

Straw huts and superstition:
Native peoples in the Duck-stories of Don Rosa

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<p>Tiivistelmä – Abstract</p> <p>Sarjakuvien itsepintainen suosio uusien viihdemuotojen levitessä sekä niiden ainutlaatuinen tapa yhdistää piirroksia ja tekstiä oikeuttaa sarjakuvatutkimuksen säilymisen tärkeänä tutkimuksenalana. Suomessa suosituimmat sarjakuvat ovat aina olleet Disneyn Ankka-tarinoita.</p> <p>Koska suuri osa Ankka-tarinoiden kuluttajista on lapsia ja nuoria, on tarpeellista analysoida sitä, millaista maailmankuvaa nämä tarinat lukijoihinsa istuttavat. Suosituin Ankka-taiteilija Suomessa on Don Rosa, jonka takia hänen tarinansa valikoituivat analyysin kohteeksi. Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastelen, millaisia representaatioita Rosa luo Afrikan ja Etelä-Amerikan, tai tarkemmin Kongon ja Perun, asukkaista.</p> <p>Tätä tutkielmaa varten analysoin valittuja paneeleita kahdesta Rosan tarinasta, ja tutkin niissä tehtäviä representaatioita ja stereotypioita taustakirjallisuuden perusteella. Käsittelin muun muassa hahmojen ulkonäköä, puhetapaa, uskomuksia, roolia tarinassa sekä heidän asumuksiaan. Lopuksi vertailin tuloksia Rosan esikuvan, Carl Barksin, luomiin representaatioihin, joita on käsitelty aiemmassa tutkimuksessa. Tulin siihen lopputulokseen, että vaikka natiivien kuvaukset ovatkin kehittyneet hienotunteisempaan suuntaan, eivät ne silti harhaudu kauas tutuista stereotypioista. Erityisesti taikauskoisuus, kehittymättömyys ja köyhyys ovat vahvasti läsnä.</p> <p>Tutkimuksen tuloksista voi päätellä, että näiden tarinoiden kirjoittamisen aikaan 80- ja 90-luvuilla representaatiota ja stereotypioita viihteessä ja kirjallisuudessa ei pidetty yhtä tärkeinä ja ne eivät olleet yhtä polttava puheenaihe kuin tänä päivänä. Tulevaisuudessa olisi syytä tutkia, millaisia ne ovat 2020-luvulla.</p>	
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1 INTRODUCTION

Comic books are a remarkably unique medium of literature due to their combination of images and textual elements. They also remain popular, especially among youth. Donald Duck comics specifically are extremely popular in Finland with the now-retired creator Don Rosa drawing large audiences whenever he visits Finland. The popularity and influence that comics can have justifies and necessitates their close study. It is important to see what kind of a worldview comics construct and impart on their readers. In this thesis, I am specifically talking about the representations of different peoples.

Heavily related to the topic of representations in any medium are the concepts of stereotypes and caricature. To explain these terms, how they work and what their differences are, I refer to the works of Beller (2007) and Kunka (2017), among others. While stereotypes can help us understand the world, they can also pass on negative perceptions and moral judgments on others when reproduced in art. It is easy to see why this is an important topic when it comes to comic research. Caricatures, on the other hand, do not pass judgment, but can still be very insensitive.

Representations of nationality in specific Duck comics have been previously studied by Viljakainen (2016), who focuses specifically on the stories of Carl Barks. The stories of Don Rosa, on the other hand, have not been studied from this point of view. This provides an interesting opportunity: Rosa's stories are heavily inspired by those of Barks' and sometimes even serve as sequels or prequels. Because of this, it was possible to analyze Rosa's representations and then see what differences there were between the two creators. This is a qualitative research paper analyzing select panels from two stories of Don Rosa. After the analysis, I discuss my findings and compare them to the study of Viljakainen (2016).

2 BACKGROUND THEORY

2.1 What is a comic?

Scott McCloud (1993) defines comics as “juxtaposed pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence, intended to convey information and/or to produce an aesthetic response in the viewer”. This intentionally broad definition focuses on the most important part of comics, one they cannot exist without: the drawings.

2.1.1 Visual dimension

A picture by itself is simply a picture. However, when there are two or more images as a part of a sequence, they are transformed into a comic. A picture of an open eye and picture of a closed eye separately are not a comic, but sequentially, they tell a story. According to McCloud (1993), the pictures themselves are icons, images of things that exist in the real world. These icons can be drawn in different styles from realistic to simplified, abstract and cartoony, but as long as they possess the essential characteristics, the “meaning” of what they are the icons of, the reader will recognize them. As an example, the brain can recognize a simple circle and dot as an eye.

These images are situated in panels of various sizes and shapes. The panels themselves are separated by a blank section called the gutter. McCloud (1993) states that the gutter is where the human mind takes the sequential images, fills in the blank and transforms them into a single idea. This happens through a process called closure: “observing the parts but perceiving the whole (McCloud, 1993, 63). How much the images in following panels differ from one another, or how much “happens” in the gutter, affects how much closure is needed on the part of the reader. It is not necessary for action to take place or time to pass in the gutter: the transition can simply be from one point of view (or aspect) to another.

In comics, invisible phenomenon such as smells, feelings or emotions need to be portrayed through symbols. McCloud (1993) points out wavy lines and flies as symbols of a bad smell, hearts over one’s head as a symbol of love and lightning bolts radiating from a specific place in a character’s body as a symbol of pain, among others. Many of these have become

commonplace in comics. A character's face often also has visual indications of emotion, such as how the eyes are drawn or if there is sweat falling off.

Something worth noting is that everything in a comic is simply a portrayal of something in the real world. This idea is at the heart of the concept of representation. Representations are just images of something in the real world, and so cannot accurately reflect it. Rather, they construct it and direct our view of it together with language (Rigney, 2007).

2.1.2 Textual dimension

While a comic does not necessarily need to have text at all, the textual dimension is still integral to most comic-book stories. It is used to create humor, develop the characters and drive the story forward. The text can either add to the images or the other way around, or they can be of equal communicative value. Sometimes, they can seem to have nothing in common, such as when a character is thinking of something unrelated to what they are doing (McCloud, 1993). Most of the text in comics is located within either speech- or thought balloons to express dialogue or monologue. The positioning of these balloons indicates the order they should be read in. Overlapping balloons suggest that the characters are speaking over one another (Bramlett, 2017, 382). Balloons appear in many sizes and shapes and can be modified to express certain emotions. There can also be narrative boxes, sound effects, and ambient language. Ambient language refers to background text, such as the text on a T-Shirt someone is wearing or a restaurant menu (Bramlett, 2017, 380). Sound effects, on the other hand, can be drawn in a specific lettering style (which can deviate from the norm) to emphasize the sound they are conveying (McCloud, 1993).

The concept of "eye-dialect" is something that is quite relevant to this thesis. As comics are a silent medium, differences in the character's dialects need to be expressed in text. Bramlett (2017, 383) defines eye-dialect as "strategic manipulation of spelling to approximate a character's pronunciation" and points out such examples as *cannae* and *darlin'*. Of course, this can be used to differentiate different groups from each other. Regional differences in speech are one of the most salient ways that we differentiate groups of people. The global varieties of English, for example, are very distinct, and we can often easily recognize whether a person is from Scotland, India or Texas based on the way they talk.

2.2 Comic-book characters

Something that is quite unique to comic-book characters in comparison to characters in other literature is that they are constructed both in writing and visually. What this means is that the mental life and action of characters not only depends on such things as placement and panel sizes but also on verbal elements (Aldama, 2010). For instance, to portray the personality of a character, one combines the visual representation of drawn gestures and expressions with speech. In a book, on the other hand, you would need to describe the characters gestures through writing.

To build a comic-book character one must go through several steps. According to Aldama (2010), first you need to go through the basics: sex, ethnicity, likes, dislikes, etc. After that, the visual elements come into play: the type of ink and width of line, for instance, both affect how the character is represented. According to McCloud (1993) all lines have expressive potential. The way lines are used is extremely important to setting the feel of the comic and its' characters. This relates to the importance of the shapes of the characters to how they are perceived: round is cute, triangular is untrustworthy, square is dependable (Aldama, 2010). McCloud (1993, 126) states that for Carl Barks' Uncle Scrooge "gentle curves" and "open lines" give a feeling of whimsiness, youth and innocence.

2.2.1 Nationalities and ethnicities

Something that is crucial to defining a character is their origin. Florack (2010) claims that origin is even more important than a character's age, sex or social status, as it also links them to a specific locale. Individuals are assigned fixed characteristics based on their affiliation to a people. Florack (2010, 492) points out how these attributes have been spread and codified by literature and other media: "a text selects from a heterogeneous repertoire of positive and negative patterns". When a writer chooses an individual to represent their people, the portrayal of that individual projects their characteristics to all that belong to the same group (Rigney, 2007). Representations have been a problem as, historically, the comics industry in the west has lacked input from minorities. McCloud (2000) points out that members of a minority have an advantage in portraying the social and physical conditions in which they live. Lack of this firsthand experience can and has led to distorted views in popular culture.

In comics different peoples are often represented through a visual technique of simplification, in which ethnic attributes are portrayed through drawing and color (Hölter, 2007). These over-generalized perceptions of groups that are often used in character formation are better known as stereotypes.

2.2.2 Stereotypes and caricatures

McGarty et al. (2002) state that there are three principles to stereotyping in social psychology. The first is that they help explain the world. One cannot separate a group from others unless they understand and emphasize their differences. Differences and similarities are detected through a mental process called categorization. The second principle is that stereotyping saves time and energy. It is more effective to rely on stereotypes than to focus on the diversity of individuals. The third principle is that stereotypes are beliefs shared in a group, instead of being different for everyone. Members of a group differentiate themselves from other groups as well as emphasize their own similarities, in a way reinforcing stereotypes about themselves. In addition, in a similar fashion with representations, stereotypes have a reality-producing aspect (Beller, 2007). Stereotypes can be positive or negative and they can be used to provoke various reactions, such as humor. This is common in art and fiction. In the case of comic books, it has been argued by some that stereotypes are inevitable and natural as the reader needs to process visual information quickly (Kunka, 2017).

Caricature on the other hand refers to the exaggeration of a character's features. According to Kunka (2017) racial caricature in particular is about exaggerating the visual parts of racial identity. Kunka points out exaggerations of the eyes and lips for black characters and buck teeth for Asians, for example. Speech and behavior can also be a part of caricaturing. Hölter (2007, 307) states that a way to exaggerate a character's racial features in comics is by using "clichéd expressions and textures". Cliché is a term that is sometimes inaccurately used interchangeably with stereotype. However, a cliché is a simple repetition of generalizations and does not contain the aspect of moral judgment that is apparent in stereotypes (Beller, 2007). Kunka (2017) uses the term caricature to refer to the visual and verbal stereotypes in comics; caricature is a function of stereotyping. However, the relationship seems to also work the other way. Historically, racial caricature in comics has had the effect of strengthening existing stereotypes and engraining prejudice in children.

3 THE PRESENT STUDY

3.1 Aim and research questions

The aim of this thesis is to shed light on how Don Rosa portrays the characters native to the foreign, “exotic” lands that the Ducks visit on their adventures in his *Donald Duck*-comics, and how these representations compare to those made by his predecessor and inspiration, Carl Barks. Between their respective artistic eras, there were many societal changes in their home country of the United States, including the Civil Rights movement. One could assume that ethnic representations would have become more sensitive over time. I think this study can add to the knowledge of changing fictional representations through the years.

The research questions are:

- 1) How are the native peoples represented in the stories of Don Rosa?
- 2) How are these representations constructed?

I will also compare these findings to those made by Viljakainen (2016) to gauge the differences between the representations made by Rosa and Barks.

3.2 Data and methods

The data of this thesis consists of select panels from two comics by Don Rosa. One of these stories is a prequel to a Carl Barks story analyzed by Viljakainen (2016), while the other is a standalone story. The panels of these stories are chosen based on them being good examples of how the natives are represented in the comics by the author and on their relation to the stories of Carl Barks. Some panels only include the native characters, while others show them with and in contrast to the Ducks.

The first story, *The Son of the Sun* (1987) is not a direct sequel to any of Barks’ stories, but it is heavily related to *Lost in the Andes*, which was analyzed by Viljakainen (2016). This is the very first story written by Don Rosa. In it, the Ducks compete with Scrooge’s arch-nemesis, Flintheart Glomgold, to find the lost gold of the Incas. The events of this story take place around the same general area as *Lost in the Andes* in Peru and include references to it as well as a

reappearance of a familiar character. In this story, the Ducks have many interactions with the locals, making it a fruitful story to analyze. The panels chosen are from the beginning and end of the story, since that is when the native Peruvians appear.

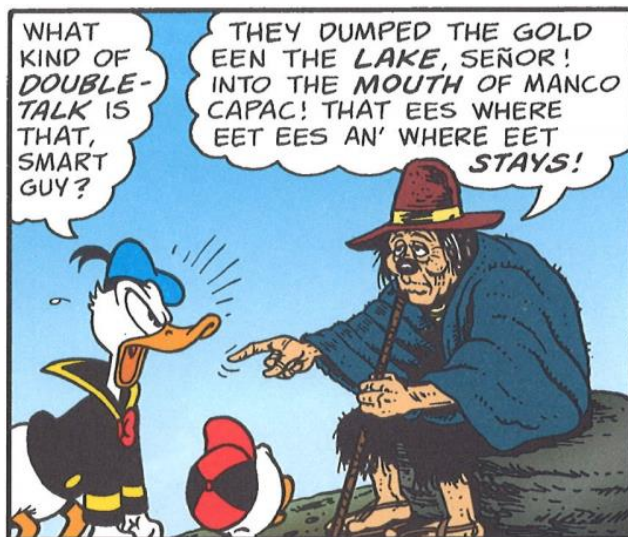
The second comic is called *The Empire-builder from Calisota* (1994). This story shows how Scrooge McDuck continued to amass his vast wealth and built his global business-empire after making his first billions. The story serves as a prequel to several Barks stories, but the section focused on in this paper is a prequel to Barks' *Voodoo Hoodoo*. The comic tells the story of how Scrooge McDuck committed his only dishonest deed and earned the ire of the Witch Doctor Foola Zoola in "darkest" Africa. The analysis will focus mainly on Foola Zoola himself, as the other members of his tribe only appear briefly.

From these panels, I shall analyze how the native characters are constructed and represented based on their appearance, speech, personality, positioning in the panels and role in the story. When appropriate, I compare their representation to the Ducks'. For this I will draw from the work discussed in the background section. Finally, I will compare my findings with those made in the thesis by Viljakainen (2016).

4 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 The Son of the Sun

The first panel I shall analyze is the second panel on the sixth page of *the Son of the Sun*. Scrooge, Donald and the ducklings have just arrived at a small village in the Andes in search of the lost gold of the Incas, and ask a local old man, an acquaintance from Barks' *Lost in the Andes*, for any information regarding its whereabouts. It turns out that he knows the legend surrounding the gold well. He informs the Ducks that his ancestors gave the gold to the protection of Manco Capac, the Son of the Sun, who swallowed it to his bottomless soul. This leads to the following exchange.



The Son of the Sun. Don Rosa. Page 6. The Ducks talk to a local about the legend of the lost gold.

The panel is a full shot (Larson, 2014) where the old man is located on the right side while Donald is in the bottom left corner. One of the ducklings' head pops out in the middle, clearly positioning him as an unimportant onlooker. Donald is not fully in frame either, which positions the old man as the focus of the panel.

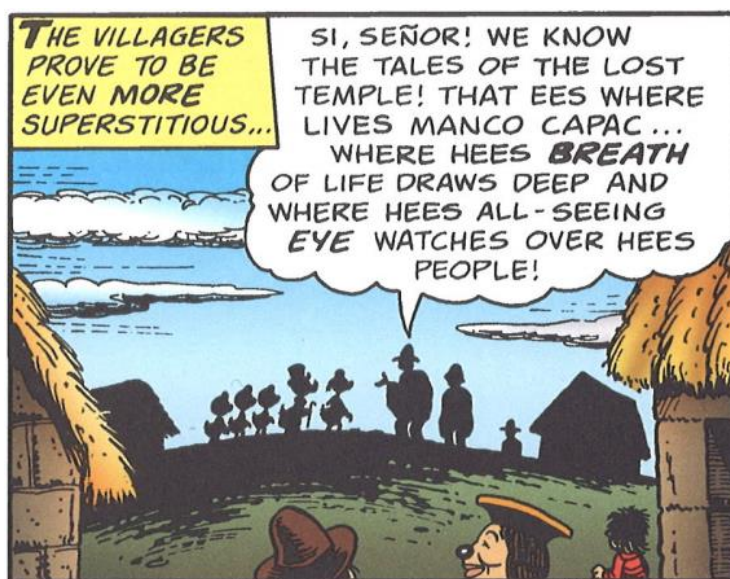
The old man has black hair, which is typical for a Native South American. He is wrinkled and has a tired expression. His cheeks, chin and nose are round. According to Aldama (2010), round shapes are considered cute, which can lead to a sympathetic response from the viewer when coupled with the other features of his appearance.

The old man's attire is stereotypic of a native of the Andes. He is wearing a poncho, sandals, shorts possibly of alpaca wool and a brimmed hat, reminiscent of traditional Andean clothing, although not as colorful. His appearance produces a poor and unkempt impression when compared to the Ducks.

Moving on to the textual dimension, the only text in this panel is located in speech bubbles. Rosa uses eye-dialect (Bramlett, 2017) to portray and caricature (Kunka, 2017) the Spanish accent of the old man. *In* changes to *een*, *is* to *ees* and *it* to *eet*. Rosa draws attention to the way Spanish speakers draw out their front close vowels, moving from /ɪ/ to /i:/. In addition, it is unclear whether the “s” in his *ees* is supposed to be pronounced as /s/ or /z/, the latter of which is the correct pronunciation in standard English. He also leaves out the *d* in *and*. Finally, the old man refers to Donald as “señor”, a typical although clichéd courtesy in the Spanish-speaking world.

The old man is portrayed as being superstitious in comparison to the Ducks. He believes the ancient legends of his people and that the lake near his town is connected to the mythical Son of the Sun, something that the Ducks have no time or patience for. However, in this exchange he is also portrayed as being more friendly and courteous than the hot-tempered Donald, who yells at him and calls him a “smart guy”.

The second panel I analyze is panel six on the same page. The Ducks move on to the village to see what the villagers have to say but find out that the legend seems to be deep-rooted in the locals' consciousness.



The Son of the Sun. Don Rosa. Page 6. The villagers inform the Ducks about the lost temple.

This is a wide shot, meant to establish the scene (Larson, 2014). Thus, neither the Ducks nor the people they are talking to are clearly visible. Only parts of the head of a few unimportant onlookers are even somewhat detailed, probably just to fill the panel. However, one can still recognize the brimmed hats and a poncho worn by the speaker: the attires do not deviate from established stereotype. The homes of the villagers seem to be small brick-houses with thatched roofs, reinforcing the expression of poor and simple living conditions.

In terms of the text, the speaker draws out their i:s as well. In addition to *señor*, they also use the word *si*, another common Spanish word. The speaker also says “That ees where lives Manco Capac” instead of the more idiomatic “That is where Manco Capac lives”. However, the most important aspect of this panel is in its’ focus on the locals’ superstition. This time, the impression is not left solely by the speaker’s focus on the old legend: Don Rosa has chosen to point out their superstitiousness in a narrative box in the top left corner, driving the point home without room for interpretation.

The final panel from this story is the fifth panel on page 25. The Ducks manage to find the gold hidden inside a temple at the top of a volcanic mountain but end up blowing the entire mountaintop up in the process. By a stroke of luck, the temple with all its’ gold lands right in the lake by the village, and the resulting splash waters the villagers’ crops on the mountainside terraces, which had been suffering from a drought.



The Son of the Sun. Don Rosa. Page 25. The villagers rejoice.

The locals’ attire is in full view this time, showcasing their colorful and patterned ponchos. Their joyous faces have the same round shapes as the old man’s. Even the brimmed hats are present: the locals are clearly portrayed as quite homogenous in their appearance.

Their speech has the same qualities as in the panels analyzed before, but the exclamation of *Kiyi! Kiyi!* by the left speaker is worthy of note. It does not have a meaning in Spanish, which is the language they have mixed into their language previously. Its meaning is left up to interpretation. It could be someone's name, a simple exclamation of joy, or perhaps a word in a Native language that Rosa had dug up or invented.

The villagers have not grown any less superstitious, believing that Manco Capac has blessed them with water even though there could very well be a more reasonable explanation as to what landed in their lake. However, the Ducks do not appear to tell them the truth in what remains of the story, possibly out of self-preservation. It is unlikely that the locals would be happy about what happened to the priceless heritage of their people. However, any explanation the Ducks could give might still be seen as a divine intervention by the Son of the Sun by the locals.

4.2 The Empire-builder from Calisota

The first panel from the second story that I will analyze is the last panel on page 6. Scrooge is in Africa, trying to expand his wealth, when he learns of a valuable piece of land where rubber-plants grow. The only problem is that the land is owned by a voodoo tribe. Unafraid, Scrooge seeks out the tribe's leader to negotiate. He falls into a cave and is brought before Foola Zoola.



The Empire-BUILDER from Calisota. Don Rosa. Page 6. Scrooge meets Foola Zoola.

Foola Zoola is located fully in frame and in an elevated position, while the main thing you can see of Scrooge is his surprised, perhaps even scared, expression. This skewed equilibrium

between the two characters sets the tone for the following discussion: Scrooge is the underdog in these negotiations, whether he likes it or not.

The appearance of Foola Zoola can be described as stereotypical and intimidating. He has an afro, and wears nothing else than a loincloth and some golden tribal accessories. His expression radiates malice as he stares Scrooge down with an almost bestial, teeth-exposing grin. Noteworthy are his eyes, somewhat triangular, a shape Aldama (2010) states expresses untrustworthiness. This would be an ironic deduction considering the later events in the story, as it is Scrooge who proves to be untrustworthy. Foola Zoola's eyes are also red in this panel, which makes him look inhuman and diabolic. However, coloring choices may vary between editions.

The setting these characters are in adds to the feeling of dread: the cave is dimly lit, and the pots in front of Foola Zoola exhume smoke or some incense, creating a mystical feel to the character.

Foola Zoola's dialogue, on the other hand, gives a completely different impression. While the Andeans of the previous story spoke in a local accent, Foola Zoola speaks perfect English and is quite courteous and soft-spoken, greeting Scrooge with a "*Good afternoon*". However, this courteousness does not last when Scrooge starts acting disrespectfully, which could indicate that its purpose is to be humorous in its direct contrast to his appearance.

The second example is the seventh panel on page 7 of the story. The negotiations go sour as Scrooge disrespects the tribe's voodoo gods, and when called out, he loses his temper and decides to double down.



The Empire-Builder from Calisota. Don Rosa. Page 7. Scrooge insults Foola Zoola.

Foola Zoola's expression is no longer simply intimidating: he is furious. The sense of dread is still there, as hands reach out of the darkness to do who knows what to Scrooge.

The most interesting thing in this panel is the order Foola Zoola barks to his tribesmen, clearly supposed to be in their native language. Rosa (1997) explains that "*M'Gawa! Niktimba!*" actually originates from old Tarzan movies starring Johnny Weissmüller, yelled out by the titular character. While a harmless intertextual reference at first glance, this decision ends up reducing the tribe's native language to a simple pop-culture reference that has no real meaning.

In the third panel, the first one on page 9, we finally see a glimpse of the other members of Foola Zoola's tribe. Scrooge is furious at the punishment the tribesmen gave him and hires a bunch of thugs to burn the entire village to the ground. This would end up being the only dishonest deed he would ever commit, and soon regret.



The Empire-Builder from Calisota. Don Rosa. Page 9. The village is destroyed.

The village inside the walls seems to consist of African round huts made of straw. These are a traditional African house that still sees some use. More importantly, they still remain a stereotypic fixture of African architecture in the west. The focus is clearly on the thugs, who chase, destroy and burn with blatant glee and evil grins.

The tribesmen, seen on the right side running out of frame, are extremely homogenic and resemble Foola Zoola greatly. They all have afros, wear loincloths, and some have similar gold accessories as their leader. Everyone's skin color is the exact same. They almost seem like an extension of Foola Zoola. However, their expressions are quite the opposite. They are surprised and scared. Their wide eyes are round, in contrast to Foola Zoola's triangular. They are not a

threat; they are the victim. Scrooge, on the other hand, is barely visible, shouting and jumping madly in the left corner.

What is noteworthy about this panel is that despite the suffering inflicted on the tribesmen, they are not the focus of this panel. In fact, you can only see the faces of two, and only one is fully in frame. Rather, though indirectly, the focus is on Scrooge, as he tells the thugs what to do and serves as the catalyst of these events. The expression this leaves is that what this means for Scrooge as a character is more important than what happens to the tribesmen. Of course, one must note that comics have a large audience of children, and it is possible that Don Rosa wanted to avoid showing carnage and suffering as much as possible. For example, the tribesmen are chased with sticks, but none are shown beaten in this panel or later.

The final panel of this research is panel two on page 12. Besides burning his village, Scrooge also tricks Foola Zoola into selling his land to him. After his sisters leave Scrooge alone due to the shame of his actions, he quickly realizes the error of his ways and means to make amends with the witch doctor. However, he is too late. Foola Zoola has already found a way to take revenge.



The Empire-Builder from Calisota. Don Rosa. Page 12. Scrooge faces the zombie.

The scene invokes the features of traditional horror through a starlit night and a full moon. Foola Zoola stands in front of the moon, laughing evilly: he is still portrayed as intimidating instead of sympathetic. Scrooge, on the other hand, is the smallest he has ever been, quivering with weak knees at the sight of the zombie.

The zombie himself is somewhat similar to the other tribesmen, as he too has an afro and golden earrings. However, he does not wear a loincloth, but instead a ragged white robe giving the appearance of a spectre from beyond the grave. His clothes are in direct contrast to Scrooge's fancy attire. His skin too is clearly paler than the rest of the locals'. However, his expression is not angry, simply sad.

4.3 Discussion

Don Rosa does not stray far from stereotypic representations in his character's appearance. The natives of his stories are very homogenic. They dress similarly to one another, look very much alike, and speak in the same fashion. They live in houses that exist in the poorest areas of their countries. They live simple lives in comparison to the Ducks from a big city. Additionally, the African tribe's location in Congo is referred to as "Darkest Africa", reinforcing the classic European notion of Africa as the "Dark Continent" (Riesz, 2007).

However, the representations are not overtly negative, either. Rather, the natives of the Andes are very polite and helpful, while the Ducks are rude and insensitive in their dismissal of the locals' faith and legends. In the case of the African voodoo tribe, Foola Zoola may be intimidating or even scary, but he initially addresses Scrooge with respect and his tribesmen are purely victims of Scrooge's crimes. Though Scrooge is the hero of his stories and thus his crimes are not shown in detail, it is made clear that what he does is wrong. It should be noted that Foola Zoola is somewhat forced into his role as a villain, as that is his role in the story of Carl Barks that this story serves as a prequel to. Rosa himself has stated that *The Complete Life and Times of Scrooge McDuck* "is intended to reaffirm all the elements of all the great Barks Scrooge stories so many citizens of this planet grew up on." (Rosa, 2019: Just for the Fun of It).

In both stories, the natives are very superstitious in comparison to the "reasonable" Ducks, whether it is regarding the legend of Manco Capac in the Andes or their voodoo faith in Africa. Interesting to note is that in both stories the natives prove to be right in the end: the lost gold of the Incas eventually does end up in the lake (this is actually used as a gag in the story), and Scrooge pays for his disrespect by getting a voodoo zombie on his trail. The message does seem to be that local beliefs should be respected.

Comparing these representations with those of Carl Barks analyzed in Viljakainen (2016) yields some interesting results. First of all, the appearance of the Andeans is extremely similar in both stories in all respects. They also speak in a similar mock Spanish accent. However, while Viljakainen (2016) states that the Peruvians are extremely focused on selling their merchandise to the Ducks, this facet is completely absent in Don Rosa's story. It could be argued that this "obsession" has been replaced by the locals' superstition.

The appearance and personalities of the Africans have gone through a drastic change. The "thick, pink lips" (Viljakainen, 2016, 19) that seemed almost caricaturized have been replaced by lips that blend into the rest of their faces. This is true for Foola Zoola as well. However, the loincloths, afros, and gold accessories are still present.

Viljakainen (2016) also states that in Barks' story the two different groups of locals fill two different roles: peaceful if superstitious servants and the bloodthirsty voodoo tribe, evil and easily bribed. In Rosa's story, only the voodoo tribe is present. However, they are the victim, not aggressive, and Foola Zoola only agrees to sell his land after his home is destroyed and Scrooge is in disguise. It would seem that Rosa wanted a more sensitive and realistic representation of the voodoo tribe, and the immorality of Scrooge's actions sets the groundwork for their later bloodthirst in Barks' story. It is possible that Rosa wanted Foola Zoola to be a more sympathetic character whose later actions can be somewhat justified by the crimes committed against him and his tribe.

Even though the representations have improved between the stories of Barks and Rosa, it is unlikely that the stereotyping present in Rosa's stories would pass without heavy criticism if they were released today. Both the producers and consumers of entertainment have grown more aware of inaccurate, insensitive, or missing representations, especially concerning minorities and marginalized groups. For example, the representations and diversity in Marvel-movies and comics is a topic of many blog posts, studies, and articles (e.g., Light, 2019; Richardson, 2017; Tang, 2020).

5 CONCLUSION

While Don Rosa's representations of the natives of Peru and Congo are not overtly negative or racist, they also do not challenge or stray far from traditional stereotypes. Both the physical appearance and clothing of the natives are homogenous and stereotypical, and the Peruvians speak with a stereotypical Spanish accent. Both nationalities are portrayed as extremely superstitious and less developed than the people of Duckburg. However, it should be noted that the story taking place in Africa is temporally placed in the early decades of the 20th century.

However, when compared to the representations in Carl Barks' stories, there have been some improvements. The representations are more sensitive. The African tribe no longer has caricaturized features, for example. They also no longer fill a purely antagonistic role. The Peruvians, on the other hand, are no longer obsessive merchants.

These findings can be useful to the wider study of improving ethnic, racial and national representations in literature. Outside academic circles, many would consider the stereotypes present in the entertainment they or their children consume in their daily life to be a subject worth knowing about. This study could also inspire even further research into Duck-comics. The stories analyzed in this thesis are decades old, and there are surely modern stories to analyze and compare to get a greater understanding of how these representations have developed in the Duck-franchise.

Based on these findings, it is clear that when these stories were written the topic of representation and stereotypes in entertainment and literature was not considered to be as important and was not as widely discussed as it is now.

This study is also somewhat limited by its' scope. I only analyzed the representations of two nationalities from two stories made by one author. In addition, the way they were portrayed could have been influenced by Rosa's desire to not stray far from Barks' style. A future study could analyze Rosa's representations in a completely self-sufficient story.

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