

**Snow White?: The Tarnished History of Gender Portrayal
in Disney Animated Films**

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How are males and females portrayed in full-length animated features? This research analyzes gender portrayal in five Disney films released in the 1990s: The Little Mermaid, Beauty and the Beast, Aladdin, Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, and The Lion King. The methodological approach of this research includes quantitative and qualitative methods. The number of male and female characters was tabulated, by type of role. The Bales' Interaction Process Analysis methodology was used to tabulate and compare the types of interactions, by gender and type of scene, whether public or private. A qualitative thematic analysis was also conducted to study the overt portrayal of gender in the films. The research showed that male characters were portrayed much more frequently than female characters and that the themes of the films were gender stereotyped. There were few significant changes in gender portrayal over time.

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Introduction

In American society, mass media plays an essential role in most people's lives. Americans spend a vast amount of time watching or reading mass media. Most of this time is spent in front of a television or film screen. Jean Stockard and Miriam Johnson assert that "by the time an average child is 15 years old, she or he has spent more time watching television than going to school" (1992:8). They also state that the way men and women are portrayed in media reflects and promotes the assumptions of a male-dominated society. In numerous studies conducted on gender portrayal in television and literature, it has been found that women are portrayed significantly less frequently than men (Cantor; 1987:202-203). In 1978 Gaye Tuchman called these biased portrayals a "symbolic annihilation" of women in cultural imagery (quoted in Stockard, Johnson; 1992:10). Because children spend so much of their time viewing mass media, it is an important source of socialization in this culture.

Socialization is the learning of appropriate roles in any society. The process of learning one's role in a community begins at birth and continues until death. One of the most important responsibilities of socialization in any society is to define and teach gender roles. Gender is a master role in all cultures, functioning as a central and basic classifier of all people. Gender is taught by socializing agents: family, education, religion and mass media. Children learn by watching and imitating what is done by those central to their lives. Perhaps in the past mass media would not qualify as being central to a child's life; however, since the 1950s the media in American society has become a main source of learning for children. Therefore, an important inquiry is what the

media is teaching American society. Of course the media is a reflection of society as it already exists, but it is also a promoter and teacher of established norms and roles.

Scholarly research has focused on the portrayal of gender in television, literature and newspapers. Often this research has focused on media produced for children; picture books, cartoons, and textbooks. One of the main producers of children's media is the Walt Disney Corporation. This corporation controls the ABC television network and several film companies, including Disney Pictures, which produces the vast majority of animated films released in the United States. However, scholarly research has practically ignored the impact of Disney films in socialization. One popular magazine presented an article written by an angry father regarding the lessons which The Little Mermaid was teaching his daughter. In fact, he and his wife were so distraught at the film's impact on their child, they gave away their VCR (Cohen; 1995:42-45). Research on Disney films is essential to a holistic study of gender portrayal in mass media. The purpose of this study is to examine the type of gender portrayal found in Disney full-length animated features.

Literature Review

Previous literature shows that the portrayal of males and females in mass media is stereotypical and affects the gender concepts of children (Kortenhaus and Demarest 1993; Peterson 1990; Grauerholz 1989; Barcus 1983; Williams 1981; Hillman 1976). Much research has been dedicated to the analysis of gender portrayal in children's literature and television.

Kortenhaus and Demarest conducted research on Caldecott winning children's picture books to test the level of gender stereotypes. The researchers found that between the 1940s and the 1990s, there was a positive change in the ratio of females to males presented in picture books; however, the ratio is far from equal. Moreover, the research shows no significant change in male and female roles. Females are overwhelmingly portrayed in passive dependent roles, while males are portrayed as independent problem solvers.

In a study conducted by Williams in 1981, children's programming on PBS was analyzed with respect to the number of males and females portrayed and the roles allotted to each of them. This content analysis study shows that males outnumber females by as much as two to one in these programs. Moreover, Williams claims that traditional sex roles dominate PBS children's programs. Like Kortenhaus and Demarest, Williams found that females are consistently shown as passive observers while males are active participants. The other studies cited above all come to the same conclusion: gender portrayal is numerically uneven and stereotyped.

Recently, there has been a sociological movement to study gender in a less role-oriented manner. Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman (1987) outline this developing theory in "Doing Gender." They propose that gender be

viewed as an essential part of one's character which is expressed through a person's interactions. The tools which people have for doing gender are social interactions. By this, West and Zimmerman mean that in any given situation a female will usually interact as a female, utilizing subconscious rules of female behavior as defined by her culture. They support their claim by examining Garfinkel's study of a male transsexual, "Agnes" (1967). In West and Zimmerman's analysis they highlight the means by which Agnes attempts to display the gender of which she was biologically not a member.

Agnes faced an ongoing task of *being* a woman-- something beyond style of dress...or allowing men to light her cigarette. Her problem was to produce configurations of behavior that would be seen by others as normative gender behavior (1987: 134).

West and Zimmerman claim that doing gender is something a non-transsexual achieves unconsciously through everyday interactions. Therefore, interactions are essential to gender portrayal. West and Zimmerman are careful to note that gender differences which are portrayed through interactions are not innate, but are socialized: "Doing gender means creating differences between girls and boys and women and men, differences that are not natural, essential, or biological" (137).

Miriam Johnson, in Strong Mothers, Weak Wives (1988), delineates new terminology for labeling interactions. Expanding on the concepts "expressiveness" and "instrumentality" originally posited by Talcott Parsons and Robert Bales, she outlines working definitions of these terms. Expressiveness, according to Parsons, is

a concern with the relations among individuals within a social system, especially the attitudes and feelings of group members toward the self and each other (quoted in Johnson, 1988: 52).

Johnson wants to rehabilitate the concept of expressiveness so that it is not confused with emotionality, dependence and incompetence. She sees expressivity as an integrative skill taught mainly to females in American society and seen as an essential trait of females. Expressivity is not unbridled emotions and passivity; it is similar to Arlie Hochschild's term "emotion work." Women and men in this society do the work of handling emotions, their own and others' around them. In this way, they are doing gender. Again, it is important to note that expressivity is not a trait reserved specifically for females as a birth right, instead it is socially taught to females as a sign of femaleness. This does not mean, however, that males do not interact expressively. These two concepts can and do coexist in all people; but, according to Johnson, females seem to be taught expressivity and males are taught instrumentality. Instrumentality is

an orientation to goals outside the relational system itself. Instrumental action is means-end action aimed at controlling the environment outside the immediate interactive system (quoted in Johnson, 1988: 52).

Johnson has found in her studies that females and males possess equal amounts of instrumentality and that differences seem to lie in the expressivity of males and females. Females tend to act expressively more often than do males. This leads Johnson to conclude that for females, doing gender entails expressive interactions, among other things.

In the 1950s Robert Bales and his students at Harvard University were on the cutting edge of interpersonal interaction studies. Bales felt that W. I. Thomas's concept of "definition of the situation" and Herbert Mead's concept of "internalization of the socialized other" were essential to understanding people's interactions. However, there were no operational definitions of and no practical uses for these concepts (Bales, 1984: 96). Bales and his students created Interaction Process Analysis as a way to study and categorize group

interactions. Bales began with Parsons' three modes of orientation--cognitive, evaluative and goal directive. From this base, he developed a set of four categories of functional problems--adaptive, integrative, instrumental and expressive. This set eventually became positive and negative expressive, and positive and negative instrumental categories. The terms positive and negative in Bales' schema do not imply a value judgment. A positive expressive action is one in which a person helps or rewards another, laughs, releases group tension, or conforms to group will. A negative expressive action is one in which a person withholds help, asks for help or defends oneself. Negative expressivity involves antagonism and tension towards the situation and the group. A positive instrumental action is one in which a person gives his or her opinion, direction, or orientation to a situation. A negative instrumental action is one in which a person asks for orientation, evaluation, or direction. The difference between positive and negative in this sense is the difference between who affects the situation.

His students categorized their group interactions according to this schema and developed general guidelines for the type of interactions found in each category (See Appendix). The studies conducted by Bales and Parsons in the 1950s were flawed because of the way the researchers interpreted the data. Bales stated that because females tend to have more expressive interactions and males tend to have more instrumental interactions, these differences are innate and therefore unchangeable. Parsons' background as a functionalist led him to conclude that these differences must serve a social purpose and therefore benefit society. These interpretations have been widely criticized by later researchers (Johnson, 1988; West and Zimmerman, 1987; Gilligan, 1977). The Interaction Process Analysis method has been utilized in other content analysis studies of mass media without interpreting the results like

Bales and Parsons (Peterson 1990). Peterson, for example, using the Bales chart to analyze television programs, reached conclusions similar to Kortenhaus and Demarest, and Williams. In that study, Peterson found that females tended to act more expressively than males, but males and females had similar frequencies of instrumental interactions.

Several studies have been conducted on interactions in public and private domains and the differences between males and females in each of these spheres. Michelle Rosaldo (1981: 311) has found that males consistently dominate interactions in the public sphere. The topics which males present are considered more valuable than those which females present and they are discussed more frequently and thoroughly. Males interrupt conversations more often than females and dominate communication in that way as well. Women tend to interact more frequently in the domestic sphere; however, when males are present, in either public or private settings, they still dominate interactions.

Both children's literature and television have received vast amounts of scholarly attention in regard to their portrayal of gender. However, feature films created for children have been virtually ignored in scholarly research. There is a brief reference to Disney films and gender concepts of children by Weitzman (1974), who mentions the power of Disney in popularizing archaic fairy tales and stereotypes. A recent popular magazine contained an article with some discussion of such stereotyping in Disney films (Cohen, 1995). However, a survey of psychological and sociological literature reveals no scholarly studies of gender stereotyping in Disney films. This lack of research creates a gap in the knowledge of gender portrayal in an important branch of mass media.

Based on this literature survey, the present study will compare male and female patterns of interactions in a sample of Disney films, using Bales' methodology of classifying the interaction as expressive or instrumental. It is

hypothesized that (1) there will be more male characters than female characters portrayed; (2) female interactions will predominate in private scenes, while male interactions will be predominant in public scenes; (3) the female characters will have a higher percentage of expressive interactions than male characters; and (4) male characters will have a higher percentage of instrumental interactions than female characters. Moreover, this research will compare types of interactions in public and private domains. Finally, a qualitative thematic analysis will be conducted on the films.

Methodology

Sampling Technique

This research entails detailed content analysis of five full length Disney animated features. The unit of analysis is an individual interaction within a scene. An interaction is defined as any verbal or non-verbal act by a character, either about a situation or directed towards another character. This definition allows for inclusion of actions by characters who are alone in scenes. A scene, according to Louis Gianetti in Understanding Movies, is "an imprecise unit of film, composed of interrelated shots, unified usually by a central concern--a location, an incident, or a minor dramatic climax" (515). To obtain a random sampling of interactions within scenes from all Disney animated features, several steps were necessary.

Five films released in the 1990s were chosen for analysis: The Little Mermaid, Beauty and the Beast, Aladdin, Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, and The Lion King.¹ These films were chosen due to time constraints, as well as for the variety which they offer. Not only does this sample include the most recent offerings of Disney, but it also encompasses their first animated feature, released in 1939 and 1994, which allows for comparison over time. Next, the films were divided into scenes according to Louis Giannetti's above mentioned definition.

Each scene was labeled as either private or public contingent upon the location of the scene and number of characters within the scene. A private scene can be defined as a scene including three or fewer characters, regardless of location, or as a scene occurring in a non-public place. A non-

¹ The most recent Disney animated feature, Pocahontas, was not included in this study due to its late video release date.

public place is defined as an area in a home or separated from the main area of interaction. For example, in Beauty and the Beast, the west wing of the castle is a non-public area because admittance is restricted to the Beast; and, it is separated from the rest of the castle, the main area of interaction for much of the film. In regards to number of characters defining a scene as either public or private, the labeling system varies with each movie, but it always follows the above mentioned guidelines. For example, in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, the dwarfs often act as one unit; however, the scene is labeled public due to the number of characters. The total number of scenes and the number of private and public scenes for each movie are shown in Table 1.²

TABLE 1: Number of scenes in each movie

MOVIE	TOTAL	PRIVATE	PUBLIC
<u>The Little Mermaid:</u>	42	17	24
<u>Beauty and the Beast:</u>	36	16	17
<u>Aladdin:</u>	46	26	19
<u>Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs:</u>	27	9	17
<u>The Lion King:</u>	32	15	16

A random, stratified sample of ten scenes was drawn from each movie. The scenes were chronologically numbered, written on individual pieces of paper and divided into public and private groups. For each movie a proportional number of public and private scenes was drawn from a hat, for a total of ten scenes from each movie (Table 2).

² The total number includes an introduction scene in each movie which was not included in the analysis of the film because these scenes do not include characters within the film. Often they are establishing shots utilized to orient the viewer to the setting, and, in the case of Beauty and the Beast and Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, to develop the story line.

TABLE 2: Number of scenes in sample from each movie

MOVIE	PRIVATE	PUBLIC
<u>The Little Mermaid:</u>	4	6
<u>Beauty and the Beast:</u>	5	5
<u>Aladdin:</u>	6	4
<u>Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs:</u>	3	7
<u>The Lion King:</u>	5	5

Within each scene, the number and names of all characters involved were noted. For each character, a detailed analysis of his/her interactions was conducted.

Coding Schema

Robert Bales' Interaction Process Analysis chart is the coding tool for character interactions. The IPA chart is divided into four categories with three subdivisions within each category. The categories are labeled either positive or negative, and either expressive or instrumental (See Appendix). This chart was developed by Bales as an operationalization of Talcott Parson's theory of expressivity and instrumentality. Bales and his students utilized the coding chart within small group interactions. Their purpose was to analyze interactions within the group and look for patterns of exchanges between individuals. Recently, this coding schema has received criticism for supporting gender stereotypes in interactions between males and females (Johnson, 1988; West and Zimmerman, 1987). While Parsons and Bales' interpretation of the coding schema can be criticized, the actual chart is not gender biased. In this research, the IPA chart is utilized as an interaction labeling device for both genders.

For each character the frequency of interactions falling within each of the twelve subdivisions was noted. The process of deciding to which category an

interaction belongs was fairly subjective; however, the IPA chart gives clear guidelines for classification (See Appendix). The chart was strictly followed in order to avoid ambiguity as often as possible. Finally, for each character the interactions were tabulated within each subdivision. The subdivision frequencies were compiled for a total frequency for each category: positive and negative expressive, and positive and negative instrumental. In addition, public and private scenes and the interactions within each were tabulated separately.

Analysis

Analysis of the compiled data was accomplished by comparing frequencies and percentages across gender, setting, and role. Initially, the number of male and female characters within each film, as well as across all five films, was tabulated and compared. In addition, the number of leading roles and supporting roles, and the number of protagonists and antagonists for males and females were compared. According to Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (1963), the definition of a leading character is "a first or principle performer of a group." The definition of a protagonist is "one who takes the leading role in a performance." According to the same source, an antagonist is "one that opposes another." The dictionary defines leading character and protagonist similarly. For the purpose of this study, a leading character can be either a protagonist or an antagonist; and, a protagonist is anyone who does not hinder the actions of the hero or heroine in a scene.

The number of male and female appearances in public and private scenes was tabulated.³ According to Bales' IPA chart, the frequency of total

³ This number will differ from the number of characters because it includes multiple appearances of characters.

interactions for males and females, as well as the number of public/private interactions were tabulated. Finally, the total and private/public interaction frequencies within each of the four Bales' categories for males and females, leading and supporting characters, and protagonists and antagonists were compared.

Qualitative Thematic Analysis

Using interactions as a unit of analysis allows the researcher to study an important source of gender portrayal. However, because the unit is so small, other important sources of gender portrayal are excluded. Therefore, this research will also entail qualitative analyses of the films. After viewing the sample scenes, the films were viewed in their entirety and thematic patterns across and within films were studied. This section of the study, being qualitative, is fairly subjective and open to interpretation. Regardless of that fact, a thematic analysis is essential to a more complete analysis of gender portrayal.

Results

Scenes and Characters

The first hypothesis predicted that there would be more male characters than female characters portrayed in all five films. The results show that of 54 characters in all the scenes, the 44 males far outnumber the 10 females in this study. Thus, males constitute an overwhelming 81.48% of all characters, despite the fact that of the five films, three are titled after female characters. There are 10 main male characters and six main female characters. In addition, there are 33 male protagonists, but only eight female protagonists; and, there are 11 male antagonists, as compared to only two female antagonists in the 50 scenes (Table 3). Thus, for all types of characters, the hypothesis is supported.

TABLE 3: Number of male and female characters, by type of character

TYPE OF CHARACTER	MALE	FEMALE	PERCENT MALE
All characters	44	10	81.5%
Main characters	10	6	62.5
Protagonists	33	8	80.5
Antagonists	11	2	84.6

The second hypothesis predicted that females would appear more frequently than males in private scenes; and, males would appear more frequently than females in public scenes. Of a total of 50 scenes, 10 from each movie, 27 are public and 23 are private. Because of their sheer numbers, males appear more often than females in all scenes, at a ratio of three and a half to one. Both males and females appear more often in public scenes than in private scenes, and again males appear more frequently than females. A gender difference can be seen in comparing percentages (Table 4), in that females have a slightly higher percentage of private appearances (36.6%) than

males (29.3%). Although this supports the hypothesis, the difference is not large, and both genders appear mainly in public scenes.

TABLE 4: Number of appearances in public and private scenes, by gender

TYPE OF SCENE	MALE	FEMALE
Public	99(70.7%)	26(63.4%)
Private	41(29.3%)	15(36.6%)
Total	140	41

Bales' Interaction Process Analysis Schema

The average number of interactions for all males is 44.64, while the average number of interactions for all females is 65. Because there are so many supporting male characters, on the average females interact more frequently than do their male counterparts. For main male characters, the average number of interactions is 102.2, while for main female characters the average is 94.3. For supporting characters, the average number of interactions for males is 27.7 and for females is 21.0. The major difference between average number of interactions for males and females occurs in the protagonist group, where males have an average of 45.9 interactions and females have an average of 68.9 interactions (Table 5). Again, however, this is probably due to the fact that there are many more male protagonists than female protagonists: 32 versus 8.

TABLE 5: Average number of interactions, by gender and type of role

TYPE OF ROLE	MALE	FEMALE
Main	102.2	94.3
Supporting	27.7	21.0
Protagonist	45.9	68.9
Antagonist	41.0	49.5
All Roles	44.6	65.0
N characters	44	10

With regard to type of role, a gender difference can be seen in the frequency of interactions. Males, whether protagonist or antagonist, interact at almost the same frequency on the average. However, female protagonists interact at a rate of almost one and a half more times than female antagonists. If the roles are studied individually, males interact, on the average, more in main and supporting roles than females. However, females interact more often, on the average, as protagonists or antagonists than males.

Positive Instrumental Interactions

The third and fourth hypotheses predicted that females would have relatively more expressive interactions, while males would have a higher percentage of instrumental interactions. Table 6 tests these hypotheses. Here one finds no support for the hypotheses, since the percentages of total instrumental and total expressive interactions are almost identical for males and females. Approximately fifty-five percent of male interactions fall into the positive instrumental category, with the next largest percentage falling into the two expressive categories, with a combined total of 34.7%. This trend of over half of male interactions falling into the positive instrumental category and a

fairly even representation in the other categories continues across the main, supporting, and protagonist groups, with less instrumental and more expressive interactions among antagonists (Table 7).

Like males, over 50% of female interactions are positive instrumental (52.92%). The other categories are also similar to the male interactions, with a slightly lower percentage of negative expressive interactions (Table 6).

TABLE 6: Percentages of interactions in Bales categories, by gender

CATEGORY	MALE	FEMALE
Instrumental		
Positive	55.3%	52.9%
Negative	9.9	11.4
Expressive		
Positive	17.5	22.8
Negative	17.2	12.9
Total Instrumental	65.2	64.3
Total Expressive	34.7	35.7
Percent Totals	99.9	100.0
N interactions	1,964	650

Comparing the percentages of interactions shows that there is little difference in any of the Bales categories between male and female characters, without considering type of role.

Taking into account type of role, there are a few differences between male and female characters in the Bales categories. The largest difference occurs between male and female antagonists in the positive instrumental category, in which males have 47.9% of their total interactions and females have 71.7% of their total interactions. There are slight gender differences among main characters in the positive expressive category, among supporting characters in the positive instrumental category and the negative expressive

category, and among protagonists in the positive instrumental category (Table 7). However, most of these differences are small.

The most interesting difference in Table 7 is in the antagonist role, where males are more likely than other males to be portrayed in expressive interactions, especially negative expressive interactions. For this type of character, females are more likely than other females to interact in positive instrumental ways and less in expressive ways. So, here it is possible that there is an inhibition against depicting a hostile female character. Females are supposed to be "nice," and negative expressivity involves showing antagonism and denying help to others (See Appendix). It could be inferred, then, that for antagonists, but not for other character types, a kind of stereotype is being portrayed, even though it is not what was predicted. A similar difference appears among supporting characters, although it is not as large.

TABLE 7: Percentage of interactions within Bales categories, by gender and type of role

TYPE OF ROLE	MALE	FEMALE
Main characters		
Positive Instrumental	57.2%	51.2%
Negative Instrumental	10.6	11.7
Positive Expressive	13.9	23.0
Negative Expressive	18.3	14.1
Supporting characters		
Positive Instrumental	53.3	64.3
Negative Instrumental	9.2	9.5
Positive Expressive	21.4	21.4
Negative Expressive	16.0	4.8
Protagonists		
Positive Instrumental	57.6	49.6
Negative Instrumental	11.0	13.1
Positive Expressive	19.3	24.1
Negative Expressive	12.1	13.2
Antagonists		
Positive Instrumental	47.9	71.7
Negative Instrumental	6.4	2.0
Positive Expressive	11.5	15.2
Negative Expressive	34.2	11.1

Private and Public Scenes and Bales' IPA

Among main characters, both males and females appear more frequently in public than in private scenes, with females having a slightly higher percentage of public appearances (64.7%) than males (59.8%). Similar results are found for protagonists (Table 8).

However, for supporting characters and antagonists, the expectation of a gender difference was borne out. For supporting characters, for example, 72.6% of male's interactions are in public scenes, compared to only 48.8% of females. For antagonists, the differences are even greater. Approximately seventy-five percent of male interactions are in public scenes, while about 78% of females' are in private scenes. Thus, for these two roles, the hypothesis that females would be portrayed most frequently in private scenes, and males most frequently in public scenes, is supported.

TABLE 8: Percentages of interactions in Bales categories by gender, type of role and type of scene

TYPE OF CHARACTER	MALE		FEMALE	
	PRIVATE	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	PUBLIC
Main characters				
Pos Inst	64.5%	52.4%	52.4%	50.7%
Neg Inst	13.6	8.5	17.6	8.7
Pos Exp	13.4	14.2	13.9	27.4
Neg Exp	8.5	24.9	16.0	13.2
Percent Instrumental	78.1	60.9	70.1	59.4
Percent Expressive	21.9	39.1	30.0	40.6
Percent of				
N interactions	40.2	59.8	33.0	67.0
N interactions		1,022		566
Supporting characters				
Pos Inst	54.7%	52.8%	60.5%	68.3%
Neg Inst	11.2	8.5	2.3	17.1
Pos Exp	16.7	23.2	34.9	7.3
Neg Exp	17.4	15.5	2.3	7.3
Percent Instrumental	65.9	61.3	62.8	85.4
Percent Expressive	34.1	38.7	37.2	14.6
Percent of				
N interactions	27.4	72.6	51.2	48.8
N interactions		942		84
Protagonists				
Pos Inst	61.2%	55.5%	45.1%	51.3%
Neg Inst	13.9	9.3	20.9	10.1
Pos Exp	15.9	21.3	17.0	26.9
Neg Exp	9.0	14.0	17.0	11.8
Percent Instrumental	75.1	64.8	66.0	61.3
Percent Expressive	24.9	35.2	34.0	38.7
Percent of				
N interactions	36.6	63.4	27.8	72.2
N interactions		1,513		551
Antagonists				
Pos Inst	58.3%	44.3%	71.4%	72.7%
Neg Inst	7.0	6.3	2.6	0.0
Pos Exp	8.7	12.5	19.5	0.0
Neg Exp	26.1	36.9	6.5	27.3
Percent Instrumental	65.2	50.6	74.0	72.7
Percent Expressive	34.8	49.4	26.0	27.3
Percent of				
N interactions	25.5	74.5	77.8	22.2
N interactions		451		99

Considering the five films collectively, the hypotheses are supported under some circumstances. The first hypothesis, regarding the number of males and females is fully supported, regardless of type of role or scene. The second hypothesis is not supported in all cases because, although females did appear at a slightly higher percentage than males in private scenes, both males and females appeared primarily in public scenes. For supporting characters and antagonists, females do appear more frequently than males in private scenes. There is no support for the third and fourth hypotheses, which explored types of interactions according to the Bales' IPA chart.

Studying the films individually shows a few differences which are not present in the collective analysis.

The Little Mermaid

In the ten scenes analyzed in The Little Mermaid, six public and four private, there are three female characters: Ariel, Ursula, and Ariel's sisters. There are six male characters: Eric, Triton, Flounder, Sebastian, Scuttle, and Max. Of these nine characters, Ariel, Ursula and Eric are the main characters. The antagonist is Ursula. In the ten scenes, females appear eleven times, while males appear twenty-one times. Ariel appears in nine of the 10 scenes, while Eric appears in four scenes; and, the last main character, Ursula, only appears in two scenes.

Males interact a total of 193 times, while females interact a total of 160 times. Female interactions are evenly divided between private and public scenes; but, males only interact 50 times in private and 143 times in public (Table 9). Therefore, male interactions, in The Little Mermaid, support the second hypothesis.

TABLE 9: Percentage of interactions in Bales categories, by gender and type of scene for The Little Mermaid

TYPE OF INTERACTION	MALE		FEMALE	
	PRIVATE	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	PUBLIC
Positive Instrumental	40.0%	66.4%	52.5%	63.8%
Negative Instrumental	22.0	12.6	13.8	5.0
Positive Expressive	8.0	16.8	16.3	16.3
Negative Expressive	30.0	4.2	17.5	15.0
Percent Instrumental	62.0	79.0	66.3	68.8
Percent Expressive	38.0	30.0	33.8	31.3
Percent of N interactions	26.0	74.0	50.0	50.0
N interactions	193		160	

Without including type of scene in the analysis, both male and female characters interact most frequently in the positive instrumental category, with 59.6% and 58.1% respectively. Their other interactions are fairly evenly divided between the other categories. Thus, the leading characters, Ariel and Eric interact most frequently in the positive instrumental category; and, on the average, Ariel interacts more frequently than Eric (Table 10).

TABLE 10: Percentage of interactions in Bales categories, by type of scene for Eric and Ariel

TYPE OF INTERACTION	ERIC		ARIEL	
	PRIVATE	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	PUBLIC
Positive Instrumental	50.0%	55.6%	29.3%	58.5%
Negative Instrumental	0.0	27.8	24.4	5.7
Positive Expressive	50.0	11.1	22.0	24.5
Negative Expressive	0.0	5.6	24.4	11.3
Percent Instrumental	50.0	83.4	53.7	64.2
Percent Expressive	50.0	16.7	46.4	35.8
Percent of N interactions	10.0	90.0	43.6	56.4
N interactions	40		94	

Ariel and Eric's interactions differ in degree from the male and female interactions as a group. Both interact most frequently in public scenes. However, Ariel's interactions are fairly evenly divided, while 90% of Eric's interactions occur in public. In public, 58.5% of Ariel's interactions fall into the

positive instrumental category; but, in private only 29.3% of her interactions are categorized as positive instrumental. In The Little Mermaid, only the first hypothesis is supported.

Beauty and the Beast

The scenes analyzed in Beauty and the Beast are evenly divided between public and private scenes. There are only two female characters, Belle and Mrs. Potts. The remaining thirteen characters are male, three of which are groups: the wolves, the servants, and the angry crowd. Belle, Beast, and Gaston are the three main characters. The antagonists are Gaston, LaFue, the wolves, and the crowd. In the ten scenes, females appear nine times and males appear thirty times.

Belle and Mrs. Potts interact a total of 125 times; and, Mrs. Potts only interacts ten times. Sixty of their interactions occur in public scenes, including the ten interactions by Mrs. Potts. The thirteen male characters interact a total of 340 times. They have 190 public interactions and 150 private interactions. Beast and Gaston are the two main male characters, and between them, they account for a little less than one half of all the interactions. Belle appears in seven scenes, three public and four private. Beast appears in seven scenes, four public and three private. Gaston appears in four scenes, two public and two private. Belle interacts an average of 12.78 times per scene, while Beast interacts 12.43 times per scene and Gaston interacts 16 times per scene. The 12 supporting characters interact a total of 199 times, with an average of 16.6 interactions per character.

Both of the female character's interactions fall mainly into the positive instrumental category. Belle has 69 interactions in this category, while Mrs.

Potts has eight. Excluding the wolves, all the male characters interact most frequently in the positive instrumental category. The wolves' interactions fall mainly into the negative expressive category, with 10 interactions in that category (Table 11).

TABLE 11: Percentage of interactions in Bales categories, by gender and type of scene for Beauty and the Beast

TYPE OF INTERACTION	MALE		FEMALE	
	PRIVATE	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	PUBLIC
Positive Instrumental	55.3%	62.1%	52.3%	71.7%
Negative Instrumental	4.0	9.5	23.1	10.0
Positive Expressive	14.0	8.9	18.5	8.3
Negative Expressive	26.7	19.5	6.2	10.0
Percent Instrumental	59.3	71.6	75.4	81.7
Percent Expressive	40.7	28.4	24.7	18.3
Percent of N interactions	44.1	55.9	52.0	48.0
N interactions	340		125	

The main male characters' interactions fall fairly evenly between public and private scenes. Forty-four percent of Belle's interactions occur in public. Forty-nine percent of Beast's interactions occur in public, and 57.8% of Gaston's interactions occur in public. Of the supporting characters who appear in both public and private scenes, all of them interact more frequently in public.

Belle and Beast seem to have similar interactions. Both of their interactions are most frequently positive instrumental and are evenly divided between public and private scenes. Belle has 69 positive instrumental interactions, 34 are private and 35 are public. Beast has 45 positive instrumental interactions, 22 are private and 23 are public. Belle and Beast's interactions closely match the other characters' interactions.

In *Beauty and the Beast*, the first hypothesis is fully supported. However, females interact more frequently than males in public scenes. Moreover, more of their interactions are instrumental than are males.

Aladdin

In Aladdin, four public scenes and six private scenes were analyzed. Jasmine, a protagonist, is the only female in the film. The 11 male characters include two groups: the kids and the crowd. Jasmine, Aladdin, the Genie, and Jafar are the main characters. The antagonists are Jafar, Iago and the suitor.

In the 10 scenes, Jasmine appears five times, in three public scenes and two private scenes, while male characters appear 33 times. Jasmine interacts 73 times, 65 times in public and eight times in private: an average of 14.6 times per scene. She interacts more frequently in public than in private, 21.7 times per public scene and only four times per private scene. The 11 male characters interact a total of 450 times. The three main male characters, Aladdin, the Genie and Jafar, account for 286 interactions by themselves, almost 64% of all male interactions. Aladdin appears in five scenes, three public and two private. The Genie appears in two scenes, one public and one private. Jafar appears in four scenes, two public and two private. Aladdin interacts an average of 21.6 times per scene; the Genie interacts an average of 40.5 times; and Jafar interacts an average of 24.3 times per scene.

The majority of Jasmine's interactions, 67.1%, fall into the positive instrumental category. As in the other films, the majority of almost all males' interactions fall into the positive instrumental category. The only exceptions are the rug, who has one more positive expressive interaction than positive instrumental interaction, and the kids whose four interactions are all positive expressive (Table 12).

TABLE 12: Percentage of interactions in Bales categories, by gender and type of scene for Aladdin

TYPE OF INTERACTION	MALE		FEMALE	
	PRIVATE	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	PUBLIC
Positive Instrumental	58.6%	50.5%	87.5%	64.6%
Negative Instrumental	10.7	5.7	12.5	4.6
Positive Expressive	21.9	19.6	0.0	17.0
Negative Expressive	8.9	24.2	0.0	13.8
Percent Instrumental	69.3	56.2	100.0	69.2
Percent Expressive	30.8	43.8	0.0	30.8
Percent of				
N interactions	37.6	62.4	11.0	89.0
N interactions	450		73	

Even though Jasmine only appears in one more public scene than private scene, she interacts 57 more times in public than she does in private. Of her eight private interactions, 100% are instrumental, with 87.5% being positive instrumental. Approximately sixty-five percent of her public interactions are positive instrumental interactions. On the average, Aladdin only interacts 19.7 times per public scene; but, he interacts 38 times per private scene. Sixty-three percent of his private interactions and 52.5% of his public interactions are positive instrumental. The Genie is the only character who interacts significantly more frequently in private than in public scenes, with 61.7% of his interactions occurring in private scenes.

Again, the first hypothesis is fully supported in Aladdin. The second hypothesis is not supported, Jasmine appears in more public scenes than private scenes, as do most of the male characters. Most characters, regardless of gender, interact more frequently in the instrumental categories.

Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs

Of the 10 scenes analyzed in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, seven are public and three are private. Snow White and the Queen are the two female characters, one protagonist and one antagonist. There are eight male characters, including the dwarfs as a group and the animals as a group. There is one male antagonist, the crow, the Queen's evil henchman. Females appear seven times in the 10 scenes, while males appear 19 times.

Snow White appears in five scenes, four public and one private, and interacts a total of 109 times. The Queen appears in two scenes, both private, and interacts 38 times. Males interact 213 times and the only main male character is the dwarfs, acting as a group. They appear in six scenes, all public, and interact 86 times.

The majority of Snow White's interactions are in the positive expressive category, with 56 interactions. Snow White is the only female character analyzed with over 66% of her interactions falling into the expressive categories. Sixty-seven percent of Snow White's interactions are positive expressive. The Queen's interactions fall mainly into the positive instrumental category, with 65.8% of her interactions in this category. Ninety-five percent of the Queen's interactions fall into the two positive categories. Male characters do not interact most frequently in the positive instrumental category. Only a few of the male characters' interactions follow the pattern found in the other films. The Dwarfs, Doc, the Prince and the mirror's interactions can be classified as positive instrumental most frequently. Most of Dopey and the animals' interactions fall into the positive expressive category, while Grumpy and the crow have most of their interactions in the negative expressive category (Table 13).

TABLE 13: Percentage of interactions in Bales categories, by gender and type of scene for Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs

TYPE OF INTERACTION	MALE		FEMALE	
	PRIVATE	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	PUBLIC
Positive Instrumental	50.0%	39.4%	58.8%	27.1%
Negative Instrumental	20.0	3.9	3.9	4.2
Positive Expressive	10.0	43.8	21.6	58.3
Negative Expressive	20.0	12.8	15.7	10.4
Percent Instrumental	70.0	43.3	62.7	31.3
Percent Expressive	30.0	56.6	37.3	68.7
Percent of				
N interactions	4.7	95.3	34.7	65.3
N interactions	213		147	

Eighty-eight percent of Snow White's interactions occur in her four public scenes; and, she interacts an average of 24 times per public scene. All other characters only appear in either public or private scenes.

Snow White is the only character who supports the third hypothesis, which states that females characters will have a higher percentage of expressive interactions than male characters (Table 14).

TABLE 14: Percentage of interactions in Bales categories, by type of scene for Snow White

TYPE OF INTERACTION	TOTAL	PRIVATE	PUBLIC
Positive Instrumental	28.4%	38.5%	27.1%
Negative Instrumental	4.6	7.7	4.2
Positive Expressive	51.4	0.0	58.3
Negative Expressive	15.6	53.8	10.4
Percent Instrumental	33.0	46.2	31.3
Percent Expressive	67.0	53.8	68.7
Percent of			
N interactions	100.00	11.9	88.1
N interactions	109		

Regardless of type of scene, the majority of Snow White's interactions fall into the expressive categories. In public scenes, 68.7% of her interactions are expressive, while in private scenes, 53.8% of her interactions are expressive.

As in the other films, the first hypothesis is supported in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs. This is the only film analyzed in which the hypotheses regarding types of interactions are supported. Snow White's interactions are mainly expressive and the lead male characters' interactions are mainly instrumental. However, the hypothesis regarding public and private scenes is not supported.

The Lion King

The 10 scenes chosen in The Lion King are evenly divided between public and private scenes. There are two female characters: Nala and Simba's mother, both protagonists. There are eight male characters, including one group, the hyenas. Scar and the hyenas are the antagonists. The main characters are Nala, Simba, Mufasa and Scar. Females appear seven times across the 10 scenes, while males appear 30 times.

Females interact 145 times. Nala appears in five scenes, four public and one private, and she interacts 114 times, an average of 22.8 times per scene. The mother appears in two scenes, one public and one private. She interacts 31 times, an average of 15.5 times per scene. The male characters in The Lion King interact more frequently than any of the other characters in the study, a total of 740 interactions. Males interact an average of 92.5 times per character. However, the three main male characters, Simba, Mufasa and Scar, account for 58.2% of all male interactions. Simba appears in eight scenes, four public and four private. Mufasa, Simba's father, appears in three scenes, one public and two private. Scar also appears in three scenes, two public and one private.

The majority of both Nala and the mother's interactions, 66.7% and 67.7% respectively, fall into the instrumental categories. The hyenas are the

only male characters whose interactions do not fall mainly into the positive instrumental category. They appear only in public scenes, and the majority of their interactions are negative expressive. Approximately sixty percent of Simba's interactions are positive instrumental, while 82.5% of Mufasa's interactions fall into the positive instrumental category (Table 14).

TABLE 14: Percentage of interactions in Bales categories, by gender and type of scene for The Lion King

TYPE OF INTERACTION	MALE		FEMALE	
	PRIVATE	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	PUBLIC
Positive Instrumental	69.5%	49.7%	42.3%	48.7%
Negative Instrumental	12.6	10.4	19.2	19.3
Positive Expressive	12.6	12.3	19.2	18.5
Negative Expressive	5.2	27.6	19.2	13.4
Percent Instrumental	82.1	60.1	61.5	68.0
Percent Expressive	17.8	39.9	38.4	31.9
Percent of N interactions	36.4	63.4	17.9	82.1
N interactions	740		145	

Nala interacts far more frequently in public than in private scenes. Approximately eighty-two percent of Nala's interactions occur in public scenes. The mother interacts more frequently in her one public scene than in her one private scene, with one exception. In the positive expressive category, she has three public and four private interactions. Timon, Pumbha and the hyenas appear only in public scenes. All the other male characters appear in both public and private scenes. With the exception of Mufasa and Rafiki, the spiritual leader, all males interact more frequently in public than in private scenes. Eighty-one percent of Mufasa's interactions occur in private. He appears in one public scene and two private scenes. Ninety percent of Rafiki's interactions occur in private. He appears in four scenes, evenly divided between public and private.

Thus, in The Lion King, the first hypothesis is fully supported, while the other hypotheses are not supported.

The individual films provide added support for the first hypothesis. There are more male characters in all five films. In Aladdin, Jasmine is the only female character; and, in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, Snow White and the Queen are the only female characters. None of the other hypotheses were universally supported.

Qualitative Thematic Analysis

The thematic analysis produced interesting findings which, due to the narrow scope of Bales methodology, were not seen in the Bales' IPA analysis. Most of these findings deal with the treatment of females in themes. All five of the films center upon the romance between two characters: both heterosexual and beautiful. While some of the 1990s female characters are interested in more than marriage, in the end they all married. Snow White essentially sleeps until her life begins with a man. Moreover, the prince only appears in two scenes in the film, and Snow White only speaks with him once before she is carried off to be married. This theme of life beginning with a man continues through The Little Mermaid, Beauty and the Beast and Aladdin. Ariel sings wistfully that she would do anything to live in the human world so that she can begin to experience life. Belle wishes to leave the provincial French town where she lives in order to find someone who has similar interests so that she can begin enjoying life; and, Jasmine is practically captive in her father's castle until she can find a mate. While the newer films are not quite as blatant with the theme, it is consistent over time. At least the females are not "sleeping dead" before they meet their mate, and interact with him before they decide to marry.

Even so, seemingly independent females are not choosing to remain single or pursue a career or any of the other things that many females do in reality.

Moreover, the females in Disney films move from their family homes to the homes of their husbands, seemingly without regret. The family home in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs is ruled by a wicked stepmother, who dominates Snow White and ultimately kills her independent life. In the more recent films, there are no mother figures in the homes, except Simba's mother in The Lion King, who only appears twice in the film. In the films studied, the only strong mother figures are the Queen in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs and Mrs. Potts in Beauty and the Beast, who is a teapot. Perhaps this implies that strong mothers are either evil or magical and cannot exist in reality.

Finally, the females portrayed in these films are children. They are teenage girls with adult bodies, expected to do adult things, like getting married. Disney wants young viewers to relate to the characters, but by attempting to make them adults with children's faces, the message is skewed. The idea that a girl should be thinking of marriage and must be beautiful to get her man is not a positive message for young children, female or male. Moreover this desire to be married is often more essential than anything else for the characters. In The Little Mermaid, Ariel relinquishes herself to marry Eric. She does not even have a voice. She must entice the prince with her body alone; and, at one point, Eric is instructed to kiss the girl without asking because if he wants it, she must want it too. In Aladdin, Jasmine is the character who chooses her husband, but only because the law and her father are forcing her to marry by a certain date. And although by the end of the film the law is changed, it is only amended to say that the princess can marry whomever she chooses. At no point is it suggested that she does not have to marry at all.

If the female characters are not sacrificing themselves for mates, they are often sacrificing themselves for other male characters. In Beauty and the Beast, Belle leaves the happiness which she has found with Beast to save her father from certain death without her. The idea presented is that males cannot care for themselves or survive without the help of females. In Aladdin, Jasmine protects her slow-witted father from his evil assistant by seducing him. It seems the male characters need females to sacrifice themselves for male survival.

Male characters are portrayed in more varied roles than their female counterparts. While females are either main characters, servants or members of a crowd, males are soldiers, inventors and composers. Males have more freedom in their actions. They are allowed to show anger. For example, in Beauty and the Beast, both Beast and Gaston express anger several times, occasionally violently. In The Little Mermaid, Eric has freedom to travel; and, in Aladdin, Aladdin can freely roam the city. There is some gender stereotyping in the portrayal of males. For example, all five of the lead male characters are princes or will be princes someday. Like the female characters, they are all looking for mates. However, in The Little Mermaid and Beauty and the Beast, there is the possibility that the male might not get married. This is not portrayed as a positive option for the characters, but at least it is a possibility for the males. The ability of the male characters to express anger and aggression can be seen as stereotypical as it reflects acceptable, even encouraged, behavior for males. Only once in the five films did a male character express sadness and cry; Beast cries when Belle leaves him. Unlike the female characters, not all of the male protagonists are beautiful and have adult bodies. For example, Aladdin compensates for his scrawny physique by being street smart.

It is true that there are some positive improvements in gender portrayal in the 1990s. In Beauty and the Beast, the antagonist is an egotistical chauvinist,

who is obviously not meant to be admired. Belle rejects him more than once; but, there is an continual supply of adoring women to feed his ego. The lead female characters are more independent than was Snow White. Moreover, in Beauty and the Beast and Aladdin, the trio of females, who represent traditional female roles are not portrayed in a positive manner. There is not even a Jasmine character in the original Aladdin story. Jasmine, in the animated film, wants to choose her own mate, and, is unwillingly to marry a man whom she does not know. In The Lion King, Nala consistently physically overpowers Simba. She defends herself and berates Simba for neglecting his responsibilities.

A thematic pattern consisting of three sections can be seen in the five films. The main theme in all the films is marriage. Both males and females are searching for a mate. Marriage has varying degrees of importance for each character; and, there are different things which the characters are willing to do to get married. The females are usually the ones who have to sacrifice for marriage, and marriage, in all cases, is rewarding for males. The second theme found in all the films is that of sacrificial females. The altruistic female characters are always willing to give themselves wholly to their mate, regardless of the consequences for themselves. In addition, they also sacrifice themselves for others, often their fathers. Finally, the use of girls in women's bodies is seen in all the films in the 1990s. In Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, Snow White is considered a beautiful girl, but she is not drawn with a woman's body. In the other four films, the girls look like adults. Even with the few improvements that can be seen in gender portrayal over the years, there is still much gender stereotyping in the themes of Disney films.

Interpretation

This research has produced several interesting findings, especially regarding the sheer number of characters, the depiction of antagonists and protagonists, and the differences over time between Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs and the films produced in the 1990s. The hypotheses were strongly supported in only one case, in that males were portrayed much more frequently than females.

The other hypotheses were partially supported in some films, or in some types of scenes, or for certain types of characters but not for all interactions. Supporting females and female antagonists appeared more frequently in private scenes than in public scenes. All other female character types appeared more frequently in public scenes. In all cases, males appeared more frequently in public scenes as well. For main characters and protagonists, females actually appeared more frequently in public scenes than males, which is contradictory to the hypothesis. With respect to the Bales categories, females did not interact more expressively than males. Moreover, males did not have more instrumental interactions than females.

Strength in Numbers

The most striking finding is the difference in representation of males and females. Because males outnumber females by over three and a half to one, they dominate the interactions and the scenes. Males interact three times as much as do females in all five films studied.

In the scenes analyzed, for all but one of the films, there are two or fewer female characters. In The Little Mermaid, there are three. Even in the scenes

not analyzed in this study, the only other females are supporting characters, often in groups. In two of the films, Beauty and the Beast and Aladdin, there is a trio of females juxtaposing the lead female character. These three females oppose the sentiments of the leading female, often with regards to romance with the leading male character. In these situations, the lead female represents independence and the trio of females represent willing dependence on males. These women are not portrayed positively. In Beauty and the Beast, they are unintelligent locals, and in Aladdin, they are prostitutes. The only other female characters in the five films are servants.

Because males dominate in numbers, they also dominate screen time. Screen time can be approximated by the number of interactions for characters. The 44 males interact 1,964 times in the fifty scenes. The data shows that the interactions are not evenly divided between all male characters; therefore, the leading male characters dominate screen time. Moreover, in crowd scenes, and as servants, males far outnumber females. Male characters saturate the screen, whether they be leading characters or fillers.

Heroes and Villains

Antagonists seem to share a common emphasis in certain categories of Bales' IPA chart. There are two female antagonists, Ursula from The Little Mermaid and the Queen in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs. Both of their interactions fall mainly in the positive instrumental category. In addition, both lack many negative interactions. This emphasis on positive instrumental interactions suggests that the portrayal of female antagonists is achieved through the use of instrumental interactions. This interpretation is strengthened by the Queen and Ursula's lack of expressive interactions. While other females

also have the majority of their interactions in the positive instrumental category, they also have a more evenly dispersed representation in the expressive categories. This lack of expressive interactions might be caused by the fact that in a few of the Queen and Ursula's scenes they are alone. Since expressivity deals with relations within a group, the female antagonists acting alone do not have many interactions of this type. However, both the Queen and Ursula do interact with other characters in some scenes, and still they lack many expressive interactions.

Two of the main male antagonists, Gaston, and Scar, follow the dominant pattern of a majority of positive instrumental interactions. The supporting antagonists usually have more or about equal representation in instrumental and expressive categories. The male animal antagonists, the wolves in Beauty and the Beast, the crow in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, and the hyenas in The Lion King, all have the majority of their interactions in the negative expressive category. Perhaps this implies that male animals can display expressive tendencies without the embarrassment which expressivity causes men or boys. The only other characters with most of their interactions in the negative expressive category are the suitor from Aladdin and Grumpy, one of the seven dwarfs. This seems to imply that negative expressive tendencies are more common in male antagonists than in any other characters.

Changes over Time

Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs was the first animated feature film ever released. In 1939, America was on the verge of a world war and was still struggling economically. Women were voting, and soon would be leaving the home for the work force. There seemed to be a desire to return to the past,

when, ideally, women married and stayed at home, caring for the family. These desires can be seen in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs. Snow White is the return to gender role stability, embodying the stereotypes of a nineteenth century housewife. She is supportive, caring and submissive, extracting meaning not from within, but from the men whom she serves. She tended to the dwarfs' needs, respectfully submitting to their instructions. When the prince arrives and kisses her, she willingly leaves the dwarfs and her life and follows him to his kingdom.

Snow White varies from the other main female characters in one significant way. She is the only character whose interactions are more frequently expressive than instrumental. A full 67% of Snow White's interactions are expressive. Female main characters in the other films interact as often as Snow White, but not nearly as many of their interactions are expressive. Ariel, Belle and Jasmine have approximately the same percentage of instrumental interactions as Snow White has expressive interactions. From this data it can be concluded that the depictions of heroines has changed between the production of Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs and the production of these three films in the 1990s.

Another interesting finding regarding changes over time is that the depiction of female antagonists has not changed. The Queen, from Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, and Ursula, from The Little Mermaid, as already mentioned, have very similar distributions across the Bales chart. The Queen's interactions, unlike Snow White's, fall into the positive instrumental category most frequently. She is more like the male characters and the female present day characters than like Snow White.

Finally, although the number of females in films has not increased dramatically, it has increased some from Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs. In

the entire film, Snow White and the Queen are the only female characters, everyone else in the film is male. In the four films produced in the 1990s, a few female characters have been included as members of crowds and servants. While this addition is an improvement, the disparity between the number of male and female characters is still great.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine gender portrayal in Disney full length animated features. The hypotheses stated (1) females will be portrayed less frequently than males, (2) females will appear more frequently in private scenes than males; and, males will appear more frequently in public scenes than females, (3) females will be portrayed primarily in expressive roles and (4) males will be portrayed primarily in instrumental roles, as defined by Talcott Parsons and Robert Bales, and elaborated by Miriam Johnson. The research also looked for a difference between public and private scenes with respect to number of male and female characters, and types and frequencies of interactions. Moreover, a qualitative thematic analysis was conducted on all five films.

The data shows that the hypotheses are supported in one case only. Males far outnumber females in all five films. This statement is true for public and private scenes, main characters and supporting, and protagonists and antagonists. Because there are more male characters, they interact more frequently and therefore dominate screen time. These findings support the findings of Kortenhaus and Demarest, and Williams.

However, females are not portrayed more frequently in expressive roles than in instrumental roles. With the exception of Snow White, all characters have more instrumental interactions than expressive interactions. This finding supports Miriam Johnson's finding that there is little difference between males and females in regard to instrumentality (1988: 55). Snow White is the only character whose data supports the second section of the hypothesis. She is portrayed much more frequently in expressive roles than in instrumental roles. This implies that some changes have occurred in gender portrayal over time.

Finally, there is not a major difference in number and type of interactions in public and private scenes.

This study furthers the research on gender portrayal in mass media marketed for children. Again it shows that males and females are not portrayed in equal numbers and males dominate screen time. With Disney's almost complete domination of animated films produced in the United States, it is essential to be aware of the messages that are being sent to audiences.

This research has focused on an important source of gender portrayal, that of interactions. The significant contribution of Bales' analysis methodology is the finding regarding the disparate number of male characters versus female characters in the films. The term which best describes the lack of female characters is the "symbolic annihilation" of females from our cultural imagery. Females are so underrepresented in these films that their interactions are overshadowed by those of males.

The qualitative analysis provided more important information regarding gender portrayal. A pattern can be seen in the themes of the films, which remain sexist. It is true that there are some positive improvements in gender portrayal in the 1990s; yet, even with these improvements, gender portrayal in Disney films is extremely problematic.

The examples of thematic gender portrayal emphasize the need for continued research on Disney films and the messages which they offer to society. The sexism found in the overt themes of Disney films overwhelms the gender portrayal found through interactions. However, interactions are the basis for all communication, and it is necessary to understand their underlying meaning in a message. Further research on gender portrayal in mass media must include Disney animated features as a source of socialization for children. More studies on both the types of interactions portrayed and the overt

messages found in the films is needed to fully analyze the impact of Disney films on American society.

APPENDIX

Bales' Interaction Process Analysis Categories

Positive Instrumental:

- Gives Suggestions: direction
- Gives Opinion: evaluation, analysis, expresses feeling, wish
- Gives Orientation: information, repeats, clarifies, confirms

Negative Instrumental:

- Asks for Orientation: information, repetition, confirmation
- Asks for Opinion: evaluation, analysis, expression of feeling
- Asks for Suggestions: direction, possible ways of action

Positive Expressive:

- Shows Solidarity: raises other's status, gives help, reward
- Shows Tension Release: jokes, laughs, shows satisfaction
- Shows Agreement: passive acceptance, understands, concurs, complies

Negative Expressive:

- Disagrees: shows passive rejection, formality, withholds help
- Shows Tension: asks for help, withdraws out of field
- Shows Antagonism: deflates others' status, defends or asserts self

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APPENDIX

Bales' Interaction Process Analysis Categories

Positive Instrumental:

- Gives Suggestions: direction
- Gives Opinion: evaluation, analysis, expresses feeling, wish
- Gives Orientation: information, repeats, clarifies, confirms

Negative Instrumental:

- Asks for Orientation: information, repetition, confirmation
- Asks for Opinion: evaluation, analysis, expression of feeling
- Asks for Suggestions: direction, possible ways of action

Positive Expressive:

- Shows Solidarity: raises other's status, gives help, reward
- Shows Tension Release: jokes, laughs, shows satisfaction
- Shows Agreement: passive acceptance, understands, concurs, complies

Negative Expressive:

- Disagrees: shows passive rejection, formality, withholds help
- Shows Tension: asks for help, withdraws out of field
- Shows Antagonism: deflates others' status, defends or asserts self

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