The press cartoon as a graphic-visual resource for migratory issues: a perspective from Weber’s ethnicity concept

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Abstract

Considered the graphic reproduction of news, the cartoon has long been incorporated as an opinion journalistic genre within the broad theoretical framework of Social Communication. Mainly based on an artistic drawn image and complemented or not with other resources (textual in the specific case of print media; movement and sound, in the case of virtual media), it leads the author’s critical eye to a specific fact or happening, using in most cases elements such as humor, satire and denunciation. Hence, this article proposes an exploratory analysis of the cartoons of Brazilian cartoonist and activist Carlos Latuff about the subject of immigration, published in recent years, at the Opera Mundi, specialized in international politics. As the theoretical-methodological strategy, we consider the concept of ethnicity of Weber (1978). He defines the term in close connection with the subjective belief in the common origin (and not a common objective ancestry), responsible for constructing an identity from the difference. Thus, cultural and physical differences are the points of reference around which the identity of the group is formed. Our goal is to verify how the cartoon shows itself as a visual information resource to deal with cultural and genetic aspects inherent in undesirable population minorities, from the hegemonic perspective of the concept of nation-state.

Keywords: cartoon, graphic-visual resource, international immigration, ethnicity, Social Communication, journalistic genres.

Introduction

This article proposes an exploratory analysis of the cartoons of Brazilian cartoonist and activist Carlos Latuff about the subject of immigration, published in recent years, at the Opera Mundi – a news website of Brazil created in 1928 which adopts a progressive editorial line to produce journalistic material about international politics topics with focus in Latin America.

Our study is developed within the broad theoretical framework of Social Communication, that has long been incorporated press cartoons as an opinion journalistic genre based on elements such as humor, satire and denunciation composed mainly on an artistic drawn image and complemented or not with other resources (textual in the specific case of print media; movement and sound, in the case of virtual media) by a person who usually to have critical eye about a specific local or worldwide fact or happening.

Latuff was born in Rio de Janeiro, in 1968, and started his professional career as an illustrator in 1989, in a marketing agency, and after, started to publish cartoons at syndical press. Politically engaged with leftist ideology, he made a trip to West Bank¹, in 1999, when he became a supporter of the Palestinian cause, which he defends until nowadays. In 2006, he won second place in the Holocaust International Cartoons Contest, organized by the Iranian newspaper Hamshahri, which helped his work to be known to the general and international public. Currently, his works are known worldwide and his drawings about the Arab Spring, attacking the local dictatorships, are recognized (Ruivo, 2014; Nogueira, 2012).

As the theoretical-methodological strategy, we consider the concept of ethnicity of Weber (1978). According to this author, the term is defined from the subjective belief in the common origin (and not a common objective ancestry), responsible for constructing an

identity from the difference. Thus, cultural and physical differences are the points of reference around which the identity of the group is formed.

Our goal is to verify how the cartoon shows itself as a visual information resource to deal with cultural and genetic aspects inherent in undesirable population minorities, from the hegemonic perspective of the concept of nation-state, also involving criticism to the so-called methodological nationalism.

**Nation-state and ethnicity: proposals for a dialogue from migratory studies**

Coined for the first time by Herminio Martins (1974), the concept of "methodological nationalism" was used as a critique of the author about the directions of social research by many scholars of the time, who used notions derived from the idea of nation-state to define society. However, especially in the migratory field, it was with the studies of Nina Glick Schiller that the term became popular.

I use the term methodological nationalism to critique the tendency of migration scholars to conflate a nation state with a concept of society. I mean by methodological nationalism an ideological orientation that approaches the study of social and historical processes as if they were contained within the borders of individual nation-states. Members of those states are assumed to share a common history and set of values, norms, social customs, and institutions (Schiller, 2010: 110-111).

Wimmer and Schiller (2003: 581) introduced the term “methodological nationalism” in the debate on migratory studies by identifying three gaps in research in the field of Social Science in general, and in migratory studies, in particular. They are:

1. The omission of nationalism, an exaggerated contiguous look at the relevance of nationalism in contemporary social life;
2. The naturalization of the nation-state, an implicit strategy of seeing the institutions of the nation-state as the main social context in studying all the issues at stake;
3. The imposition of territorial boundaries, linking empirical research strategies to the territory of any selected nation-state.

Consequence of Modernity, the view of nation-state, as a “natural” and necessary form of political and social organization, tends to reduce migratory studies to national and/or ethnic origin and collaborates to reinforce the myth of homogeneity, created over the last two centuries, and the view of immigration as something external to society and a problem to be solved. In addition, it reinforces the development of an awareness of belonging to the national-state framework (a national identity) – often from a system of mass education, an emphasis on a single language and a public culture of shared rights and duties – imposed by the ruling classes to legitimize the increase of state power.

This is what Anderson (1993: 23, our translation) defines as an “imagined community” because “even the members of the tiniest nations will never know, find or hear the most of their fellows, although all them have in their mind the living image of communion among them”.

Or, still what Appadurai (2009) defends by relating the visibility of displacements to the invention of national borders and statistics. According to the author, minorities are products of statistics, census and population maps, created by modern nation-states, in the beginning of the XVII century. They compose a recent social and demographic category and were produced by the elites of state or political leaders, historically in the specific circumstances of each nation and/or each nationalism. Generally, they are numerical, cultural, political, economic, ethnic and of gender.

No modern nation, no matter how benevolent its political system may be, and however eloquent its public voices on the virtues of tolerance, multiculturalism and inclusion, is free from the idea that their national sovereignty is based (...) in a single national ethnos, produced and neutralized at great cost through the rhetoric of war and sacrifice, exhaustive rules of educational and linguistic uniformity, and the subordination of thousands of local and

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In this sense, it is illustrative the argument of Pries and Seeliger (2012): if we look at the line of human development recorded by the course of history, the authors recall, the earliest roots of homo sapiens can be verified from a nomadic existence beginning 400,000 years ago – period that makes up most of human history; on the other hand, the earliest states of sedentary life appear as the longest period of the second spatial organization of human society, and began about 300,000 years ago. If we compare these two periods to the short history of the nation-state, which dates back to the end of the 17th century, we can point “the seemingly ridiculous temporal value that humans live together in national societies within the total history of human organizational evolution” (Pries & Seeliger, 2012: 220, our translation).

About the term ethnicity, it has its etymological origin in the Greek word *ethnos,* initially used to mean “barbarian” or “pagan”. According to Puerto (2008: 83), Homer, in his *Iliad,* was one of the first authors to coin *ethnos* to designate a group of individuals who share the same culture, origin and language. Thus, in the Hellenic era, it became frequent to use the term to designate “groups of individuals whose geographical location and conduct were outside the sphere of the ‘normal’ way of life of the well-known” (Puerto, 2008: 83, our translation). It is also known to use the word *ethnos* (singular) and *ethneia* (plural) by the Greek historian Herodotus, as a national, regional, and language group (Fenton, 2003: 74).

It was only in 1940, that the term came to be used by the Social Sciences. According to Poutignat and Streiff-Fenart (1998), in its English form, the word *ethnicity* began to be used in the sense of belonging to another group than Anglo-American and appears in the works of the time as an independent variable to study the effects on the behavior of individuals – in general, it refers to substantive characteristics of differentiation between groups, based on phenotypic and cultural aspects. In France, the same authors say:

The term 'ethnicity' has a completely new use in French-language scientific literature. Although it has been introduced in the French academic world since 1981, during a roundtable organized by Françoise Morin at French Association of Anthropologists, it has remained practically unused until this day in the sociological or ethnological vocabulary, and only very recently [at the end of the 20th century] begins to be used in studies on immigration, racism, nationalism or urban violence (Poutignat & Streiff-Fenart, 1998: 21, our translation).

In the United States, the adjective *ethnic* began to be used during the Second World War, as a “politically correct” way of classifying Jews, Italians, Irish and other collectives considered inferior in relation to the local dominant group (Puerto, 2008: 84). The popularization of the concept in the country came especially with Glazer and Moynihan, with the publication of the books *Beyond the Melting point: The Negroses, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City* (in 1963) and *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (in 1975) (Fenton, 2003: 114).

Precisely because it refers, from the beginning, to alterity (physically located in a territory), the studied literature shows that the way ethnicity is discussed is very contextual: there is one ethnicity in the United Kingdom, another in the United States, another in France, another in Latin America and so on. In addition, despite being consolidated today, the idea developed in parallel in different disciplines of the Social Sciences and maintains a strong connection with the concepts of nation and race by referring to the same “essence”, of descent or ancestry. Thus, we believe that the complexity of the definition of ethnicity lies in these points, which makes its use difficult by the universality of its application domain, although it refers to a ubiquitous reality in any part of the contemporary world.

In general, the term “ethnic” is often used to deal with cultural and genetic aspects inherent in undesirable population minorities, from the hegemonic perspective of the concept of nation-state. We take this generalization as a starting point for the discussion of the problem.

Puerto (2008), in a bibliographic review on ethnicity, talks about the chains of social theory, which make ethnicity a polysemous concept, among them the primordialist perspectives, of Shils (1957) and Geertz (1973). However, among the classical Social Sciences theorists, we consider for this work Max Weber (1864 – 1920).

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Despite being best known for his analysis of capitalism and bureaucratic organizations, Weber had enormous influence on ethnicity studies by systematically writing about the definition of “ethnics”, especially the work *Economy and Society* (published in German in 1922).

According to the author (1978), the ethnic approach is based on three elements: 1) it is defined from the subjective belief in the common origin (and not in a common objective ancestry); 2) this belief in life in common is responsible for building an ethnic identity from the difference, that is, cultural and physical differences are the points of reference around which the identity of the group are formed; and 3) these differences are often organized in a system of specific honor: the ethnic honor by which particular lifestyles take on the values upon which the pretensions to the dignity of those who practice other customs are founded.

Next to pronounce differences in the economic way of life, the belief in ethnic affinity has at all times been affected by outward differences in clothes, in the style of housing, food and eating habits, the division of labor between the sexes and between the free and the unfree. That is to say, these things concern one's conception of what is correct and proper and, above all, of what affects the individual's sense of honor and dignity. All those things we shall find later on as objects of specific differences between status groups. The conviction of the cellence of one's own customs and the inferiority of alien ones, a conviction which sustains the sense of ethnic honor, is actually quite analogous to the sense of honor of distinctive status groups (Weber, 1978: 499).

In addition, Weber (1978) repeatedly reiterates the idea of an ethnic group as the basis of political action, even recognizing that the content of possible community activity on an ethnic basis remains undetermined. According the author, the ideological aspect of the ethnic is that it is responsible for establishing a “communalization” (*vergemeinschaftungen*) that may not be the cause of a political action, but its consequence. Thus, “collective interests do not simply reflect intergroup sociocultural similarities and differences, but in pursuing common group interests it motivates ethnic identification above all, including group heterogeneity” (Puerto, 2008: 89, our translation).

Such “political action” is what Weber (1978) classifies as a “more artificial” form of the origin of belief in ethnic kinship. It is that by which a rational association becomes an “ethnic communalization”, attracting a symbolism of the blood community and favoring the emergence of a tribal consciousness or outbreak of a sense of moral duty linked to the defense of collective interests.

At last, specifically on the migratory process, Weber considers that the experience of displacement constitutes a fundamental element for the formation of ethnic groups:

Almost any kind of similarity or contrast of physical type and of habits can induce the belief that affinity or disaffinity exists between groups that attract or repel each other. Not every belief in tribal affinity, however, is founded on the resemblance of customs or of physical type. But in spite of great variations in this area, such a belief can exist and cap develop group-forming powers when it is buttressed by a memory of an actual migration, be it colonization or individual migration. The persistent effect of the old ways and of childhood reminiscences continues as a source of native-country sentiment (*Heimatsgefühl*) among emigrants even when they have become so thoroughly adjusted to the new country that return to their homeland would be intolerable (Weber, 1978: 388).

**The cartoons as a journalistic genre for migratory ethnic-social denunciations**

In mass communication, informing the general public is an incessant effort. Transmit the fact as clearly, objectively and as accurately as possible, taking into account not only the huge variety of themes, situations and contexts, but also the variety of medias (radio, television, newspaper, magazine, internet etc.) and the fragmentation of the communicators' own activity (reporters, illustrators, cartoonists, chroniclers, writers, editors etc.), requires the producer of the message to police every word or design, every minute.

In this sense, the use of rules, standards, classifications, techniques and many other items that systematize and organize the work within the processes of journalistic communication is
necessary, not to prune their creativity or freedom of expression, but, above all, to guide the journalist in the direction of fulfilling his/her social duty: to inform.

While, in the literature, the form is understood as the carrier in itself of aesthetic information, in journalism the emphasis moves to the contents, to what is informed. Journalism proposes to process information on an industrial scale and for immediate consumption (Lage, 1993: 35, our translation).

Journalistic genres are a form of systematization of this work. Members of the theoretical-practical knowledge shared and legitimized between journalists and Communication professionals, provide the discernment of the use of information and anticipate how the content will be conceived. In addition, they indicate that the suitability for a certain event deserves a specific treatment and publication. In other words: journalistic genres are fixed forms of messages conveyed in a medium of communication that order what is presented daily to the reader. Established in a kind of social convention and following established changes of time and space on ever-changing realities, they are presented in several categories, subcategories or themes.

We identify journalistic gender as a set of textual parameters selected in function of a situation of interaction and expectation of the agents of the journalistic doing, structured by one or more communicative purposes that results in autonomous textual units, relatively stable, identifiable in the whole of the social process of transmission of information through a medium / technical support (Costa, 2010: 47, our translation).

Melo (2010) classifies the journalistic genres into informative, opinionated, interpretive, diversional and utilitarian. Each one has unique and consensually recognized characteristics.

And it is precisely in the opinion genre that the object of study of the present work is located: a cartoon. Considered the graphic reproduction of news already known by the public, according to the point of view of designers, cartoons propose, in general, a humorous critique of a specific fact or event. They can be presented only through images, as well as combining image and text (Melo, 2003: 167).

In the words of Flores (2002: 14, our translation):

The cartoon is a text usually published at newspapers, and is usually made up of a single frame. The illustration shows the characterized details of characters, situations, environments, objects. The comments about the situation represented appear in writing way. Writing / illustration are integrated in such a way that several times it is difficult, if not impossible, to read a cartoon and to understand it without considering the two codes completely, associating them with the consideration of interdiscourse that is present as memory.

In a review of literature on the subject, Gobbi and Parnaíba (2014), refer to the origin of the cartoon in France, from the works of social satire of Jacques Callot (1592 – 1635). However, the authors warn to the fact that, often, in both journalistic and common-sense studies, the cartoon is confused with caricature, or with other styles, such as comics. One of the reasons, they defend, is that, regardless of the denomination adopted, graphic representations precede writing, being one of the first forms of communication used by humanity.

We believe that the main functions of the cartoon are to synthesize the opinion of the vehicle or its author about a fact of importance at the time and to provoke reflection on this theme, although this reflection takes place from a specific point of view. It is also clear the importance of humor, not always provocative of laughter, but as a strategy to sensitize the reader about an event. However, once the cartoon has been published it can take on other functions, such as to arouse the interest of reader in the fact treated or to be used as

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4 The informative genre appears in full, represented by all its formats: note, news, report, interview. The opinion genre flows through five conventional formats: the review, the column, the commentary, the caricature, the cartoon and the chronicle (...) the editorial, the article and the letter. Only an interpretive genre format is included in the culture section (...) newspapers: the dossier. The others – analysis, profile, poll, chronology – were no longer cultivated. In spite of the small incidence, the diversionary genre begins to be valued (...). The utility genre gains breadth (...), occupying the third place in the space

scope and comprising four well-defined formats: indicator, quotation, script and service (Melo, 2010: 33, our translation).
the flag of a social movement (Gobbi & Parnaíba, 2014: 21-22, our translation).

Nowadays, with the advances of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), it is possible to say that new forms of cartoons are emerging. Transposing the paper of printed newspapers and magazines and the ink to the pixels of the virtual environment, they are based on drawings combined with texts sound and movement, but follow their proposal to criticize, satirize, denounce or just make humor of some news fact of daily life. In addition, the reach and speed with which the information circulates in the contemporaneity influence the ways of dissemination and knowledge of the published cartoons.

In Brazil, we cannot list cartoonists who are/were active exclusively in nation-state, ethnicity and migratory issues subjects. Even Carlos Latuff has in his repertoire other types of cartoons aimed at criticizing religious, imperialist and sovereign issues, political-electoral practices, and war and violence situations. In 2012, he was in the Simon Wiesenthal Center's annual list of the top 10 anti-Semitism activists in the world. In that year, Latuff drew Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu twisting a Palestinian baby in a voting booth, in a reference of violence against Palestinian people to earn votes during election process in Israel (Nogueira, 2012). His works about Arab Spring are also known, with cartoons attacking the dictatorships of the region published on several newspapers and websites and reproduced in posters and fliers distributed on the streets.

In early 2015, the cartoons were in the middle of the tragic, fatal shooting of 12 members of staff at the French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo*, in Paris, France. The magazine had published a number of covers satirizing the prophet Muhammad. Among the dead were the famous cartoonists Stephane Charbonnier and Georgers Wolinski. Another well known episode was in 2005, when Danish daily newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* contracted to number of cartoonists to depict the Islamic prophet Muhammad as they saw him. The result was provocative images that sparked protests and riots worldwide even with many Middle Eastern states boycotting Danish products.

In fact, in the ability to portray the current thematic daily varieties—characteristic of press and journalism, in general—with criticism, humor, satire and denunciation, resides the richness of cartoonists work. Thus, are famous in the Brazilian country the cartoonists Ziraldo, Cavalcante, Aroeira, Alvim, Angeli, Glauco Villas Boas, Jaguar, Millôr Fernandes, Caruso brothers, among many others, like those around the world, from different countries, generations and draw stiles, such as: Martin Rowson, Steve Bell, David Low, Philip Zec, Thomas Nast, Robert Minor, Barry Blit, William Hogarth, Honoré Daumier, Robert Grossman, Louis Raemaekers.

This is how the cartoons of Carlos Latuff became popular. Regarding the migratory issues, which compose our corpus of analysis, we reproduce in the table below some, published in the last decade in the *Opera Mundi*, specialized vehicle in international politics.

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5 The Simon Wiesenthal Center was founded in November 1977. It is an international center for Holocaust remembrance, the defense of human rights and the Jewish people.

6 The Arab Spring was a series of anti-government protests, uprisings, and armed rebellions that spread across the Middle East (for example: Libya, Egypt, Syria, Yemen and Bahrain) in late 2010 against oppressive regimes.

The press cartoon as a graphic-visual resource for migratory issues: a perspective from Weber’s ethnicity concept

Figure 2: Published on August 29, 2015
Figure 3: Published on May 13, 2015
Figure 4: Published on September 10, 2015
Figure 5: Published on September 4, 2015

All the cartoons selected for analysis, as can be seen by the traces, colors, characters involved, identity elements (flags, national symbols etc.) and scenarios drawn by Latuff refer to broad global issues involving immigrants and refugees, as well as leaders of governments, especially of the rich countries (United States and countries of Europe). They compose a set of graphic and textual information that points to the denunciation and/or critique of situations of violence, injustice, power relations and human and social dramas involving the international migratory issue.

If, on the one hand, they can be interpreted from the previous knowledge of the readers, on the other, they come to light with factual events. For example, the cartoon illustrated in Figure 6, published on the occasion of the death of 61 African immigrants, who were trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea by boat to Italy and, according to reports of the British newspaper The Guardian, European militaries and units of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ignored calls for help.

In the images, we call attention to characters’ aesthetic aspects composed by the author, representing them by use of traces that refer to ethnic and racial notions (skin color, hair, body characters), connected to the concepts of nation, reinforcing, in this sense, the same “essence”, of descent or ancestry. Immigrants can be recognized not only by the exposed vulnerability situation, but also by physiological phenotypes aspects. The same holds for the world leaders (people or organizations) drawn: Donald Trump (Figure 1) and Uncle Sam, European Union and International Monetary Fund – IMF (Figure 4), for example: white, well dressed and in situations of advantage in an unbalanced relation of alterity reinforced by the substantive characteristics of differentiation between groups, based on phenotypic, economic and cultural aspects.

At first, a superficial and inattentive look at the images – with all synesthetic elements, caricatured traits, loaded with humor and colors – can capture positive, curious, funny situations or even provoke an aesthetic pleasure. This would be an absolute mistake. Such a set of graphic and textual elements draws attention to the refugee crisis, restrictive migration laws, prejudice, xenophobia and discrimination, among many other coercive human rights actions. It is a clear instrumentalization of humor, critically used by Carlos Latuff, who does not provoke laughter, but demonstrates the characteristic strategy of the charge genre – to sensitize the reader about an event.

We analyzed, in this sense, artistic accounts of manifestations of minorities – a general condition assumed by displaced people – connected with territories, symbolic borders versus geopolitical borders, social construction of belonging and identity, ethnic minorities, migration policies, citizenship, migration labor, internal and external displacement due to violence (deportees, refugees etc.), among many other issues. They are capable of producing both a view through identification with history, culture, politics, as they incorporate experiences of discrimination and exclusion.

Final considerations

Based on Weber’s ethnicity ideas, briefly discussed in this work and related to cartoons produced by Carlos Latuff categorized within the theory of journalistic genres, as an opinion genre, we tried to verify how the press cartoon proves to be a powerful visual information resource. They are able to deal with cultural and genetic aspects inherent to undesirable population minorities from the hegemonic
perspective of the concepts of nation-state and ethnicity.

We believe that both nation and ethnicity are forms of social identity, inclusion and exclusion, classification and social interaction in which culture and descent are always implicated in relation to the “others” (alterity), in a historical and social context determined by methodological nationalism, and which, in the case of this work, were essential in the production of artistic socio-political satire drawings.

Besides, we highlight the fact that one concept seems to legitimize and/or leverage the other. For example, according to Smith (1981: 20), the concept of nation endowed ethnicity with an entirely new consciousness and legitimacy in the modern world, as well as a fighting spirit and political sense; according to Castells (1999: 71-72), ethnicity has been specified as a source of meaning and identity to be integrated not with other ethnicities, but with other principles of social, politic, economic and cultural self-definition.

Thus, the critiques proposed by the studied cartoons – dealing with a multiplicity of social actors: minorities, political leaders, identity symbols, administrative apparatus, etc. – cannot be understood unless linked to social and political projects that use alterity to try to impose an order in an increasingly shrinking and diversified world. They bring controversies within the framework of social thought, such as the confrontation with the reductionist views on the logics of identification/change based on single and isolated arguments. In addition, they question the immigration view as something external to society and a problem to be solved.

Specifically in relation to migratory studies, it is a fact that international immigration creates circumstances for the formation of ethnic identities exposed in the cartoons as the group of undesirable ones. In the current civilizational framework, marked by the globalization of the planet, which is experiencing a phase of extension, acceleration and intensification – facilitated by the increase and advancement of means of transport and ICTs – the global interconnections of human dominance, including those marked by ethnicity, have potentialized possibilities. In this sense, the processes of displacement produce momentary situations, which are materially and culturally constituted in the chosen cartoons corpus, selected from the work of Carlos Latuff.

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