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“Reindeer are better than people:” Indigenous Representation in Disney’s *Frozen*

Kelsey A. Fuller

University of Colorado, Boulder

Abstract

Following the release of *Frozen* (2013), critics and audiences applauded what they considered one of the most progressive Disney films ever made. Set in Scandinavia and including a Sámi character and music by a Sámi composer, much of the Sámi community celebrated the first film’s release. In this paper, however, I offer interpretive and ethnography-informed critiques of the musical elements of Disney’s representations of Sámi people that appear in *Frozen* (2013) and *Frozen II* (2019), to call attention to the consequences these films have, both positive and negative, for real human beings and their communities. The film’s music is key in supporting the visuals and storyline to present an animated ethnicity, conflating Nordic folk music genres such as Sámi *joik* and *kulning*, and Old Norse symbolism to project an ethnically ambiguous representation of the past. *Frozen II* also provides a case study of attempted collaboration with Indigenous peoples by a major corporation: Disney Animation Studios asked the Sámi Parliament and other cultural organizations to collaborate in producing a North Sámi-language version of the film, and to advise the representations of the Sámi characters and cultural concepts in the sequel. I examine the films’ sonic imagery as well as other branches of the Disney Corporation such as merchandise, to illuminate how colonizing power differentials may or may not have shifted in the six years between the films, and are enacted both inside and outside of the fictional world through music, money, and the politics of inclusion.

Keywords:

Disney’s *Frozen* ; Sámi ; Scandinavia ; popular music ; film music

Following the release of *Frozen* in 2013, critics and audiences applauded what they considered to be one of the most progressive Disney films ever made, reflecting the changing values of the twenty-first century. In addition to following the trend of Disney movies trying to be more inclusive and representative of their diverse audiences, the film parodies the cliché tropes of early Disney princess movies, such as women agreeing to marry men they’ve just met, and celebrates love between sisters, daughters, parents, and friends, rather than focusing solely

on romantic love. Set in Scandinavia and including Indigenous Sámi characters, as well as music by a Sámi composer, Frode Fjellhiem, the film was also well-received by much of the Sámi community.¹

In this paper, however, I critique elements in Disney's representations of the Sámi that appear in *Frozen* (2013) and *Frozen 2* (2019). Music plays a key role in this, supporting the visuals and storyline of the film to present an animated ethnicity. However, I also want to draw attention to the consequences that this film has, both positive and negative, for real human beings and the communities they are a part of, which extends beyond the world of the film itself. This paper will consider how those power differentials may, or may not, have shifted for the 2019 release of *Frozen 2*, for which the Sámi Parliament and other cultural organizations were asked to collaborate with Disney Animation Studios to produce a North Sámi-language version of the film, and also to advise the subsequent representations of the Sámi characters and cultural concepts presented in the sequel. This paper also examines the film's music and the conflation of Old Norse and Sámi imagery throughout, as well as other branches of the Disney Corporation such as merchandise, to illuminate how colonizing power differentials are enacted both inside and outside of the fictional film world.

I should note, I am not a member of the Sámi community. I do not assert that my interpretations and reactions to the film are consistent with that of the majority of Sámi people—and of course, we should not expect the Sámi community to reach a consensus about this film or any other. Through my lens of critical Indigenous studies, Sámi studies, and even gender studies, the *Frozen* films accomplish some important goals, but seem to fall short of others.

¹ Tina K. Ramnarine, "Frozen Through Nordic Frames," *Musik- och dansetnologisk tidskrift, Journal for Ethnomusicology and Ethnochoreology* 1 (2016): 14; http://arkiv.musikverk.se/www/Puls_01_2016-04-01.pdf#page=13, accessed 15 Dec 2019.

Let's start at the beginning: the opening track of *Frozen*, entitled *Eatnemen Vuelie*, or "Song of the Earth" in South Sámi by composer Frode Fjellhiem, has become iconic, contributing to the success of the film.² By combining the Sámi vocable genre of *joik* with pan-Nordic Lutheran hymn singing, Fjellhiem brings a multicultural Nordic sound to the northern landscapes seen throughout the film.³ From a socio-cultural and political perspective, this is not coincidental. Fjellhiem is participating in a larger trend of twentieth- and twenty-first century Sámi popular music-making, by discussing both ecological concerns and engaging in global networking and collaborations through music and the global Indigenous movement: While the characters in the film are threatened by the prospect of a perpetual winter, real-life Sámi lifeways such as reindeer husbandry are threatened instead by climate change and polar warming, and Fjellhiem's repertoire more broadly is a quintessential example of blending *joik* with other styles, such as jazz, hymns, electronica, and rock.⁴ At the opening of the film, the Sámi have the first word. We are off to a good start.

But then the picture muddles. Enter Kristoff, an ice farmer who lives in the far north with his reindeer Sven. His clothing resembles the Sámi *gakti*, along with his curled-toed boots, and reindeer are a fundamental symbol of Sámi culture. These elements identified him to me as a Sámi character. However, in terms of audiences that are less familiar with Nordic socio-politics, there was no explicit mention of ethnic difference in the first film. Up until the release of *Frozen 2* six years later, many of my North American undergraduate students were still surprised to hear that he is from a different ethnic group than other characters. Kristoff is an orphan, though much of his backstory is unknown. We do learn that he has been adopted by trolls—presumably the

² Ramnarine "Frozen Through Nordic Frames," 17.

³ Ramnarine "Frozen Through Nordic Frames," 15.

⁴ Ramnarine "Frozen Through Nordic Frames," 21, 25.

Old Norse variety of trolls or dwarfs, given the Futhark runic inscriptions in a book that lead Elsa and Anna's parents to them for help after their magical mishap when the sisters are children.

Here lies my first point of confusion with the Indigenous representations in *Frozen*: the conflation and role-reversals of Sámi and Old Norse elements. Old Norse Futhark runes lead to trolls that teach magic to the Sámi and Scandinavian characters, whereas several Old Norse sources suggest that trolls were likely more smiths than shamans, especially when the word was used synonymously with “dwarfs”—who sometimes turned into rocks just as in the movie, it is relevant to note (see: Jakobsson 2005 for a more detailed analysis), and it was in fact the Sámi *noiadis* who were the historic informants of magic for their Nordic counterparts, rather than passive receivers of magical knowledge as Kristoff appears to be (Mitchell 2003: see 133, 142). While the Sámi may have the first word in the film, what they lack at this point is historical agency. And even though Kristoff's Sámi heritage is not central to the story of *Frozen*, it is in part the music by Frode Fjellhiem, in addition to the reindeer and gakti, that should situate the film and the character in an inarguably Sámi—not Old Norse—context.

While this representation is arguably better than being erased from the Nordic landscape that Disney is projecting, the bigger issue here is timelessness, coupled with an odd retelling of the colonial narrative of Sápmi. Without explicit unpacking of Sámi ethnicity, the first film asserts that what is different about Kristoff is that he has a “thing with the reindeer that's a little outside nature's laws,”⁵ according to the trolls in the song, “Fixer Upper” (though this sexualized

⁵ Quote from the English version of the song “Fixer upper,” sung by his troll family in an attempt to get Kristoff and Anna to become a couple. A coded reference that children would likely not understand but would catch the attention of adult viewers, this comment is inherently sexualized because of the context of the scene being an awkward attempt at romance. In the Swedish language version of the film, this lyric was changed to: “Som att han snackar med renen”—that he talks with his reindeer, which has a very different, and from what we can tell in the film more truthful, connotation to the relationship between Kristoff and Sven. This deviation between versions shows that Disney is presenting two different types of humor for insider and outsider audiences, with the version aimed at English-speakers containing a more toxic description of the Sámi character.

joke was translated into Swedish as “he talks to his reindeer”) causing him to smell bad—something that becomes a recurring joke, observed several times by other characters, including Kristoff himself in his diegetic mock-duet with Sven the reindeer, “Reindeer are Better than People” (Buck and Lee 2013). When Kristoff’s Sámi heritage is referenced, it is not presented positively in his interactions and dialogue with other characters—rather, it is something that a romantic partner might even need to “fix” before he can exist as a member of civilized society, leaving me to wonder what type of space the Sámi are thought to occupy in this fictional world.

This issue of timelessness becomes more pronounced in the sequel, *Frozen 2*, released in November 2019. The enchanted forest, home of the Northuldra—a society based on the Sámi, is marked with Old Norse-style rune stones, and while the Norwegian kingdom, in the film called Arendelle, seems rooted in at least the 19th century, based on their use of film photography, costuming, and architecture—while the Sámi are continuously relegated further into the past, at least nine centuries behind, by this inaccurate conflation with Old Norse imagery, runes, and cultural icons, and especially *kulning*, in the mysterious singing voice Elsa hears calling to her in *Frozen 2*—*kulning* is a folk music vocal genre that is a high-pitched cattle call associated with rural non-Sámi women living in the mountains of Norway and Sweden (Rosenberg 2014: 100). While both vocable signing genres, the history and context of Sámi *joik* and *kulning* are unrelated.

Following, and perhaps in response to, the confusing Old Norse trolls, reindeer sex jokes, and ice farming in the first *Frozen* film, members of the Sámi Parliament were invited to collaborate with Disney Animation Studios to ensure a more respectful presentation of Sámi culture in *Frozen 2*, and indeed, some elements appear with improved accuracy and clarity, such as clothing and props used by the Sámi characters—although Kristoff’s back-story is still a

mystery, as is his relationship to the other Sámi-inspired characters of Northuldra. Perhaps he is South Sámi, traveling into North Sámi territory: there are several Sámi groups with their own languages and cultural idioms spread across Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Kola Peninsula of Russia, so an attempt to portray that internal diversity even implicitly, could be profoundly helpful to the broader Sámi community.

The International Sámi Film Institute posted to Facebook on November 4, 2019:

We have so little films for our children in our own language and that Frozen 2 is one of the first feature length animations in Sami language is just unbelievable and such a precious gift. We are so grateful to Walt Disney Animation Studios for this recognition. We are also impressed by the work of the Sami Parliaments and Sámi Ráđđi and team, that has made the collaboration with Walt Disney Animation Studios possible. [...] This collaboration is groundbreaking in so many ways and a good example of how companies can collaborate with indigenous peoples in a truly respectful way.⁶

The goal, it seems, is an important one: language preservation for future generations of Sámi children. There was even a contract signed between Disney and the Sámi Parliament leaders and creative consulting team (Simonpillai 2019: n.p.). However, the product of these collaborative presentations are not without critics. A Sámi friend that I met during fieldwork, Marit Shirin Carolasdotter, reacted to the style and content of the contract:

What I initially reacted upon the contract is this; “It is the position of the Sámi that their collective and individual culture, including aesthetic elements, music, language, stories, histories, and other traditional cultural expressions are property that belong to the Sámi.” First of all, why use the word property? What do we really mean by owning a culture, isn’t it rather, re-utilise, take back authorship of the performance of culture that is at stake here? Right to resources, resources is also, to me, a term that is used in a capitalist market system we have all been forced into. I would propose to start seriously realizing the performativity of words. The problematic words also mentioned in the contract such as “benefit sharing,” it is also mentioned the positive possibilities for the Sámi dealing with a “corporation the size of Walt Disney” comparing it to how other

⁶ International Sami Film Institute, Accessed 15 Dec. 2019.
<https://www.facebook.com/SamiFilmInstitute/photos/a.10151631763246179/10156590788346179/?type=3&theater>

agencies and governments should also be a target for future collaboration. But I mean, this is still—a fictional contract for fictional bodies.⁷

Marit dislikes this type of commodification and representations of Sámi people and culture because it tries to make the intangible a physical and capitalist commodity. Marc Perlman has called this the “propertization of tradition,” which usually points to economic interests of communities, but does nothing to consider the spiritual and mental role of traditional cultural expression as a means of identity, cohesion, and survival (Perlman 2017: 175). Not that these subjects, language, and people should be off-limits for creative collaboration, but is the contract describing colonial, or Indigenous, ways of thinking about the Sámi self? While intangible expressions can’t simply be transferred to a new environment or owner as can physical items (Perlman 2017: 175-176), Disney can take the intangible and fasten it to its commercial, tangible enterprises, such as movie tickets, DVDs, and merchandise, to profit through appropriation of intangible Sámi culture. As a dancer, Marit has a special awareness of bodies, how they communicate, and what they represent, and she has noted to me that the younger generation of Sámi artists might often think about culture, activism, and collaboration rather differently than previous generations have.⁸ She continues:

I am thinking about narrative vs. informative—I believe Sámi are essentially interested in informing about our peoples, rather than finding the right person representing it. ... It is quite complicated, since some Sámi need still to make themselves visible after hundreds of years being invisible and unrecognised. But now visibility has somehow turned into promotion I believe. It has turned into a spectacle. The theatre. The theatrical, what is the theatricality in Sámi culture that was trying too hard to be seen as humans? I don’t get it, why is it relevant that we become seen as animated now?

⁷ Marit Shirin Carolasdotter, email correspondence, 13 Dec. 2019.

⁸ Marit Shirin Carolasdotter, personal interview, 27 Nov. 2019.

The animated, “fictional bodies” that are mere shadows of people fighting for equal human rights that she mentions, resonates with issues of stereotyping often encountered by Indigenous peoples in global popular culture. This is mirrored in the beginning of the film in a story-within-a-story, which presents falsehoods and misrepresentations of the Northuldra by the Arendelian characters, mimicking lies told and believed about the Sámi by their non-Sámi nineteenth-century neighbors, scientific and educational institutions, and popular culture (see for example, Hirvonen 2008: 80, 221, 225; Jones-Bamman 2006: 359-360; Ojala and Nordin 2015: 12-15). But here is where we begin to transcend the world of the story, and see consequences for real people and communities. We also see the barren wasteland trope of the far north presented in the film, by means of an enchanted forest shrouded with impenetrable mist and a river frozen into a glacier described in the film as “far north as you can go,” mirroring outsider stereotypes of barren, northern “wilderness,” narratives that are often employed in films to justify the exploitation and colonization of peoples and nature in the Arctic (Kääpä 2017: 137). Both people and place are deeply fictionalized in the films, which neglect the real people, bodies, and places that are relegated to the margins.

This is at its heart connected to my second critique of the film: while trying to present the Sámi in a respectful way, the narrative of colonization is idealized and oversimplified. *Frozen 2* starts with the Northuldra/Sámi being lied about in our non-Sámi main characters’ family lore. We later learn that our main characters’ mother is Northuldra/Sámi, and rather than correcting the story that her husband tells their daughters, she does not challenge the lies against her people and family. While removal of women from Indigenous families is a recurring strategy of colonialism (see: Kuokkanen 2015: 272-274, 281; Lantto and Morkenstam 2008: 32; Huhndorf and Suzack 2010: 6; Lawrence 2004: 33, 46, 50-56), in *Frozen 2*, this is a choice we learn she

makes herself, and seems content with. This perfect, colonized, family harmony is re-inscribed with the fairytale ending, which makes it seem like reparations have been made to the Northuldra community by destroying the dam built to sabotage them by the Arendelians two generations ago, but this reparation journey was started only by a search for a solution to a mutual problem affecting Arendelle as well—not necessarily out of a motivation to right the wrongs of the past, and without any true sacrifices from the Arendelian characters.

Which brings me back to music. Our happy ending is endorsed by the Sámi/Northuldran characters at the resolution, with a *joik* performed for some of the non-Sámi characters, based on Frode Fjellhiem's *Eatnemen Vuelie*. This piece is about the Sámi relationship to the earth, and it is not inappropriate that the fall of the dam that has caused so many problems for the community should be accompanied by this soundtrack. This, however, is not only the first but the last word for the Sámi characters and communities in the films. Though Anna now knows she has a Northuldrian mother, being raised outside the community and knowing very little about them, her perspectives, life story, and experiences are distinct from those of the Northuldran community—and she essentially has the last word. While Elsa remains among the Northuldra where the reindeer now run free, Anna returns to Arendelle, takes over from her sister as queen, and proclaims that both the “land and people [are] now connected by love.” This seems to me an unrealistic way of presenting the idea of reparation. As the Sámi today are still fighting for land and water rights in their traditional homelands and less discriminatory practices in their relationships with the Scandinavian governments, this is a romanticized fantasy of the relationship between the Sámi and any Nordic kingdom—another paper would explain how this is even more disproportionate and inaccurate in nineteenth-century contexts, when the movie seems to take place.

One can expect a certain amount of artistic freedom in a Disney film—and it seems that the film was never meant to teach audiences about Sámi truths, culture, and history, as evidenced by the fact that the word Sámi does not appear at all in either film. The North-Sámi language version is seen almost unanimously as a good thing by the Sámi audiences because language retention is intricately tied to cultural practices, education, and Indigenous sovereignty. Still, Disney makes billions of dollars commodifying Sámi culture and music, and one wonders if the contract they signed with representatives of Sámi Parliament applies to the real world as well.

To that point: I woke up on the morning of Dec. 15, 2019 to find a message from Marit, sharing a Facebook post written by Sámi scholar May-Britt Öhman. She had been invited to a special screening of the premier of the North Sámi version of *Frozen 2*, but left in protest before the film even started, because the event organization, from the invitations to the red carpet to the theatres themselves, seemed to treat the Stockholm Sámi Association VIPs as an afterthought, privileging instead the celebrities who were there for the simultaneous Swedish-language premier.⁹ Backing up her descriptions with photos, she wrote:

No thanks @Disney, and SF. I don't dance for bread crumbs. ... When you exploit Sámi culture, then at least please make sure to show some respect for Sámi. ... A certain amount of the members—please note—not all 400 + members of the Stockholm Sámi association received the invitation. @disney has made a certain effort to connect with the Sámi community to get it right for this sequel film which uses/exploits Sámi culture and makes great profit on that. This time they even made a North Sámi language version with North Sámi speakers. Well, great, so far! But then, today, the big Gala premier in Stuehkie—Stockhol—they opted to screen the Swedish language version for Swedish celebrities in the big room. The North Sámi language version was screened in two very small rooms. ... No discussion was ever made with the board of the Stockholm Sámi association. Nor even thinking of what this way of doing the gala premier shows = total

⁹ May-Britt Öhman, personal conversation, Facebook and Facebook Messenger, 15 Dec. 2019.

disrespect for Sámi. ... I repeat, the Stockholm Sámi association has more than 400 members! We could easily fill up a big room with the North Sámi version, if asked! I don't speak North Sámi, but I came because of this effort made.

May-Britt Öhman left without seeing the film not because of the way that Sámi people were portrayed in the film, but because of the way *real* people were treated in *real* life. Disney's issues of representation extend beyond the fictional world to the real world, failing to consider the effects of the corporation's actions and priorities on real inter-cultural relationships.

For example, did the Sámi Parliament receive consultation rights for the selling of pseudo-gaktis as Halloween costumes for children, officially licensed and marketed as “ice-farmer costumes?”¹⁰ Even if the preference is not to think of Indigenous culture as “property,” physical or intellectual, does this blur the lines between sharing and appropriating? Nothing about the sale or description of this item recognize this iconic piece of clothing as being *Sámi*, as being something that has existed long before the *Frozen* films, before Disney, before Kristoff. As something worn by women, too—as something with many regional versions, styles, and colors.

This is perhaps, the biggest difference between *Frozen* and *Frozen 2*. If we look at what elements of the story and sound are specifically drawn from Sámi histories and cultures in *Frozen 2*, an interesting pattern emerges, and one that might explain my initial confusion about timelessness and a lack of Sámi-specific sonic imagery in the film. Just enough of the Sámi elements were changed in the film, mixed with neighboring past and present cultures as well as pan-European aesthetics, to avoid direct appropriation. Using *kulning* instead of *joik*, using Old Norse to generate magic and mystery instead of Sámi religion and spiritualism, and using Sámi attire as the basis for a costume that does not too closely resemble the traditional clothing of a

¹⁰ “Ice Farmer Costume,” Walmart, accessed December 20, 2019, <https://www.walmart.ca/en/ip/Frozen-Kristoff-Deluxe-Child-Costume/36VQI1T6YP2P>.

particular region or Sameby. These attributes will be packaged and sold, not just in the form of DVDs of the movie but as costumes, props, audio soundtracks, and toys. The Sámi imagery informed by the Council and Verddet group gives us just enough to recognize Sámi existence, but not enough to appropriate away from the original context.

When we speak about collaboration with Indigenous communities, I again reflect on what Marit said: we need to “start seriously realizing the performativity of words.” While Sámi-language films for children are important to the Sámi community, I wonder about the messages conveyed in the films and contract beyond just the words, how Sámi audiences will continue to interpret them, and how audiences will continue to interpret what they see and hear about the Sámi when they are, or are not, given the opportunity to collaborate in their own representation.

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***All comments from Carolasdatter and Öhman are used with their permission and approval.

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