¿A qué atribuyen el éxito de Quimantú? [answer 1] Humm... a la mística, al compromiso, a la democracia interna. [answer 2] A la visión cultural de la Unidad Popular. No hay otra explicación.” (Reyes & Elgueta 2018: 90f.)

The overall scene is closed with a comic presented to Nash, one about a foreign journalist in Chile, leading over to further events, with Nash getting photographed when walking out of the building. Here again readers have a kind of meta-perspective. While here some pages are spent on one aspect of the Allende government, some events and years are moved along faster, just to come back to where the comic started, the 11th of September 1973. On the last pages the comic covers in detail and once again in a film-like density the dramatic events of the day. The last two pages then see lighter grey and an irregular panel structure, covering the time after “13:50”:

“Allende ordenó a Juan Seoane organizar la rendición. (...) Allende sería el último en salir. Al mando del general Palacios, las fuerzas golpistas se aprestaban a entrar a La Moneda. [the door cracks in two panels, the last panel of the pages sees someone running to a door, with the text:] Cuando el Dr. Patricio Guijón regresó para recoger una máscara de gas como recuerdo de los hechos vividos en La Moneda... ... Se convertirá en el primer testigo de la muerte de Salvador Allende.” (Reyes & Elgueta 2018: 118)

The last page of the comic then shows Salvador Allende sitting down, taking off the helmet and holding a rifle on five small panels in a row. This is partly covered with a panel of the broken glasses falling, finally falling out of the panel down the page, having in total four times the same part of the glasses on two thirds of the page (see Reyes & Elgueta 2018: 119). The overall tendency of the comic, to be more an informative-educational comic than a certain perspective on the events finally gets reinforced by more than 20 pages of an annex with further information about what is to be found in pictures or text. For example readers are informed about the described scene on the pages 89ff.:

“Parte de la conversación que John mantiene con los dibujantes y guionistas Hernán Vidal ‘Hervi’ y Alberto Vivanco en las oficinas de Quimantú está basada en una larga entrevista que hice a este último. (...) Mi sorpresa fue grande cuando al leerlo descubrí que narraba las aventuras de Jan Olssen, corresponsal de un diario de Copenhague, y de su colega local, Cecilia Ramos, en el Chile de septiembre de 1970 y de su relación con los hechos y personajes del escándalo CIA-ITT. (...) Dibujar colectivamente una misma historieta o cómic era una práctica habitual para lograr llegar a los acotados plazos de entrega. La potente historieta chilena sufrió un proceso de cambios y profunda revisión ideológica durante la UP.” (Reyes & Elgueta 2018: 133f.)

Taking this, too, into account, “Los años de Allende” not only is a comic about a more limited time of history than the two looked at before, it is more narrative, more narrating history than discussing history. Non the less the comic discusses history, too, at least by taking the ‘observer’ perspective and labelling ‘neutral’ a specific perspective shining light on massive violence and destruction by the political right. By this “Los años de Allende”, too, is doing history, however, only in a more limited sense, and for sure influences society in readers-time.

Something similar can be written about another comic of the 2010s about the same time, “El Golpe. El Pueblo 1970-1973” by Nicolás Cruz and Quique Palomo, published in 2014. This is a comic mostly in black and white, however with some pictures and panels in color, generally if they are drawings of something ‘original’, be it the campaign poster of Allende, a newspaper clipping or a ‘photo’ of Allende delivering a speech (see Cruz & Palomo 2014: 09, 14 & 33). Most of the comic remains in panel structure here again, however there are pages with few pictures and enormous blocks of text, as covering the speech by Allende on the 11th of September 1973 on two full sides with only small pictures (see Cruz & Palomo 2014: 36f.). “El Golpe” certainly is no personal account, but even more a narration in documentary style than “Los años de Allende”. The attempt to cover ‘original’ aspects of these years, in a true documentary style, as posters or a speech, is even more remarkable, taking that the comic is less than 60 pages long, and by this shorter than “Los años de Allende”. Additionally, there is a frame to the narration about the times of Allende: The comic starts relatively close to 2014-readers-then-time, in the year 2011, more concrete the “4 agosto 2011, Santiago, Chile”. Student protests and police violence are covered on these pages, hinting, however indirectly, at the problem of a neoliberal educational system in Chile. From there on of the protestors, a female depicted person, walks next to an elderly male-depicted person, seemingly a parent, worrying about the protests and that the protestors might be incarcerated. The younger person answers: “No me pasó nada. Ustedes saben cómo es. Ustedes mismos me han contado cómo desde chicos

andaban en la calle peleando por la que era justo. Esto es justo.” The ‘parents’ – then both – demand her, not to stop protesting, but being more careful in the protests (Cruz & Palomo 2014: 8f). This leads the male-depicted person to think:

“Es verdad que nuestra lucha comenzó siendo aún más jóvenes que ellos. [next panel] Comenzó en el barrio, en la casa. [next page, “6 de agosto 1970, Santiago, Chile, some putting (colored!) Allende posters on the walls] Era normal que anduviéramos desde chicos metidos en política, que nuestros viejos nos hablaran de la pobreza y la injusticia social.” (Cruz & Palomo 2014: 8f.)

And on the next page, with a lot of texts, the scenery of 1970 is introduced, with this text on the upper left: “Todo el mundo tenía opinión de lo que tenía que pasar en el país. La Casa Blanca, informada por los agentes de la CIA en Santiago, daba por ganador seguro Alessandri y había decidido no apoyar abiertamente su campaña como seis años antes había hecho con Eduardo Frei Montalva para que derrotara a Allende.” (Cruz & Palomo 2014: 10) Even though pictures play a major role in the following comic narration, especially given the inclusion of drawn pictures of original photos, text is at times nearly overwhelming. First it is used to set the frame of the male-depicted person narrating from 2011 about him in 1970, then more and more to give an impression of the times of Allende by original texts. It takes some pages until it is shown that Allende is president. Then the upcoming and for the time coining chaos gets into focus, from a first assassination in late October 1970 onwards. After less than 20 pages the year 1973 is reached, focus of the last about 20 pages of the comic. Accordingly, focus of the comic is ‘el golpe’ more than the Allende government as such. The coup d’état takes more than ten pages, with many being constructed of paintings of TV sets and original text. Afterwards the aftermath comes into focus, here with a more personal touch again. This begins with the narrator in bed in the lower right panel of one page thinking: “Esa fue la primera de muchas noches en que me iba a dormir con el ruido de las balas y explosiones de fondo.” (Cruz & Palomo 2014: 45) Personal encounters of terror, fear and violence get into focus in the following. Three pages later the narrator is caught on the street by soldiers who cut the long hair of male-read person with force and attack female-read persons in trousers, exclaiming: “¡Se acabaron los maricones y las putas en este país!” (Cruz & Palomo 2014: 48) The narrator hopes for a quick end of all this, sitting on a bench: “Esta mierda no puede durar mucho.” But his friend next to him is less hopeful: “Va a durar mientras vivamos. Van a pasar 50 años antes de que esto se arregle.” (Cruz & Palomo 2014: 48) But fear and anxiety are not the end of the story, it is first more hope and preservation. After a photo-like picture of the dead corpse there is a panel showing a funeral, overtitled with: “El funeral de Pablo Neruda e transforma en la

primera manifestación contra la dictadura. Los periodistas extranjeros impiden que se lleve a cabo una masacre.” (Cruz & Palomo 2014: 52) However, this shown sparkle of hope remains a singular one. Instead, the horrors remain, and Chileans fight or take ‘rescue’ in alcohol to compete. From there on it is shown that control remains tight, and hope is limited again, for years:

“Los funerales masivos de los militantes asesinados encontrados en las calles terminan en represión policial. [next panel] Los hombres deberán llevar el pelo corto y sin patillas y las mujeres deberán vestir falda bajo la rodilla. Éstas son algunas de las normas que contiene el instructivo informado a medios de prensa esta mañana por la junta militar. (...) [next panel] Los asilos su vuelven pan de cada día. La gente de la Iglesia y las organizaciones internacionales, ayudan a los asilados a llegar al aeropuerto a salvo desde las embajadas, en las que el asedio militar es constante. [next panel] Antes de partir al exilio la gente se toma la foto que ofrece el fotógrafo del aeropuerto. Nadie viaja en esa época y, aunque se en esas circunstancias, es un evento.” (Cruz & Palomo 2014: 54)

Others, as the last page covers, remain in a kind of inner-exile of limited hope, and ‘life went on’, as Chile qualified for the Football World Cup because the USSR did not show up. But even though the last and first pages have a more personal touch, the comic “El Golpe” is overall more a claiming ‘neutral-reporting’ one, the personal story stands far behind the documentary-educational narration – very comparable to “Los años de Allende”. “El Golpe” is even more documentary in a sense, using not endnotes with explanations, but large fragments of original footage and texts. So, for sure “El Golpe” is narrating history, and it is discussing history by following in the narration someone supporting Allende, by the frame related to someone supporting educational protests in 2011 – “El Golpe” for sure is no comic from the political ‘right’. Non the less, as “Los años de Allende”, “El Golpe”, too, is (re)doing history only in a limited sense compared to the first two comics looked at here. Clearly hope related to Allende and de facto sabotage of his government from the early beginning onwards are depicted, this is in a sense (re)doing history (and by this society), but only in a slight and not very controverse way, not brining other actors into focus as the first two comics discussed here, not taking a more radical position, and not focusing on the times of Pinochet so much. But, and this has to be stressed, it is, different to “Los años de Allende” a Chilean perspective taken in “El Golpe”, even so again a more observing-documentary perspective. And by this, by adding another Chilean perspective, history is (re)done with this comic non the less.

But it is not only the narration of a Chilean perspective, but at least potentially artists being based in Chile, too, that matters in doing history. The topic of the times of Allende and Pinochet

is no topic only popular in Chile, but a theme that is taken up internationally, too. So, there are comics about this time, that are available in Chile, even in Spanish translation, but do not have been produced for or in Chile. An example for such a comic is “¡Ese maldito Allende!”, translated from French, by Olivier Bras and Jorge González, published in Spanish in 2016. Originally it was published in 2015 under the title “Maudit Allende”. It is a comic in a very different style compared to the other four looked at so far, working more with painted picture like panels in color and much less text. Next to these there are pages in a kind of simpler drawing with few lines and added snippets from magazines or else. Even though many pages consist of ordered panels, others contain pictures of one or even two pages. And these styles do not come one after another, but are coming back once and again, or new ones are introduced within the narration as drawings looking more than sketches with irregular or no panels. And while most is in colors, at least contains colors even if not all is colored, some pages are only in black and white. Content-wise the comic begins with a first encounter of Allende and Pinochet in 1947 and then moves to the time after the coup d'état and the author/narrator – then a boy – living with his parents that are for work in South Africa. Readers get both perspectives in the following, living in ‘exile’ – for work, not political reasons – and the most important episodes of Allende and of Pinochet, on two pages for each one for the same ‘period’ of their live. Then the comic moves to the year 1998 and a first encounter with victims of the Pinochet regime, finding another ‘truth’ to the ‘truth’ of the parents who were in favor of Pinochet. Next to the historical reconstruction of the times before 1970 and the personal journey there are episodes depicting political circumstances and frameworks, as US influence and Richard Nixon in fear of “ese maldito Allende” (Bras & González 2016: 54), a reference to the title of the comic. In this concrete scene the style of the comic moves to a movie-like scenery of events, often depicting TV coverage of events, as of Fidel Castro visiting Santiago de Chile in 1971. But scenes alike are once and again interrupted by personal settings, as depicting the conflict between the author/narrator in his critical awakening and the parents not understanding the negative stance towards Pinochet. This scene then this is followed by the single longest episode in the comic, the last days of Allende, depicted on about 30 pages, mostly in black and white, only seldom with colors. Here ‘classical’ comic pages of panels and whole page paintings as changing portraits of Allende are mixed, the text is taken back. Some pages here look like a further developed sketch, others more like paintings, and the time narrated and shown is in constant movement, back and forth (see Bras & González 2016: 76ff.). After showing the coup d'état only shortly the beginning of the dictatorship is depicted, to soon give space again to a ‘now-time’, the year 2000 and a meeting of the author/narrator with ‘first-day-victims’. Here

then there is much more text, more context, and the drawings stand back (see Bras & González 2016: 110f.). But this holds true only for the beginning of this scene. When the drawings zoom back in time, again a form of ‘speechlessness’ is drawn, the horror is shown in sketch-like drawings and with only limited text. Then the comic moves to public events of the year 2000, Pinochet returning to Chile, and back again to victim perspectives, a scenery allowing more and more for colors again, since not victims themselves, but lawyers are followed and given word. In the end the comic can show how torn apart Chile ‘is’ in the ‘now-time’ drawn, how difficult judging and telling ‘a truth’ still are. From there, and after a chain of different encounters of the then adult author/narrator in Chile and with Chileans and their perspectives on Allende and Pinochet, finally Allende is put forward one last time on the last page:

“Varias noches Allende apareció en mis sueños. [a panel with an empty office] Imaginaba los últimos instantes de su vida. [next panel, zooming in on the chair] Lo veía el 11 de Septiembre en el Palacio de la Moneda. [next panel, zooming in further] En medio del humo y las explosiones. Sentado en un sillón de su oficina. [next panel, showing Allende writing] Un presidente acorralado. [two panels further, zoom on Allendes head] Un hombre que debía tomar la decisión más difícil de su vida [one panel further, further zoom on the head, from there five more panels without text follow, the weapon and blackness].” (Bras & González 2016: 128)

All this has a further framework with an afterword of Olivier Bras:

“Finalmente, en 2000, Salvador Allende se reunió con (...) figuras históricas de Chile en la Plaza de la Constitución, situada detrás del Palacio de La Moneda en Santiago. Una estatua bronce fue instalada a algunos metros del lugar en el que murió el 11 de septiembre de 1973. (...) Un reconocimiento de gran simbolismo en un país marcado por 17 años de dictadura, durante las cuales el régimen militar se esforzó por hacer desaparecer todo rastro del presidente socialista. Allende no debía figurar en ninguna parte, ni en las calles ni en los libros de historia. Durante ese mismo periodo, el recuerdo de Salvador Allende floreció lejos de Chile. En Francia, numerosas municipalidades de izquierda y de derecha decidieron dar el nombre del difunto presidente a una calle, una avenida, una plaza, una escuela, un centro cultural. En Europa, y en el mundo entero, su apellido también quedó estampado sobre innumerables lugares. Y si bien, a más de cuarenta años de su muerte para algunos él solo es un simple nombre sobre una placa, para otros muchos sigue siendo una personalidad política inspiradora. Un hombre de convicciones claras que merece estar en un pedestal.” (Bras & González 2016: 131)

Compared to the other comics looked at so far, this is a new or different perspective on the times of Allende and Pinochet, especially taking the much longer timeframe looked at, not only the times of government and the time just after but including a pre-history and the long-time after the end of the dictatorship needed to cope with the events of the 1970s and 1980s in Chile. But at the same time, this is no clear Chilean perspective in the first place, it is at least as much a perspective on Chile, framing Chile in global perspectives, describing from the outside, reporting about the events and perspectives. Clearly history is topic here, and clearly history is narrated and discussed here, even more with the ‘personal journey’ to catch perspectives of victims and lawyers. And in the end, this is doing history, albeit doing history outside of Chile about Chile in the first place, but with the publication of the translated comic in Chile, there, too. However, the question of agency rises high here – since the adaption, and this is the translation and publication of the original French comic in Spanish and in Santiago, changes the setting. From the outside it is difficult to rate the reach of changes made, have a differentiated comparison between the original in French and the publication in Spanish and for Chile. Even though such a comparison could be made, the agency behind the ‘adaption’ is difficult to rate and identify. Overall and generally, it has to be stated, that a translation and new publication always is a change in and of the product and part of a new agency, not the least of publishers (see about this Becker 2022: 59ff.). However, any ‘adaption’ cannot delete a perspective on Chile that is always at least slightly different to a perspective from Chile, even if the first not necessarily has to be a clear (post)colonial one (see for the problem of narrating ‘about’ for example Ahrens 2022: 237ff.). Nonetheless, the comic does history in Chile, too. But it is more an external and adapted influence on the doing of history via comics in Chile than the comic itself is a fitting example of doing history via comics in Chile. But this is a difference in tendency, and not clear-cut, because of the influence of the publisher of the ‘adaption’, but inter alia the narration of Chilean perspectives, too.

All the examples discussed so far clearly show the importance and reach of doing history via comics in Chile. There are very different approaches under this umbrella, as only focusing on the topic of Allende and Pinochet, probably one of the most important segments of history ‘re-done’ via comics in Chile, but they all take a perspective and ‘use’ history, to influence a now-time with no clear set limits. But the topic and history of Allende/Pinochet are not the only ones ‘done’ or at least discussed via comics in Chile, not the only comics by this influencing ideas and concepts of society in Chile via history.

8.2. Framing the discussion – further comics doing and discussing history and society

Framing this strong culture of comics discussing and doing history it should be mentioned, that Chile has since the return to democracy developed to an even stronger comic market with international ties. Maybe the best-known example for this is “Maliki”, the comic artists Marcela Trujillo, and her work (for example Trujillo 2013). But there is an ongoing tradition of cartoons and satirical periodicals, too. One example here is the satirical weekly newspaper “The Clinic” that clearly positions itself against the dictatorship and its lasting remains in the ‘negotiated transition’ (see about this Castillo 2016: 109).

But next to cartoons or a huge variety of different comics with varying international significance, there are further – comics discussing and in part doing history. Some of these are again more a perspective on Chile, even though discussing the times of Allende and Pinochet, but not Chilean comics. One example for this is “A golpe de recuerdos. 9.11.73” by Arnol Montoya Ramírez, published in 2010. It is a comic about the attack on the Cuban embassy the 9th of September 1973, and by this retelling Chilean history, but for a Cuban audience and following a Cuban perspective. For sure this comic can be used in Chile, too, even to do history and society, but this is clearly not what the comic was made for. Other comics are from Chile and focus on the same timeframe as those discussed before. One example here is “ClanDESTinos” by Cristina Ortega Lerdo de Tejada (2012). This comic consists of a row of two-page pictures in form of photo-collages with text. It has less in common with ‘classical’ comics and is more an artistic adaption in comic form in a wider sense. The narration is set in the 1970s in the time of Pinochet. The narrator here is a child, that is told in the beginning of the narration at school about the dangers of leaving the house late. On a following page of a collage of pictures of two soldiers, a wall and three keys with wings flying in front of the soldiers readers see from the back, the text gives an impression of insecurity, pressure and state control: “En el colegio nos explicaron sobre los peligros de salir por las tardes de nuestras casas. Al parecer, las puertas de las casas no volvían a abrirse hasta la mañana siguiente, y al salir corríamos el riesgo de no poder volver a entrar. Las llaves se escondían de las cerraduras toda la noche.” (Ortega Lerdo de Tejada 2012: 5f. (own counting)) On the following pages the narrator ‘investigates’ the behavior of a neighbor – “Sr. Víctor” –, expecting a secret love. However, in the end the neighbor disappears, and the doors remain shut for good. This is illustrated with ‘harmless’ pictures, following more the unclear thoughts of a child in these years, not understanding what happened to those who disappear. The comic-like narration itself and overall is a kind of historical recollection, giving a child perspective of the atmosphere of the first years of Pinochet’s dictatorship. However, this never is made clear – the comic remains

in the child perspective and what happened with ‘Sr. Víctor’ remains unclear. There are more some hidden signs, as “¿Dónde están?” written on a wall (Ortega Lerdo de Tejada 2012: 3f.). Nevertheless, this is a comic giving a historical perspective and by this in a sense discussing and doing history, even though in a limited sense. The comic is just another example of the importance of these years for the self-understanding and the making of society in Chile in a now-time, the lasting effects of these years, discussed inter alia in comics.

A different approach are comics set in this time but not giving a historical account or a personal impression but mixing historical facts and fictitious entertainment. For sure, all comics about this time discussed so far are at least partly fictitious, too, but they remain in a sense of ‘it could have been so’. But these comics leave this sphere and are at least partly linked to for example horror comics. One example for these is “El canto del Delirio” by Juan Vásquez, probably published in 2008. It makes sense to look at this comic together with another by the sane author published in 2016, having a comparable theme – “1986. Parte 2: Recuerdos Suversivos”. This second comic contains an introduction about the author Juan Vásquez:

“Vásquez se transformó en el cronista de nuestra guerra, combatiendo desde la historieta a una dictadura feroz. Comenzó a publicar unas postales panorámicas de las protestas, unas jaurías de policías persiguiendo estudiantes, imágenes brutales que sólo se pueden dibujar si se han visto en vivo, porque Vásquez dibujaba las protestas desde las protestas, sumergido entre los manifestantes bocetando intentando no llorar por las bombas lacrimógenas, aguantando la rabia. [next page] Vásquez dibujó el miedo y el horror de la guerra, una guerra de piedras contra pistolas, que la ganamos con un lápiz cuando ganó la democracia con el triunfo del NO. Así llegamos a una democracia en la medida de lo posible, donde nos repitieron hasta el cansancio, que diéramos vuelta la página, que no removiéramos viejas heridas, que olvidáramos. Pero Vásquez no olvidó y no paró de publicar historietas donde mostraba a Pinochet y sus secuaces tal como son. Unos Monstruos Asesinos, Unos Hijos de Puta. Pero el tiempo todo lo olvida y nuevamente estamos en un gobierno de derecha, y carabineros enfurecidos persiguen, golpean y matan a estudiantes que luchan por una educación gratuita y justa.” (Salinas 2016: 01f.)

Both comics clearly focus on the dictatorial terror of the Pinochet regime and both come in black and white, and in a kind of ‘cheap fashion’ of magazine-comics, and not in the more graphic novel style of those discussed so far. By this both address a different audience and market segment at least in tendency. The first one – “El canto del Delirio” – covers the longer history here. It starts content-wise with depicting a mass singing the national anthem, including in the mass some ‘people’, but a cartoon dog or Condorito, too. From there the scenery moves

to a TV set, first black, then Pinochet appears, only partly visible. Music notes begin to become visible, and get more visible with the following panels. Then, in the third panel, the mass of page 1 can be seen in the TV set, then again stripes and no signal. Finally, on page three, a whole page picture, there is Richard Nixon in the TV set declaring “¿What? Otro gobierno Antiestados Unidos, á suprimir los créditos now. Su economía debe ser exprimida hasta hacerla gritar ..!” (Vásquez 2008 (?): 03) This turns to a close-up of the mouth of Richard Nixon, and then on page 5 to Godzilla screaming in the TV set. From there the scenery moves to a two-page picture of the attacked Palacio de La Moneda, on page 8 then zooming in to the flag and then an explosion with the text: “Vuestros nombres valientes soldados. [next panel] Que habéis sido de Chile el sostén. [next panel] Nuestros pechos los llevan grabados. [next panel] Los sabrán nuestros hijos también.” (Vásquez 2008 (?): 08). This scenery is followed by a soldier in a uniform having a skull head with glasses on the next page in a one-page picture saying “Soy la Muerte..!” (Vásquez 2008 (?): 09). Next there are several, mostly one-page pictures, only seldom panels on one-page, depicting the horror of the Pinochet years, but without delivering a clear narration of what happened in order, more focusing on selective aspects and strengthening the connected impressions with pictures. Always again a TV set plays a role here, showing different aspects and topics, but always again a ‘normality’ contrasted by pictures of cruelty on the page before, as several human corpses contrasted to attacking animals in TV (Vásquez 2008 (?): 18f.), or some further corpses contrasted with a ‘beauty queen’ thanking in TV (Vásquez 2008 (?): 20f.). Afterwards the scenery moves to moving troops, partly in old-fashioned uniforms, or a prayer to the ‘king of hunger’, all ending in an exploding TV set showing a screaming head, shown on three panels coming closer to the barbed wired face with the text: “Y ahora en magnetoscopio musical el último éxito... [next panel] de Tears for Fears [next panel] GRITO..!” (Vásquez 2008 (?): 31) This kind of ‘call to action’ leads to pictures of resistance and harsh reactions, again with soldiers in old-style uniforms next to armed police forces, helicopters, but motorized vehicles in armory, too. Clearly here are links drawn to German Kaiser-troops, but National socialism and the Third Reich, too: One person drawn in uniform says here “Parece que el Cuarto Reich no da para más.” (Vásquez 2008 (?): 42), but an exploding eagle with swastika beyond is shown, too (Vásquez 2008 (?): 44). Clearly lines are drawn here between the Pinochet dictatorship and Nazis. From there the scenery moves to TV sets carried by ox’s, showing inter alia Nixon talking, and a whole page about the 51% voting ‘No’. In this scenery reporters try to capture inter alia a male-looking person in prison clothes or a soldier. Within the mass drawn there are pop-figures, like someone with a Guy Fawkes mask or ‘Alf’. The text gives the impression of ‘no one knew’ and of an ‘agreement’ to forget

what lies behind to allow to go on – in a highly critical way. “Nada de SORPRESAS tiene la última encuesta que dice que el 51% de los Chilenos afirma que Pinochet será recordado como ladrón y dictador... [someone saying:] ¡Yo no le conozco! [and the one in prisoner clothes saying:] Ne acuerdo, pero no cierto. No es cierto y si era cierto, no me acuerdo...” (Vásquez 2008 (?): 52f.) The last page of the comic then shows Pinochet disappearing from a TV set going black in the end after four panels (Vásquez 2008 (?): 54). Clearly this comic narrates and discusses history, but not history in the sense of a row of historical events, more in the sense of aspects of a historical period giving together an impression of this period. The comic shows less the attempt to stick to ‘facts’ and clear dates and developments, but take the historical time as such and comment on it. This is not the least because the comic is made of a loose collection of pictures, brought together to be a comic, or as the author says on the back of the comic:

“La presente recopilación consta de una serie de trabajos realizados en plena dictadura militar. Originalmente algunos de ellos eran parte de una obra mayor que nunca se publicó, muchas de sus páginas nunca se concluyeron y otras se extraviaron. Ahora se presenta bajo mi formato favorito, el comic, con un final dibujado en el presente, cerrando finalmente el círculo, interpretando una serie de hechos que acontecieron durante y después de los días de Pinochet y sus secuaces (...) Con una justicia incompetente, recibiendo sueldos mes a mes, pagados por todos los chilenos, que no fue capaz de enjuiciar a Pinochet, al menos me queda la satisfacción de dibujarlo tal cual fue un ladrón, un cobarde y un asesino.” (Vásquez 2008 (?): back of the comic)

This comic aims to discuss history, to (re)do history, showing Pinochet as he ‘was’ – “un ladrón, un cobarde y un asesino” – but not by giving a more or less adequate account of historical developments, but focusing more on overall impressions. This is another tendency of doing history and by this society in Chile via comics, and another important one.

And this tendency is clearly visible in the second comic looked at here by the same author, too. It focusses on the year 1986 – “Cuando Chile era Vietnam” as the comic puts it (Vásquez 2016: 35 (own counting)). It covers content-wise an escalation in violence and suppression, following an assassination attempt on Pinochet. But this background is not retold – as in the comic looked at before, history is frame and topic, but not in the sense of retelling events, but giving an impression of these. Accordingly, the comic starts in the midst, with two one-page pictures and then a page with multiple panels. The first picture shows a city with bombers flying, explosions in the background and a mass of soldiers marching, the second more bombardments with soldiers burning books and fighting. Then the perspective zooms in on one soldier with empty eyes and an explosion. This all is covered with the following text: “A las 11:25 fue cuando los

Haukers Hunters desgarraron los cielos de Santiago... [next page] Fue cuando Pinochet delos infiernos inicio la marcha macabra, fue cuando la vida se podría entre las botas de los militares. [next page] Y el cielo contemplaba la soberanía de un satán cobarde...” (Vásquez 2016: 03ff.) This is ‘closed’ with another one side picture of a demon-dragon-like-being coming into a village setting and the words “Y la Esperanza que brillava en las ventanas de las poblaciones, fue apagada por la marcha del general oculto, que llegaba para quedarse.” (Vásquez 2016: 06) This ‘narration’ then is followed by a variety of one-page pictures, at times consisting of various elements on one page, showing inter alia Allende with a rifle, a soldier with skull head, African dictators, as the text says, but bombers or advertisement-like pages, too. One shows an armored vehicle, and states: “¿Cansado de gente revoltosa? ¡Sus problemas llegaron a su fin. Guanaco Antidisturbios G320. Nuevo [and with four pictures of details on the side down:] Cañón de largo alcance. Capacidad de 10.000 litros de agua servida. Pala empujadora y removedora de barricadas. Contenedor de gas CS garantizado.” (Vásquez 2016: 27) Some pages later there again is more of a narration, showing sceneries of dying and fighting. Other small episodes covered then move in time, as under the headline “1984 en 1986” to the year 1978 stating:

“Santiago de chile [sic!] en el año 1978 cinco años de la instauración de la dictadura militar. El frio de una mañana de enero me hace sentido que estoy viva. [next panel] Pinochet llama a un plebiscito para demostrarle al mundo lo bien qué está el país. [next panel] El ascensor no funciona hace años una vez más las escaleras se burlan de mi lumbago. [next panel] La vecina pinochetista del departamento seis, tiene pegada en su puerta un afiche a favor del si.” (Vásquez 2016: 37)

In this ‘episode’ a narrator appears, but this is only an ‘episode’ amongst others. In general, the comic is more about showing general developments in impressions than allowing for a personal account. Again, as with the first comic of the author discussed here, the approach followed is not to discuss history as a line of events, but to give an impression of a historical time, and by this (re)do history and society. Clear aim is to make violence and brutality not forgotten – and this is clearly doing history via comics. However, it is a different tendency to be witnessed in these two comics than in those comic discussed in the chapter before, those are more discussing history as a line of events, and remain more in depicting a perspective on ‘facts’. In the two comics by Vasquez instead the soldiers are ‘portrayed’ as dead beings, here advertisement for an armored vehicle allows for a critical perspective on the brutally coining the times of Pinochet.

A comparable tendency can be found in the comic “Anticristo” by Javier Rodríguez, published in 2017. This is a comic in two parts, ‘retelling’ the 1970s and 1980s in Chile, however in

episodes and going still further in leaving ‘history’ as a line of factual events behind. The comic is a mixture of some drawings in black and white and relatively a lot of text, going so far to include vampires in the narration. The intention of the comics is framed and stressed by two forewords, one about the narration, the other about links to historicity. In the later Carolina Carrasco Olmedo writes about the work:

“Distanciándose del itinerario oficial de reparación simbólica en que han caído muchas producciones artísticas sobre la dictadura en Chile, Anticristo busca restaurar a un público masivo la pregunta por la conciencia histórica a través del libro-cómic como soporte, asumiendo la necesidad de enfrentar los vacíos en la memoria histórica (...) para construir imaginarios que interpelen a los nuevos subalternos en su despojamiento actual. Parafraseando a John Berger, se impone la tarea de remecer a una generación para la que el fin de la historia fue la orden de borrar el legado completo del siglo XX, tanto en sus luchas como en sus excesos. La trascendencia de esta tarea radicaría en que, en el ciclo presente de actualización del capital y sometimiento a su ética individualizante de consumidores y empleados, la generación excluida de la dictadura como experiencia vital corre el riesgo de perder su propia memoria y sentido histórico como colectividad frente a ella. Desde esta perspectiva, el trabajo de Rodríguez continúa la senda del FPMR [Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez] aunque desde la práctica pedagógica/cómplice del cómic como recurso narrativo: ya no solo emparentada con la práctica de la guerrilla a través de la economía de medios antes descrita – afiliada poéticamente también a las precarias piezas gráficas realizadas por los rodriguistas en la clandestinidad –, sino que principalmente como la porfiada reactivación de aquellas imágenes de la lucha armada que en los años posteriores al plebiscito de 1988 – y definitivamente tras la muerte de Jaime Guzmán [1991] – fueron estigmatizadas y excluidas del debate político.” (Olmedo Carrasco 2017: 07f.)

Taking this perspective as a starting point to explain the comic and its intent it is a comic narrating ‘the history of the dictatorship’, but not in combining historical events and keep in line with a claimed historic ‘authenticity’, but by giving a specific perspective and combine specific themes about the dictatorship – as how the dictatorship was ‘vampire like’ to those of lower classes, showing the classism of the Pinochet administration, or resistance and failures of resistance. For sure this is narrating history, and it is discussing history, but in a sense different to the comics looked at in the chapter before. These aimed at mixing a personal perspective and ‘historical facts’ to do and re-do history and by this society. In the case of “Anticristo” the way is more the exaggeration, moving from Pinochet to vampires, to stress fully a certain perspective on the dictatorship. In a sense this is even more doing history and

society than the comics looked at in the first chapter do – there is a clear aim to influence, re-tell and re-do history, as the foreword of Olmedo Carrasco stresses and lines out. For this a specific comic narration was brought forward – photorealistic in style and exaggerating at the same time. This is stressed in the second foreword by Rodolfo Andaur:

“A través del soporte del dibujo, el tránsito ficcional por el cine y la estética del cómic, *Anticristo* se convierte en un proyecto de realismo fotográfico que está envuelto con un tenebroso exerto del mítico vampiro en conjunto a hechos de la vida real. Para este caso y artista mezcla al vampiro con los antecedentes históricos quien investigó sobre la Operación Albania, acontecida en el invierno de 1987, donde la Central Nacional de Informaciones (CNI) asesinó a doce miembros del FPMR. Junto a estos hechos históricos que son abordados desde el dibujo, aunque con un giro sombrío hacia la lógica del cómic como guion cinematográfico, este proyecto nos abre otros nichos para percibir la coyuntura que han singularizado a estos hitos sobre la violencia desmedida por parte del Estado.” (Andaur 2017: 11)

This underlines the closeness of “*Anticristo*” to the comics of Juan Vásquez, both in comparison more clearly taking position about the history ‘retold’ than those comics that attempt to narrate along ‘historical facts’, going so far to include historical sources to ‘proof’ authenticity. This is far left behind here, but not in ‘cheap-looking’ comic-magazine-look as the Vásquez comics, but more the graphic novel style from the outside, contrasted by the inside comic that includes even vampires in discussing history. However, even though addressing a different audience than the other graphic novel like comics of and in Chile looked at so far, more those already critical of Pinochet, this comic clearly narrates history, discusses history by this (re)does history and society.

But there are also further comics at least from the outline partly more comparable to the ones discussed in the chapter before, however, having clearly different tendencies content wise. One example here is “*Ella entró por la ventana*” by Pedro Lemebel, Sergio Gómez and Ricardo Molina, published in 2012. This is again more a graphic novel like comic, coming in color and with panels, clearly narrating (a) history, set in the year 1983 in Santiago de Chile. However, here the year 1983 is more a background given to get an impression of the year narrated and a linked atmosphere. The main character, here not the narrator, is shown in the beginning on the street with some others, after public protests by female depicted characters in front of some simple houses. The main character and others dance around a fire, then the police arrive and intervene, they run away, some time later returning to a scenery of destruction after the intervention. From there readers see children play with the remaining’s of ammunition and

holes in walls. While this might be read as a narration of history, from there the comic moves away and focusses on the main character and his cat, later an encounter with his girl-friend that ends in him raping her. From there the comic moves again to the cat and the main character chasing the cat. Another demonstration gives context and impression, but topic then is clearly not the frame anymore but the fight of the main character for an own role (and finally the cat dying) (see Lemebel, Gómez & Molina 2012). All this is a story indeed set in 1983 with protests giving an impression of what happened these years in Chile, but not about this time of history as such. Indirectly and partly history is narrated here, but less in the sense of discussing it, not to say doing it, but in the sense of using it to frame and narrate a different story. This becomes even clearer with the afterword by Pedro Lemebel that focuses on the role of the cat, not the time the story is set. This comic, and it is not the only one of such, ‘uses’ history to create an atmosphere and a surrounding for a story told, but not so much to discuss or do history. Here we have a comic more to entertain or discuss other topics, as sexual violence, but not to discuss or do history, even though discussing the topic of sexual violence clearly (re)does society.

Other comics instead do so, but look at a different episode and time of Chilean history. This does for example “Santa María 1907” by Pedro Prado, published in 2014. This comic is based on a novel, “Santa María de las flores negras” by Hernán Rivera Letelier, and is in some ways very different to the comics discussed here so far doing history in Chile. The biggest difference is that in difference to the novel – and the other comics – the actors are not humans but animals, llamas, but dogs, goats, sheep or pigs at times, too. The novel is about a massacre in Iquique of striking workers, mostly miners, but wives and children, too. This strike is also topic of the comic. All starts with a longer introduction on eight pages, narrating, but by taking position and perspective discussing and doing history themselves, too:

“**¡Guerra!** [all bold here in original, too] El 14 de Febrero de 1878 el Congreso Boliviano sube los impuestos a la exportación del **salitre**, mineral conocido en el mundo como ‘oro blanco’ debido a su alto valor, escasez y múltiples utilizaciones en aquella época. Esta decisión afecta principalmente a empresas inglesas que tenían permiso de ese mineral en Bolivia. En 1879, protegiendo intereses de capitales chilenos en ese país, el gobierno de Chile toma posesión del puerto boliviano de **Antofagasta**, declarándole la guerra a Bolivia y, de paso, a su aliado secreto, Perú. [next page] La guerra fratricida fue cruenta. Hay héroes en ambos bandos. [next page] Después de cuatro años de un sangriento conflicto... ... finalmente, la alianza peruano-boliviana es derrotada ... [next page] Como botín de guerra, el gobierno de Chile anexa a su territorio las regiones invadidas por su ejército durante el conflicto: la provincia peruana de **Tarapacá** y la puna de **Atacama** boliviana... ...

precisamente donde se encontraban prácticamente los únicos yacimientos de salitre del mundo. [next page] El triunfo de **Chile** sobre **Perú** y **Bolivia** era definitivo. **Pero todos ellos fueron engañados.** [next page] Antes del fin de la guerra y aprovechándose de la crisis económica y política boliviana, compañías europeas habían comprado a muy bajos precios los derechos de explotación de los principales yacimientos salitreros de ese país. Estas empresas, que contaban entre sus accionistas minoritarios a miembros del Congreso de Chile, sabían cómo exigir que el gobierno chileno respetara sus títulos de propiedad. **Chile nunca alcanzó a adueñarse de todo ese salitre...** [next page, with a picture of the Casa Chile in Hamburg, Germany] Fue así que esas compañías tuvieron de la noche a la mañana y con una inversión mínima la comercialización del salitre del mundo es sus manos. Se levantaron en Europa los edificios más prodigiosos producto de las inmensas ganancias de esas compañías. [next page] Chilenos, Peruanos y Bolivianos, antes obligados a enfrentarse en una guerra, eran ahora igualmente explotados por esas oficinas salitreras emplazadas en medio del desierto más árido del planeta. Por largos años las chimeneas de esas salitreras humeaban para hacer inmensamente ricas a esas compañías a costa del sufrimiento de sus operarios, mujeres, hombres ... y niños. Por largos años fueron los dueños del mundo. **Pero ¿Saben? eso a nosotros nos importó un carajo ... y un día todas las chimeneas se apagaron ...**” (Prado 2014: 07ff.).

With this lengthy introduction the comic from the start on takes a historical perspective, of some exploited and others exploiting, corrupt politics, but solidarity beyond borders or citizenships. The introduction could be analyzed along the question of historical accuracy, what is no aim here, but clearly it is a specific perspective on the pre-history of the history narrated in the following comic, giving direction to the following comic, but discussing history as such, too. This clearly is doing history, for example by narrating a kind of ‘Andean’ and ‘workers’ solidarity facing the ‘big capital’ and European colonization by money and trade monopolization. The following parts of the comic then focus on the events of 1907 with the most workers being depicted as llamas in clothes. The comic itself is in colors, but most remains in yellowy tones, the llamas, but the landscape, too, giving an impression of the dry and deathly desert as surrounding of the story told and shown. Others has different tones – the blue sea or a red flag – but most remains in yellowy. The account of the historical events is pretty accurate in sense of following ‘historical facts’, however not along historical figures, but fictitious animals acting. This account of accuracy is for example made clear with last page of the comic, showing the ‘decision’ by “el presidente” (Pedro Montt): “... Y el presidente ya decidió cómo solucionarlo. La solución viene en camino. No estaba tratando de doblegarlos cuando les dije

que se devolvieran a la pampa, señor Viera Gallo estaba tratando de hacerles el favor más grande de sus vidas.” (Prado 2014: 73) Pedro Montt positioned himself against the workers and their demands, no matter their fight and death toll – here shown in the comic following historical ‘facts’. Overall, this comic is an example for narrating, discussing and by this doing history in Chile, and by this doing society. Ingredient of this is to show, narrate and/or discuss an often neglected or silenced part of history, more forgotten episodes or more silenced perspectives within more or less known episodes. But the effect in the ‘now-time’ is probably more limited compared to the comics looked at in the chapter before, given the time difference between the events narrated and the now-time, the not direct effects on any readers lives, compared to the comics about the times of Allende or Pinochet. But non the less effects in sense of (re)doing history are possible. This is just another example of the relevance of comics to discuss and (re)do history and effect readers and society by narrating and bringing forward a historical time. And alike the comics discussed in the previous chapters, this is done with an attempt of historical accuracy, no matter the taking position within – all taking history not (only) as starting ground, but topic and theme.

Comparable, but in other aspects highly different, especially the account of approaching history, is the – in the time of writing – three volumes comic series “Varua Rapa Nui”. This series is by different authors, the first two volumes are by Bernardita Labourdette, Ismael Hernández Tapia and Eduardo Ruiz-Tagle Eyzaguirre, the third by Bernardita Labourdette, Fernando Pinot and Eduardo Ruiz-Tagle Eyzaguirre. The first volume was published in 2012, the second in 2013, and the third in 2016. A fourth is worked on, but not finished in the time of writing. The series all together narrates the ‘history’ of Rapa Nui, also known as ‘Easter Island’. The at least partly mythological series is narrated by two spirits, by Ivi, a being with a head slightly resembling ‘moai’, the ritual head stones of the island, and a skeletal body, and Honu, a giant turtle. They narrate the history of the island and at its people but play part in it once and again, too. Again, here animals as characters play a role, but by far not all characters are animals. It is more the case that two spirits narrate about human beings, but nature has power and agency, too, in these comics. Here a mixture of ‘history’, in the ‘western’ sense of linear and factual ‘history’, and mythology and oral ‘legends’, holds for the background of a comic series narrating and discussing ‘history’. At the same time the comic narration is embedded in some information about this account of history. In an afterword in the first volume a historian from the Island writes:

“En cuanto a la tradición oral, las fuentes son igualmente variadas. Todas estas comprenden explicaciones insertas dentro del “pensamiento mítico” y un error común es interpretarlas

como verdades del “pensamiento lógico” que pueden y deben comprobarse científicamente. El mito ofrece una explicación de la realidad y del mundo que rodea a la comunidad y es una justificación para el estado actual de las cosas. Los mitos dicen mucho sobre la comunidad que los crea pero también tienen un trasfondo real y deben poseer elementos verídicos de las sociedades que los consideran válidos. Las leyendas más antiguas fueron recopiladas en la época de los padres misioneros franceses, y registros de aquellas han llegado hasta nuestros días gracias a los escritos de investigadores extranjeros realizados desde la década de 1870. En general hoy se acepta que la llegada de la primera migración organizada desde Polinesia, los inmigrantes estaban comandados por un ariki [King or ‘chief] llamado Hotu Mutua desde una nación llamada Marae Renga, ubicada en una tierra hoy desaparecida llamada Hiva.” (Moreno Pakarati 2014: 54)

For sure this series aims at a kind of historical accuracy. There is not only this afterword and a glossary added, but the authors clearly worked with a variety of scientists working on and about Rapa Nui. And this is no approach limited to the first volume but can be witnessed in all three published so far. They all have a kind of introduction text, leading to the specific comic content, and a background text, giving historical background and a link to connected discussions. At the same time the comic series is in its outline clearly a comic, but not a traditional one. There are pages of panels, but often broken ones, there are pictures of one page and various mixtures of styles. Overall, the text is limited, and the colors remain in blackish, brownish and dark red tones. The first volume starts in the mythological time and then moves to the first people arriving on the Island. The second volume follows the settlement of different groups on the Island, their conflicts and attempts to divide the Island. Here the ocean always again plays a major role – where other come from and some flee to, to find new islands or land. In this volume first contacts by people from Rapa Nui with mainland Chile are topic, as well as the ocean connecting and dividing at the same time. The third volume then covers decline, loss of knowledge, enslavement by pirate ships, but several arrivals by ‘Europeans’, too. Here the story narrated comes closer to a ‘western’ understanding of ‘history’ than the story in the two volumes before. However, still spirits and myths play a major role. This third volume is a bit different in style to the first two volumes, too, following the partial change of authors probably. This third one is in its drawings more comic-like and less picture-like, in sense of exaggerations and caricature styles. Clearly cruelty by ‘European’ actors is one major topic here. But no matter the differences of all three volumes, they all aim at ‘presenting’ and ‘making known’ a wider public the specific ‘history’ of Rapa Nui. This comic series is another account of comics narrating and by this discussing history in Chile. Here to the wider public probably, as assumed

by the authors, more ‘unknown’ ‘history’ – in the sense of the authors, a history including the mythical – of Rapa Nui is the topic narrated and by this discussed. Narration and discussion are very close in this comic series. It is less a specific account of a phase of history already widely discussed, as the times of Allende and Pinochet, but more allowing this specific understanding of ‘history’ flourish. And this is clearly an attempt of (re)doing history, adding to the self-understanding of Chile Rapa Nui and its history/’history’, and by this questioning and re-doing Chilean history. By this, the comic series clearly aims at (re)doing society in Chile, influencing the idea of society in Chile, by (re)doing ‘Chilean history’. This may be a different approach of (re)doing history with comics in Chile compared to others looked at before, but non the less it is a clear example for this general approach.

Similar are other comics with a specific ‘indigenous’ perspective, and by this countering the *white*-settler-perspective on Chilean history still common and widespread. One example for this is the comic “Raptados” by Huevo Díaz and Oma Campos Onirri, published in 2011. It is a comic about the abductions – *raptados* – of several members of two indigenous groups of Tierra de Fuego, of Kawésqar 1881 and Selk’nam 1889. It is a comic in full colors mostly in ordered panels. The overall narration follows a song about what happened and divides the comic into several chapters, from “Rapto” to inter alia “Europa” and finally “Regreso”. Even though it is a comic in Spanish some of those attacking the indigenous groups speak German, even though a German not completely fitting the time narrated, as the not so common expression for the late 19th century “Ich fick dich kleine Fotze! (Díaz & Campos Onirri 2011: 43), or at times not grammatically correct as in: “Schweine komm rein!” (Díaz & Campos Onirri 2011: 43). But these expressions only give an impression of brutality and discriminatory behavior of those invading, they do not carry the content further. The comic starts with pictures of growing up in Tierra del Fuego, of joy, liberty, but the fight for survival, too. Then armed *white* ‘settlers’ arrive, abducting some and killing others brutally. The clear aim of all action is the abduction, however on cost of many lives and an act of brutality including some *whites* raping indigenous women pictured persons. Those abducted are brought to Europe to be displayed as ‘cannibals’ or ‘wilds’, others have to take part in ‘scientific’ experiments. Those arriving in Europe are shown as torn between tradition, suppression, violence, but attractions of ‘modernity’, too. However especially in binary constructed gender lines the experiences are divided. Within these pictures colors play a significant role, standing for modes or changes in scenery, with red standing mostly for danger. There is a clear difference between the European cities depicted and Tierra del Fuego as ‘home’ and ‘nature’. However, within the comic the sense of ‘wilderness’ is questioned, if it fits better for the European cities or Tierra del Fuego, having a clear tendency

in answering this question following a more indigenous perspective. This becomes clear in a scenery of an encounter of one male pictured indigenous person with a spirit in a European forest. 'He' is one of those shown before as tending towards some tendencies of European 'modernity', but finds in his encounter with his 'father' – shown as bigger than life mythological being – a need to return to the others and stand to the own past (Díaz & Campos Onirri 2011: 113ff.). He is told: “No olvidas tu pasado, tu tierra y tu mujer.” (Díaz & Campos Onirri 2011: 116) Tierra del Fuego becomes clearly aim and home here again and Europe is again the wild to be survived. Overall, this comic is another example of a comic narrating and by this discussing history, this time an attempt to bring forward to a broader audience a part of history seldom looked at and by this altering the concept of 'Chilean history'. Clearly a specific perspective is chosen for this endeavor – one putting indigenous experiences up-front. However, this is less a project from Tierra de Fuego as “Varua Rapa Nui” is a closely connected to Rapa Nui, but it is more a project to deconstruct a spread understandings of 'Chilean history', to clearly re-write history by presenting multiple crimes against indigenous people. And this is an attempt to (re)do society by (re)doing history. This aim is clearly described in an introduction by Francisco Ortega:

“Somos un país en deuda con nosotros mismos, tal vez producto del accidente que ocasionó nuestro descubrimiento, la fundación de nuestras ciudades; tal vez por el hecho de nunca haber sido ese territorio que los conquistadores deseaban, de existir como una isla sin serlo geográficamente, de criarnos inmersos en mentiras sobre mentiras, en mitos sobre mitos y en rumores sobre rumores. Un accidente geográfico al este de América del Sur, esos valles poco amigables al otro lado de Argentina, el patio trasero de El Dorado. (...) Si nos embarcamos en la tarea de armar el relato de la épica chilena, tras desempolvar la mentira de los mitos, nos encontramos con ciclos heroicos donde lo prima es la tristeza, la tragedia y el dolor. (...) La historia de Chile es una historia desconocida, un relato maldito, con más sombras que luces, que nunca nos han contado o que nuestro inconsciente nos hace evitar. No es fácil mirarse al espejo y descubrir que el reflejo que contemplamos no nos gusta. Hay que ser valiente para asumirse, acotarse y ver más allá, escarbar, preguntar, escribir y publicar un libro como *Raptados*, novela gráfica histórica de Huevo Díaz y Omar Campos que reconstruye uno de los episodios más sombríos y malditos de este país llamado Chile: la conquista de la Patagonia en 1881 y la cacería sistemática de los aborígenes que habitaban la zona; uno de los genocidios más crueles impresos en nuestra herencia.” (Ortega 2011: 04f. (own numbers))

A second foreword by Jorge Baradit is even more explicit, but stresses by this even more the very specific perspective taken here – not in the actual narration of the events, here the comic is quite accurate and fitting to ‘historical facts’, but the aim of the narration, to add the history of actual cruelty to the perception of ‘Chilean history’, to be a kind of mirror to Chile and Chileans showing the own bad deeds often covered by other narrations. Baradit explains clearly:

“Raptados es lo que cualquier momento de la historia humana necesita, un acercamiento micro a los eventos hasta escucharle el latido del corazón a los protagonistas, cualquier otra posibilidad es inválida, falsa, inútil. (...) Nuestra historia es la historia de nuestras masacres, el constante intento del poderoso por limpiar su tierra de estas cosas que la ensucian. (...) Nuestro territorio es una geografía de la masacre, un cementerio horrendo de la industria y la producción. (...) *Raptados* no es una novela gráfica; es una pesadilla hermosa, dramática, inocente en muchos sentidos, una flor de sangre asomando sola en los páramos de la Patagonia.” (Baradit 2011: 06f. (own numbers))

Taking all this together, “Raptados” clearly is a Chilean comic narrating, discussing and (re)doing history. Specifically, it is a comic (re)doing society by (re)doing history – as those comics discussed in the previous chapter covering the times of Allende and Pinochet, even though there are differences in conception or narration to all. “Raptados” it is another example stressing the relevance of comics for narrating, discussing and (re)doing history in Chile – and often by this (re)doing society.

Another – and here the last shortly discussed example of a comic narrating and (re)doing history in Chile is the comic “Movimiento Mapuche” by Carlos Carvajal, Néstor Ossandón, but Juan Vásquez, too, published around 2012. Juan Vásquez is the one who also is behind “El canto del Delirio” and “1986” – the two comics about the times of Pinochet. The comic “Movimiento Mapuche” and the other two by Juan Vásquez have some similarities, all are published as softcover comics in smaller format, being inside in only black and white, combining in panel organized sides and larger drawings, albeit here the bigger pictures play a less significant role compared to “El canto del Delirio” and “1986”, here most pages follow a ‘classic’ comic page of ordered panels. And here again ‘short stories’ are combined, smaller episodes with some following one-page pictures. On the other side there are similarities to “Raptados” and “Varua Rapa Nui” – “Movimiento Mapuche” offers an indigenous perspective, too. This is made clear with the subtitle “Cómico de Resistencia”. Nevertheless, at least the picture of the seemingly indigenous person on the cover looks quite stereotypical and less following an indigenous agency. But this is part of the style chosen by specifically Juan Vásquez mostly, to work with

exaggerations and stereotypical drawings, as in the other works of the author discussed before. Non the less this leads to challenges of racism and paternalism regarding the form of presentation chosen. Again, this is – another similarity – no comic looking for a close-narration of ‘historical facts’, but more catching the general ‘history’ and especially moods and tendencies connected. Following the comic starts with bearded persons looking like ‘conquistadores’, armed with rifles, but coming along in flying vehicles to the “Etnocidio-Park” to fight indigenous persons that are lead into battle by spirit-looking being. The fight is not on even terms, the flying vehicles have a kind of protective shield. But the overpowering will and mass in the end of this scene – plus the incompetence of the ‘conquistadores’ crushing their flying vehicles against each other – finally lead to a kind of indigenous victory. This episode of no clear time setting is then followed by scenes of a now-time, police forces and indigenous resistance, even though the text connects now-time and past: “Ocupación en la Araucanía, comunidades Mapuche militarizadas. [next page and picture, still now-time, showing polices forces against an indigenous pictured person] En América habían 90 millones de habitantes indígenas. 150 años después quedaban solo 3 millones y medio.” (Carvajal et al. 2012 (?): 02ff. (own numbers)) A next ‘chapter’ moves to the year 1519 “en algún lugar del sur del mundo” (Carvajal et al. 2012 (?): 10), however the ‘chapter’ moves to a now-time once and again. Comparable holds true for the following ‘chapters’. Nonetheless, the comic narrates and discusses ‘history’. Because always again some historical facts are included, especially in the texts, as on a two-third-of-a-page picture of a ‘conquistador’ and a police person back to back, both armed, having the subtext: “En los primeros 150 años, los españoles robaron 185 toneladas de oro y 16 mil toneladas de plata.” (Carvajal et al. 2012 (?): 24) But the comic goes further than ‘only’ delivering some ‘historical facts’ but tackles nowadays narratives and by this (re)does history and society. For example, under this picture there is a smaller panel with a male-depicted head with ruffle collar and the text: “Fernando Villegas, afirma sobre el pueblo Mapuche: ‘Ellos jamás fueron imperio, porque no construyeron pirámides.’ Durante un programa de TV, en horario prime, (tolerancia cero) trata al pueblo mapuche de ser un invento de los activistas y que el mapudungun lo inventaron para fomentar el turismo en la Araucanía.” (Carvajal et al. 2012 (?): 24) A clear comment on the ‘now-time’. This comic gives an indigenous group a voice by presenting and discussing ‘history’, make Mapuche history part of Chilean history known. This clearly aims at showing agency and resistance, to (re)do Chilean history and society by this. The comic is another example of comics narrating, discussing and (re)doing history in Chile, with some specifics, partly following the format of cheaper and more independent produced comic, but standing in a long line nonetheless.

Taking all this together, there is not a history of strongly using comics to (re)do history in Chile, but a strong contemporary tendency to do so. However, there is a history of using comics to (re)do society. One major contemporary line are comics about the times of Allende and Pinochet, connecting these comics with general ongoing debates about this phase of history. Having an overall and general discourse and an audience for the discussion of this historical time allows to make these comics part of a bigger discourse. This is for sure not the only way to (re)do history via comics – others focus on making less known episodes of history known and by this altering the overall history of a time – but one with big influence and reach in contemporary Chile. The connected approaches of the comics vary, some are very personal, others more distanced, some include fact sheets or footnotes, other are more mixing facts and fiction. In looking beyond only comics discussing the times of Allende and Pinochet the huge field of different approaches becomes even better visible in its complexity. Chilean comic culture suffered in times of Pinochet, but after his political reign more and more comics regained influence. In some segments or regarding some topics especially self-published or a kind of ‘underground’ comics coined Chilean comic culture, as for the discussion of gender or sexual rights, for other capitalistic publishing played the major role, so in the discussion of historical episodes or times, as for the here analyzed discussion about the times of Allende and Pinochet. Different to the Philippines, where even though history is at times a layer of comics there are only a few comics narrating, less discussing, and even less (re)doing history, in Chile there is a comic culture of comics narrating, discussing and (re)doing history. No matter similarities in the relevance of comics historically between the Philippines and Chile, after the end of the specific authoritarian period respectively dictatorship the developments concerning the comic culture were quite different, not the least for comics narrating, discussing and (re)doing history. If this is a South American specific is not easy to say in the end, but a comparative look at Peru helps to clarify tendencies, specifics, similarities and differences to both, Chile and the Philippines. So, the next, however shorter look in the next chapter, wanders to Peru and its contemporary comic culture.

9. Comics doing history in Peru

Looking at comics narrating, discussing and (re)doing history in Peru in the last years at first glance there is at least a difference in amount compared to Chile. Looking at comics in general there is this difference in amount compared with the Philippines, too. But this is only the numerical comparison at first glance, not saying much about the question if there are any comics (re)doing history in Peru at all, and if so, their character.

9.1. Discussing examples in Peru

It can be noted, that there are at least two major examples of a comic narrating, discussing and by this (re)doing history in Peru. They are comics that are comparable in content, topic and narration to tendencies in both, the Philippines and Chile. First, this is “Rupay” by Luis Rossell, Alfredo Villar and Jesús Martín Cossío Guevara, published first in 2008. Here an unchanged reprint from Spain in 2009 is base of analysis. The subtitle gives further direction of the content: “Historias de la violencia política en Perú 1980-1984”. Second, this is “Barbarie” by Jesús Martín Cossío Guevara, published in 2010. Here once again the subtitle gives the direction what is discussed and presented within: “Comics sobre violencia política en el Perú, 1985-1990”. Both works are published together in other languages, as with the title “Sendero Luminoso”, showing that both are internally and structurally connected.

The introduction of “Rupay” gives a direction of the aims and composition of the comic:

“Este no es un libro de Historia sino de muchas historias, o mejor sería decir, de algunas historias sobre la violencia política vivida en Perú a fines del siglo pasado. Es la crónica de una tragedia, de una barbarie, de una guerra popular, porque, como sostiene el escritor Oswaldo Reynoso, fue una guerra que afectó y enfrentó sobre todo a los más pobres del país, ya fueran estos campesinos, quechuhablantes, indígenas, soldados o senderistas; todos ellos pertenecían a las capas ‘inferiores’, subalternas, populares. Que el llamado ‘conflicto armado interno’ afectara a los subordinados de siempre esconde a la vez que revela muchas cosas. Esconde el feroz carácter racista y clasista del conflicto, y revela al tiempo que ese mismo desprecio de las élites del país por lo sucedido en los años de la violencia. Nos ayuda a explicarnos también por qué políticos, medios de comunicación, grupos empresariales, altos mandos militares quieren ‘olvidar’ este conflicto. Y quieren olvidar porque saben que son también responsables, políticos o penales, de que el conflicto llegara a los niveles de barbarie a los que llegó.” (Rossell et al. 2009: 05 (own numbering))

Here clearly, and from begin on, it is stated that one aim of the comic is to fight attempts to make the violence and victims ‘forgotten’. Clearly the attempt her is to (re)write history, or

better: to bring to light and present other histories, to counter discrimination and exclusion in the general Peruvian writing of history.

“Como afirmaba [Walter] Benjamin, la ‘cultura’ se construye sobre la ‘barbarie’. Los vencedores nos dan su versión de lo sucedido y excluyen todo lo que la contradiga. Las recientes fosas abiertas en Putis nos hablan de que hay otras historias que se quieren mantener silenciadas, olvidadas, ‘foreluidas’. (...) ‘La pacificación’ primero y ‘el crecimiento económico’ después, son dos de los mecanismos alucinatorios y políticos con los cuales las élites han querido dominar nuestra memoria. Pero la realidad para la mayoría de peruanos es distinta y la memoria de millones de ellos contradice aquella que nos quieren hacer tragar encuestas y cifras infladas, revistas y noticieros, programas de televisión y primeras planas, es decir, la mal llamada ‘opinión pública’ que no es más que una ‘opinión privada’ más cercana a la fantasía onanista y la evasión esquizoide que a la información y la búsqueda de la verdad. Pero la memoria popular es distinta. Es una memoria de dolor, de tristeza, de rabia y de sed de justicia, aunque también de terca esperanza a pesar de todo lo perdido. Este relato gráfico, desde su modesto lugar, quisiera contribuir a esa memoria popular.” (Rossell et al. 2009: 06)

Following this self-description and -framing the comic is a counter-narrative to the one of ‘elites and politicians’, one bringing to light crimes and violence those in power try to cover, but giving those silenced a voice and agency, too. This is done, as further lined out in the introduction, along historical facts, but in a fictional narrative with inter alia fictive dialogues. But the historical facts provide for the overall line of narration: “Aquí no hay verdades absolutas sino el intento de comenzar a discutir todas las ficciones que se han construido alrededor de verdades absolutas. Es una invitación a ‘pasarle a la historia el cepillo a contrapelo’, a cuestionar dogmas y abrir polémicas, a romper el silencio y quebrar la enajenación del olvido, a crear otras miradas y documentos.” (Rossell et al. 2009: 07) The comic itself is ordered in chapters that stand for specific incidents, nine altogether. Some are covered on less than 10 pages others take up to 22 pages. All is held in black and white, except for red flags or red blood, and ordered pages of comic panels, even though in varying numbers. The first chapter starts with the narration of an attack on a governmental building in Chuschi, but it ends with a text about this incident, tackling the question ‘when did the war start?’: “La historia oficial nos remite a una fecha: 17 de mayo de 1980. Ese día un grupo armado comenzó el incendio quemando las actas electorales en el pueblito de Chuschi. (...) Pero ¿cuándo comenzó la violencia que generó esta guerra? (...) La memoria popular, aquella que no está escrita en libros, (...) nos lleva al 21 y 22 de junio de 1969.” (Rossell et al. 2009: 15) Even though this ‘pre’-history is not shown in pictures, the

accompanying text enriches the drawn narration of the incidents in Chuschi and makes the more complicated connections visible and explicit. This general combination is used for the following chapters, too: a comic, starting with a date and place, and a linked following text. All the chapters are in chronological order within the comic. Violence is clearly shown, even stressed with red being the only color and pictures full of blood (see for example Rossell et al. 2009: 18). At times, however, the comic narration ends differently, with a picture looking like a photo and a text-box giving context to the incident, not as a following text, but as part of the comic itself, as on page 21 with the box:

“Un año y medio después del inicio del conflicto, el asalto al puesto de Tambo es la primera acción terrorista que llama verdaderamente la atención de la prensa y de parte de la opinión pública. Este atroz derramamiento de sangre por parte de Sendero Luminoso tendrá como saldo un padre, su hijo de nueve meses y un policía muerto, además de varios heridos. La guerra se vuelve cada vez más cruel y la sangre, más inocente. La repuesta de las fuerzas armadas y policiales no se hará esperar.” (Rossell et al. 2009: 21)

And this form of panel-design, using photo-like panels is repeated in the following, especially if a total shot is used (see e.g. Rossell et al. 2009: 27). This makes the link of the comic to the stated aim of ‘here ‘reality’ is narrated’ more clear and visible. Even more so when newspapers are shown. Overall, the comic seemingly clearly aims with this on not only narrating a history often neglected, but to change the understanding of history plus society in the time of writing. For this the naming of those responsible is a key factor – to not only name victims, that is an aim, too, but to name offenders also. This is for example part of a page showing on the bottom newspaper clippings and a military leaving a plane with the text:

“En 1986, cinco años de la matanza, sólo 8 guardias republicanos fueron condenados a penas de 2 a 20 años de cárcel. El comandante de la Cruz no fue incluido en el proceso pese a las evidencias de su participación. Al ser retirado de su puesto, sus subordinados lo despidieron entusiastamente. Se ignora si los GRs condenados cumplieron sus penas; no hay registros al respecto. Es probable que hayan sido liberados irregularmente.” (Rossell et al. 2009: 36)

While the comic starts with showing violence by the Sendero Luminoso, more and more state-official or state-backed violence comes into focus. But the whole comic crimes and violence from both sides and loosely connected actors are topic, without taking one side. Instead crimes against humanity are connected to both sides and are clearly criticized. As for the Sendero Luminoso this is done in the context of the narration of the ‘matanza de Lucanamarca’. Here on the last page of the comic-chapter black boxes in three panels, the first of the page, the second one in the middle and the third box as first panel on the bottom of the page, state:

“La matanza de Lucanamarca fue una de las peores cometidas por Sendero Luminoso. Cerca de 70 personas, entre las cuales había niños murieron en este atroz ‘juicio popular’. [next box] Comuneros de otros poblados participaron en la matanza. Esto desataría enfrentamientos entre comunidades aún mayores que los originados tras anteriores eventos. La población de varias zonas de Ayacucho se encontraba entre la espada y la pared: si apoyaban a Sendero eran mascarados por las fuerzas armadas; si apoyaban a los militares, eran asesinados por Sendero Luminoso. [next box] Guzmán y Sendero decían luchar por los explotados y marginados, pero no tenían escrúpulos en usarlos y exterminarlos si se oponían a sus dictados...” (Rossell et al. 2009: 94)

A specific recurring, especially when crimes and violence by soldiers is topic, are drawn heads or silhouettes connected to a text, both above a panel showing the violence and crimes, stating the words of a witness and stressing the aspect of narrating historical facts. They are at times shown in profile, sometimes only partly, and sometimes only a black silhouette is drawn. Such one for example tells: “Me ataron las manos y me colgaron, luego me pagaron.” above a panel of soldiers kicking a handcuffed naked person. This is followed by a panel with someone tortured with electricity and the witness words connected to a half-visible head: “Me aplicaron descargas eléctricas...” and then a panel with someone hanging from a helicopter and the witness words following a fully visible head above: “En dos oportunidades fui colgado por militares de un helicóptero en vuelo” (all Rossell et al. 2009: 108). The comic finally ends with a last incident of soldier’s violence, a mass of people shot with automatic weapons and houses burned down. The soldiers manifest their inhumanity by saying after shooting all: “Vamos, hay que vender el ganado....” and “¡Que no te estafen! Esa carne vale mucho...”. The last two panels on the page include a statement by General Edwin Donayre first and then a group of indigenous looking persons in a village setting, both photo-like panels. The black boxes here state:

“Seis fosas comunes han sido abiertas en Putis. Se calcula en mil el número de enterrados e los cabitos... (...) [next panel, next box] Aún aparecen fosas comunes en otras partes del país... Más allá de la historia *oficial* [italics in original] sobre la ‘derrota del terrorismo’, las miles de víctimas de Sendero Luminoso y las fuerzas armadas y policiales nos hablan de una sociedad fracturada... ¿Cuántos de nosotros queremos afrontar esa verdad sangrante? [next box] ‘Somos el material de la guerra. Nosotros, los que formamos las llanuras de muertos y los ríos de sangre, nosotros, todos de los que cada uno es invisible y silencioso a causa de nuestro número. Las ciudades vacías, las aldeas destruidas, sí, somos nosotros todos, y somos nosotros por entero.’ El Fuego. Henri Barbusse” (all Rossell et al. 2009: 117).

Here once again the clear aim of the comic is followed and visible: Firstly, to narrate history, to discuss history, especially what is qualified here as ‘official history’, but to re-do this history and re-write the history of Peru in the years 1980 to 1984. But secondly this goes further, clearly it leads to the aim to re-do society. This is inter alia stressed with the poem lines as the very last lines of the comic – there is a need to question the ‘we’ and call for a need of a shared understanding of a and the ‘we’. In a time – as identified in the introduction – where official aim of Peruvian politics was to overcome the past in a way, the comic works against this tendency. The comic is a clear example of a comic re-doing history and re-doing society, going further than the aim to ‘educate’, however not excluding the aim to educate with this comic, but to call to action and inter alia name victims and offenders.

The second comic about the same topic, violence in Peru in the 1980s, even though the later half of the decade, starts with two introductions, one by Carlos Iván Degregori, one by the author Jesús Cossío. The first gives context to the time of production, up to the year 2010, and what happened between the time looked at in the comic – 1985 to 1990 – and the time of publication. Major context stressed is the work of the Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación and the reaction to its 2003 report that stated higher numbers of victims and more Quechua-speaking victims than estimated before. Clearly, the comic tries to shine light on cruelties on and by both sides, not following the narrative of violence by mainly one side – state/army or the Sendero Luminoso – and look at the victims especially. By doing this the comic positions itself in the so called “batallas por la memoria” (Degregori 2010: 01 (own numbers)). And by this the comic is part of a line of works that try to give voice and agency to the victims in the first place, to allow those, that economically and most often politically play no important role in Peru, and were only victims in the conflict, to be seen and have their narration. At the same time, the comic goes further, as Degregori notes:

“*Barbarie* de Jesús Cossio (sic!) va más allá. Porque además de su dimensión expresiva, tiene una voluntad explícita de ‘transmitir memorias’. Las historietas que componen el libro no trabajan tanto con una realidad imaginable, aunque lo sucedido haya sido en realidad inimaginable, sino con una vocación – la palabra puede no gustarle – pedagógica. Que el que no sabía, se entere y tome partido. Que al menos esté alerta para impedir que episodios semejantes vuelvan a ocurrir. El lenguaje del cómic es más fácil de asimilar por las nuevas generaciones, para las cuales, además, esos tiempos de horror van quedando atrás.”
(Degregori 2010: 02)

The author instead does not use the concept of ‘pedagogy’ for the comic, but instead stresses the attempt, to look at both sides and by this shine light on the victims:

“Este libro presenta casos de violencia política perpetrados por las fuerzas armadas del estado peruano y Sendero Luminoso, narrados mediante comics. Para la reconstrucción de los casos he usado datos tomados del Informe Final de la Comisión de la Verdad y la Reconciliación, documentos elaborados por organizaciones de derechos humanos, libros de investigación y periódicos y revistas de la época.” (Cossío 2010b: 03)

Based on this nevertheless the comic remains a fictitious one, however attempting to present what factually happened and by this building hypothesis why this happened and who acted in certain situations. This leads to the need to overcome the binarity logics of armed forces vs. Sendero Luminoso, as far as possible, as Cossío stresses: “Otra observación válida es acerca de la simplificación del conflicto interno en dos bandos. Ciertamente, el enfrentamiento tuvo otros protagonistas colectivos: las rondas de autodefensa, por ejemplo. (...) [Estos] son temas que hubieran enriquecido este libro, pero cuya complejidad merecen un tratamiento exhaustivo y particular.” (Cossío 2010b: 03) Taking this, there is a major difference between both comics, even though they are handling a similar topic and have one same author. This difference is stressed in the introduction by Cossío:

“En ese sentido, este libro no pretende ser una continuación exacta de *Rupay*, el libro con historias de violencia política de los años 1980 a 1984, del cual fui coautor [= Cossío] junto a Luis Rossell y Alfredo Villar. Aquel libro daba más contexto a las historias y en la aproximación a los casos había más texto informativo que en éste. Esa diferencia es deliberada: quise que en estos casos la narración se base en la ficcionalización misma más que en la descripción del narrador. Por ello, hay en este libro menos casos para dar preferencia a la información visual (paisajes, personas, ambiente) sobre la textual. Tampoco es este libro una versión en comic del Informe Final de la Comisión de la Verdad y la Reconciliación [CVR]; no sólo he usado otras fuentes para ficcionalizar los casos, además me permito licencias propias de la imaginación y la denuncia que, desde luego, no se hallan en el Informe de la CVR.” (Cossío 2010b: 3)

Taking this, in a sense “Barbarie” is more ‘comic’ than “Rupay”, that however remains a comic, and still a comic narrating and by fictionalization and direction in scenery discussing history. The amount of fictionalization divides “Rupay” and “Barbarie”, but “Barbarie” is still based on a variety of facts and sources, as made clear once again in the introduction (see Cossío 2010b: 4). And “Barbarie” is, as “Rupay”, clearly an attempt, not only to (re)do history by giving victims a voice and present crimes, but an attempt to (re)do society. This is clear from the comic as such, but from the introduction, too, where it is made clear, why the comic had to be published in 2010: “Varios casos fundamentales que había planeado dibujar han quedado fuera

por motivos de tiempo (es importante que el libro sea publicado durante el segundo gobierno de Alan García, para que *recordemos* [italics in original])” (Cossío 2010b: 3). The comic itself then follows chronologically various incidents of violence, starting with “Asesinatos de Pucayacu II. Julio y Agosto de 1985”. The comic itself is in black and white, even though the paper color makes it more a yellowish and black. All pages are in ordered panels, even though at times there are larger and smaller ones, but the panel structure always remains. The first chapter is started with one page of context, before narrating the incident itself. Next to a picture of Alan García it is written:

“28 de Julio de 1985. Alan García Pérez asume la presidencia del Perú. García despierta entusiasmo en parte de la población tras el período de gobierno de Fernando Belaúnde (1980-1985), que deja un país convulso por los ataques de Sendero Luminoso en Ayacucho y la brutal respuesta de las fuerzas armadas y policiales. Además, la economía nacional estaba en crisis y la corrupción se extendía escandalosamente. [Next panel showing ‘revolutionary’ paintings on walls and connected pamphlets to both sides of the text] Un nuevo grupo subversivo había surgido: El MRTA, el Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru. Para julio de 1985, sus principales actividades habían sido el robo de camiones de alimentos y los actos de propaganda. Pero gradualmente se volverían más violentos. Sendero Luminoso, mientras tanto, se había extendido a otras partes del país. Sobre todo la Sierra Central. [Next and last panel of the side, Alan García delivering a speech with the following text-box next to it:] Muchos en el país seguían indiferentes a los sangrientos hechos del conflicto. Pero la gravedad de los crímenes por los que cierta prensa y unos pocos políticos responsabilizaban a las fuerzas armadas no podía seguir siendo minimizada. García, al asumir la presidencia, se distancia de la negligencia de su predecesor. Pronto esta actitud sería puesta a prueba. [García saying in a bubble:] Para luchar contra la barbarie no es preciso caer en la barbarie.” (Cossío 2010a: 06)

Based on and following this context the story of the first act of graphically covered violence is presented in a fictionalized manner. It is not to present the violence in detail directly, but to (re)construct the atmosphere first, until some masked and armed persons – from the army – enter a house to take those inside away claiming them to be from the Sendero Luminoso. From there the scenery moves to ‘one month later’ and two persons finding some cut and bounded hands. The following text-box explains:

“Los vecinos de la zona avisaron a las autoridades sobre la fosa. El 29 de agosto, el juez instructor de Huanta, efectivos de la policía de investigaciones y familiares efectuaron la exhumación de los cadáveres. Casquillos de Bala fueron hallados al borde de la fosa,

Donatilda Guerra, esposa de Claudio Palomino, dijo que ‘en las sienas de mi esposo y de mi sobrino pude ver un hueco y manchas negras alrededor de la cabeza’. El 4 de octubre, el fiscal provincial de Huanta denuncia penalmente a los militares implicados en la ejecución de los detenidos en Castropampa.” (Cossío 2010a: 14)

This ‘report’ then is followed by two more pages about investigations and trials about the incident. Here clearly one aim is to name the victims and to name those who committed crimes, but also to call for action in a readers ‘now-time’, since “hasta esta fecha (2010), el crimen de los 7 asesinados de la fosa de Pucaya II sigue en la impunidad.” (Cossío 2010a: 16) A similar composition marks the next chapters, all following chronologically specific incidents. They start with an introduction page giving the context of the incident and context to the area covered. Then the incident itself is narrated and graphically displayed in a partly fictionalized manner. Again, violence is shown mostly indirectly, with bloody remains displayed but most often not the actual act of violence itself, even though there are exceptions. Then, the last pages cover what happened afterwards, always closing with the ‘status-quo’ of the time of writing, as in chapter 2: “A la fecha (2010) la extradición de Telmo Hurtado sigue pendiente.” (Cossío 2010a: 26) The comic clearly aims at showing crimes that some try to make forgotten in Peru and that still – in the time of writing the comic – are not fully illuminated. Further the comic aims at showing political responsibilities, as on the very last page of the comic narration, where it is written on a panel showing an island with a burning building in three boxes:

“Por Luriganchu, el Coronel Cabezas y 7 efectivos fueron condenados por homicidio. Cabezas salió libre en 1995 con la Ley de Amnistía. Los jefes del operativo, General Gr. Martínez Lira y General EP. Jorge Rabanal (presentes en el lugar), recibieron sanciones leves por negligencia. [Box 2:] En el frontón hubo 28 sobrevivientes. En ambos penales murieron más de 200 presos. Se ha demostrado que varios de los asesinados eran inocentes de los cargos de terrorismo. [Box 3:] Alan García niega haber tenido conocimiento sobre los planes para las ejecuciones. Con la Matanza de los penales, su gobierno tomaría partido definitivamente por el encubrimiento de violaciones de derechos humanos.” (Cossío 2010a: last page of the comic narration)

This finally is followed by an epilogue, a phot and a text on the next page, both on black pages, once again stressing the aim of the comic to influence Peruvian society, by (re)doing history, and by this (re)doing society. Here the acting of Alan García in 2010 is focus and clearly criticized:

“En septiembre del 2010, Alan García emitió el decreto legislativo 1097, que permitía que los juicios a militares y policías por crímenes contra los derechos humanos fueron

sobreseídos (cancelados) si el proceso de instrucción excedía ciertos plazos. Para ello, hizo uso de facultades especial otorgadas por el Congreso, sin consultar a los ciudadanos ni a los afectados. Con investigaciones lentas debido a la falta de colaboración de los institutos armados y las maniobras de sus abogados, decenas de involucrados en crímenes del primer gobierno de Alan García (incluyendo los casos de este libro) tenían la oportunidad de acogerse a ese beneficio y salir libres. Debido a la presión internacional y el cuestionamiento de sectores progresistas en el país, el decreto fue derogado. Se espera más iniciativas de ese tipo por la presión de ciertos grupos militares, fujimoristas y políticos de derecha.” (Cossío 2010a: Epílogo 03)

This comic overall is a clear example of a comic narrating history and by this (re)doing history. By naming and clearly pointing out responsibilities in a sense Peruvian history is (re)written. Not only, but here most clearly visible, by linking the publication to the second presidency of Alan García this goes further, to (re)doing Peruvian society. This is an attempt so clearly aiming at influencing ‘Peru’ that the introduction of Degregori hopes for more comics alike, especially to (re)write the history of the Fujimori years: “Cossio (sic!) deja abierta las puertas para seguir con otro tomo que tal vez abarque la compleja y vergonzosa década de 1990. Es, al menos, mi deseo y ojalá se haga realidad.” (Degregori 2010: 02) However, this has not been fulfilled until the writing of this text. And overall, the two so far discussed comics more remain singular examples and are not part of a general tendency of comics (re)doing history in Peru. There is not the comic about the Fujimori years in Peru (yet?), there are not many more comics discussing violence in the 1980s. Both comics are clear examples of comics doing history and society in Peru, but they do not stand for a comic culture in Peru doing history.

9.2. Framing the discussion – further comics doing and discussing history and society

Nevertheless, there are further examples of comics narrating and by this discussing history in Peru. One example here is the comic “Lima, Misterios y Encantos”, published by the Instituto Nacional de Cultura in 2006. It is a kind of educational comic, ‘teaching’ history. This none the less is done in a fictional way – reader follow a female depicted person guiding a male depicted child, the ‘brother’, through Lima and historical places there. Next to presenting the places there directly, in form of a tourist guide, history is narrated and depicted. For this the scenery is transforming once and again but always showing the two persons talking. It is a kind of walk through Lima and its history. Talking in circular bubbles are only the two persons of the ‘now-time’, those talking in the past instead talk in colored and rectangular bubbles. More facets and background are always given in yellow boxes, while the two level of talking frame the facts

and give them perspective. All the while the comic is not in black and white, but kept in greyish colors mostly. While the early history takes some pages, the later history is more narrated and compressed. All this clearly has a perspective, framing the history nationalistic, heroic, and patriotic as for example in this yellow box: “**Proyecto Piloto Contumazá[.] Objetivo:** Generar microempresas de bienes y servicios inspiradas en la valoración del patrimonio y de este modo contribuir a mejorar la calidad de vida de los vecinos.” It comes along with the following dialogue: “[child:] ¡Qué buenos resultados se logran cuando trabajamos en equipo por nuestro país, ¿verdad? [adult:] ¡Claro que sí, hermano!” (all Instituto Nacional de Cultura 2006: 19) This walk through history ends with the recognition of the UNESCO to list the historical center of Lima as Cultural Heritage of Humanity. This comic clearly narrates history. And it discusses history, by giving the narrated history a nationalistic and patriotic twist. This follows a purpose, as clearly stated on the last page:

“Los sucesos, imágenes, sonidos, sabores colores, olores y texturas que almacenamos consciente e inconscientemente en la memoria, resultan la base y el soporte para la construcción de nuestra identidad, que se fortalece cuanto más conocemos de nuestro pasado, nos permite reconocernos como cultura única y original respecto a las demás, y permite edificar un sólido sentido de orgullo y de peruanidad. Esta obra es un pequeño aporte que tiene el fin de estimular a la ciudadanía y reconstruir la memoria que perdimos, conocer los sucesos y experiencias que vivieron nuestros antepasados a partir del siglo XV hasta la fecha, entender con mayor precisión el valor del centro histórico de Lima, espacio delimitado y declarado como Patrimonio Cultural de la Humanidad, y recordar el respeto que debemos guardar por todos los valores que contiene (...), información valiosa que sirve de manera permanente para fortalecer nuestra identidad.” (Instituto Nacional de Cultura 2006: 23)

This is on the one side educating citizens, with the purpose to conserve and show the value of the historical center of Lima. And this can be seen as aim to (re)do society by education via comics. However, at the same time, the twist of the history narrated – it is a heroic and very *white* history, indigeneity plays close to no role, most people shown appear *white* – clearly marks a difference to the other two comics (re)doing history in Peru so far discussed. It cannot be neglected, this comic does history and in a sense does society, by stabilizing and supporting a certain perspective, giving ‘Peru’ a certain meaning. But this is not a critical attempt, no discussion with a powerful or hegemonic perspective, this is the state supported spread of the hegemonic perspective. It is ‘doing’ history to stabilize the before spread state version of history. Nevertheless, does the example of this comic show that comics are used to discuss and do history in Peru, not only in a critical sense, but by actors closely related to the state, too.

A different example of a comic narrating and by this discussing history is the comic “Nosotros, la deuda externa ... y otras deudas” by Carmen Tocón Armas, published in 1991. It is a black and white comic using panels only at times, instead mostly combining on pages loosely pictures with bubbles or having full-page pictures. The comic aims at explaining how external debt developed and became important for Peru, especially how the system behind works and worked. For this the comic goes back in history some decades. After focusing on financial debt, the comic moves on to cover the ‘otra deudas’, discussing sexism and sexist discrimination (“injusta división de funciones por sexo” (Tocón Armas 1991: 23), to bring both together in the end again, showing the result of both ‘debts’ interacting together. The comic is introduced with some words:

“La Deuda Externa adquirida por nuestros gobiernos, es actualmente impagable por nuestro país. Pagar supone seguir adoptando medidas de ajuste económico, que se traducen en menos alimentación, servicios y posibilidades de empleo para mujeres y varones de nuestro pueblo. La Deuda Externa agrava la situación de las mujeres porque las obliga a ampliar sus jornadas de trabajo dentro y fuera del hogar: más aún, las tensiones que se producen al interior del hogar por la falta de recursos necesarios para subsistir, aumentan cada día la violencia contra la mujer y los niños(as). Esperamos que la reflexión que propicie ese documento, dé lugar a acciones de movilización popular organizada.” (Tocón Armas 1991: 03)

This introduction clearly marks that the comic has a broader aim than narrating the history of external debt and a binary constructed gender inequality, of discussing results. The comics is a call to action, too, to mobilization. For this history is a framework, but not history as a detailed lineage of ‘facts’. Instead, some historical marks are combined with clear positions and the narration of general tendencies. For this only on some pages time marks are used as for 1982:

“Este trato entre acreedores y deudores cambio bruscamente a partir de 1982[. Beyond a picture of a figurative ‘Uncle Sam’ with a sack of dollars saying:] ¿Quieres plata? ¡Paga lo que debes! [and beyond a female depicted person saying:] Y ¿qué hicieron los gobiernos de aquellos años? [leading to a box on the next page:] El gobierno del arquitecto Belaunde aceptó las condiciones del F.M.I. [=IMF]” (Tocón Armas: 12f.)

In this comic ‘history’ mainly has a very general sense – where developments came from, and not which specific events played a major role here. History as diverse background of various ‘facts’ is not narrated here, more a general history is discussed and presented in a specific way, to outline reasons for the status-quo of the ‘now-time’ of writing. And this is done, further, to call for action. For this the last comic page has a female depicted person saying: “Esto exige nuestra unidad para luchar tanto por un orden social justo, como por la valoración de la mujer

como ser humano.” (Tocón Armas 1991: 48) Further stressed is this ‘call’ on the back of the comic with two texts:

“El desarrollo humano será posible cuando se atiendan las necesidades materiales de la población total, a partir de una justa distribución de la riqueza. [second text:] El desarrollo humano será posible cuando mujeres y varones tengamos igualdad de oportunidades personales, económicas, sociales y políticas. Sin opresión ni discriminación.” (Tocón Armas 1991: backside)

This for sure is a comic discussing some history, and in a sense it (re)does history by stressing the combination of several historical acts bringing about the ‘now-time’ discriminations and debt. Within there is a clear intersectional perspective, since next to sexism and classism global racism as background to the external debt crises is marked and stressed. And yes, by calling to action and stressing the need of a counter-narrative to the ‘official history’, the comic does history and society. But this is done in a very different sense compared to the two comics discussed in the chapter before and different to the comic about Lima, too. History here has only a general sense; not a specific time is looked at – the main interest is the ‘now-time’, not indirectly or following the focus on history, but throughout the comic. So, this is a comic ‘doing’ history, but only in very limited and strongly towards the present directed sense.

Alike can be said for some more comics, discussing what ‘Peru’ or ‘Peruvian’ is, and for this looking on history and (re)constructing history. An example here is “Habla cholito, vas?!”, a collection of competition participant contributions in the “1º Concurso de Historietas de la Científica. ‘El racismo y la discriminación en el Perú’”, edited by Percy Encinas Carranza in 2008. Here different small comic strips and caricatures are brought together, discussing what discrimination and racism are and stand for in Peru. For this history always again plays a role, but never it is in the center of attention, but a background used for the ‘now-time’ focused argumentation on discrimination. This non the less discusses history and (re)does history in a way, and yes, the comic aims to (re)do society. But this is not done via discussing history, but by presenting discrimination mainly. So this comic cannot be seen as one standing for a broader wave of comics discussing and (re)doing history, instead it shows, that history always again plays a role in comics in Peru, but often not as center piece.

But something else the last example stresses, the relevance of contemporary caricatures for (re)doing society in Peru, at times with or via (re)doing history. A clearer example for this is “Novísima Corónica y Mal Gobierno” by Miguel Det, published in 2011. It is a collection of one-page caricatures or pictures, all in black and white, all with a bold headline and often some text beyond the picture. Only seldom bubbles are used. The topics covered vary largely –

developmental challenges, cultural questions, gender equality or poverty stand inter alia in focus. And at times history is tackled, as on one side introduced as “1919: los trabajadores luchan “¡8 horas de trabajo!” and the text below the picture of the demonstration “sin luchas no hay victorias...” (Det 2011: 81). But most one-page pictures are comments on challenges of the ‘now-time’ of publishing – sexual violence, police brutality or machismo. In summary, history plays a role in this publication, again history is at times narrated, and by this (re)done – but only as a kind of ingredient for another composition. More than standing for a tendency of comics commenting on history and re-narrating history to re-do history and by this society, this comic shows the importance of caricatures or caricature-like pictures in Peru as contemporary comment on political developments. For example, if you search for comics about the times of Fujimori and do not want to wait for Jesús Cossío, the search draws to caricatures about Fujimori, of times after the government of Fujimori, but especially during the times of Fujimori. Caricatures play a major role in (re)doing society in Peru, as visible in “Novísima Corónica”, too, and they at times cover history, but major topic of most of them is not history, but politics and/or society. Taking this all together, the range of comics narrating, discussing and by this (re)doing history in Peru remains limited.

And bringing this all together, and seeing Peru in comparison with Chile and the Philippines, a complex picture of closeness and distance evolves. Chile is analyzed here as a clear example of a comic culture having a line of comics narrating, discussing and by this doing history, with a specific focus on the times of Allende and Pinochet. Countering narratives of the political ‘right’ is a major tendency here, as by showing crimes and giving victims a voice. In a sense a counter-history is established in Chile via comics to prevent all apologetics towards the time of Pinochet, but also to complicate the perspectives on the times of Allende. On the other side there are the Philippines, with a different and no such comic culture visible. Even though there are comics narrating history, using historical frameworks in the Philippines, only some few really do history and aim to (re)do society. Nevertheless, there are some of those comics, but often not on the times of violence in the 20th century. In a sense Peru is just between both. On the one side there is no strong tendency in Peruvian comic culture to cover history, to discuss and (re)do history – being more similar to the Philippines here. Instead, inter alia caricatures play a role in (re)doing society. Furthermore, what is looked at as ‘history’ in comics varies widely. But the last is a conclusion holding true for Chile, too, even though there is a strong line of comics looking at the times of Allende and Pinochet. And overall, on the other hand there is a link to Chile – there are comics in both countries clearly working as counter-narrative,

comics tackling the 'official' history. In the case of Peru especially the two comics Jesús Cossío participated are significant, "Rupay" and "Barberie", discussing atrocities by the government, Sendero Luminoso and others. In a sense these comics allowed for further educational comics, but not the development of a strong line of comics narrating and discussing history in Peru. At the same time the Peruvian comic culture and industry remain a limited one compared to both, Chile and the Philippines, and this is witnessable in comics narrating and discussing history, too. There are these examples of comics acting politically and influencing on level of society in Peru, but these are limited in numbers and scope. The latter is manifested further by the lack of comics about the times of Fujimori in line with the two about the 1980s violence.

Compared to this the case of the Philippines looks a bit different. There is, as lined out, no strong line of comics narrating, discussing and doing history, but there are examples of such. However, overall comic culture and comic industry are much bigger in the Philippines than in Peru. Taking this, the closeness in having only some comics doing history becomes a distance again, in comparing the few examples to the amount of comics published. And there are comics partly about the times of Marcos while there is a lack in Peru of comics about Fujimori. Most prominently this is "Dawwan" by Nina Martinez from 2021. It is an important example of a comic narrating, discussing and by this doing history, linking at the same time history with the 'now-time' of publishing and by this clearly aiming at (re)doing society. The idea of an ongoing struggle is lined out and clearly stated here. But this is one of relatively few comics working alike in the Philippines, and even though about the times of Marcos, not about Marcos rule itself directly. If history plays a role in Philippian comics often it is the colonial past, but even then, it mostly is frame, not topic discussed and deconstructed. In comparison, Chile has such a line of comics, especially of comics about the times of Pinochet and Allende. There is an amount of such comics, even if compared to the size of Chilean comic culture and industry. With this comes, that within this general tendency of a line of comics narrating, discussing and doing history, there are a variety of tendencies again. There are comics clearly offering a counter-narrative, there are comics showing resistance and allowing for an own 'history' presented, there are comics aiming to show 'the truth' and others more focusing on general tendencies. They all use the combination of text and picture to 'uncover' and link comic and 'reality'. Overall, there is a strong tendency to aim for influence via the narration of history in comics in Chile, to change and (re)do society via such comics. This can mean to point at offenders, to hold them responsible, to give victims a voice, to offer and present another 'history' and/or to call for action against historical wrongs done. Here crimes against indigenous constructed Chileans play a role, but for Chilean society an account of the times of Allende and Pinochet,

too, being one probable reason for the tendency within Chilean comic culture to produce comics about the times of Allende and/or Pinochet.

These comics can be and are to most entertaining, but in another sense than quick-readable, at times magazine-like comics are entertaining. Such 'consumable' comics play a major role in the Philippines and are of importance in Chile and Peru also. But specifically, they coin the Philippian comic market and are part of the Philippian comic culture. This does not limit influences by comics on society, this does not limit a (re)doing of society by comics, but this is then done less by presenting crimes committed in a historical setting claiming to be close to 'truth' or factuality. Interestingly the historical similarity between Chile and the Philippines of comics used to (re)do society did not lead to a similar trend in (re)doing society by comics about a certain historical time in the time after dictatorship. For this time instead there is a partial closeness between the Chilean and Peruvian comic culture, possibly because of regional closeness with comparable experiences of political violence.

But this 'conclusion' does not by any means mean that there is not a strong and long-lasting tendency to use comics to politically influence and educate, in the Philippines and Chile, and probably in Peru, too, even though only in Chile strongly via narrating history. Because of this it makes sense to have a closer look on education via comics in general and in the three countries discussed in this paper specifically and link this to the tendencies stressed and carved out here.

10. Comics, education and (re)doing society

Comics have been used to influence society via education for long years, not always, but often comics especially created for this purpose. To get a more differentiated impression of these tendencies and allow in the end to draw lines to current trends in comic culture, in a first step general considerations about comics and education will be lined out and specifics of the three countries in focus here stressed. For this the focus first will be on diverse fields of education by state and non-state actors that at times use comics.

10.1. Comics and education

Comics are and have been widely used by many actors to educate, or to influence, what is always a question of perspective, to stress one or certain views and work against others. Besides a variety of NGOs or state-actors especially religious organizations used comics to stress their view on religion, its content or, more specifically, one reading of it as ‘right.’ This was often linked to mission work, especially of evangelical groups. An example for Peru is the *Comisión Evangélica Latinomericana de Educación Cristiana* (CELADEC) and its “Cuadernos Públicos” in use for example in the 1980s. But here focus is more on a kind of political education and for this it needs some analysis what a political education – that then can be done via comics – can mean and include. Regarding such political education focus is on non- or informal education, with no clear limits set and clear overlaps between both stressed here, as this field is and was seeing more use of comics by different actors than formal education in general.

10.1.1. Political education

It should be stressed that in- and non-formal education is generally the field of non-state actors and civil society. But civil society cannot be separated from the state totally and absolutely. Both sides interact and influence each other, civil society does not work outside a state, but within, even if civil society or parts of it work against a state or its government. Most often, as in in- or non-formal education, civil society even does something in the name or at least the sense of the state (see for example Betz 2005: 13ff.). And, this has to be stressed at least as strongly, in- or non-formal political education via comics in those cases looked at here, is not and was not the solemn sphere of civil society, but has been brought forward strongly by the state, too, sometimes even mainly by the state, as in times of dictatorship in the Philippines or under Allende in Chile. Clearly today, too, the state plays its role in political education, not only via comics – and this in many countries around the world, as in Germany, the authors native

country. However, at the same time, many topics of political education, as peace or human rights, are topics that have been catalysts of civil society in many countries, fostered civil societies and their connections on a global scale. So, strengthening these topics in political education often is and/or was the realm and aim of civil society actors (Hein 2005: 41ff.).

One of the aims of modern democracies, even weak or instable ones, is to prepare its citizens for participation, in a way to enact sovereignty of the people. Only if the people of a democracy are ready and prepared to participate a democracy can work – this to achieve is one aim of political education. This concept is not always clearly cut from others as civic education, but generally political education follows a broader understanding. In a simplistic view it *inter alia* means to pass the mechanisms of democracy, its values and aims on to the next political generation. And this is to be considered a task for the whole society, meaning it has to be included into state tasks, and this then means further on into formal education. But this is only the theory and general framework – there are no lawlike connections between politics of a country, institutional setting and the educational efforts and design. It has to be taken into account, that topics and aims as well as challenges are not the same in all countries, they differ also along times, along theories what political education is and which topics it has to include (Ansell 2010: 01ff.; Carmele 2015: 01ff. & 420ff.). A main question here is how far political education is designed to prepare citizens for participation or if it does not tend to be a form of indoctrination. This is not only a problematic approach of judgement; looking at the examples discussed so far, it does not make much sense to limit a concept of ‘political education’ to education for emancipation and preparation for sovereignty. Instead, political education, also via comics, worked, not only in the cases looked at, often and again ideologically and covered highly different approaches by a variety of actors, from church actors to state and other non-state actors. In this sense political education as approach and concept is not limited here to ‘responsible’ or ‘liberal’ education. However, in most studies this limitation is kept up, often by looking specifically at formal and state or at least state influenced education, at times only looking at varieties caused for example by federalism instead of varieties caused by actors, local conditions, or languages. Further, even in the state hold education, political education is in most cases only a topic, at times linked to a variety of subjects, close to never a subject of its own as such (Carmele 2015: 84ff.). This differs from non- or informal education that focuses on this topic making it a ‘subject’ in the sense of concentrating sometimes solely on it. But not always this is the case, sometimes it also can be hidden, come along other topics, be only a side-*aspect* or else, as in formal education.

One question discussed within the context of political education is the questionable link between new and ‘fragile’ democracies and a bigger need for political education and, on the other hand, less need for political education in ‘established’, ‘stable’ or long-lasting democracies. This would mean in countries as the Philippines or Chile, that experienced a dictatorship in the last 50 years, there is a greater need for political education than in, say, France. But this would only hold true if the sole or at least major purpose of political education would be to stabilize a democracy, establish or consolidate one (see for this argumentation Carmele 2015: 450ff.). But as described before, this is not the understanding of political education here. Instead, political education also contains attempts to influence politically, to form a specific picture or to sensitize for certain topics. Taking this broad concept in all kinds of political systems a political education is needed, to vote for change, to stabilize, even a dictatorship, or to mobilize people behind beliefs, thoughts or ideas. And such a kind of education via comics has been described here for Chile and the Philippines as well as partly for Peru.

But political education is also provided or often at least influenced by international or – in perspective of a specific country – foreign actors. Such political education provided by international actors like international NGOs and foundations follows trends and tidings. The concrete design can have links to the foreign policy of the country an internationally active organizations comes from, but it also follows international trends and ideas, as what to support, which topics do count. Especially in the so called Cold War ‘development policy’ became a kind of battlefield, a field where the competition of ‘systems’ and between the simplified ‘East’ and ‘West’ was fought about. ‘Development’ always also meant for simplified ‘both sides’ to bring forward one kind of system, one understanding of democracy or political organization, values or politics in general. This can be also seen looking at political education as part of ‘development’ or foreign policy, but also as a part of global acting in the realms of a global civil society (Adam 2012: 17ff.). Within the work of all participating bigger international actors there was always a local and regional focus, something considered mostly important for a region or even country of the world, too. This can be seen looking at both regions focused on here (Adam 2012: 76ff.). Looking at the Philippines it can be noticed that the construction of a ‘stable’ and ‘democratic’ society was a focus of the acting of many so framed ‘Western’ actors. This is an effort with a long tradition, lasting to pre-Marcos-times, but also continuing under Marcos, using all space or even freedom that still existed. By combining foreign influenced political education with economic support or working with trade union or other civil society players by some international actors something like a complete change was aimed at. Later, after Marcos,

an highly altered system was aimed to be changed more and stabilized where it was considered fitting from the outside. Nevertheless, long years the Philippines still were and are by many considered a 'weak democracy', making political education a hot topic for many international actors (see Adam 2012: 176ff.). In many regions of South America, it was more an on-and-off: from being strongly in focus a country or region could become more or less uninteresting or not reachable, for example due to political reasons. This happened inter alia to Peru, that was a stronghold for so framed 'Western' actors in the 1970s but lost focus and at times partly access later on, only to gain it once again while internal conflicts rose (Adam 2012: 345ff.). Similar holds true for Chile. In general, looking at the idea of spreading a certain concept of democracy via political education, more and more the difficulties became aware to those actors participating internationally. It was realized that forcing towards democracy was just impossible, at maximum 'convincing' was a way, to be achieved by more general education and making the local people fight for inter alia and for example 'democracy' and its stability. This further explains not only regional but temporal differences in the work on political education by non-state actors (Adam 2012: 415ff.).

Political education is at least strongly stressing the education of children and so defined underage, in many places around the globe a form of political education is part of the task fulfilled by schools, including teaching certain information as well as connected values and ideas. This also means the connected education has clearly stated aims, giving the chance to rate the specific instructions as 'successful' or 'not successful' along the stated aims. To rate it accordingly information about the groups addressed and educational aims are needed. But by far not always there is a concrete scientific evaluation of education alike (Hafner 2006: 09ff.). Empirically seen a major point of such and other political education is that the focus on topics is not spread evenly, but that there are some contents noticed better and seen more clearly than others, as often war or crimes in contrast to economy or culture. This means there is a focus what to educate about, what to stress, a focus that allows to question and problematize political education in concrete (Hafner 2006: 98ff.). To counter this and connected flaws there is next to this 'rateable-aim-oriented' political education a more open concept of political education. This aims more at spreading diverse political concepts, spreading political ideas, not in a normative way, not always with authoritarian directive or with the authority to give directions or regulations, but more spreading diverse ideas and concepts, including contradicting ones, working on an idealized 'free market of ideas.' But no matter the concrete forms and aims of a political education, certain aspects are to be found regularly – the need to get interest and raise awareness, to give information, to spread a certain knowledge and bring all this together to

allow for a change or stabilization of attitudes and positions towards politics and political topics. All again having multiple facets and layers (Hafner 2006: 10ff.). Linked are diverse functions, as of media used in this context, as to be informative or transformative, to work for a systematization or change, to allow control and consolidation of knowledge, or to allow for self-preparation and -reflection (Pérez Daniel 2017: 72ff.). Behind these processes but as end of them, too, stand diverse political personalities, that are also strongly influenced by socialization of different instances, as family or school (Hafner 2006: 21ff.). Here now the focus is on in- and non-formal ways to socialize and influence, via extra scholar activities or civil society actors, and this being done via a specific kind of media, that is comics.

10.1.2. Comics and political education

Political education, and other functions of media in the realm of or with links to politics, as informing, influencing, controlling, commenting, etc., are studied in a huge variety of settings, connected to a not smaller variety of questions and perspectives and are highly interconnected and overlapping in conceptualizations. But the main focusses are almost always formal education when it comes to education and mass or at least ‘classical’ and ‘new’ media when it comes to the mode of spreading political education. Comics, as neither ‘new’ nor ‘classical’ media in the sense of being considered among the classical medias like newspapers, radio or TV, and their education being mainly in- or non-formal, including adult education and reaching out towards otherwise not reached persons, from persons lacking literacy to persons living far of, are seldom covered in this context. Even in contexts where the special and highly important role of comics as such in general is considered and widely seen, this does not mean their role in politics and education, especially in political education is seen, analyzed or discussed. More they remain mostly out of view or a mere footnote or an anecdote like telling some ‘special attempt’, more or less neglecting the general potential of comics in this realm at the same time. This holds true for example for Japan, where the study of the role of media in politics not only does not focus on comics or manga, but not even discusses them at all in many publications (see Pharr & Krauss 1996).

None the less comics play a significant role in political education, in formal as well as in- and non-formal education. But political education is not and has not been done with one comic, instead in most attempts of political education many sources and attempts come together, including comics, and these with different topics, stressing different areas of political education, marking them as important. Comics take this role and function building on some genuine characteristics and abilities of comics, while at the same time highly different comics play a

role within. One of these genuine characteristics is the visual communication comics work with. In comics text can stand back to pictures and graphic composition, the gutter, the space between panels, can communicate at times more than text. This distinguishes comics from more text-based media often used in formal and non-formal education (Pérez Daniel 2017: 79f.). In visual communication global and hegemonic structures play a role. In general, comics and other products of visual communication are strongly influenced by hegemonic visual languages, as global and generally capitalistically influenced visual codes and cultures. On the other hand, comics, as other media, can try to counter this hegemony by either playing with it or talking back (see hooks 1989). This explains on the one side comics in more or less global use, as by NGOs, and on the other side local and/or specifically as such designed comics (Corona Berkin 2017: 11). Here the contexts of use and production play a major role, the intent behind, but also the, at times different to planned potentials that materialize in practical use. Not all comics labelled as educational work alike, but others in practice do without being labelled or even intended as such (Cuevas Romo 2017: 201f.). To be more on the safe side to reach intended aims at times the approach is more the combination of comic pages and educational or informative pages – an attempt to combine advantages of both media. But they are maybe even more examples of the significance of comics in educational settings (Cuevas Romo 2017: 206). Though, combinations as such are in danger to get only the worse of both – an, along the intended aims, not working comic part and a didactically or even content-wise not working textual part. Some studies stress, that comics in educational settings should be at least mostly comic to foster the advantages of this media. If not, the danger of (re)producing stereotypes and biases is significant. Instead, comics (not only) in educational settings, have to work or function for themselves (see Cuevas Romo 2017: 219f.). Nevertheless, “por otra parte, si el lector se queda únicamente con la historieta y realiza una lectura continua de esta, la posibilidad de aprendizaje científico es muy limitada y hasta cierto punto con una tendencia de estereotipos plasmados en los personajes.” (Cuevas Romo 2017: 220)

Another specific of comics stressed as important for making comics highly usable in education is them being (at least potentially) entertaining. Even though long years negative impacts of entertainment for education have been discussed, since many years advantages are discussed, too, as bringing messages in an entertaining way allowing to spread ideals as tolerance or diversity, and by this using the ascribed high impact of entertainment in a – so rated – ‘positive way’. “A sizeable body of research demonstrates that people, especially children, can and will model the good or social behaviors they see in the media. Research also suggests that media portrayals can encourage cooperation and constructive problem solving.” (Sayre & King 2010:

402) Next to this entertaining media can be reflexive on the world, show aspects otherwise not visible or alternative realities, and this not necessarily in the direct education-with-purpose way. This is used by formats labelled summarizing as ‘educational entertainment’ or ‘edutainment’ at times. Part of these media are comics, but can be for example soap operas, too. Especially topics like ‘sexual responsibility’ are spread in many countries via multiple entertaining media, from music to film to comics (see for example Sayre & King 2010: 403f.).

Next to these general characteristics explaining the general role of comics in education there are highly diverse comics in use, with specific pros and cons in relation to their use. In relation to the comics and topics discussed here documentary comics are inter alia of specific interest here and the connected question of authenticity of them. But comics that come in form of a ‘documentary’ report are not only facing the question of authenticity, but actuality, too, the ability to link to readers. Actuality in this context does not mean, a comic has to be about a now-time or close to it, but the topic and narration have to be read as ‘actual’, as not only documenting and narrating facts, but allowing for subjective views, entertainment and diverse critique, too. Showing not only one layer but different and more hidden ones is often aim and helpful ingredient to be read as actual and authentic. Comics claiming authenticity and actuality have to be more a x-ray of society than claiming ‘a’ or even ‘the truth’ (Grünewald 2013: 11f.). Sometimes being more or less close to ‘the truth’ or ‘reality’ is divided along lines of being a graphic novel or a ‘comic’ – but this only perpetuates the constructed divide between ‘high’ and ‘low culture’, nothing that could or should be hold intact. Also because of this there has been no dividing line drawn here between ‘comics’ and ‘graphic novels’; the latter is seen here as a more recent but fluffy descriptive term without much analytic importance for the topics discussed in this work. Nevertheless, the labelling is important in practice, also to influence the perception of content and market-potentials (Hausmanninger 2013: 17ff.). In general, combining documentation and comics means to combine the narrative techniques of comics with conventions and basic rules of documentations – the result is not a comic documentary but something new, more than both combined. This can be seen looking at the use of ‘facts’ – nothing that ‘objectively’ exists but is always an interpretation. And again, labelling counts here – there are expectations in confronting a ‘documentary comic’, as expecting it to be ‘slow’ and ‘fact based’, but how this is filled can differ immensely, as with different modes combined as an observing, a performative or an interactive mode (see Lefèvre 2013: 51ff.). In the end ‘documentary comics’ is a vast and open category, different approaches are summarized under this umbrella term: “there are biographical, autobiographical, journalistic, historical comics and so on. The ‘documentary comics’, broadly defined, differ mostly in the way the author

conducted his research, how he or she represents the past.” (Lefèvre 2013: 51). Next to only reporting claimed ‘facts’ there can be other links between the fictional and a (re)constructed ‘reality’ in such comics, as by using ‘reality effects’, for example realistic or even real newspaper headlines in a fictional story. In such comics – and many of these discussed here inter alia in the context of Chile in recent years of writing are such – the difference between fiction and ‘factuality’ gets fuzzy and fiction can be understood and be seen as a form of interpretation of ‘reality’ or a comment on ‘reality.’ Following, a non-historical comic, set in a historical time, can confuse historical understandings but also lead to rethink historical times and narrations about. In this context the more or less strong fictionality of the characters can be made more obvious, for example by using artificial figurations as animals, or less, by making them or someone look more or less ‘factual’ and accurate (see for example Hahn 2013: 80ff.). There is a whole bunch of research on animals in comics, anthropomorphic characters, being like human persons. And working with animals in this context allows for links not spoken out, fables, comparisons, etc. This has a long history at the same time well beyond comics – but all this can get much more transparent and playful in comics (Kaufmann 2013: 275ff.).

One specific not only of comics in this context is the question of the (re)presentation of the ‘invisible’ or not pictorial representable. Here comics allow for different ways and modes, inter alia using ‘ghosts’ and letting them talk. The phenomenology of ‘documentary comics’ can in this context differ widely from films or written reports, by allowing to visualize the otherwise invisible and by playing panels against each other – breaking laws of physics, challenge aging, etc. Here the interaction of text and picture can differ and allow for the (re)presented to become something new (Herr 2013: 153ff.). This allows comics to be surreal, and in this to be disturbing, to question in a more general and broader sense topics and points of discussion, as what is real and how reality works and is conceived (Heimann 2013: 182ff.).

Other comics with specific pros and cons and of importance in context of this study are (auto)biographies, and within this broad and diffuse category especially those trying to ‘teach’ something, to spread some information or perspective linked to one or more person(s). Arguing about their educational character very much is discussing the question what is understood as ‘educational’ – giving information, or enable to educate themselves, etc. – and how ‘success’ can be measured, how to rate what is an educationally working comic (Hiebler 2013: 337f.). Sometimes in these cases a specific person – the content of the biography – is used as a kind of guide through a topic, for example the search for logic or else. Within such a comic multiple times can be compiled and combined – the comic-story itself, the biography as well as inter alia thoughts looking back or looking forward (Hiebler 2013: 339ff.). But often both get intermixed,

‘documentary’ and ‘(auto)biographical comics’, making the later at times more a specific of the first.

But the described qualities of comics and specifics of ‘documentary (and/or (auto)biographical) comics’, in an open concept, allow for propaganda, too. Caution is always necessary reading and interpreting (not only, but specifically) ‘documentary comics.’ What is always a subjective narration of an event or else, linked to, and often claimed to be based on ‘facts’, can be partly or plain propaganda. Here the line between is not a clear one, there is none distinguishing between a ‘legitimate’ interpretation and ‘illegitimate propaganda’, none between ‘education’ and ‘influencing’ in the sense of propaganda. Perspectives on a concrete artistic work can and will differ in this context, especially if it contains a so constructable ‘foreign’ view on events, hold and/or instrumentalized against an ‘national’ or ‘own’ (whatever this may mean) view. Questions of empowerment arise here, but of de- and postcolonialism, too, of how to use and how to separate via comics. This makes different comics over and again ‘political’ and ‘educational’ in a broad and ambiguate way at the same time (see for example Michel 2013: 189ff.). Nevertheless, there are chances and options to rate comics about inter alia their propagandic character. For this next to others, it is important to look at stereotypes and their usage, to categorize and further characterize comics. This covers stereotypical characters depicted, but ankles and pictures, too. What and how it is shown is a decision in the production process and has to be hold against the plain claim to be ‘objective’ or ‘neutral’, or, at least, based on ‘facts’ (Michel 2013: 196ff.). The line between propaganda and information is small and often fuzzy, and propaganda does not necessarily mean to plainly lie, but to show in a specific manner, to use specific data and information while cutting off others. All comics are subjective, but the question how far there is an attempt to convince of a specific, here political perspective, how selected and not differentiated information and background are, may allow to more or less distinguish propaganda from ‘documentary.’ But in the end the genre of ‘documentary’ remains prone for propaganda, as because it claims to show a or even ‘the reality’ and to be close to ‘the truth.’ However, propagandistic comics, at least in tendency, do not try to show a differentiated perspective, instead often such comics are one sided and too limited in perspective to broaden the picture of an event or time, to allow for an understanding of different views, perspectives and positions – but this does not has to be the case, there are ‘documentary comics’ in a clearly not propagandistic sense and intention (see for example Michel 2013: 202f.). This is a potential limit of ‘documentary comics’, but at the same time they nevertheless allow to take a subjective stance inter alia to handle traumata, to make the untellable tellable,

to open up for traumatic events or show them to others: The lines of divide are thin and related to purposes witnessable (Friedrich 2013: 209ff.; Kupczynska 2013: 221ff.).

Another aspect of the role of comics in political education are links between general tendencies in education in certain countries, here the countries looked at so far, and comic culture as linked to education. The later already has been topic, so in a next short and summarizing step the look is directed to education in the three countries looked at here in more detail before bringing all together.

10.1.3. Specifics of the countries focused on

A general perspective on education in the Philippines inter alia is: „The history of education in the Philippines has been a volatile and troubled one, with brief interludes of success followed by long throughs of cutbacks and defunding of the educational system.“ (Ansell 2010: 75) Nevertheless education was at least since independence a major aim and topic of debates about ‘development’ in the Philippines, not the least to allow for democratization as practiced and followed ideal. For this especially primary education was supported. This was then declamatory even more supported under Ferdinand Marcos who released as one of his earliest acts a ‘Magna Carta for School Teachers’. However, spending did not rose but was cut instead, only after the end of Marcos’ reign the spending level rose again. In the new constitution education got a central position. But this did not hold up to the political practice, instead in the late 1990s salaries broke down and education was less emphasized. In general, with every new government the role of education changed, as along lines and questions of democracy-building and -stabilization. However, with the Philippian opening to more markets and trade in the last years to decades education got more and more emphasized as did and does spending in this context (Ansell 2010: 76ff.).

All these times education was, and generally still is connected to ideals of ‘hope’ and ‘progress’, non the least to foster parents to allow their children to at least get basic education. For this the idea of education as path out of poverty was spread in the Philippines, too. On the other side education was constructed not only as an individual endeavor, but a national task at the same time, covering for colonial years that allowed only for very basic education for most, for example only to be able to read prayers. In this context ‘women education’ had the constructed character of double emancipation. Though it was no education for most years to overcome traditional roles, but to keep them at least partly alive and stable (Tiglao Torres 1993: 105ff.). In the years of Ferdinand Marcos education instead got a new, some say neocolonial touch, stressing the ‘production’ of a semi-skilled workforce for an industrial vision and market-value.

Emancipation was put aside in this concept and idea. This especially had costs for female read Filipin@s who remained seen as only semi-skilled and paid accordingly instead of being treated according to their empirically rising educational level. This gendered-binarity in education remained stable for long years, inter alia following gendered presentations of achievements and roles, as the neglect of female-read productivity, especially along classistic stereotypes (Tiglao Torres 1993: 113ff.).

However there have been trends to cover these tendencies and presentations of roles and tasks. Within this diverse 'alternative' media played a role, as comics. But this is not a one sided simplistic process. Instead, there are for example the comics (or soap operas) presenting 'women' as 'sensual' or 'beautiful', objectifying 'them', next to comics working for emancipation and fostering the knowledge of women-read roles in the Philippines (Tiglao Torres 1993: 116). At times some of these efforts are connected to attempts for a mass or popular education, a form of political education to 'mobilize' the masses. This has a long history in the Philippines, too, for example with teach-ins or discussion groups as well in schools as public places. And for this various media, as comics, were used. Within the lines between propaganda and education were never clear-cut, but more so in- or non-formal education than in formal education. As stressed for political education as such and comics within, educational and propagandist tendencies are often very close together. For this inter alia the use of 'the masses language' plays a major role – as komiks in the Philippines mostly being in Tagalog. Other media products, especially in education, often were at least partially in English; approaches in Tagalog instead had a different scope and self-understanding. In the first years of Marcos' rule such approaches turned to be state attempts next to state formal education, with the years they turned again to be a more oppositional approach. Ideals followed in this context were inter alia the 'pedagogy of the oppressed', questioning the role of teachers. But even so this was a propagated ideal, in practice, in the media it did not show as such, still presenting a certain perspective, no matter how open to 'questions'. After the end of dictatorship more 'underground' to civic society attempts and approaches mixed with state backed or supported approaches. This could include the ideal of an 'open dialogue', but power differences were not overcome in this context and popular as well as mass education remained and remains within a power-imbalance context (Quimpo 2008: 203ff.).

Overall and early on comics/komiks played a role in education in the Philippines, not only, but especially in non- and informal education. Here the opportunity to 'write-back' and reach others not reached by other means were driving forces behind. Education had a specific and special role in the Philippines since independence, with some major changes and turns. This never

included stressing a use of komiks/comics in this realm. Nonetheless, in practice they played a role very early on, in different attempts and approaches, but have not been given a powerful and prominent position.

In Chile 'education' was a political aim and ideal for long years, too. This took various directions, from stressing public education, over stressing primary education to major privatization attempts in education, especially higher education, as undertaken by the Pinochet regime. Long years not only in Chile education was considered a major driving force of 'development' and, at times, of democratization. Not the least following these considerations several countries in South America fostered education to enhance political participation, as it was done in Chile at times. But latest with the 1980s education was no guarantee for enhancement anymore, especially on a structural, less an individual level. Many of those best educated emigrated and followed seen 'better opportunities', especially in the USA (Arizpe 1993: 171). And this had consequences: "Simply put, the higher aspirations of an educated population are clashing with hard economic and political realities." (Arizpe 1993: 171) Next to this struggle to 'use' education in a national or regional setting differences within educational levels remained high, no matter the level of general education reached. Especially along binary constructed gender lines there remained a divide, not necessarily in education level, but the position afterwards claimed. But no matter these shortcomings, clearly most countries of South America experienced a raise in education in the 20th century, along all genders and with differences between countries. Though in general and overall, this was a tendency within South America, Chile took more a leading position in regards of education soon. On a certain flip side this transformed societies, as traditional female read roles for example in transmission values or knowledge got lost to formal education or at least became a claim of formal education. This meant ongoing struggles over roles and obligations in education, but linked ideas about what society should look like, too (Arizpe 1993: 175ff.). And on the other hand, the loss of traditional roles also liberated at times for more political activity and participation, as more so framed 'female' activism in formal politics but informal or civic structures, too. And politics aiming for democratization and stabilization could not neglect these attempts and tendencies (Bourque 1993: 199f.).

Chile had a specific role given to education in dictatorship but also when it was overcome, since education was thought to foster and build a new political identity and educate politically. This was done inter alia by a specific presentation of the past, the then-time and futures. Presenting a certain picture of the past and potential futures allowed to rate and narrate them to transform ideas of Chile and being Chilean. Such an attempt was for example undertaken by the Pinochet

dictatorship, by presenting the Pinochet rule as ‘liberation’ and him as ‘liberator’ and present the Allende-times as ‘chaos’ and ‘Marxist’ or ‘evil’ (Ratke-Majewska 2017: 17f.). But this attempt was undertaken once the dictatorship was overcome, too, to allow for the overall aim of ‘reconciliation’ and a ‘consolidated democracy’. One major aim within was strengthening human rights and educate politically along and about human rights (Ratke-Majewska 2017: 28).

“During the transition to democracy, citizenship education became a priority, given the need to educate students ‘to value democracy, addressing the challenge of rebinding society and politics,’ and to become citizens committed to their society. To this aim, citizenship education was defined as a cross-subject area, addressed during the entire school cycle through a competency-building approach.” (Bellei & Morawietz 2016: 109)

This included to strengthen and practice the right to education, that was neglected to not few in times of dictatorship. On the other hand, privatization of education had taken ground in times of Pinochet and did not end afterwards. This allowed only for a partial or limited equality in enjoying this human right, and let questions of reparation and compensation rose, but also the question of informal, non-formal and adult education got more prominent, again, not the least for attempts of civic or political education (Escalona González 2017: 177). A role played the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission and later the National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture in these attempts, both looking on violations committed, the second more broadly than the first, but stressing the role of reconciliation and education in this context, too. Within this concept ‘the truth’ was idealized as asset to reach reconciliation and in a way ‘honor’ the victims, guidelines also in the work with the past and political education. Next to it victims were designated to gain some ‘educational benefits’ as cutting student loans, but some general measures were taken, too, as fostering the access to free education, even though this was never fully or mostly achieved. Framework of many of these aims and activities was to establish something like a ‘human rights culture’. One element here were publications of texts or didactic material by the first Commission or fostered by it by non-state as well as state actors. These were to be used in formal as well as non- and informal education, but the training *inter alia* of police or army, too (Escalona González 2017: 179ff.).

Non the less education remained a political field in Chile struggled about and directing results of presidential elections at least partly. *Inter alia* the question if history should be debated controversially was seen differently by various actors, or if not ‘reconciliation’, filled with different understandings, and looking at futures was more important. But following only this second attempt, that was strong in the early 1990s, was not possible anymore latest with the arrest of Pinochet and the following second Commission – with more fierce debates about the

past once again and a rising political engagement (Ratke-Majewska 2017: 33f.). Latest then over and again struggles about education rose and got violent at times, as fighting about educational costs and access, along question of educational justice. One part of these fights was often the question of how to educate about the past and the significance of human rights and political education, as stressed inter alia in the presidential campaign of Michelle Bachelet. Part of concepts of a more political education was a teaching about discriminatory structures in Chile, even though in practice this remained far away from an intersectional approach (Bellei & Morawietz 2016: 93ff.; Escalona González 2017: 192). Nevertheless inter alia under Bachelet there was a new stress on so constructed 'female education', also to fight discriminatory structures of 'machismo'. This new stress in education was a tendency overall in South America, but Chile for sure, too. Along this came more 'female' framed political activism and a related informal and non-formal education, too (see for early tendencies Bourque 1993: 195f.). And even though one major aim of education within Chile from the 1990s onwards was a kind of civic education, success in the sense of spreading political knowledge remained limited and often field of non-state actors and informal or non-formal education. Non the less those attempts of reforms and changes of state education to foster civic engagement and human rights were no complete failure but simply went not as far as hoped or designed for (Bellei & Morawietz 2016: 112ff.). Within all these developments comics and other media products played a role, some distributed by international actors, but others produced by the state and non-state Chilean actors, too.

Developments and tendencies within education and education policies in Peru have been quite comparable to those in Chile, even though on a different time scale. So for example in Peruvian textbooks binary gender roles with a clear female subordination constructed were highly common in the early 1990s still, when in Chile at least partially different ideals were communicated already (Fernández 1993: 209). On the other hand in Peru there were counter-attempts in these years, too, but less state reaction to them. 'Feminist' education was a non-state topic in Chile as in Peru in the beginning 1990s and earlier, but following state response was different, not the least because in Chile the dictatorship was overcome while it was strong in Peru by then (Vargas 1993: 218ff.). But despite these differences in timing or at times in scope, the general tendencies and aims were very similar between Chile and Peru, with the major difference, that privatization of education was and is more developed in Chile, even though playing a role not only in debates in Peru, too. Another question is the role of comics in education in Peru. Since years comics are used in educational settings, not only, but in Peru, too. That is because pictured narrations are considered a valuable approach in a didactical sense,

for example to narrate about the dictatorial crimes of the Fujimori regime or prevent corruption and criminality. This is more or less an approach of prevention, to prevent violent action itself but oblivion of crimes and atrocities that happened also. And for this the use of comics was highly praised in Peru, as elsewhere, from the mid-2000s onwards (see for example Det 2011: 03f). But debated about was more the question of education and its aims than the means used – here, comics. It was the evolving educational aim to educate for peace to develop society, and for this, comics were used *inter alia*. But it was in this order. One example for such use of a comic was the use of “El racismo y la discriminación en el Perú” that was introduced as such:

“Este proceso debe lograr la formación de ciudadanos comprometidos con el bienestar de su país, con la armonía y el bienestar de su sociedad. (...) Los egresados de la educación de nuestro país pueden tener éxito o fracaso en términos cognitivos o laborales, pero lo que nos debe interesar también, es si están contribuyendo o no a que esta sociedad disfrute de mayor armonía social y bienestar. La exclusión y la injusticia que persiste en ella y que le impide el desarrollo estable y en paz es señal que no lo estamos logrando. La realidad social peruana de los últimos años ha mostrado que la discriminación y la corrupción son dos características culturales que debemos desterrar. (...) Que la educación debe resolver los problemas del país y propiciar su desarrollo, no puede ser una frase hecha sino un mandato que logre incitar a la acción. (...) Las historietas aquí editadas pueden contribuir con la labor docente tornándose en elementos de reflexión para la educación escolar y superior; instrumentos para el diálogo y el trabajo dentro de las aulas. (...) El ser peruano es quechua, europeo, negro, chino, árabe. Somos una población donde la mezcla es la esencia de la peruanidad. (...) Sirva[n] (...) como un valioso instrumento de aprendizaje que permita ayudar a desterrar la discriminación social y el racismo de nuestro país.” (Dextre Chacón 2008: 07f.)

But it has to be stressed that comics as media of education are not only used within Peru to educate about Peruvian topics, but also in NGO work in potential donor countries, like Germany, to show and stress ‘problems’ or ‘challenges’ existing in places like Peru, aiming to animate to help, to support, as by showing injustice and dangers. So, there are comics in German used in Germany to influence in Peru by educating Germans. One example of this is a comic about palm oil plantations in Peru (see Informationsstelle Peru e. V. 2009: 27ff.). Following, looking at comics and education goes well beyond Peru, or Chile, or the Philippines, and has to be seen and analyzed in this bigger and interconnected context. Though, every scientific work has and needs its limits, so focus here were comics in and from these three countries. And these comics used in education have some general and shared topics and tendencies presented in a summarized way in the following chapter.

10.2. Topics and tendencies

One major topic comics educate about, in the Philippines, Chile, Peru, and more, is the wide field of sexuality, sexual rights or linked reproductive topics. Within there were those stressing ideals and others discussing and stressing ‘reality’ in sense of more or less controverse perspectives on the status quo. Not seldom behind such publications in formal and in- or non-formal educational use were international NGOs or alliances, at times linking the Philippines to countries of South or North America (Jones 2018: 250). The general field of ‘sex education’ was long years and often remained a conflicted one. While sex education was at times early established and developed, as in Chile under dictatorial rule in the late 1920s, it remained often only debated and always again made more a topic of informal or non-formal education. Though it always played a role, however different it was. Not seldom sex education by states was used to make sexed bodies governable and allow for the spread of ‘medical’ argumentations for certain policy measures (MacMillan 2018: 337ff.). The tendency to spread ‘sex education’ by state and/or non-state actors via various and diverse media, as comics, bot novels or movies, too, was and is linked to the wider spread of ‘scientific knowledge’, that was non the less always only an excerpt and a perspective on encounters. Here again influencing and informing went hand in hand (Fraser 2015: 182ff.) “As we have seen, the discourses around gender, science, and nationhood intersect in different ways to create pedagogic models of citizenship.” (Fraser 2015: 191) So, sex education – by various media – was always again also a nationalistic endeavor, linked to a constructed ‘patriotic’ education. And this could include a re-writing of history, as to minimize the spread and role of sexual violence or links between enslavement or classism and sexism. For long years, in formal as in- and non-formal education, sex education did not have to be a feminist or emancipatory education but could instead stabilize binary constructed gender roles or a nationalistic writing of history. At times in- or non-formal sex education worked against this, with more emancipatory media products, once and again in form of comics. Not seldom used counterarguments in this context were a lack of ‘historical differences’ or the possibilities of different sex and gender perspectives (Downs 2018: 200f.). For the attempt of sex education via comics stands the comic-like publication “Insert Utero” by various artists as Louissse Eloisse, Noe Pérez and Mambara Maramba inter alia, published in Chile in 2015, consisting of several collages to the topic of sexuality for an unclear audience. Linked to this there was another topic of high relevance in the (political) education inter alia via comics, and that is ‘female education’. While a stress in formal education in this realm was and often is to foster access to education, non- and informal education in this field often stressed

more and earlier on the spread of different roles and to foster a more active role for so read women, not the least to achieve overall society development, too. For this stand media spreading and stressing the idea that so constructed women could become everything (Mazumdar 1993: 15). A comic example for this attempt is “La patria también es mujer”, edited by Gabriela Sosa in 2010 and published in Buenos Aires, but covering Chile in parts, too, and stressing the ‘patriotic’ role of so read ‘women’ in a comic.

Other topics and tendencies strong in education via comics is civic education and education in human rights or for peace. It is debated if there either how can be an ‘education for peace’, but even if a direct education for peace should be impossible, an education to foster a peaceful togetherness is more than an ideal but an stated aim of most formal and often of non- and informal education, too (see for example Wintersteiner et al. 2005: 13ff.). For diverse areas of the world it was stressed that peacebuilding and peacekeeping is linked to education – and for this again reconciliation and political as well as civic and human rights education play a major role. Part of the connected endeavor is teaching teachers, but it also includes the spread of certain morals and norms via different media, as via comics (Palencsar & Tischler 2005: 27ff.). Often this is embedded into a wide array of practices and measures, as changing the framework and surroundings to foster peace and non-violence. But a key element stressed often and at many places is the included education, as of non-violence as key ingredient for peace. Anti-discriminatory approaches count in this context (Popp 2005: 243ff.). For this it is important to address problems, failures, or traps, as discrimination, racism, or violence. By showing where, and possibly why something does not work, improvement by change is enabled. For this it is in the end necessary to show how common or spread a certain problem is, its nuances and varieties to make it difficult to put it aside as ‘not my’ or even ‘not important’ problem. And for these discussions, connections, as from discrimination to inequality in society, education, etc., to possible violence or instability, have to be made more or less clearly visible, have to be debated. And it has to be shown and discussed which values, concepts, ideals and ideas led or lead to these marked problems, struggles or challenges (Mittelstädt & Wiepcke 2014: 285ff.). Comics here allow for both: to actively work for peace and against violence and discrimination, but to put spotlights on circumstances and structural problems, too. One example here is the Chilean comic “Periferia, periferia” by Rodrigo Durán, published in 2018, making existing inequality visible and stressing how different places coin opportunities, as two core elements leading to violence or discrimination(s). This is an example, too, that political education often works with examples, as looking on precarity to understand and discuss basic values as justice, equal rights

and opportunity, democracy, etc. Seemingly limited topics can by this lead to big questions of politics, political education or how society works (Engartner 2014: 35ff.).

Another option to counter discriminations or fight inequalities is to foster dialogues, not the least by supporting visibility. This can be done by showing other perspectives or helping to understand the own situation or position better. Allowing to experience and encounter sameness as well as difference allows – so the idea – for more respect and anti-discriminatory acting. This is at times an overall aim of formal education, but often more a specific of informal and non-formal education and done via different media (Delanoy 2005: 257ff.). Such a confrontation with different opinions and attitudes can be achieved by showing an ideal version or a perversion – to position oneself along or against something. This is a core of political education, showing aims or ideals and contrasting them. Within political education it is important to strengthen or develop competencies, like taking another perspective, up to seeing and considering multiple perspectives, having and showing empathy, to judge a situation, to act according to one's own judgement (Juchler 2014: 62ff.). Comics here have certain advantages as media of choice, allowing for the combination of words and pictures, allowing for complexity by reading between pictures and lines, using the gutter, and often accessibility, too. Nevertheless, every dialogue needs a willingness to communicate, to open up to different positions, and that at the same time calls for the need of certain shared norms or ideas, to make it a dialogue instead of staring at a so constructed 'otherness'. Here comics can be means of low barriers. But this need also stresses the entanglement of such a political education and an education in certain key norms and values in form of a civic education (Delanoy 2005: 258ff.). Not only in formal education this can be linked to other aims than non-discrimination or peace, as economical aims, and that can include or even be a political understanding of interconnections of institutions, decisions and participation, too, looking for a stable and democratic society or stressing pluralism. However, even if primary aim may not be peace or non-discrimination, stressing both as part of the road nevertheless does lead to a political education in this direction. But this only shows how wide and diverse the field of political education with these topics is (Zurstrassen 2014: 25ff.). To be noticed is not only here, that behind every concept of politics, or economy, you can find a concept of human beings, of management, of leadership, etc. All this goes into the concept, directs it, and gives it frame and shape. These concepts, pictures and ideals can be open, visible or even be openly addressed, but they can also be hidden, not obvious or even unconscious (see for example Hagedorn & Kölzer 2014: 267f.). Both can be achieved via comics. They also allow to stress or exaggerate differences, as by making differences visible or draw out more or less openly comparisons.

Contrasts then can allow for a better and more clear understanding of structures and connections (see for example Apelojg & Egbert 2014: 332ff.). An example in this context are the Chilean comics “Boletín Aymara”, published by the *Centro de Investigación del Norte* and made with so introduced indigenous farmers together. For example No. 15 by Julián González and G. Segovia R. from 1987 draws light on specific regional and classistic problems and challenges, but also highlights so framed indigenous values and concepts of organization and togetherness. Inter alia the question of how to survive and preserve the own identity is a topic tackled here, narrated to a potentially diverse readership. It is more a kind of ‘learning comic’ about Aymaran traditions than a straightforward political comic, but non the less political and an example of how to allow for dialogues via comics. Additionally the comic tackles the question how systems of organization work, this time not for example a democracy, but local village organization, allowing for links to more general questions as about democracy, economy, globalization or sustainability. By presenting one perspective within at the same time other perspectives are questioned or even emphasized (see for example Weber 2014: 100ff.; Hedtke 2014: 142ff.).

This all stresses the relevance of comics in education in a wide concept, in the three countries looked at, even though in differing tendencies and array, but much beyond them. And, bringing this back to the overall topic of this paper, this stresses even more the opportunity to (re)do society with and via comics, for example comics used in an educational sense. One major option here and for this is to (re)do history, write against spread concepts of history or historical events, or stress a certain perspective on them. And this can be done in a direct or indirect or even not openly intended way, in formal settings or in- or non-formal ones. The general competency of comics to influence and even (re)do society is in the now-time nothing widely doubted anymore, even though the actual use of comics or alike varies from place to place. But examples like contests in drawings about the UN Millennium Goals show an acknowledgement of the significance of comics in (not only) political education. And this is not limited to a certain arts competition, but often a contest alike is embedded in seminars, workshops or discussions. But focal within remains the link between drawing and arts on the one and political education on the other hand (see for such an approach for example Cárdenas Carbajal 2015: 07). Here this link was more stressed, showing at the same time the potentialities of comics as the diffuse limits and embeddedness of state and non-state activities. Clearly it was lined out that comics play their role in education, and in political education once and again specifically, in the countries looked at, but many more places. And this not seldom follows the aim to (re)do society, with a varying scope of linked aims, from stabilizing to transforming or even more or

less revolutionizing society. For this then, comics doing history, even more those choosing an intersectional approach here, have a specific and often central place and importance, especially in countries where the more or less recent history is debated about, and this still coins different perspectives in the now-time. This holds true for the three countries looked at here, especially Chile and the Philippines, but Peru to, where doing history was and often and generally is closely linked to (re)doing society.

11. Bringing all this together - conclusion

This study looked into the use of comics to narrate, discuss and (re)do history, more concrete first into the use of such comics in historical times in Chile, the Philippines and in minor comparison in Peru, too. Building on this tendencies of the last years from the perspective of writing were taken into focus, specifically the use of comics to work on and with the dictatorial past of all three countries looked at. In both settings, the historical perspective as well as the ‘contemporary’ one, links were analyzed between tendencies and attempts to (re)do history and (re)do society.

The choice of the three countries followed inter alia this research setting, to look at different places that share the experience of a quite recent dictatorial past, and have more in common, like strong Spanish and US influences, an influence of the Catholic church and being and/or having been between different foreign spheres and actors of influence. Focus within was on Chile and the Philippines, that both share a strong comic tradition, too, only to a lesser and more comparing degree on Peru, that has a later developing and, in comparison, smaller comic tradition. Basically, this study was and is a comic study, discussing in more general terms the use and possible usage of comics, but looking at concrete examples and analyzing them at the same time. With including the historical analysis another reason for the country selection is to be lined out – the role comics played on the road to dictatorship in Chile and the Philippines. But the country selection also allowed for a minor comparison of developments from dictatorial experiences.

Though, it is not, that the one part of this study was only enriched by the other part in the end. Even though the analysis started with the historical perspective and analysis that build a foundation for the following analysis, both parts and perspectives communicated with each other in a more equal way. Additionally, this allowed for an embedded and framed analysis, of historical developments as well as now-time tendencies. And in the end only this broader and multiple perspective allowed for the analysis here and to answer the leading hypotheses about the usage of comics.

Clearly it was shown here that comics were used in Chile and the Philippines in historical times to (re)do history and society. In Chile it was especially the Allende government using comics by nationalizing the comic industry and using the then developed various comics to spread a certain image of Chile, ideals and norms. The Pinochet regime fought this fiercely and changed the comic book industry by this for long years. In the Philippines comics were used by various political actors to reach out to masses, to, in a sense, play being one of ‘them’, as done by

Marcos, too. However, compared to Chile the degree differed; comics never became one of the pillars of the regime like in the Allende years. And in comparison, in Peru comics played close to no role in establishing dictatorial structures or in inner fights and violence. Here the less developed Peruvian comics culture and industry played a major role. But this summary would be in the end a bit too simplistic. In the Philippines there was a long developed strong comics culture, politics could not neglect them and it and at times used this to their favor, as to reach out to masses. In Chile in comparison the comics culture was more or less weak in the years before Allende, consisting mainly of US imports, comparable to Peru in a bit and a sense. But with the ideological politization of comics this changed. Making comics an ‘identified’ important influence on beliefs and norms they became a tool to be used, or to be fought; they became important component of Chilean culture. Allende used comics by transforming them and by this boosting the Chilean comics culture in a sense, Pinochet fought them, only to later be confronted with a national grown comics culture against his regime. And both did not play any role in Peru.

But getting from this historical perspective to the broader now-time analysis the tendencies of Peru and Chile got closer in comparison, the links to developments in the Philippines weaker. In Chile there developed a strong tradition to discuss, narrate and (re)do history via comics, with a focus on the times of Allende and Pinochet, but not limited to them. And in Peru, in a much weaker sense, there developed non the less similar tendencies. Some of these are witnessable in the Philippines, too, but compared to the overall comics culture and industry much weaker and less far reaching than in Peru. Here regional links in the work on dictatorial and violence experiences within a country seem to play a role, tendencies to discuss these times in the longer run. All the while in the Philippines comics remain mostly entertaining.

And this allowed to draw some lines and links to the connection of comics and education. All countries looked at here, but not only these, have a history of fostering education, with differing waves and tendencies over times, and all saw and see the use of comics in education, often, but not only in informal and non-formal education. This never excluded the possibility of a propagandistic use but was not limited to it. These are no tendencies and developments limited to the three countries, but that can be found there, too. However, comics culture and the use of comics in education influence one another. And if a developed comics culture and comics used in education come together there can be comics found to be used to discuss and (re)do history. In a sense for this a certain quality of comics is needed, be it comics with annotations, comics with a personal perspective, or comics with a clear educational outline. These are at times (co)produced by international actors – as the one Philippian comic analyzed about the times of

Marcos – or ‘privately’ or state made, but for educational means with a more or less clear stated aim the influence cannot be too indirect to work out. Interestingly, in Chile both kinds of comics can be found: those comics that can be used in an educational setting, narrating history or a perspective on (a) history, and others doing this only indirectly or in a way so interpretative, that a certain influence is for sure, but a claim of ‘objectivity’ is hard to hold. Against this, in Peru and the Philippines only comics discussing dictatorial and violence experience with a clear educational usability can be found.

Of importance in this analysis was and is the link between comics (re)doing history and them (re)doing society by this. The hypotheses behind that there is such a link, outlined at the beginning, could be clearly discussed and proven, for historical times, with the Allende attempts the best example probably, but for the now-time, too, as with the Peruvian examples of comics directly taking reference to then-time policies and developments. And here intersectional tendencies could be outlined and analyzed, too. They reached from allowing for marginalized perspectives and giving them space and voice – as so framed indigenous or local minority perspectives in all three countries looked at – to question the perspectives behind and the construction of a ‘normality’. Within and connected to this, at times more directly, at times only in an indirect way, the idea of society was questioned – society was (re)done or attempted to be (re)done – but not in a play of power vs. power, but often an attempt to allow for an enrichment and voice and space for the marginalized. This happened especially along three lines: showing the perspective of those discriminated against by racism, as so framed indigenous in Peru, those discriminated against by sexism, as specific ‘female’ drawn perspectives, so in the Philippines, or classist perspectives, allowing for space and voice for those classistically discriminated against, as seen in Chile. For this in the cases looked at not ‘imaged realities’ or settings were focal, but a specific historical perspective. But while a critical and empowering use of an intersectional perspective is witnessable in comics in the recent past to (re)do history and by this society, in the historical analysis this is less clear. In minor peculiarity the Allende government applied intersectional perspectives in the nationalized comic industry, but neither completely nor critically, but at times more paternalistic and with the clear aim to influence; and it remained an exception of these short years. And in Peru or the Philippines such was not witnessable.

So, there are comics (re)doing history and by this (re)doing society intersectionally – but this is a more recent development, strongly visible in Chile, in lesser parts in Peru and the Philippines, too. This builds on historical developments of comics (re)doing history and by this at times attempting to (re)do society; but in the last years it was enriched with a more or less

open and clear intersectional perspective, clearly aiming at considering comics potentially a media to inter alia allow those to speak out otherwise marginalized. This follows and is in a certain dialogue with studies strengthening intersectional perspectives and stressing their necessity. Taking the ‘case’ of the Philippines especially developments in the USA have to be taken into account here, stressing postcolonial thinking about the Philippines or even there, but the experience of intersectional discrimination, too, especially of Philippian-descent women read persons in the USA (see for example Juan 2017). This is a topic in US-Filipino comics but develops more and more to a topic of Filipino komiks also. In Chile this developed less from diasporas, but within Chile, not the least from discourses on differing historical experiences of dictatorial times, comparable to developments and tendencies in Peru. But no matter the ways and paths of development clearly a more intersectional attempt within narrating, discussing and (re)doing history via comics is visible, a tendency leading to a more intersectional attempt to (re)do society via comics.

Here, starting from the question if and how comics can (re)do history and by this society, in an intersectional way, it was clearly shown and lined out that there are comics in all three countries looked at (re)doing history and by this society in an intersectional way. This happens differently and to differing degrees, but non the less is powerful and strong in all countries looked at, making comics a media and a voice for some otherwise having less access and reach, even though established power structures of discrimination and privilegization still work against this. It is highly probable that these tendencies are nothing unique to the three countries looked at, even though the experience of a dictatorship in recent history led to a specific framing within comics (re)doing history, so more studies alike are strongly needed. This would allow for a more complex understanding of how and which comics can (re)do history and by this (re)do society in an intersectional way, and what influences historical developments have in this context, beyond Chile, Peru and the Philippines.

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