Memory Preservation in Cambodian Graphic Narratives

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Abstract: Since the Cambodian genocide (1975–79), first-and-second generation survivors have developed new ways of processing personal and national trauma, including through the mode of graphic arts. This paper first extrapolates how graphic narratives differ from comics and cartoons. Then the paper will focus on how graphic narratives have become a mode for second-generation survivors to engage with the past through Bui Long's "refugee repertoire" and Marianne Hirsch's concept of "postmemory." Within this section, Tian Veasna's *Year of the Rabbit* will be analyzed. Aspects considered include illustration and dialogue. Finally, this paper will look at how graphic narratives contribute to the concept of the memory archive and "memory citizenship" within Cambodia. Specific questions that prompt my research include: What is a graphic narrative? Can graphic narratives be sources of memoir and postmemory? How do graphic narratives function as a tool for remembering and working through trauma for artists and readers?
Key words: Cambodia, graphic narrative, postmemory

The Cambodian genocide (1975–1979) is marked as one of the most traumatic experiences in the country's history.[1] The Khmer Rouge's takeover catalyzed the deaths of "almost two million of the country's estimated seven million people, [who] perished from hard labor, disease, starvation, execution, and 'disappearances'."[2] The regime restructured Cambodian society by "evacuating urban populations, enslaving people on rural farm communes and abolish[ing] private property and all educational, religious, and cultural institutions."[3] These goals were carried out through eight points that were announced by Saloth Sar, also known as Pol Pot or Brother Number 1.[4] In the words of Um Khatharya, "[t]he 'oasis of peace' that was Cambodia in the 1960s became the killing fields of the 1970s."[5] Even before the Khmer

[1] Note: The Khmer Rouge genocide lasted for three years and eight months. The term translates to 'Red Khmer'—Khmer referring specifically to the largest ethnic group in Cambodia—also locates in time the Communist takeover of the country. During this time, the major city of Phnom Penh was emptied of people and all Cambodians went to work in labor camps around the country. Besides decimating the population, derailing the economy, and creating political instability in the country, the Khmer Rouge also devastated cultural development and religious practice. Every Cambodian has been affected in some way by this horrific event, whether by directly living through the event or by knowing someone who died or disappeared. An estimated one million Cambodians also fled the country and were forced to resettled around the world as refugees; the family of Tian Veasna, the graphic narrative author of focus in this paper, was part of this diasporic movement and ultimately settled in Canada. This information is shared as context into the background and long-term realities caused because of the genocide in Cambodia.

[2] Khatharya Um, *From the Land of Shadows: War, Revolution, and the Making of the Cambodian Diaspora* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 1–2.

[3] Michelle Caswell, *Archiving the Unspeakable: Silence, Memory, and the Photographic Record in Cambodia* (Madison Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 8.

[4] John Tully, *A Short History of Cambodia: From Empire to Survival* (Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2005), 178–179.

[5] Khatharya, Um, *From the Land of Shadows: War, Revolution, and the Making of the Cambodian Diaspora* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 1.

Rouge's notorious takeover of Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975, the people of Cambodia had survived tremendous hardship during the ninety years (1863–1953) that the country was a French Colony. Horrors were also prolonged during the late 1960s, which witnessed the United States' "Secret Bombings" and the installation of Prime Minister Lon Nol.[6] These pathologies of power have left deep and enduring traces on the Cambodian individual, community, and nation.

In the years following the genocide period, cultural and national revitalization were two priorities of the United Nations' Transitional Action Committee (UNTAC), which governed the country from February 1992 to September 1993.[7] To promote human rights and civic education, "creative use was made of traditional Khmer cultural media-singers, puppets, comics, and local artists."[8] Since the genocide period, these oft-overlooked outlets of processing and conveying experiences have emerged, including through graphic narratives and comics, both of which have a long history in Cambodia. Political cartoons were very prominent in the 1960s under King Sihanouk, who used them to assert Cambodia's cultural sophistication following its Independence in 1953.[9] Even before this time, though, "the first comics were seen in the country shortly after the birth of the first Khmer language newspaper, *Nagara Vatta* in 1936."[10] However, under the Khmer Rouge regime, cartoons ceased to exist in part due to the regime disbanding most newspapers and targeting most visual artists and musicians. Despite this near eradication, the graphic arts were rediscovered when Im Sokha became an illustrator for the newspaper *Kampuchea* in 1987.[11] Sokha helped to make the newspaper a haven for producing and disseminating satirical cartoons. Sokha described himself "as an illustrator for others' thoughts for hire."[12] Most cartoons in 1989 "stressed the disparity of the haves and have-nots, the uneven development of the cities and the rural towns, the indifference of government officials toward public problems, and chronic red tape in government offices."[13] Cambodian comic artist, Uth Rouen, who is credited with producing the first comic book in the country in 1963, once said that he first started writing comic books simply because he wanted Cambodians to experience the medium as he had earlier experienced it when he first read French *bandes dessinées*.[14] Rouen, who is also a genocide survivor, argues that it is crucial for Cambodian cartoonists to "write from [their] heart with emotion about what they know."[15]

By drawing and writing comics and graphic narratives, artists can help the country continue to recover from past atrocities emotionally, mentally, and physically. Moreover, the graphic narrative has taken a new role in aiding first-and-second-generation survivors in processing their traumatic experiences. This article extrapolates first how graphic narratives differ from comics and cartoons. Then the article focuses on how graphic narratives have become a mode for second-generation survivors to engage with the past through Bui Long's "refugee repertoire," defined as engagement with the ways that children of refugees

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[6] "Cambodia profile—timeline," *BBC News Online,* 20 July 2018, para. 2. https://owl.purdue.edu/owl/research_and_citation/chicago_manual_17th_edition/cmos_formatting_and_style_guide/web_sources.html.

[7] Note: For a full account of Human Rights Component activities to Jan. 1993, see UN, The right of peoples to self-determination and its application to peoples under colonial or alien domination or foreign occupation: Situation in Cambodia, Report of the Secretary-General, UN document ElCN.4/1993/19,14 Jan. 1993.

[8] Trevor Findlay, *Cambodia: The Lessons and Legacy of UNTAC* (Oxford, England: Oxford University, 1995), 64.

[9] John Lent, *Asian Comics* (Jackson, Mississippi: *University Press of Mississippi*, 2015), 119.

[10] Lent, *Asian Comics*, 119.

[11] Lent, *Asian Comics*, 119.

[12] John Marston, "Em Sokha and Cambodian Satirical Cartoons," *Southwest Sian Journal of Social Sciences* 25, no. 1 (1997): 62.

[13] Kawi Chonkitthawon, "Editor Comments on Political Cartoonists," *Nation* (Bangkok), 2, no. 6 (1990).

[14] John Lent, *Asian Comics* (Jackson, Mississippi: *University Press of Mississippi*, 2015), 122.

[15] Lent, *Asian Comics*, 122.

and survivors of trauma have produced texts and scripts representational of post-war trauma.[16] The article also invokes "Marianne Hirsch's concept of the 'postmemory generation,' which traces the affective and aesthetic dimensions of trauma and loss felt by those who came of age after war."[17] Within this section of the paper, I analyze aspects of illustration and dialogue in Tian Veasna's *Year of the Rabbit,* demonstrating how graphic narratives contribute to the concept of the memory archive and "memory citizenship" within Cambodia.

Defining the Graphic Narrative as Distinct from Cartoons

Scott McCloud defines the comic as "juxtaposed pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence, intended to convey information and/or produce an aesthetic response in the viewer."[18] The graphic novel builds on this concept by extending the length of the comic so that the story becomes more developed. In contrast, Hillary Chute describes the graphic narrative as being separate from both formats but still utilizing the medium of comics to convey a narrative. Chute writes that the graphic narrative "calls a reader's attention visually and spatially to the act, process, and duration of interpretative narrative work in the medium of comic."[19]

The graphic narrative is also noteworthy for its capacity to be used as a "representational mode capable of addressing complex political and historical issues with an explicit, formal degree of self-awareness."[20] It can take the form of both fiction and non-fiction, but grounds itself in making a commentary on 'real' life. To this point, Nicole Stamant writes that the graphic narrative proves itself to be "invested in the fraught nature of representation, in the interplay of the visual and of the visible, in questions of archivization and ephemerality, in the artistry itself, and in the dissemination of stories—whether [through] bookstores, through testimonies, or online."[21] Consequently, the graphic narrative, by effectively transmitting narratives through visual forms, can be recognized as a valuable literary form in its own right.[22]

Year of the Rabbit as an Example of Refugee Repertoire and Postmemory

As Cambodians have engaged in processes of trauma recovery since the genocide, non-fiction graphic narratives have been created with increased frequency. This is true for both Cambodians who survived the genocide, but also those who did not live through it, yet are still grappling with long lasting effects of it. For example, over the last thirty years, Cambodian artists have created several graphic narratives about the historic events that led up to the genocide, the genocide period itself, and recovery since the late 1990s. These accounts record memories belonging to the author of the narrative, as well as that of their friends or family members. Many of these narratives can be read as a representation of a shared Cambodian collective memory. Consequently, graphic narratives are not only useful to genocide survivors looking for ways to share their stories, process their grief, and bear witness to atrocity done to them, but they are also helpful to second-generation survivors seeking to understand their inherited pasts. Vietnamese American author Long Bui includes the graphic narrative within a framework he calls the "refugee repertoire." This is a theoretical model of Southeast Asian American literary and cultural studies that helps to facilitate scholarly engagement with the ways that children of

[16] Long Bui, "The Refugee Repertoire: Performing and Staging the Postmemories of Violence," *MELUS* 41, no. 3 (2006): 113.
[17] Bui, "The Refugee Repertoire: Performing and Staging the Postmemories of Violence," 113.
[18] Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (North Hampton, MA: Tundra, 1993), 9.
[19] Hillary Chute and Marianne DeKoven, "Introduction: Graphic Narrative," *Modern Fiction Studies* 25, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 767.
[20] Chute and DeKoven, "Introduction: Graphic Narrative," 770.
[21] Nicole Stamant, "Graphic Narrative: An Introduction," *South Central Review* 32:, no. 3 (Fall 2015): 3.
[22] Hillary Chute, "Comics as Literature? Reading Graphic Narrative," *PMLA* 123, no. 2 (Mar. 2008): 453.

refugees and survivors of trauma have produced texts and scripts representational of post-war trauma.[23] This theory addresses the tension between the desire to give voice to such groups and the denial of their voice. It also "builds from Marianne Hirsch's concept of the 'postmemory generation,' which traces the affective and aesthetic dimensions of trauma and loss felt by those who came of age after war."[24] Bui explains that survivors of trauma can use creative projects specifically to absorb and articulate aftershocks.[25] Art provides a different kind of history lesson that "asks viewers to reflect on those who have been ignored in space and time but whose frames of postmemory endure as a permanent reminder that refugeeness is not a temporary condition of being."[26] Tian Veasna's graphic narrative, *Year of the Rabbit,* is an embodiment of Bui's "refugee repertoire" and Hirsch's "postmemory." Veasna's *Year of the Rabbit* not only works to give voice to the second generation survivor as Bui suggests but also process elements of Veasna's postmemory legacy that he does not necessarily remember from his own experiences with the genocide but is still haunted by. *Year of the Rabbit* acts as both a conduit of processing memory and preserving memory for future generation, by thereby creating a legacy of refugee-ness for third and fourth generations who will also one day grapple with their own personal, familial, or communal memory.

Marianne Hirsch describes postmemory as "the relationship of the second generation to powerful, often traumatic, experiences that preceded their births."[27] Although second-generation survivors may not have lived through an experience, "memories were nevertheless transmitted to them so deeply as to seem to constitute memories in their own right."[28] Hirsch centers this type of memory work within the context of the family, which serves to transmit memories. The concept of postmemory explores memory as "belated" or occurring "after" something else. Other scholars have characterized this type of memory as "absent," "inherited," "prosthetic," "received," or like a "vicarious witnessing."[29] However, postmemory differs from these concepts because of its focus on the transmission of traumatic memories. Memory cannot be literally transferred into another's body.[30] However, it can be received as a distinct version from that of the original experience through the modes of stories, images, and witnessed behaviors that one grew up with.[31] Therefore, these memories are:

> Mediated not by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation. To grow up with such overwhelming inherited memories, to be dominated by narratives that preceded one's birth or one's consciousness, is to risk having one's own stories and experiences displaced, even evacuated, by those of a previous generation.[32]

While taking place in the past, the effects of these memories continue into the present via the process of generational transmission that leads to a deep internalization of a past that predates subsequent generations.[33]

Graphic narrative artist and author of *Year of the Rabbit*, Tian Veasna was born just three days after the Khmer Rouge takeover. Although Veasna technically lived through the atrocities of the genocide, he was only

[23] Long Bui, "The Refugee Repertoire: Performing and Staging the Postmemories of Violence," *MELUS* 41, no. 3 (2006): 113.
[24] Bui, "The Refugee Repertoire: Performing and Staging the Postmemories of Violence," 113.
[25] Bui, "The Refugee Repertoire: Performing and Staging the Postmemories of Violence," 113.
[26] Bui, "The Refugee Repertoire: Performing and Staging the Postmemories of Violence," 116.
[27] Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 103.
[28] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust,* 103.
[29] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust,* 105.
[30] George Weissman, *Fantasies of Witnessing: Postwar Efforts to Experience the Holocaust* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 109.
[31] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust*, 105–106.
[32] Hisrch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust*, 107.
[33] Eva Hoffman, *After Such Knowledge: Memory, History, and the Legacy of the Holocaust* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 6.

three and a half years old when they ended—too young to have formed complex memories. As a result, his graphic novel, *Year of the Rabbit,* falls into the category of postmemory literature because of its heavy reliance upon the input of Veasna's parents and other close relatives who lived through the genocide while at an age of remembering. This personal account told from the perspective of Veasna's parents and other close relatives tells of their evacuation from Phnom Penh to the labor camps in the province, displacement from each other, harrowing escape over the Thai border, and resettlement in France as refugees. Along with recounting the genocide through a postmemorial lens, *Year of the Rabbit* also provides readers with a prime example of *displaced* participation*.* This term refers to an individual's participation in second generational trauma while engaging in the "memory citizenship" of family.[34] Postmemory's "citizenship" specifically reveals itself in *Year of the Rabbit* through transmission of trauma, conveyed through Veasna's experimentation with illustration and dialogue. By revivifying certain memories in the embodied subjects of memory in *Year of the Rabbit,* Veasna is empowered as an active post-rememberer of his personal past and that of the collective memory of his family.

Veasna's Illustrative Techniques

Veasna's illustrations play a particularly important role in recording the Cambodian experience. Figure 1 exemplifies the way that narrative panels are printed on white paper and bordered in black. This formatting decision enhances a contrast of colors, while also introducing a visually accessible format. However, Hillary Chute also interprets this black on white format "as a technique that lends the book a dark tone and suggests the suffocating omnipresence of the Khmer Rouge."[35] In Figure 1, three of the panels are shaded darkly using a cross-hatching technique. The shading covers everything in the image, including illustrated tents, people, and campfires. Crosshatching overlays these objects, creating the effect of dark color oppressing the yellow of campsites or green of tents. In the same way that black overtakes brighter colors, the Khmer Rouge overtook Cambodia. Consequently, Veasna represents metaphorical oppression of actual events through the intentional incorporation, absence, and overlap of colors.

The primary colors of black and white in Figure 1 are only interrupted by a muted palette of earthier tones. Browns, pale greens, and murky yellows are the only other pigments present. Such colors do not add vibrancy to the graphic narrative but according to Chute cause pages to feel "waterlogged."[36] Veasna's choices of colors correlate to the mood of scenes in his narrative. For example, in Figure 1, characters discuss Khmer Rouge officials killing Cambodians caught wearing Western styles. This is a serious topic that is made more so by an overwhelming presence of cool tones. There are no warm tones to imply hope, but rather just feelings of concern. Consequently, how the reader feels while reading the graphic narrative is also affected by the colors used. The muted palette of browns and greens in two of the panels correspond with the ominous words spoken in them about a Khmer Rouge official holding a head up. As a result, Veasna's graphic narrative is emotionally accessible to readers who can feel what Veasna and his family felt throughout the Khmer Rouge.

Along with an appropriate use of color that engages with viewers emotionally, Veasna's style of caricature illustrates the reality of Cambodians under the Khmer Rouge without overwhelming readers with too much violence. Veasna's illustrations strike a balance between clearly conveying the difficulty of the period, while also being sensitive to viewers and their potential triggers.[37] John Seven writes that one of Veasna's

[34] Pramod K. Nayar, "Introduction" and "Graphic History" in *The Indian Graphic Novel: Nation, History, and Critique* (Abingdon, Oxford: Routledge, 2017), 39.

[35] Hillary Chute, "Comics that State into the Face of Terror and Loneliness," *New York Times* (April 17, 2020, para. 2. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/17/books/review/tian-veasna-year-of-the-rabbit-yoshiharu-tsuge-the-man-without-talent.html

[36] Chute, "Comics that State into the Face of Terror and Loneliness," para. 5.

[37] Overly violent or gory images depicting the Khmer Rouge period could especially be triggering for other Cambodians who lived through this time and still have post-traumatic stress disorder as a result.

storytelling strengths is his ability to illustrate in a way that does not oppress the reader.[38] This is in part accomplished by the way that the artwork never overwhelms the reader even in the grimmest moments.[39] Even in scenes that Veasna depicts killing or murder, it is done in a way that avoids excessive gore.

For example, Figure 1 references Khmer Rouge officials' treatment of Cambodians who dressed in a Western style or conformed to Western tastes. The second panel of the page depicts three Cambodian men who had their hair cut like the Beatles. In punishment, they were beheaded, and their heads were put on stakes as an example to deter other Cambodians considering Western fashions or ideals. Although this second panel does capture the gruesome nature of Khmer Rouge officials and their punishments, the drawing does not overwhelm readers with the details of the violence. The drawings do not show how the men were murdered or the process of their capture, including gory details of their beheadings. Instead, Veasna shows the heads but in tactful ways; one head is positioned facing away from the viewer, while another wears sunglasses that cover his potentially rolled up eyes. Finally, the last head takes on the appearance more of a rubber mask than of a real human face. The cartoonish treatment of the three head works effectively to relay meaning to the reader while also not being unsensitive to who reads his work. Although the content is factual, it is not portrayed as realistically as it could be—which if it was, could cause the reader not to be able to finish reading the story. Through Veasna's choice of color, drawing style, and other visual elements, an accessible document about the Cambodian experience is recorded for future generations.

Interventions and Absences of Dialogue within *Year of the Rabbit*

Veasna and his family's experiences are also conveyed through the intentional insertion and omission of dialogue throughout *Year of the Rabbit.* One example that portrays key moments of dialogue being included and left out occurs early on in the work when Veasna, known as "Chan," is born.[40] The family has walked to the province of Chrouy Ta Prom after their evacuation from Phnom Penh, and Lina, Chan's mother, is about to give birth. The panels leading up to Chan's arrival are drawn in shades of gray, ripe with an ominous mood [Figure 2]. Khim, Chan's father, has prepared his medical equipment despite knowing that if a Khmer Rouge official walks into their hut and sees the tools, he will likely be deemed educated and possibly "disappeared."[41] As a result, the scene is full of tension that is heightened by a lack of dialogue. This silence is broken only when Lina worriedly tells Khim that somebody is walking their way.[42] Her statement is the first moment of dialogue on the page, and it conveys the vulnerability of her and Khim's position; they do not know if the person coming their way will aid in the birth, or if they will report Khim's medical background to authorities who will then take Chan to be raised away from his parents and educated in the way of the Khmer Rouge's values.[43] Thankfully, the person who appears is someone who Khim medically helped in the past and is at the hut to help the family.[44]

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[38] Seven, "'Year of the Rabbit' Offers Hope Amidst the Terror of the Khmer Rouge," para. 6. https://www.comicsbeat.com/indie-view-year-of-the rabbit-offers-hope-amidst-the-terror-of-the-khmer-rouge/.

[39] Seven, "'Year of the Rabbit' Offers Hope Amidst the Terror of the Khmer Rouge," para. 2

[40] Tian Veasna, *Year of the Rabbit* (Quebec, Canada: Drawn and Quarterly, 2019), 52.

[41] Note: The term "disappeared" is used to describe those who seemingly vanished by Khmer Rouge officials from the years of 1975–79. These individuals were generally taken away in the dead of night, leaving no trace of where they were taken. Often, the disappeared were killed, sent to prison or labor camp, or taken to an undisclosed location. Families would not be told where their loved one was taken and to this day still wonder about what happened to the disappeared.

[42] Veasna, *Year of the Rabbit,* 52.

[43] Note: The Khmer Rouge would generally separate children from their parents to indoctrinate children early on of the teaching of "Angka" or the education. An example of what this might have looked like is discussed on page 170 of *Year of the Rabbit.*

[44] Tian Veasna, *Year of the Rabbit,* 53.

As in this scene and in many others throughout the graphic narrative, deep silences in dialogue allow for an immersive viewing experience.[45] The audience starts the graphic narrative as a reader, but during a silence of dialogue becomes a viewer instead. At this moment, the viewer is forced to pause reading and instead search the panels of imagery for meaning. John Lamothe writes that the immersive experience of reading a graphic narrative can be heightened through omission of dialogue because "[s]ilence is part of life."[46] As a result, silences in a visual retelling are necessary for a reader to feel as though they have had a realistic experience.[47] The pause in dialogue matches that of the reader who ceases to read during a 'silence' and becomes a viewer instead. An embodied experience is implied because difficult events from the past are often remembered in fragments, which are frequently full of intentional and unintentional 'silences' or holes in memory. This technique also can be used to "communicate various features of plot or character development, establish[ing] different moods or impact[ing] tone."[48] For example, in the scene of Chan's birth, silence preceding the birth conveys fear and nervousness. However, the panel that shows Chan's moment of entering the world also does not have any dialogue and allows for a moment of joyful expectation to be felt [Figure 3]. Characters feel empowered with hope in this moment at the entrance of new life. Consequently, these two moments reveal the paradoxical nature of silences and their ability to "repress" and "empower" characters connected to the silences.

Long Lasting Impact of Graphic Narratives in Cambodia and on Cambodians

As memory travels across time and space, it takes on different forms, "manifesting traces of transgenerational haunting in the silence that continues to envelop" individual Cambodians and the nexus of the Cambodian family.[49] Within the complexity of diasporic lives, trauma remains neither fully present nor fully absent, yet still a painful force that needs to be reckoned with by both first-and-second-generation Cambodian genocide survivors.[50] The graphic narrative has become a mode of visual reckoning with past trauma as it has adapted into forms of graphic memoir, self-expression, and exploration.

For second-generation genocide survivors, the graphic novel is not only a useful medium for exploring the collective memory of one's family, but also for exploring postmemory and the Cambodian memory citizenship. Tian Veasna explores these concepts and more through his graphic narrative, *The Year of the Rabbit*; even though *Year of the Rabbit* focuses primarily upon Veasna and his family's memories from the Khmer Rouge period, it can also be interpreted as a retelling of the Cambodian experience at large. The specific devices of illustration and dialogue help Veasna and his readers to understand the collective stories or "macro-stories" of first-generation survivors. The graphic narrative also helps to locate individual anguish, distress, and sadness felt by those who lived through the crisis and those who did not live through the crisis but have inherited trauma left over from the event.

Visual-verbal mediums like the graphic narrative is "an emergent body of refugee art produced by [first-and-]second generation Southeast Asian[s]."[51] It foregrounds aspects of being a child of refuge and highlights often subverted viewpoints. Bui writes that what is at stake when recognizing graphic narratives as a form of postmemory is "a forceful recognition of the different forms and styles of storytelling that are able to retract the multiple viewpoints of stateless people."[52] Therefore, graphic narratives that speak to both the pain and

[45] John Lamothe, "Speaking Silently: Comics' Silent Narratives as Immersive Experiences," *Studies in Popular Culture* 41 no. 2 (2009): 71.
[46] Lamothe, "Speaking Silently: Comics' Silent Narratives as Immersive Experiences," 74.
[47] Lamothe, "Speaking Silently: Comics' Silent Narratives as Immersive Experiences," 74.
[48] Nancy Pedir, "What's the Matter of Seeing in Graphic Memoir?," *South Central Review* 32, no. 3 (Fall 2015): 9.
[49] Khatharya Um, *From the Land of Shadows: War, Revolution, and the Making of the Cambodian Diaspora* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 6.
[50] Um, *From the Land of Shadows: War, Revolution, and the Making of the Cambodian Diaspora,* 7.
[51] Bui, "The Refugee Repertoire: Performing and Staging the Postmemories of Violence," 129.
[52] Bui, "The Refugee Repertoire: Performing and Staging the Postmemories of Violence," 129.

resilience of then and now can act as a lasting vehicle that displays the creativity of those born after the war to preserve the memories of themselves and their family.

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