

'Whistle while you work': A comparative study of gender representation in 'Little Snow White' and *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*

CINNAMONE WINCHESTER

Abstract

This article employs comparative methods to explore gender representation and the depiction of female innocence and sexuality in two iterations of the 'Snow White' fable: the 1812 Brothers Grimm fairytale 'Little Snow White', and Walt Disney's 1937 screen adaptation *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*.¹ By conducting literature-based research into the historical contexts of the texts, as well as into critical issues raised by adaptation, it will be made evident that both iterations clearly encourage traditional family values and call for women to take on a subservient role. This article argues that while Disney has more recently attempted to engage in a contemporary brand of 'marketable' feminism, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* followed in kind from the Brothers Grimm by depicting the character Snow White as a personification of nineteenth and twentieth-century ideals surrounding gendered domesticity. Her stepmother, on the other hand, represents 'harmful' female sexuality. The remaining *dramatis personae*—particularly the prince and the seven dwarfs—are the Queen's narrative foils, reinforcing patriarchal supremacy and reflecting the sensibilities of their historical audiences. Ultimately, it may be concluded that the two adaptations reflect disjunctions between traditional audiences of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and contemporary liberal sensibilities concerning gender.

* * *

For centuries, readers of literature have borne witness to the gradual development of gender representation in fiction. This formerly class-restricted observation broadened with the genesis of early motion pictures in the nineteenth century, which diverged from typically intellectual high culture in offering accessible experiences to a wider audience, and laid the foundations for what would soon become known as popular culture. With over 50 adaptations and crossovers extending to the present day, the 1812 Brothers Grimm fairytale 'Little Snow White'² encapsulates much of this evolutionary process, particularly through its eponymous protagonist. 'Little Snow White'—which is similar to Walt Disney's animated adaptation *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) in its adherence to fairytale frameworks—portrays the dichotomy between innocence and 'harmful' female sexuality in the respective characters of Snow White and the Evil Queen. Disney's adaptation, largely, reflected Hollywood's conservative 1930 Production Code, which heavily censored salacious and controversial content onscreen while encouraging the perpetuation of the 'ideal' moral figure.³ Furthermore, both iterations of the tale strongly encourage traditional family values, and call for women within them to take on a subservient role. Both interpretations of the 'Snow White' fable are intrinsically linked in their representation of gender, and exemplify the cultural dichotomies between nineteenth and

¹ While *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* has multiple credited directors and writers, within this essay I assign primary authorship, as do most commentators, to producer Walt Disney.

² Jacob Grimm et al., *The original folk and fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm: The complete first edition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), www.jstor.org/virtual.anu.edu.au/stable/j.ctt6wq18v.

³ Annette Kuhn and Guy Westwall, 'Production Code', in *A dictionary of film studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), www-oxfordreference-com.virtual.anu.edu.au/view/10.1093/acref/9780198832096.001.0001/acref-9780198832096-e-0558.

twentieth-century traditionalism (the belief in upholding traditional ideals) and contemporary audiences through Snow White, the Evil Queen, and the supporting *dramatis personae* of each adaptation. By comparing the two iterations of the fairytale, this essay analyses how gender representation evolved between the original Grimm text and the Disney film, how it remained the same in other respects, and the ways in which the cultural settings of each historical period influenced both iterations in their portrayal of female protagonists.

For the purposes of this essay, ‘gender’ is defined as the socially constructed qualities of men and women,⁴ and ‘representation’ refers specifically to the depiction of gender. Gender representation, therefore, is a powerful code within media which can be shaped to fit certain narratives and intentions.

As the first character in what would eventually become a lucrative twelve-character marketing franchise known as Disney’s ‘Princess Line’, Snow White in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* embodies many traditional perceptions of ladylike behaviour. Her youthful appearance lends credence to her innocence, she is kind and gentle, and her generosity stretches to the extent that it is taken advantage of by her stepmother. This is an exaggerated reflection of the princess in ‘Little Snow White’, who opens the door for the disguised Queen not once, as in the 1937 film, but three times; when she attempts to refuse, it is because she is ‘not allowed to let anyone enter’,⁵ rather than because she knows better than to talk to strangers. Similarly, the seven dwarfs in the original fairytale establish themselves as patriarchal figures in their suggestion that she cook and clean for them in exchange for room and board. Disney reverses this notion in a bid to bestow Snow White with seven children: in the film, it is Snow White who takes initiative and acknowledges her strengths in order to present a mutually beneficial deal. While this transaction emphasises the early twentieth-century rhetoric of ‘natural’ gender-based interactions, Snow White is allowed comparative control over her fate. Nevertheless, both are silent representatives of ‘ideal’ gendered family compositions, with Disney taking inspiration from the seed that ‘Little Snow White’ plants within the story. In both iterations of the fairytale, Snow White serves as a mouthpiece for the encouragement of gendered domestic roles: cooking and cleaning are portrayed as the woman’s duty. This is explicitly amplified in the Disney film, when Snow White determines that the dwarfs must have no mother to clean for them. Audiences watching Snow White’s performance of the musical number ‘Whistle While You Work’ do not doubt that she accepts household chores as a woman’s responsibility, as she chooses to teach animals—rather than the dwarfs who own and are responsible for the cottage—to clean.

While the dwarfs are in charge of the public sphere—or the ‘non-state realm of associational life’,⁶ which unites individuals and has historically been conceptualised as a masculine space in contrast with the domesticity of the private ‘home’ sphere⁷—Snow White’s duties are restricted to a private capacity, which she appears to enjoy. Simultaneously, however, she is clearly waiting to be rescued from this hardship, with Disney’s characterisation of work suggesting that ‘if individuals persevere in exploitative situations they will eventually be rescued by well-meaning and decent heroes’.⁸ Disney’s *Cinderella* (1950), for instance, portrays its eponymous protagonist as a martyr-like figure whose consistent adherence to the abusive demands of her stepmother and stepsisters is rewarded with a marriage proposal from Prince Charming. Similarly, while there is an argument to be made that ‘Someday My Prince Will Come’—sung by Snow White midway through the film—is an expression of her wish to be saved from the Queen, it is an unlikely possibility; particularly in tandem with the number ‘I’m Wishing’, in which she expresses her desire to meet her true love. This willingness to wait for a prince is perhaps why *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* has not been included in Disney’s recent slate of live-action remakes, which have gradually become more profitably ‘progressive’ to reflect the evolving moral values of audiences, but fail to address more contentious matters within their works. Recently included within this line of repurposed properties with marketable feminist changes was *The Lion King*

⁴ World Health Organization, ‘Gender’, 2019, www.who.int/gender-equity-rights/understanding/gender-definition/en/.

⁵ Grimm et al., *The original folk and fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm*, 175.

⁶ Valentine M. Moghadam and Fatima Sadiqi, ‘Women’s activism and the public sphere: An introduction and overview’, *Journal of Middle Eastern Women’s Studies* 2, no. 2 (2006): 1, doi:10.1353/jmw.2006.0020.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁸ Martyn Griffin, Nancy Harding, and Mark Learmonth, ‘Whistle while you work? Disney animation, organizational readiness and gendered subjugation’, *Organization Studies* 38, no. 7 (2017), doi:10.1177/0170840616663245.

(2019), which saw the hyena Shenzi undergo a feminist evolution, while existing controversy surrounding the encouragement of racial segregation and the doctrine of the divine right of kings—a political principle which posits that the monarchy is God’s chosen form of government⁹—went ignored.

As the Brothers Grimm chronicled ‘Little Snow White’—and the majority of the tales in their collection—after listening to oral storytellers, most descriptors in the text were allocated to the eponymous protagonist: the European storytelling tradition often depicted one main character and valued brevity in order to concisely convey lessons to children.¹⁰ In translating the folktale into a filmic medium which reflected the popularity of the Hollywood musical, however, many visual cues throughout the narrative are indicative not only of Golden Age Hollywood tropes but of the cultural values which surrounded Walt Disney and his company in the 1930s. Walt Disney’s anti-Semitism, for instance, remains a highly contentious matter among contemporary scholars: amid the rise of the American-German Bund—a pro-Nazi organisation—across the United States in 1936,¹¹ Disney attended a story meeting for *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* in which he ‘referred to the dwarfs piling on top of one another ... as a n***** pile’.¹² One year after the film depicted the Jewish-coded dwarfs as having suspiciously large noses, hoarding precious materials, and intentionally leaving the key to their wealth beside the locked door of their vault, Disney personally led Nazi propaganda director Leni Riefenstahl on a tour of his studios.¹³ Furthermore, the company’s regressive cultural values were not limited to racism and anti-Semitism: at least six months earlier, aspiring animator Mary Ford was informed that ‘women do not do any of the creative work [at Walt Disney Productions] ... that work is performed entirely by young men’.¹⁴ The rejection letter—which had been typed and signed by a female administrative assistant—clearly reinforced *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*’ onscreen values involving the relegation of women to menial tasks.

It has been proven, however, that Snow White’s story can still be retold in a way which properly subverts the gender rules and racial issues which were present within the 1937 film, as well as the studio itself. Contemporary adaptations of the ‘Snow White’ fairytale from other Hollywood studios—such as *Snow White and the Huntsman* (2012), *Mirror Mirror* (2012), and *Revolting Rhymes* (2016)—have attempted to rework the dated aspects of the story to allow Snow White more agency without necessarily lapsing into the ‘safe’ trend of marketable feminism. It is apparent, however, that Disney has historically associated itself with the current zeitgeist in a move to market, rather than socially progress, as exemplified by former Disney CEO Michael Eisner’s 1981 statement that ‘we have no obligation to make history. We have no obligation to make art. We have no obligation to make a statement. To make money is our only objective’.¹⁵ Thus, the politically charged portrayal of the seven dwarfs as the film’s ‘necessary’ interim source of masculinity—a notion which will be further discussed below—as well as the banishment of Snow White to the private sphere in alignment with Walt Disney Productions’ former views, is perhaps too incongruous with the studio’s current standards to be deemed worthy of readaptation. Snow White as written in 1937, after all, encourages the notion that women should self-monitor their emotions during the scene in which she apologises for ‘the fuss [she’s] made’ after mistakenly running away from harmless woodland creatures in the forest.¹⁶ This maintenance of her outward appearance is placed in direct opposition to the Queen, who rarely self-manages her reactions and emotions—evident when she erupts in anger after the Magic Mirror informs her that Snow White

⁹ Oxford Reference, ‘Divine right of kings’, 2020, www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110810104754564.

¹⁰ Stephanie M. Curenton, ‘A cultural art that promotes school readiness’, *YC Young Children* 61, no. 5 (2006): 79.

¹¹ Leland Bell, ‘The failure of Nazism in America: The German American Bund, 1936–1941’, *Political Science Quarterly* 85, no. 4 (1970): 585, doi:10.2307/2147597.

¹² Neal Gabler, *Walt Disney: The triumph of the American imagination* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 1017, ePub.

¹³ Manohla Dargis, ‘And now a word from the director’, *New York Times*, September 21, 2011, www.nytimes.com/2011/09/25/movies/conflicting-voices-in-lars-von-triers-words-and-works.html.

¹⁴ Kevin Burg, ‘Disney rejection letter, 1938’, Flickr, June 7, 1938, www.flickr.com/photos/polaroid/632255233/in/photostream/.

¹⁵ Griffin, Harding, and Learmonth, ‘Whistle while you work’.

¹⁶ Lisbet Rosa Dam, ‘Fairy tale femininities: A discourse analysis of Snow White films 1916–2012’ (Master’s thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2014), 43.

has become the ‘fairest one of all’—and who ‘[trembles] with rage’¹⁷ in the original fairytale upon realising she has failed to murder Snow White.

These distinctions between Snow White and the Queen, as well as the relationship between the women throughout the tale—particularly in Disney’s film—are intrinsically linked to the study of gender representation. The central concern in both *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* and ‘Little Snow White’, after all, springs from jealousy.¹⁸ This is exemplified in the film’s prologue, which quite literally sets the stakes in writing and serves to pit the two women against one another. The narrator explains that ‘each day the vain Queen consulted her Magic Mirror, “Magic Mirror on the wall, who is the fairest one of all?” ... and as long as the Mirror answered, “You are the fairest one of all”, Snow White was safe from the Queen’s cruel jealousy’. This narrative conceit is far from unusual: instead of stepping in as practiced and wizened sources of guidance for younger women, older women in film are often demonised and pitted against those in their care.¹⁹ In the case of *Snow White*, this discourse is representative of the strict dichotomy between innocence and corruptive sexuality which is present in stereotypical, dated perceptions of women. Feminist scholarship later interpreted this conflict as a reinforcement of ‘the essential but equivocal relationship between the angel-woman and the monster-woman’²⁰ that occurs in the male imagination: an interpretation which ultimately serves to instate the Queen as the more complex and admirable character to contemporary viewers. In ‘Little Snow White’, the Queen makes three attempts to present Snow White with dangerous wares representing female sexuality, which can be linked to the fairytale’s message regarding the value of virginity: stay laces, used to tighten corsets; a comb; and an apple—responsible for the downfall of Adam and Eve, and symbolic of perfection and beauty. Snow White is persuaded to eat the poisoned, ‘beautiful red half’ of the apple,²¹ with the colour red often representing sexual feminine attributes. While narrative streamlining called for the removal of two of these encounters in Disney’s film, ultimately leaving only the fatal apple, the physical appearances of the women function as exaggerated indicators of the original message. Where Snow White’s features are soft and youthful, and audiences are told that her bright red lips are entirely natural, the Evil Queen’s bold makeup and lavish garments were largely inspired by silver screen sirens like Helen Gaghan—who portrayed the similarly-dressed antagonist in the fantasy-adventure film *She* (1935)—and Joan Crawford, who had recently delivered a frank performance of sexuality in her role as a prostitute in *Rain* (1932).²² This is entirely constructed by Disney, as there is no physical description of the Queen in the fairytale aside from her ‘beautiful’²³ appearance. Furthermore, it is specifically love’s first kiss that is required to revive Snow White: she could not have awakened if she had previously engaged in any consensual practices with Prince Charming, and her choices are thus taken away. Despite these virginal undertones, Snow White’s beauty achieves a great deal throughout the film—note her dealings with the Huntsman, who quickly finds himself unable to carry out the Queen’s orders; her interactions with the seven dwarfs; and the mirror’s proclamation of her ‘gentle grace’—as opposed to her stepmother’s *femme fatale* approach to bending the wills of men to her whims.

A final facet of gender representation concerning the Evil Queen can be linked to the remaining *dramatis personae* of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*. While the Queen’s mirror in the original fairytale is never gendered, Disney’s adaptation explicitly assigns a masculine persona to the enchanted object. Each time the Evil Queen is presented with an answer to her queries, the mirror’s monotonous tone reminds audiences of its master’s power with the suggestion that she has forced a soulless demon to do her bidding. This demonstration of power, however, is immediately negated with the implication

¹⁷ Grimm et al., *The original folk and fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm*, 175.

¹⁸ Thomas M. Inge, ‘Walt Disney’s *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*’, *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 3, no. 3 (2004): 137, doi:10.1080/01956051.2004.10662058

¹⁹ Dafna Lemish and Varda Muhlbauer, ‘“Can’t have it all”: Representations of older women in popular culture’, *Women and Therapy* 35, no. 3–4 (2012): 171.

²⁰ Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The madwoman in the attic: The woman writer and the nineteenth-century literary imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 36.

²¹ Grimm et al., *The original folk and fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm*, 176.

²² Gilbert Colon, ‘Ayesha, white as snow: H. Rider Haggard’s *She* and Walt Disney’s Evil Queen,’ *TOR*, May 6, 2016, www.tor.com/2016/05/06/ayesha-white-as-snow-h-rider-haggards-she-and-walt-disneys-evil-queen/.

²³ Grimm et al., *The original folk and fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm*, 170.

that even a woman in absolute political control must turn to a man for affirmation of her physical appearance, and is influenced by his assessment to the point of murder. As Stam describes, source texts often ‘form dense informational [networks], a series of verbal cues which the adapting film text can then selectively take up, amplify, ignore, subvert or transform’.²⁴ In transforming previously ambiguous aspects of the Grimm fairytale and projecting an explicit sense of masculinity upon the mirror, the Queen’s ‘harmful’ sense of female sexuality is brought to its knees by early twentieth-century ideas of hierarchy and power. Ultimately, her position as the primary antagonist of the film is shadowed with hints of subservience to a male figure.

The toxic nature of the ‘unnatural family’²⁵ that the Queen provides is juxtaposed with Snow White’s interim family, found among the seven dwarfs. *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* is a twentieth-century culmination of the American Dream, and gender representation on both sides of the spectrum is indicative of this ideology. There is no way to differentiate between each dwarf in ‘Little Snow White’, though it should once again be noted that this was perhaps a residual indicator of the emphasis upon brevity within the practice of oral storytelling. In the film, however, all seven dwarfs are given names and corresponding personalities in a bid to endear them to audiences. This was also a result of production contexts: Disney largely found success in their conventionally ‘cute’ characters and animals during their stint producing animated shorts, and this trend was continued during their transition to feature-length films.²⁶ Also contrary to the Grimm fairytale—which portrays the dwarfs as patriarchal figures who ‘provide [her] with everything [she needs]’²⁷—the dwarfs in Disney’s production are introduced as rowdy ‘bachelors’ who are ultimately tamed by the domesticity that Snow White brings into their household. Upon stepping into their cottage for the first time, Snow White is so shocked to find the space in such disarray that she determines its inhabitants must be orphans. While this conclusion is erroneous, the dwarfs display mannerisms largely akin to children throughout the remainder of the film. Grumpy, for instance, is initially reluctant to welcome Snow White into his home. Thus, the responsibility to build trust between them swiftly falls onto Snow White’s shoulders, in a kinder representation of stepmothers to properly correlate with the Production Code’s enforcement of traditional ideals surrounding nuclear families (defined as ‘a pair of adults and their socially recognised children’²⁸) and the American Dream (an ideological ethos surrounding the growth of prosperity from hard work, in which the presence of the nuclear family was essential).²⁹ Grumpy’s eventual development, however—from proclaiming that ‘all females is [sic] poison!’ to being invested in Snow White’s safety—is representative of the notion that the seven dwarfs are an ‘appropriate’ familial unit, particularly in juxtaposition with the Queen. Similarly, the prince and dwarfs in ‘Little Snow White’ are symbolic devices, presented so that the dangerous shadow of the Queen’s wildly irresponsible parenting may be contrasted with strong, patriarchal alternatives. Rather than patriarchal, however, the dwarfs in the Disney production take Snow White into their home as a mother. This is apparent in interactions between Snow White and the dwarfs once she has begun to live in their cottage: being dirty is considered appropriately manly, and the infantilised dwarfs must slowly learn to perform menial tasks such as washing their hands before dinner each night. In the original tale, however, Snow White perceives their living space as ‘dainty and neat’.³⁰ Snow White’s familial dynamics with the dwarfs in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* may thus be interpreted as an interim and ‘necessary’ relationship with a collective masculine figure until the prince makes his reappearance. Throughout the film, she evolves from having a stepmother to becoming a stepmother, and finishes her character arc by starting

²⁴ Robert Stam, *Literature through film: Realism, magic, and the art of adaptation* (Malden: Blackwell Pub, 2005), 46.

²⁵ Inge, ‘Walt Disney’s *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*’, 141.

²⁶ Tracey Mollet, “‘With a smile and a song ...’: Walt Disney and the birth of the American fairy tale’, *Marvels & Tales* 27, no. 1 (2013): 111, doi:10.13110/marvelstales.27.1.0109.

²⁷ Grimm et al., *The original folk and fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm*, 173.

²⁸ Encyclopaedia Britannica, ‘Nuclear family’, 2020, www.britannica.com/topic/nuclear-family.

²⁹ Kuhn and Westwall, ‘Production Code’.

³⁰ Grimm et al., *The original folk and fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm*, 172.

her own nuclear family with the prince, as was considered traditional at the time of development: as the Production Code explicitly stated, films should portray ‘correct standards of life’.³¹

The Brothers Grimm fairytale ‘Little Snow White’ and Disney’s *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* represent gender in a manner which exemplifies the disconnect between traditional audiences of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and contemporary standards of gender and gender representation. This is particularly apparent in the characters of Snow White, the Evil Queen, and the supporting *dramatis personae* of each adaptation. Through these fictional mouthpieces, both iterations portray the dichotomy between innocence and harmful sexuality, and encourage female subservience within nuclear family dynamics. While these values are considered foreign in a modern context, they each reflect the sensibilities of their respective historical contexts, and have shaped their representation of gender norms in order to properly fit conventional fairytale narratives.

References

- Bell, Leland V. ‘The failure of Nazism in America: The German American Bund, 1936–1941’. *Political Science Quarterly* 85, no. 4 (1970): 585–599. doi:10.2307/2147597.
- Burg, Kevin. ‘Disney rejection letter, 1938’. Flickr. June 7, 1938. www.flickr.com/photos/polaroid/632255233/in/photostream/.
- Colon, Gilbert. ‘Ayesha, white as snow: H. Rider Haggard’s *She* and Walt Disney’s Evil Queen’. *TOR*, May 6, 2016. www.tor.com/2016/05/06/ayesha-white-as-snow-h-rider-haggards-she-and-walt-disneys-evil-queen/.
- Curenton, Stephanie M. ‘A cultural art that promotes school readiness’. *YC Young Children* 61, no. 5 (2006): 78–89.
- Dam, Lisbet Rosa. ‘Fairy tale femininities: A discourse analysis of Snow White films 1916–2012’. Master’s thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2014.
- Dargis, Manohla. ‘And now a word from the director’. *New York Times*, September 21, 2011. www.nytimes.com/2011/09/25/movies/conflicting-voices-in-lars-von-triers-words-and-works.html.
- Disney, Walt, prod. *Cinderella*. 1950; Walt Disney Productions, 2020. Disney+.
- . *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*. 1937; Walt Disney Productions, 2019. Stan.
- Doherty, Thomas. *Pre-code Hollywood: Sex, immorality, and insurrection in American cinema 1930–1934*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica. ‘Nuclear family’. 2020. www.britannica.com/topic/nuclear-family.
- Gabler, Neal. *Walt Disney: The triumph of the American imagination*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004. ePub.
- Gilbert, Sandra M., and Susan Gubar. *The madwoman in the attic: The woman writer and the nineteenth century literary imagination*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.
- Griffin, Martyn, Nancy Harding, and Mark Learmonth. ‘Whistle while you work? Disney animation, organizational readiness and gendered subjugation’. *Organization Studies* 38, no. 7 (2017): 869–894. doi:10.1177/0170840616663245.
- Grimm, Jacob, Wilhelm Grimm, Jack Zipes, and Andrea Dezsö. *The original folk and fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm: The complete first edition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014. doi:10.1515/9781400851898
- Inge, Thomas M. ‘Walt Disney’s *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*’. *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 32, no. 3 (2004): 132–142. doi:10.1080/01956051.2004.10662058.
- Kuhn, Annette, and Guy Westwall. ‘Production Code’. In *A dictionary of film studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Lachauer, Jan, and Jakob Schuh, dirs. *Revolting rhymes*. 2016; Magic Light Pictures, 2019. ABC.

³¹ Thomas Doherty, *Pre-code Hollywood: Sex, immorality, and insurrection in American cinema 1930–1934* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 361.

- Lemish, Dafna, and Varda Muhlbauer. “‘Can’t have it all’”: Representations of older women in popular culture’. *Women and Therapy* 35, no. 3–4 (2012): 165–180. doi:10.1080/02703149.2012.684541.
- Moghadam, Valentine M., and Fatima Sadiqi. ‘Women’s activism and the public sphere: An introduction and overview’. *Journal of Middle Eastern Women’s Studies* 2, no. 2 (2006): 1–7. doi:10.1353/jmw.2006.0020.
- Mollet, Tracey. “‘With a smile and a song ...’”: Walt Disney and the birth of the American fairy tale’. *Marvels & Tales* 27, no. 1 (2013): 109–124. doi:10.13110/marvelstaes.27.1.0109.
- Oxford Reference. ‘Divine right of kings’. 2020. www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110810104754564.
- Sale, Roger. *Fairy tales and after*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Sanders, Rupert, dir. *Snow White and the Huntsman*. 2012; Universal Pictures, 2020. Netflix.
- Singh, Tarsem, dir. *Mirror Mirror*. 2012; Relativity Media, 2020. Netflix.
- Stam, Robert. *Literature through film: Realism, magic, and the art of adaptation*. Malden: Blackwell Pub, 2005.
- World Health Organization. ‘Gender’. 2019. www.who.int/gender-equity-rights/understanding/gender-definition/en/.