

Domesticating Disney: On Danish Children's Reception of a Global Media Giant

Kirsten Drotner

Media globalisation is as old as the media itself. Indeed, the so-called medium-theory school predicated its divisions of societal development on the various ways in which communications media cross borders of time and space (Innis [1950]1972, McLuhan [1964]1997, Meyrowitz 1994). Yet, few will dispute that during the last two decades the unprecedented growth in the number of satellites in the sky and optic cables under the sea has put transborder television and Internet communication at the centre not only of societal development but equally of economic and cultural change. So, it is only natural that media have assumed an increasing importance as constitutive elements in contemporary theorisings on globalisation (e.g., Wallerstein 1991, Herman & McChesney 1997). Amongst the key characteristics of media globalisation today are technological convergence and economic commodification, temporal immediacy (or near-immediacy), spatial ubiquity, and increasing interaction between senders and receivers.

Several globalisation theorists have called for more empirical grounding of globalisation theories, including media globalisation (e.g., Ferguson 1992, Yoshimoto 1994). My main contention, which I hope to substantiate in the following, is that a user, or reception, perspective is as central to the empirical development of media globalisation as it is marginal to most contemporary theories on that topic. Furthermore, I argue that children are as visible to media conglomerates as they are invisible to the scholarly eye in most empirical reception studies made on media globalisation (e.g., Lull 1988, Jensen 1998, but see Livingstone & Bovill 2001). So, to investigate children's take on processes of media globalisation may add theoretical nuances and empirical insights to our understandings of phenomena that in all probability will remain at the core of academic as well as general interest and importance.

Finally, I suggest that inconspicuous everyday routines are as focal to most media users as they are neglected in conceptualisations on media globalisation. Be they from a political-economy perspective or from a more cultural-studies perspective, most studies on media globalisation harbour dichotomous views on these processes that I find it imminent to question and possibly revise. Political

economists will argue in terms of conceptual taxonomies, such as homogenisation/heterogenisation and global/local (Garnham 1990, Gershon 1997, Demers 1999), while cultural studies researchers will argue in terms of national/universal cultures and mainstream/diaspora cultures (Wallerstein 1991, Morley & Robins 1995, Gillespie 1995, Kolar-Panov 1997, Qureshi & Moores 1999).

Such dichotomies easily, if often unwittingly, lend themselves to inferences that the in between, the grey zones are empirically homogeneous and hence conceptually uninteresting. Such inferences are perhaps particularly questionable to draw within cultures that are constituted upon discourses of national identity such as is the case in, for example, many countries on the European continent. If scholars studying these (media) cultures focus only on distinctive articulations of otherness, they leave unanswered whether the official discourses on national homogeneity are, in fact, identical with people's claims to their cultural identities. The political implications are as obvious as they are unwarranted: most cultures, it is argued, have existed in a pure and untainted form until the advent of visible others. Instead, when unpicking processes of media globalisation, we may heed Swedish ethnologist Orvar Löfgren who speaks about the necessity in cultural analyses to distinguish between what he calls Sunday culture and everyday culture, or cultural discourses and cultural practices (Löfgren 1990). By applying such a dual, analytical perspective also on the inconspicuous forms of culture, we may unravel nuances and ambivalences in the seeming homogeneities.

Denmark is one of the seemingly homogeneous cultures in Europe, a country that in official tourist brochures boasts of being the oldest kingdom in the world, and a country in which geographical borders follow linguistic boundaries. In the following, I shall approach media globalisation from an inconspicuous, juvenile reception perspective by analysing ways in which Danish children appropriate a stable and ubiquitous part of their everyday media fare, namely Disney.

Disney: A global media oldie

Together with Coca Cola, Disney is perhaps the best-known brand name in the world. Most people know of and have personal experiences with one or more of the company's products. Moreover, the Walt Disney Company is among the oldest global media conglomerates. Most people therefore develop their experiences with Disney in relation to a tradition of reception which they may accept or oppose but which they can rarely ignore. Taken together, the global reach and the age of the Walt Disney Company makes it a unique object for studying children's contemporary reception of media globalisation, a process that is invariably situated within and shaped by patterns of family and peer interaction and cultural preferences.

The significant transformations in global forms of mediated communication in the 1980s and 1990s are illuminated with particular clarity in the Disney

Company's business development. In 1984, a thorough transformation of leadership began to turn a slumping, if still lucrative, family business into a streamlined corporation that intensified global marketing of the Disney brand name, while simultaneously diversifying the company's business activities beyond the Disney label itself through corporate partnerships and strategic alliances. Capitalising on the recent VCR boom in many countries, the so-called Team Disney, under CEO Michael Eisner, started off by carefully orchestrated global video releases of the company's rich animated feature library. In 1989, Buena Vista Home Entertainment was founded as the international coordinator of Disney's home video and interactive businesses, followed one year later by the formation of the Walt Disney International, a centralised branch coordinating all overseas activities. In 1995, the takeover of Capital Cities/ABC turned Disney into the world's leading media mogul while increasing the company's U.S. assets in news and sports programming and adding publishing and multimedia to its area of control (Wasko 2001: pp. 36-7). While Disney's global leadership was ousted in 2000 by the merging of AOL/Time Warner, the company is still ranked as one of the six so-called first-tier media conglomerates in the world, characterised by vertical integration and a complex network of interlocking ownership and management (Herman & McChesney 1997). Both mergers signal economic convergence of new and old media that dramatically enhance possibilities of cross-selling and cross-promotion.

Seen from a European perspective, the revamping of Disney has meant a unification of Disney output and distribution. Today, most European children have daily access to one or more satellite channels featuring Disney animation films; they witness regular, and limited, reissues on VHS (and now increasingly DVD) home video; yearly releases of new cinema features are paralleled by computer games and music CDs; and they are often accompanied by visits to McDonald's with which Disney made a ten-year contract in 1996 giving the fast-food chain exclusive global rights to promote Disney products in its restaurants. Merchandise is boosted by a plethora of Disney stores in major cities, on-line services can be accessed via the Internet, and since the opening of Euro Disney outside Paris in 1992, the corporation can add theme park to its potential offerings for European children.

In Denmark, Disney cartoons in the cinemas were seen by an average of 500,000 people (equalling ten per cent of the population) by the late 1990s, and Danish households with children aged 3-10 may claim an average, yearly purchase of four Disney videos that are watched 34 times on average (Bach 1997). As CEO Michael Eisner pronounced in 1998:

It doesn't matter whether it comes in by cable, or telephone lines, computer or satellite. Everyone's going to have to deal with Disney (quoted in Wasko 2001: p. 222).

The Disney universe facing European children today is very different from that which their parents knew during their childhood. Unlike the U.S.A., in many European countries and regions Disney until the mid-1980s meant print media

on an everyday basis to which was added a sprinkling of ritual cinema visits to watch the latest animation film and a Christmas show on television. Not least within Northern Europe, print media has held sway until recently as a defining feature of the Disney universe for media users (Drotner 2001a, Hagen 2001). In Denmark, a weekly comic, *Donald Duck*, has been brought out since 1949 by the publisher Egmont H. Petersen, now The Egmont Group, which is the world's leading publisher of Disney print media, and the Nordic countries still top the international list of Disney comic consumption (Christiansen 1998).¹ It is within these complex parameters of unified global production and diversified local traditions of reception that contemporary children approach and appropriate Disney.

Juvenile Disney: Traditions of research

Particularly in the U.S.A., Disney has always been associated with animated film and the theme parks. This focus is reflected in academic studies on Disney, most of which are of U.S. origin and with perspectives ranging from panegyric praise to ideological critique (e.g., Feild 1942, Dorfman & Mattelart [1971]1975, Bryman 1995). Both animated film and theme parks, however, are nearly always constructed as being connected to fantasy and children, either real ones or the child in all of us. Not surprisingly, the company itself has closely monitored users' receptions, starting in the 1930s with informal studio previews (Ohmer 1991). More unexpectedly, the reception take on Disney has received relatively little scholarly attention (Real 1973, Stone 1975, May 1981, Wasko 2001, Wasko et al. 2001). Perhaps most unusual of all, there has been no empirical, academic study of the Disney universe as seen from a juvenile perspective.

All of the existing academic studies have young adults, indeed university students, as informants. Naturally, this sampling method does not invalidate or diminish the research results, as long as the researchers are aware of the analytical specificities of their sample. But it does imply that the results invariably reflect informants' past experiences with Disney rather than their present engagements with the company and its products. In her encompassing investigation of the Disney brand, and based on the previous studies, Janet Wasko sums up what she terms audience archetypes in the U.S. Disney reception: "fanatic", "fan", "consumer", "cynic", "uninterested", "resister", and "antagonist" (Wasko 2001: pp. 195-218). As a participant in the largest of these studies, a comparative reception study encompassing 18 countries around the world (Wasko et al. 2001), I became interested in studying how these categories apply to children today. In short, I became interested in studying how contemporary children, rather than adults, articulate their understandings of the Disney universe in view of the company's intensified global marketing and cross selling.

The present article is part of a major study I have undertaken (Drotner 2002a) in which the primary data are based on in-depth interviews made in 2000 with 48 children (24 girls and 24 boys in the age bands 6-7 years and 11-12

years, respectively) and one or both of their parents. The youngest age band represents the core group of juvenile Disney users, while the older age band represents children who are growing out of Disney while still being objects of the company's globalised production and distribution pattern. Half of the informants live in the greater Copenhagen area and the other half in a provincial town; all interviews with the children were conducted in their rooms, while parents were interviewed in the living room or kitchen.

While the overall study charts transformations of reception between parents and children, in the following I limit myself to the children's perspective. I focus on informants' discursive articulations of the popularity of animated films (both cinema and video releases). This focus is chosen because it is a key area in which children negotiate their understanding of the Disney universe.

Domesticating the foreign

Animated narratives, not theme parks or merchandise, are what Danish children primarily think Disney is about, and television and particularly videos are their main narrative entry points. Despite the diverse range of Disney products, and despite many informants' possession of a good number of these products (*Donald Duck* magazines, computer games, music cassettes, toys and other merchandise), all informants immediately and intuitively refer to animated film and figures in speaking about their perceptions of and experiences with Disney. As in other small language communities and unlike most other films imported to Northern Europe, Disney animation is dubbed in Denmark, and so it is not so visibly marked as foreign. Most of the children know Disney animation is from the U.S.A. (Drotner 2002a), but this knowledge has no bearing on their pronouncements and priorities.

While Team Disney has been at pains to widen their filmic range of cultural representations in an obvious attempt to counter critique of stereotyping, none of our child informants remark on cultural divergences. Indeed, a number of children, both younger and older, have difficulties in correctly locating figures in relation to country of origin. Mulan is erroneously taken to go to war in Japan, not China, while Jane is said to leave Tarzan and go back to the U.S.A., not Great Britain. In the present context, these errors are analytically interesting, not so much as indications of Danish children's poor knowledge of geography, but as signs of their narrative priorities. Most of these priorities are thematically and aesthetically motivated by and centre on scenes in the plot. And so the film critic may easily conclude that children's mistakes in national labelling is a result of Disney's unchanged ideological representations, whereby multiculturalism remains superficial and unimportant aesthetic glosses on a static deep structure favouring white, male heterosexuality.

But children's appropriations are more complex than such a simple conclusion allows for. Quite a few of the informants focus on elements that are not key narrative elements, but elements that are central to themselves. One recurring

example is from *Tarzan* (recently released at the time of the interviews). Particularly young children focus as much upon the initial killing of Tarzan's parents as upon the later killing of Kerchak, his gorilla father. The filmic function of the initial scene is to get the real action in the gorilla tribe going, but not so for Susan, aged five:

It all starts with [Tarzan] being little, and his mom and dad they travel over to a jungle and they build a house. They live there, and then a leopanter [sic] comes and kills the mom and dad. Then a gorilla comes and... ahm... sneaks in. Then he [sic] sees a little baby lying... and some blood [Susan swallows], and a tiger rushes forward who will attack and who follows them. All of a sudden it is shaken off, and then Tarzan grows up, and when he grows up he becomes very big and strong. And he has some friends, and then the gorilla gets killed, the king gorilla. And Tarzan becomes king and Jane becomes queen.

Children's reception is selective and not least with young children it seems motivated primarily by problematics that are focal in their own lives. They will often forget titles of films and use as mental props McDonald's figures, sitting on shelves in their rooms, or point to their bedclothes with figures from, e.g., *The Lion King* or *101 Dalmatians* as a guide to the interviewer. In their accounts of Disney narratives, children take in what to them are foreign features and domesticate them so as to serve very immediate ends. So, in the age band 5-6, we find informants very preoccupied with the youngest or smallest figures, who are not always protagonists, and with being rescued and found ("I like things about being saved", says Liv aged six). Also, endings are recounted with an emphasis on characters being reunited or returning home.

These are all discursive elements of harmony. In psychological terms, we may speak, with Höjjer (1998), of narrative harmony operating like transitional objects in Winnicott's sense, that is, objects which help the child overcome and deal with its basic fright of separation and loss (see also Rydin 1996). Within a cultural perspective of analysis, one may note that these elements are embodied enactments: young informants (and quite a few older ones) accompany their pronouncements with gestures, jumps and songs, all of which operate as ways of demonstrating their mastery, be it of fear or of feats. One small boy climbs up his bunk bed to demonstrate Tarzan's artistry with lianas, while Ditte, aged five, recounts a scene in *A Bug's Life* as follows:

Ditte: Where the little one must go away from the others, I think that is so sad.

Int.: Yes.

Ditte: I think that was a pity.

Int.: But he returns, doesn't he?

Ditte: Yes, I know. And do you know what... I think it is fun when those grasshopper dwarfs [the bugs] say... [Ditte screams].

Int.: They say that?

Ditte: Yes, because they have made a bird, and then it comes and they... [Ditte screams again].

Int.: Is that the bird saying that?

Ditte: No, it's the bugs, because they get scared, the grasshoppers are afraid, and they go... [scream] with the bird following them just behind.

Young children's obvious joy in enacting particular scenes is paralleled by their thematic priority of temporal and spatial reversals – Donald Duck sledging up a hill or the big Genie coming out of a small bottle in *Aladdin*. Such features must hold a particular attraction to an age group who has just mastered the rules of regularity and a knowledge of how everyday things operate.

Media literacy

In many countries, Disney products top the list of sell-through videos that are also among the videos that children watch most often. Many of our informants estimate to have seen particular videos 15-20 times, and so it should come as no surprise that they are able to quote snippets of dialogue and recite songs. The repeated showings also operate as tools for informal training of media literacy, that is, users' abilities to perceive formal properties and thematic modalities of expression (image, music, words, text) so that they are able to remark on these perceptions (e.g., Taylor 1998, Silverblatt 1999, Tulloch 2000).² Naturally, children do not watch Disney's animated films in order to learn something; in fact most of them say they like the films because they are entertaining. Nor is children's informal media literacy a result of the company's perceived policy of producing educative entertainment.³ Rather, the repetitive nature of children's reception patterns, and here primarily their video viewing, acts as an imperceptible aid in forming aesthetic and substantive tools of distinction.

Irrespective of age, children articulate often quite acute genre inferences. For example, they recognise certain scenes from their videos being repeated in the weekly television shows *Disney Fun* (Disney sjov), shown at 7 p.m. on DR1, one of the two national public service channels, and they notice the orchestration of scenes ("you cannot have two sad scenes in a row"). Six-year-old Anna remarks that in *Toy Story 2* (she pronounces the number in English) the cowgirl paints rainbows, sun and rain on:

...I think it is the Gold-digger, I think it happens on him. But you don't see it in the film, but I do think it happens on him when she sees him. Oh, I think he really needs some makeup [her voice imitates that of the figure].

Several informants propose such inferences, a feature that may be seen as a way in which they lay claim to knowledge about narrative and thematic structures. Also, children in both age bands comment on formal modalities, such as particular voices recurring from one video to the next, or, as six-year-old Brian notes:

When you go to the cinema, then sometimes they speak more slowly, and then something happens... boom... then you hear a bang in the cinema, and then you know you are being scared.

Such comments are signs of a type of informal media literacy that parallels what Anthony Giddens calls practical knowledge (Giddens 1991). It cannot be taken as proof of a media literate generation in the sense of a generation who systematically develops and applies competences in understanding, analysing, and possibly expressing itself via the media. But, I would argue, such informal media literacies are a necessary, if insufficient, basis on which formal media competences may successfully be developed.

From inclusiveness to exclusiveness

While children in both age bands express an insight into thematic and formal properties of the Disney texts, an insight that is often based on repeated viewings, these expressions are also clearly differentiated according to age. Young children are inclusive in their pronouncements, that is, they rarely express a dislike for a specific film as such; rather they judge elements on the basis of their internal narrative function: some characters are evil and meet with a just fate when dying. Also, they comment less frequently than older children on formal modalities. Older children are more reflexive of such traits, and some of them are clearly at pains to demonstrate taste distinctions. They speak about “grand effects”, “really smashing colours”, and “it looks almost real”. William, aged 11, prefers a particular scene in *The Lion King* when:

...Scar and Simba fight standing on their hind legs. And it is made in slow, so they stand like this [William demonstrates slow-motion movements] fighting each other. I thought that was very well made.

12-year-old Filis describes her preference for *Toy Story I* in the following manner:

I like the way you see, like if you are a toy, you see things from below many times, and I like that a lot.

It is an apt description of a subjective camera angle and Filis notes how that makes her “get into the film more”.

It is also older informants who repeatedly draw on contextual information culled from other films or magazines, the Internet or friends. Victor, aged 12, parallels a computer-animated war scene in *Mulan* with a scene in *Star Wars*, both of which are shot from above, and 11-year-old Camilla comments on the style of *Tarzan* that “it looks like *Hercules* with soft colours – new”. Alexander, who is also 11 years, likes the *Tarzan* video, too, “especially when Tarzan surfs the branches”. Perhaps as a reaction on the interviewer smiling at this remark, Alexander explains that he has read that the artist drew Tarzan’s flying feats after having watched his own sons’ skateboarding.

As could be expected given their more advanced cognitive and linguistic capabilities, older children also focus more than the younger ones on thematic structures in their accounts. For example, *Toy Story 2* is said by the children to be “about friendship, like the first one”; *Tarzan* is “about growing up in a society and finding out that you are not what you think you are”; and *The Lion King* is “about being left and then found again”. While many young informants pay attention to harmonious traits, as we saw, older informants are more interested in traits of independence and resilience. Peter, aged 12, explains why he likes *Peter Pan*:

It's about children who dare do something. They can survive without their parents and – they dare do something new, they are not afraid... When they quarrel, they go away; but they soon become friends again when there are no adults. I like that.

For older girls, in particular, *Mulan* holds a position as a character of independence. Several informants pronounce their preference for the film as one that singles itself out from the rest. 12-year-old Sophie explains:

Sophie: [Mulan] is total fun. And it is so different.

Int.: Different in what way?

Sophie: It's just no one ever made something about such a strong woman [Sophie pronounces 'woman' in a wry voice]. In any film... She can do so much. She is just better than all others.

Sophie does not remark on *Mulan*'s ethnicity but on her gender. It is not Disney's attempts at representing multiculturalism, but feminism that are at stake here. Sophie's wry voice in describing *Mulan* as a strong woman indicates a certain distance to the feminist implications of her remark. As many girls her age (and their older sisters, as well), feminism is a “mother thing” that they do not feel part of. Still, she and other informants clearly sympathise with a strong girl character, which is worth noting in view of the recurrent criticism of continued ideological conservatism levelled against Disney after the company's attempts at introducing more independent-minded female protagonists with *The Little Mermaid* (1990) and *Pocahontas* (1995) (e.g., Bell et al. 1995, Byrne & McQuillan 1999).

Older children, and especially boys, with well-educated parents are the most explicit in using their taste markers as ways in which they signal a certain distance to parts of the Disney narratives. They will comment on aspects in the plots (“a weird way to die”) or on the endings. Says Victor: “[The film] ends well as Disney films always do.”

Anna, aged 12, whose cousins live in Britain, prefers to watch Disney videos in English:

...because then it's the first time they are made. Because [afterwards] people start adding new sound and so on [...] But I still think it is ok to have [Disney] films in Danish for the little kids to see.

Anna uses English as a quality marker and as a marker of a more grown-up taste without forfeiting the existence of dubbed Disney films. Her comment allows her to dissociate herself from aspects of Disney without disbanding with the narrative universe altogether. Like many older children and adolescents in Denmark, Anna associates a mastery of English with access to more advanced quality media output.

In public debates, such pronouncements are often taken as indications of Americanisation, of children's preferences for Hollywood over more homegrown output. But such easy conclusions harbour more vexed problems of globalisation regarding cultural and linguistic diversity. In small language communities it is simply very difficult to sustain a varied media output, particularly fiction, in the national language that appeals to a range of age groups and to both genders, and so young users in small European countries in great numbers turn to English-speaking fiction, since they are more likely to find something to their liking (Drotner 2001b).

Analytical migration

This article has examined children's discourses on what they deem popular Disney animated films. It has been demonstrated how informants lay claim to particular cultural and social positions in handling processes of media globalisation, positions that differ according to age, gender and class. As is evident, these discourses cannot easily be accommodated within Wasko's audience archetypes listed in the introduction to this article. This is due, not only to geographical differences (the U.S.A. vs. Denmark), nor even to differences of age (adults vs. children). It is equally a result of different methodologies (content or textual analysis of interviews vs. discourse analysis of interviews).

These differences are a good example of the complexities involved in analysing children's reception in a global perspective. Disney is central to nearly all children's media culture. Yet, it is still only part of a media fare that in many countries encompasses both print, audiovisual and interactive media, both fact and fiction, both national, regional and transnational output. And this output is appropriated within contexts varying according to age, gender, ethnicity and region. The empirical complexities of media globalisation point to the necessity of developing both theoretical and methodological frameworks that can match the empirical complexities at both macro, meso and micro levels of analysis. These complexities can best be met by developing a convergent media science (Drotner 2002b). Few studies can incorporate such complexities at all levels of their research design and analysis. But all scholars may draw on other empirical investigations, be open to theoretical traditions that differ from their own, and be specific about the analytical range and limitations of their own findings.

Let me therefore state that the above analyses need further contextualisations both in terms of media and user perspectives on the study, i.e., both in terms of analysing other media output used by my respondents and in terms of other

media uses as temporally and spatially situated practices. What the present analysis does highlight are children's discursive strategies in claiming global Disney animation as their own. While respondents' preferences differ according to age, gender and ethnicity, and the locales of appropriation, I believe that their discursive practices may be generalised beyond those empirical diversities. If this is no guarantee of global scholarship, at least it speaks well of the possibilities of analytical migration.

Acknowledgement

The author wishes to acknowledge the financial support to this study of the Danish Ministry of Research. Data collection and coding was performed by research assistants Heidi Jørgensen and Nanna Berger Munk, Department of Film and Media Studies, University of Copenhagen.

Notes

1. Today, the Egmont Group, comprising 110 companies in 27 countries, has five areas of production: Egmont Comic Creation (Serieførlaget) which is the largest publisher of comics in Europe; Egmont Books which is the largest publisher of children's books in Europe with a yearly output of over 60 million books; Egmont Magazines publishing 30 magazines in Scandinavia; Egmont Entertainment encompassing videos, computer games, music and, increasingly, on-line services; Nordic Film and TV established in 1992 with the purchase of the world's oldest film company, the Danish-owned Nordic Film (Nordisk Films Compagni). Egmont's turnover in 2000 was 1.5 billion EUR (Balleby 1998, <http://www.egmont.dk>).

The Egmont Group is by far the largest licence holder with the Walt Disney Company Nordic A/S, founded in 1960, based in Copenhagen, and directing the corporation's business in Northern Europe. The company takes in ten per cent of the total Disney sales in Europe, not including videocassettes and computer games. Disney Nordic sells Disney products for c. 3-3.5 billion Danish kroner per year (c. 0.5 EUR) – again minus video cassettes and computer games. Despite its limited population of just over five million, Denmark is the best-selling Disney country in Europe (Mietle 1997).

Due to a change in management and a stricter obedience to the Walt Disney Company's well-known secrecy, it has not been possible to update the above information, nor the information provided by Christiansen (1998).

2. Among the many definitions of media literacy, I prioritise definitions that take an ability to verbalise and hence enable acting on one's abilities to be a key factor in facilitating media literacy. Such abilities are vital in order to foster a wide and varied development of media literacy within democratic societies that are ever more dependent upon mediated discourses. For a discussion of different media facilitating different forms of media literacy, see, e.g., Drotner 2000.
3. In the U.S.A., Disney Educational Productions creates audiovisual material for, e.g., schools and libraries as well as educational toys, play equipment, classroom furniture and teaching aids. The Disney website offers teachers ideas for lesson plans and one may order Disney Educational videos. The company claims that its Disney Magic English series is the best-selling English proficiency programme in the world, and Disney sponsors "Teacher of the Year" awards and "Doer and Dreamer" scholarships to high school students (Wasko 2001: pp. 51, 65; Bell et al. 1995: p. 7).

References

- Balleby, Lene (1998) Interview with the marketing director of the Egmont Group, *Søndagsavisen* 14.6: 29.
- Bell, Elizabeth et al. (1995) *From Mouse to Mermaid: The Politics of Film, Gender and Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bell, Elizabeth et al. (1995) Introduction: Walt's in the Movies, pp. 1-17 in Bell et al.
- Bryman, Alan (1995) *Disney and His Worlds*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Byrne, Eleanor & Martin McQuillan (1999) *Deconstructing Disney*. London: Pluto Press.
- Christiansen, Jesper (1998) Personal interview with the marketing director of Egmont Comic Creation, 26.1.
- Demers, David (1999) *Global Media: Menace or Messiah?* Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Dorfman, Ariel & Armand Mattelart ([1971]1975) *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic*. Translation by David Kunzle. New York: International General.
- Drotner, Kirsten (2000) Bred mediebrug, bedre kompetencer: om forholdet mellem medieanvendelse og kompetencer hos de 15-18-årige [Broad Media Uses, Better Competencies: On the Relationship between Media Use and Competence with 15-18-Year-Olds], *MedieKultur. Special Issue on Children's and Young People's Media Uses*: 36-43.
- Drotner, Kirsten (2001a) Denmark: Donald Seems So Danish: Disney and the Formation of Cultural Identity, pp. 102-20 in Wasko et al.
- Drotner, Kirsten (2001b) Global Media Through Youthful Eyes, pp. 283-305 in Livingstone & Bovill (2001).
- Drotner, Kirsten (2002a, in press) *Disney i Danmark. At vokse op med en global mediegigant* [Disney in Denmark. Growing Up with a Global Media Giant]. Copenhagen: Høst & Søn.
- Drotner, Kirsten (2002b) New Media, New Options, New Communities? Towards a Convergent Media and ICT Research, *Nordicom-Information* 2-3, pp. 11-22, and *Nordicom Review* 1-2, pp. 11-22.
- Feild, Robert D. (1942) *The Art of Walt Disney*. New York: Macmillan Company.
- Ferguson, Marjorie (1992) The Mythology about Globalization, *European Journal of Communication* 7: 69-93.
- Garnham, Nicholas (1990) *Capitalism and Communication: Global Culture and the Economics of Information*. London: Sage.
- Gershon, Richard A. (1997) *The Transnational Media Corporation*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Giddens, Anthony (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Gillespie, Marie (1995) *Television, Ethnicity, and Cultural Change*. London: Routledge.
- Hagen, Ingunn (2001) Norway: Norwegian Memories of the Disney Universe, pp. 222-56 in Wasko et al.
- Herman, Edward & Robert McChesney (1997) *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Corporate Capitalism*. London: Cassell.
- <http://www.egmont.dk>
- Höjjer, Birgitta (1998) *Det börde vi allibop! Etermedierna och publiken under 1900-talet* [We All Heard That! Audiovisual Media and Audiences in the 20th Century]. Stockholm: Stiftelsen Etermedierna i Sverige.
- Innis, Harold ([1950]1972) *Empire and Communications*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Jensen, Klaus B. (Ed.) (1998) *News of the World*. London: Routledge.
- Kolar-Panov, Dona (1997) *Video Wars and the Diasporic Imagination*. London: Routledge.
- Livingstone, Sonia & Moira Bovill (Eds.) *Children and their Changing Media Environment: A European Comparative Study*. New York: Erlbaum.
- Lull, James (Ed.) (1988) *World Families Watch Television*. London: Sage.
- Löfgren, Orvar (1990) Medierna i nationsbygget: Hur press, radio och tv gjort Sverige svenskt [Media in the Construction of the Nation: How the Press, Radio and Television Made Sweden Swedish], pp. 85-120 in Ulf Hannerz (Ed.) *Medier och kulturer* [Media and Cultures]. Stockholm: Carlssons.
- McLuhan, Marshall ([1964]1997) *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Meyrowitz, Joshua (1994) Medium Theory, pp. 50-77 in David Crowley & David Mitchell (Eds.) *Communication Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Mietle, Erik (1997) Personal interview with the managing director of the Walt Disney Company Nordic, 28.10.
- Morley, David & Kevin Robins (1995) *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries*. London: Routledge.
- Ohmer, Susan (1991) Measuring Desire: George Gallup and Audience Research in Hollywood, *Journal of Film and Video* 43:1-2.
- Qureshi, Karen & Moores, Shaun (1999) Identity Remix: Tradition and Translation in the Lives of Young Pakistani Scots, *European Journal of Cultural Studies* (2)3: 311-30.
- Real, Michael (1973) *Mass-Mediated Culture*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
- Rydin, Ingegerd (1996) *Making Sense of TV Narratives: Children's Readings of a Fairy Tale*. Linköping: Linköping University.
- Schickel, Richard (1985) *The Disney Version: The Life, Times, Art and Commerce of Walt Disney*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Silverblatt, Art (1999) *Approaches to Media Literacy: A Handbook*. London: L. E. Sharpe.
- Stone, Kay (1975) Things Walt Disney Never Told Us, *Journal of American Folklore* 88: 42-50.
- Taylor, Todd & Irene Ward (Eds.) (1998) *Literacy Theory in the Age of the Internet*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Tulloch, John (2000) *Watching Television Audiences: Cultural Theory and Methods*. London: Arnold.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel (1991) The National and the Universal: Can There Be Such a Thing as World Culture? In Anthony D. King (Ed.) *Culture, Globalization and the World System*. London: Macmillan.
- Wasko, Janet (2001) *Understanding Disney: The Manufacture of Fantasy*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Wasko, Janet et al. (Eds.) (2001) *Dazzled by Disney: The Global Disney Audiences Project*. London: Leicester University Press.
- Yoshimoto, Mitsuhiro (1994) Images of Empire: Tokyo Disneyland and Japanese Cultural Imperialism, pp. 181-99 in Eric Smoodin (Ed.) *Disney Discourse: Producing the Magic Kingdom*. New York: Routledge.

