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Adoctrinamiento literario y cinematográfico: la caracterización de la mujer en tres películas de *Cenicienta*¹

Literary and Cinematic indoctrination:
female characterization in three films versions of *Cinderella*

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Resumen

Numerosos estudios sociolingüísticos (Fairclough, 1995, 2003; Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996; Taylor, 2003, Cohen et al. 2007) han puesto de manifiesto que los medios de comunicación, entre ellos el cine, juegan un papel fundamental al apoyar la ideología dominante en el uso del lenguaje y en la consolidación de estereotipos lingüísticos. En la

Abstract

Extensive research in sociolinguistics (Fairclough, 1995, 2003; Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996; Taylor, 2003, Cohen et al. 2007) has disclosed that media, movies among others, play an important role in supporting prevailing language ideology and consolidating linguistic stereotypes. Today, for the transmission and construction of messages,

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actualidad, para la transmisión y construcción de mensajes, los creadores de significados utilizan diferentes modos semióticos combinados, los cuales entablan entre sí variadas sinergias dando lugar a nuevos significados que son influenciados, entre otras cosas, por las interacciones sociales y nuestra visión del mundo. En este sentido, el principal objetivo de este artículo es mostrar cómo se pueden aplicar las diversas posibilidades del discurso cinematográfico, tras su transmediación del discurso literario, para ajustarse a unos fines ideológicos concretos en tres versiones cinematográficas de *Cenicienta* dirigidas al público español. Este estudio se enmarca bajo los postulados del análisis crítico del discurso (CDA) de Fairclough, en el análisis crítico del discurso multimodal (MCDA) de Kress y Van Leeuwen y en el modelo actancial de Propp. Los hallazgos revelan que el mensaje transmitido en estas películas contribuye a arraigar los estereotipos de género en sus destinatarios.

Palabras clave

Discurso cinematográfico; ideología; análisis crítico del discurso multimodal; estereotipo de género; transmediación.

meaning creators make use of different semiotic modes in combination which allow to establish various synergies among themselves, giving rise to new meanings that are influenced, among other things, by social interactions and our vision of the world. In this regard, the main aim of this paper is to show how the various affordances of cinematic discourse may be implemented in order to fulfil specific ideological purposes in three *Cinderella* film versions aimed at the Spanish audience. This study is embedded in Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA), Kress and Van Leeuwen's multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA) and Propp's actantial model. The findings reveal that the message conveyed in these films contributes to ingrain gender stereotypes in their addressees.

Keywords

Cinematic discourse; ideology; multimodal critical discourse analysis; gender stereotypes; transmediation.

Introduction

Folktales have had several transformations in the various adaptations that they been through, for instance, from oral tradition to written text, from text to cinema, from cinema to multimedia products, etc. In the beginning, the transition from oral to written literature meant, in many cases, changes in the target audience of the works and their instrumentalisation that, after their written fixation, had to bear the burden of teachings, morals or doctrines even leaving aside their literary values.

For some years now, we have been witnessing a “return” to “another orality”, that is, the transition from written literature to audiovisual media, as evidenced by the large number of cinematographic productions whose plot is based on the traditional stories (Falcón 70). This process of transmediation (Sipe, “How picture... 107-108) originated by the transfer of a story between two media, one that only uses the word and the other where moving image and sound prevail, implies a radical transformation of the semiotic code used for the transmission of the message and, on occasions, the modulation of the conveyed message.

Folktales, especially the best-known ones, found in film productions a very practical and extensive means of transmission. The massive distribution of some superproductions allowed these stories to reach a very large audience that, until then in some cases, had only been

able to enjoy their oral versions. *Cinderella* is one of the fairy tales that found in the audiovisual mode an ideal support to reach every sort of spectators.⁴

The origin of folktales goes back, in expert opinion, to Prehistoric times (Barthes, 1991). Thus, popular literature is characterized by its orality and folk tales were transmitted while they were “alive”, being used and told, in Europe at least since the Middle Ages, but they were not collected specifically until Romanticism (19th century). Therefore, this eminently oral origin and, above all, the enormous popularity of these stories, caused it to be one of the most versioned popular stories for cinema and television. It is common that cultural images and recurrent archetypes taken from Indo-European mythology slip into this type of production. Ana María Matute affirms that folktales are impenitent travellers that change and migrate from one place to another and added that the tale was embedded in other stories “dragging [their footprints] along the way” (Matute 36). Precisely the “porosity” (Bazin 107-120) of these stories facilitates their passage to other languages, to other formats, especially to those media aimed at a more general audience. Audiovisual adaptations of folktales are often built on distorted versions of these stories.⁵ Following McFarlane, we consider that these visual adaptations could be good ones even though they are not as entirely faithful to the written original source (tale, novel, etc.). As he states:

At every level from newspaper reviews to longer essays in critical anthologies and journals, the adducing of fidelity to the original novel as a major criterion for huding the film adaptation is pervasive. No critical line is in greater need of re-examination and devaluation. (9)

The best-known version of the story usually prevails, but adapted or even versioned in a free form and with many licenses to literary, aesthetic, pedagogical, ideological and moral trends. Thus, it is not rare to witness how specific conceptual constructions are determined to show others (women and members of minority groups) as exponents of certain stereotypes, usually derogatory (Saldaña 37). We share with Rodríguez Marroquín (2012) the conviction that we can use this type of stories as historical documents to analyse the imbued moral roles.

In this paper we use Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter CDA), Systemic Functional Linguistics and Propp’s actantial models in order to determine the narrative, verbal and visual strategies used to foster a specific gender discourse. The aim of this article is to analyse how these films describe their female protagonists: how they are presented, what characteristics are assigned to them and what events affect them. We want to compare these characters with their hypotext⁶ counterparts in order to study the different models of women proposed. In other words, we will study gender characterization of the leading female character in three film adaptations of *Cinderella* based on Perrault’s version: one originally produced by Walt Disney Pictures in English and premiered in 1950 in USA (*Cinderella*, 1952), but whose its international distribution reached Spanish in 1952, and the other two filmed in Spain for the Spanish territory: *La Nueva Cenicienta* (1964) and *La tonta del bote* (1970). The aim is to determine how the different historical and cultural conditions have influenced the gender stereotypes of women over three decades (50s, 60s and 70s) in Spain.

⁴ In a previous study (Cañamares, 2019) several ephemeral editions of *Cinderella* were analyzed that had been made in different historical periods.

⁵ In this point, it is worth clarifying that around the concept of adaptation and the related notion of fidelity, there is a heated and unsettled debate in the Translation Studies field. For the sake of simplicity, when we refer in this paper to the faithfulness or fidelity of a version (literary or film), we just restrict its meaning scope to the fact of including all the elements contained in the original version.

⁶ The hypotext according to Gerard Genette (51-52) would be the imitated and previous text that is present in a new text (hypertext).

This is the structure of the article. After the introduction, the theoretical framework underpinning this research is briefly described: Narratology, CDA and Systemic Functional Linguistics, as well as the analysis of *Cinderella* and some of its audiovisual versions carried out by Gemma Lluch (2007). The following section analyses the three audiovisual productions from the different perspectives above mentioned. The results and the concluding remarks arising from this analysis will be finally presented, especially those relating to the role of women.

Theoretical framework

Narratology

Since their inception, fairy tales have been subject to various interpretations and *Cinderella* is one of the most popular and widespread folktales. Many versions have been collected throughout history and geography. The story of Sodeva Bai, Rhodopis, Haft Paykar or Jeh Sehn, was transmitted orally in the ancient cultures of India, Egypt, Persia and China, respectively. As an enlightening fact, we can point out that already in 1893 Marian Roalfe Cox established the “Cinderella cycle” and analysed the 345 versions that were known from the tale.⁷ Later Aarne and Thompson (1928), on the other hand, recognised in their thematic index the “type” 510 to refer to the basic version of *Cinderella*.⁸ In the nineties, Bolte and Polivka revised the typology established by Cox and the one by Aarne and Thompson and constructed the narrative structure of *Cinderella*, as seen in Table 1:

Table 1. Main narrative motives in structure of *Cinderella* (Bolte and Polivka)

Narrative structure of <i>Cinderella</i> (Bolte and Polivka)	
A	A 1. Heroine is pursued by the stepmother or stepsister, or both. A.2 The heroine runs away from her father because he wants to marry her off. A 3. The father throws her out of the house for a whimsical reason, like the value of salt. ⁹ A 4. A servant takes her to the forest to kill her.
B	B 1. The heroine is helped by her dead mother, a fairy or the Virgin Mary. B 2. The heroine is helped by a bird. B 3. The heroine is helped by a cow, a goat, or a sheep. B 4. The protective animal is killed and a marvellous tree emerges.
C	C 1. The prince holds a ball and there he meets the heroine, or sees her in a church. C 2. The heroine refers to the bad treatment she has received.

⁷ In *Cinderella: 345 Variants*, he established the “Cinderella cycle” and formed three fundamental types of this story.

⁸ Finnish school scholars consider the “motif” as the minimum thematic unit of a story, for instance, the loss of the shoe has the motif number H.36.1; and the “type” as a quite probable concurrence of motifs (for further information see Aarne and Thompson).

⁹ Her father is served unsalted food and thus he learns the meaning of the previous answer.

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- C 3. The prince sees her in his rooms or in the church.
 - C 4. The heroine arrives at the palace of a king and serves as a “pavera” (poultry farmer). Then, the prince sees her and falls in love with her.
 - D
 - D 1. The heroine is discovered through the slipper.
 - D 2. She is discovered because of the ring on the cake or another food plate.
 - D 3. Only she can pick the gold apples that the gentleman asks for.
 - E
 - E. She marries the prince.
 - F
 - F. She invites her father to the banquet and serves him a salt-free meal to explain her response at the beginning of the story.
-

The definitive structure of the story would be the sequence: A1, B1, B2, B3, C1, D1 and E (Bolte and Polivka): the heroine who responds to a name related to the ashes (Cendrillon, Aschenputtel, Cinderella, Puerca Cinderella, etc.) is mistreated by her stepmother and sisters (A1). The young woman receives help from her dead mother, a fairy, the Virgin (B1) or a natural element (B2, B3). Thanks to her help, the protagonist manages to look beautiful in the ball that is organized in the palace. In this event, she meets a prince (C1) and loses an item that will serve to identify her later: a slipper (D1) or a ring (D2). The story ends with the marriage between the protagonists (E). The best-known and most widespread version in various parts of the world is the structure formed by A1, B1, C1 and D1, precisely because it corresponds to the elements that appear in the Walt Disney’s film version. The popularity and acceptance of this version may be due, precisely, to the great projection that the products of this company have.

Many researchers have analysed the complexity of narrative sequences by trying to determine the structure of the narration. Aristóteles (26 and 28) in the chapters XVII and XVIII from *La Poética* established the classic structure of the narration in three parts: beginning, middle and end: the initial exposition from which the development derives and the final resolution. Adam (57-63) complements this system and offers the “quinary model” or story in five sequences: an initial state of the characters that sets the framework of the narration; the beginning of the process in which a complication occurs or the motives that alter the initial balance are introduced; the process in which the action aimed at re-establishing the initial order is developed; the closure of the process in which the problem is mostly resolved and the final result. For its part, in the structure of the popular tale, Propp (2001) highlights the functions and actors that establish logical and aesthetic relations among them to configure the narrative intrigue.

Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA was originated in the early 90’s by three different approaches led by three researchers: Van Dijk, Wodak and Fairclough. Stemming from a variety of theoretical frameworks, they devised a new conceptual model derived from the aforementioned that incorporated the key term of ‘critics’ to shape it. Thus, these varied sources turned CDA into a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach which is concerned with studying, amongst others, social inequality, discursive abuse, unethical issues, power misuse in gender, sexism, classism, to cite but a few. As Wodak claims, CDA is “fundamentally interested in analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control and as manifested in

language” (2). As a result, takes a critical view of social issues as they are expressed and manifested in language use through discursive practices. Arguably, the origins of the program, seen as a critical social theory, could be traced back to Foucault, if we consider language (in this case, multimedia discourse) as a means of knowledge, and knowledge a means of power. In addition, one of its leading forerunners, Fairclough stated that the use of language in society is a form of social practice rather than an individual act and so interconnected the notions of power and ideology in discourse (63). More specifically, CDA claims that discourse always implies power and ideology and thus is focused on unveiling the ideological conceptions embedded in discourse. Accordingly, Fairclough and Wodak’s proposal, is organised in three basic tenets: 1) Discourse is social action; 2) Social action constructs social reality and 3) Discourse is the use of language.

Apart from this critical stance to discourse, a social approach to semiotics is also applicable to this issue. Therefore, in the next section we address the social semiotics posed by Kress and van Leeuwen.

Systemic Functional Linguistics

Initially advocated by Kress (1997) and Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), this theoretical approach is primarily characterized by locating every communicative act in a concrete sociocultural context, hence highlighting the influence of culture and the moment in which communication occurs. Consequently, this linguistic theory allows studying a certain representation, formed by a combination of semiotic resources that take into account the circumstances surrounding the social, cultural and historical context in which they are produced (Jewitt 13). From this, it can be inferred that any semiotic mode is constrained by its own characteristics that are intimately related to the medium it uses for the diffusion of its message and by the society and culture to which it belongs. This linguistic analysis is based on the three metafunctions described by Halliday for whom language is a system of signs that fulfils certain social functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunction. The ideational metafunction focuses on what happens, who does what to whom and at what time and place, how it happens and why it happens. The interpersonal metafunction is used to verbalise the relations between the actors and that positions the recipient to feel, see and judge what people do and say. And the textual metafunction is used when someone wants to say something about the text (Halliday and Matthiessen).

Subsequently, Kress and Van Leeuwen applied Halliday’s metafunctional principle to the description of images, proposing a similar distribution, although with different denominations. The three functions described by Halliday were called: *representational* (in allusion to the ideational), *interactive* (interpersonal) and *compositional* (textual). The *raison d’être* of this classification is that it was applicable to the description of both verbal and non-verbal codes, whether auditory, visual or otherwise.

In cinematographic mode, narration is characterised by being a resource-rich medium given that it has linguistic and other non-linguistic elements, such as shots, lighting, camera movements and framing, to cite but a few. In this sense, Kress (2010) highlights this multimodality stressing the specific capabilities of each mode (written, oral, visual, etc.) to bestow new meanings to signs and, furthermore, points out the situational character of “transduction” (transfer of materials between different modes), thus emphasising the situational value of signs. For all these reasons, it is vital to keep in mind the circumstances surrounding a production in order to be able to analyze and unravel the content of any work with a transmodal semiotic charge.

Besides, when traditional stories are adjusted and adapted to the new context of the audiovisual mode, the stories acquire a wider projection (Falcón 69). Furthermore, any process of decoding meanings, whether of a literary work or a film, requires the reader's personal involvement in both understanding and interpreting that work. If we consider reading as the "reconstruction" of a text (Cassany 21; Solé 18), the intertext of the reader comes into play (see Cerrillo) as well as other factors inherent to the reader such as his reading and literary competence, his encyclopaedic and cultural knowledge, his linguistic and discursive skills and strategies and his personal experiences.

Methodology and design of the study

The design of this paper corresponds to a documentary study of a Cinderella *ad-hoc* corpus made up of three cinematographic versions: *Cinderella* (1952), *La Nueva Cenicienta* (1964) and *La tonta del bote* (1970). Aware as we are of the vast array of Cinderella's version, we have followed these selection criteria in the compilation of this corpus: a) the character of Cinderella is considered an archetype of women; b) the use of the version fixed by Perrault as a hypotext (1697), although in a free form and with some allowances; b) the orientation to a general public: children, young people and even adults; c) the popularity and commercial success and d) the audience belongs to the same physical environment and a common socio-cultural context: the films were released in Spain in three different consecutive decades (1950s, 1960s and 1970s), which allows us to analyse the evolution, if any, of the role of women offered to Spanish society.

Concerning methodology, we adopt a qualitative interpretative paradigm as we deem that the socio-historical background is dynamic, ever-changing and therefore, the representations and perceptions about the characters involved is similarly symbolic, mutable and variable. Thus, the study of the corpus has been carried out from a two-fold perspective:

- a. From a narratological viewpoint, using the ternary structure (Aristóteles) and the "quinary model scheme" (Adam) together. As we are analysing a classical fairy tale, we have also considered the studies of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, the actantial scheme of Propp and the narrative structure of the Cinderella cycle established by Cox and revised by Bolte and Polivka. The studies of Lluch (2003; 2007) were also reviewed.
- b. From a Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis following the tenets of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Kress y Van Leeuwen, 1996), and CDA (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995).

Corpus analysis

Literary and cinematographic versions of fairy tales, such as Cinderella's, are complex social acts full of symbolism aimed at reflecting on the customs, norms and habits of any society, and the implicit messages contained in these works may contribute to reinforcing or contradicting the preconceived assumptions represented by gender norms. From its oral versions, through written fixations, to its cinematographic versions, *Cinderella* has come a long way between different genres and media and, in each of these leaps, the conventions of the work have undergone a series of semiotic transformations in the characterization of the leading female characters concerning the issue of gender.

Perrault wrote *The little glass slipper* (1697) for the entertainment of young ladies and gentlemen of the royal court of Louis XIV. At the end of the tale, the author adds two morals: in the first, he assures the young women that "in the eagerness to win hearts", kindness and gentleness will prevail over beauty; in the second moral, moreover, he urges them to look for a

godmother / godfather because, without them, they will obtain nothing from the talents that heaven bestows with leniency. This conception of the women as a subject characterized by her eagerness to gain hearts connects with the vision of the women objectified and instrumentalised for the love game. This women's stereotype also involves that beauty is not enough. Quite the contrary, women must also have other virtues associated with the traditional vision of the feminine: kindness and gentleness. Besides, this heroine is a conformist girl: she chooses to sleep among the ashes and helps her sisters to get ready for the ball. She is also the naivest version because she not only forgives everyone for the suffering inflicted, but also marries her sisters with two gentlemen of the court.

On the other hand, between the Grimm brothers' *Cinderella* and Perrault's *The little glass slipper*, there are some differences, not only about the title of these tales, but also, and above all, about the female model presented in both versions. Although the two protagonists are very submissive women, in the case of Perrault's *Cinderella* the abnegation and acceptance of her situation is total, whereas in the Grimm brothers version, *Cinderella* repeatedly manifests her desire to attend the ball and struggles to achieve her purpose. Although she manages to pass all the tests, they do not allow her to attend the ball, so she turns to the help of the hazelnut tree that has grown in her mother's sepulchre (sequence that, as we will see later, Disney incorporates in its version). While the Grimm's version is the most faithful,¹⁰ close and respectful of folklore, Perrault's is based on the premise of "instructing by delighting", which eliminates some motives and includes others more in keeping with the instruction, education and indoctrination.

It is significant that Disney chose the Perrault version aimed the young ladies of the court instead of the Grimm brothers' version, aimed at a more childish audience. Perhaps it was the female model offered by Perrault (more submissive, candid and virtuous than Grimm's model) which made Disney to choose it as the model they wanted to present.

The narrative structure of the Disney film is as follows: A1, B1, C1 and D1 (see Bolte and Polivka, 1992-1994). Cinderella's lack of initiative and indolence is reinforced in Disney's version with the opposition created between Cinderella and her half-sisters, establishing a parallel between them and their pets: the fights between Cinderella's dog and the step-sister's wicked cat. It is also noticeable that Cinderella does not know that the young man she has danced with is the prince. In the Perrault's hypotext, this element does not appear and perhaps its inclusion responds to a desire to highlight that the love she feels towards him is clean, disinterested, and true. Similarly, in Perrault's version, the prince does not run after Cinderella and we see that in Disney's version the prince chases her and doesn't manage to reach her because he is besieged and stopped by the court's ladies. These changes may respond to an attempt to mitigate the violent aspects of the Perrault's version and abide by Disney's typical political correctness (vid. Merritt and Kaufman 14).

This cinematic version also follows Perrault's feminine model in the sense that Cinderella is shown as a gentle, daydreamer, polite, naïve and romantic character. Besides, the image and aural support contribute to conform a wonderful, slim woman who sings like a nightingale. As Zipes describes her, Cinderella is "industrious, dutiful, virginal and passive." (*Breaking* 173).

Despite being the leading character, Cinderella still depicts a women's role dependent on a male-hero, the prince, who will finally release her from poverty and submission. Her natural skills are related to the house chores. This array of lowbrow features profiles a model

¹⁰ The Grimm's brother tried to compile German legends, sagas, romances and folk tales from shepherds, Rhine boatmen, peasants and wet nurses and set down in writing and which, for this reason, had a lower "literary style" than that provided by Perrault or Basile.

of woman assigned to the private scope. She is in charge of house duties, which are generally underestimated and Cinderella is most commonly represented as compliant, emotional and servile. Her personal achievement is getting love, through marriage. Disney created a one-dimensional stereotypical, sexist and Manichaean character that served a very marked ideology in which features such feminine submission and masculine heroification are stressed.

Cinderella is part of the so called “first Disney age” that settled a canonical model of behaviour (Zipes, *Creative* 208) where men are depicted as strong heroes who are ready to act to defeat Evil, whereas women are the weak, sweet, passive and obedient kind. Cinderella, “kind, affectionate, dreamer, innocent, educated, naive, romantic, obedient and good singer”, contrasts with her sisters who are “gossipy, spoiled, with no manners and vocally unskilled” (Rodríguez Marroquín 91).

From a multimodal perspective, the sound and image of films are also elements that contribute to the psychological profiling of the character. The melodious voice for Cinderella’s character is not a random choice since it helps to draw a kind and endearing character, compared to the sullener voices chosen for the stepsisters that cause the opposite effect. Visually, it is a scene where the stepmother and stepsisters appear threatening in a counterbalanced plane that highlights the represented figures: the stepmother caresses the cat and the two daughters dress ridiculously (Anastasia and Grisela wore horrid pink and yellow dress respectively). On the contrary, Cinderella’s elegance, her gentle gestures and her harmonious and delicate movements enhance the character’s sweetness in contrast with the clumsiness of the stepsisters who seem bossy, proud, rude and ridiculous.

All these traits were highlighted in the cinematic version partly thanks to the use of the rotoscope and the multiplane camera. These two advancements contributed to give depth to the planes (for example when Cinderella looks at the castle, a symbol of high-class lifestyle, that appears far away to symbolize the existing distance) and to the sense of human-like movement (when Cinderella walks, she seems to be dancing). Due to the rotoscope (which allows to employ live action to animate movies), Cinderella’s movements are floaty and graceful and contribute to stress her delicacy.

Besides, the soundtrack is another key feature in the film. Cinderella is not a working class girl, but the stepdaughter of a gentleman who deprived her of her title. This is reflected in the soundtrack, even from the opening credits when we can hear: “Though you’re dressed in rags you wear an air of queenly grace. Anyone can see a throne would be your proper place”. These lyrics contain a powerful message: anyone can thrive in life.

Another sound features to be considered is the contrast between the sweet singing of Cinderella and the thunderous sound of the stepsisters, as we have mentioned before. Furthermore, in all those sequences where Cinderella performs the hard house chores, cheerful background music is being played, what contributes to sweeten the harshness of the facts.

The analysis of *La Nueva Cenicienta* yields very interesting data. The narrative structure of this movie starred by Marisol (1964) responds to the sequence: B1, C1, D1 and E. The most significant difference is that in this version the heroine is not persecuted because she lives peacefully with her father in the pension. In addition, we verify that there is a correlation between the actors (see Propp) of the hypotext derived from Perrault and those of this new version: Marisol is Cinderella, Bob Conrad the prince, Antonio “the dancer”, the fairy godmother and the guests of the pension, the auxiliaries.

We have to bear in mind that the film was brought to life under Franco’s regime, when censorship laws harshly supervised all the cultural outcomes produced in Spain in order to manage the national consciousness (Balanzategui 101). Consequently, most of the Spanish cinema production of the time took on a rather conservative perspective in order to meet the state ideology, requirements and limitations. In this context, *La Nueva Cenicienta* was released,

starred by Marisol and directed by George Sherman (1964). Marisol was considered the darling of the Franco regime and so she enjoyed certain allowances that other films or stars did not.

Marisol is a modest provincial girl whose dream is to succeed in show business. Her cheerfulness and friendliness helped her to achieve her aspirations. This retold story preserves many motives from Perrault's version, such as the shoe moment, and keeps Perrault's the two main morals: beauty is a gift, but kindness is still a more precious treasure and intelligence, courage and other similar skills are highly appreciated, although they prove to be useless if a patron (-nests) do not make them prevail.

From the discursive viewpoint, there are several elements that relate the film to folktales. For example, the voice-over narrator announces: "Behold, the prince will arise" and meanwhile, we see Marisol singing a song because she is "waiting for love" and then appears Bob Conrad, a gallant singer with whom Marisol will end up falling in love. In another scene, the voice-over narrator describes Marisol as a "blond, sweet girl and with such a joyful soul that she's able to shoo every witch and wolf that stands in her way" (min. 4:30). The film is related to Cinderella (in the title) but also to other stories such as *Little Red Riding Hood* or *Snow White*.

As Giddens affirmed, identities are constantly constituted in and through dialogue, and Marisol's accent is not a noble kind, but that associated to working class members, with a harsh voice tone. She is also depicted as a typical Andalusian stereotype. The singing style and the traditional dresses represent the archetypical Spanish *falaraes*. Despite all her personal attributes it will have to be the male character who eventually redeems her and leads her to success (Sunderland, *Language*).

The dreams, the imagination and the fantasy of the protagonist will bring about the change in the life of the characters. Her father calls her crazy and tells her "to get rid of these fantasies in your head". In fact, daydreaming is the key to transform Marisol's life.

When we analyze *La tonta del bote*, we realize that it is the version that differs most from the audio-visual versions, perhaps because it is the one that is farthest away from Perrault's hypotext. The origin of *La tonta del bote*, starred by Lina Morgan (1970) has a precedent in the popular one-act farce of the same title by Pilar Millán Astray (1925), deeply rooted in Perrault's *Cinderella*. This one-act farce characterized by its conservative values of the prevailing regime, was the inspiration for two subsequent cinematic versions: *La chica del barrio* (1956) directed by Ricardo Núñez and *La tonta del bote* (1970) by Juan de Orduña, well-known by his close relation to the regime and by having as the leading star the super famous *vedette* of the moment, Lina Morgan.

The narrative sequence is as follows: A1, B1, C1, C2, C3, E, F. We see that it is the most distant version to the Perrault's version because one of the structural elements of the story, the loss of the shoe, disappears. Similarly, although Susana finds consolation in pseudo-religious figures who really help her to reach her dreams, is finally Felipe who becomes the dispatcher, the helper, the prize, and the donor (vid. Propp).

The plot introduces elements that were not present in Perrault's hypotext, such as Felipe's past and the reencounter with his family. Most interestingly, in this version (*La tonta del bote*) we find elements that although they were not present in Perrault's version they appear in other versions of Cinderella's cycle (vid. Bolte y Polivka): Felipe's account of the hardships Engracia and her nephews subject her to (C1), the affective relationship between Susana and Felipe as a result of living in the same place (C3), and the final banquet he organizes with his adversaries, his family, in which he exposes the importance of educating children in love and not in punishment and violence (F).

The opening of *La tonta del bote* (1970) takes place during the late Franco Dictatorship (1959-1975), when the regime and consequently the scope of its power lost part of its initial momentum (Martínez, 2015) although the great shadow of censorship still casts on the cultural

products that were made available to the public. In fact, this film debates between the critique and the support of Catholic values promoted by Franco's regime.

In *La tonta del bote*, one of her biggest successes in the box office, we see Lina Morgan featured as a single, provincial lady, a bit naive and innocent, but honest and charitable, although unfortunate and as someone who has not yet found her true love. Following the trail of folktales, the protagonist is presented in contrast to the adversaries who, in fact, are the nephews of the woman who took her in. The protagonist is a good, hardworking and selfless woman, whose relatives embody the defects traditionally associated to women: ugliness, sloth, envy and a total lack of talents.

Thus, in the first scene she appears in the kitchen, dressed in a ridiculous way: with braids and a tacky robe. She collects cigarette butts in a jar of peppers (the ash and the kitchen will be the distinctive mark of the three protagonists analyzed). In Engracia's mouth: "I've had it since I was a little girl. With something I had to be compensate you for having raised her. She didn't get very clever, but she is a donkey working [sic.]. Sarasate, the blind man, says that Susanica is "my good angel", good and "regood". These sentences exemplify how discourse can play a particular role in the construction and reproduction of gender stereotypes (Sunderland, 1994; Moya, 2019). The film describes her as honest, hardworking, cheerful and kind to everyone.

Besides, Susana is pious. It is easy to see her praying, going to church, asking for protection and even going to confession. The priest encourages her to endure suffering with abnegation and resignation: "Patience and resignation have value in the eyes of God... when you are beaten, think that this pain is worth for the good of your soul. Every slap is one day less of purgatory of your mother". Susana says that some nights her dead mother appears to her and says: "Poor little girl of mine" and she kisses her. This part is included to move the audience so that they stop seeing her as the comic star. It tries to make the audience feel pity for her and become her accomplice when, tired of so much suffering and accompanied by Felipe, she leaves home.

The moral teaching of this film is included as a closing at the end. As Susana listens to the radio she imagines herself singing and dancing to the song "La tonta del bote" [A complete fool]. A voice-over offers the teaching attached to this story: "Let the complete fool serve as an example for other girls who believe that money is everything in life". The film attacks the sneaky dissimulation and pedantry of pretending to be who you are not.

Discussion

In the works analyzed we check how, in addition to through discourse, visual elements and sounds serve as a mode of expression and configuration of gender stereotypes. As a whole, that perfectly orchestrated multimodal ensemble (Kress, *Multimodality* 81), in which each mode unfolds its communicative and representational potential, generates global meanings for the receiver to decode (Nodelman, 1998). Quite clear are the persuasive strategies used in these audiovisual productions to ingrain moral indoctrination. These films use Cinderella as a hypotext to offer a moralizing and doctrinal message that advocates showing the pretended "role of women". To do so, they use resources from the MCDA and try to fascinate, above all "their" readers, showing them correct models of behaviour: they have to learn to be Cinderella in order to achieve happiness. In this way, we observe how in the three adaptations of Cinderella, values attributed to the education of women are extolled. Depending on the historical moment, "traditional" values are emphasised in the heroine. In the case of Disney's *Cinderella* we appreciate submission, self-sacrifice, resignation or sacrifice; in the case of *La Nueva Cenicienta* the romantic myth, beauty, vanity are underlined as the key to happiness; and

in *La tonta del bote* we resort to parody, as demystification through the transposition of roles or the irruption of humour in the version.

This analysis is in line with previous studies, in which women are represented as less powerful than men due to the stereotypical attributes assigned to them from a discursive and multimodal viewpoint. Females are portrayed as sweet, beautiful, helpless and motherly, while males are more the brave, adventurous and strong kind (Gooden and Gooden, 2001; Lee, 2018).

In the films analyzed, the three protagonists are submissive, cheerful, self-sacrificing and conformist women who aspire to a marriage that frees them from their situation. The three films also share a populist, puritanical and sexist ideology. In the case of Disney's film, these values "represent the essence of the American ideology" (Zipes, *Creative...*); in the two Spanish films, the gender roles are in line with the national-syndicalism conception:¹¹ women were to be the "angel of the home", a being destined to make the lives of family members easier.¹² Thus, Cinderella's aim in life, and by extension women, is to find a man that economically provides for her and, for that, she resorts to beauty (Cantillo 304). This idea was earlier coined by Sarlo when she talked about the "texts of happiness", a kind of literary work which placed the topic of love as the most interesting of narratives. These writings' model of happiness rested on two pillars: that love is accessible via marriage and that the world does not necessarily has to change so that men and women can be happy (Sarlo 11). That was a subtle way of perpetuating existing moral values.

Our three Cinderellas are beautiful, kind, cheerful and, above all, submissive, self-sacrificing and resigned. That was the model of women that ruling institutions wanted to penetrate the collective imagination of the Spain of the 50s, 60s and 70s in a direct and attractive way. Perhaps, for this reason, cinema was used as an indoctrination instrument, since it was seen as an "innocent", "clean" product used to underline the desired passive model of women.

Concluding remarks

This analysis has allowed us to check how discourse is a tool through which an identity construct can be built (Ortiz 5). Besides, one of the clearest functions of Children's and Juvenile Literature throughout history has been that of transmitting cultural male and female models (Colomer 8).

In all three films, goodness and natural beauty are rewarded and vanity, cruelty, evil and falsehood are punished. However, each version also includes a central *leit motif*: the search for romantic love in Disney, the joy of making dreams come true in *La nueva Cenicienta*, and the award for piety and work in *La tonta del bote*. In our review, we have noticed that these central elements are rooted in some key moments of Spanish society in the 1950s, 60s and 70s. The society of the 50s sought entertainment and escapism. This idea fits with Sarlo's (25) concept of "texts of happiness", which described that kind of sentimental literary works where usually a poor beautiful girl struggled to achieve a better future, that she was unlikely to get. It provided

¹¹ This conception of women is diametrically opposed to the Republican propaganda that had been spread a few years earlier and demanded a liberation of women and a struggle against fascist ideals and, among them, misogyny. The non-heteronormative adaptation that Antonio Robles made of Cinderella can be quoted. It was published in 1938 in the collection "Cuentos Estrella" (Star Stories) of the Estrella publishing house.

¹² During the Franco regime, men and women had different roles. The perception of women was that of a spiritually and intellectually inferior being, who lacked a social and political dimension and who had an unequivocal vocation as a housewife and mother (vid. Miller 98). Perhaps for this reason, during the Francoist period, women were encouraged to be educated in schools segregated by sex, to participate in organisations such as the Sección Femenina (Women's Section) and to read sentimental novels such as those written by Corín Tellado.

a girl's model that was shared by literature and cinema and that was widely accepted at that time.

In the 60s, hope and joy was the general trend thanks to the economic miracle. In this line, McFarlane (10) asserts that the financial motives ruled film adaptations since these adaptations had a higher success rate as they targeted at a specific audience. Even though when that implied that the director's vision did not coincide with that of the adaptation.

And finally, work and resignation prevails in the 70s when the so-called Spanish miracle began to lose momentum. All in all, the female representations in these three films offer distorted views of gender issue and help to root ideas and beliefs, fortunately already overcome, that could be far-reaching (Sunderland, 2011).

In the three versions analyzed, we have been able to verify that the ostensive dimension was clear, as were the purposes of these audiovisual versions: entertainment, education and indoctrination of the spectator. This is in line with the view of Adorno y Horkheimer (165) who coined the term of "cultural industries" to refer to the unidirectionality of the means of communication (cinema, radio and press). These authors criticise the growing social, political and cultural importance as well as the economical relevance of cultural industries that are managed by hierarchically organized institutions. Joining together their purposes, it is not strange that the lucid-contemplative objective of these film versions is clear: broadcast covert propaganda glamorously embedded under a beautiful face. The versions studied were intended to entertain their viewers while, at the same time, making very clear the intended diminished role of women without glimpsing the achievements and advances they were awaiting for a society that was beginning to emerge from its isolation.

It must not be forgotten that cinematic characters somehow exert an influence on their prospective readers and may even become a role-model for them. However, in the last decades, representations of masculinity and femininity in Disney's films have tended to more egalitarian models (Zipes, *Fairy Tale* 94).¹³ As a result, we cannot conclude without recalling that the power embedded in discourse has "long term structural effects of a more general sort" (Fairclough, *Language* 61) and that they must be addressed from very early ages if we aspire to eradicate these distorted views of woman in our societies.

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¹³ For example, Elsa and Anne (*Frozen*) represent that new age of characters in Disney factory that embody more feminist values.

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