

THE RE-CONTEXTUALISATION AND REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN'S ROLES IN THE TELEVISION SERIES ONCE UPON A TIME

 \mathbf{BY}

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1. **DECLARATION**

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3. **ABSTRACT**

This dissertation explores the representation and re-contextualisation of female roles in the contemporary television series, *Once Upon a Time*. Women in the media and society have long been undermined. Women, especially in the fairy tale genre, have been assigned stereotypically feminine roles that underline the roles that women in society are expected to follow. In a more contemporary world, representations of women in the media and the role they play in society have changed. Playing a critical role in changing this has been feminist thought and activism, which has resulted in an increased number of texts that showcase women in roles that are not only stereotypically feminine.

A qualitative research approach was employed for this study, informed by an interpretivist paradigm. Two fairy tale characters, Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood, were analysed across three filmic texts that were purposively sampled: Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and Jetlag's *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995) were analysed in order to understand more traditional representations of Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood, and the third text, season one of *Once Upon a Time* (2011), was analysed in order to understand a contemporary representation and re-contextualisation of these characters. This study used three analytical methods: content analysis, visual/semiotic analysis, and actantial analysis, all of which incorporated textual analysis to support and further develop the findings. Ottosson and Cheng's (2012) feminine and masculine trait categories were used to inform the content analysis.

The study finds that *Once Upon a Time* highlights a world that is not male dominated but still contains some of the values of patriarchal society. It also challenges the heteronormative desire for love that is expressed by most fairy tale characters. Furthermore, the study suggests that the society you live in affects the privileges that you have. For example, white middle-class females have more options with regards to independence and being open about their sexuality, while women from poorer areas have limited choices due to their financial status and the society they live in.

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4. CHARACTER LIST FOR OUAT

The Enchanted Forest	
CHARACTER NAME	WHO THEY ARE
Snow White	
Little Red Riding Hood	Also known as Red
Prince Charming	Snow White's husband
Peter	Little Red Riding Hood's boyfriend
Evil Queen	Snow White's stepmother
Rumplestiltskin	

Storybrooke Maine	
CHARACTER NAME	WHO THEY ARE
Mary Margaret Blanchard	Snow White in Storybrooke
Ruby	Little Red Riding Hood in Storybrooke
David	Prince Charming in Storybrooke, also
	known as John Doe
Emma	Mary Margaret Blanchards daughter
Regina	Evil Queen in Storybrooke/Mayor and
	stepmother of Henry.
Catherine	David's wife
Mr. Gold	Rumplestiltskin
Henry	Emma's biological son and Regina's
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This introductory chapter begins by outlining the background, context, and purpose of this research study on re-contextualising and representing women's roles in season one of the television series *Once Upon a Time*. The research questions are presented, and the significance and scope of the research are described, after which the theoretical framework and research methodology are outlined. Finally, I include an outline of the overall structure of the thesis.

1.2 BACKGROUND

The focus of this study was on the portrayal of female characters in season one of the television series *Once Upon a Time* (2011), created by Edward Kitsis and Adam Horowitz. It is hoped that the study will contribute to the existing media studies literature on how women are represented in fairy tales, and in filmic media. The study of the representation of women in fairy tales is important, as the values communicated through these stories unconsciously influence us at a formative age (Tatar, 1999). The way in which women are portrayed in fairy tales can instill particular beliefs in children about women's specific roles and the limitations of those roles (e.g. Carter & Steiner, 2004; Tatar, 1999). Equally, television and film media have a powerful influence on audiences. Hodapp (2016, p. 39) observes that "television's influence on viewers requires television series that both interest and captivate audiences", and that "a large contributor to the interest and enjoyment on a show are the characters, making television characters an important area to study". This dissertation provides insights into how women are represented in a contemporary television series whose narrative is rooted in fairy tales, and considers how the representation of women has changed in modern fantasy fairy tales as compared with traditional fairy tales.

As a child I was told the fairy tales of *Little Red Riding Hood* and *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, among many others. As young children, we are not aware of the messages that are embedded in us through these fairy tales, and we engage with them for mere pleasure. As I

grew older, I noticed that in most of the fairy tales there was a trend, where the female characters needed saving and the male characters were always their saviours.

In my third year of university, I was introduced to the television series *Once Upon a Time* (2011), created and produced by Edward Kitsis and Adam Horowitz. It is an American fantasy drama television series that incorporates a number of the most well-known western fairy tales into one story, adding a modern twist to each fairy tale (Hodapp, 2016). I was never really interested in television series at all until I watched *Once Upon a Time*. I found it to be more interesting and educational than entertaining, as I was able to see a change in the way in which women were being represented. *Once Upon a Time's* modern fantasy fairy tale challenges the roles that have been allocated to women in traditional fairy tales (Hodapp, 2016). A personal interest in the series therefore led me to pursue this topic, as I found the way in which women were represented in this series to be very interesting and different.

There are a total of seven seasons of *Once Upon a Time*, each of which has 22 episodes. The narrative combines multiple fairytales, and Kitsis and Horowitz intended to create a series with fractured fairy tales to move away from the ideal of a generalised happily-ever-after, while communicating individual hope and agency. In a 2011 interview, Kitsis explained:

The series is centered on one thing: hope. For us, that's what a fairy tale is. It's that ability to think your life will get better. Adam and I just wanted to write about something hopeful that for one hour a week allows one to put everything aside and have that feeling that your dreams just may come true. (Williams, 2016, p. 2)

Season one introduces us to the Enchanted Forest and the fractured narrative of Snow White. An evil curse has been cast upon the people of the Enchanted Forest, which sends them to an alternative universe, the viewers' world of Storybrooke, Maine. The series jumps between both worlds, showing past and present events, and as season one progresses, we are introduced to other characters and their roles. While under the curse the characters do not have any memory of who they were. Once the curse is broken, people regain their memories. Snow White seems to be the main character in this season, as most of the events relate to her or unfold around her, and she helps drive the narrative of other characters forward. She is a maternal brave and independent woman. Little Red Riding Hood is a naïve teenager who is still finding her feet, and her character represents womanhood and sexuality. Both characters influence each other.

1.3 CONTEXT

Many studies have focused on how females are constructed in film and television, such as those conducted by media/feminist scholars Angela Carter and Maria Tatar (Carter & Steiner, 2004; Tatar, 1999). These studies found that female characters were usually constructed as inferior to, or given roles that were inferior to, their male counterparts and that the narratives and character constructions of films and television series by and large reflect patriarchal society (Carter & Steiner, 2004). Many feminist scholars have analysed fairy tales and contemporary retellings, and these analyses, along with feminist activism, have had some effect on how females are now portrayed.

My study focuses in particular on two specific characters, Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood, and how their roles have been re-contextualised in *Once Upon a Time* (2011), a contemporary television series. Previous research conducted on *Once Upon a Time* has focused on gender and power relations (Mahler, 2017), narrative structure (Williams, 2016), and the portrayal of evil in the series (Hodapp, 2016). It has been found that *Once Upon a Time* to some extent challenges the narrative structure of the traditional fairy tales it draws from, as it provides multiple story settings and also character backstories (motivations) (Williams, 2016). Analyses of the series from the perspective of gender and power relations have revealed that *Once Upon a Time* reinforces hegemonic gender norms and that the messages conveyed through the series about gender and power remain unchanged (Mahler, 2017).

Many studies have focused on the portrayal of evil in the series, showing how the background stories of the evil characters are foregrounded, and how the evil characters are depicted as capable of being compassionate, making them more complex characters (Hodapp, 2016; Lombari, 2015). There has been little research on Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood in *Once Upon a Time*. However, there are other studies that focus on these characters — primarily on the telling of their traditional fairy tales.

1.4 PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

I examined two earlier filmic texts: Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937)* and Jetlag's *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995).

The primary objective of this study was as follows:

• To examine how the representations of the characters Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood have been re-contextualised in the television series *Once Upon a Time* (2011).

The primary objective was broken down into three secondary objectives:

- 1. To examine the roles given to women in traditional tellings of Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood, and in earlier filmic portrayals of these tales.
- 2. To examine how these female characters are represented in the contemporary fantasy television series *Once Upon a Time* (2011).
- 3. To determine the implications of this analysis for our understanding of contemporary mediated representations of women's roles in contemporary society.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions for this study were derived from the above objectives. The primary research question was:

• How are the representations of the fairy tale characters Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood re-contextualised in the television series *Once Upon a Time* (2011)?

The secondary research questions that broke down the primary question in a more detailed way were:

- 1. What are the roles given to women in traditional tellings of Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood and earlier filmic portrayals of these tales?
- 2. How are these female characters represented in the contemporary fantasy television series *Once Upon a Time* (2011)?

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE, SCOPE AND DEFINITIONS

As the world, societies and people are becoming more complex, so are films and representations of characters. It is therefore necessary to analyse how the roles of women have evolved in societies, and to track changes in the representation of women on television by comparing traditional texts and contemporary texts.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research contextualises its understanding of texts selected for analysis (fairy tales and visual narrative/filmic texts) by drawing on the insights of Jack Zipes, Maria Tatar and Vladimir Propp. Mulvey's (1989) male gaze theory was utilised to analyse how women are perceived in contemporary television series in relation to male pleasure. This helped me to track if there are still oppressive effects of a patriarchal society on the roles women play (Bieniek, 2015). The theoretical framework for the study is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A qualitative research approach was employed for this study, informed by an interpretivist paradigm. Purposive sampling was used to select three texts for analysis: the primary text, Kitsis and Horowitz's *Once Upon a Time* (2011); and two secondary texts, Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and Jetlag's *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995). Purposive sampling was also used to select specific episodes for analysis, and specific scenes within those episodes. Multiple analytic tools were used to derive information pertaining to female representation in contemporary television series. This study used three analytical methods: content analysis and visual/semiotic analysis, which both incorporated textual analysis; and actantial analysis, to further develop my findings.

The research methodology for the study is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

1.9 THESIS OUTLINE

Chapter 1 has explained the background, context, purpose and significance of this research, and has presented the research objectives and research questions. A brief overview of the research methodologies employed to gather and analyse the data has been provided, and the theoretical framework used to analyse and interpret the data has been presented. A chapter outline of the study has also been presented.

Chapter 2 reviews the existing literature on women in the media, women in fairy tales, women in contemporary retellings of fairy tales, feminism's history and popular culture, and existing studies of *Once Upon a Time*.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework for this study. It focuses on television and genre studies, representation theory and feminist theory.

Chapter 4 provides information on the research design and methods of analysis used in the study. The qualitative, interpretive nature of the study is discussed, and the data gathering, and purposive sampling methods are described. The three methods of analysis are then described: content analysis, visual/semiotic analysis, and actantial analysis (supported by textual analysis).

The representations of the characters of Snow White in Disney's Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937) and Little Red Riding Hood in Jetlag's Little Red Riding Hood (1995) are explored in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively. This provides some knowledge on how these characters were portrayed in earlier traditional filmic versions of the fairy tales, against which the characters in the more contemporary version of Once Upon a Time are later analysed. The findings from the content analysis, visual/semiotic analysis and actantial analysis are presented. Propp's narrative analysis and Mulvey's male gaze theory are used to gain further insights about each character.

Chapter 7 presents the findings from the content analysis, visual/semiotic analysis and actantial analysis of the main text, *Once Upon a Time* (2011). Given the dualistic world in *Once Upon a Time*, it was necessary to analyse four characters: Snow White and Red in the Enchanted Forest; and Mary Margaret Blanchard and Ruby in Storybrooke, Maine.

Chapter 8 presents a comparison of Snow White/Mary Margaret Blanchard and Red/Ruby from *Once Upon a Time* with the more traditional versions of their characters in Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and Jetlag's *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995).

Finally, in Chapter 9, I provide my findings, address the research questions, and conclude my thesis.

1.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter has explained the background, context, purpose and significance of this qualitative study on understanding how women are represented and re-contextualised in season one of *Once Upon a Time* (2011). The research objectives and research questions have been presented, and a brief overview of the research methodologies employed to gather and analyse the data has been provided (content analysis, visual analysis and the actantial model). The theoretical framework used to analyse and interpret the data has been discussed. Finally, a chapter outline of the study was also presented.

The following chapter presents a review of the existing literature on women in the media, women in fairy tales, women in contemporary retellings of fairy tales, feminism's history and popular culture, and existing studies of *Once Upon a Time*.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins by examining existing research on the representation of women in the media in general and in fairy tales and television series in particular. It moves on to discuss women in contemporary retellings of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995) and then examines feminism's history and popular culture. The chapter then engages with existing research on the television series *Once Upon a Time* (2011).

2.2 WOMEN IN THE MEDIA

The media contains messages about gender and sexuality, and these messages sometimes have an impact on a person's identity. The world is constantly changing, and therefore the representations of gender in society also need to change; hence, gender activism seeks to change representations of gender in the media. We now see changed messages about gender and sexuality; for example, we see an increased number of gay, lesbian and bisexual characters on television. Audiences have also become more complex and have more knowledge, so the messages or representations about gender and sexuality may have less impact on people's identity. For example, people are more knowledgeable about the ideologies that are expressed through the media, and people in certain societies are presented with more choices regarding their sexuality and behaviour. They may therefore be able to choose an identity that is not based on the representations found in the media. Role models have also changed. Today, role models such as Beyoncé and Oprah Winfrey encourage their audiences to be "assertive" and "independent" (Gauntlett, 2008, p. 7). This suggests that a wider range of representations of womanhood are being found in contemporary media.

Media technologies are constantly developing, providing audiences with extended access to content. For example, viewers are now able to download their desired movies or television series easily, making them available to watch at any time, unlike cinema and television (Gauntlett, 2008). It is therefore important to study entertainment content, as millions of people engage with films and series for many hours on a daily basis. As humans, our minds absorb the

messages and information that we read and see, which can influence and change the way we think and live (Gauntlett, 2008). These media have the power to represent particular perspectives on "socially acceptable" behaviour.

During the second wave of feminism, scholars, and activists became interested in conducting research into how women are portrayed in different types of media. They later examined media representations based on patriarchy and capitalism, as those were seen as factors that oppressed women. Hegemonic theory was used to explain how and why dominant groups maintain their power — how those in positions of dominance produce ideologies that they believe to be "true", and present these ideologies through the media to their audiences. Media content is, therefore, not a reflection of reality, but is rather something that is constructed by those who have the power to do so (Carter & Steiner, 2004).

Owing to feminist activism, such as "boycotts" and "letter-writing campaigns" (Carter & Steiner, 2004, p. 3), media texts have changed to some extent. For example, some films now make a point of including a greater number of female writers and music artists, and unsexualised protagonists. The degree and nature of the representation of women on television has also changed, as a result of women being able to work "behind the scenes" (Gauntlett, 2008, p. 64). However, this has not meant that representations of women on television are better, only that there has been an increase in the number of women in the television industry, and possibly more female characters. The roles women play are essentially the same maternal, domestic roles (Gauntlett, 2008). Media representations of women have generally portrayed them in stereotypical gender roles and have limited them to the domestic sphere, which has led women and young girls to believe that these are the only appropriate possible roles for them. These have been seen as socially accepted roles for women, while men have had patriarchal authority and power. Scholars of patriarchal societies joined activists in a movement to fight for fair portrayals of women in the media, for example by portraying women as having the ability to also be "strong, assertive, independent and self-confident" (Carter & Steiner, 2004, p. 4). These were seen by some in society as unacceptable traits for women to have (Carter & Steiner, 2004).

In the past, the mass media generally represented gender in stereotypical ways, often representing women in a way that reinforces feminine traits and domestic roles. However, in more recent times there have been changes in the way the media represents gender. Traditional femininity is no longer as popular for the current generation, as young women reject its

requirement of them to be "passive" and "reserved" (Gauntlett, 2008, p. 12). This change has been reflected in many contemporary television shows, which increasingly strive to represent men and women in less stereotypical ways and as equals by, for example, showing women and men working side by side. There are certain limits, however, as female characters still tend to get assigned important but ultimately supportive roles. Women seldom get to play the lead roles, as those are generally assigned to male characters (Gauntlett, 2008).

Nevertheless, Gauntlett (2008) shows that there has been some growth in gender equality on television. For example, "in the early 1990s [females were] young, single, independent, and free from family and workplace pressures" (Gauntlett, 2008, p. 64). In the 1990s, television series like Friends challenged gender roles by giving male characters certain stereotypically female characteristics, such as "sensitivity" (Gauntlett, 2008, p. 65), and by giving female characters certain stereotypically male characteristics, such as intelligence. However, the show still seemed to revolve around the male characters. Other television series from the 1990's and the 2000's, such as Ally McBeal and Sex and the City, represented women in more powerful roles, yet maintained the primary importance of the female characters' desire to find romantic love (Gauntlett, 2008, p. 66). Another well-known television series that challenged the traditional stereotypical roles of women was *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (Gauntlett, 2008, p. 66). The main character, Buffy, is powerful, plays the role of a saviour, and is not fearful. She is always the one slaying vampires and saving people's lives, which is 'traditionally' seen as a man's job. Gauntlett (2008) therefore demonstrates that contemporary representations of gender are generally more complex. Women and men are more frequently portrayed as equals, and women are more frequently portrayed as self-reliant heroines; however, stereotypical male and female roles persist alongside these changes.

Gauntlett's (2008) review of studies on media, gender and identity found that the portrayal of gender on television depended on the type of the programme. In situation comedies, there were equal numbers of men and women actors, but women were portrayed in sexist roles, for example by still being given the 'traditional' role of a housewife who takes care of her husband's needs. In action-adventure shows, the leading characters were primarily men. For women, "marriage, parenthood and domesticity" (Gauntlett, 2008, p. 47) were important aspects of their portrayal on television, with their main role being that of married housewives. They were unlikely to work in the public sphere, as they were stereotypically supposed to be concerned only with family, romance, and trivial issues. If they were shown working in the

public sphere, then they were portrayed as inferior and/or unskilled. Women were given very little value on television and in the television industry (Gauntlett, 2008).

From these studies, it can be concluded that the roles of female and male characters have been swopped thus portraying them differently to some extent. Women are able to embody certain aspects of stereotypical masculinity, and men are able to embody certain aspects of stereotypical femininity. Although the representation of women has changed in certain fairy tales, other fairy tales still express ideologies of how women should behave and what should be important to them such as, they are supposed to be passive beings and love money. Gauntlett's review of multiple studies shows that the roles of females in more recent television programs have changed over the years, from playing the role of housewives to saving the day by slaying vampires.

Johnston's (2010) investigation into the media portrayal of women in public relations in the United States (US) and United Kingdom (UK) uses two samples: a larger sample that consists of films and television programmes from other studies, and a smaller sample that consists of nine films and television series. The larger sample showed that 73,5% of the films and series portrayed men in the primary roles, that an equal number of males and females was represented in only 5,5% of the sample, and that only 21% portrayed females as the dominant characters.

In Johnston's (2010) smaller sample, the US series *Sex and the City* (1998–2004) consisted of four females who fit into the job category of public relations: Samantha, a public relations executive; Carrie, a newspaper columnist; Charlotte, an art gallery director; and Miranda, a lawyer. All four women are represented in high positions, and are independent and free. Samantha is sexually confident and promiscuous, is highly interested in men, and owns her own business. The UK series *Absolute Power* (2003–2005) is set in a public relations consultancy that is co-owned by two men. In this series, the men dominate, as there are four men who work in the agency and only two women who play support roles but have strong characters: Cat, a receptionist, and Alison, who has a more senior position. *Absolutely Fabulous* (1992–1996, 2001–2004) is a television series with four female characters. The main characters are Edina (Eddy), a PR agent, and Patsy, a magazine fashion director, both of whom abuse drugs and alcohol, and are promiscuous. Supportive roles are played by Bubbles, Eddy's assistant, and Saffron, Edina's daughter, who is a student and aspiring writer, and who assumes responsibility for her irresponsible mother. The film *Miracle on 34th Street* (1994) has a female main character, Doris Walker, who is a director of special events. She is practical and is also a

single mother who raises her daughter on her own while being a part of senior management. In the film *Bridget Jones's Diary* (1991), the main character, Bridget, works as a publicity agent but has poor communication skills. She is more skilled on a technical level, which is traditionally seen as a job meant for male characters. Female protagonist Helen, from *Sliding Doors* (1998), has a dual life, and is educated and skilled in events management, and is capable of setting up a public relations agency. *Wag the Dog's* (1997) key female character, Winifred, is a press officer who shows initiative and is savvy, as shown when she tries to save the president from a scandal. The television series *The West Wing* (1999–2006) has only one female character, C.J., who is a press secretary and is often sidelined from the important decisions of government. However, the progression of the series shows that her role develops into something more important, as she becomes deputy chief of staff in the White House. Lastly, the UK comedy film, *In the Loop* (2009), has three key female characters who play important roles: Judy, the director of communications; Karen, a senior diplomat; and Liza, her assistant. These three key characters are part of the chaos of a war of words between London and Washington (Johnston, 2010).

Johnston's (2010) findings showed that although the number of female characters since the 1990s had increased, the portrayals of women in the public relations sector were not accurate. For example, the men in the films and series that were analysed outnumbered the women. The women who were visible and who played major roles were White, middle-class females. Furthermore, there was no specific type of woman. Each woman in the different films and series was different; for example, some were single, while others were divorced or married. Both positive and negative stereotypically "feminine" values were illustrated by certain characters, such as Bridget Jones, through her "sensitivity" and "perceptiveness" (Johnston, 2010, p. 13). Other characters who showed feminine values were Doris, who was practical and was also a single mother; Helen, who was skilled and educated; and Eddy, who was a big business owner but also an irresponsible mother (Johnston, 2010).

Restricted media representations of women are even more pronounced in non-Western societies. For example, Patowary's (2014) investigation of the portrayal of women in Indian print and visual media from a feminist perspective showed that women are less respected and accepted, and are also seen as objects. In Indian advertisements, women's sexualised physical appearance is used to market products; for example, half-clothed girls are positioned next to cars. This has a negative impact on the self-esteem, respect for, and prestige of women. Indian

cinema and television care little about diverse portrayals of women. "Good" women are always illustrated as self-sacrificing and devoted to their male partners and families, and if women do not follow this traditional lifestyle, they are seen as "bad" women, who, for example, are always involved in some sort of conspiracy or are unfaithful, and who are portrayed as gold diggers, who always need costly jewellery and clothing (Patowary, 2014). Furthermore, if women are educated, they are considered to be disobeying the rules of patriarchal society.

The Indian media does not focus on how women are really treated in Indian society, where women are perceived as weak and inferior, and get beaten up and raped, and where female children give up their education in order to help support their family. The media does not pay attention to real-life issues but instead focuses on gossip stories about famous people (Patowary, 2014). The media does not, therefore, generally challenge the gender roles that dominate in society, but rather reinforces them, projecting Indian women according to three primary roles: their biological role, which is to reproduce; their domestic role, for example taking care of household chores; and their ornamental role, which is primarily to look good for their husbands (Patowary, 2014). It can be concluded that the mass media in India reinforces gender stereotypes, rather than reducing them. The media does not discuss important issues concerning women, how they are treated, or their roles in society (Patowary, 2014).

By contrast, Ibrahim et al. (2017) found in their analysis of the representation of women in Malaysian television dramas that three themes dominated: drama, love and romance, and family. All of their selected texts portrayed women in both leading roles and supporting roles as strong and determined, and only one of the texts portrayed women as housewives (Ibrahim et al., 2017). Women were portrayed positively in these television dramas. The leading female characters were loving, caring, confident, patient, intelligent, active, strong and independent. The dominant characteristics of the female lead characters were that they were active, strong, and independent, which suggests that the portrayal of women in Malaysian television dramas has shifted away from the traditional stereotypical portrayals of women. An example of a character that showed the shift in the portrayal of women was Ariana in *Ariana Rose*, who was "portrayed as a beautiful and highly educated lady who had been raped but had managed to rise in her career as a corporate lady amidst her traumatic experience" (Ibrahim et al., 2017, p. 4). Furthermore, these television dramas portrayed women as empowered, strong-willed, and willing to fight for what they believed in. Ibrahim et al.'s (2017) study suggested that in

Malaysian television dramas, women's social class, job status, level of education and character traits were now being portrayed positively (Ibrahim et al., 2017).

In South Africa, Pillay (2008) has investigated how women are portrayed in comparison to men in South African advertisements. Based on both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis, Pillay's findings suggested that women were portrayed more stereotypically, as they appeared mostly in advertisements that promoted cleaning products, medicines, appliances, personal care products, and women's beauty products. Women only promoted one type of product that was seen as something a man would also promote, which was information and communications technology (ICT)/telecommunications products (Pillay, 2008). However, men were represented more often than women in these advertisements (Pillay, 2008). It was also found that men were represented more frequently even in advertisements for products that were stereotypically intended for women, such as cleaning and appliance products.

Pillay's (2008) South African study also found that in advertisements men were depicted in high-status positions more frequently than women, who seldom occupied high-status or professional positions. It was shown that men occupied high-level executive professional, semi-professional and professional sportsperson positions, while women occupied positions as entertainers, celebrities and models. Furthermore, if women were portrayed in a working-class role, they did not have authority or power and were seen as unskilled workers and not as professional workers. Therefore, it can be deduced that women held no professional positions in any of the advertisements (Pillay, 2008). Pillay's (2008) findings showed that women were portrayed as lacking independent thought and as needing guidance and support, and frequently in sexualised object roles (Pillay, 2008).

There have been shifts in the portrayal of women in the media in general. From these studies, it can be assumed that women are predominantly portrayed in stereotypical roles in the media. Some media, in general, portray values like sensitivity but at the same time portray women as single mothers who are capable of handling big businesses. Some media reinforce gender stereotypes and do not address the more important issues at hand that women face.

The following section will discuss studies related to how women have been portrayed in fairy tales.

2.3 WOMEN IN FAIRY TALES

According to Carter, the traditional fairy tales as we know them are not unique, as there are multiple versions of them. For example, the fairy tale that we know as *Cinderella* is called *Aschenputtel* in German and *Catskin* in England (Carter & Steiner, 2004). Female characters in early fairy tales, such as *Sleeping Beauty*, were portrayed from a patriarchal perspective, as "beautiful, emotional and timid, waiting for a man to come along to rescue them" (Carter & Steiner, 2004, p. 12). Angela Carter notes that fairy tales such as *Little Red Riding Hood*, *Puss in Boots*, *Beauty and the Beast* and *Bluebeard* were sexual and violent in origin. They were adapted to suit children by omitting the sexual and violent parts of the stories. In her famous collection, *The Bloody Chamber* (2012), Angela Carter reworked some traditional fairy tales that are more explicit in nature for an adult audience (Tatar, 1999, p. xvi). The following studies focus on gender construction and how it has changed, on race, and on how fairy tales acculturate women to traditional social roles.

England et al. (2011) and May (2011) used quantitative research methods to analyse Disney princess movies from the 1900s to 2000s, which were grouped into three categories: the early movies, a middle period, and the most current movies (England et al., 2011; May, 2011). These studies had a particular concentration on gender construction and race, and how these have possibly changed in the portrayal of princesses and princes in Disney fairy tale films. It was found overall that the princesses embodied more traditionally feminine traits and few masculine traits. Analysis of the race of the characters showed that White princesses showed more feminine traits than Black princesses and that Black princesses showed more masculine traits than White princesses (May, 2011). It was also found that the earlier fairy tale films portrayed stereotypical representations of gender, where women only embodied feminine traits. However, gender portrayals were found to be more complex and egalitarian in the most current fairy tale films, in which females show some masculine traits and vice versa. Male characters were shown to portray a greater degree of androgyny (England et al., 2011).

England et al. (2011) examined the most common and least common characteristics of the princes and princesses in the Disney fairy tale films. They found that the five most common characteristics for princes included both feminine and masculine traits: showing emotion, being affectionate, physically strong, assertive, and athletic. The three least common traits in the princes were being ashamed, not worrying about their physical appearance, and crying, which are traditionally feminine traits (England et al., 2011). Similarly, for the princesses, the five

most common traits included both feminine and masculine traits: being affectionate, fearful, assertive, troublesome, and athletic. Furthermore, the four least common characteristics that were expressed by the princesses were traditionally masculine traits: being unemotional or stoic, showing leadership, inspiring fear, and being a rescuer (England et al., 2011).

With regards to the three categories of films examined by England et al. (2011) and May (2011), the earlier films expressed more traditional gender roles and more feminine traits. For example, the princesses were seen as affectionate, helpful, troublesome, fearful, and tentative, and were described as pretty. The middle period of films also expressed more traditional characteristics. The prince from *Sleeping Beauty* (1959), for example, is portrayed as physically strong, assertive, athletic, brave and curious. However, he also expresses some feminine traits, such as being emotional, affectionate, and seeking help. The more recent Disney fairy tale films have shown princesses expressing more masculine traits. The most common masculine traits that were found in the princesses in these films were athleticism, assertiveness, and physical strength (England et al., 2011; May, 2011). Therefore, it can be concluded from England et al.'s (2011) and May's (2011) studies that there has been a change in the portrayal of gender in the Disney fairy tale genre, as over the years the female characters have come to express both feminine and masculine traits, and sometimes more masculine traits than feminine ones.

Those well-known fairy tales and the ones that have been popularised by Disney have been shown to have a great effect on children in certain cultures. Lieberman's (1972) study focused on how fairy tales acculturate girls and women to traditional social roles, by analysing stories found in *The Blue Fairy Book*, which is part of Andrew Lang's (1965) collection of children's classics. These classic fairy tales are considered to be the most famous and influential European fairy tales. Lieberman (1972) found that beauty and marriage are common themes in most fairy tales and that some fairy tales illustrate matriarchal societies. Beauty contests between pretty and ugly girls who are sometimes related occur frequently. Although beautiful girls are oppressed, they receive attention and always receive a reward. However, in most fairy tales, the wicked stepmother receives most of the attention. In *The Blue Fairy Book* this is seen in fairy tales such as *Beauty and the Beast* and *Snow White and Rose Red*, which demonstrate jealousy and contrast between two types of girls: beautiful girls, who are nice, always get rewarded, and do not have to do anything to be chosen and rewarded; and ugly girls, who in contrast are cruel and evil. This teaches children that beauty and goodness are important assets for girls and women, and this formative idea affects how children and adults view each other.

Heroines in these fairy tales are always chosen because of their beauty, and they most often have passive roles with very little agency.

Another element common in many fairy tales is marriage, which can be seen either as a reward or a punishment for a girl. When marriage is a reward, poor girls can marry rich boys and vice versa. When marriage is a punishment, one can be paired with an evil person. In the stories in *The Blue Fairy Book*, marriages occur at the end of the story. Only a few stories show marital life, such as *Sleeping Beauty/Maleficent*, which shows the princess playing a passive mother/wife role after marriage. In most of these fairy tales it is evident that girls are chosen for marriage because of their beauty. Therefore, children may identify marriage, beauty and wealth as important concerns for women. On the other hand, some fairy tales also promote matriarchal societies where the female is an active heroine/protagonist, for example, Gretel. However, in *The Blue Fairy Book*, heroines are only portrayed as passive and helpless, as in the case of *Sleeping Beauty* and *Snow White* (Lieberman, 1972). Lieberman (1972) also found that older women had more active agency and power in *The Blue Fairy Book*. The powerful and good older women are generally fairies who use their power to save the young, for example, Cinderella's Fairy Godmother. However, children very rarely identify with these characters, as they are older.

Lieberman (1972) concluded that from these fairy tales, children learn about how to act and behave, about how to think and shape their perceptions, and about what is 'important' in life. Lieberman (1972) remarked that these fairy tales teach children, especially young girls, that beauty, marriage, and money are important, and that women are generally passive and helpless. By encountering such ideas in fairy tales, children can be led to internalise particular gender ideologies and to act according to these ideologies.

The following section investigates how women are represented in contemporary retellings of fairy tales.

2.4 WOMEN IN CONTEMPORARY RETELLINGS OF FAIRY TALES

Feminists have reworked fairy tales into more contemporary retellings as both written and audio-visual texts that promote feminist values, as in the case of Angela Carter, a feminist short story writer who puts women at the centre of her stories. *The Werewolf*, for example, is a re-

imagining of the story of *Little Red Riding Hood*. Such re-contextualisations change the roles of the female characters, so that they are no longer portrayed as "damsels in distress" but rather as heroines and rescuers, who no longer need a man. Hayton (2013) and Wornoayporn (2016) focus on how gender roles are represented in contemporary retellings of fairy tales such as *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* and *Little Red Riding Hood*, and on whether there is a change in the representation.

Wornoayporn (2016) presents multiple findings on how women are portrayed in contemporary retellings of Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs. Traditionally, women in fairy tales have been associated with beauty, domesticity, emotions, romantic relationships and marriage. In Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, the Evil Queen has the desire to be the most beautiful. Wornoayporn's (2016) analysis of contemporary retellings of Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs in Tarsem Singh's Mirror Mirror (2012) and Rupert Sanders' Snow White and the Huntsman (2012) found that the female characters were still strongly connected to the attribute of beauty in these films. However, these retellings also subvert gender roles in certain ways. What were traditionally considered to be female traits were not only found in women but were also found in men, and vice versa. In Snow White and the Huntsman, certain women were still associated with love, for example the huntsman's wife, but some male characters also feel the need for love. And, in *Mirror Mirror*, love is not central to anyone's life. This shows a shift in the concept of love. Common to both narratives is that the Evil Queen sees love as a weakness. Gender roles are challenged in both narratives, as the princesses are portrayed as less passive and more adventurous, as rescuers, and as independent, self-reliant and strong. For example, the Evil Queen from Snow White and the Huntsman is powerful and instills fear, which are traits seen as traditionally masculine. The role of Snow White is subverted in *Mirror Mirror*, as she becomes the rescuer of the prince (Wornoayporn, 2016).

The role of Little Red Riding Hood has changed as compared to her traditional portrayal as little, innocent and dutiful girl. In *Once Upon a Time*, she is portrayed as promiscuous and rebellious, which means that Little Red Riding Hood is seen as a 'courtesan/whore' archetype. She is sexually represented, and this is shown by her clothing and accessories: for example, she wears short skirts or shorts and low-cut tops which are typically accessorized with red lipstick and nail polish. She is also portrayed as a good person that has good intentions (Hayton, 2013). These studies convey that there is a difference in the portrayal of these characters in some contemporary retellings.

An actantial narrative schema by Algirdas Greimas (1966) aimed to find out if and what is changing in the roles of princesses and queens in fairy tale adaptations, how the characters receive authority. Three different cases were analysed. The model consists of six actants: sender, object, receiver, helper, subject, and opponent. For each of the texts, the researcher drafted two actantial models, one from the princess's perspective and the other from the queen's perspective. The first case analyses traditional fairy tale adaptations by Disney, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and *Sleeping Beauty* (1959). The second case analyses two recent adaptations of fairy tales: *Tangled* (2010) and *Frozen* (2013). The third case analyses "contemporary live-action adaptations", *Maleficent* (2014) and *Snow White and the Huntsman* (2012) (Danz, 2016, p. 6).

In the first case, Danz analysed *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and *Sleeping Beauty* (1959). Danz drafted individual actantial models for Snow White, Aurora, the Queen, and Maleficent. By analysing both narratives, he came to the conclusion that both the princesses are protagonists, have no self-authority, play passive roles, achieve intellectual credibility through interaction, and receive aesthetic value given by others. Both princesses are shown to have kind, innocent, young and good-natured personalities. Both narratives have older evil women in them who seek to destroy the protagonist. They play active roles and have independent, powerful and cruel personalities, and have more authority than the protagonists, which is achieved through power and magic. Furthermore, the researcher noticed that the fairies in *Sleeping Beauty* are important female figures, because they have active roles and also drive the narrative forward (Danz, 2016).

In the second case, the researcher analysed *Tangled* (2010) and *Frozen* (2013). Danz drafted individual actantial models for Rapunzel, Anna, Gothel, and Elsa. The analysis highlighted that the protagonists' names are not in the title of the film, and they have many desires and receivers of those desires. Neither of the films starts with love interests, and both princesses have self-authority as they play active roles. Gothel falls under the traditional Evil Queen personality, while Elsa is a different kind of character as she is not evil like Gothel. Gothel's self-authority is much stronger, as she actively fulfils her goals and has intellectual credibility. Elsa also has self-authority, but she achieves this through her magical power and royal status (Danz, 2016).

The third case analysed *Maleficent* (2014) and *Snow White and the Huntsman* (2012). The researcher drafted individual actantial models for Aurora, Snow White, Maleficent and Ravenna. The researcher found that in both films the princesses had more helpers, love was not

their interest or their desire, and both princesses gained authority through ideological validity. Both narratives consisted of evil queens who had fewer opponents and more self-authority. Motivations were provided for their actions, and it was found that the evil in them was created rather than innate (Danz, 2016).

After analysing each case individually, and then comparing all three cases, the researcher found that there are some changes to the stereotypical roles of female characters. While the princesses, are more active, less focused on self-gain, have more goals, are saviours of themselves and receive authority from being "good-natured" and "pure-hearted" (Danz, 2016, p. 75), they still need help. From the perspective of the queens, they have become more complex, motivations for the evilness are provided, they are less selfish and they have strong self-authority, but they are still motivated by their negative emotions (Danz, 2016).

Visual fairy tales have been developed tremendously, including *Little Red Riding Hood*, although it is still identifiable by the wolf and the red cloak. Bonner (2006) aimed to examine the visual developments of Little Red Riding Hood and how the literary tale has been adapted by contemporary artists. Bonner explores work by Gerard Rancinan, Paula Rego and Kiki Smith, which pays attention to identity and discrimination. In Rancinan's work, the traditional fairy tale of Little Red Riding Hood can still be recognised, even though his interpretation subverted its meaning. His reworking of the fairy tale has no forest; instead, he has created the tale to look like a crime scene with "blood-splattered hanging sheets and, dangling from a hook, Red Riding Hood is cast as a cross-dressing male ballet dancer watched by a wolf behind bars" (Bonner, 2006, p. 6). Rego's Little Red Riding Hood suite (2003) expresses themes of ambiguity and violence and addresses issues of gender and societal inequalities. Bonner analyses six images from Rego's work. The first two images are similar to the traditional fairy tale. In the third image, we are introduced to the wolf, who is the man who poses a threat, rather than an actual wolf. The man acts as the grandmother in the fourth image, and Red obediently sits and listens to the 'grandmother'. Red also seems to be in control. In image five, unlike in the traditional fairy tale, the man succeeds in his plan of eating Red, but Red's mother plays an active role in taking revenge and killing the man. Image six shows us that the mother has victory over the man, as she wears a wolf skin around her neck. Bonner finds that Rego adheres to Perrault's plot, but rejects Grimm's ending by making the mother active, empowering the female figure. Smith's Daughter (1999) rejects violence and sex and rather explores discrimination and the idea of difference. In her work, the wolf and the girl become one, for

the purpose of the audience to recognise the "equal presence of innocence and malignancy". Little Red Riding Hood and the wolf come together and give birth to the Daughter, who embodies female, male and wolf characteristics (Bonner, 2006).

Bonner observes that Rancinan and Rego both focus on gender and violence and that their works adopt theatrical presentations. Rego focuses on the mother and Rancinan portrays the girl as an adult male, which interrogates sexuality and the relationship between the girl and wolf. On the other hand, Smith rejects notions of violence and gendered roles. Her work explores difference, and the main theme is complicity between the wolf and the girl. Unlike Rancinan, Smith removes violence from her work and focuses on alienation and what constitutes difference. These artists challenged the parameters of the traditional texts by undermining ideas of gender or changing attitudes of identity and discrimination. They have changed the ideologies of the traditional text to keep up with the values and morality of the current society (Bonner, 2006).

These studies show that there is a difference in the portrayal of female characters in some contemporary retellings. Although princesses are more active, less focused on self-gain and have more goals, they still need help. Evil queens have become more complex, and motivations are provided for their evil. Also, certain retellings of fairy tales are more sexual and violent in nature, which does not conform to the traditional nature of fairy tales as we know them to be.

The following section will discuss the history of feminism in relation to popular culture.

2.5 FEMINISM'S HISTORY AND POPULAR CULTURE

The history of feminist theory has been characterised in terms of three waves: first, second and third-wave feminism. Popular culture deals with narratives that are currently trending and famous. What the current generation finds popular could be, and sometimes is, different from what other generations find popular. Also, the availability of something makes it popular to a particular generation. For example, the recent Disney fairy tale, *Frozen*, has had an impact on popular culture and feminism as the film is created from a woman's perspective. This perspective could be connected to the perspective of the post-feminists, who are regarded as the daughters of second-wave feminism (Bieniek, 2015). The following study links the different waves of feminism with different generations.

Kennedy's study (2018) aimed to see how tween popular culture is connected to feminism's history, and attempted to detangle the terms 'post-feminism' and 'neoliberalism'. Kennedy (2018) identified the different generations of female characters with the different waves of feminism as follows: post-feminist teenage princesses; second-wave, feminist, middle-aged mothers; and selfish feminist, and pre-feminist, fairy godmothers/grandmothers. It was found that post-feminist teenage princesses benefit from the movements of second-wave feminism, and they are seen to lack femininity, for example, Sam in A Cinderella Story dresses in dull male clothing and is considered to be a tomboy. These post-feminist teenage princesses care about heterosexual relationships and education rather than aesthetics, as in the case of Sam, who focuses on her studies. Second-wave feminist middle-aged women are mothers in tween popular culture. The relationship between second-wave feminists and post-feminists is described as a mother-daughter relationship, especially in tween fairy tale films. The researcher considers second-wave feminism to be a problematic choice of feminist identity, as the mothers of that generation push their choices onto their post-feminist daughters, thereby standing in the way of their freedom. For example, the *Ice Princess* depicts a mother who is identified by her dress code of "baggy brown jumpers" (Kennedy, 2018, p. 431), and who always advises her daughter to make certain decisions. Selfish feminist stepmothers are regarded as second-wave feminism taken too far.

In tween popular culture, stepmothers are regarded as selfish feminists as they exploit the gains of second-wave feminism for their own benefit. For example, the stepmothers in *A Cinderella Story* and *Ella Enchanted* are unruly, unfeminine and selfish. They look out for their own desires, as in the case of Gail from *A Cinderella Story*. In tween popular culture films, this 'wrong' feminism is removed at the end by ridiculing the stepmothers and teaching the teen generation that if they choose the wrong feminist identity they will be ridiculed in the same way. An example is the stepmother in *Ella Enchanted*, who at the end is left immobile and unable to speak, and the stepmother from *A Cinderella Story*, who is arrested (Kennedy, 2018).

The pre-feminist fairy godmothers/grandmothers are not a common character in tween princess films; when they are present, they help the daughters in tween popular culture to appreciate and identify the opportunities they have now. Pre-feminists also allow the post-feminist daughters to look at the pros and cons of the different feminisms, and to decide their own feminist identity. These pre-feminist grandmothers are seen in *The Princess Diaries* films, *The Prince & Me* films and *Princess Protection Programme* (Kennedy, 2018, p. 434) as with the

grandmother in *The Princess Diaries* films, who passes on her wisdom and gives advice to the young princess when she has doubts (Kennedy, 2018).

Kennedy (2018) concludes that in all cases, the teen princesses were able to choose the feminist path they wanted, thereby teaching them to focus on themselves. However, it was found that most of the princesses of tween films are constructed to identify with post-feminism. This identity allows the princesses to try to find themselves and realise who they truly are. For example, Carter, from the *Princess Protection Programme*, is nominated to be a princess, which encourages her to find her true self. Kennedy (2018) could be implying that post-feminism is the right feminist path to choose, and that most twenty-first century teenagers will identify with the post-feminist path. She concludes that

princesses of post-feminism aid tween popular culture to focus on themselves and giving them an opportunity to choose their own identity which means they can choose how to behave, how to dress, they can choose their own sexuality and whether or not they want to follow the strict norms of society. (Kennedy, 2018, p. 436)

The following section discusses the primary text of this study, *Once Upon a Time*.

2.6 ONCE UPON A TIME

Once Upon a Time is a U.S. television series whose plot draws on a range of characters and narrative from various fairy tales. The setting for the action alternates between two different worlds: Storybrooke, a fictional seaside town in Maine, in the "real" world; and the fantastical world of the Enchanted Forest.

The limited available research on *Once Upon a Time* has focused upon the portrayal of evil characters, the representation of heroes and villains, and a queer reading of the characters of Snow White and Red. The portrayal and perception of evil in characters in *Once Upon a Time*, and how this television series has challenged the definitions of villains and heroes, will be discussed in this section. Multiple and different tools of analysis were used by each researcher, for example, Ernest Bormann's fantasy theme analysis, and Porter's Scene Function Model and character relationships (Hodapp, 2016; Lombari, 2015; Williams, 2016). These studies challenge the conventional portrayals of villains via the transformation of evil characters. It

was found that revenge, true love, and motherhood contributed to a character's shift towards evil or away from evil with the significance of motherhood being a common finding in two of the studies (Hodapp, 2016; Lombari, 2015). Revenge contributes towards a character becoming evil, for example, Regina wants to destroy Snow White's happiness because of something Snow White did as a child, and this revenge drove Regina to her evil ways. True love and motherhood contribute towards a character's shift away from evil, for example, Regina experiences true love with Robin Hood and she is also the adoptive mother of Henry (Hodapp, 2016). The evolution of a key villain into a more complex, sometimes compassionate one is aided by the act of loving her stepson (Lombari, 2015). These two concepts drive Regina to become a better person.

Williams (2016) has described how *Once Upon a Time* challenges the ways in which villains and heroes are defined by fracturing the traditional narratives of various fairy tales and by challenging gender stereotypes. The "heroes" often have dark pasts and hearts, and the "villains" are often seeking their happy endings. Williams (2016) also outlined how *Once Upon a Time* uses four narrative techniques. The first technique involves fracturing the original folktales and fairy tales, and the second technique involves the use of multiple story settings. *Once Upon a Time* allows characters from multiple fairy tales to interact with one another, thus providing the audience with more insight into each character, and they are able to do so in alternating settings — the Enchanted Forest and Storybrooke, Maine, which are joined by a magical portal, as well as further settings as the story progresses. The third technique involves providing character backstories (motivations) so that the audience is able to understand why certain characters do the things they do. Lastly, *Once Upon a Time* complicates stereotypical dualities, as evil characters know how to use their powers for good, while heroes get trapped and pulled into the darkness (Williams, 2016).

Mahler's (2017) study analysed gender and its relationship to power in *Once Upon a Time*. Mahler used hegemonic theory to interrogate how gender and power were presented in the series, and how this affects our understanding of the characters. Instead of analysing different episodes from the series, Mahler chose to analyse two character arcs for each of the six characters that were chosen for analysis: Emma Swan, Henry Mills, Mary Margaret (Snow White), David (Prince Charming), Regina Mills (the Evil Queen) and Mr. Gold (Rumplestiltskin) (Mahler, 2017).

The first theme Mahler (2017) identified was "appearance", which was frequently associated with the female characters. Snow White/Mary Margaret embodies traditional femininity, which is good and pure; this is demonstrated by her clothes, make-up, and accessories. Emma Swan, on the other hand, is seen as feminine but does not embody traditional femininity. She is represented as partially good, and also potentially evil. Regina Mills/Evil Queen is an over-sexualised character who is 'lacking' in femininity and is not afraid to move away from the traditional appearance of women. She is presented as an evil person (Mahler, 2017). For the male characters, appearance does not seem to matter as much, but it is still an important factor for determining whether a male character is good or evil. Prince Charming/David's flannel shirts, jeans clothing and his tall, slightly rugged, always smiling appearance suggest that he is a 'good character'. Henry, David's grandson, who is starting to dress (with flannels, jeans and coats) in the way David does, is also seen as a good character. On the other hand, Mr. Gold/Rumplestiltskin is more feminine in appearance and lacks masculine traits, he is short, has long hair, feminine voice and he is not muscular. His wild and dark coats/suits, and weird accessories signal that he is an evil person (Mahler, 2017).

The second theme Mahler (2017) identified was "traits and skills". Feminine traits found in *Once Upon a Time* included maternity and selflessness, and Mahler identified Snow White/Mary Margaret as a perfect example of a maternal character, as a result of the maternal caring she displays towards Henry, David and Emma. She is also seen as a selfless character. Regina, although evil, does possess some maternal instincts, which are demonstrated in her love and care for her stepson, Henry. However, at times she is an uncaring and cold mother to Henry and has selfish motives in her treatment of him. Emma, on the other hand, is selfless in her actions and can be seen as both a good and a bad mother. At first, she did not have maternal instincts, as she gave Henry up for adoption, but later on she started to show some maternal affection towards him (Mahler, 2017). A stereotypically masculine trait found in *Once Upon a Time* is bravery. Prince Charming/David is a good example of a brave male character, as he protects his wife and the people he cares about. Henry is following in the footsteps of David, taking sword lessons from him, and aspires to be brave like him. Rumplestiltskin is an example of someone who lacks bravery. He is referred to as a coward, and most often resorts to magical help, which is considered to be a feminine trait (Mahler, 2017).

Mahler's (2017) third theme is "power", which is distributed unequally between the male and female characters. The male characters have more access to power, as in the case of Prince

Charming/David, who has a great amount of physical power and uses it for good. Henry, though he is young, understands that men have more power than women, and uses this power to defend himself and obtain answers. Rumplestiltskin has a tremendous amount of magical power, which he uses for evil purposes. The female characters are given no power or very little power, unless they are evil. Snow White/Mary Margaret has no power, which positions her as traditionally feminine. Emma has some power, but it is limited. Regina has the most power as the mayor and queen; she also possesses magical power, which she uses for evil (Mahler, 2017).

These three themes identified by Mahler (2017) show that in many ways the television series reinforces typical traditional gender norms. Mahler (2017) found overall that *Once Upon a Time* reinforces the hegemonic gender norms that are found in fairy tales, in the way it works with appearance, traits and skills. Furthermore, Mahler (2017) found that even though the storylines of the fairy tales have changed, the messages about gender and power in the series have not changed, as there is an unequal distribution of power between the male and female characters (Mahler, 2017).

In a queer reading of *Snow White and Rose Red and Little Red Riding Hood*, Warman (2016) assumes that Little Red Riding Hood's (Red's) dual, werewolf nature in *Once Upon a Time* is a code for her bisexuality. Warman (2016) analysed Red's character from the perspective of queer theory to examine her possible different sexualities. Episode 15 in season one of *Once Upon a Time* reveals that Red is the wolf, but wears a red hood so that she does not change into a wolf. Warman (2016) observed that there is a close friendship/sisterly bond between Snow White and Red, and noted their respective red and white cloaks. As primary source material, Warman (2016, p. 3) analysed Grimm's *Little Red Cap*, stating that this fairy tale raises concerns about "gender identity, sexuality" and "violence".

In *Once Upon a Time* there are two different worlds: Storybrooke, a fictional seaside town in Maine, in what the audience understands to be the "real" world; and the fantastical world of the Enchanted Forest. In Storybrooke, Red is known as Ruby. She stays with her grandmother, who always encourages her to wear the red hood. However, her nature is rebellious, and she is depicted as a "tough, unconventional [character], but also kind, vulnerable, slightly naïve and uncertain of her place in the world" (Warman, 2016, p. 3). However, Red's character in the Enchanted Forest is constructed as a light-hearted person who has a crush on Peter. Red meets Snow White, who is a fugitive, and together they set out to track the wolf, who they discover can change into a human. Here Warman (2016) notes that the scenes from the Enchanted Forest

not only depict the fairy tale of *Little Red Riding Hood* but also incorporate another fairy tale, *Snow White and Rose Red*. In this reconstructed story in *Once Upon a Time*, they are bonded like sisters. Even though they are portrayed as opposites, they share a close relationship with each other (Warman, 2016). As reflected in their names, Snow White is associated with cleanliness, innocence, inexperience, and childhood purity, while Red is associated with blood and passion.

The reconstructed stories of Little Red Riding Hood and Snow White and Rose Red in Once Upon a Time centre on women positioning the relationship between women as a primary concern. In traditional fairy tales, the female characters are heterosexual and marry princes. In their reconstructed stories in *Once Upon a Time*, they are depicted as having a close sisterly bond. Snow White is heterosexual, evident by her marriage to Prince Charming in the Enchanted Forest and her love affair with David in Storybrooke. Red, however, who has a dual nature and is also the wolf, is at first seen as monstrous and shameful. Warman (2016) likened Red's killing of her heterosexual love, Peter, to the fears people have about queer sexualities. Furthermore, Warman (2016) concluded that Red's bisexuality is strengthened by the fact that Red only realises that she is the wolf when she meets Snow White. In a later episode "Child of the Moon", it is noted that Red meets others like her who hate humans. She has to choose between hiding and embracing who she really is. Warner (2016) interpreted Red's hiding of her wolf nature from everyone else as a metaphor for hiding one's bisexuality, as it is considered by society to be shameful, and also interpreted Snow White's unconditional love and support for Red as a metaphor for society's acceptance of sexualities that are considered to be 'not normal'.

Warman (2016) concluded that there was no sexual relationship between Red and Snow White. However, a later season of *Once Upon a Time* introduced another character, Mulan, who was suspected to be in a homosexual relationship with Red. Red, on the other hand, falls in love with Dorothy Gale. *Once Upon a Time* therefore challenges the heteronormative nature of traditional fairy tales by constructing Red/Ruby as bisexual. This also makes the narrative of *Once Upon a Time* more complex. It is unconventional in its re-imagining of the traditional fairy tales that it incorporates.

Le Clue and Vermaak (2018) focused on the shift in perception towards the Evil Queen from the traditional tellings of Snow White to the contemporary *Once Upon a Time*. They analysed blogs and viewer comments about how the viewers felt about or perceived the Evil Queen, and

identified six relevant themes: "dislike, sympathy, understanding, advocacy, taking sides and acceptance" (Le Clue & Vermaak, 2018, pp. 214–215). It was found that at the beginning of the series, the fans showed dislike towards the Evil Queen because of her bad character. But, as the narrative began to unfold, their perceptions changed. They began to feel sympathy and understanding towards her because of her past. Le Clue and Vermaak (2018) concluded that the viewers' change of perception towards the Evil Queen was because they could relate to, identify with and connect with her character, as it was more realistic than in the traditional stories (Le Clue & Vermaak, 2018). In the *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* film (1937) the Evil Queen was purely evil and lonely, but in *Once Upon a Time*, the archetypal 'evil queen' is destroyed and she is portrayed as an evolved villain who has an identity, family and background story, thus influencing the viewers' perceptions of her.

The studies conducted by Williams (2016), Mahler (2017), Warman (2016) and Le Clue and Vermaak (2018) show that the portrayal of characters in the contemporary retelling of *Once Upon a Time* is different from their portrayal in traditional fairy tales. While *Once Upon a Time* reinforces certain traditional gender roles (for example by connecting physical appearance with female characters, and by male characters having more power than the females, and being seen to be braver), it challenges the heteronormative nature of fairy tales by making Ruby/Red a bisexual character.

2.7 CONCLUSION

Since my study focuses on the representation of women in the television series *Once Upon a Time*, the above studies provide some contextualisation on how women were represented previously as compared to now. These studies also provide me with a deeper understanding of how females have been portrayed in the different types of mediums and genres. I can use these studies as a basis for my study to see if my findings come to the same conclusion as the previous studies that were conducted. These studies show that there have been shifts in the portrayal of women in the media and in the fairy tale genre. In some contemporary retellings of fairy tales, women now have more authority and status than in traditional fairy tales. However, even though there have been some changes in fairy tales, some of the stereotypical roles of female characters, for example, women as housewives/caregivers, continue to be reinforced.

The following chapter presents the theoretical framework for this study.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the theoretical framework for this study. It focuses on television and genre studies, representation theory and feminist theory, as they relate to the representation and re-contextualisation of women's roles in *Once Upon a Time*.

3.2 TELEVISION AND GENRE STUDIES

The issue of how gender is represented in television programmes has become an important phenomenon for researchers (Reid, 2009). In today's world, the media has become popular, influential and powerful, and the messages communicated by the media affect how one views gender roles in society (Wood, 1994).

Stories are a part of our daily lives, and are found everywhere: on radio, on television, and in newspapers. Children and adults worldwide are familiar with and love stories and the art of storytelling introduces children to and allows them to expand their ideas, thoughts, knowledge and imaginations. Stories were originally told orally (that is, via the spoken word) and passed on from generation to generation in this way. The stories were often told differently according to the different storytellers. Since storytelling relied on a person's memory, there were many adaptations, and stories were not fixed (Colwell, 1980; Lacey, 2000). The art of oral storytelling began to wane in the fifteenth century due to the invention of the printing press. Through the creation of storybooks, stories became fixed and could be read by those individuals who could read. These storybooks consisted of fixed visual pictures which were used to impart a fixed narrative, as opposed to the more flexible and imaginative narrative constructions of oral storytelling. Since the introduction of television and visual media, which have introduced a different type of storytelling, children and adults have become less interested in reading stories. Televised, audio-visual versions of stories became more exciting for children (Colwell, 1980; Lacey, 2000).

Casey et al. (2002 p. vi) have commented that "even though a generation has grown up with it, television is still a comparatively new technology". Television is a form of mass media

entertainment that was popularised in the 1950s. It is seen as a technology and a worldwide industry that affects social and cultural life (Casey et al., 2002; Shepherd, 2006). It has become significant in many societies, as most households own television sets. People use television in their everyday lives for news, political debate and, most importantly, for entertainment. It is a technology that brings families together, for example by watching their favourite TV shows together, and yet may also fragment families at times, such as by watching their favourite TV shows in separate rooms (Casey et al., 2002). My study focuses on a fictional television series, *Once Upon a Time*. A television series is a group of television programmes with a common title, with a number of episodes that are linked to one another by a common narrative (Fulton et al., 2005).

In order to understand the different types of programmes that television has to offer, one needs to understand the concept of genre, which in French means "type" or "kind". The term genre is considered to be a difficult term to define. It was originally used by Aristotle to classify Greek literature into tragedy and comedy, and it was later used by modern literary critics such as Northrop Frye, who extended the category of tragedy and comedy to create sub-genres (Casey et al., 2002; Kotarba, 2003). In simple terms, genre is the categorisation of literature with similar content into categories. Categorising literature into different genres makes it easier to identify and study. Some television genres are also found in other forms of media. Soap opera, for example, began on radio (Bignell & Orlebar, 2005; Kotarba, 2003).

The genres found on television include soap operas, news, police series, dramas, and situation comedies. The type of genre can be recognised by its conventions, which are realised through elements such as characters, setting, iconography, narrative and style. Characters are the spheres of action or type of character in a genre; for example, in many fairy tales a sphere of action can be a princess (such as Cinderella). The setting is the location in which the narrative is set, and fairy tales are usually set in a fantasy world that only exists in one's imagination. Iconography refers to the visual and audio elements of a genre. For example, in fairy tales some of these elements include the presence of magical beings such as fairies and dragons, and sounds such as birds chirping or a princess singing. Narrative and style relate to the story that is being told. Fairy tale narratives often consist of a princess in trouble, a hero who comes along to save her, and their marriage (Lacey, 2000; McQueen, 1998). In television studies, genre is used to categorise television programmes (Casey et al., 2002; Kotarba, 2003). However, a film or television programme can incorporate multiple genres. Henry Jenkins argues that genre is

something that commonly hybridises, sometimes borrowing ideas from other genres (Jenkins, 1992, pp. 122–154).

The main genre that this study focuses on is fantasy. Fantasy narratives have become a popular phenomenon for study. The fantasy genre is ever-evolving and expanding, which makes it tricky to define (Opheim, 2010). There are two categories of the fantasy genre: low and high fantasy. Low fantasy is where the setting of the film is our world, which is known as the primary world. High fantasy includes the supernatural world — a secondary world that includes elements such as supernatural beings, magic, and multi-volume narratives and quests (Havířová, 2007; Opheim, 2010). *Once Upon a Time* is regarded as both low and high fantasy, as the primary and secondary worlds often coexist side by side.

Some characteristics of the fantasy genre are imaginative events and settings, magical powers, and the incorporation of elements from other genres. Imaginative events are those events that cannot happen in real life, for example being sent to another world or realm, or being cursed by a witch. An imaginative setting is a place that does not actually exist in the real world, for example small towns with portals to other realms or enchanted forests. Magical powers are those supernatural special powers that characters often use to solve problems, for example turning someone into a rat. Another key characteristic of this genre is its use of elements from other genres, which contribute to the development of the fantasy genre. The borrowing of elements allows the fantasy genre to adopt certain characteristics and functions that other genres have, for example to educate and entertain (Kotarba, 2003; Opheim, 2010).

Many contemporary fantasy narratives seek to challenge the traditional roles of female characters by changing the narratives of traditional fairy tales, and portraying women as equal to men (Opheim, 2010). An example of this is *Game of Thrones*, which is a high-fantasy series that gives central roles to 13 women characters, and thus breaks with the representations of women in traditional roles in society. Each female character in this series has a high social status and power in society, as seen in the character Cersei Lannister, who is "the queen of the seven kingdoms" (Varga, 2015, p. 9).

In order to analyse how women have been re-contextualised in a fantasy genre, it is important to examine how women have been represented in traditional fairy tales (Opheim, 2010). Feminists have reworked fairy tales as both written and audio-visual texts, in order to promote feminist values, as in the case of Angela Carter, a feminist short story writer who puts women

at the centre of her stories. *The Werewolf*, for example, is a re-imagining of the story of *Little Red Riding Hood*. This has led to changes such as the roles of women being re-contextualized so that they are no longer portrayed as the 'damsel in distress' but rather as a heroine and rescuer, no longer needing a man. This is noticeable in the television series *Once Upon a Time* where female characters are constructed as saviours of the world (Reid, 2009).

Myths and fairy tales are the two most important building blocks/foundation of the fantasy genre. Fairy tales are traditional stories that are read to children today, based on earlier oral retellings handed down over an extended period of time. As time has passed, fairy tales have come to be seen as something entertaining and educational for children, which teaches them about, and instills in them, patriarchal morals and values about attitudes and behaviours that are considered to be right and wrong in society. Examples of patriarchal morals and values promoted by traditional fairy tales include women being perceived as inferior to men, women being incapable, the need for a woman to find a Prince Charming, the importance of marriage for a woman, and the idea that a woman's role in taking care of the family is much more important than pursuing a career. However, feminist thinkers have questioned whether these patriarchal fairy tales do justice to the roles of women (Opheim, 2010; Warner, 2014). It is necessary to investigate what has happened to such patriarchal values in contemporary recontextualised fairy tales, such as the television series *Once Upon a Time*, and to determine the extent to which how women are represented has changed.

Given the complexity of fairy tales, their definition is contested. A key scholar in relation to the fairy tale genre is Vladimir Propp, who aimed to show that folktales are linked by a common structure. This structure can even apply to new folktales (Lacey, 2000). He identified 31 narrative functions of fairy tales, which included: trickery, villainy, mediation, the hero's reaction, receipt of a magical agent, guidance, struggle, victory, a difficult task, a solution, punishment, and the wedding. Propp's (1968) description of these functions is described in detail in section 4.6.5. He also found that there are seven character functions which are present in the fairy tales: the villain, the dispatcher, the helper, the princess, the donor, the hero, and the false hero (Propp, 1968). The role of the princess is most often as the damsel in distress, who is threatened by a villain, who needs to be saved, and who is married off to the hero once she is saved. For example, Cinderella is locked in a dusty room, the Prince saves her by coming to her house, and she marries him (Lacey, 2000). Propp's analysis focused on the visual aspects and the meaning and function of fairy tales.

Ruth B. Bottigheimer (2004) defined fairy tales as:

Tales about fairies [that] depict the quests, tasks, trials and sufferings of usually royal heroes and heroines as well as intersections between their lives and fairyland inhabitants. The protagonists' destinies generally change when they encounter good or evil fairies, whose actions are often unintelligible and frequently lead to troublingly amoral consequences and conclusions. (p. 261)

Bottigheimer used magic as a defining feature in her differentiation between folktales and fairy tales. Fairy tales and folktales are different in that folktales focus on people and their problems, thus being a reflection of the "real" world. These tales do not generally have happy endings. By contrast, fairy tales incorporate magical elements, which aid the protagonists (Bottigheimer, 2010). Fairy tales are not folklore, but they consist of folkloric elements, for example, magic. Bottigheimer claimed that fairy tales are literary in origin, and considered them to be an urban and rural form of folklore that expresses a worldview based on experiences in urban and rural areas. Fairy tales give hope, mostly to the poor, for example about material improvements, happiness, and a better life. The hope that fairy tales give is equivalent to the dreams that people have (Bottigheimer, 2004). Bottigheimer found that girls and women in fairy tales are usually punished and have a less active voice, even though they are the main characters. They are, however, generally rewarded with a happy ending. For example, Snow White gets punished for being beautiful, and she becomes homeless, but marries the Prince in the end.

Jack Zipes (2006) has claimed that fairy tales are tales that were told to people within particular tribes to explain natural occurrences or to celebrate. He considered them to be the most significant cultural and social event for children and described them as "ageless, therapeutic, miraculous and beautiful" (Zipes, 2006, p. 1). Fairy tales were stories created, cultivated and told by and to adults and children. They were created according to the ideologies of the people who created them at that time and were told in order to educate and to communicate the morals and values of the era in which they were told and written (Zipes, 2006). Fairy tales are also known as 'wonder tales' or 'magic tales' which first existed as oral tales. With the invention of the printing press, however, fairy tales underwent various transformations and became fixed texts (Zipes, 2006, 2012). (Tatar (1999), however, considers fairy tales to be a domestic art that was compiled by men and narrated by women to children, to frighten them and also for amusement.)

Zipes et al. (2016) have described how fairy tale films have emerged, and how they have changed the way in which people understand traditional fairy tales, by providing happy endings, and by omitting and adding elements to the narratives. Zipes et al. (2016) also examine recent explorations and reworkings of traditional fairy tales that expand the imaginations of the audience, for example, Catherine Breillat's sexually feminist film version of *Sleeping Beauty* (2010), which addresses fears of growing up and of female sexuality. The lead female character is portrayed as active and adventurous. There are many other fairy tale films that have been created from traditional fairy tales and cinematically reworked. For example, Catherine Hardwicke's *Red: Werewolf Hunter* (2010), which is a retelling of *Little Red Riding Hood*, and Rupert Sanders' *Snow White and the Huntsman* (2012), which is a retelling of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (Zipes et al., 2016).

Propp (1968), Bottigheimer (2004, 2010) and Zipes (2006, 2012) provide insight into how fairy tales have been structured and theorised and have provided a background for my study which focuses on the fantasy television series based on various fairy tales, *Once Upon a Time*. It was considered beneficial for this study to use the descriptions of the roles and functions of the female characters identified by these scholars as a base from which to analyse the two female characters selected for analysis: Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood. This enabled the researcher to determine what roles had been assigned to these characters in the chosen text, and whether they were different from the roles that had been identified in previous texts. By using Propp's (1968), Bottigheimer's (2004, 2010) and Zipes' (2006, 2012) insights on female roles in fairy tales to inform the analysis, the researcher was able to ask questions such as: Do these female characters need saving? Do they have active or passive roles? The narrative functions helped the researcher to identify the roles of the female characters in *Once Upon a Time*, and to determine whether the series followed traditional fairy tale narrative functions in relation to the characters of Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood.

3.2 REPRESENTATION THEORY

Casey et al. (2002, p. 198) position the concept of representation as "central to the study of all media forms as well as more specifically to television". At first glance, one would assume the meaning of the word "representation" to be obvious, but in the field of media studies the term can be defined as an act and as a theory. The act of representation and the theory of

representation are different, but are linked. The act of representation is defined as the construction of visual signifiers that refer to something else. More importantly, in media studies we make a distinction between visual and textual representations of reality. The idea of representation can be seen as the imitation of reality that is produced by people, which is used to create meaning (Fourie, 2007).

Many theorists and scholars have devoted their time to developing the theory of representation, and they explain it in different ways. Plato described representation as the imitation of reality, which was not considered original and did not have the value of the original. He referred to this representation or copy as a simulacrum, which has a decreased value in comparison with the original object. Plato saw representations of reality in a negative light, and the artists of these representations as imitators. Aristotle saw representation as a sign, and images as a signifier of the character or object that is being represented — in other words, the representation is a referent to something or someone. The sign symbolises a specific concept, idea or thing. In medieval Europe, signs were used as representations in order to teach the illiterate, especially about religion. God was symbolised by the Church. English philosopher Francis Bacon noted the possibilities for misrepresentation inherent in representation, pointing out that while representations of reality exist, our human nature is such that we have the tendency to misinterpret certain things, including signs. Therefore, it can be argued that representations depend on the mind of the receiver of the sign (Fourie, 2007).

For key scholar Stuart Hall, representation can refer to the depiction of something — it is the re-presentation of the real world. It is the use of an image to represent something; for example, an image of a dog that represents that specific dog. In addition, representation can refer to something that symbolises a thing or idea in the real world; for example, the image of the moon and a star symbolises Islam (Casey et al., 2002; Hall, 1997). The representations we see on television are a construction of the real world that is not necessarily accurate (Casey et al., 2002). In relation to this study, the representations of the real world in the television series *Once Upon a Time* are not entirely accurate, as we do not have magical powers in the real world.

Hall (1997) therefore describes two representational systems, both of which are needed in order for people to understand the world, people and events around them, as well as other cultures. The first system is the mental representation system, which means that we have concepts and ideas in our heads from which we can make meaning of the real world. If we did not have

concepts of the real world in our heads, we would not be able to make meaning of anything around us. Some of these conceptual representations that we have in our minds are shared, and we, therefore, interpret the world in similar ways. The meanings that we make from the concepts in our mind are shared through language, which is the second system of representation (Hall, 1997). The ideas that we have in our heads are communicated to others via language so that we can understand the ideas that we have in relation to written and spoken words and images.

Hall (1997) describes how the concept of representation therefore connects meaning and language to culture — language is therefore a form of representation used to convey meanings between people in a specific culture. The meanings conveyed in each culture will be different, as every culture has a different language. Representation aids the process of making meaning, and it involves language, signs and images which represent something that belongs to a culture or to the real world (Hall, 1997). Hall discusses three approaches to explain and understand how representation connects meaning and language. These approaches are the reflective approach, the intentional approach, and the constructionist approach. The reflective approach states that meaning is found in ideas, objects, events, and people in the real world, and that language reflects the true meaning that exists in the real world (Hall, 1997). The intentional approach states that the author of the text imposes his or her own meaning of the text through language. This approach is flawed, as one person's 'meaning' cannot be the only source of meaning. This study uses a constructionist approach, which, by taking into consideration the public and social character of language, assumes that things and individuals cannot fix meaning in language and other symbols. Signs and symbols of language can have social effects on people. There are two major models of the constructionist approach: the semiotic and the discursive.

Representation as a sign system is called semiotics. Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and American scientist Charles Pierce were the founders of semiotics. Semiotics is an analytical tool that helps us to understand visual and audible representations of reality, which may be portrayed through different media platforms (television programmes, films, radio, and so on). The semiotic approach understands that representations do not work in isolation, but rather form representational systems. Each representation has a set of its own social norms and conventions/codes, which makes it easier for people to understand what is being represented.

Semiotics allows one to deconstruct a representation to understand the meanings of signs at three levels: the connotative, ideological and mythical levels (Fourie, 2007).

French philosopher Roland Barthes described representation as a myth. He was the first to use semiotics to analyse representations in media studies. He explained that a sign is made up of different layers. The first layer is made up of a signifier and a signified, which is similar to de Saussure's model of the sign. The second layer is the mythical level. Barthes argued that all representations have more than just a denotative meaning. For example, he analysed an Italian food brand by looking at the images and colours used in the advertisement, as well as the myth behind it. He also argues that visual representations can have different and many meanings. Therefore, it is important to have anchorage to ensure that everyone decodes the meaning in a similar way. The anchorage is usually written in words, which accompany a visual representation, and this generally limits the meanings that one can place on the image (Fourie, 2007).

The way representation makes meaning in the mass media often draws upon stereotypes. People use stereotypes every day, sometimes unknowingly. Stereotypes allow us to identify traits of a person or a group of people and it helps us make sense of the world around us. The term stereotype was coined by Walter Lippmann who stated that stereotypes are just fixed pictures or ideas in our heads that are resistant to change and have narrow meanings (Casey et al, 2002). However, today we understand stereotypes to be generalizations about a group of people which are sometimes inaccurate and hurtful. These generalizations may affect how we perceive a certain group of people. For example, all tall people are not pretty, which will impact our perception of tall people negatively. Stereotypes are found in the society we live in as well as in the media. "What it may be possible to assert is that the media process of reducing humans to stereotypes at the very least acts as a means of establishing boundaries between insiders and outsiders" (Casey et al, 2002, p.269). That is, people can identify if they belong or do not belong to certain groups. Theorists such as Richard Dyer (1985) argue that the media portrays characteristics of a person or group and the stereotype that follows as 'natural'. For example, portraying a female mayor as evil or mean suggests that this is natural, and all-female mayors have these characteristics. By showing this through the media, it can become an ideology that is passed on to people who may or may not believe it. However, other theorists such as Tessa Perkins (1979) argue that stereotypes portray real social relations. The Blonde women stereotype is used to understand what Perkins suggests that "not that all blonde women are

really dumb, for instance, but that this stereotype reflects women's inferior position in society as well as importance on their appearance for gaining any kind of status" (Casey et al, 2002, p.269).

The concept of representation is important for this study, as the main aim is to analyse how women are represented in the television series *Once Upon a Time*. I drew on insights from semiotics in particular, as they allowed me to interpret and find meaning in the visual elements present in the chosen series, for example, the dress code and behaviour in relation to the characters of Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood. Analysing these elements contributed to understanding the roles assigned to the female characters, and ultimately how they were represented.

3.3 FEMINIST THEORY

They are evident everywhere in the mass media today: scores of outspoken, vibrant, defiant young women, vocal about sexism and endowed with an exhilarating sense of entitlement based precisely on their gender, are demanding our attention (Shugart et al., 2001, p. 194).

Feminism has been a response to the injustices perpetrated against women in patriarchal societies. The term "patriarchy" describes a society that is dominated by men, who construct and maintain greater power and status than women. Men and women have traditionally been distinguished based on temperament, role, and status (Tobias, 1997). Men have been considered to be superior to women, and have had authority, freedom, and independence. Feminism can be defined as the movement towards political, legal and economic equality for women, so that no one gender is inferior or superior (Offen, 1988). Feminist theory is explained here using Judith Butler's account of gender roles. Butler (1999) makes use of the concept of performativity and challenges the binary perspective from which gender is often viewed. She describes gender as something that we do, rather than what we are or what traits we possess, arguing that gender has to be repeatedly performed according to cultural norms which are socially constructed, in order to be "natural" (Cameron, 1998). Furthermore, Butler argues that if sex is the biological difference between men and women, and gender is a social construct, then masculine traits can apply to women, and vice versa (Carter, 2012). We see this thinking demonstrated in *Once Upon a Time*, as female characters possess masculine traits, such as

having power, and male characters possess feminine traits, such as exhibiting a loving and caring nature.

The history of feminism can be understood in terms of three stages, generations, or waves. The first stage began in Europe in the 1860s, and was characterised by the fight for women to have political citizenship. This was the first wave of feminism, where women fought for their right to vote (suffrage) (Fourie, 2010; Gillis et al., 2007; Kustritz, 2016). Mary Wollstonecraft's *A vindication of the rights of women* (1792) is often cited by scholars as a foundational feminist text, as it was written at the beginning of first-wave feminism and was the first piece of work that discussed the liberation of women. At the first women's rights convention, the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 in New York, 68 women and 32 men signed the *Declaration of Sentiments*, which indicated that women did not have equal rights and provided a solution, which was to give women the right to vote (Bieniek, 2015).

The second stage of feminism focused on those factors or issues that directly impacted women's lives, such as "reproduction, mothering, sexual violence, expressions of sexuality and domestic labour" (Gillis et al., 2007, p. xxi). Second-wave feminism emerged in the late 1960's and remained as a dominant form of feminism in the 1970's. The term "second-wave feminism" was coined by Marsha Lear, and this strand of feminism emerged as a result of firstwave feminism (Lotz, 2003; O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2002). Second-wave feminism was a result of post-WWII shifts in society. This stage of feminist thinking incorporates different perspectives, namely, "liberal feminism, radical feminism, and socialist or Marxist feminism" (Anderson, 2012; Lotz, 2001, p. 105). Liberal feminism is considered to be the hardest to define, but it focuses on attaining full equality and autonomy (the ability to make decisions on one's own) for women in the public sphere. Radical feminism focuses on women's personal, for example marriage, child care, health, sexuality and work. It is a symbol of women's rage against male power (Lotz, 2003; Whelehan, 1995). Socialist or Marxist feminism focuses on women in the work force and as domestic labourers, and foregrounds class inequality as the reason for women's oppressed social and economic status, in addition to gender inequality as an equally oppressive mechanism.

One of the notable works that surfaced as a result of second-wave feminism was Laura Mulvey's essay "Visual pleasure and narrative cinema", which was published in 1975 (Bieniek, 2015). Mulvey is a British feminist film theorist who is also an avant-garde filmmaker who has co-written and co-directed multiple films with her husband. Mulvey initiated the feminist

theorisation of how women are represented in cinematic texts. In her classic essay, Mulvey argues that film narrative can portray "constructed images" of women as if they are normal and realistic.

Mulvey uses psychoanalysis as a political weapon to understand the fascination with cinema, particularly Hollywood cinema, and to show how film has been structured by the unconscious of patriarchal society (Mulvey, 1989). Psychoanalysis was introduced by Sigmund Freud, who emphasised that the reason why we do things is mostly unconscious. In 1887 Freud developed his ideas about psychoanalysis, which is a method of treating psychopathology (Chaudhuri, 2006; Freud, 2005). Mulvey explained this fascination using scopophilia — which means the desire to see, and is sexual in origin — and used scopophilia to understand Hollywood cinema on a gendered axis of activity and passivity. She described the male characters as active, and as the characters around whom the "look" gets organised. The female characters, on the other hand, were described as passive, and as mere objects of male desire and pleasure (Mulvey, 1989). Lacan's ego formation and mirror stage were also used as a political weapon by Mulvey. Jacques Lacan was an influential psychoanalyst who expanded and developed Freud's ideas. Lacan's concept of the mirror stage describes how one's ego is formed, and is used to explain the development of children, when they identify with their reflection and recognise themselves as a separate individual. Similarly, Mulvey uses this to describe the pleasure derived by a person from identifying with characters in a film. This connects us to the gaze theory, where men derive pleasure from looking at the female characters or by identifying with the male character (Homer, 2005; Mulvey, 1989).

Mulvey extended the concept of "gaze" to what she called the "male gaze" in cinema, which refers to the oppressive effects of society on women. Her male gaze theory states that cinematic representations of women are for male pleasure — in other words women are objectified (Bieniek, 2015; Mulvey, 1989). Mulvey describes two types of male gaze: voyeurism and fetishism. The first type, voyeurism, connotes viewing women as an image "to be looked at". Voyeuristic pleasure is produced by looking at something else. In the case of the male gaze theory and cinema, this pleasure is produced by looking at the female characters as objects of desire. The second type of male gaze, fetishism, connotes viewing women as a substitute for "the lack". Fetishistic pleasure is produced by a women's lack of a penis — they are seen as a threat to men. Therefore, portraying a female character as a fetish deflects attention from the fact that the female "lacks". The fetishisation of women turns the source of men's fear into

their pleasure. The concepts of voyeurism and fetishism can be used to show how films are made for male pleasure (Mulvey, 1989, p. 19).

This study drew on Mulvey's male gaze theory, psychoanalysis, and semiotics as tools of analysis. Mulvey's male gaze theory was used to understand how Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood were represented, and whether they were constructed as objects of male desire or not. I looked at how Mulvey had used psychoanalysis and semiotics to analyse cinema, and adapted these tools of analysis to analyse *Once Upon a Time* (Cook, 2007).

Critics of Mulvey's work and those who have developed her work further focus on why she does not discuss the female as a spectator in her work. In her later works Mulvey addresses the issue of female spectatorship/gaze, and other feminist film theorists have developed her male gaze theory further to incorporate concepts of female desire (Cook, 2007; Creed, 1998). However, while this study took into consideration these critics and the further development of Mulvey's work, it did not use them, as the purpose of this study was to examine how female characters were represented in *Once Upon a Time*, and not whether women viewers identify with these characters.

Second-wave feminism resulted in an interest on the part of feminist scholars in research on the representation of women on different media platforms, which included film and television dramas (Carter & Steiner, 2004). Feminist interest in film and television stemmed from an interest in how women's oppression was related to mass media representations of women (McCabe & Akass, 2006). According to Smelik,

feminist film theory is mostly founded upon semiotic and psychoanalytic readings of two kinds of cinema: classical Hollywood cinema, that is, American movies of the 1940s and 1950s, and experimental women's cinema, mostly of the late 1970s and early 1980s. (1998, p. 4)

Feminist film theory has shown that women's oppression in the film industry itself is reflected in their roles of receptionists, secretaries, odd job girls, and prop girls. In films, women have also been oppressed by the particular roles and images assigned to them, which have positioned them as sex objects and victims (Thornham, 1999). In *From reverence to rape* (1974), Molly Haskell stated that women are represented in film as mothers and earth goddesses, and are also seen as objects of male fantasies and victims of men's fears (Thornham, 1999). *Once Upon a*

Time presented an interesting text in which to investigate the extent to which such roles for female characters were maintained or altered and challenged.

Furthermore, feminist film theory claims that the media dominantly portrays women according to patriarchal values, where they are often portrayed as key caretakers of the household and family. For example, in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), Snow White takes care of the household chores and the seven dwarfs (Kumari, 2015; Walsh, 2015). Feminist research has found that female protagonists in films are usually poor and/or beautiful and have passive roles, such as in the traditional portrayals of Snow White and Cinderella (Wilde, 2014). Feminist film theorists have also argued that the media portrays women in a way that degrades and objectifies them; this is seen in how female characters are dressed primarily to appeal to heterosexual men, rather than for the purposes of the narrative (Bieniek, 2015).

Second-wave feminism collapsed during the 1980's (Gillis et al., 2007), and new strands of feminism developed from these earlier strands and evolved further in the 1990's. These developments have been called third-wave feminism, an umbrella term that describes a new era of feminism that feminist scholars distinguish previous eras. There is no precise definition of third-wave feminism, but has similarities to and differences from previous waves of feminism (Sowards & Renegar, 2004). Previous feminist struggles intended to bring about social change in the daily lives of women, including, amongst others, "equal rights in terms of pay and job opportunities, acceptance that women can enter the field of work and more freedom in terms of marriage and divorce" (O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2002, p. 289). Third wave feminists such as Katie Roiphe (1993) and Amanda Lotz (2003) have critiqued second-wave feminism, and have argued that third-wave feminism is something that is continuously developing as a result of cultural conditions and expectations. Others argue that third-wave feminism is "a generational perspective, gathering the voices of young activists struggling to come to terms with the historical specificity of our feminisms and with the times in which we came of age (the late 1970s through the late 1980s)" (Sowards & Renegar, 2004, pp. 536–537).

Third-wave feminists mounted strong critiques of second-wave feminism's restricted focus on women's equality, which they argued focused primarily on middle-class White women's issues and views on sex and sexuality. Scholars such as Butler noted that earlier feminist thoughts on sexuality were restrictive, as they focused on heterosexuality as being right and normal, and treated other types of sexuality as taboo, thus restricting both men and women from having same-sex relationships. Butler proposed that, just like gender, sexuality is also a performance,

and argued that if heterosexuality is something one performs, then homosexuality and bisexuality are also things one performs. Secondly, while first- and second-wave feminism focused on building the feminist movement and fighting for the equality of women, third-wave feminists accepted that there could be some differences between men and women. Furthermore, they identified ways in which patriarchy disadvantaged men. For example, men had to emotionally contain themselves and spend minimal time with their children, resulting in a higher suicide rate amongst men. Also, it was recognized that only a certain proportion of men could attain a high and powerful social status, thereby degrading the masculinity of the remaining proportion of men who were unable to attain that status, and putting some men above other men. Thirdly, later feminists critiqued the elite, White middle-class focus of earlier feminism. They challenged this through acknowledging and including the voices of women of diverse ethnicities and classes (Butler, 1999; Kruger, et al., 2014; O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2002). The feminist struggle of the past hundred years has led to some improvements in women's place in society. Women are now more visible on some television shows. For example, The Good Wife, a legal/political drama television series, focuses on a female protagonist, Alicia Florrick. This television series challenges the 'traditional' gender roles assigned to women, by making the protagonist a female who has a strong educational background. Due to certain unforeseen circumstances in her life, she plays the role of both mother and father to her children, by taking care of her children and working as a lawyer to provide for her family and herself (Hyde, 2015). Women are also more visible in music videos, for example, in those of famous African-American singer Beyoncé. She is successful and has won many music awards, and is also sexually dynamic. She has a great deal of autonomy in making personal and public decisions, and demonstrates that women can be beautiful and talented. Beyoncé's feminism is aimed at young African-American women, whom she empowers and encourages to be strong and competent. These African-American women are able to identify with her and the messages in her music (Taylor, 2017). There is also an increased number of feminist role models and icons who are strong, independent women that young girls can identify with. British feminist, author and journalist Caitlin Moran, for example, is known for her book *How to be a Woman* (2011), which deals with the problems faced by modern women, and discusses both the compassionate realities of womanhood and the cruel realities faced by women (Handal, 2013). In the time of third-wave feminism, some female television characters are represented in a different way. They now have empowered and independent roles, showing that they are as capable as men in every aspect of life. For example, in Buffy the Vampire Slayer, a fantasy/horror television series that challenges the traditional

gender roles of women, the key female character is portrayed as an active and strong hero, and as a symbol of female empowerment. Buffy performs roles that are considered to be traditionally masculine roles, such as saving the day by fighting and slaying vampires (Huttunen, 2005; Sowards & Renegar, 2004). A key construct of patriarchy is the relegation of women to either the social slots of 'Madonnas' or 'Whores'. This is a binary often lying beneath the surface of representations of females in media texts. Understanding what this binary construction is, and how it is deployed in society and within media representations of women, is important. This binary is discussed in the next section.

3.4 MADONNA/WHORE BINARY

The Madonna/Whore binary notion, coined by Sigmund Freud, is a condition that developed in men who see/categorize women as either saintly Madonnas (good chaste women) or Whores (promiscuous women). He argued that men felt sexually attracted to women who they could degrade and use as sexual objects to fulfill their manly needs. By degrading the women to an object or desire, men would still feel in control and in power (Hartmann, 2009). This theory was further developed to say that men only viewed saintly Madonnas as suitable carriers of their offspring. Madonnas were chaste and faithful; this gave men assurance that the offspring these women would carry would be theirs. Men would form emotional bonds with the Madonnas and objectify promiscuous females, so that no emotional attachments are created with them. This dichotomy subjects women to an impossible double standard. Patriarchy willingly sacrifices the 'whore' women by downgrading them to condemned margins of society, so men get all their wants met with control over all women. 'Madonnas' are controlled with the threat of becoming 'whores'. 'Whores' are controlled by being denied economic and social status and power. Feminist theorists have subsequently argued that the Madonna/whore dichotomy reinforced patriarchy by categorizing women into two groups only, therefore, restricting self-expression in females. This brings about gender inequality as men are allowed to act freely on their sexual desires while women were coerced into choosing the path of a Madonna or Whore, and they have to be mindful/careful of their actions. Men saw sexually assertive females as possibly having power over men; therefore, men used the Madonna/Whore dichotomy to suppress women's sexual agency (Bareket et al, 2018).

At an early age women were trained for marriage and motherhood, as evident in most fairy tale movies. The media and society also depict women as Madonnas and whores, as shown by Kimbell (2002), who outlines the confusion created in the media by the portrayal of women in

Madonna/whore roles, as, for example, "in 1991, [when] Demi Moore posed nude while pregnant for the cover of Vanity Fair" (Kimbell, 2002, p. 31). Posing nude situated Moore within the whore role, while being pregnant situated her within the saintly, maternal Madonna role. Part of the task of women is to transcend patriarchal boundaries and to refuse to be bound by them. Demi Moore's posing publically like this is a direct challenge to the binary in itself – showing that she is neither just a Madonna or just a Whore – she is a full human being who encompasses embracing both her sexual and maternal self in one being. The Madonna/Whore dichotomy was used as an analytic tool in my study as it focuses on women and how they are represented. It has helped me establish how women are categorized and whether they challenge, or are still subject to, patriarchal roles given to women.

3.5 NARRATIVE FUNCTION

Vladimir Propp is a Russian folklorist who studied fairy tales and looked at how they were structured, and what was common between fairy tales. He called these common themes functions (Propp, 1968). "Function is understood as an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action" (Propp, 1968: p.21). He identifies thirty-one functions found in fairy tales. His narrative functions are used to study or analyse the structure of a story. Even though these functions were developed based on Russian folktales, many scholars use these functions to study fairy tales like Sleeping Beauty. The thirty-one narrative functions are shown in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1 Propp's narrative functions (Propp, 1968)

Narrative functions	Definitions	
1. Absentation	A person from the family becomes absent.	
2. Interdiction	The hero is prohibited from doing something or the other.	
3. Violation	The hero goes against the interdiction.	
4. Reconnaissance	The villain tries to get some information about the victim.	
5. Delivery	The villain gets information about the victim.	
6. Trickery	The villain tricks the victim in order to do something.	
7. Complicity	The victim does everything the villain orders him to do.	
8. Villainy	The villain harms the victim's family/something they care about.	
9. Lack	There is a lack or desire for something.	
10. Mediation	The hero is approached with a problem.	
11. Counteraction	The decision to retaliate or take action.	

12. Departure	When the hero leaves home for a quest.	
13. The first function of the donor	The hero is tested and it is decided whether he will receive a helper or a magical agent.	
14. The hero's reaction	The hero completes some task or provides some service.	
15. Provision or receipt of magical agent	The hero receives a magical object.	
16. Guidance	The hero is guided to the object that is being searched for.	
17. Struggle	There is a fight between the villain and hero.	
18. Branding	The hero is wounded and this wound serves as a brand mark.	
19. Victory	The hero succeeds.	
20. Liquidation	The hero gets hold of what is being searched for.	
21. Return	The hero comes back from his quest.	
22. Pursuit	Someone pursues the hero, often in a bad way.	
23. Rescue	The hero escapes the pursuit or is rescued.	
24. Unrecognised arrival	The hero arrives home unrecognised.	
25. Unfounded claims	False claims are made about the hero, usually by the false hero.	
26. Difficult tasks	A difficult task is presented to the hero.	
27. Solution	The problem is resolved.	
28. Recognition	The hero is recognised by the branded mark.	
29. Exposure	The villain and false hero are exposed.	
30. Transfiguration	The hero receives a new appearance.	
31. Punishment	The villain receives some sort of punishment.	

In his study of fairy tales, he found that fairy tales have the same sequence of narrative functions. However, every fairy tale may not have all of the functions and sometimes they can be paired together, for example, pursuit can be paired with rescue (Propp, 1968). Furthermore, Propp describes the parts that occur in between each narrative function as connectives. For example, a conversation between the hero and the villain. When a narrative function occurs twice, it is known as trebling. An instance of trebling could be Snow White being killed by a poisoned apple and in attempt to rescue Snow White another character is also killed by the poisoned apple (Propp, 1968). And, motivations are "both the reasons and aims of personages that cause them to commit various acts" (Propp, 1968: 75-78).

In analysing the types of characters, Propp identified seven character types that were present in many traditional stories. These seven character types are shown in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2 Propp's seven character types (Propp, 1968)

Spheres of action	(Character type)
1. Villain	Presence of a struggle with the hero.
2. Donor	This is also known as the provider, who provides the hero with some sort of magical power.
3. Helper	Helps the hero by giving solutions and rescue.
4. Princess	She is also known as the sought-for person. This character sometimes needs help, recognition and gets married at the end.
5. Dispatcher	Sends the hero on his quest or difficult task.
6. Hero	Goes on quests to solve difficult tasks and saves the day.
7. False hero	Acts as the hero and takes the credit for being the real hero.

In his book *Morphology of the Folktale* (1968), Propp discussed how each character type is introduced in a story. He referred to these character types as spheres of action, as he believed that one character can be involved in multiple spheres. The villain is generally seen twice in the course of action, the donor appears accidentally, and the magical helper appears out of the blue as a gift. The dispatcher, false hero, princess and hero appear in the initial situation. The helper sometimes performs the job of a hero, like saving the day. Because my study focuses on the female characters Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood, my focus is on the character function of the princess. Propp describes the princess character function as the character who is sought after, someone that is seen as a prize or possession. The princess is also the character that is given to the hero for marriage. Propp's description of the princess character helped me analyse the female characters that I focused on, by giving me a perspective on how female characters are represented in fairy tales (Propp, 1968). I used the actantial analysis which was based on Propp's seven spheres of action which helped me to develop my argument on the characters under analysis. The actantial model broadens the categories that Propp identified and also helps analyse multiple characters in a film.

3.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented the theoretical framework for this study, and has focused on television and genre studies (fairytales), representation theory feminist theory and Propp's narrative theory, as they relate to the purpose of this study: the representation and recontextualisation of women's roles in *Once Upon a Time*. The following chapter provides information on the research design and methods of analysis used in the study.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This study aimed to analyse how women's roles have been represented and re-contextualised in the television series *Once Upon a Time*. This chapter presents the research methodology employed to conduct the study, and explains and justifies the methods that were selected. This chapter begins by discussing the qualitative, interpretive nature of this research. It then goes on to explain the data gathering procedure, and the methods that were used to analyse the data.

4.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

This study adopted a qualitative approach in order to understand how women are represented and re-contextualised in the main visual text, ABC's *Once Upon a Time* (2011), and in the two earlier filmic texts: Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and Jetlag's *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995). This study analysed two specific characters, Snow White and Red. The researcher chose to analyse these female characters because they were present from the beginning of the series, and because of their iconic status in their eponymous fairy tales.

Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 10–11) stated that "by the term 'qualitative research', we mean any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification". Brennan (2013) has stated that qualitative research focuses on texts — written, verbal and visual. Denscombe (1998) has similarly argued that qualitative research focuses on the real-life situations and experiences of individuals, rather than numbers and statistics, and that the data produced from these texts allows researchers to establish a detailed understanding of the subtleties and nuances of what is being studied.

The goal of qualitative research is to provide an understanding of the social aspects of everyday life. Qualitative research is useful in answering "how" and "why" questions, in order to provide an understanding of complex issues. It therefore produces information that is in-depth (Denscombe, 1998; Hewitt-Taylor, 2001; Marshall, 1996) which can explain and create an understanding of what is being investigated. As Brennen (2013, pp. 1–4) has indicated,

qualitative research focuses on interpretations and is theory-based: "Qualitative research is interdisciplinary, interpretive, political and theoretical in nature". He also argues that qualitative research can be controversial, contradictory and ambiguous, and at the same time inspiring enlightening and invigorating. Qualitative research methods involve a more naturalistic approach, as the research occurs in natural settings which are not manipulated, and studies the emotions, views, and experiences of people. Other theorists also describe qualitative research as research that aims to study naturally occurring issues that are complex. It is also holistic and inductive (Fraenkel et al., 1993; Marshall, 1996).

The reason for using a qualitative approach was that it generates in-depth textual data, which allows a researcher to make meaning of what is being studied. In this case, a qualitative approach allowed me to engage in a detailed examination of how women are represented and re-contextualised in *Once Upon a Time*.

4.3 PARADIGMS

Qualitative research favours two paradigms: a constructionist ontology and an interpretivist epistemology. Qualitative research focuses on motives, constructions of reality, perceptions and experiences of life. In simple terms, how do people justify their decisions and what sense do people make of social phenomena. Specifically, this study was concerned with how the fairy tale characters Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood are re-contextualised in the television series *Once Upon a Time*. So, therefore, my research employed an interpretive paradigm. This paradigm was relevant to the study because the study sought to interpret how female characters are re-contextualised in *Once Upon a Time*. A positivist or realist paradigm would not have been relevant or appropriate for study because they focus on using scientific methods to obtain and assess knowledge, and believe that the properties of social phenomena can be measured (Denscombe, 1998, p. 119).

4.4 DATA GATHERING

Data gathering is an important part of any research project, as the data gives a detailed understanding of the theoretical framework. There are many approaches to data gathering in qualitative research, all of which produce data that is detailed and descriptive. In qualitative research, data is collected in the form of the spoken word (for example, interviews and focus group discussions) or written texts (for example, questionnaires) (Lindlof & Taylor, 2010; Polkinghorne, 2005; Tongco, 2007). I collected my data by viewing the chosen films and episodes from the television series *Once Upon a Time*, and taking notes of what I saw, keeping in my mind the research questions and the aim of my study, as well as the methodological guidelines (the framework of typical traditionally masculine and feminine traits derived from Ottosson and Cheng (2012) and England et al. (2011), and Propp's narrative functions). I viewed the chosen texts more than once to see if I could possibly pick up or notice something new that I had not yet noted.

4.5 SAMPLING

In qualitative research a sample is a selection of texts or people from which the data will be generated. I chose to analyse films to contextualise my study, and a television series as the primary text, because many people experience these fairy tale films today through visual texts. In the case of my study, these text allowed me to visually analyse how the characters dressed, behaved and the roles they were assigned.

The size of a sample depends on the primary research question (i.e. *How are the representations of the fairy tale characters Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood recontextualised in the television series Once Upon a Time?*), and the sample chosen should be able to generate enough data to answer the research questions sufficiently. Investigating complex issues generally requires a larger sample size, as the larger the sample size, the more information is collected (Fraenkel et al., 1993; Marshall, 1996). In qualitative research, non-probability sampling is a common sampling method, where researchers use their judgement to select and appropriate sample that will address the research question (Given, 2008). There are many types of non-probability sampling, such as convenience, snowball, and purposive sampling. Purposive sampling was used to select the sample in this study. Etikan et al. (2016, p. 2) state that

the purposive sampling technique, also called judgment sampling, is the deliberate choice of a participant due to the qualities the participant possesses. Simply put, the researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of knowledge or experience.

Purposive sampling helps a researcher to better understand the issue being researched. In qualitative research, it yields in-depth information from smaller sample sizes (Devers & Frankel, 2000; Teddlie & Yu, 2007; Wagner et al., 2012).

Purposive sampling was used to select the film texts and the specific scenes for analysis within those texts, in order to address the purpose of the study (Fraenkel, Wallen & Hyun, 1993). I selected three film texts for analysis, the 'traditional' fairy tale movies Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937), which was one hour and twenty-three minutes long, and Little Red Riding Hood (1995), which was forty-eight minutes long. I chose these two versions of the traditional fairy tales because they were the earliest filmic versions that I could locate. The third, and primary, text for analysis was the television series Once Upon a Time (2011). The specific scenes that I focused on in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs included: the scene in which Snow White does the household chores and takes care of the seven dwarfs (at the beginning); the scene in which the evil stepmother gives Snow White the apple (in the middle); and the scene in which Snow White is saved by her prince (at the end). In Little Red Riding Hood, I focused on the scene at the beginning of the movie in which Little Red Riding Hood is on her way to visit her grandmother, and the scene towards the end of the movie in which she reaches her grandmother's house; these were the scenes that generated more useful information about the character under analysis. I was able to examine her encounter with the wolf and the meaning behind it, and her behavior towards the wolf. Also, analysis of her character in relation to family was possible by analyzing these scenes. I purposively selected these scenes from Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs and Little Red Riding Hood to show the character construction and development.

Ten initial episodes from season one of *Once Upon a Time* were selected for analysis, as shown in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 Once Upon a Time episodes initially selected for analysis

The first three episodes		Duration
Episode one	Pilot	Forty-three minutes and forty-six seconds
Episode two	The thing you love the most	Forty-two minutes and forty- one seconds
Episode three	Snow falls	Forty-three minutes and sixteen seconds
The middle four episodes		Duration
Episode 10	7:15 am	Forty-three minutes and thirty-one seconds
Episode 11	Fruit of the poisonous tree	Forty-three minutes and seventeen seconds
Episode 12	Skin deep	Forty-three minutes and eighteen seconds
Episode 13	What happened to Frederick	Forty-three minutes and eighteen seconds
Last three episodes		Duration
Episode 20	The stranger	Forty-three minutes and eighteen seconds
Episode 21	An apple as red as blood	Forty-three minutes and twenty seconds
Episode 22	A land without magic	Forty-three minutes and ten seconds

These episodes were selected to fit the purpose of the study, and it was possible to change the selection of episodes if necessary. However, as I watched the series in order to gather data, I found that the episodes that I had initially chosen did not generate sufficient information. I therefore selected episodes that generated more information on the characters that I had chosen to analyse. The following episodes listed in Table 4.2 are the episodes that I selected for final analysis.

Table 4.2 Once Upon a Time episodes selected for final analysis

The first four episodes	Duration	
Episode one	Pilot	Forty-three minutes and forty-six seconds
Episode two	The thing you love the most	Forty-two minutes and forty- one seconds
Episode three	Snow falls	Forty-three minutes and sixteen seconds
Episode four	The price of gold	Forty-two minutes and fifty- nine seconds
The middle four episodes		Duration
Episode 10	7:15 am	Forty-three minutes and thirty-one seconds
Episode 12	Skin deep	Forty-three minutes and eighteen seconds
Episode 15	Redhanded	Forty-three minutes and five seconds
Episode 16	Heart of darkness	Forty-three minutes and eight seconds
Last two episodes		Duration
Episode 18	The stable boy	Forty-three minutes and seven seconds
Episode 21	An apple as red as blood	Forty-three minutes and twenty seconds

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

Data analysis is the method of arranging data to produce findings. The main focus of qualitative data analysis is to identify the meanings and values people give to real-life dilemmas (Bogdan & Biklen, 1997; Hewitt-Taylor, 2001). There are various ways to analyse qualitative data, such as grounded theory and ethnography. This study used three analytical methods: content analysis and visual/semiotic analysis, which both incorporated textual analysis; and actantial analysis, to further develop my findings.

4.6.1 Content analysis

Content analysis can be defined as the summarising of the data and its messages. It can be seen as both a qualitative and a quantitative method of analysis. "This approach is sometimes referred to as quantitative analysis of qualitative data" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278), and this means that the qualitative text data which was coded is further explained using numbers. Content analysis allows us to put words and phrases of similar meanings into categories (Cohen et al., 2007; Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Codes are used to group things of similar meaning (which then become a theme), with each code representing an idea that will generate information. Coding the data obtained from the two films and television series allowed me to make conclusions on the ways in which Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood are portrayed in Once Upon a Time, and also to further compare the way they were represented in earlier filmic versions with how they are represented in the television series (Hewitt-Taylor, 2001). The process of coding organises the data, making it easier for researchers to identify the messages that are being portrayed. It is possible that two different researchers can code the data differently. "A code is a descriptive constructive design by the researcher to capture the primary content or essence of the data" (Theron, 2015, p. 4). The process of coding can provisionally start while the researcher is collecting the data, but these codes should be reassessed and revised as the analysis progresses. While coding data, the researcher should always keep in mind the research questions and aims of the study (Saldaña, 2009; Theron, 2015).

I chose to use content analysis because it allowed me to code the data according to the different roles that were assigned to women in the chosen texts (Cohen et al., 2007; Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). I coded the data into two different gender role categories: feminine roles and masculine traits. To analyse each character I used an analytical framework based on traits that were used in research by Ottosson and Cheng (2012) and England et al. (2011). These traits are typical gender traits that characterise traditional gender roles, and are seen as social constructs (Ottosson & Cheng, 2012). The typical traditionally feminine traits and masculine traits that were used in the study to analyse each character are shown in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3 Typical traditionally feminine and masculine traits used to analyse each character (derived from Ottosson & Cheng, 2012 and England et al., 2011)

	Trait	Definition
	Emotional	Expresses feelings easily, which can either be good or bad feelings.
	Dependent	Relies on others for assistance, for example relying on someone for food.
	Nurturing/helpful	Caring, affectionate and helpful to others.
Typically feminine	Victim	The prey of another person or some other aspect, for example, beauty.
	Physically attractive	Beautiful and captivates the attention of people immediately. For example, having good facial features and bodily structure.
	Needs saving	Passive and unable to take care of themselves in certain situations.
	Naïve/troublesome	Causes trouble to another unknowingly.
	Accepts advice	Open to learning new things by realising their mistakes.
	Good nature	Shows a person's personality like innocence and honesty.
	Friendly	Making friends with other people by being kind and pleasant to them.
	Flirtatious/seductive	Using actions and attire to attract male attention in a sexual way.
	Brave	Not afraid to defend themselves if need be.
	Problem solver	Provides solutions to problems.
	Active agency	Physically working to obtain what one wants.
	Disobedience	Not following the rules given/going against what has been said.
Typically	Assertive	Appears forceful and confident in their actions.
masculine	Dangerous/violent	Causing harm to those around you.
	Saviour	Saving a person from potential harm and at the same time possibly risking their own life.
	Independent	Capable of doing things for themselves.
	Daring	Being fearless.
	Demonstrates skills	The ability to do something well and by themselves.

This framework helped me to identify broad patterns from a large data set in a short space of time, and, once the patterns were identified, to decide where to focus the detailed textual

analysis — for example, either at the points with the most typical patterns or at points with the most complex patterns.

4.6.2 Textual analysis

Content analysis allowed me to identify and describe broad patterns but did not help me to explain the potential complexity within those patterns. Therefore, I complemented the content analysis with textual analysis, the purpose of which is to describe the content, structure, and functions of the messages contained in texts, taking into consideration the surrounding social and historical contexts (Gonneville, 2013). This type of analysis is useful for accessing underlying messages contained in the text as a whole. A text is anything that helps us to make meaning of the world and possibly other cultures, for example, television, magazines, and films. Textual analysis produced a more in-depth, holistic and detailed understanding of how women were represented and re-contextualised in the selected texts (Fairclough, 2003). It is important to note that different cultures derive different meanings from a text and that not all researchers interpret a text in the same way if they do not belong to the same culture as the researcher. For example, the colour red can mean happiness and good luck in China, while in Western cultures red symbolises love, danger, and passion (McKee, 2003).

Content analysis is denotative in nature and works with pre-established codes; it decodes the meaning of the text. Researchers consider it to be an etic approach, which means that it reflects the perspective of an outsider looking in. In contrast, textual analysis is connotative in nature and is considered to be an emic approach (it reflects the perspective of an insider), as it aims to understand texts and what the director or author is trying to convey (Bauer et al., 2014).

4.6.3 Visual analysis/semiotic analysis

I also conducted a visual analysis of the selected scenes chosen by looking at the cinematic codes, which included mise en scène, a French term that means "putting into the scene" (Speidel, 2007, p. 8). Mise en scène was first applied to the directing of plays, and was then used in film direction. The directors' use of mise en scène gives them control over what

happens in a film's frame, that is, what is shown in a film, or what the director wants to show or highlight (Bordwell & Thompson, 2008).

Mise en scène includes the setting, props, costume and make-up, the behaviour of figures/characters, and the lighting. The setting refers to the place where the events occur and plays an active role in making the characters' actions more or less dramatic. It also sets a specific kind of atmosphere or mood in the film, as in horror movies, which are always set in dark, abandoned places. The filmmaker has control over the setting, which can either be a natural setting that already exists or a constructed setting that is created by the filmmaker. The setting of the film also shapes the audience's understanding of the film, and it can be manipulated by special effects. Props are short for property — objects that have a continuous function in the film, and can serve as significant motifs that drive the narrative forward and can also contribute to character motivation.

Costume and make-up are closely linked to the characters and are useful in communicating their personalities and status in the film. Costume and make-up can have specific functions in a film; for example, they can have either a motivic or casual role. They are often coordinated with the setting. For example, if the setting is dark and ominous, then the wardrobe may be dull or black. When the costume is combined with the setting, it reinforces the narrative. The costume helps to make the characters stand out and foregrounds aspects of the characters, allowing the audience to judge what type of personality the character has. Make-up is used to enrich the character's appearance on screen, as it "accentuates expressive qualities of the actor's face" (Bordwell & Thompson, 2008, p. 124). Both female and male characters wear make-up in films and television. In horror, as well as fantasy and other genres, artificial skin and organs are used to enhance the characters' traits and the plot.

The performance of the characters is considered to be the richest source of mise en scène, as it includes the actor's body language, which can be visually analysed. The director controls the behaviour of the figures that are present in the film — the movements, words, actions, and facial expressions of humans, animals and other objects. The last element of mise en scène is lighting, which is crucial for every film and contributes to the atmosphere or mood of the scene taking place. The manipulation of lighting in a film highlights objects or facial expressions that the audience is meant to notice. The lighting can affect how one perceives or understands certain events in a film. My analysis has therefore taken all of these elements into consideration (Bordwell & Thompson, 2008; Speidel, 2007).

4.6.4 Actantial model

I also used the actantial model developed by A. J. Greimas, a linguist and semiotician, as an analytical tool to further develop my argument on how Snow White and Red are represented in Once Upon a Time. The actantial model is based on Propp's narrative functions and is used to break down action in films. It consists of six actants (the subject, object(s), sender, receiver, helper and opponent) and three axes (desire, power and transmission/knowledge). The subject is someone who has a desire for something or someone; the object(s) is the thing or person that the subject desires. These two actants form the axis of desire. The important relationship in Greimas's model is the relationship between the subject and object, which is known as a junction. The sender is what motivates the subject to achieve their object(s) of desire; the receiver is the person and/or people who receive the object(s) of desire, or those who benefit from it. These two actants form the axis of transmission/knowledge. The helper refers to the people or things that aid the subject to achieve the object(s), and the opponent is those people or things that stand in the way of the subject and keep the subject from achieving the object(s). These two actants form the axis of power. The three axes can belong to three different ontological categories: "anthropomorphic", for example, humans; "concrete, inanimate things", for example, swords; and lastly, "concept", for example, hope (Hébert, 2011, p. 51; Moto, 2001; Onodera, 2010; Peisa, 2008). Figure 4.1 is an example of what the actantial model looks like (Peisa, 2008, p. 27).

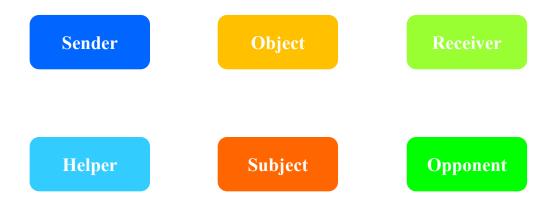


Figure 4.1 The actantial model (Peisa, 2008, p. 27)

Greimas used Propp's early research on Russian folktales to develop his actantial model. He took Propp's seven character functions and created his actant pairs. With the actantial model, categories are broadened and the model is not tied down to one character only (Peisa, 2008). Propp's actantial model schematically illustrates the roles and the functions of character. A

film can have more than one actantial model, as there could be more than one subject, for example, Cinderella and her stepsisters, as shown in Figure 4.2 below (Onodera, 2010, p. 22).



Figure 4.2 Example of two actantial models for one subject (Onodera, 2010, p. 22)

4.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented the research methodology employed to conduct the study and has explained and justified the methods selected. The qualitative, interpretive nature of the research was explained, and the data gathering procedures and methods used to analyse the data (content analysis, textual analysis, visual/semiotic analysis, and actantial analysis) were outlined. The following two chapters present analyses of the female protagonists in the two background texts: Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and Jetlag's *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995). Chapter 5 presents an analysis of Snow White in Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937).

CHAPTER 5

THE REPRESENTATION OF SNOW WHITE IN DISNEY'S SNOW WHITE AND THE SEVEN DWARFS (1937)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Stories are a part of our everyday lives and the art of storytelling is practiced worldwide. The origin of stories lies in oral culture, where adults gathered around the fire and a storyteller narrated stories, some of which were sexual and violent in nature. As stories became a popular art in many tribes and cultures, storytellers started creating fairy tale stories for children. As the world became more modernised, these stories were written down and became fixed through storybooks, and began to omit violence and overt sexuality. There are different versions of the same fairy tales from different authors — for example, those compiled by the Brothers Grimm versus those compiled by Charles Perrault — and from different cultures. However, the core of each story features in the many versions, with variations. For example, in Spain, the Evil Queen in Snow White requests Snow White's blood and toe in a bottle, and she is seen as even more bloodthirsty in the Brothers Grimm's version, where she requests the girl's lungs and liver. In Italy, the Evil Queen requests Snow White's intestines and her shirt soaked in blood. Disney's Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937) is the best-known fairy tale film and has a major impact on children; in this version of the tale, the Evil Queen requests the Huntsman to get the girl's heart. The core action and symbols of the story are present in each version, such as the poisoned apple. In each variation, the Evil Queen has evil intentions towards Snow White because of her beauty.

Theorists Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar examine the *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* fairy tale through a psychoanalytic lens. They state that the mirror and the glass coffin are "the tools patriarchy suggests that women use to kill themselves into art" (Gilbert & Gubar, 1979, p. 292); that is, women are always worried about whether they are the fairest, and are willing to metaphorically kill themselves and each other in order to be so (Tatar, 1999).

This chapter analyses the representation of Snow White in Walt Disney's 1937 *Snow White* and the Seven Dwarfs, in order to contextualize my analysis of her character in Once Upon a Time in Chapter 7. which was adapted from the Brothers Grimm's literary version of the fairy tale.

As shown in Figure 5.1, the film begins with a storybook that opens, providing a written summary of the story.



Figure 5.1 Storybook opening of Walt Disney's Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937)

The film focuses on a princess (Snow White), who runs away from home in fear of an evil queen. The storybook opening immediately gives the viewers a sense of how Snow White is represented in the film through the use of words such as "beauty", "rags", "scullery maid" and "lovely little Princess". It is clear that Snow White is the main character, and that she has a wicked and evil stepmother, and an absent father.

In this chapter I analyse the beginning, middle, and end of the film using multiple analytic methods, including content analysis, visual/semiotic analysis, and actantial analysis, and use textual analysis throughout to illustrate and elaboration. The analysis begins by presenting the findings from the content analysis, which was conducted using traditional masculine and feminine traits adapted from previous studies conducted by Ottosson and Cheng (2012, p. 14) and England et al. (2011). The nature of Snow White's role is also analysed according to Mulvey's notion of the male gaze. The content analysis will broadly establish the type of gender role Snow White is assigned. The findings from the visual/semiotic analysis are then presented. These findings were derived from an examination of how certain visual and audio factors affected or contributed to the gendered representation of Snow White. The actantial analysis then provides additional insight into the character of Snow White in relation to the information generated from the content analysis and visual/semiotic analysis. Snow White's role is interpreted according to the Madonna/whore binary and Propp's narrative functions, and textual analysis is used to elaborate and further explain the traits and what they illustrate or

convey about the character of Snow White. In conclusion, I link the different analyses to produce an overall picture of the representation of Snow White in this film.

5.2 CONTENT ANALYSIS

In Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), Snow White embodied only feminine traits, which included emotionality, dependence, nurturance/helpfulness, victimhood, physical attractiveness and needing saving. Table 5.1 provides an overview of the definitions of these six traits. Since they are pre-established traits, I have italicised them. The last trait I have adapted to suit my study (Ottosson & Cheng, 2012).

Table 5.1 Definitions of typical traditionally feminine traits displayed by Snow White in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937)

	Trait	Definition
Traditionally feminine	Emotional	Expresses good or bad feelings easily, for example, love and anger.
	Dependent	Reliance on others for assistance, for example, relying on someone for food.
	Nurturing/helpful	Someone who is caring, affectionate and helpful to others, for example by helping others to solve problems.
	Victim	Someone who is preyed on by another person. Often related to a particular quality or aspect, for example, beauty.
	Physically attractive	A person who is beautiful and captivates the attention of people immediately. For example, having good facial features and bodily structure.
	Needs saving	A passive person, unable to take care of themselves in certain situations. For example, needing saving from evil queens or big bad wolves.

A discussion of the traits in Table 5.1 in relation to the fairy tale character Snow White is presented below. Each trait is identified and the frequency of its occurrence in Snow White's

character in the film is presented in bar graphs. Screenshot examples from the film are used as visual aids to enhance my analysis of each trait.

5.2.1 Snow White as emotional

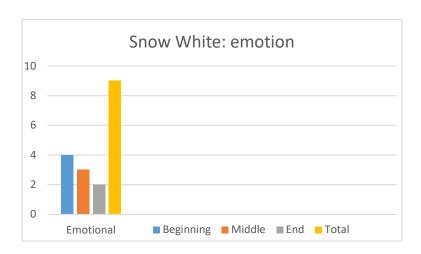


Figure 5.2 Frequency of occurrence of Snow White displaying emotion (Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, 1937)



Figure 5.3 Screenshot examples of Snow White displaying emotion (*Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, 1937)

Snow White is portrayed as emotional on multiple occasions throughout the film. At the beginning of the film she exhibits love and happiness when she sings. Her shyness is apparent when she first sees the Prince, as her cheeks redden from blushing and she runs into the castle. She shows many instances of fear, for example when her stepmother tries to kill her in many

instances. This could be interpreted as an expression of the unstable and complicated relationship between a child and a stepmother. Furthermore, it could be interpreted as two women disliking, opposing and competing with each other, which, according to feminist perspectives, is a result of females internalising patriarchal values. From this perspective, women dislike each other because they feel threatened and compete with each other to be the most desirable and most prized by men; therefore, women see each other as rivals. Also, women competing with each other provides entertainment for men.

Towards the middle of the film Snow White reads a bedtime story to the seven dwarfs; she is seen positively as very cheerful, bubbly and happy as she dances with them. This emphasises Snow White's maternal nature, conforming to a key patriarchal female role. At the end of the film she shows her caring nature to an elderly woman (not realising that the woman is the Evil Queen), and she shows happiness and satisfaction after being saved by the Prince from the sleeping curse, and walks off with him into the sunset. A feminist interpretation of the emphasis on Snow White's traditionally feminine emotions suggests that in a patriarchal society, women are positioned as emotional individuals; if they are not emotional, then they are seen negatively as masculine. Snow White's emotions also reinforce the patriarchal claim that women are only concerned about love, and desire a romantic happy ending.

5.2.2 Snow White as dependent

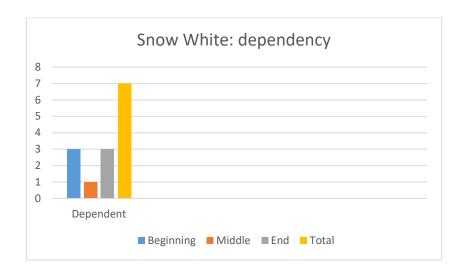


Figure 5.4 Frequency of occurrence of Snow White displaying dependency (Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, 1937)



Figure 5.5 Screenshot examples of Snow White displaying dependency (Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, 1937)

The patriarchal subordination of women has resulted in women's dependency on men for many things (Jóhannsdóttir, 2009). This is illustrated in Snow White's dependency on the animals, the dwarfs and the Prince. At the beginning of the film, once she runs into the forest, she becomes dependent on the animals, who find her shelter and accommodation in a small cottage in the forest which belongs to the seven dwarfs, on whom she becomes dependent for a home, food, and protection from her evil stepmother. In the middle of the film, Snow White remains dependent on the dwarfs and the animals. Towards the end of the film she depends on the Prince to save her from the sleeping curse, as she is unable to save herself. These instances show a woman dependent on men for many things, from problem solving to financial support — a typically feminine trait within patriarchal value systems.

5.2.3 Snow White as nurturing/helpful

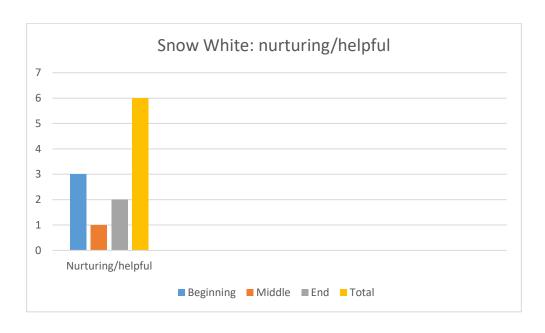


Figure 5.6 Frequency of occurrence of Snow White being nurturing/helpful (Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, 1937)



Figure 5.7 Screenshot examples of Snow White being nurturing/helpful (Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, 1937)

Women have traditionally had the responsibility of taking care of other people's needs and are usually constructed as the main caregivers of a family. Snow White is nurturing and helpful towards the animals and the seven dwarfs. At the beginning of the film, while she is picking flowers, she comes across and helps a lost and flightless bird back to its nest. She is helpful and nurturing towards the seven dwarfs at the beginning and in the middle of the film, as she cleans their cottage, cooks food, teaches them cleanliness, and reads them a bedtime story. These actions present her in the traditional female role of mother and housewife. At the end of the film, she is helpful to the dwarfs, and to the old woman, who is her wicked stepmother in disguise, which also tells us that Snow White is naïve. However, even though she is helpful to others, Snow White also needs help to do certain things, such as cleaning the cottage and cooking. Snow White's portrayal as a maternal and caring figure supports the view that women are predominantly associated with family life. Snow White's nurturing and helpful nature models traditional ideals about female characteristics and behaviours to young girls. This potentially shapes them powerfully according to patriarchal values.

5.2.4 Snow White as a victim

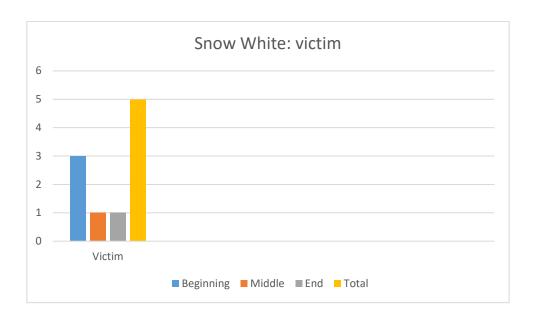


Figure 5.8 Frequency of occurrence of Snow White being a victim (Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, 1937)



Figure 5.9 Screenshot examples of Snow White being a victim (*Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, 1937)

Snow White is a victim of her stepmother's jealousy and evil plot to kill her because she is the fairest in the land. The stepmother's jealousy of Snow White is seen at the beginning of the film, when the stepmother makes Snow White wear rags/torn clothes and makes her toil by washing and scrubbing the outside steps of the castle. In the middle of the film Snow White is not directly the victim of any evil (although it could be argued that the evils of patriarchy confine her to doing household chores and performing the domestic role that women are supposed to play — staying at home to cook and clean). At the end of the film, Snow White is the victim of her stepmother's deceit and her cunning disguise as an old woman. Snow White's role as a victim can be seen in terms of patriarchal values and claims, such as the prizing of physical beauty in women, which is the root cause of the Evil Queen's hatred towards her.

5.2.5 Snow White as physically attractive

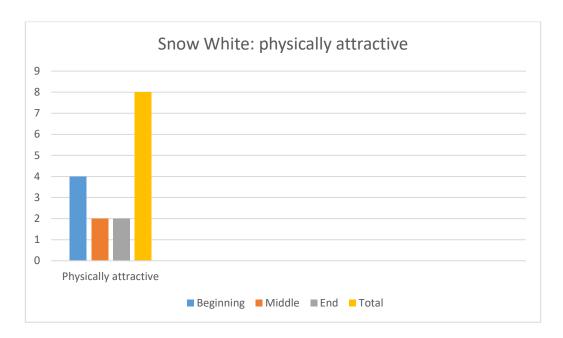


Figure 5.10 Frequency of occurrence of an emphasis on Snow White being physically attractive (Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, 1937)

At the beginning of the film, according to the magic mirror, Snow White is the fairest in the land. She is physically attractive because she has perfectly flawless skin (the magic mirror describes her as having skin as white as snow, lips red like roses and hair as black as night.) and a pure heart. Towards the middle of the film, when the dwarfs first get a glimpse of her, they compare her beauty to that of an angel. The rags/torn clothes that she is given to wear cannot hide her beauty. In patriarchal societies women are expected to care about how they look, and their outer appearance is important for keeping the attention of their husbands. It is also a reflection on her male partner's status. From a feminist perspective women do not need to worry about their appearance; rather, they should worry about things like education and work. It could be argued that Snow White is represented through the male gaze. She is very attractive even though her style of dress is conservative, and this attractiveness is described through the male voice of the magic mirror, and through the male voices of the seven dwarfs. Mulvey's male gaze theory suggests that Snow White is created for male pleasure through her physical appearance.

5.2.6 Snow White as needing to be saved

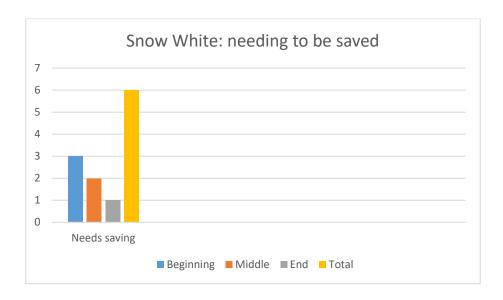


Figure 5.11 Frequency of occurrence of Snow White needing to be saved (Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, 1937)



Figure 5.12 Screenshot examples of Snow White needing to be saved (Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, 1937)

Lastly, Snow White is seen as helpless and needing saving. Snow White plays a fairly passive role, and seems to always be in need of saving. At the beginning of the film she needs to be saved from the huntsman who is about to kill her; she does not actively do anything to save

herself — instead the huntsman himself saves her because he does not have the heart to kill her. The animals also save her by finding her a place in which to hide out and live comfortably. In the end, the stepmother disguises herself as an old woman and Snow White is fooled and tricked, as she is gullible; in this instance, she needs saving too. The animals and the seven dwarfs attempt to save her, but they arrive too late, as Snow White has already bitten the poisoned apple. In the very end, she is saved by the Prince, and true love's kiss awakens her. Even though she has a passive role, Snow White somehow still achieves what she desires, and her desires cement the patriarchal claim that women desire true love. This connotes that women cannot do things for themselves (unless those things deal with the household and the family). Instead, women compete with each other.

5.2.7 Summary of the content analysis of Snow White's traits

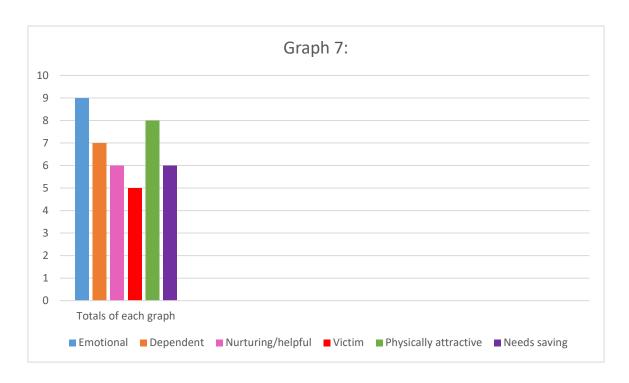


Figure 5.13 A summary of the content analysis of Snow White's feminine traits (Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, 1937)

Snow White displays exclusively feminine traits, and these traits indicate that Snow White plays a typical traditional female role in the film, embodying the qualities assigned to women in a patriarchal society. More than one study (Ottossen & Cheng, 2012; England et al., 2011) has found these traits to be a part of the representation of women in fairy tale films. This content analysis shows that even though Snow White is young, she performs duties that a parent, typically a mother, is supposed to perform, such as washing dishes and clothes, and cooking. It could be argued that even though she is helpful/nurturing towards the dwarfs, a normal society would consider that to be wrong, as she is living with seven older men. The trait that is highlighted the most in Snow White's character is emotionality. Patriarchal societies often construct women according to the stereotype of emotionality, claiming that they express their emotions easily. Women who do not express their emotions are seen as emotionally detached, because it is men who are expected not to express their feelings. However, being emotional is not inherently bad. Human emotionality is essential for things such as human compassion and empathy. All normal humans, male and female, feel emotions. Men and women should be allowed to express their emotions without being categorized by a binary. Patriarchal socialization of men may teach men to suppress their emotions to the point that they may struggle to identify what they are feeling. And patriarchy has socialized men to feel 'unmanly' for visibly expressing their emotion. Women should not be negatively judged for containing their emotions when they have good reasons to do so (e.g., for their self-protection, for the protection of those they care about). Equally, men should not be judged for expressing strong emotion, in and of itself. The issue should be "is this a functional, healthy expression or withholding of emotion for this situation?" regardless of the gender of the people involved.

The content analysis has also shown how Snow White is represented through Mulvey's male gaze theory. She is constructed as physically attractive, primarily through a male voice (the magic mirror and the dwarfs), and is thus represented in terms of male pleasure and approval. It can be further deduced that there is female envy of Snow White's beauty which comes from her stepmother. This could be as a result of the stepmother seeing Snow White as an ideal image of what women should be and possibly showing the stepmother through the male gaze.

As a child I always thought that the moral of the story of Snow White was that women should always be well dressed, should stay at home, should be taken care of, and should be pleasant. As a young adult, I have realised that as much as the fairy tale teaches you to be aware of the

world and to always be good, it also teaches children that it is okay to run away from home and your fears, instead of fighting them, and that it is okay for a young female to live with seven men.

In the next section, I will conduct a visual/semiotic analysis of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* and use a textual analysis to elaborate further.

5.3 VISUAL AND SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS

I have chosen to conduct the visual and semiotic analysis together because they focus on similar aspects. A visual analysis looks at setting, props, costume and make-up, the behaviour of the figures/characters, and the lighting. A semiotic analysis allows me to take into consideration the colours, dress code and behaviours of Snow White (Bordwell & Thompson, 2008; Fourie, 2007). Each element will be analysed separately and a textual analysis will be used to elaborate and explain further.

The beginning of the film starts with a song, the lyrics of which are as follows:

I'm wishing for the one I love

To find me today

I'm hoping

And I'm dreaming of

The nice things he'll say.

An analysis of the words of this song makes it clear that Snow White desires love and that she is impatient to get that love. A motivating factor could be that she has not received love from her wicked, evil stepmother, and she has an absent father. From a feminist perspective the first line of song suggests that Snow White, like other females in patriarchal contexts, defines herself through her desire for love. At a young and tender age, love should not be her top priority; rather post-feminists argue that education and independence should be her focus (Hill, 2012; Stover, 2013).



Figure 5.14 The opening setting of Disney's Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937)

The film has three settings. At the beginning of the film we see Snow White washing the castle steps, like a servant, and that is her punishment for being fair and beautiful. The white doves surrounding Snow White symbolise love and peace. It is important to note that the film expresses what were seen as the dominantly acceptable social norms for women in an American society in 1937. A feminist view of the white doves would be that they are a symbol of Snow White's virginity, which patriarchal values require the teenage Snow White to protect. The sexual purity of females is important to patriarchs because many men prefer pure saintly virgin females to marry and also to be mothers to their children. Men feel the need to control the sexual activity of women who are destined to be the mothers of their heirs, as they wish to be certain that the woman's child is their biological child. The white doves could be protectors of her virginity, or could be sending the message that a young woman should protect her virginity (doves are also seen as messengers). On the other hand, maybe females choose to remain virgins because they do not feel the need to be sexual; and it is also possible that a Madonna type female is not fertile and cannot give men an heir, but the Whore type female is able to fulfill this need.

At the beginning of the film, Snow White is seen wearing torn, dull clothes that look like rags. Even though she is a princess, she is dressed like a poor person. The audience's attention is drawn to her beauty: she has red lips, which symbolise sexual maturity, and glossy black hair. The natural sunlight at the beginning of the film makes everything look cheerful and happy. Sunshine is a symbol of life and energy, and it enhances Snow White's beauty. This setting is

also where we identify Propp's *mediation* function. It is the first time we are introduced to the hero, who we see again at the end of the film when he saves Snow White with true love's kiss (this is also seen as the hero's reaction). This could be interpreted as Snow White being introduced to the prize, and because of her good nature, she is rewarded at the end of the film with the Prince as the prize.



Figure 5.15 A transitional setting — from picking flowers to fleeing for her life

Another setting at the beginning of the film is in the forest, where Snow White goes to pick flowers as requested by her evil stepmother. The bright and beautiful flowers surrounding Snow White symbolise happiness, beauty, and purity, and are strongly associated with femininity. Subsequently, the forest changes into a dark, ominous setting that contains what appear to be monsters. When she is requested to pick flowers in the forest, Snow White wears a long, dark blue and white dress, the colours of which symbolise her personality. Blue symbolises loyalty and trust, and white can connote purity, innocence and cleanliness. Her costume and make-up remain the same during the middle and end of the film. Her clothing and name reflect her personal characteristics. From a feminist perspective the colour white connotes the virginal purity, innocence and cleanliness of Snow White. When she is picking flowers in the forest, the atmosphere is bright and cheerful, until the Huntsman tells her to run into the forest and never come back. The forest becomes dark and ghostly, emphasising her fear; darkness is also a symbol of evil.



Figure 5.16 Snow White in the dwarfs' cottage

The dwarfs' cottage is a common setting, in the beginning, middle and end of the film, as that becomes her permanent place to live after she runs off into the forest. This setting provides the possibility of Snow White being classified as either a Madonna or a whore. On the one hand she is innocent and saintly in nature, and she does not explicitly reveal her sexuality or express it. In this sense, the dwarfs' cottage could represent a loving home in which Snow White is respected. However, this setting is sexually risky for her, not because of the way in which she dresses or behaves, but because she is living with seven men who are older than her. Instead of continuing to live with the dwarfs and performing their household chores for them, Snow White gets married to the Prince. This removes her away from the potential sexual risk, from a patriarchal perspective, of living in an unusual relationship with a group of unusual, low-status men, and into the normative safety of monogamous marriage with a socially sanctioned, high-status man. She becomes the property of a man with high authority. To extend this interpretation, the forest could be seen to connote untamed nature and the possibility of sexual and social freedom, while life in the palace is symbolic of patriarchal power and authority, and of restrictions on this untamed nature.



Figure 5.17 A setting that connotes danger

The bright natural sunlight changes to thunder, lightning, and rain, which are portents of a terrible event — the atmosphere becomes dark and ominous because of the evil intentions towards Snow White of her stepmother disguised as an old woman. The queen is ambitious and seeks to be more beautiful and powerful by eliminating female competition. She associates beauty with magic. Snow White, however, is constructed as naturally maternal towards the dwarfs, as showing little interest in gaining power, and as having natural youthful beauty, all of which are reflected in various ways through the mise en scène. Furthermore, it is suggested that 'good', beautiful and maternal women are rewarded handsomely with high-status marriage by submitting to patriarchal power and authority; and that 'bad', old, powerful and non-maternal women are punished. The victory function is evident when the Evil Queen is defeated by falling off a cliff. The stepmother's evil intentions to Snow White could also connote the complex relationships and conflicts between stepmothers and their stepchildren. In this case the feeling is not one-sided, as Snow White does not show hatred in her actions nor has bad intentions towards her stepmother.



Figure 5.18 Screenshots illustrating Snow White's behaviour

The mise en scène suggests that Snow White's behaviour and personality reflect the traditional female roles established by theorists and scholars. At the beginning of the film, Snow White sings and has a soft-toned voice. She demonstrates exaggerated ladylike behaviour and good manners in knocking on the cottage door before entering. In cleaning the cottage, she is portrayed as a potentially maternal figure, a caregiver, a housewife, or a servant. In the middle of the film, she is polite to the dwarfs when she first meets them; she nurtures them and teaches them cleanliness. She also cooks for them. She is represented in terms of a typical housewife, as she stays at home while they go off to work — the importance of their work underlined by a lively song. She shows affection towards the dwarfs as they go off to work, as a mother would do for her children, kissing each dwarf on the head as they leave, once again demonstrating the patriarchal value that women are nurturing maternal figures.



Figure 5.19 Appearances are deceiving

Towards the very end of the film, Snow White can be described as gullible because she is easily fooled by her stepmother's disguise. This is seen as *trickery* and *villainy* according to Propp's narrative functions. Snow White is tricked into eating the poisoned apple by the disguised old woman who says that it is a wishing apple. Snow White's character represents what happens when women take up and internalise the patriarchal imperatives to be eternally nice, nurturing, caring and hospitable. The stepmother/witch perhaps represents the female fear within patriarchy— if you are not youthful and beautiful, you risk becoming a crone, who will be marginalised. So there is an ongoing female dilemma— if you internalise the favoured patriarchal socialisation of women, you risk being taken advantage of, and seeming, or being, 'naïve'. But, if you resist the patriarchal socialisation of women, and work to act powerfully, as the queen does, you risk becoming a crone/witch. From a feminist perspective, the behaviour and personality of Snow White is seen to conform to the norms of a patriarchal society and to the stereotypical representations of females. Snow White does not challenge the representations of female characters created during patriarchy, but rather reinforces them. At a young and tender age, she has already taken up the duties of a mother.

Bonner (2015) argues that an important element featured at the end of the film is the red apple, which could symbolise the sexual desires of females or sexual maturity in young females. Snow White's acceptance of and attempt to consume the red apple suggests an attempt to embrace her sexual desires and agency, which in patriarchal cultures is seen as a dangerous and immoral thing for young women to do. It is ironic that while living with seven men, she would embrace

her sexual desires or come to realise that she has sexual desires (Bonner, 2015). The red apple is poisoned, however, and Snow White falls into a deep sleep. If one extends the interpretation of the metaphor, this suggests the harmful and potentially deadly consequences for her of embracing sexual agency. It is only a kiss from the Prince (the ideal, monogamous, high-status male partner) that saves (socially redeems) Snow White.

This visual and semiotic analysis has shown that colours, style of dress, and surroundings influence how Snow White is represented. These elements emphasise and enhance certain aspects of Snow White's character, which embodies typical traditionally feminine behaviours and traits, and conforms to the dominant social norms of how women should be. This would have reflected the social and gender ideologies of the period during which the film was made — a time when patriarchal values were very dominant and when films were produced primarily by men. The colours used were symbolic of Snow White's personality and her beauty, and the settings and the atmosphere created contributed to the construction of Snow White's social positioning. The mise en scène revealed six narrative functions present in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937): Snow White as emotional, as dependent, as nurturing/helpful, as a victim, as physically attractive, and as needing to be saved. The film keeps to Propp's narrative structure of fairy tales and does not challenge the stereotypical female roles of the time. Snow White is primarily represented as a Madonna, rather than a whore, because of her traditionally mothering, caring and nurturing feminine behaviour. While for a time she inhabits an interim risky space that could potentially facilitate an alternative sexual identity when she lives alone with seven male figures, she is saved from this risky way of life and reabsorbed back into the patriarchy by the Prince.

The following section presents the findings from the actantial analysis, which are accompanied by a textual analysis for further explanation.

5.4 ACTANTIAL ANALYSIS

The actantial analysis shown in Figure 5.20 of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) was adapted from Onodera (2010, p. 22). It allowed me to determine whether Snow White challenges the traditional roles assigned to women or conforms to those roles.

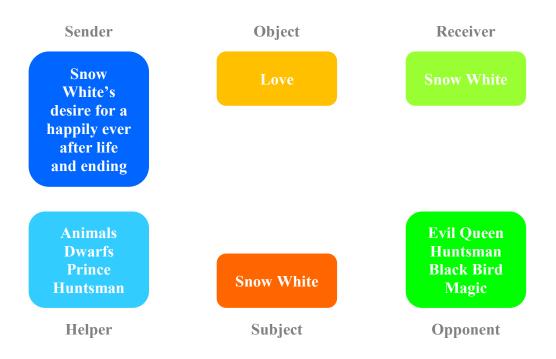


Figure 5.20 Actantial analysis of Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937)

The subject of the actantial model shown above is Snow White. She is the titular protagonist in the film, and all narrative action revolves around her. Wilde (2014) observed that female protagonists are usually ill-treated, are beautiful, and play a passive role, and these aspects are seen clearly in the character Snow White. She is ill-treated by her stepmother because she is beautiful. She plays a passive role in achieving what she wants and helping herself but plays a more active role in the traditionally feminine domestic sphere by doing chores for the dwarfs. This helps her to gain and maintain influence over them. The object of the actantial model is true love (a Prince), as this is something that Snow White desires. This is seen right at the beginning of the film when she sings about finding her true love. Although this is what Snow White desires, she plays a very passive role in achieving it; instead, she is shown as constantly needing to be saved. The sender of the actantial model is Snow White's desire for a happily

everafter life and ending — a common desire in fairy tales. The receiver of the object is Snow White herself, even though she plays a passive role in attaining this desire of hers.

In this actantial model of Snow White, I have identified four helpers, who help her in many different ways. At the beginning of the film, the Huntsman helps her by sparing her life and telling her to run into the forest. The animals, who help her at the beginning, middle and end of the film, comfort her when she is crying and afraid in the forest, find a place for her to live, help her cook and clean, and fight off the evil stepmother when she tries to harm Snow White. The seven dwarfs are also her helpers because they give her a safe place to stay; they also help to defend Snow White and save her from her wicked and evil stepmother. Lastly, the Prince is also her helper as he rescues her from the sleeping curse, thereby helping her to achieve her object of desire. The fact that Snow White has so many helpers suggests that she is not able to do certain things by herself; but always needs help and needs to be saved. I have also identified four opponents of Snow White. The evil and wicked stepmother ill-treats her and makes her a slave of the palace. She is required to do menial chores and to dress in clothes that look like torn rags. The Huntsman is initially seen as an opponent, as he sets out to kill Snow White, but he transforms into a helper when he has a change of heart and sets her free. The stepmother's blackbird and her magic mirror on the wall are also Snow White's opponents, as they provide the evil stepmother with information about Snow White. Lastly, the stepmother's evil magic which enables her to disguise herself as an old woman, thus tricking Snow White into eating the poisoned apple which is intended to kill her, is another opponent.

This actantial model of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) supports Propp's definition of the narrative function of a princess as the damsel in distress, who is threatened by an evil person and always needs to be saved (Propp, 1968). The actantial model shows that Snow White exhibits typical traditionally feminine traits and plays a typical traditionally feminine role, as she always needs help, needs to be saved, and just as in most princess films, desires true love and a happy ending. Snow White's typical traditionally feminine traits as exhibited in her interaction with other characters, her beauty and her personal characteristics, are ultimately rewarded in the narrative, as they lead her to have many friends, well-wishers, and rescuers.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented an analysis of the representation of Snow White in Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), using content analysis, visual and semiotic analysis, and actantial analysis, supported by thematic analysis. In each of these methods of analysis, the trait of being physically attractive was highlighted. While the content analysis simply coded Snow White as being physically attractive, the visual and semiotic analysis foregrounded how her beauty was emphasised by the mise en scène. The actantial model suggests that jealousy of Snow White's beauty was the Evil Queen's motivation for opposing Snow White. Propp's narrative functions also indicate this. All the analyses highlight how Snow White conforms to the typical, traditional role of women within the conventional narrative structure of fairy tale films. Snow White is depicted as emotional, physically attractive, nurturing and helpful, but dependent on others for rescuing and saving. Her role is largely passive, apart from the conventional domestic activity sanctioned by the patriarchy. She accepts domestic responsibilities beyond her age. Despite Snow White being the protagonist in the film, and occupying the majority of the screen time, her character represents only typical traditionally feminine traits, and keeps to patriarchal representations of women.

The next chapter analyses the representation of Little Red Riding Hood in Jetlag's *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995), as further contextualisation for my analysis of her character in *Once Upon a Time* in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 6

THE REPRESENTATION OF LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD IN JETLAG'S 1995 FILM

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Little Red Riding Hood is one of the best known Western fairy tales. Historically, Little Red Riding Hood was an adult's story about what happens to naïve girls, and was sexual in nature, containing a cross-dressing wolf and a naïve little girl (Orenstein, 2002). The character of Little Red Riding Hood is considered to be a symbol of childhood innocence. Although the story has multiple reworkings and is told in many different languages, the core of the story remains stable in each variation. The tale is easily identified by these core aspects: the wolf, the little girl, and the grandmother (Orenstein, 2002).

The Story of the Grandmother (1885) is an oral version of Little Red Riding Hood which was told by the fireside, possibly to an adult audience given the explicitness of the tale. Little Red Riding Hood has several literary versions that differ in some detail from each other and earlier oral versions, for example Perrault's Little Red Riding Hood and the Brothers Grimm's Little Red Cap (Tatar, 1999). Perrault's version of the fairy tale omitted vulgarities that were present in the Story of the Grandmother, for example "the girl's devouring of the grandmother's flesh and blood" (Tatar, 1999, p. 4). The Brothers Grimm's version omitted the sexual playfulness that was evident in the Story of the Grandmother. Each version of the fairy tale has different teachings and morals, as in, for example, Perrault's Little Red Riding Hood and James Thurber's The Little Girl and the Wolf. While Perrault's version teaches us that young girls should not listen to or talk to strangers, it is not strange if they get eaten by a wolf, not all wolves are the same, and sometimes the tamed wolves are the most dangerous ones. The moral of Thurber's version is that nowadays young girls cannot be fooled as easily as they used to be (Tatar, 1999).

Even though many theorists have reworked this fairy tale, we can still discern messages about sexuality, identity and cross-dressing from the story if we carefully analyse it and understand the connotations present within the stories. Psychoanalytic accounts of *Little Red Riding Hood* by Eric Fromm, Swan Brownmiller, and Bruno Bettelheim have stated that this fairy tale expresses intense hostility towards men and sex, and it uses the metaphor of the wolf to portray

men as monsters and ruthless animals who lure young girls into bed. Furthermore, Bettelheim regards Little Red Riding Hood as a girl who is ignorant and wants to be seduced, as she fails to resist or fight back against the wolf (Tatar, 1999). But, we can argue that not resisting or fighting back does not relate to wanting to be seduced. It could simply mean that females want to be liberated in their choices and from the patriarchal hold on them.

This chapter analyses Jetlag's 1995 *Little Red Riding Hood* film, which was adapted from Perrault's literary version. To analyse this text, I used content analysis, a visual/semiotic analysis, and an actantial model analysis, supported by textual analysis. The text was coded into two categories: feminine traits and masculine traits drawn from Ottossen and Cheng (2012) and England et al. (2011). These traits provided an analytic guide, allowing me to see whether Little Red Riding Hood embodied any masculine traits or challenged the traditional roles of a female. Unlike *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995) is not a princess film, as Little Red Riding Hood is not a princess; rather she is an ordinary little girl. Even though Ottossen and Cheng's (2012) and England et al.'s (2011) traits were used to analyse princesses, I adapted them to analyse Little Red Riding Hood.

The content analysis was also used to reveal the nature of Little Red Riding Hood's role in relation to the Madonna/Whore dichotomy. The visual and semiotic analysis deconstructed the visual and sound elements in the film, and how these contributed to the character of Little Red Riding Hood. The mise en scène also revealed the status of Little Red Riding Hood's representation through Mulvey's male gaze theory. Though Little Red Riding Hood is presented as an ordinary little girl, and not as a princess, I drew up an actantial model to see what additional insight it could provide about her character and the role she plays in this film. Lastly, I used a textual analysis to expand on and discuss the other types of analysis to provide a more in-depth analysis and information. I have chosen to analyse the beginning, middle and end of the film to see the progression of Little Red Riding Hood as a character.

6.2 CONTENT ANALYSIS

The typical traditionally feminine traits exhibited by Little Red Riding Hood included being emotional, dependent, nurturing/helpful, naïve/troublesome, and accepting of advice. The typical traditionally masculine traits that Little Red Riding Hood exhibited were bravery and being a problem solver. My analysis of each trait is presented below in bar graphs to show the

frequency of occurrence of these traits in Little Red Riding Hood's character. The graphs are followed by screenshot examples of scenes where these traits are demonstrated.

Table 6.1 below contains the definitions of these traits, as defined by previous studies (Ottossen & Cheng, 2012).

Table 6.1 Definitions of typical traditionally masculine and feminine traits displayed by Little Red Riding Hood in Jetlag's *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995)

	Trait	Definition
	Emotional	Expresses feelings easily. These can be either good or bad feelings, for example, love and anger.
	Dependent	Relies on others for assistance, for example by relying on someone for help.
Traditionally feminine	Nurturing/helpful	Caring, loving and enjoys helping others, for example helping others to solve problems.
	Naïve/troublesome	Causes trouble to another unknowingly, and too trusting, for example helping one person while unknowingly causing harm to another.
	Accepts advice	Open to learning new things by realising mistakes, for example taking advice from elders about life.
Traditionally masculine	Bravery	Not afraid to defend themselves and others if need be, for example physically fighting or verbally standing up to someone.
	Problem solver	Provides solutions to their problems or other people's problems, for example helping someone to solve a riddle.

6.2.1 Little Red Riding Hood as emotional

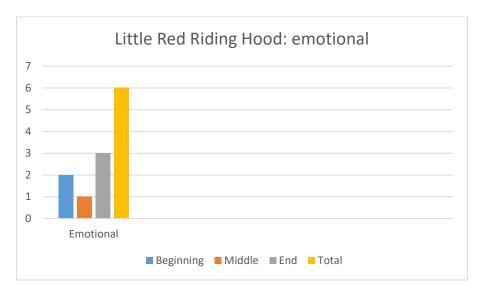


Figure 6.1 Frequency of occurrence of Little Red Riding Hood being emotional (*Little Red Riding Hood*, 1995)



Figure 6.2 Screenshot examples of Little Red Riding Hood being emotional (*Little Red Riding Hood*, 1995)

Little Red Riding Hood is seen as being emotional because she easily expresses her feelings at the beginning of the film (by hugging and listening to her mother and also hugging her grandmother) and at the end of the film (by hugging her grandmother passionately after saving her from the wolf and bowing her head to show how apologetic/sad she was). Here, her

character conforms to the patriarchal claim that females are emotional individuals, and are strongly emotionally connected with family (her mother and grandmother). These emotions therefore position her in a typical traditionally feminine role.

6.2.2 Little Red Riding Hood as dependent

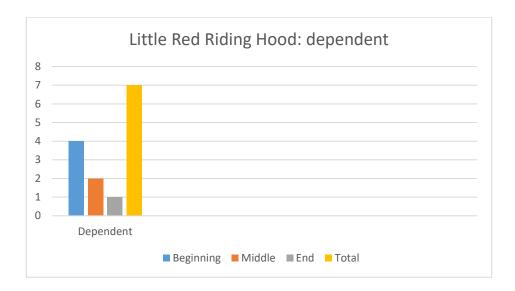


Figure 6.3 Frequency of occurrence of Little Red Riding Hood being dependent (*Little Red Riding Hood*, 1995)



Figure 6.4 Screenshot examples of Little Red Riding Hood being dependent (*Little Red Riding Hood*, 1995)

At the beginning of the film Little Red Riding Hood is dependent on her mother's help when baking. She is also somewhat dependent at the end of the film, when she needs to be saved from the wolf, because she naively gave away important information to the disguised wolf. The punishment function is highlighted when the wolf gets punished as the animals help to save Little Red Riding Hood and her grandmother. The wolf is punished by falling over the waterfall, and this benefits Little Red Riding Hood, her mother, and her grandmother. This dependence on others suggests that women struggle do things for themselves, and if they do, it ends up in a mess; therefore, they are dependent on others, specifically men. However, it also shows that not all interactions with strangers are dangerous. Women just have to be able to distinguish the good from the bad. This representation of Little Red Riding Hood is consistent with the patriarchal claim that females are dependent. When she acts independently by going to her grandmother's house by herself, suggesting that women can be brave enough to wander in the world alone, she puts herself in danger and needs to be saved from the predatory wolf. The patriarchal lesson is that women need to be aware of who they interact with because not everyone is who they seem to be, because women are easily fooled and manipulated.

6.2.3 Little Red Riding Hood as nurturing/helpful

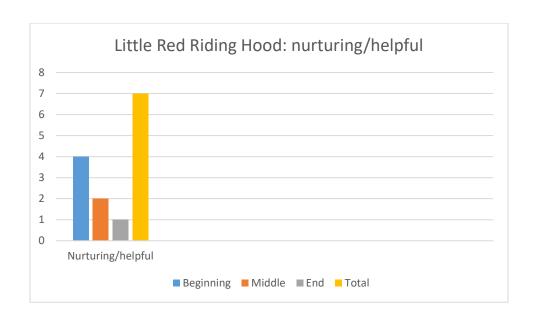


Figure 6.5 Frequency of occurrence of Little Red Riding Hood being nurturing/helpful (Little Red Riding Hood, 1995)



Figure 6.6 Screenshot examples of Little Red Riding Hood being nurturing/helpful (Little Red Riding Hood, 1995)

In the patriarchal worldview, women are mostly associated with taking care of the home and the family, and thus with being nurturing and helpful. This is seen as a traditionally feminine role. Many instances in the film illustrate Little Red Riding Hood's nurturing/helpful nature. All of the instances fall within traditionally feminine, domestic domains. Throughout the film she is helpful and nurturing towards animals and her family (her mother and grandmother). She makes a bouquet for the deer, heals the bird's wing by applying jam, collects timber for the beavers, feeds a disguised hungry old man, and takes care of her grandmother. The trait of being nurturing is engraved in women from a young age, teaching them that family is the most important thing for them to concentrate on. However, these instances also show that it is not always good to be helpful and nurturing because sometimes it is the very thing that could put you in danger. Her helpful behaviour towards the disguised old man leads to bad consequences at the end. Little Red Riding Hood displays a similar well-intentioned naivety to Snow White.

Little Red Riding Hood's helpful/nurturing behaviour contributes to her construction as a Madonna (in terms of the Madonna/whore dichotomy), as she demonstrated the qualities of 'good' women, such as demonstrating a caring and kind nature and being shown to be loving at a young age. In patriarchal terms, Madonnas are saintly women, who internalise and accept patriarchal values and constraints, while whores are women who resist such restrictions, in part to satisfy patriarchal men's desires for their own sexual freedom, and who are then constructed as troublemakers and whores. The Madonna/whore dichotomy is experienced by men who do not sexually desire a Madonna but do desire a sexual partner — who has to be the whore (Bareket et al., 2018). Little Red Riding Hood is not represented as a whore, as she does not explicitly show her sexuality. However, patriarchy presents the view that some men cannot repress their sexual desires or urges. So, in the eyes of the wolf, by straying into the forest alone, away from patriarchal protections, Little Red Riding Hood is seen as a whore type, whom he sees as legitimate prey that he wants to "eat" — eating her to satisfy himself being likened to the sexual satisfaction human men often feel entitled to.

6.2.4 Little Red Riding Hood as naïve/troublesome

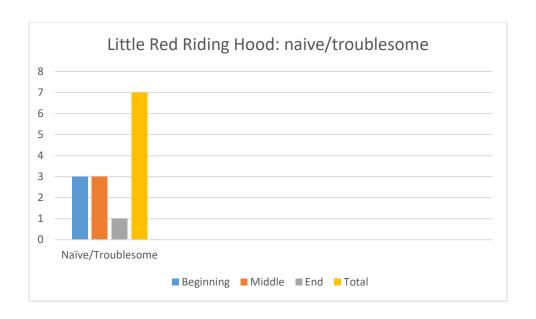


Figure 6.7 Frequency of occurrence of Little Red Riding Hood being naïve/troublesome (Little Red Riding Hood, 1995)



Figure 6.8 Screenshot examples of Little Red Riding Hood being naïve/troublesome (Little Red Riding Hood, 1995)

In the middle and towards the end of the film, Little Red Riding Hood exhibits troublesome and naïve behaviour. Because of her naïve nature, she causes trouble unknowingly for herself and for her grandmother. She gives out personal information to a stranger (the wolf), which causes a great deal of trouble at the end of the film when the wolf ties up the grandmother and locks her in the scullery, and attempts to eat Little Red Riding Hood. This representation of Little Red Riding Hood conforms to the patriarchal claim that women are troublesome, and lack the knowledge and ability to function independently. By speaking to strangers, and sharing personal information, they court potential danger from wolves (a metaphor for men who are predators of naïve females) and negative consequences. The wolf's attempt to eat Little Red Riding Hood could connote the rape of young females. Taking into consideration that Little Red Riding Hood had engaged with the wolf previously (although unwittingly), this could mean that females unknowingly bring bad circumstances upon themselves.

Little Red Riding Hood's naivetè/troublesomeness highlights Propp's narrative function of the *struggle*, which is a battle between the hero and villain. Little Red Riding Hood and the wolf physically struggle as she tries to run away from him and he tries to catch her, in the process destroying her grandmother's collection. But Little Red Riding Hood also faces a psychological and emotional struggle, illustrated here as the struggle that young girls face in trying to distinguish good men from bad men, and in trying to stay away from the bad men (wolves). It is also where victory is experienced, as she defeats the wolf, achieves her object of desire (looking after her grandmother), and returns home safely.

From a feminist perspective, this resolution could be seen as a man getting punished for his wrongdoings by the group (the flock of birds symbolising multiple people). Jetlag's version is different from earlier versions, where it is an adult male woodcutter (a true patriarchal representative) who saves Little Red Riding Hood. In this version she is helped by creatures with whom she has independently built positive relationships by first helping them. This is another area of some shift.

6.2.5 Little Red Riding Hood as accepting advice

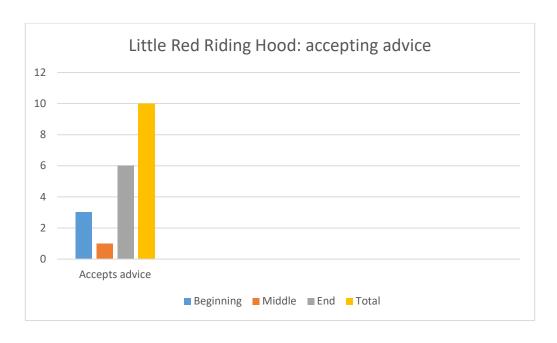


Figure 6.9 Frequency of occurrence of Little Red Riding Hood accepting advice (*Little Red Riding Hood*, 1995)



Figure 6.10 Screenshot examples of Little Red Riding Hood accepting advice (*Little Red Riding Hood*, 1995)

Little Red Riding Hood is also open to accepting advice from her elders. At the beginning of the film her mother advises her to go straight to her grandmother's house and not stop along the way, run, or talk to strangers. Her mother's advice can be understood as the restrictions placed on the physical movement of women in a patriarchal community. Little Red Riding Hood's disobedience towards her mother could be interpreted as women's desire to be free of such restrictions. She disobeys her mother by doing the very things her mother advised her not to do: she stops three times before going to her grandmother's house, she talks to strangers, and she also runs, pretending that she can fly. This could be understood as her attempt to be free to be who she wants to be. In a patriarchal society, women usually do not have the freedom to choose who they want to be. But, as a result of Little Red Riding Hood's actions, she and her grandmother almost die. At the end of the film, she accepts her grandmother's judgement that she was wrong to give out personal information to a stranger. She learns that there are many potential risks in life and that she must be on the lookout out for deceitful men and deceitful people in general. By accepting some advice, Little Red Riding Hood learns some valuable lessons.

6.2.6 Little Red Riding Hood as showing bravery

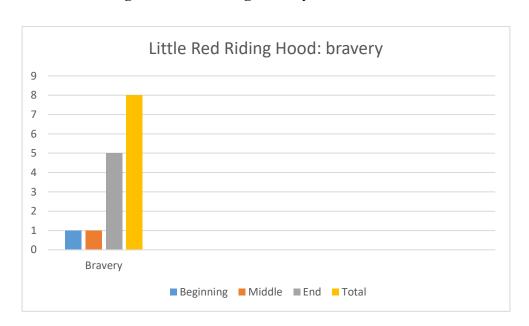


Figure 6.11 Frequency of occurrence of Little Red Riding Hood showing bravery (*Little Red Riding Hood*, 1995)

Little Red Riding Hood shows some typical traditionally masculine traits at the end of the film: she shows bravery by trying to fight off the wolf and save herself by trying to escape him. She also kicks the wolf to defend and save herself. Additionally, she also hits the wolf with the swing (though by mistake), but she fails to scare the wolf off. This is also where she becomes dependent on the animals to help her to chase the wolf away. This could mean that while she is brave, she also needs help. This is a deviation from the traditional female princess role, as traditionally females were not seen to be brave or active, but were instead seen as scared and passive individuals. The feminist movement has taught that it is okay for women to stand up for themselves and protect themselves and that having what is seen as typical traditionally masculine traits does not make you less of a woman. This representational role model of female bravery is a limited counterpoint to the dominant fairy tale depiction of passive, helpless women.

6.2.7 Little Red Riding Hood as solving problems

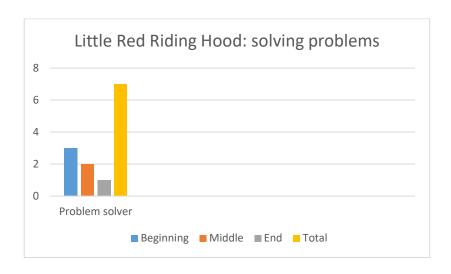


Figure 6.12 Frequency of occurrence of Little Red Riding Hood solving problems (*Little Red Riding Hood*, 1995)



Figure 6.13 Screenshot examples of Little Red Riding Hood solving problems (*Little Red Riding Hood*, 1995)

Little Red Riding Hood is depicted as a problem solver: at the beginning of the film she solves the deer's problem by picking flowers and making a bouquet for its mother; she solves the injured bird's problem by applying jam to its injured wing, and she also solves the bird's flying problem and helps it conquer its fear of flying. She provides a solution to everyone she meets

along the way to her grandmother's house, but the problems she solves fall within the traditionally feminine domains of nurturing and healing. In the middle of the film, Little Red Riding Hood solves the beavers' problem of carrying timber to build by helping them to gather timber, lay it out, and stick it together with clay. She also solves the wolf's hunger problem by giving it a piece of cake to eat. At the end of the film she solves the wolf problem that she had created by whistling for the birds she had made friends with to help her scare away the wolf. Problem-solving is traditionally considered to be a typically masculine trait, so Little Red Riding Hood's demonstration of this trait shows an expansion in the representation of female characters in fairy tales, and positions women as capable, intelligent problem solvers. The third problem that Little Red Riding Hood solves is seen as a masculine job — carrying timber is generally considered to be hard physical labour and a masculine duty. This brings to the fore Propp's solution function, which he defined as the resolution of a difficult task, and moves away from the traditionally passive female role to a more agentive role.

6.2.8 Summary of the content analysis of Little Red Riding Hood's traits

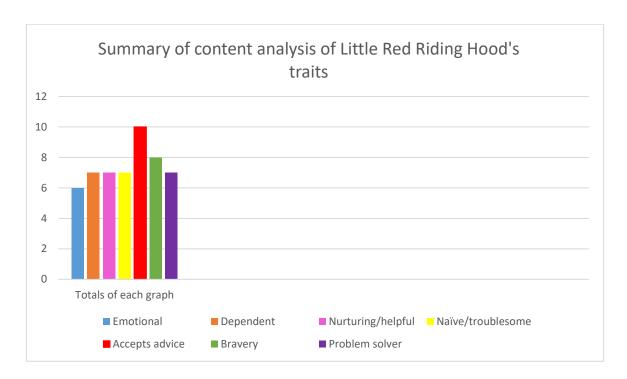


Figure 6.14 A summary of the content analysis of Little Red Riding Hood's traits (*Little Red Riding Hood*, 1995)

Figure 6.14 shows the total frequency of occurrence of each trait that Little Red Riding Hood exhibited. She represented more typical traditionally feminine traits than masculine traits. The trait that was seen most frequently in her character was accepting advice, and the least common trait in her character was emotionality. England et al. (2011) showed that it is mainly female characters in fairy tales who express emotion, constructing a representation that it is 'natural' for women to be emotional, as compared with men. It would therefore be expected and 'natural' for Little Red Riding Hood to be an emotional character. The fact that emotionality is her least common trait suggests a possible evolution in the roles assigned to female characters. She represents many of the typical traditionally feminine traits of female characters, but it is important to note that she shows some masculine traits too, such as bravery and problem-solving. The early fairy tale films represented female characters with feminine traits only, for example, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937). I argue that since *Little Red Riding Hood* was produced in 1995, feminist activism would have had some influence on how women were represented, thereby leading to Little Red Riding Hood being represented with some typical traditionally masculine traits.

The content analysis has highlighted four of Propp's narrative functions: *solution, punishment* and *struggle*, and *victory*. Although Propp established a narrative structure for fairy tale princess films (1968), I have identified some of these functions in *Little Red Riding Hood*. Little Red Riding Hood's capacity to find solutions for the animals' problems constructs her as helpful and resourceful. The struggle aspect highlights her nurturing side/motherly nature along with her capacity to take care of herself, her independence and her bravery too. The punishment and victory elements show that Little Red Riding Hood realises her mistakes, and feels guilty for what she has done. Victory is achieved through her and her grandmother's survival, and through her psychological growth and increased knowledge about life. It was also revealed that Little Red Riding Hood is represented mostly through a Madonna construction, but could also be understood in certain ways as a whore-type character, because of how her independent journey through the forest constructs her as falling outside of patriarchal protection, and therefore makes her available to predatorial men.

In the following section, I present the results of the visual analysis that was conducted. This is presented in conjunction with the semiotic analysis to avoid repetition. Textual analysis was used to support and elaborate on the analyses.

6.3 VISUAL AND SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS

In the visual and semiotic analysis, I focused on the visual and audio elements of the film at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end. I looked at the setting, lighting, costume, and behaviour and personality of Little Red Riding Hood.



Figure 6.15 Screenshot examples of the different settings in *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995)

Throughout the film there are five settings. The beginning of the film is set in Little Red Riding Hood's house, where she is baking, and, in the forest, which is beautiful with bright flowers that symbolise joyfulness and happiness. These two characteristics are evident in Little Red Riding Hood's character. The middle of the film is also set in the forest and on the pathway to Little Red Riding Hood's grandmother's house. Another setting is a stream, where Little Red Riding Hood stops to drink water. Towards the end of the film, the setting is Little Red Riding Hood's grandmother's garden, where she picks pecan nuts, which symbolise toughness and

masculinity, suggesting that Little Red Riding Hood is tough and feisty, and does embody typical traditionally masculine traits. However, nuts also symbolise femininity, as they are the seeds of a tree, and could refer to the rebirth and fertility that is associated with women. The end of the film is also set outside the grandmother's house, where Little Red Riding Hood is running away from the wolf (a metaphor for a man). The last setting is the forest pathway that leads back to Little Red Riding Hood's house.

Throughout the film, the lighting is depicted as natural sunlight, which is bright and enhances the beauty of everything it shines on. Sunshine symbolises energy and life, which is present in the character of Little Red Riding Hood as she is still young. There is one instance at the end of the film that has dull lighting, where the wolf is pretending to be Little Red Riding Hood's grandmother. The dull lighting signals danger, and that something bad could potentially happen.

More than once, Little Red Riding Hood is easily distracted from the path that she is supposed to be on, which could be interpreted as a metaphor for her being distracted from her life path, or from the correct social path, due to the influences of others and of her own nature. She is expected to be an innocent, obedient and dutiful little girl, but like many other little children Little Red Riding Hood has a curious, free-spirited nature. Sticking to instructions is not easy for her, as she is easily tempted. A feminist perspective would suggest that Little Red Riding Hood is exploring the world, her identity, and probably her sexuality too. Being distracted from her path and detouring from her path could also be understood as Little Red Riding Hood exploring her female identity, and the different ways of being female. There are many female identities to choose from, and in order to make the right choice one needs to go down each path, in order to make an informed decision about which identity is best for them. Metaphorically speaking, Little Red Riding Hood goes down each path of female identity when she helps the animals on her way to her grandmother's house. However, she returns to her original path, showing that she is perhaps contained by prescribed roles of being female and potentially, that adopting 'male' traits is not the only way of moving past destructive patriarchal binaries.



Figure 6.16 Screenshot example of Little Red Riding Hood's clothing and appearance (Little Red Riding Hood, 1995)

In the film, Little Red Riding Hood is seen wearing one set of clothing. She wears a pink dress with brown boots. Pink is often associated with girls, and could also symbolise Little Red Riding Hood's approachable personality and her love for others. But her defining item of clothing is the red cape that was made by her grandmother; red symbolises love, suggesting that the grandmother has unconditional love for Little Red Riding Hood. From a feminist point of view, the colour red also symbolises danger, sexuality and menstruation in women. The red coat could therefore possibly represent how she is a child growing towards womanhood, who is still learning about the world and its nature. Furthermore, by wearing the red cape Little Red Riding Hood protects her sexuality and her virginity from predators. Red is symbolic of the danger of a growing child, who may be insecure, and easily distracted and tempted, which might in some cases put them in danger. It could also symbolise the danger of the wolf (men). Metaphorically speaking, Little Red Riding Hood should be careful of the wolf, but not all wolves, which means that not all wolves are the same. This connotes that not all men are the same, as not all men are predators of young girls. But, how does one know which wolf/man is trustworthy? The tamed and gentle wolves can be the worst of the lot because they are never suspected of or expected to commit untamed acts against young girls. Just as the wolf in *Little* Red Riding Hood disguised himself, men can disguise themselves, their personalities and their

intentions easily and fool young, vulnerable and gullible girls. The story suggests that one has to be wise when dealing with life's dilemmas and when distinguishing good from evil, and that young girls need to protect themselves from the ills of society. It could also possibly contain a cautionary message about 'good' parenting, which requires parents to protect young girls by inhibiting their naturally curious natures. It is significant that no similar message is directed at men, or at parents about how to raise men who are not dangerous to young girls.



Figure 6.17 Screenshot examples of Little Red Riding Hood's behaviour and personality (Little Red Riding Hood, 1995)

The behaviour and personality of Little Red Riding Hood at the beginning of the film shows that she is helpful, caring, and concerned, but also disobedient because she does the opposite of what her mother instructed her to do — she breaks her promise and does not go straight to her grandmother's house because she stops on the way, she speaks to strangers like the wolf and she also runs, pretending to fly with the bird, which symbolises freedom. In the middle of the film, she also helps the beavers, who symbolise protection, and she is disobedient because she talks to strangers and gives out personal information. She is kind, naïve and feisty. At the end of the film, she is brave, as she tries to fight off the wolf, yet she is also gullible because

she does not notice the difference between the wolf and her grandmother. Here the mise-enscène points foregrounds trickery, as Little Red Riding Hood is tricked in many instances by the disguised wolf. The fact that she believed or did not see the true nature of the wolf's disguises suggests that she is very gullible, naïve and someone who is easily fooled. This could represent a broad patriarchal view that women are foolish, and lack worldly knowledge. Little Red Riding Hood whistles for help, which means that even though she is brave, she needs help. She feels guilty at the end of the story for the trouble she has caused to her grandmother and for being disobedient. Little Red Riding Hood's grandmother gives her advice, and she becomes wiser and knows better. Little Red Riding Hood's personality and behaviour show that she embodies some typically feminine traits at a very young age, but she still has a lot to learn about the world around her. However, she is not completely traditionally feminine in nature and shows a shift in the portrayal of women by exhibiting some typically traditional masculine traits.



Figure 6.18 Screenshot illustrating the close relationship between Little Red Riding Hood and her grandmother (*Little Red Riding Hood*, 1995)

The song played at the beginning and at the end of the film connotes that Little Red Riding Hood is a loving child towards others, she is special, she is lovable, kind-hearted and she is still a growing child. At the beginning of the film, while she is hand-stitching Little Red Riding Hood's red cape, the grandmother sings:

What a loving child

She's my heart's delight

She can make a cloudy day seem sunny and bright

This cape I made for her

It started from the heart

It's made with love

Made with care

Sewn with beams of sunshine

Just for her to wear

She's a special one

Whose heart is filled with good

She brings me happiness

Little Red Riding Hood

Though she's growing up

We don't grow apart

I will always keep a place for her in my heart

We're a family living so happily

Though years separate us

We're as close as we can be

Sharing with each other

All our hopes and dreams.

The words of the song imply that there is a close relationship between Little Red Riding Hood and her grandmother, who stitches her a red hood that is made with love. For Little Red Riding Hood, the red hood she wears is a symbol of her grandmother's love, and the fact that she wears it implies that she respects her grandmother's feelings. The song also states that Little Red Riding Hood is a growing child, which possibly links to the colour red to menstruation. As children grow, they change, and so do their habits and behaviours. Young children and teenagers have the urge to be adventurous and curious about the world and about their sexuality, and feminism has allowed women to become more open and free about their sexuality. When Little Red Riding Hood metaphorically strays from her path, it could be due to the adolescent

phase or journey in her life. The grandmother could fall into the category of a pre-feminist grandmother, who passes on her wisdom and advice to Little Red Riding Hood in a loving way. There is a stronger bond between these two generations, the pre-feminist grandmother and the post-feminist daughter (Kennedy, 2018).

The various elements of this visual and semiotic analysis have contributed to understanding the representation of the character of Little Red Riding Hood in the 1995 Jetlag film of the same name. The analysis shows that Little Red Riding Hood is tough and feisty and that she has some typical traditionally masculine behaviour traits. Her behaviour and personality are often child-like (joyful, happy and energetic), and this is reinforced by the mise en scène. She shows love and respect for others, especially her grandmother, and her strong link with her grandmother is signified by her red hood that her grandmother made especially for her. However, Little Red Riding Hood is also disobedient and naïve. As a child it is natural to make mistakes and learn from them, and Little Red Riding Hood becomes wiser at the end of the film, as her grandmother gives her advice about the world and what she should look out for. She learns valuable life lessons at an age-appropriate level.

The mise en scène highlighted one of Propp's narrative functions: the *trickery* of the wolf, which contributes to Little Red Riding Hood's representation as naïve. This analysis suggests that the wolf is a metaphor for clever and deceitful sexually predatorial men. By linking this information to Mulvey's male gaze theory we can deduce that men see women, and especially small girls, as their prey because they are easier to manipulate. They trap and lure small girls by being deceiving and cunning; some men might identify with the wolf, the actions of the wolf and the nature of the wolf.

The following section presents an analysis of *Little Red Riding Hood* using an actantial model.

6.4 ACTANTIAL ANALYSIS

Figure 6.19 below shows the actantial model that I drew up for *Little Red Riding Hood*, which was adapted from Onodera (2010, p. 22).

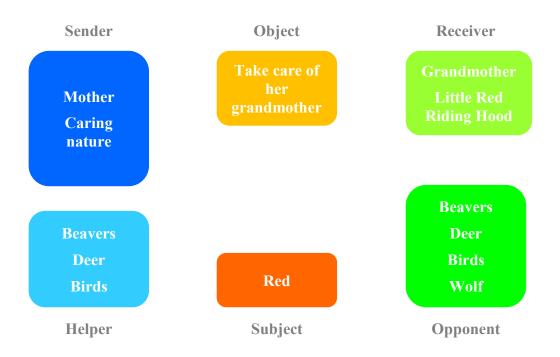


Figure 6.19 Actantial analysis of Little Red Riding Hood (1995)

The subject of this actantial model is Little Red Riding Hood, the female titular main character or protagonist of the film. The narrative action in this film revolves around her — she is the lead character, who enjoys most of the on-screen time. Traditionally female characters have not had much screen time, and if they did, they played passive roles. Little Red Riding Hood, however, plays an active role and is the protagonist. The object of this model is Little Red Riding Hood's desire to take care of her grandmother. I observed that Little Red Riding Hood is very fond of her grandmother, as her grandmother is less strict and harsh on her than her mother. She has a close bond with her grandmother, and assumes responsibility for taking care of her sick grandmother even though she is quite young, which shows that in some ways she is quite mature, and that women assume family care responsibilities from a young age. Little Red Riding Hood is shown as having a caring, maternal nature at a young age.

The sender, and what motivates Little Red Riding Hood to achieve this desire, is a combination of her mother's instructions and her kind, helpful and good nature, as well as the unconditional love she has for her grandmother and perhaps also her adventurous nature. Adventurousness is not seen as a typical traditionally feminine trait and is considered to be more of a typically traditional masculine trait. The receivers of the object of desire would be Little Red Riding Hood and her grandmother. Little Red Riding Hood plays an active role in achieving this desire, as she physically walks to her grandmother's house alone. Little Red Riding Hood derives satisfaction from taking care of her sick grandmother, and her grandmother benefits by receiving help. Little Red Riding Hood's physically active and adventurous nature also shows that she has a 'masculine' side, as well as a 'feminine' side.

Because of Little Red Riding Hood's engagement and connection with the different characters that she meets on the way to her grandmother's house, she has a lot of helpers when she is in need and desperate. The birds help her by chasing away the wolf, the deer help her by setting a trap for the wolf, and the beavers save her twice, once in the middle of the film by cutting down a tree so that it falls on top of the wolf, and again at the end of the film when they push the wolf into the water and he goes over the waterfall. Even though Little Red Riding Hood is capable of handling herself, she sometimes needs help, suggesting that women need help to do certain things, for example defending themselves or saving themselves from the bad things in the world. Her opponents are also the animals that she meets on the way to her grandmother's house. They are opponents because they distract Little Red Riding Hood from her path, thereby making her disobey her mother's instruction that she should not stop on the way to her grandmother's house. They also delay her journey to her grandmother's house. The biggest opponent is the wolf, who is very intelligent and deceitful in tricking Little Red Riding Hood. He entices her to talk to him by acting as if he is warning her about the wolf, and by saying that he is hungry, thereby inducing her to break another instruction that her mother had given her, which was not to talk to strangers. At the end of the film, the wolf deceives her again by pretending to be her sick grandmother. He becomes an obstacle for her, making it difficult for her to achieve her desire.

The actantial model was helpful in showing that the film is dominated by a female protagonist who receives a lot of on-screen attention. While female protagonists are usually ill-treated or poor (Wilde, 2014), this is not the case with Little Red Riding Hood, as she is loved and cared for by her family and the animals that she meets on the way to her grandmother's house. Unlike

other female fairy tale protagonists, Little Red Riding Hood plays an active role in achieving her desire. Her good and approachable nature motivates her to achieve her desire and attracts many friends and helpers, but also gets her into trouble. Her helpers are also her opponents at times, as they unknowingly induce Little Red Riding Hood to disobey her mother's instructions. Her well-intentioned but disobedient nature gets her into trouble, leading her to talk to a stranger and to the wolf becoming her main opponent and threat.

6.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented an analysis of the representation of Little Red Riding Hood in Jetlag's Little Red Riding Hood (1995), using content analysis, visual and semiotic analysis, and actantial analysis, supported by thematic analysis. From the different analyses it can be concluded that Little Red Riding Hood is not represented as a typical princess character, but as a young girl who still needs to mature and learn about life, and who has both typical traditionally feminine and masculine traits. Her typically feminine traits are that she is emotional, dependent, nurturing/helpful, naïve/troublesome, and accepting of advice. However, her helpfulness is connected with disobedience, and her naïve and polite nature leads to trouble. The typical traditionally masculine traits that she exhibited were bravery and being a problem solver. She plays an active role in the film, as compared with Snow White's passivity in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937), and she is to some extent mature, as she takes on a big responsibility in caring for her grandmother. We can deduce that feminism had some influence on the 1995 Little Red Riding Hood film (as opposed to Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs from 58 years earlier) because Little Red Riding Hood is not entirely a damsel in distress. She is able to save herself and her grandmother by fighting the wolf, albeit with some outside help; this is not seen in most fairy tale films

The next chapter analyses representations of the characters of Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood in my main text, the television series *Once Upon a Time* (2011).

CHAPTER 7

REPRESENTATIONS OF SNOW WHITE AND LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD IN *ONCE UPON A TIME* (2011)

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses ABC's 2011 television series *Once Upon a Time*, with a specific focus on season one of the series, which consists of twenty-two episodes. Ten episodes in which the characters selected for analysis (Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood) feature prominently were selected for analysis. The episodes chosen were from the beginning, middle and end sections of season one, to enable the progression of the characters and their roles to be taken into account, and also to get an idea of how the characters were represented throughout the season. The selected episodes are listed in section 4.5 of Chapter 4.

Once Upon a Time consists of two worlds: the Enchanted Forest, and Storybrooke, Maine, a town located in the contemporary world. An evil curse has been cast upon multiple fairy tale characters from the Enchanted Forest, which has sent them to the alternative universe of Storybrooke, where they have no memory of their lives in the Enchanted Forest. The narrative alternates continuously between these two worlds, and between past and present. Although the purpose of this study was to analyse representations of Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood, I analysed four characters in total: Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood (known simply as Red) in the Enchanted Forest, and their counterparts Mary Margaret Blanchard and Ruby in Storybrooke.

The methods of analysis used in Chapter 5 analysis of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), and Chapter 6 analysis of *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995) (content analysis, visual/semiotic analysis, actantial analysis, supported by textual analysis and informed by Propp's narrative functions) are utilised in this chapter to ensure comparability of results.

For each character, the text was coded into two categories of pre-established typical traditionally feminine and masculine traits to provide an overview of the pattern of gender roles assigned to each character, and to compare these patterns with those in the more traditional cinematic fairy tale representations. The same analytical rubrics and criteria previously described in sections 4.4–4.6 in Chapter 4 were utilised here. I first present an analysis of Snow

White in the Enchanted Forest, as we are introduced to this character immediately at the beginning of the series, and follow this with an analysis of Mary Margaret Blanchard — Snow White in the Storybrooke universe. I then present an analysis of Little Red Riding Hood in the Enchanted Forest, followed by an analysis of her Storybrooke counterpart, Ruby.

Once Upon a Time, season one, begins with a short textual narrative, which reads:



Episode one begins with our introduction to Snow White in the Enchanted Forest.

7.2 SNOW WHITE

7.2.1 Content analysis: Snow White

The content analysis involved coding the representations of the selected characters into two broad categories — typical traditionally feminine traits and typical traditionally masculine traits — which consisted of multiple traits. I deductively applied the analytic framework derived from Ottosson and Cheng (2012) to my study. The number of times Snow White exhibited certain traits is presented using bar graphs, and these graphs are followed by screenshot examples of scenes in which Snow White demonstrated these traits. This distribution of traits is then further explored by means of textual analysis. These analyses reveal that in *Once Upon a Time* Snow White embodies both feminine and masculine traits. This represents a shift from the way she is represented and roles assigned to her in the early Disney movie. Snow White embodies six typical traditionally feminine traits (being nurturing, good natured, caring, emotional, being a victim, and needing help/saving) and four typical traditionally masculine traits (being brave/a saviour, active, assertive and occasionally unconcerned about her appearance). I begin by presenting and discussing the six typical traditionally feminine traits that Snow White embodies.

7.2.1.1 Snow White as needing help/saving

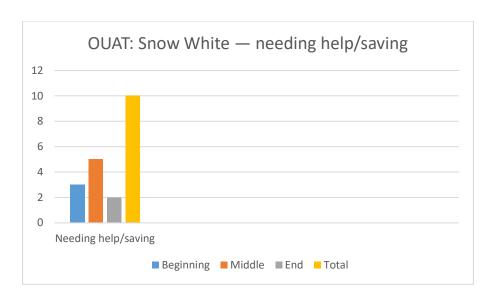


Figure 7.1 Frequency of occurrence of Snow White needing help/saving (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)



Figure 7.2 Screenshot examples of Snow White needing help/saving (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Snow White is seen as needing help/saving. At times Snow White plays a passive role consistent with that of a typical traditional fairy tale princess. In the beginning episodes there are three instances where Snow White is seen to need help/saving. At the beginning of the series we are introduced to Snow White unconscious in a coffin, from which she needs saving. Prince Charming comes to her rescue and she is saved by true love's kiss, which awakens her. Here she is seen as a passive princess who is unable to play an active role in saving herself. This conforms to the patriarchal claim that women need masculine help and protection. In the middle episodes of season one (episodes ten, fifteen and six), Snow White needs help/saving in five instances. In episode ten, she seeks help from Rumple to forget about the Prince, as she is heartbroken by his departure; this highlights her as an emotional female. In episode fifteen, Snow White's helpfulness towards Red is seen as carelessness by Red's grandmother, because she helps Red to go see Peter and sends her without the hood. This is one instance where she is seen as helpful to someone else, but also careless. Many other instances show that Snow White is dependent on her male counterparts for help and saving, such as the dwarfs and Prince Charming. There are two instances at the end of the season that shows Snow White needing help/saving. In episode eighteen, Snow White is a little girl riding a horse that is out of control and she is saved by Regina, showing that females can help each other and save each other. In episode twenty-one, Snow White is helped by many people in order to save the person she loves. These instances emphasise that having a good nature will benefit you and that women need help in whatever they do.

7.2.1.2 Snow White as emotional

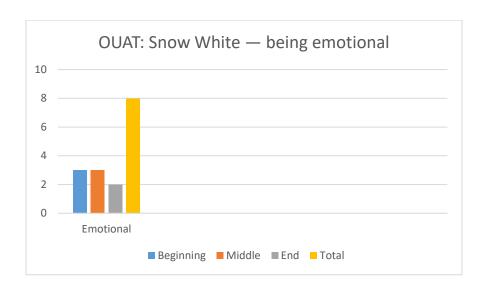


Figure 7.3 Frequency of occurrence of Snow White being emotional (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)



Figure 7.4 Screenshot examples of Snow White being emotional (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Snow White is portrayed as a typically emotional female character in many instances. At the beginning of season one, she is portrayed as emotional in three particular instances. Twice in episode one, she acts to save her baby by dispatching it alone to a foreign place, causing her to be heartbroken and fearful. She also becomes emotional when she thinks that Prince Charming is dead. This further emphasises Snow White's sense of maternal and family love. She also shows a fear of being captured by the Evil Queen and consequently shelters in Red's chicken den. This could connote women's fear of other women as competition to be the most desirable to men.

Snow White is shown being emotional in three instances in the middle episodes of the season. In episode fifteen, she displays sympathy towards Red's grandmother. In episode sixteen, her consumption of a magical potion results in anger which she expresses by attempting to kill a bird. She cannot handle the emotional pain of not being with Prince Charming, suggesting that her love for Prince Charming has made her emotionally weak. Once she is back to her normal self, she is apologetic towards the dwarfs for her bad behaviour, as she was mean and rude to them. The magical potion could be understood as a metaphor for the bad influences in society that young girls might be drawn into. At the end of the season in episode twenty-one, we see more of Snow White's positive emotions when she expresses love and also sympathy towards Regina, who has acted in an evil manner towards her. This suggests that women can live in harmony.

Feminist thought has arguably had an effect on this series, as females are represented as having a wide range of acceptable emotions, and as having the ability to be whomever they want to be. It could be argued that *Once Upon a Time* reflects certain aspects of postfeminist thinking, which argues that women can choose their identity, and the types and degrees of emotion that they display (Kennedy, 2018).

7.2.1.3 Snow White as a victim

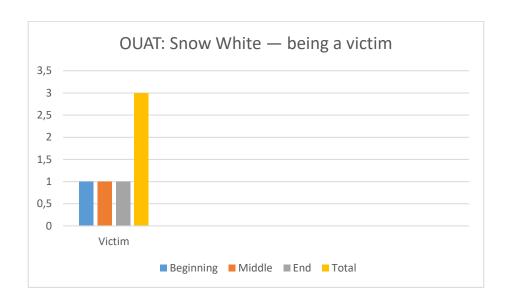


Figure 7.5 Frequency of occurrence of Snow White being a victim (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

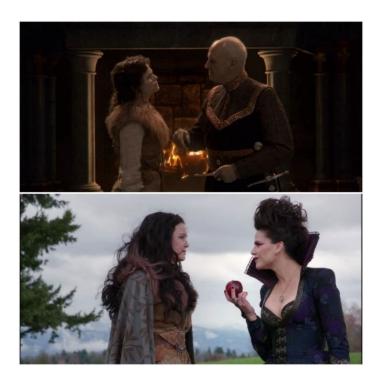


Figure 7.6 Screenshot examples of Snow White being a victim (Once Upon a Time, 2011)

There are three instances in which Snow White is represented as a victim. In the beginning episodes, she is a victim of the Evil Queen's threat to kill her because she was the reason that Regina's true love died. This can be seen as rivalry between two females. In the middle episodes, she is a victim of the King's threat to stay away from Prince Charming, reflecting patriarchal power over women and their decisions, and oppression of women. At the end of the season, she is once again a victim of the Evil Queen, who blackmails her into eating a poisoned apple in order to save Prince Charming. This instance shows that she is a victim but also a saviour, as she follows the Evil Queen's instructions purely to save Prince Charming. Additionally, this instance points to the absentation function identified by Propp. Her consumption of the poisoned apple leaves her comatose, and thus she becomes absent. This could connote that the relationship between a stepmother and a stepdaughter is very unstable, due to competition for the father's (patriarch's) attention. It could also be argued that competition and jealousy between them is suggestive of a feminist mother's resentment of a post-feminist child (Kennedy, 2018). Snow White's consumption of the apple points to Propp's complicity function, suggesting that Snow White's self-sacrificing effort to save Prince Charming connotes a noblewoman who will be rewarded in the end.

7.2.1.4 Snow White as caring

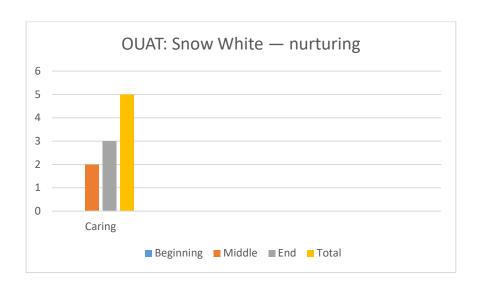


Figure 7.7 Frequency of occurrence of Snow White as nurturing (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)



Figure 7.8 Screenshot examples of Snow White showing nurturing (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Patriarchal values tend to construct women and men according to ideal gender roles — women as carers and men as protectors. Many representations of gender in the media reinforce such gendered ideas. I identified five instances in season one that signal that Snow White is caring. At the beginning of season one, Snow White makes an emotionally difficult decision about what to do with her baby, ultimately sending her baby through the portal to another realm in order to protect her, because she cares about her. This shows Snow White's maternal nature, doing what her maternal instincts say is right. And, it also highlights Propp's difficult task function. Sending her baby away also constructs Snow White as a character who has decision-making power.

We also see her caring side in the middle of season one, when she shows concern for Red's well-being and when she saves Prince Charming in a strongly caring act, and at the end of the season in episode eighteen (when she shows concern and care for how Regina feels about marrying Snow White's father, and wants to help Regina because she cares about her future happiness) and episode twenty-one (when she puts the interests of others first and sacrifices herself for the person she loves).

7.2.1.5 Snow White's good nature

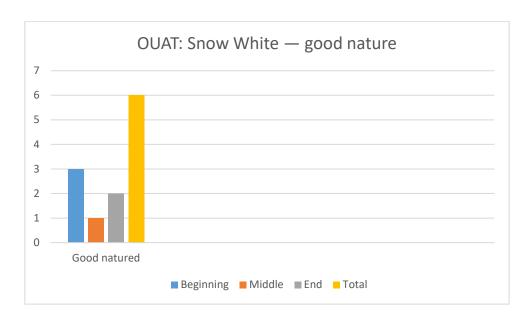


Figure 7.9 Frequency of occurrence of Snow White's good nature (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)



Figure 7.10 Screenshot examples of Snow White's good nature (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Snow White's good nature is portrayed at the beginning of season one in episode one through her innocence and her honesty with Rumple. It is clear that she likes to see the good in everyone. For example, she always believes that Regina and Rumple are good people. In episode three, though innocent, Snow White is accused of bad things, such as ruining Regina's life and takes the blame for such things. Consequently, she is on the run from her own palace. In the middle of the season, in episode fifteen, Snow White's good nature is expressed through her relationship with Red, with whom she confides on issues that one would discuss with one's best friend: the boy you like, or how you have broken a house rule. Together they seek clues about the wolf and she tries to protect Red when the villagers are hunting for the wolf. This shows that women can live in harmony together. At the end of the season, in episode eighteen, Snow White is shown in her childhood days as sweetly innocent, and as easily fooled by Regina's mother.

7.2.1.6 Snow White as brave

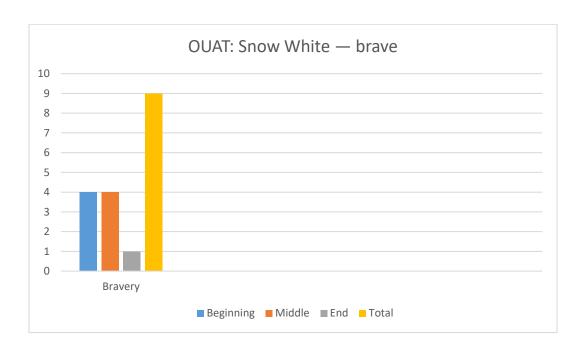


Figure 7.11 Frequency of occurrence of Snow White being brave (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

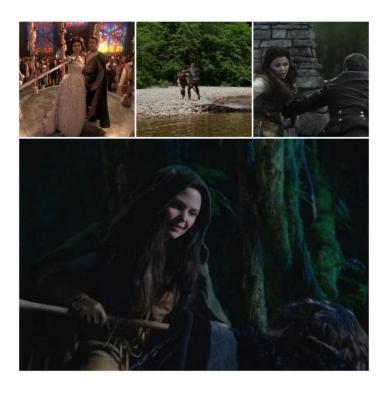


Figure 7.12 Screenshot examples of Snow White's bravery (Once Upon a Time, 2011)

Feminist activism has had some effect on challenging patriarchal constructions of gender roles, and thus on how females are portrayed in the media (Gauntlett, 2008). For example, bravery is a trait no longer solely attributed to men. In Once Upon a Time, there are four instances at the beginning of season one that show Snow White being brave. She responds angrily when the Evil Queen makes her threat and stands up strongly to her. Snow White does not come across as a typical damsel in distress. She also shows maternal bravery when she has to send her newborn baby to another world through a portal. From the perspective of feminist theory this could be seen as analogous to how many women have to choose whether to keep their baby, abort it, or give it up for adoption. In episode three, Snow White acts bravely when trying to rob Prince Charming for the second time, and when returning to the troll bridge to save him by defeating the trolls. In the middle of season one there are four instances of bravery, starting in episode ten when Snow White escapes prison and gets caught by the guards. In episode sixteen, Snow White's intention to kill the Evil Queen is brave and requires her to bravely stand up for herself to obtain information from a man about the Queen's whereabouts. Lastly, Snow White fights bravely to save Prince Charming. Finally, in episode twenty-one, Snow White bravely saves Prince Charming from the Evil Queen by eating a poisoned apple. These acts undermine patriarchal representations of fearful, dependent female characters.

7.2.1.7 Snow White as having active agency

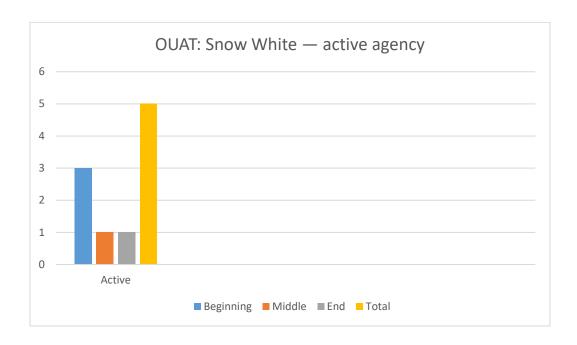


Figure 7.13 Frequency of occurrence of Snow White's active agency (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

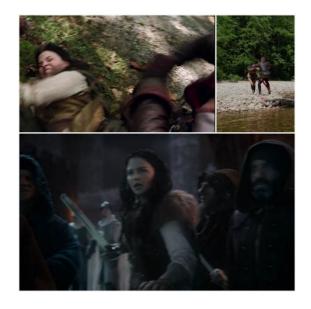


Figure 7.14 Screenshot examples of Snow White's active agency (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Patriarchal societies tend to socialise women into being dependent on men for their key needs and wants. Within television representations this is evident in the construction of female characters as typically less active and agentive than male characters (Lieberman, 1972; Wood, 1994). However, in *Once Upon a Time*, Snow White is constructed relatively more actively. For example, episode three near the beginning of season one shows Snow White actively getting what she wants in order to survive as a 'fugitive', challenging conventional ideas of 'good' women as prim and proper. She proactively sets out to steal money, jewels and other valuables. She unhesitatingly pushes Prince Charming and hits him in order to escape, and later, in the middle of episode sixteen, she fights him. At the end of the season in episode twenty-one, Snow White fights like a typical man and plays an active role in rescuing Prince Charming. During the rescue she displays masculine-style leadership in giving orders to those who are helping her. This subverts conventional representations of women as the less intelligent, gentle followers of superior male leadership and control.

7.2.1.8 Snow White being assertive

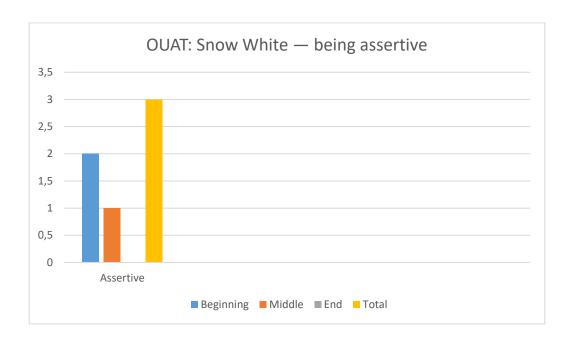


Figure 7.15 Frequency of occurrence of Snow White being assertive (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)



Figure 7.16 Screenshot examples of Snow White being assertive (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Snow White is sometimes presented as assertive and violent, in opposition to traditionally passive female characters in fairy tales. In episode three, hitting Prince Charming with a rock and pushing him into the river shows Snow White's violent nature. The way she speaks comes across as assertive and loud. Snow White shouts while speaking to Prince Charming and we can hear anger in her voice when Prince Charming questions her about his belongings. In the middle of season one in episode sixteen, Snow White, intoxicated with a potion that she had consumed, forcefully tries to kill a bird with a broom. She drank the potion to forget her emotional pain, but it turned her into an angry, vengeful person. This suggests a shift in female representation on television away from their more usual portrayal as calm and gentle individuals.

Women are often represented in the media in roles which emphasise and prioritise their beauty as their most significant and powerful quality. Throughout season one of *Once Upon a Time*, Snow White comes across as not worrying about her physical appearance or the way she dresses. However, she is still considered to be physically attractive by other characters, like the magic mirror, who tells the Evil Queen that Snow White is still the fairest in the land.

7.2.1.9 Summary of the content analysis of Snow White's traits

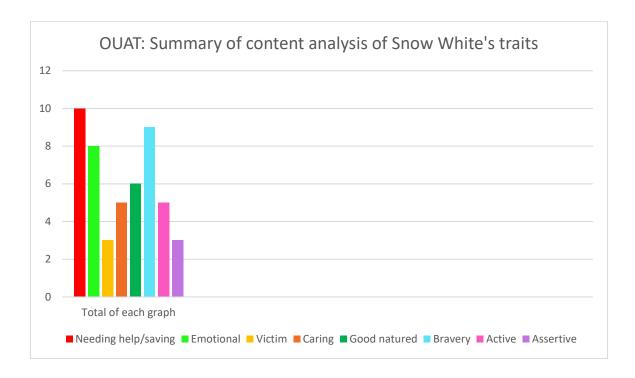


Figure 7.17 A summary of the content analysis of Snow White's traits (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

In conclusion, Snow White, as she is represented in the Enchanted Forest, embodies more typically feminine traits than masculine traits. We see that there is some deviation in the role of Snow White from Disney's 1937 film to the television series *Once Upon a Time* (2011). This is to be expected, given the development in feminist activism and feminist thought that have taken place in the 74 years that elapsed between the film and the series. In *Once Upon a Time*, Snow White exhibits certain typical traditionally male traits such as bravery throughout season one of the series. In a patriarchal society, women are conventionally positioned as being fearful and scared in threatening situations. Although Snow White's character still displays fear, *Once Upon a Time*'s portrayal of her as a brave character shows that the series has, in certain respects, developed beyond the traditional representations of women.

In the next part of this analysis, I present a visual/semiotic analysis of the representation of Snow White in *Once Upon a Time*, and use a textual analysis to elaborate.

7.2.2 Visual/semiotic analysis: Snow White



Figure 7.18 Screenshot examples of key settings where Snow White is featured in *Once Upon a Time* (2011)

There are multiple settings in season one of *Once Upon a Time*. The first episode begins in the Enchanted Forest, where Snow White is lying in a glass coffin surrounded by the seven dwarfs and colourful flowers. The woods are a key setting at the beginning of the season, as most of Snow White's actions, such as robbing the Prince's carriage and fighting the Prince, occur there. The troll bridge is another key setting at the beginning of season one, where we see Snow White's typically masculine traits surface. Lastly, in the middle of the season, there is the chicken den, where she seeks shelter and where her sisterly relationship with Red begins.



Figure 7.19 Screenshot examples of Snow White's attire at key life events (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

The beginning of season one shows three instances of Snow White clothed in a white dress: when she is lying in the coffin, when she is getting married, and when she is giving birth to her baby. Thus, at key life events, Snow White is dressed in white. When she is believed to be dead, she wears a long, feathery dress suggestive of birds such as doves, perhaps connoting her purity and innocence. The dwarfs place her in a glass coffin in order to preserve her beauty, and the placement of Snow White in the glass coffin could be understood as being symbolic of male agency and the male gaze, as it enables her beauty to be admired by all. Snow White's wedding dress is also long and feathery, and showing some of her upper body skin, perhaps signaling that she will lose some of her purity in marriage. Lastly, when she gives birth she wears a white dress that covers her fully, perhaps suggesting that her baby is a product of pure, true love. The dress could also be symbolic of a protective shield. Furthermore, in the middle of the season Snow White wears a white hood, which could be understood as a metaphor for the protection of her innocence and virginal purity. Her continuous use of white clothing places

emphasis on her innocence and purity and aligns her at these moments with the Madonna. Women who are constructed as Madonnas are expected to protect their innocence and virginal purity, for the personal benefit of their prospective male partner.



Figure 7.20 Screenshot examples of Snow White's everyday attire (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Snow White's second set of clothes, worn at the beginning and in the middle of season one, comprises a dull green cloak, gloves and boots. Such practical clothing allows her to blend in with the natural surroundings and could connote that she is at one with nature. This attire could also express her fear and other sorts of sad feelings she might feel. Even though this series was produced in the post-feminist era, Snow White is not portrayed as a typical girl who is concerned about her physical appearance and makeup. She seems to be more concerned with surviving, with getting money, and with trying to hide from the Evil Queen.



Figure 7.21 Screenshot examples of Snow White's physical beauty (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Snow White's beauty is signaled by Regina's jealousy of her fair skin. Even though this series was produced in a society in which numerous battles for women's rights had already been fought and won, certain patriarchal values persisted. Snow White's contrasting types of clothing suggest that women can be attractive in both feminine clothing and clothing that is more masculine in nature. This manner of representation indicates some movement away from a consistent foregrounding of appearance in terms of patriarchal demands that women function as decoratively pleasing objects of desire. Snow White's more practical attire suggests that at these times she is not constructed for a male gaze. Usually, female characters whose appearance is constructed for male pleasure wear revealing clothes that are short, bright and tight.

Snow White expresses a range of feelings and behaviours throughout season one. For example, ladies are supposed to speak softly, but Snow White speaks forcefully at times. Her assertiveness contests the role of the typical gentle princess. Snow White is assertive and loud when particular situations require her to be, such as when she is confronted by Prince Charming and when she is fearful of the Evil Queen and has to stand up to her. This suggests that Snow White's character is constructed with the freedom to express diverse feelings. Bravery, daring,

adventurousness and risky behaviour are typical traditionally masculine behaviours observed in Snow White. These behaviours emerge during times of crisis and are often motivated by her love for Prince Charming and her need to survive, for example when she robs the carriages of rich people. However, Snow White also displays the softness and gentleness typical of traditional portrayals of women, as well as a kind heart, honesty, innocence and truthfulness. Furthermore, she expresses a friendly, caring and helpful personality when she helps Red and tries to protect her. Snow White's ability to display and express a range of emotions and behaviours facilitates her active engagement with the world, but also perhaps renders her vulnerable to manipulation by Regina. At times, Snow White is able to engage in behaviours that would be considered traditionally unfeminine. Her attire and behaviour could classify her as a 'bad' or dangerous woman when she is not represented in a typically female role.



Figure 7.22 Screenshot examples of Snow White's contrasting styles of dress and behaviours

In addition, the mise en scène shows that Snow White deviates from typical traditional portrayals of women. She can be seen as representing elements of both a Madonna (when she

is dressed femininely in pure white, in a way that is consistent with the patriarchal ideal of marriageable women) and a whore (when she exhibits more traditionally masculine characteristics, and when her clothing is plain and masculine, and not revealing or seductive). Snow White falls between these categories, as she is able to express a diverse range of styles of dress, emotions and behaviours. In this way she frequently deviates from the idea that women's physical appearance and behaviours should cater to male pleasure.

The mise en scène in season one of *Once Upon a Time* reveals a lot about Snow White's character. From a feminist perspective, one can deduce the following: the glass coffin in which Snow White is seen could function as a metaphor for something that preserves and maintains a woman's physical beauty. Women are often worried about being beautiful and about being seen as typically feminine because there are stricter societal demands pertaining to women's appearance than to men's. This perhaps leads to the competitiveness amongst women to look the best, so that one gets masculine attention and praise. Glass is transparent, allowing you to see through it, unlike wood or steel. Glass also usually preserves things, and another example of this is the magic mirror in which a man is trapped. The magical mirror preserves the man who is trapped in the mirror; it preserves the way he looks and also allows him to live for a longer time.

The settings, costume and makeup, and lighting, and Snow White's range of emotions and behaviours, show her expressing some typical traditionally masculine traits in addition to her typical traditionally feminine traits. Hence, the character of Snow White is not confined to a typically feminine role, in contrast with the patriarchal norms that were imposed on her character in the 1937 Disney film.

The following section presents the results of the actantial analysis of Snow White's character in *Once Upon a Time*. This analysis is supported and elaborated upon through textual analysis.

7.2.3 Actantial analysis: Snow White

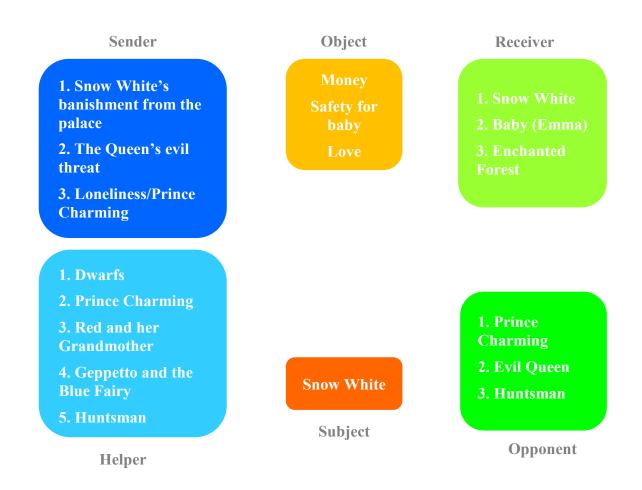


Figure 7.23 Actantial analysis of Snow White in *Once Upon a Time* (2011)

The subject of the actantial model in Figure 7.23 is Snow White as the focus of this analysis. She is one of many classical fairy tale princesses who are featured in the narrative of *Once Upon a Time*. She is a central protagonist in season one since most of the action revolves around her or happens because of her. In traditional fairy tales, women were not usually portrayed as protagonists. If they were, they were poor and ill-treated. Portraying Snow White as a protagonist in the Enchanted Forest shows a deviation from the typical representation of women in traditional tales and on television. This sheds more light on the important roles that females have in society.

Snow White has three objects of desire: money in order to survive, safety for her newborn baby, and love. Two of these objects are typical traditionally feminine desires, as women have traditionally been associated with family and with wanting love, and positioned in a maternal, caregiver, reproductive role. Snow White's need for the first object of desire (money) is displayed at the beginning of season one when she robs Prince Charming's carriage of valuables. The second object of desire (safety for her newborn baby) is evident when she gives birth to her baby, fearing the threat and curse that has been enacted by the Evil Queen. The last desire is indicated, via the sadness and loneliness on Snow White's face, when she and Prince Charming go their separate ways. Some women have the desire for money, instead of love, and are focused on making money for themselves, to support themselves. It is quite ironic that the first desire of Snow White that was presented in the series was money. This could suggest that women place more importance on money and less importance on love. This highlights Propp's narrative function *lack*, which constructs Snow White as a character who desires things that fall within traditionally feminine domains. However, she uses the money she steals to survive in the forest, for her personal needs, suggesting a greater active agency and independence than, for example, the character of Snow White in the 1937 Disney film. Women obtaining their own money is critical for independence.

Each object has its own sender, and there are therefore three senders. Snow White's desire for money is motivated by her own banishment from the palace. She is self-motivated to make her own money, and her circumstances lead her to be brave, and to take the necessary actions that she needs to. This representation suggests women can now actively do things for themselves. Securing her baby's safety is motivated by her fear of the Queen's evil threat. And, the last object, to achieve love, is motivated by Snow White's loneliness and the presence of Prince Charming.

There are three receivers of the objects of desire: Snow White, the baby and the whole of the Enchanted Forest. Snow White plays an active role in achieving her objects of desire and fights in order for everyone to benefit from her desire and be saved in the future. She is portrayed as a brave and active woman, who is still a caring individual who puts the interests of other people first. The Enchanted Forest benefits from her desire to save her baby because, at a later stage, her baby saves them and is the reason they get their memories back.

Snow White has five helpers in her quest to achieve her three desires: the Huntsman, who sets her free, instead of killing her; Prince Charming, who saves her on multiple occasions;

Geppetto and the Blue Fairy, who help to save her new-born baby; the dwarfs, who give her shelter; and Red and her grandmother, who, along with the dwarfs help Snow White to save Prince Charming. Even though Snow White is constructed as brave and active, she still needs helpers to get what she wants — but she has female as well as male helpers.

Lastly, I have identified three opponents of Snow White:

- Prince Charming, when he tries to stop Snow White from getting valuables to survive;
- the Evil Queen, who hates Snow White and will do anything to stop her from achieving what she wants, such as pronouncing a curse to destroy Snow White's happy ending; and
- the Evil Queen's huntsmen, as they follow the queen's orders to capture Snow White.

The opponents could represent the obstacles that women face in life, in the form of people or situations, and sometimes in the form of other women. For example, the obstacle posed by the Evil Queen is a direct example of competition and jealousy amongst women within a system of patriarchal values.

The components of the actantial model in Figure 7.23 were the same used to analyse typical fairy tale films. However, the results and information that were produced were quite different. Snow White can be seen as a typically feminine character insofar as she desires money and love, which are seen as important requirements for a woman in a patriarchal society. In some instances, Snow White needs saving and has multiple helpers. However, she also plays an active role in achieving what she wants and is an important active female protagonist in *Once Upon a Time*, rather than a passive female protagonist who has been rendered helpless, as was the case in earlier fairy tale films, such as Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937). In *Once Upon a Time*, Snow White is a female protagonist who has certain masculine traits, such as being active and brave. She is not the typical female protagonist found in analyses of earlier renditions of the fairy tale (England et al., 2011). This actantial model also shows that Snow White is an independent female character. This is partly forced on her due to circumstances (her banishment from the palace, which forces her to provide for herself independently), and is partly a reflection of her personal characteristics and decisions, such as when she goes in search of Prince Charming to rescue him by herself.

The next section of this chapter analyses Mary Margaret Blanchard from Storybrooke, Maine, who is in fact Snow White in the Enchanted Forest.

7.3 MARY MARGARET BLANCHARD

7.3.1 Content analysis: Mary Margaret Blanchard

The following analysis is of Mary Margaret Blanchard's representation in *Once Upon a Time* within the contemporary world of Storybrooke. She exhibits both typical traditionally feminine and masculine traits, though her feminine traits are more numerous than her masculine traits. Mary Margaret Blanchard expresses seven feminine traits: good nature, emotionality, care, helpfulness, dependency, needing saving, and physical attractiveness. Furthermore, she embodies four masculine traits: actionality, saviour, independence, and daring.

The data on Mary Margaret Blanchard was coded into two categories: feminine traits and masculine traits. The traditionally feminine traits are discussed first and then the analysis moves on to a discussion of the masculine traits. The number of times that Mary Margaret Blanchard exhibited certain traits is presented using bar graphs, and these graphs are followed by screenshot examples of scenes in which she demonstrated these traits. This distribution of traits is then further explored by means of textual analysis.

7.3.1.1 Mary Margaret Blanchard as having a good nature

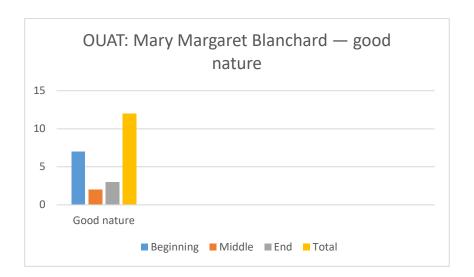


Figure 7.24 Frequency of occurrence of Mary Margaret Blanchard's good nature (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

For women to have a good nature means that they are not vulgar, insensitive, hateful or rebellious. Women who do exhibit these negative qualities are often censured in patriarchal societies (Danz, 2016; Patel, 1995). We see signs of Mary Margaret Blanchard's good nature at the beginning of season one in episode one, for example her soft voice and her sensitivity towards people and animals. In episode two, her good nature is shown in her hopefulness and her encouragement of people to do their best, while in episode three it is shown in her bubbly spirit and gentleness. In the middle of season one, in episode twelve, Mary Margaret Blanchard's good nature is once again evident through her soft voice, and in episode sixteen through her apologetic behaviour towards the dwarfs after she had been rude to them. Towards the end of the season, in episode eighteen, Mary Margaret Blanchard still speaks softly and is sweet and kind towards her students. These traits are consistent with patriarchal constructions of ideal women.

7.3.1.2 Mary Margaret Blanchard as nurturing

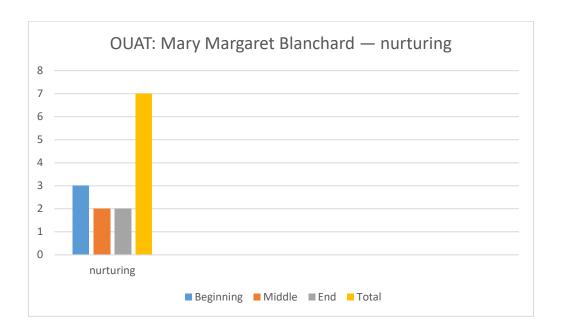


Figure 7.25 Frequency of occurrence of Mary Margaret Blanchard's nurturing (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)



Figure 7.26 Screenshot examples of Mary Margaret Blanchard's good nature (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

At the beginning of the season there are three instances that show Mary Margaret Blanchard as caring. Firstly, she gently, smilingly holds a bluebird in her hand and sets it free from the classroom (episode one). This is a direct visual reference to scenes from Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), which show Snow White in the forest with the woodland creatures, among them a number of bluebirds, one of which perches on her hand. Women still have a hint of caring nature, even to the smallest creatures. Birds could be a symbol of a person's worry, and setting the bird free could connote that she is setting her worries free. Usually, women show this kind of caring behaviour towards their children, and this act could signal her maternal nature. Secondly, in episode three, Mary Margaret Blanchard's maternal nature is evident in many instances — in her caring nature towards hospital patients and towards Emma and Henry, and in getting the dove medical help. Caring is consistent with the traditional feminine nurturing roles of female characters, and this trait therefore positions Mary Margaret Blanchard as a typically nurturing female character. Mary Margaret Blanchard is shown in the contemporary world, and this may therefore represent society's normative message to women on how to behave and the traits that they should have.

7.3.1.3 Mary Margaret Blanchard as helpful

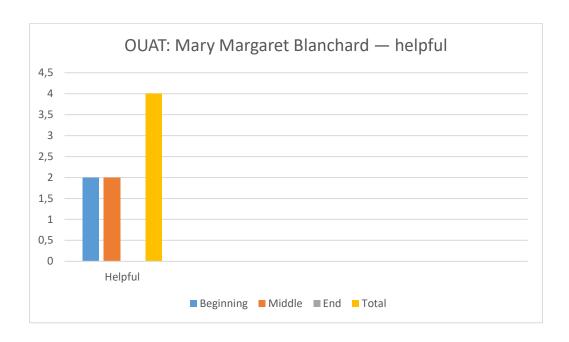


Figure 7.27 Frequency of occurrence of Mary Margaret Blanchard's helpfulness (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)



Figure 7.28 Screenshot examples of Mary Margaret Blanchard's helpfulness (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Mary Margaret Blanchard's helpfulness is seen at the beginning of season one when she volunteers at the hospital, where she reads to patients. Towards the middle of the season she gives Emma a place to stay and offers her friendship, suggesting that women can live harmoniously together. Helpfulness, which connotes supportiveness of another, is a key typical traditionally feminine trait within patriarchal systems, where women are positioned as the helpers and supporters of those who lead and act. While these examples show Mary Margaret Blanchard's helpfulness directed at other women, and at the weak (hospital patients), rather than at those in power, it could be argued that the feminine value of nurturing and supportive helpfulness shows the persistence of key patriarchal values.

7.3.1.4 Mary Margaret Blanchard as emotional

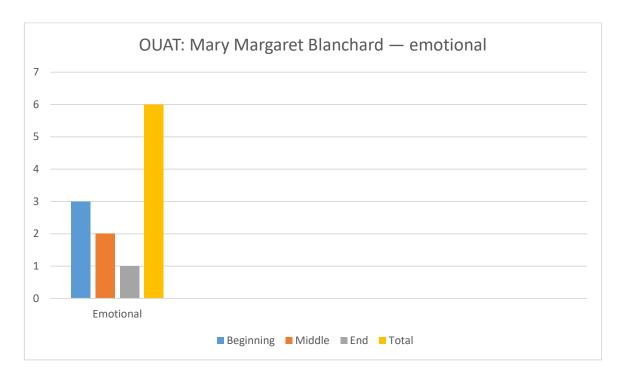


Figure 7.29 Frequency of occurrence of Mary Margaret Blanchard being emotional (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

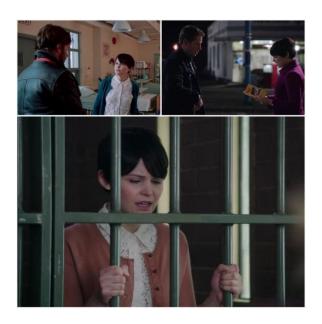


Figure 7.30 Screenshot examples of Mary Margaret Blanchard being emotional (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Patriarchy emphasises emotionality in women, and emotionless women are often characterised as lacking femininity. Patriarchy also associates emotion with weakness (unless the emotion is anger), and male characters are rarely portrayed as being emotionally weak. There is only one instance at the beginning of season one that shows Mary Margaret Blanchard's emotional side. In episode three she expresses her sadness and pain when John Doe goes missing. We see her weeping, eager to find John Doe. We hear and see panic in her voice and weeping eyes. In the middle of season one, there are three instances in which Mary Margaret Blanchard expresses intense emotion: in episode ten, she expresses love to David (John Doe); in episode twelve, she expresses sadness because she receives the wrong Valentine's Day card from David; and in episode sixteen, she expresses pain because she is falsely accused of killing someone. Towards the end of season one, in episode eighteen, she cries in prison because she is innocent, once again expressing her emotional pain.

7.3.1.5 Mary Margaret Blanchard as needing saving

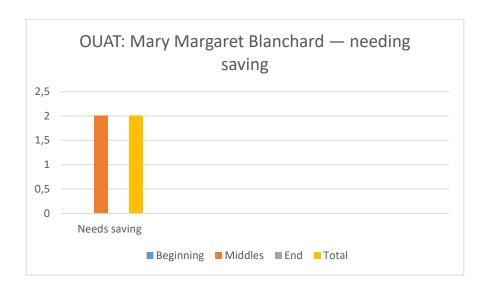


Figure 7.31 Frequency of occurrence of Mary Margaret Blanchard needing saving (Once Upon a Time, 2011)



Figure 7.32 Screenshot example of Mary Margaret Blanchard's needing saving (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Feminist research has found that in many films women are portrayed as individuals who require saving. This form of representation is also common in many fairy tale films (England et al., 2011). Female characters are mainly portrayed as needing saving from something or someone, and male characters are positioned as the saviours of their female counterparts. In *Once Upon a Time* there are only two instances, shown in the middle of season one, where Mary Margaret Blanchard needs saving: firstly, when she falls off a cliff while trying to save a bird and David

comes to her rescue (episode ten); and secondly, when she is imprisoned for a crime that she has not committed (episode sixteen). Her saviour then is unknown.

7.3.1.6 Mary Margaret Blanchard as dependent

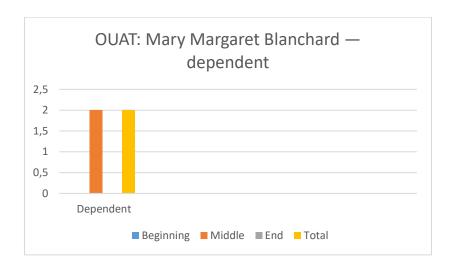


Figure 7.33 Frequency of occurrence of Mary Margaret Blanchard being dependent (Once Upon a Time, 2011)



Figure 7.34 Screenshot examples of Mary Margaret Blanchard being dependent (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Dependency is seen as a typical traditionally feminine trait within patriarchal systems, with women seen as predominantly dependent on men. In society, as well as in fairy tale films, women are portrayed as dependent on men for many things, such as money, protection and sometimes emotional support. Mary Margaret Blanchard's dependence on others is only seen in the middle of season one. In episode ten, when she falls off a cliff, a man saves her. In episode sixteen, she is also dependent on a man, Mr. Gold, to save her from jail, but he only pretends to support her.

7.3.1.7 Mary Margaret Blanchard as having active agency

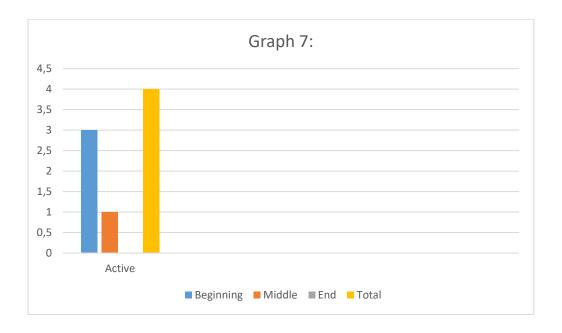


Figure 7.35 Frequency of occurrence of Mary Margaret Blanchard's active agency (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)



Figure 7.36 Screenshot examples of Mary Margaret Blanchard's active agency (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Traditional narratives tend to portray male characters as active and powerful, and female characters as passive and powerless (Mulvey, 1989). Women are mostly represented as passive individuals and men as active. At the beginning of season one, Mary Margaret Blanchard is shown as an active character. In episode one, she actively volunteers to help out at the hospital. In episode three, her active nature is noticed when she reads to John Doe. These actions are tied to helping and nurturing, which are traditionally feminine roles. However, Mary Margaret Blanchard also shows instances of active agency that are more masculine in nature, such as when she searches for John Doe in the woods when he goes missing from the hospital. When she finds him we see role reversal. John Doe is the 'damsel in distress' (in a coma) and Mary Margaret Blanchard saves him with a kiss. In episode ten, Mary Margaret Blanchard liberates the white dove, after refusing a man's help and traveling into dangerous weather. Such actions show her as equal to men, suggesting a shift away from purely patriarchal values.

7.3.1.8 Mary Margaret Blanchard as a saviour

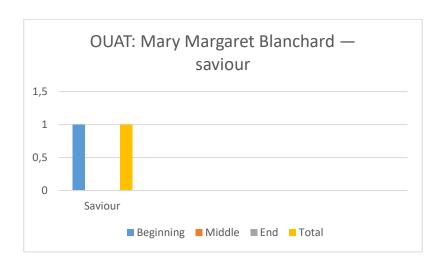


Figure 7.37 Frequency of occurrence of Mary Margaret Blanchard as a saviour (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)



Figure 7.38 Screenshot examples of Mary Margaret Blanchard as a saviour (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

In fairy tales, saviour characters are generally constructed as brave, physically strong individuals who are usually male, while female characters are constructed as those in distress, who lack bravery. Mary Margaret Blanchard is portrayed as needing saving in some instances, but she is also a saviour, showing that women are capable of effecting risky rescues. There is one early instance, in episode three, showing Mary Margaret Blanchard as John Doe's saviour. Later she also saves the dove when she gives it medical attention and sets it free back into nature.

7.3.1.9 Mary Margaret Blanchard as independent

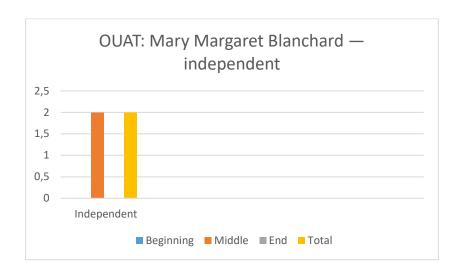


Figure 7.39 Frequency of occurrence of Mary Margaret Blanchard as independent (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)



Figure 7.40 Screenshot examples of Mary Margaret Blanchard's independence (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Independence was a trait attributed to most male characters as they were responsible for providing finance and shelter for their female counterparts. Mary Margaret Blanchard, in episode ten, acts independently of David, driving alone in dangerous weather to save the white dove in the woods. This suggests that some females are capable of responsibility and providing for themselves. Also, achieving independence is critical for women's freedom, in order for them to no longer be restricted by dependence on a man.

7.3.1.10 Mary Margaret Blanchard as daring

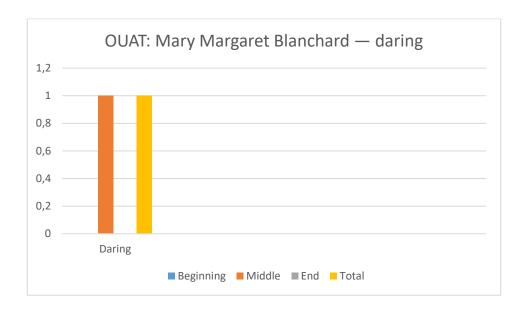


Figure 7.41 Frequency of occurrence of Mary Margaret Blanchard being daring (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)



Figure 7.42 Screenshot examples of Mary Margaret Blanchard being daring (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Episode ten, in the middle of season one, shows Mary Margaret Blanchard as a daring person when she goes out into the woods alone in dangerous weather to save the dove and return it back to its flock, thereby putting herself in danger. Such representations of female characters contradict feminist research that has found that women on television are often constructed as fearful. For some women, fearfulness is no longer a problem.

7.3.1.11 Summary of the content analysis of Mary Margaret Blanchard's traits

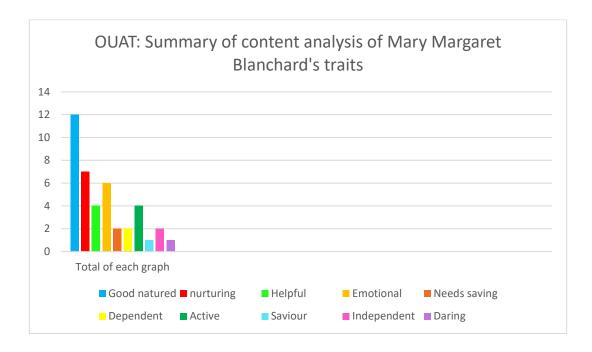


Figure 7.43 A summary of the content analysis of Mary Margaret Blanchard's traits (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

The female trait that occurred frequently in relation to Mary Margaret Blanchard was her good nature, a trait that maintains continuity with Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), in which Snow White is depicted as good natured, well-mannered and sensitive, with a soft-toned voice. Male characters are usually not seen as having these characteristics, but 'good' female characters are dominantly portrayed in this way, in accordance with patriarchal values about how women should behave. Females who are insensitive, vulgar and loud, are generally seen to be unfeminine. For patriarchs, using these labels negatively for women allowed men to control their behavior and how they portrayed themselves so that men could have good status in society. However, feminist activism has moderated this perception and widened the range of acceptable qualities and behaviours for women. It can be argued that for all people, men and women, being insensitive, vulgar and loud is bad human behavior. And being well-mannered, sensitive and assertive is a positive label for men and women. It is maybe by default women are considered loud and insensitive because they express their views or opinions about something, therefore going against the norms of patriarchy for 'ideal' women (being silent and submissive).

In conclusion, even though Mary Margaret Blanchard embodies both patriarchally defined feminine and masculine traits, she possesses more feminine traits. Her role is typically feminine when she is seen as a nurturer of children — it could be argued that in *Once Upon a Time* the children are a replacement for the seven dwarfs (little people) in the traditional fairy tale. The content analysis revealed that Mary Margaret Blanchard is an active character, which is a deviation from the passive 'damsel in distress' role. In traditional fairy tales, women are often portrayed as damsels in distress, with little or no active role. Active roles that are played by women are typically feminine ones, for example being active in taking care of the family or household chores. Today, however, it is more acceptable for women to be portrayed in active roles that are more traditionally masculine in nature, such as going on quests, as Mary Margaret does when she goes out into dangerous weather to set the dove free. This is considered active in a masculine sense because she drives to the cliff by herself and carries the bird on foot to find its flock. Being active is the most common masculine trait in Mary Margaret Blanchard's character. She is active in the domestic sphere as well as the working world. From a traditional gender role perspective, women are required to have a good nature and to be prim and proper, as in the case of Mary Margaret Blanchard's character. Also, women who have masculine traits are seen as a threat to men. Therefore, they are suppressed or subjected to patriarchal values. After many decades of feminist activism, the media has started representing women more equally, but some patriarchal values still prevail.

In the following section, I present the visual and semiotic analysis of Mary Margaret Blanchard, which I further elaborate on using textual analysis.

7.3.2 Visual/semiotic analysis: Mary Margaret Blanchard



Figure 7.44 Screenshot examples of key settings where Mary Margaret Blanchard is featured in *Once Upon a Time* (2011)

Key settings where Mary Margaret Blanchard is featured are the classroom, the hospital and her home. Each of these settings is associated with caring, nurture and support, which highlights her maternal role in *Once Upon a Time*. The classroom setting, where Mary Margaret Blanchard is seen as a teacher, underlines her low-status, largely female, profession as a teacher. The vet and the woods are additional settings, which display Mary Margaret Blanchard's love for animals and where her more traditionally masculine behaviour surfaces.



Figure 7.45 Screenshot examples of Mary Margaret Blanchard's clothing in *Once Upon a Time* (2011)

Women have traditionally been represented in attire that pleases males. Women are still conscious of what they wear, but in Western societies they are now generally allowed to wear what they feel comfortable in (Smelik, 2016). Mary Margaret Blanchard is not represented for male pleasure. She does not wear revealing or tight clothes, shows minimal skin in most instances, and has a short hairstyle that is traditionally associated with boys. Throughout season one of *Once Upon a Time*, Mary Margaret Blanchard dresses conservatively in non-revealing clothing — mostly dresses — and has natural make-up. She wears a short dress on only one occasion because she goes out to a nightclub and is influenced by other women to dress in a way that attracts men. These visual portrayals of Mary Margaret Blanchard's character place her within the Madonna category because her clothing is quite conservative and she comes across as being a traditionally ideal female (innocent and saintly).

The visual elements in this analysis have revealed that Mary Margaret Blanchard is a traditionally feminine character. In patriarchal systems, women are encouraged to be caring, pleasing and sensitive. Overall, Mary Margaret Blanchard's behaviour is very traditionally feminine and could be seen to be conforming to patriarchal values. At the beginning of season one she is soft-spoken, caring, loving, hopeful, sensitive and happy. In the middle of season one she retains most of these values, but becomes more timid, and is easily emotionally hurt. At the end of the season, in addition to these qualities, she is also vulnerable. All of these are traits that women have traditionally been expected to embody. Her clothing and make-up reflect the traditionally feminine elements of her personality and behaviour, and this is

underscored by the settings that relate to her, suggesting certain patriarchal norms at play in *Once Upon a Time*.

The following section presents the results of the actantial analysis of Mary Margaret Blanchard's character in *Once Upon a Time*. This analysis is supported and elaborated upon through a textual analysis.

7.3.3 Actantial analysis: Mary Margaret Blanchard

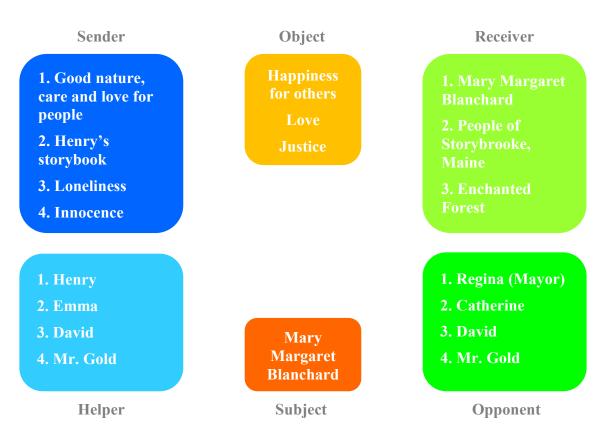


Figure 7.46 Actantial analysis of Mary Margaret Blanchard in *Once Upon a Time* (2011)

The subject of the actantial model is Mary Margaret Blanchard, who represents Snow White in the contemporary world of Storybrooke. Most of the action in season one happens in relation to Snow White/Mary Margaret Blanchard. There are three objects of desire in this actantial model. The first object of desire, happiness for others, shows how women generally put the feelings and happiness of other people first, especially their family. Mary Margaret Blanchard's desire for happiness for other people is seen when she gives advice to Emma. Mary Margaret

Blanchard's second object of desire is love, which is typically feminine in nature. She starts desiring love when she meets John Doe. In the mass media, women are often represented as requiring love, which is seen as a priority for women in patriarchal systems. Her third object of desire is justice for herself because she has been framed for a crime she did not commit. This is an instance of how women can stand up for and support themselves.

There are four senders of the objects of desire. The first sender is Mary Margaret Blanchard's good nature and love for people, which motivates the first object of desire (happiness for others). The desire for love is motivated by two things: Henry's storybook and loneliness. Henry's storybook puts the idea of love into her head as she reads part of the story to John Doe, and her loneliness pushes her in the direction of acquiring love and companionship. Her desire for justice is strongly motivated by the fact of her innocence, which is seen throughout season one.

There are only two receivers of the objects of desire. The main receiver is Mary Margaret Blanchard herself, as she benefits from all of the objects: seeing other people happy makes her happy; achieving love means that she will not be alone anymore, and getting justice would set her free and prove her innocence. The people of Storybrooke are receivers of Mary Margaret Blanchard's first object of desire, which is to see other people happy; she would do anything to see other people happy and they would benefit by getting happiness.

Mary Margaret Blanchard has four helpers:

- Henry, who helps her search for her love by giving her the storybook;
- Emma, who encourages her to approach David with her feelings, who supports her
 when she is fighting to prove her innocence, and who helps her to collect evidence to
 prove her innocence;
- David, who helps Mary Margaret Blanchard by believing she is guilty, and thus driving her to prove her innocence; and
- Mr. Gold, her last helper, who pretends to help her get out of jail by anonymously placing a key in her jail cell (but did this to benefit Regina, the Evil Queen.)

As the episode progresses, the victim who Mary Margaret Blanchard was accused of killing appears in an alley, thereby proving her innocence.

There are four opponents in this actantial model: Regina, Catherine and David stand in the way of Mary Margaret Blanchard achieving her love. Regina does everything possible to ensure that she does not achieve love. Catherine suddenly appears and claims that she is David's wife, creating an obstacle to Mary Margaret Blanchard's love for David. David himself is an opponent to Mary Margaret Blanchard achieving love, as he is confused about how he feels. The last opponent is Mr. Gold, who misleads her into believing that he will help her get justice, and so prevents her from getting justice and proving herself innocent.

This actantial analysis emphasises Mary Margaret Blanchard's good nature, her need for guidance, and her desire for love, as traditionally feminine traits. However, she also represents certain traditionally masculine traits. She has a degree of active agency because while she has multiple helpers, she also actively pursues what she wants. For example, she actively tries to obtain the love that she wants. Moreover, she is constructed as determined and independent. It can therefore be concluded that Mary Margaret Blanchard, who is Snow White in the contemporary world, primarily displays traditionally feminine traits, but not exclusively, as she does display some traditionally masculine ones too.

The next section of this chapter analyses Little Red Riding Hood ("Red") from the Enchanted Forest.

7.4 LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD ("RED")

7.4.1 Content analysis: Red

I now move to present the analysis of the second character that my study is focusing on, Little Red Riding Hood, who will now be addressed as Red. The content analysis established that in season one of *Once Upon a Time*, Red does not get much camera time. She does not appear in the beginning section of season one at all, only making her appearance in the middle section. However, the camera time that she does receive provides enough information to carry out the analysis and find out what types of traits are evident in the role that she plays.

The same two coding categories of typical traditionally feminine and masculine traits that were previously used, derived from Ottosson & Cheng (2012) and England et al. (2011), were

applied again to this character. It was found that Red embodies both typically feminine and typically masculine traits, although she embodies a greater number of feminine traits: friendliness, helpfulness, emotionality, physical attractiveness and disobedience. Only two masculine traits are evident in Red: dangerous/violent and saviour. I have used bar graphs to illustrate the number of instances in which each trait was shown, and have provided screenshot examples of scenes that illustrate these instances. I have further elaborated on this using textual analysis and insight from feminist theory.

7.4.1.1 Red as friendly

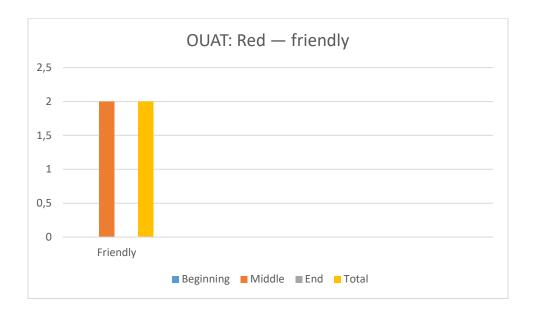


Figure 7.47 Frequency of occurrence of Red being friendly (Once Upon a Time, 2011)



Figure 7.48 Screenshot examples of Red being friendly (Once Upon a Time, 2011)

In patriarchal societies some women join social clubs to make friends and meet new people. Some women are friendly and some see other women as competition. Most women have same-sex friends to whom they reveal personal and family issues (Rose & Roades, 1987). Red's friendly nature is shown in the middle of season one, when she befriends Snow White. They develop a very close friendship, and Red treats Snow White like a sister, even though they have different personalities, demonstrating that women can be friendly with each other despite their differences.

7.4.1.2 Red as helpful

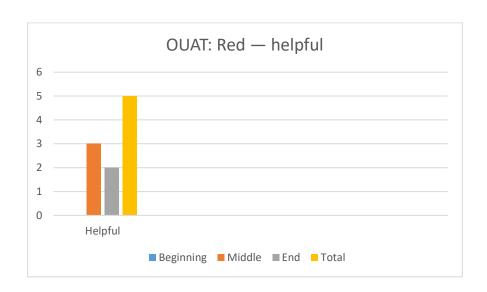


Figure 7.49 Frequency of occurrence of Red being helpful (Once Upon a Time, 2011)



Figure 7.50 Screenshot examples of Red being helpful (Once Upon a Time, 2011)

Societal beliefs have constructed women as communal (helpful and nurturing) and men as agentive (independent) (Paludi, 2016). Red helps her grandmother in the middle of season one with collecting eggs. She helps Snow White by providing her with shelter, a bed, warm clothes and food to eat, and she helps David to get away from the king's huntsman. At the end of season one, Red helps Snow White to save Prince Charming from the Evil Queen's captivity. She also helps to find Snow White when she is believed to be dead, by using her tracking/wolf abilities.

7.4.1.3 Red as emotional

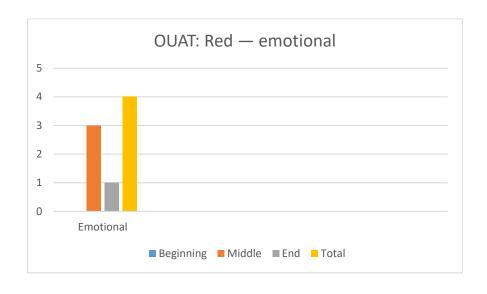


Figure 7.51 Frequency of occurrence of Red being emotional (Once Upon a Time, 2011)



Figure 7.52 Screenshot examples of Red being emotional (Once Upon a Time, 2011)

Scholarly research on female roles in television reveals that even after many decades of feminist activism to challenge gender stereotyping, female characters are constructed as emotional(Tatar, 1999). Male characters are rarely seen playing strongly emotional roles. For a long time, patriarchy has subjected men to suppressing their emotions which potentially lead to negative consequences. Showing emotion is not a negative thing for men or women as it allows us to better understand each other and free our inner self of emotional burdens. Being emotional does not make you less masculine, it just shows that you are humane and capable of feeling, and it is a rational response in many situations. (England et al., 2011). In the middle of season one there are three instances where Red becomes emotional: she shows love for Peter, she cries when she finds out that she has eaten Peter and that she is the wolf, and she shows joy in her friendship with Snow White. At the end of season one, Red shows sadness when she finds Snow White dead — this also emphasises their bond.

7.4.1.4 Red as disobedient

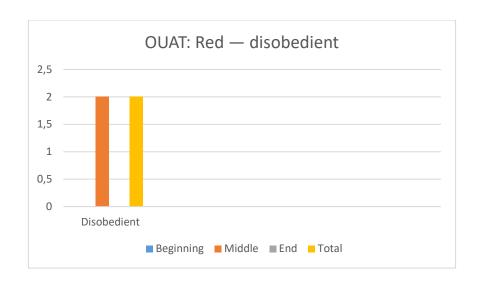


Figure 7.53 Frequency of occurrence of Red as disobedient (Once Upon a Time, 2011)



Figure 7.54 Screenshot examples of Red being disobedient (Once Upon a Time, 2011)

Patriarchal values shape women as obedient individuals; however, research into contemporary female roles suggests that women are being portrayed as more assertive, loud and disobedient (England et al., 2011). There are two instances in the middle of season one that show Red being disobedient: firstly, when she secretly meets Peter without her grandmother's permission and goes out at night without her red hood, thereby ignoring her grandmother's advice; and

secondly, when she argues with her grandmother. These instances highlight Propp's *interdiction* function, defined as the prohibition of the hero from doing something (Propp, 1968), as well as his *violation* function, defined as the hero going against the interdiction. Both instances show Red disobeying her grandmother, and Kennedy (2018) interprets this situation in terms of pre-feminist grandmothers trying to control the lives of post-feminist teenagers, as in the case of Red and her grandmother (Kennedy, 2018). Red's violation of these interdictions indicates deliberate disobedience. Her grandmother forbids her from searching for the wolf, but she ignores this advice. Red's disobedience is also connected to Propp's (1968) *departure* function, defined as the hero leaving home for a quest, as she leaves the house to find the wolf and save her realm from it. Understanding Red's disobedience through Propp's functions constructs her as a heroine character.

7.4.1.5 Red as a saviour

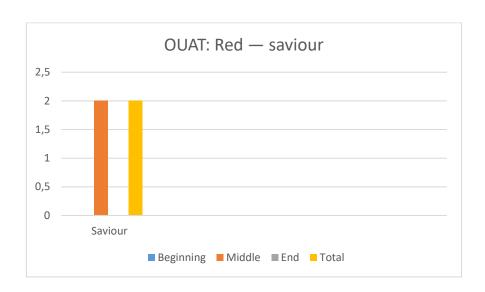


Figure 7.55 Frequency of occurrence of Red being a saviour (Once Upon a Time, 2011)



Figure 7.56 Screenshot examples of Red being a saviour (Once Upon a Time, 2011)

Instead of being portrayed as predominantly helpless, in some television series women are portrayed as saviours (Paludi, 2016). They are constructed as saviours of themselves and others — even sometimes male characters. We see this in two instances with Red. In the middle of season one, she saves Snow White by giving her shelter and providing a safe haven for her from the Evil Queen. Instead of handing Snow White over to the Evil Queen, Red befriends her. Red also saves Prince Charming from the huntsman, using her ability to change into a wolf.

7.4.1.6 Red as dangerous or violent

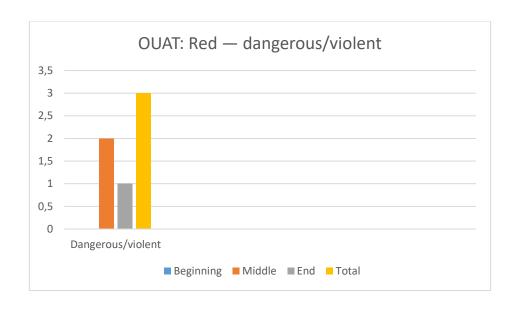


Figure 7.57 Frequency of occurrence of Red being dangerous or violent (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)



Figure 7.58 Screenshot examples of Red being dangerous or violent (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Gilpatric (2010) observes that many female characters are constructed as violent characters who engage in actions that are stereotypically attributed to males, for example killing people. Examples of Red's violent nature are seen in three instances during season one of *Once Upon a Time*. In the middle and towards the end of season one, she acts dangerously/violently in killing Peter, although she does this unknowingly. She also kills the King's huntsman in order

to save Prince Charming. Lastly, outside the Evil Queen's palace, she kills more huntsmen in order to help Snow White save Prince Charming.

Graph 7: Graph 7: Total of each graph Friendly Helpful Emotional Disobedient Saviour Dangerous/violent

7.4.1.7 Summary of the content analysis of Red's traits

Figure 7.59 A summary of the content analysis of Red's traits (Once Upon a Time, 2011)

This analysis revealed that Red does not appear in the beginning section of season one, but enters the narrative during the middle section of the season. However, the camera time that she does receive provides an ample amount of information to explore the character traits that she demonstrates. Red in the Enchanted Forest is also considered as more feminine than masculine as she shows more instances of feminine traits than masculine ones. For example, she shows more instances of being helpful and emotional than being dangerous/violent or a saviour.

In the following section, I present the visual and semiotic analysis of Red, which I further elaborate on using textual analysis.

7.4.2 Visual/semiotic analysis: Little Red Riding Hood



Figure 7.60 Screenshot examples of key settings where Red is featured in *Once Upon a Time* (2011)

The settings that contribute to the construction of Red's character are her home and the forest. Her home, where she is kept locked in, connotes a jail cell, the purpose of which is to keep danger enclosed, suggesting that Red is a danger to other people. The forest is where we see Red helping the people who have helped and protected her. This suggests that she cares for people who have shown her kindness.



Figure 7.61 Screenshot examples of Red's attire in *Once Upon a Time* (2011)

Traditionally, filmic media have visually constructed female characters for male pleasure, as a passive object to be admired (Mulvey, 1989), by dressing them to emphasise their physical attributes in order to please the male audience. We can deduce, using Mulvey's (1989) theory of the male gaze, that Red's character was visually constructed for male pleasure, as she wears bright-red lipstick (an attractive, sexy colour) and wears a low-cut dress that shows some cleavage, playing to stereotypes of heterosexual men's attraction to women's bodies.

From a feminist perspective, Red's ability to change into a wolf could be seen as a metaphor for sexual duality, and the freedom to choose one's sexuality. Her continuous wearing of the red hood, which prevents her transformation into a wolf, suggests that as a young woman she should guard herself against the free development of her sexuality. For feminist scholars, the red hood is symbolic of the puberty stage in females (Orenstein, 2002). Red's behaviour and personality suggest that she is not a traditional princess-like figure, but is closer to being a modern teenager in the real world, as she behaves like a typical modern teenager.

The following section presents the results of the actantial analysis of Red's character in *Once Upon a Time*. This analysis is supported and elaborated upon through textual analysis.

7.4.3 Actantial analysis: Red

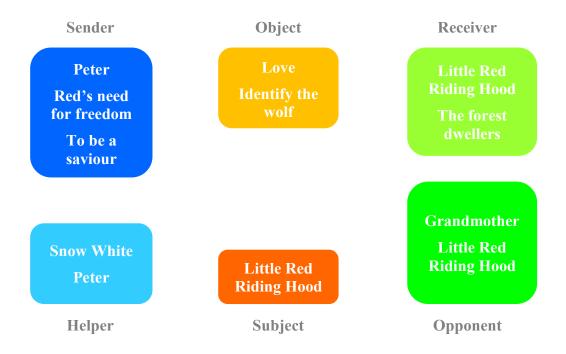


Figure 7.62 Actantial analysis of Red in *Once Upon a Time* (2011)

The subject of the actantial model in Figure 7.62 is Red. Her character is not derived from a fairy tale princess story, and so is not derived from the typical fairy tale princess tradition. Despite not receiving much camera time in season one of *Once Upon a Time*, she is an interesting character to analyse because of her transformative ability.

There are two objects of desire in this actantial model. Red desires love, which is a normatively assigned and strongly socialised desire for many women. This desire is seen in the middle of the season when she interacts with Peter. She also desires to solve the mystery of who the wolf is and where it is hiding.

The first object of desire has two senders. Peter and Red's need for freedom motivate her desire to find love. This also highlights Propp's narrative function *lack*, which is seen when Red secretly meets Peter, even though she was instructed not to. This signals that she is a rebellious woman. Although Red is not a princess, her behaviour can be understood in relation to Kennedy's (2018) observation that post-feminist princesses are usually constructed as rebellious towards pre-feminist grandmothers. The desire to discover who the wolf is and where it is hiding is motivated by Red's need to be a saviour.

The receivers of Red's desire to identify the wolf are the forest dwellers who will be saved if she discovers where the wolf hides or who the wolf is. The receiver of Red's desire for love would have been Red herself, but she eliminated this desire when she unknowingly killed Peter, who was her love. This suggests that while women often desire the freedom to accomplish their desires, their aspirations are not always realised in the way they want.

Red has two helpers: Snow White and Peter. Snow White covers up for her so she can sneak out and see Peter. Snow White also helps by accompanying her to track the wolf. Peter is also one of her helpers, in an indirect and tragic way, in helping her to identify herself as the wolf. This could connote that women need other people in order to identify who they really are, and that they need help to achieve certain desires. Her consumption of Peter could connote her journey into adulthood.

Two opponents have been identified in this actantial model. The first one is the grandmother, who is an opponent to Red finding her love because she does not let her go out of the house. The grandmother is also an opponent to the second object of desire, because she knows who the wolf is and is trying to protect Red. Red's grandmother is not an opponent because she is a bad person, but because looks out for Red's best interests. Red's grandmother is an opponent

in the sense that she is trying to impose her values or ideals on Red, and trying to choose who Red should be because she does not want Red to find out the truth about herself. Post-feminism points to constructed, mediated representations of privileged women as free to choose their feminist identity (Kennedy, 2018). Lastly, Red is an opponent to her own desires, as she kills the person whom she desires, thereby killing her desire for love. Some females or teenagers of the post-feminist era would consider anyone who stops them from achieving what they desire to be an opponent.

The actantial model suggests that Red has a dual nature. On the one hand, she is represented as having stereotypical, heteronormative desires for love that could be read as a feminine trait. On the other hand, she is represented as having a desire to know the wolf, a wild and dangerous animal that could represent alternative, socially unsanctioned desires. She also has the capacity to transform into this wild and dangerous animal — a capacity that is repressed by the hood, and controlled by her grandmother. The quest to discover the wolf entails 'masculine' actions, such as disobedience, bravery and active agency in going out to search for it, and putting her life in danger. Traditionally, male characters in myths and fairy tales embark on quests. But here we see that Red takes it upon herself to go on a quest to find the wolf (albeit with helpers). Being the wolf also entails 'masculine' behaviour, in being dangerous and violent.

The final analysis of this chapter focuses on the character of Ruby from Storybrooke, who is in fact Red from the Enchanted Forest.

7.5 RUBY

7.5.1 Content analysis: Ruby

I now move to consider the final character selected for analysis: Ruby from Storybrooke, Maine, in the contemporary world. Each of the selected episodes was examined carefully in order to obtain information about her character and the role that she plays in the selected episodes of season one of *Once Upon a Time*.

The coding established that Ruby displays four typical traditionally feminine traits (disobedience, helpfulness, showing emotion, and being flirtatious or seductive), and two typical traditionally masculine traits (having active agency and demonstrating skills). Ruby's

feminine traits will be discussed first and then her masculine traits. The number of times that Ruby exhibits certain traits is presented using bar graphs, and these graphs are followed by screenshot examples of scenes in which she demonstrated these traits. This distribution of traits is then further explored by means of textual analysis.

7.5.1.1 Ruby as disobedient

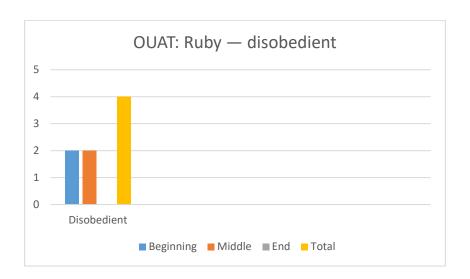


Figure 7.63 Frequency of occurrence of Ruby being disobedient (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)



Figure 7.64 Screenshot examples of Ruby being disobedient (Once Upon a Time, 2011)

Ruby's character models a woman who insists on being free to choose her own path, but her role also highlights the consequences flowing from such freedom. She does not display typical traditionally feminine behavior, and the beginning of season one provides two instances that show Ruby being disobedient. The first instance shows her grandmother shouting at her because she goes out all day and night, but she does not heed her grandmother's words. The second instance is when she lies to Emma about Ashley's whereabouts. In the middle of the season, in episode fifteen, Ruby's disobedience is shown when she shouts at and argues with her grandmother about work. She displays a rebellious attitude towards her grandmother attitude and tells lies. Feminist research foregrounds how women who resist the ways in which they are constructed in patriarchal society are considered to be disobedient — 'good' women being characterised as obedient by patriarchal structures (England et al., 2011).

7.5.1.2 Ruby as helpful

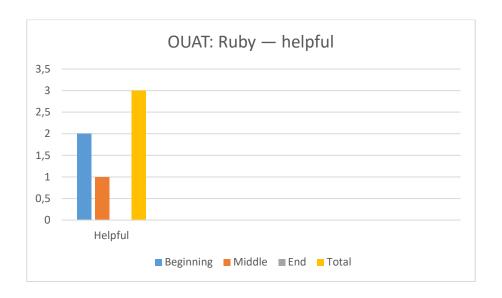


Figure 7.65 Frequency of occurrence of Ruby being helpful (Once Upon a Time, 2011)



Figure 7.66 Screenshot examples of Ruby being helpful (Once Upon a Time, 2011)

In post-patriarchal societies there is less of an expectation of women to be helpful than in male-dominated societies. Women in post-patriarchal societies have more freedom to choose if and who they want to help, and how they will do so (England et al., 2011). We see this to be true for Ruby, as there are very few instances where she is portrayed as helpful. In episode four, towards the beginning of the season, Ruby helps Emma when she spills cocoa on herself, and she also helps Ashley by lying to Emma about where she is. In the middle of season one there is only one instance where Ruby is helpful when she helps Emma in her investigation of Mary Margaret Blanchard in episode fifteen. In these instances, Ruby's help and support are directed towards women and are a result of her own freedom of choice, not a sense of obligation.

7.5.1.3 Ruby as emotional

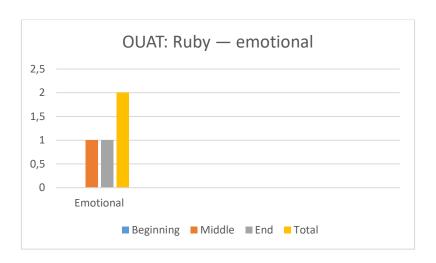


Figure 7.67 Frequency of occurrence of Ruby being emotional (Once Upon a Time, 2011)



Figure 7.68 Screenshot examples of Ruby being emotional (Once Upon a Time, 2011)

Ruby shows only two instances of fear. In episode fifteen, when she helps Emma with her investigation, she finds something at the troll bridge which elicits fear in her, and at the end of the season she shows fear when she screams because of something she sees in the alley. In patriarchal societies, women are constructed as showing emotion, particularly 'weaker' emotion such as fear, while men are represented as unemotional and brave. Fear is a dominant feature of female characters in traditional fairy tales — Snow White, for example, fears for her safety from the Evil Queen (England et al., 2011). Ruby, however, seldom shows fear.

7.5.1.4 Ruby as flirtatious or seductive

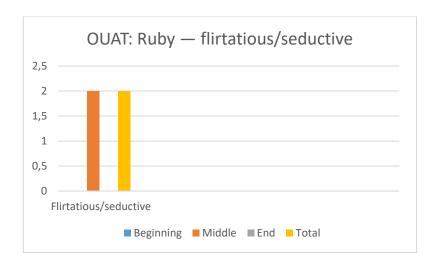


Figure 7.69 Frequency of occurrence of Ruby being flirtatious or seductive (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)



Figure 7.70 Screenshot examples of Ruby being flirtatious or seductive (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

In patriarchal societies women are seen as having the power to flirt and seduce men because of the way they dress their bodies and act. Ruby uses her body flirtatiously. In episode twelve, we see Ruby's flirtatious/seductive side when she freely approaches boys and expresses her sexuality in a nightclub. In episode fifteen when she is serving August she behaves flirtatiously, by leaning over the table and showing some cleavage.

7.5.1.5 Ruby as having active agency

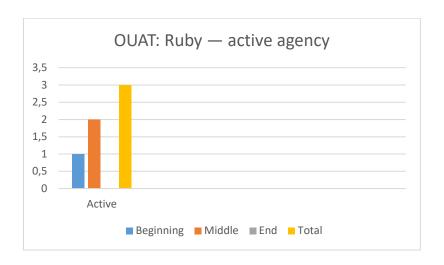


Figure 7.71 Frequency of occurrence of Ruby's active agency (Once Upon a Time, 2011)



Figure 7.72 Screenshot examples of Ruby's active agency (Once Upon a Time, 2011)

The consequences of feminist activism have produced constructions of women in contemporary television series as less passive individuals than those portrayed in traditional fairy tales (Tatar, 1999). Ruby chooses to work to support herself, even though she is portrayed in a low-status job. In episode two, Ruby is shown as active in her waitressing work at her grandmother's diner. In patriarchal societies women are seen as passive, and as confined to the domestic sphere and household issues. Women are not allowed to go out and actively work in society to make money. *Once Upon a Time* partially moves away from that idea, as it portrays women in the working world, as in the case of Ruby, albeit in work with a low social status.

There are still some patriarchal norms presented in *Once Upon a Time*. In the middle of the season Ruby quits her job as a waitress and goes to work at the sheriff's station as a telephonist, which is also seen as a low-status job. However, Ruby also goes out to investigate and find clues, which is regarded as more typically a man's job. Here she is active, as she physically goes out to investigate.

7.5.1.6 Ruby demonstrating skills

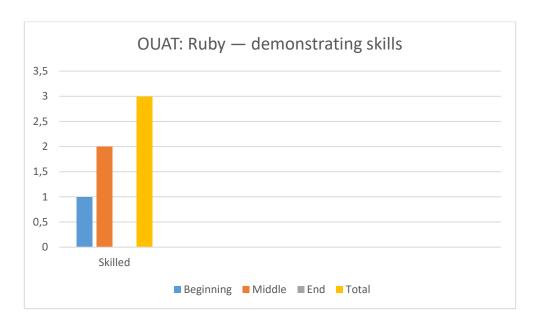


Figure 7.73 Frequency of occurrence of Ruby demonstrating skills (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)



Figure 7.74 Screenshot examples of Ruby demonstrating skills (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Women in patriarchal societies have very little active presence in the economic world and tend to remain in unskilled or domestic work, suggesting that they are unskilled and unintelligent. In such societies, the female skills that are acknowledged are limited to the domestic sphere and their importance is minimised. Patriarchal representations of women therefore tend to represent them in jobs that require few skills, while representing men in higher-skilled jobs. However, feminist activism has produced a shift towards more equal roles by encouraging the more frequent representation of women in skilled jobs, and the representation of women who choose to support themselves by developing themselves and their skills (Harrison & Boyd, 2003; Ottosson & Cheng, 2012). Ruby's character shows that females can be both beautiful and skilled. In the middle of season one we learn that Ruby is a skilled individual: she is good at her waitressing job, she is good at being a telephonist at the sheriff's station, and she is good at sniffing out clues and finding evidence during investigations. In *Once Upon a Time* Ruby represents a skilled woman who does not doubt her capabilities when she works side by side with the sheriff to solve a murder case.

7.5.1.7 Summary of the content analysis of Ruby's traits

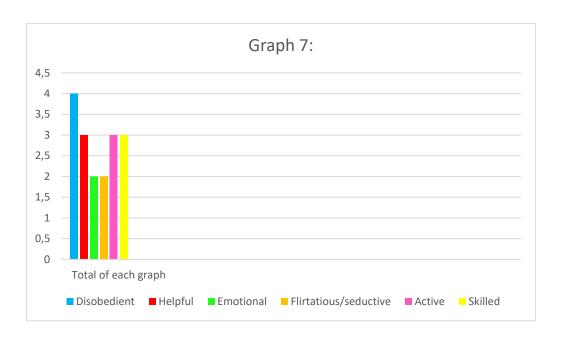


Figure 7.75 A summary of the content analysis of Ruby's traits (*Once Upon a Time*, 2011)

Ruby's character has an equal amount of typical traditionally feminine traits and masculine traits. However, there is a higher number of instances of masculine traits. Thus, she is mostly represented in a traditionally masculine role. The deviation shows some shift in the mediated roles of women, from being portrayed dominantly with stereotypically female roles to being portrayed with roles that were considered to be stereotypically male roles like being sexually confident and aggressive.

In the following section, I present the visual and semiotic analysis of Ruby, which I further elaborate on using textual analysis.

7.5.2 Visual/semiotic analysis: Ruby

This analysis highlights how in *Once Upon a Time* Ruby is constructed as a disobedient, independent, capable, and sexually confident and aggressive woman. The mise en scène foregrounds her physical attractiveness.



Figure 7.76 Screenshot examples of key settings where Ruby is featured in *Once Upon a Time* (2011)

The setting at the beginning of the season is Granny's Diner, where we see her grandmother shouting at her and her profession as a waitress is revealed. Even though she is portrayed in the working world, she is doing a job that is considered low status and is generally assigned to women. In the middle of season one, Ruby is shown clearly enjoying a nightclub setting, and interacting with men. The nightclub setting reveals her flirtatious/seductive nature, which is further emphasised in episode fifteen when she serves August in the diner. Another setting in the middle of the season is the sheriff's office, where she starts her new job and begins to discover her capabilities. The final setting is the troll bridge, where her abilities surface. This highlights Propp's narrative function of *difficult task*. Ruby performs the difficult task herself, illustrating that women can be skilled and brave. At the end of season one she is shown in the alley next to the diner, where her fear is expressed.



Figure 7.77 Screenshot examples of Ruby's attire in *Once Upon a Time* (2011)

The patriarchal values on physical appearance of females on television and in society were stricter than the rules for men. They generally did not bother much about the physical appearance of males (Ottosson & Cheng, 2012). Throughout season one, Ruby's make-up and clothing are consistent. She wears a combination of red and white revealing clothing, such as shorts, low-cut tops and tight pants, which foreground her sexual nature. Her accessories, hair and make-up are also red, which tends to symbolise sexuality and passion. Ruby therefore

expresses her sexuality through her attire, which shows a lot of skin. Hence, it can be deduced

that she is created for male pleasure, and her behaviour signals that she enjoys male attention.

This is seen when she engages with August in Granny's Diner.

The settings show Ruby as an outgoing person who likes to have fun. In patriarchal societies

women are discouraged from socialising independently, and stricter controls on their

movement, and accountability for their whereabouts, are required than for men. 'Good' women

are ideally confined to the domestic sphere. These settings suggest that Ruby is not a typical

traditionally feminine character: she has a job as a sheriff's assistant that requires and allows

her to be active and independent; her make-up, clothing, and flirtatious behaviour suggest that

she is explicit about her sexuality; and her behaviour and personality are rebellious, and she

disobeys her elders, possibly because her grandmother's requirements are too strict. These

factors suggest that Ruby falls into the "whore" category and that her behaviour goes against

the descriptions of saintly Madonna females. This could show some resistance towards the

traditional definitions of a Whore type as she is shown as a loyal friend to Mary Margaret

Blanchard and she is not condemned for having sexual agency. Even though she is explicit

about her sexuality, she is mostly represented positively which undermines the patriarchal

assumption of a sexually active and independent female needing to be punished or considered

as a 'bad' female.

The following section presents the results of the actantial analysis of Ruby's character in *Once*

Upon a Time. This analysis is supported and elaborated upon through textual analysis.

Actantial analysis: Ruby 7.5.3

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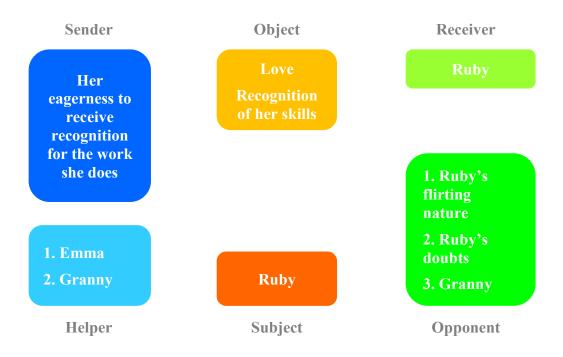


Figure 7.78 Actantial analysis of Ruby in Once Upon a Time (2011)

The subject of the actantial model in Figure 7.78 is Ruby. There are two objects of desire in this actantial model. Ruby still desires love, which is a typical female desire, even though some female characters choose money over love. The second object of desire is for the people around her to recognise her skills and appreciate her. This desire is not very traditionally feminine, as traditionally men are associated with skill, and suggest that younger women yearn for recognition of their skills.

The desire for love has no sender, as I could not identify one. The second desire is motivated by Ruby's eagerness to receive recognition for the work she does. The receiver of the second desire is Ruby herself. As season one progresses, Ruby gets recognition for the work she does and for her skills. Love is one of her desires; however, in season one we do not see her achieve this desire. At this stage there is therefore no receiver of this desire.

Ruby has two helpers: Emma, who gives her the opportunity to work at the sheriff's station, which results in Ruby finding herself and realising her capabilities, and her grandmother, who tries to put her on the right track and guide her. Ruby is given a second chance to work in her grandmother's diner, and this helps Ruby to achieve her second object of desire, as her grandmother becomes proud of her.

Ruby has three opponents, two of which are derived from herself, indicating that sometimes women are their own downfall. Ruby's flirtatious nature stands in the way of achieving true love, and the doubts she has about herself and her capabilities prevent her from receiving the recognition that she desires from other people. Lastly, her grandmother is also seen as an opponent, as she never gives Ruby credit for the work she does, and she does not have faith in Ruby until towards the end of season one.

This actantial model reveals that Ruby has a typical female desire for love. She expresses her sexuality freely and confidently, choosing to dress and behave how she wants to. She desires recognition for her skills, suggesting that she lacks positive recognition and that the sexual attention that she receives is not enough. This feeds into the patriarchal assumption that women are undeserving attention seekers. Ruby also exhibits behaviours that indicate that she is doubtful of herself, and lacks confidence.

7.6 SYNTHESIS

A summary of the traditionally feminine and masculine traits that were identified in the content analyses of Snow White, Mary Margaret Blanchard, Red and Ruby is presented in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1 Summary of the traditionally feminine and masculine traits identified in the content analyses of Snow White, Mary Margaret Blanchard, Red and Ruby

	Snow White	Mary Margaret Blanchard	Red	Ruby
Traditionally feminine	Needing help/saving	Needing help/saving		
	Emotional	Emotional	Emotional	Emotional
	Victim			
	Nurturing	Nurturing		
	Good nature	Good nature		
		Helpful	Helpful	Helpful
		Dependent		
			Friendly	
				Flirtatious/seductive
Traditionally masculine	Brave			
	Active agency	Active agency		Active agency
	Assertive			
		Saviour	Saviour	
		Independent		
		Daring		
			Disobedient	Disobedient
			Dangerous/violent	
				Demonstrates skills

The analysis of Snow White in Season One of Once Upon a Time revealed that she is represented as having both typical traditionally masculine and feminine traits, but that her typically feminine traits are more dominant. The character of Snow White is developed beyond the portrayals of Snow White in the traditional fairy tale as traditionally feminine. The content analysis has shown that key feminine traits that are still present are that she often needs saving, she expresses emotion, she is a victim, she is caring and maternal, and she has a good nature. The visual and semiotic analysis generated more insight about Snow White's physical attractiveness, which is also seen as an important traditionally feminine trait. In addition, she is also seen as a typical female character in her desire for love. However, certain traits emerged from the content analysis that were traditionally more masculine in nature, showing a departure in the representation of Snow White from the 1937 Disney film, which reflected the norms of patriarchal society by showing her as having exclusively traditionally feminine traits: in *Once Upon a Time*, Snow White shows bravery, active agency and assertiveness. Additionally, Snow White acts as an important protagonist, who is active and also independent. Snow White's character is not generally visually presented for the male gaze (Mulvey, 1989), and her modest and practical clothing places her into the "Madonna" category. However, her 'masculine' behaviour traits such as bravery and active agency suggest that at times her behaviour locates her beyond the conventional patriarchal construction of femininity. Snow White can be considered as a transgressive character not because of sexual promiscuity, but because she pushes against the restrictions of a Madonna-type female. Overall, the character of Snow White in Once Upon a Time shows some development away from the traditional representations of Snow White, perhaps connoting some societal shift towards a change in roles and perceptions of gender representations.

The analysis of Mary Margaret Blanchard revealed that she too is represented as having both typical traditionally masculine and feminine traits. It is important to note that her character deviates from the traditional 'damsel in distress' portrayal of women in fairy tales because she is an active character. However, while she is occasionally active in more masculine domains, she is much more active in the feminine domains of caring and nurturing. Her character is portrayed as having more typical traditionally feminine than masculine traits but is shown to have a great deal of active agency and independence. The visual and semiotic analysis suggested that Mary Margaret Blanchard's character models nurturing and caring behaviour, evident in her volunteer work at the hospital. She receives a great deal of help, which is further seen as a typically feminine trait. Her active agency generally occurs in relation to more

traditionally feminine settings, and preoccupations. However, there is an instance of traditional role reversal, where Mary Margaret Blanchard is the saviour of John Doe in the woods, the 'damsel in distress' who needed to be saved. Lastly, Mary Margaret Blanchard's character is attractive but is not visually constructed to satisfy male desire. She is not constructed in a flirtatious/seductive way. In comparison to the traditional fairy-tale Snow White, who was portrayed as a Madonna, the real-world persona, Mary Margaret Blanchard, is portrayed more complexly because she is a conservative traditional female yet at the same time does not conform to certain patriarchally desirable feminine characteristics such as being passive. Furthermore, she exhibits some non-traditional traits, such as bravery and independence that Snow White does not have at all.

The analysis of Red's character revealed both typical traditionally feminine and typical traditionally masculine characteristics, similarly to the traditional fairy-tale character. The content analysis identified that the typical traditionally feminine characteristics she represented were friendliness, helpfulness, and emotionality. The typical traditionally masculine characteristics she represented were disobedience, being a saviour, and being dangerous or violent. The visual and semiotic analysis emphasised Red's physical attractiveness (she is visually constructed for the male gaze), but this is linked to her duality as human/wolf. Red's desires shed some light on her typically feminine and masculine traits. She desires love (a typically feminine trait) but she also desires to know about the wolf (who possibly represents sexual duality and thus sexual disobedience to the patriarchy). Red is therefore more closely aligned with the "whore" type, which in patriarchal society is seen as a disruptor. However, in the traditional fairy tale Little Red Riding Hood is a young kid, showing both responsibility and childhood innocence. Additionally, the two characters differ in some significant respects., While Little Red Riding Hood shows some fear and hesitation in communicating with the wolf, Red in the Enchanted forest shows interest in knowing about the wolf. This difference could point to greater societal capacity to accept that women actively embracing their sexuality is not something to be feared and condemned.

The analysis of Ruby's character revealed that she also has typical traditionally masculine and feminine characteristics, but that she is not a 'good' woman in the patriarchal sense. She is helpful to an extent, but only on her own terms and only to other women. She shows some emotion but is not often fearful or vulnerable. She is sexually confident, and is often flirtatious and seductive, and is frequently disobedient. She demonstrates skill and active agency, which

are traits traditionally assigned to male characters. The visual and semiotic analysis shows Ruby in low-status jobs that are traditionally considered women's jobs (such as waitressing and answering the phone). However, she is later shown doing a job that is traditionally considered to be masculine (detective work). The visual analysis also illustrates her seductive behaviour, sexual confidence and revealing clothing. This suggests that Ruby is visually presented for male pleasure, placing her into the "whore" category. From a feminist perspective, inhabiting the "whore" category is associated with greater freedom to transgress patriarchal norms. Her choice of dressing often gets her into trouble with other women, such as her grandmother which could suggest that Ruby is free to dress as pleases her, independently of the norms of patriarchal society. Ruby's desires are both typically feminine (love) and typically masculine (wanting her abilities to be recognised) in nature. Unlike other female characters from fairy tales, Ruby has the ability to make decisions for herself.

7.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented the findings from the content analysis, visual/semiotic analysis and actantial analysis of the main text, *Once Upon a Time* (2011). Given the dualistic world in *Once Upon a Time*, it was necessary to analyse four characters: Snow White and Red in the Enchanted Forest; and Mary Margaret Blanchard and Ruby in Storybrooke, Maine. The following chapter presents a comparison of Snow White/Mary Margaret Blanchard and Red/Ruby from *Once Upon a Time* with the more traditional versions of their characters in Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and Jetlag's *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995).

CHAPTER 8

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I provide a comparison of the characters that I have analysed from season one of *Once Upon a Time* (2011): Snow White/Mary Margaret Blanchard and Little Red Riding Hood ("Red")/Ruby. It was important to compare the representations of each of these characters in the contemporary television series with earlier, more traditional versions of them in Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and Jetlag's *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995), as it allowed me to carefully extract the information I needed about how each character had been represented and re-contextualised. This has also helped me to form a tight conclusion.

It is important to note that there are two worlds in the television series *Once Upon a Time* — Storybrooke, Maine, and the Enchanted Forest — and that the characters in Storybrooke have been cursed and sent there from the Enchanted Forest. Therefore, there are two Snow White characters (Snow White and Mary Margaret Blanchard) and two Little Red Riding Hood characters (Red and Ruby) in the series. The first character that I analyse is Snow White from Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937). She is compared with Snow White and Mary Margaret Blanchard from *Once Upon a Time*. Then, I compare Jetlag's Little Red Riding Hood with Red and Ruby from *Once Upon a Time*.

Table 8.1 below presents an overall summary of the typically feminine and typically masculine traits shown by all six of the characters that were analysed.

Table 8.1 Summary of typically feminine and typically masculine traits shown by the all the characters

	Disney's Snow	Jetlag's Little Red Riding Hood (1995)	Once Upon a Time (2011)			
	White (1937)		Snow White	M.M. Blanchard	Red	Ruby
Traditionally feminine	Needing help/saving		Needing help/saving	Needing help/saving		
	Emotional	Emotional	Emotional	Emotional	Emotional	Emotional
	Victim		Victim			
	Physically attractive					
	Nurturing/helpful	Nurturing/helpful	Nurturing/helpful	Nurturing/helpful	Nurturing/helpful	Nurturing/helpful
		Naïve/troublesome				
		Accepting advice				
			Good nature	Good nature		
	Dependent	Dependent		Dependent		
					Friendly	
						Flirtatious/seductive
Traditionally masculine		Brave	Brave			
		Solving problems				
			Active agency	Active agency		Active agency
			Assertive			
				Saviour	Saviour	
				Independent		
				Daring		
					Disobedient	Disobedient
					Dangerous/violent	
						Demonstrates skills

8.2 SNOW WHITE

Before I begin my overall analysis of the Snow White character, I provide a summary of the analysis of Snow White in Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) presented in Chapter Five, and the analyses of Snow White and Mary Margaret Blanchard in *Once Upon a Time* (2011) presented in Chapter Seven.

The analysis of Snow White in Disney's 1937 fairy tale film revealed that Snow White was represented with exclusively typical traditionally feminine traits and that her character conforms to patriarchal representations of females. She is the protagonist of the film, and the majority of the narrative action is centred around her, but she is constructed as a victim. The other traits identified in relation to the Disney Snow White were that she is emotional, dependent, nurturing/helpful, frequently needs to be saved, and is physically attractive. She desires love in the form of a Prince, above all, and to live happily ever after. Snow White conforms to the typical, traditional role of women within the conventional narrative structure of the fairy tale.

The analysis of Snow White and Mary Margaret Blanchard in *Once Upon a Time*, presented in Chapter 7, revealed that Snow White's character in both worlds deviated to some extent from the Disney Snow White. In *Once Upon a Time*, Snow White and Mary Margaret Blanchard are both assigned certain typical traditionally masculine traits, although they both still embody more typically feminine traits than masculine traits. Snow White in the Enchanted Forest is seen as brave, assertive, and as having active agency in some instances, while in other instances she conforms to the traditional caring, maternal role that patriarchal societies assign to women, and is represented with the typically feminine traits of needing to be saved, being emotional, being a victim, and being good-natured. In the more contemporary world of Storybrooke, Mary Margaret Blanchard is represented with the typically masculine qualities of being daring, being independent, having active agency, and being a saviour. However, she is also constructed with the typically feminine qualities of being a good-natured, caring, maternal figure, who is helpful to other characters, who is emotional, and who needs to be saved. Her teaching job involves caring for others and is a low-status job that tends to be performed by women.

A comparison of the Snow White characters from the two different texts reveals how she has been represented and re-contextualised in a contemporary television series. The first similarity between Disney's Snow White and the two Snow White characters in *Once Upon a Time* is

that all three Snow White characters have typical traditionally feminine traits. The Disney Snow White showed six feminine traits. However, Snow White in the Enchanted Forest did not embody two traits that were seen in the Disney Snow White (physically attractive and dependent) and Mary Margaret Blanchard also did not embody two traits that were seen in the Disney Snow White (physically attractive and victim). This shows some variation in the character's portrayal, from being represented with only feminine traits in the traditional fairy tale to being represented with a difference of some masculine traits in the television series. In the traditional fairy tale this means that some women of patriarchal societies are represented according to the dominant patriarchal norms. In the contemporary television series, it suggests that some women are still subject to some patriarchal norms. Snow White and Mary Margaret Blanchard in *Once Upon a Time* are also represented as having traditionally masculine traits, showing a clear development from the Disney Snow White, whose traits were exclusively feminine. Snow White is represented as being brave, having active agency, and being assertive, while Mary Margaret Blanchard is represented as having active agency, being a savior, being independent, and being daring. This suggests that feminist thought has had some influence on how women are represented in this television series.

All three of these characters are shown as physically attractive, because of how they are dressed and can be argued to be constructed for male desire. The Disney Snow White dresses conservatively, consistent with a Madonna-like representation. According to the Madonna/whore dichotomy, men desire both Madonna and whore type females. They do not seek sexual satisfaction with their wives/the mothers of their children. Men associate their wives with their mothers, so they do not see themselves receiving sexual satisfaction from their wives. Hence, they find sexual satisfaction in other women classified as whores, who are seen as mechanisms for the fulfillment of male desires. Men see Madonna-type women as marriage material because these women are 'good', chaste women who protected their virginity, which is important to men. Men desire a chaste woman to fulfill their desire of carrying on their biological dynasty through a woman who is a virgin, as this gives them the assurance that the child is theirs. Whore-type women fulfill men's sexual desires outside their marriage. These two roles were assigned to women by patriarchal societies, as it was a male-dominated society that placed importance on male needs. These roles gave men power and control over women so that they did not feel intimidated by women. To benefit male desire, women were socialised into believing that they could only be portrayed in two ways (Bareket et al., 2018; Kimbell, 2002). In the Enchanted Forest in Once Upon a Time, Snow White is considered to be created to fulfil male needs because she shows some instances of being a wife and mother. Thus, being able to meet; domestic needs, biological needs and some sexual needs of a man. In some ways, Mary Margaret Blanchard is also portrayed as a Madonna, as her character has many traits which are evident in saintly females. For example, she is good-natured, nurturing/helpful and a conservative female.

Snow White and Mary Margaret Blanchard from *Once Upon a Time* seem to resist the Madonna/whore binary, because they are neither completely Madonna-like nor completely whore-like. Snow White shows certain masculine behaviours and sometimes does not conform to traditional norms of how women should be. Mary Margaret Blanchard also does not entirely conform to the stereotypical roles given to females, as she is represented with masculine traits and behaviours too. This resistance towards the binary suggests that women can be Madonnas in certain contexts at certain times and whores at other times.

The Disney Snow White is constructed as a frequently needing to be saved, reflecting traditional patriarchal constructions of women as helpless individuals. Snow White and Mary Margaret Blanchard in *Once Upon a Time* are also constructed as needing to be saved. Snow White in the Enchanted Forest is saved in the same way as she is saved in the fairy tale, by true love's kiss. However, Snow White in the Enchanted Forest needs to be saved on more than two occasions. In contrast, her character is also constructed as brave. She saves Prince Charming and also her baby. This means that women are sometimes helpless but at other times they can and are able to save others, in a way that would be considered more traditionally masculine. Also, Mary Margaret Blanchard is represented as more of a saviour/heroine. She saves the Prince (John Doe), in a similar way to how the Prince saves the Disney Snow White — with true love's kiss. *Once Upon a Time* shows women as also having the ability to be saviours, consequently establishing a little more equality with their male counterparts by portraying them with a traditionally male characteristic.

In conclusion, it is clear that there are similarities in how the character of Snow White is represented in the 1937 Disney film and in *Once Upon a Time*. The character has certain consistently feminine traits, such as being emotional, being nurturing/helpful, needing saving and being dependent. They are physically attractive and they are also constructed as damsels in distress. However, the representation of the Snow White character changes in some respects. The Disney Snow White is represented as having exclusively traditionally feminine traits, while Snow White and Mary Margaret Blanchard from *Once Upon a Time* are represented with

both typically feminine and masculine traits. The Disney Snow White is represented purely as a damsel in distress, while Snow White and Mary Margaret Blanchard in *Once Upon a Time* are represented as needing saving in certain situations and as being the saviour in others. Lastly, the Disney Snow White is a Madonna-type female character, while Snow White and Mary Margaret Blanchard in *Once Upon a Time* resist the binary Madonna/whore categorisation. This could mean that men can have both their desires in one character or in one female partner without having to categorise them as either. And, for women, it could mean that they no longer have to be subject to unfair and unrealistic dichotomies. These differences show that there has been some development in the traits of the Snow White character away from the patriarchal norms of the past.

8.3 LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD

In Chapter 6, Jetlag's Little Red Riding Hood is an active character, mostly in feminine domains. She is not portrayed as a princess character in distress. She is portrayed as a typically feminine character as she shows more instances of typically feminine traits than masculine trait. She is also the protagonist of this fairy tale film. This fairy tale shows young females of patriarchal societies how they should behave and how they should not behave. Her character is also considered to be a physically attractive character even though she has chaste clothing. Some effects of feminist thought are therefore evident in this film, which is in keeping with the time of its creation (1995).

In Chapter 7, Red and Ruby in *Once Upon a Time* are shown to have deviated from the Jetlag depiction of Little Red Riding Hood in certain ways. Both characters are constructed with an equal number of masculine roles and feminine roles. Red from the Enchanted Forest is seen as a saviour, as disobedient, and as a dangerous and violent character in some instances, while in other instances she is seen as helpful, friendly and emotional — typically feminine traits. In Storybrooke, Ruby is represented as being emotional and helpful (typically feminine characteristics) in a very limited sense, and as being sexually confident (flirtatious/seductive). She has the typically masculine characteristics of being disobedient, skilled and demonstrating active agency. Of all the characters, Ruby conforms the least to the traditional roles assigned to women in patriarchal societies.

The character of Little Red Riding Hood is not a princess; she is not a typical damsel in distress, and is not saved by a prince character. This is seen consistently across all three characters, as neither Jetlag's Little Red Riding Hood nor Red and Ruby in *Once Upon a Time* are specifically characterised as needing saving. The traditional *Little Red Riding Hood* fairy tale film is not a typical princess film as Little Red Riding Hood is a more transgressive character (exploring the woods alone and being disobedient). Similarly, in the more contemporary *Once Upon a Time* television series, the Little Red Riding Hood characters did not have a Prince saving them. They were also not illustrated as a damsel in distress and were given a more transgressive role. This is consistent with female character roles having changed in more contemporary films. Females now play more masculine roles in films, some progression in female roles are shown which break the boundaries of male and female stereotypes. But, this is not necessarily an uncomplicated development for female representation.

The three different Little Red Riding Hood characters embodied both feminine and masculine traits. Jetlag's Little Red Riding Hood was predominantly portrayed with traditionally feminine traits, for example, being emotional, being dependent, being nurturing/helpful, being naïve/troublesome, and accepting advice. Her character also portrayed some masculine traits, like being brave and being a problem solver. However, she mostly solved problems within the feminine domains of caring. There was one instance where she solved a problem that required some masculine thinking, when she needed to find a quick solution to save her grandmother and herself from the wolf. Similarly, Red and Ruby were portrayed with some feminine traits and also some masculine traits. On the contrary to the traditional Little Red Riding Hood character, the traditionally feminine traits were not dominant in Little Red Riding Hood from *Once Upon a Time*. Rather, the masculine traits were dominant in these characters as they showed more instances.

Furthermore, the Little Red Riding Hood characters are seen as physically attractive. In the traditional fairy tale Little Red Riding Hood is seen as an attractive little girl (she wears typically feminine clothes). She is therefore portrayed according to the Madonna type, which is what men usually desire in women who are expected to be their wife and mother to their children. Madonna-type females usually protect their virginity and dress more conservatively and femininely. Similarly, the two Little Red Riding Hood characters in *Once Upon a Time* are also portrayed as physically attractive because of their attire, and physical and facial features. However, Ruby in *Once Upon a Time* is constructed predominantly according to the whore

type. This is seen in the way she dresses (always wearing tight revealing clothes) and also in her behaviour, as she is mostly rebellious. Ruby's character could suggest that while teenagers in the twenty-first century are rebellious in nature, young women are still seen as just objects of desire, to fulfill men's sexual hunger. This could also be linked to postfeminist arguments on body and choice, where females see themselves as free, having choices and being empowered but restrict their choices to working on their body and looking beautiful (Riley et al, 2017). It could be that Ruby unintentionally conforms to being represented as an object while trying to look good for herself.

Lastly, Jetlag's Little Red Riding Hood is portrayed as a little girl, whereas in *Once Upon a Time* she is constructed as a young woman. This could signal a shift in how females are constructed and changed, or it could show the difference between young boys/girls and teenagers. Young children are often dutiful and helpful, and in contrast when they reach teenagehood they can become rebellious disobedient individuals. Kids should follow the path their parents choose, but when they become teenagers, they can choose their own paths.

From this we can deduce that there are similarities and differences between the Little Red Riding Hood characters in both texts. The characters embodied masculine and feminine traits. Jetlag's Little Red Riding Hood had more feminine traits than masculine traits, and Red and Ruby from *Once Upon a Time* have an equal number of masculine traits and feminine traits, such as being active, skilled, and violent, emotional, helpful and so on. Red and Ruby are also visually presented to cater to the male gaze. Furthermore, Jetlag's Little Red Riding Hood was regarded as a Madonna type, whereas Red and Ruby in *Once Upon a Time* were constructed as both Madonna and whore-type characters. Also, in Jetlag's version Little Red Riding Hood is a little girl being molded by patriarchal norms of what women should be or do, and in *Once Upon a Time* she is portrayed as a teenager who has reached maturity and is rebellious.

8.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have compared the representations and re-contextualisations of Snow White and Mary Margaret Blanchard from season one of *Once Upon a Time* (2011) with Disney's Snow White in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), and the representations and recontextualisations of Red and Ruby from *Once Upon a Time* (2011) with Little Red Riding Hood in Jetlag's *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995). There were clear changes evident in the way

the Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood characters were represented over time, from their personality and traits to their job status. The characters which I have analysed show these changes. For instance, Snow White is not portrayed as a typical Princess character by being independent, assertive, active, etc. and Little Red Riding Hood is portrayed as a more transgressive character by being skilled, active, disobedient, dangerous/violent, etc. There is also a transformation of the Little Red Riding Hood character, who in Jetlag's version is a little girl who cares for her grandmother, but who in *Once Upon a Time* is a disobedient, rebellious teenager (in both her versions). These changes in the representation of characters are suggestive of how the roles of people in society have changed and to some extent are beginning to equalise. Women are being represented with a wider range of acceptable characteristics: they are able to be represented as disobedient, rebellious, assertive, skilled, active, independent, and sexually confident, without being positioned as 'bad' women, and are also shown to have gained some equality in the economic sector.

In the final chapter I will address my research questions and conclude my thesis.

CHAPTER 9

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of this study was to examine how the representations of the characters Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood have been recontextualised in the television series *Once Upon a Time* (2011).

The primary objective was broken down into two secondary objectives:

- 1. To examine the roles given to women in traditional tellings of Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood, and in earlier filmic portrayals of these tales.
- 2. To examine how these female characters are represented in the contemporary fantasy television series *Once Upon a Time* (2011).

The research questions for this study were derived from the above objectives. The primary research question was:

• How are the representations of the fairy tale characters Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood re-contextualised in the television series *Once Upon a Time* (2011)?

The secondary research questions that broke down the primary question in a more detailed way were:

- 1. What are the roles given to women in traditional tellings of Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood and earlier filmic portrayals of these tales?
- 2. How are these female characters represented in the contemporary fantasy television series *Once Upon a Time* (2011)?

I begin this final chapter by responding to the first research question by examining how the characters of Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood were constructed in the more traditional fairy tale film versions of Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and Jetlag's *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995). The findings on each character are discussed individually. Drawing on key insights from my analysis chapters of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995), I show that many of my findings complement previous findings on women's roles in fairy tales (England et al., 2011; Lieberman, 1972; May, 2011). This

provided the basis for establishing how the Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood characters from *Once Upon a Time* (2011) are represented and re-contextualised, which is the second question I address in this chapter. Key information is drawn from Chapter Seven about each character under analysis, to examine representations of Snow White and Mary Margaret Blanchard, and then to examine representations of Red and Ruby. The limitations of this study are discussed, and suggestions for further research are proposed, before the chapter concludes by discussing the implications that these mediated constructions of women have for society.

9.2 RESEARCH QUESTION 1

What are the roles given to women in traditional tellings of Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood and earlier filmic portrayals of these tales?

Analysing representations of female characters in the traditional Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood fairy tales was important in helping to establish how women are represented and contextualised. Women in earlier filmic fairy tales were most commonly represented in roles constructing them as beautiful, emotional, needing to be rescued and married. These representations also associated women with domestic life (Lieberman, 1972). My analysis of Snow White complemented these previous findings on fairy tale characters (England et al., 2011; May, 2011), and reflected Carter and Steiner's (2004) finding that fairy tales portray women from a patriarchal perspective as emotional and beautiful damsels in distress.

The character of Snow White in Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) was constructed as a character who was beautiful, passive, a damsel in distress and needed love. She was also constructed in a maternal role in relation to the dwarfs she lived with. She expressed the stereotypical heteronormative desire for love and to be whisked away by a Prince. Like most other fairy tale princesses, Snow White was constructed as beautiful, which was further highlighted by the Evil Queen's jealousy of her fairness, possibly reflecting discourses of dissent between women that set 'pretty' girls against 'ugly' girls (Lieberman, 1972). She was also shown as a damsel in distress. Her clothing and behavior constructed her as a Madonna-type woman — an ideal woman for marriage and family life. All of the elements (beauty, obedience, chaste) were connected and resulted in the reward of a handsome and rich prince. She was constructed as a passive protagonist despite being the main female character with everything revolving around her.

Jetlag's *Little Red Riding Hood* (1995) challenges typical portrayals of women in fairy tales. In this film, Little Red Riding Hood is different from the typical Disney princess. As stated by Bonner (2006), Little Red Riding Hood is not a sought-for princess and raises societal concerns other than love and marriage. My analysis of her character was consistent with previous studies that portrayed her as brave and tough, troublesome, joyful and a protagonist (England et al., 2011; Ottosson & Cheng, 2010). However, she was also constructed in a role of 'little' womanhood by being dutiful and caring.

Jetlag's film illustrates how women in the 1990's were able to take on more powerful and masculine roles (Gauntlett, 2008). This is seen in how Little Red Riding Hood is represented as a brave and tough character, who ventures out of the house on her own, and, in her family life, protects herself and her grandmother. She is constructed in early womanhood through her role as a dutiful child/girl and also through her clothing which symbolises female growth into physical maturity. Little Red Riding Hood was constructed in some ways as a Madonna type, as she dressed conservatively and modelled certain behaviours of a 'good female', but she could also be seen as a tough/confident female through her disobedient actions and her non-stereotypical representation in some aspects. She illustrated a more realistic image of a woman and the life of a woman by providing real-life lessons for young adults. Instead of being portrayed as a sought-after princess, she is represented as a little girl who faces real-life problems in everyday life situations, such as going to your grandmother's house and being approached by strangers.

Content analysis using the framework of typical traditionally masculine and feminine traits revealed that Little Red Riding Hood was represented as naïve/troublesome, emotional, dependent, nurturing/helpful, accepts advice, bravery and a problem solver (Propp, 1968).

The construction of fictional characters is influenced by the social context (Wilde, 2014). Therefore, Snow White's role was constructed in relation to the societal norms that were dominant in 1937, while Little Red Riding Hood's portrayal was influenced by the prevailing societal norms of 1995. This resulted in varying, yet still stereotypical representations of women's roles that were different from past fairy tales. These films mirrored society as it was at that particular time, and also reinforced the ideologies of those societies (Johnston, 2010).

9.3 RESEARCH QUESTION 2

How are these female characters represented in the contemporary fantasy television series 'Once Upon a Time' (2011)?

The second area of focus was the analysis of female characters in the television series *Once Upon a Time*. There is a dual version of the characters, as there is a dual reality narrative. The dual versions of the characters were created by Regina's evil curse, which also assigned them powerless positions. These subordinate social roles included underpaid, undervalued female-dominated occupations. Their duality also represents an acknowledgement of their complex identities and personalities. They desired conventional love and were physically attractive, but at the same were constructed in independent roles and showed bravery. The recontextualisation of the idealised figures of cultural fairytales into modern contexts signals a challenge to idealised norms (Johnston, 2010).

Snow White in the Enchanted Forest is constructed as a major protagonist, and is associated with motherhood, money acquisition, and with both the Madonna and whore types. Mulvey's (1989) theory of the male gaze shows that Snow White is not a typical female character created for male visual pleasure, even though she was found to be physically attractive. Analysis using Propp's narrative function *complicity* shows her noble nature, while his *difficult task* function points to her authoritative nature in decision making; and his *lack* function suggests she has conventional desires for love (Propp, 1968). Thus, portraying her as noble, authoritative and desiring love.

While Snow White is a major protagonist, present in all of the episodes in season one, and much of the story unfolds around her, unlike most of the other characters who appear for a brief period and then disappear. She is represented as a poor bandit, in contrast with the traditional fairy tale which represents her as a wealthy, yet oppressed princess. As with the traditional fairy tale, she is rewarded with a prince — this could be a way of keeping fairy tales alive and could suggest that there are some people at present who still believe that happily-ever-afters are linked to beauty and good behaviour. Maintaining this traditional reward (Prince) could also be a way of retaining femininity (Murphy, 2015). Furthermore, it suggests that there is a Prince for everyone, no matter their situation.

Snow White's brief encounter with motherhood opens up discussion around the idea of adoption and maternal sacrifice, and shows that some women do not have much of a choice, as

in the case of Snow White having to choose between having her baby killed or sending her away in the hope that she will be saved. Snow White's strength and courage to carry on with life shows that there is always hope. She lives an active and purposive life, knowing that she has done the best thing she could for her baby. Snow White has the option of sending her baby to possible safety through a magical portal. Metaphorically speaking, many women do not have the option of sending their baby to possible safety, and many Snow Whites of the real world face the danger of having their babies snatched away from them, as in the case of migrant South American mothers who have their children snatched away from them at U.S borders because of Trump's 'Zero Tolerance' policy. These children have to grow up in foster homes, not knowing where their parents are. Also, their parents would not know where or how their children are living (texastribune.org, 2020). In comparison, the Disney Snow White is constructed, at a very young age, as a maternal figure in relation to the dwarfs. This shows that motherhood can be defined multidimensionally, based on one's actions. In both scenarios, women are associated with family, love and a way for men to continue their legacy. Through Snow White's chaste clothing she is constructed as a Madonna type, yet her some of her behaviour leads us to believe that she is tough and courageous. She is not shown as a typical female simply created for male pleasure. While Snow White does desire heteronormative love, she first desires money, which shows that she places more importance on achieving financial independence. This further implies that she is a self-motivated independent character. In comparison, Snow White in the traditional fairy tale prioritises love and does not look for a way to support herself. Instead, she waits for the Prince to rescue her and support her.

Mary Margaret Blanchard, who is Snow White in Storybrooke, the contemporary world created by Regina's evil curse, is constructed as both a Madonna and an unconventional type of female due to her deviation from traditional portrayals. She is not visually presented to satisfy the male gaze, even though she is shown as physically appealing. The way she is dressed distances her from the male gaze. She is constructed as tough and confident due to her traditionally masculine traits, such as independence and bravery. Mary Margaret Blanchard is constructed as a traditionally ideal female, given her innocent and saintly characteristics, and this also constructs her as a Madonna-type. As with the Disney and Enchanted Forest Snow Whites, Mary Margaret Blanchard's chaste clothing contributes to her construction as consistent with the Madonna type. Once again, this character falls in the middle and cannot be simplistically classified as either/or. This suggests acceptance of women as more complex beings than in earlier representations, both as an ideal female who serves to reproduce and a tough/courageous

female who can be independent and brave. Mary Margaret Blanchard was also constructed in maternal roles and as a protagonist. Her construction in motherhood was in relation to other characters and through her caring helpful nature in relation to the people around her. This shows that nurturing can take on many forms and is not confined to a mother-child relationship. People can achieve this through their acts of caring and affection. Her teacher occupation also facilitates her maternal character, as she is constantly working with people and showing acts of kindness towards them.

Key insights from the analysis of Red in the Enchanted Forest in Once Upon a Time showed that her clothing signifies to her construction for male pleasure. This, as well as her rebellious behaviour, constructs her as a whore-type female. Her character construction reinforces the idea of dressing to get the attention of men and please them, therefore, playing into the stereotype of aiming for heterosexual male attraction. Her rebellious behavior not only constructs her as bold but also shows typical young adult behaviour. She is thus not constructed in the typical 'princess' mould. Furthermore, her construction as a rebellious female point to issues of female sexuality. Red's clothing and behaviour foreground her as sexually confident and as seeking sexual attention. Her dual nature, shown in her ability to change into a wolf, suggests duality in relation to her sexuality. This duality is only true in relation to more privileged societies with a more modern outlook. At first, Red is constructed as a character that has stereotypically heteronormative desires for love, shown in her desire for Peter. Her interest in the wolf, however, suggests her interest in other, as yet unknown and dangerous possibilities, and her heteronormative love is literally ended by the wolf, who turns out to be Red herself, and who kills Peter. In contrast, the traditional Little Red Riding Hood was constructed as a Madonna type due to her virginal costuming and ultimate behaviour as a dutiful young girl. She is shown as having encounters with the wolf as a predator, and not embracing or exploring her sexuality or sexual desires as she is a little girl. Red, however, is represented as a young woman who has achieved sexual maturity.

Little Red Riding Hood in the contemporary world of Storybrooke is known as Ruby. She dresses and behaves seductively, which contributes to her sexually confident nature which can also be intimidating. Even though she could be seen as sexually confident/intimidating, she is created for male pleasure. She is constructed as a rebellious modern-day young adult who enjoys the attention of men and is not afraid to express her sexual desires. There are two ways that she is constructed as an attention seeker. Firstly, she is represented as a woman who wants

to be noticed by men. Secondly, she wants to be recognised for her achievements. This could be a way for her to feel good about herself and keep up with other people in society, hence the need for recognition. At first Ruby is shown in a low-status job as a waitress, but later is shown in a job that is considered stereotypically masculine. This suggests the evolution of women in society from low-status jobs to being somewhat equal to men in the economic field. In contrast, the traditional Little Red Riding Hood character was seen only in the low-status role of helping people she met. Her role in society was that of an innocent girl expressing dutiful behaviours. We also see a transition from girlhood into womanhood; where traditional Little Red Riding Hood was protecting her virginal innocence by the use of the red cape and not engaging with strangers, Ruby expresses and explores her sexual desires and orientation.

9.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Some of the limitations of this study were the limited scope of a master's thesis, so I could not focus on all twenty-two episodes in season one of *Once Upon a Time*. I could also only focus on two characters.

9.5 SCOPE FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Because of the limitations mentioned above, I feel that further research on the representation and re-contextualisation of women's roles in all of season one, and on seasons two to seven, could be beneficial. This research could include additional female characters and could yield more results about the portrayal of females in contemporary television series. It would also be able to show the progression of the characters as they change over time. Further research on this topic could conduct a more detailed comparison of the different rewritings or genres of specific fairy tale stories, for example, Tarsem Singh's *Mirror Mirror* (2012) or Rupert Sanders' *Snow White and the Huntsman* (2012). A comparative study could also be conducted across different contemporary series with a focus on the main female character of each series.

9.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it could be argued that Snow White/Mary Margaret Blanchard and Red/Ruby in *Once Upon a Time* reflect how women in contemporary societies are more assertive,

independent, brave and bold, sexually confident (Gauntlett, 2008), how women in more privileged societies, mainly white middle-class societies, are able to more freely express their sexuality in public and how women are able to find their feet in the economic world (Johnston, 2010). However, they still remain represented mostly as reproducers and wanting love. Patriarchal norms still linger but are not as prevalent, and women in contemporary societies are able to handle more than people assume they can (Gauntlett, 2008). It is important to note that these representations of women reflect only some contemporary societies (Johnston, 2010). Some women in less fortunate communities do not have the privilege or freedom of expressing themselves freely and are subject to dependence on others. Just as films of the past expressed and constructed the norms of the society of the time, Once Upon a Time expresses and reproduces the dominant norms of the current times, reinforcing some stereotypical roles (Wilde, 2014). Women have claimed more positive roles in society and media texts are starting to represent more of these (Ibrahim et al., 2017). Yet roles of motherhood, girlhood and womanhood still seem to be key aspects in the portrayal of the Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood characters in season one of *Once Upon a Time*, consistent with many previous studies (Hodapp, 2016; Lombari, 2015). Yet, as Warman (2016) deduced, Once Upon a Time challenges the traditional fairy tales' heteronormative nature by making Red/Ruby bisexual. This also makes the representation of women more complex, because women are given additional roles which may be unconventional and sensitive in some societies.

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