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Main Street USA in Southern California's Disneyland theme park is often described as nostalgic. However, previous research on this subject has failed to identify what elements actually make Main Street USA nostalgic as well as determine why Disney uses this nostalgia to influence park guests. In order to respond to these issues, this study uses Tilley and Cokley's (2005) frame analysis and Unger, McConocha, and Faier's (1991) six types of nostalgic references in order to determine what visual and musical elements are serving as references to nostalgia and also establish why nostalgia is being used on Main Street USA. Results of this study show that Main Street USA makes extensive use of all six types of nostalgia references which indicates that nostalgia is being used to create the framed reality that Disney is presenting to its audience. In addition, it was found that this nostalgia is used to distract audience members from the problems they are facing outside the theme park and encourage the development of positive feelings as a result of experiencing Main Street USA.

Turning Back the Calendar: An Analysis of Main Street USA's use of Nostalgia

by

Travis L. Cox

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I understand that my thesis will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

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Travis L. Cox, Author

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

At the Disneyland theme park in Southern California, "the visitor is reminded of the past at every turn, from stepping out into Main Street to the end of the visit" (Allan, 1999, p. 227). Another author writes, "nostalgic fantasizing reveals a great deal about the special relationship Americans have with Disney and the manner in which Disney has managed to bring American cultural fantasies to life" (Salamone & Salamone, 1999, p. 85). Several other studies also share this similar view that Disneyland and specifically Main Street USA make widespread use of nostalgia (Findlay, 1992; Kuenz, 1995). The recurrence of this type of description in current academic literature on Disneyland indicates that it is commonly accepted that Main Street USA uses nostalgia to greet Disneyland park visitors. It would therefore be logical to assume that in these studies there would be strong evidence provided to justify labeling Main Street USA as "nostalgic". Unfortunately, in all of these studies the analysis of Main Street USA's use of nostalgia stops short by using "nostalgia" simply as a descriptive term rather than satisfactorily exploring the importance of Disney's choice to use nostalgia or identifying what elements make Main Street USA nostalgic. Although describing Main Street USA as nostalgic is well and good, this fails to answer the important questions of how Main Street USA is nostalgic and why Disney uses nostalgia on Main Street USA to influence its customers.

Ever since German physicians first introduced the concept of nostalgia in the seventeenth century as an explanation for homesickness, the power of nostalgia to influence people has been extensively analyzed (Smith, 2000). In fact, for many years it was viewed that nostalgia's effect on people was so strong that it was considered to be a life threatening medical disease (Smith, 2000, p. 507). Although the severity of nostalgia as a medical condition has diminished over time, the significance of nostalgia's ability to influence various audiences has been broadly studied in academic literature. Studies looking at nostalgia's use in politics (Smith, 2000; Parry-Giles & Parry-Giles, 2000; Depoe, 1990), media (Unger, McConocha, & Faier, 1991; Aden, 1995), and even historic locations (Dickinson, 1997), have all found that nostalgia can be used effectively to influence audiences and as a result nostalgia deserves greater academic attention.

Since it is commonly accepted that Main Street USA uses nostalgia and given that over five hundred million guests have experienced the nostalgic effects of Main Street USA in Disneyland since the park first opened in 1955, the current neglect in academic literature's analysis of the use of nostalgia at Disneyland and specifically Main Street USA is unacceptable ("News", 2005). Therefore, this thesis will take the next required step and go beyond simply identifying Main Street USA as nostalgic. Main Street USA in Disneyland will be critically evaluated in order to identify what elements are serving as references to nostalgia and also determine why these nostalgic elements are being used to influence Disney park guests.

In order to accomplish this I will use Tilley and Cokley's (2005) frame analysis, which provides an appropriate methodology for evaluating the use of nostalgia on Main Street USA as the reality being presented to park guests. Determining the frame or frames being used on Main Street USA will allow us to see why Disney has chosen to use nostalgia to influence its audience. This type of frame analysis evaluates what problem or problems the frame is responding to, what is blamed for these problems, what is the solution or response to these problems, what type of frame or frames are being used, and what other frames could have possibly been used (Tilley & Cokley, 2005). This step by step methodological approach of determining the frame will indicate both what Disney designers intentionally chose to present to their audience as nostalgic and also what effect these nostalgic elements are intended to have on that audience.

Additionally, Unger, McConocha, and Faier's (1991) six types of nostalgic references will be used to evaluate the visual and musical elements found on Main Street USA. This section of the analysis will look at references to the "olden days", period-oriented symbolism, old brands, patriotism, period-oriented music, and past family experiences found on Main Street USA. Identifying the various visual and musical elements that function as references to nostalgia will aid in the identification of the frame or frames being used by providing information on how nostalgia is presented on Main Street USA.

Following this introduction, chapter two of this thesis presents a literature review that will serve as a justification for this study. This chapter will explore

current academic literature analyzing various aspects of the representation of reality, nostalgia, visual elements, and musical elements found in studies both about Disneyland and studies unrelated to Disney. As a result of this review it will be clear what has already been researched in these various areas as well as demonstrate that there is a current lack of research exploring the particular subject that this thesis will address. Chapter three introduces the methodology that will be used to evaluate Main Street USA. Tilley and Cokley's (2005) frame analysis and Unger, McConocha, and Faier's (1991) nostalgic references will be established in order to clarify exactly how Main Street USA will be analyzed. Chapter four will supply the actual analysis of Main Street USA. In this chapter the methodologies presented in chapter three will be used to provide a detailed analysis of Main Street USA in order to determine the frame or frames being used as well as examine why nostalgia is being presented to park guests. The conclusion in chapter five will primarily review the analysis found in chapter four and evaluate these findings. Additionally, the conclusion will also establish how future research can benefit from this thesis.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Since its opening in 1955, Disneyland has become a worldwide icon of entertainment which is demonstrated by the millions of people who visit Disneyland and its several related theme parks throughout the world each year. As a result, there has been a significant amount of research devoted to these theme parks from a wide variety of academic disciplines. Historians, architects, psychologists, geographers, social scientists, and many other fields have contributed to this wealth of literature. Academic research analyzing the various aspects of Disney theme parks has focused on a wide variety of issues ranging from Disney cultural representation and consumerism to the use of music. However, Nooshin (2004) explains, "Considering the immeasurable impact that Southern California's Disneyland has made on the American culture and commercial landscape, academic criticism has scarcely scratched the theoretical surface" (p. 924). Although there has been a large amount of academic literature written on various aspects of these Disney theme parks, since there is such a wide variety of issues that deserve attention this research is far from complete.

This literature review will begin by first exploring research that has been done on Disney's representation of reality. Understanding research exploring Disney's interpretation of reality will provide a foundation for looking further into the areas of nostalgia, visual analysis, and music, which serve as ways of constructing this reality.

For each of these final three areas it will first be explained what research has already been done analyzing Disney theme parks in that particular area and second, it will also look at non Disney research being done in order to see what other types of issues are being studied. As a result, in each section it will be evident what types of issues have already been addressed indicating possible areas that need further analysis and also what research unrelated to Disney might be able to contribute to future analysis of Disney theme parks.

Representation of Reality

A large amount of academic literature has focused on the concept of reality construction and presentation in Disney theme parks. Several studies cite Walt Disney's statement, "I don't want the public to see the world they live in while they're in the park, I want them to feel they're in another world" (Findlay, 1992, p. 92; Villmoare & Stillman, 2002, p. 82). Since the creator of the theme park was not interested in presenting a reproduction of any specific reality, it is important to look at this reality presented as "another world" found in Disneyland. Instead of an actually different world, researchers more often agree that "Disney theme parks are representations of an impossible reality" (Sperb, 2005, p. 926). Disneyland is viewed as a perfect or ideal representation of a reality that might have been or still could be.

Several studies are fairly positive in their discussion of the constructed reality presented in Disneyland. In a brief analysis of Main Street U.S.A., one author writes that, "consumers are interested in an idealized reproduction of Main Street U.S.A.,

but not necessarily any particularly local Main Street anywhere in America" (Sperb,

2005, p. 926). In a discussion of Disneyland's reliance on synthetic and inauthentic

representations of reality a park visitor is cited explaining, "This isn't the way Main

Street really was…but it is the way it should have been" (Foss & Gill, 1987, p. 397).

This analysis of Main Street USA emphasizes the previously mentioned Disney ideal

construction of reality. In a study praising the architectural functions of Disneyland,

the author writes, "Disneyland was never meant to be real, but completely believable"

(Klingmann, 1998/1999, p. 24). While some researchers would reject the idea of

believability in Disney's projection of reality (Kuenz, 1995; Steeves, 2003),

Klingmann (1998/1999) explains that the audience is not supposed to see Disneyland

as fantasy but as a real possible representation of reality (p. 24).

While these previous studies have had various but generally positive

perceptions of Disney's construction of reality, there are also several studies that

address the harmful effects of this reality. In a study addressing Disneyland's

conflicting messages of experience and reality the author states that audiences are

"bombarded with experiences that blur the line between fantasy and reality" (Steeves,

2003, p. 182). As a result of this study, the author concludes that the overwhelming

interaction with a manipulated and constructed reality leads people to question and

experience reality itself in unnatural ways with effects that can continue even outside

the theme park. According to Steeves (2003) there is a clear danger in this Disney

construction of reality since it creates the "illusion of safety" for park guests (p. 182).

In his conclusion, Steeves (2003) explains "when Disney magic falters the results are

shocking. One's experience of the world is inevitably shaken" (p. 183). Accidents, such as the crash of a ride or removing the costume head of a character, have been shown to have traumatic effects on the audiences witnessing these events because their view of reality has been disturbed. The danger of this illusion of safety is also addressed by Fernandez (1995) who explains, "Disney attempts to create a world were we feel safe and completely unthreatened" (p. 248). Both of these authors conclude that the illusion of safety found at Disney theme parks is detrimental to audiences since it manipulates their perceptions of reality. However, while Steeves (2003) looks at safety in terms of thrill ride and attraction pleasure, Fernandez (1995) applies the concept of perceived safety to the underrepresentation of cultures in Disneyland.

Disney's underrepresentation of race and gender in settings intended to appear realistic has become a significant issue in several studies (Fernandez, 1995; Findlay, 1992; Kuenz, 1995; Nooshin, 2004; Sperb, 2005). A majority of this research looks at how few African Americans and women are present in the Disney community. In an analysis of the utopian ideals surrounding EPCOT in Disney World, Fernandez (1995) writes, "the bodies of people of color and women, and therefore the narratives surrounding them, are largely absent in EPCOT" (p. 238). In Disney interpretations of the future and technological advancements displayed in EPCOT Center, African Americans and women are clearly underrepresented in favor of white males. However, Fernandez (1995) goes on to conclude that "[Disney World] does not just suppress people of color and women; it has the tendency to suppress anything

problematic" (p. 238). The author believes that Disney views African Americans and women as problems in their ideal community and therefore they leave them out of their construction of reality. A similar study explores the issue that "it is young girls of any color who are the most absent party in all of the attractions at Disney" (Kuenz, 1995, p. 76). Even with the introduction of Disney characters that represent different nationalities and colors, such as Pocahontas and Mulan, these characters do not play a significant role in the Disney theme park experience. Although young girls are one of Disney's primary consumers, the representation of young girls in attractions is limited beyond a few rare examples usually playing the role of a princess. An article by Nooshin (2004) addresses the importance of Disney cultural representation by explaining that, "Disney creates a certain kind of knowledge about other cultures which, like its colonist predecessors, cannot be disengaged from political and economic issues" (p. 241). This author argues that Disney's underrepresentation of race and gender groups has implications beyond the theme parks that function by erasing non-Western identities and replacing them with Western motivations (Nooshin, 2004, p. 242). A study of the Disneyland attraction Splash Mountain looks at the translation of the story from the established racial movie Song of the South to the ride itself. The ride designer's avoidance of any of the racist themes of the movie lead Sperb (2005) to conclude, "Splash Mountain is a carefully crafted, politically and commercially motivated statement on late capitalism and, more importantly, on the state of race relations in America over the last sixty years" (p. 929). Although this

analysis looks at more than simply race representations in the Disney attraction, Disney's portrayal of race is explicitly important in this study.

Another perspective on Disney reality analysis looks at the importance of the intended messages presented to their audience. Findlay (1992) explains that this reality is designed with the goal of "inducing customers to think and behave in a way that Disney knew was best for them" (p. 79). Regardless of what the actual messages are, it is important to note that they are in fact Disney's messages. In an article using Foucault's theory of discursive formation there is an analysis of how Disneyland's use of discursive rules forces park visitors into specific roles (Foss & Gill, 1987). Foss and Gill (1987) explain that as a result of Disney's use of signs, music, and physical layout, "visitors sit passively through the rides or before the exhibits, engulfed in programmed simulation; nothing is required of them" (p. 394). The Disney experience forces visitors to "accept as normal what they generally would not, enjoy what they ordinarily would not, repress aspects of themselves that they generally would not, and not question what they normally would" (Foss & Gill, 1987, p. 397). Studies like these draw attention to the importance of understanding how Disney constructs reality in order to identify how park guests are being purposefully manipulated.

Several studies addressing issues of reality look at Walt Disney's background and his desire for a utopian society (Fernandez, 1995; Van Maanen, 1992; Villmoare & Stillman, 2002). In their article addressing the utopian aspects of Disney's theme parks, Villmoare & Stillman (2002) explain that "Disney's parks are symbolic

American utopia" (p. 82). These studies often focus on EPCOT Center (Experimental

Prototype Community of Tomorrow), one of the four main regions in Walt Disney

World (Fernandez, 1995; Villmoare & Stillman, 2002). They point out that this

attraction was designed to give audiences a vision of the benefits of utopian reality.

Fernandez (1995) explains that, "EPCOT is a scientific origin story that ends in a

techno-capital utopia" (p. 237). Although these studies of EPCOT do not directly

relate to Southern California's Disneyland itself, the concept of Disney's ideals being

presented as reality is significant to both parks. A study by Findlay (1992) looking at

how Disneyland is designed in order to be able to present a controlled homogenous

experience explains, "the main entrance to Disneyland filtered out both an unwanted

set of feelings about the park and an undesirable kind of costumer" (p. 82). As a

result of this, the author goes on to argue that since Disneyland wants its audience to

have a controlled desirable experience as a result of Disney's presentation of reality,

it is important that Disneyland is managed in a way that limits their customers to only

those who both fit into and can accept this projected interpretation of reality (Findlay,

1992, p. 82).

Disney construction of reality is also evident in studies that focus on Disney's

representation of the past. Disney's emotional connection to its audience through the

use of nostalgia is a common topic for researchers (Allan, 1999; Findlay, 1992;

Kuenz, 1995; Salamone & Salamone, 1999). In Allan's (1999) analysis of the

European influences on Disney theme parks he states, "the visitor is reminded of the

past at every turn, from stepping out into Main Street to the end of the visit" (p. 227).

The Disney interpretation of the past, more specifically the American past, plays an important role in the atmosphere park designers are trying to create for their customers.

A prime example of this nostalgia can be seen clearly on Main Street USA. Designed to represent any small American town's main street, there is significant meaning attached to this attraction. One author writes, "the entire Main Street experience is designed to evoke nostalgia for an age of innocence" (Salamone & Salamone, 1999, p. 85). Along with the previously explained concept of a Disney ideal construction of reality, Main Street USA presents the past but a past that is far too perfect to be considered a realistic representation of the actual past. Salamone and Salamone (1999) explain that on Main Street "everything functions in the way we wish it did in our youths" (p. 86). Nostalgia on Main Street works because audiences recognize the past, but the Disney version of a "cleaner, more innocent and better America" contains all the good aspects of the past without any of the problems (Salamone & Salamone, 1999, p. 85). The past can also be seen in other parts of Disneyland. In a historical look at Disneyland, Findlay (1992) states, "The lands of Disneyland were valued because they scaled urban life down to a more manageable size and recreated the supposedly more orderly village of bygone years" (p. 95). In another example, Kuenz (1995) argues that the presentation of the past in Frontierland and other related lands (Adventureland and New Orleans Square) help "citizens feel good about themselves and their history in order to offset what has to be ambivalence about their future and quite possibly their present" (p. 66). This Disney

emphasis on the American past helps make the Disneyland experience more complete by contrasting with areas that focus on the future and fantasy. While these various studies demonstrate that research acknowledging nostalgia and the past in Disneyland exists, these studies neglect to adequately explain exactly how Main Street USA and Disneyland present this past and more importantly they fail to fully address why Disney uses this nostalgia to influence park guests.

As you can see, research related to Disney's construction of reality covers a variety of topics from cultural representation and the representation of the past to Disney's desire for a utopian society. The many studies that have been done analyzing this particular area of research indicate that understanding Disney's interpretation of reality is important to identifying how Disneyland and its related theme parks throughout the world function and are experienced. In order to better understand how the reality presented in these Disney theme parks is designed and constructed, the areas of nostalgia, visual analysis, and music will now be explored as elements that Disney uses to create this reality for its audience.

Nostalgia

The term nostalgia is often used when describing many aspects of the Disney experience. Nostalgia appears in various descriptions of areas in Disneyland (Frontierland, Adventureland, New Orleans Square, Main Street U.S.A.) as well as areas in Walt Disney World (EPCOT, MGM Studios) (Allan, 1999; Findlay, 1992; Kuenz, 1995; Salamone & Salamone, 1999). The widespread use of this term

indicates that nostalgia is significant to understanding how Disneyland functions and therefore deserves attention in Disneyland research. However, most current research fails to appropriately explain why these features described as nostalgic should actually be considered examples of nostalgia. For example, Allan (1999) uses the term nostalgia when explaining the European influences found in Disneyland and further explains that "the visitor is reminded of the past at every turn, from stepping out into Main Street to the end of the visit" (p. 227). Unfortunately this analysis of Disneyland's use of nostalgia stops short without discussing the importance of Disney's choice to use nostalgia or identifying what elements serve as references to nostalgia. In another study of Disney theme parks, Salamone and Salamone (1999) use the term nostalgia throughout their analysis of the park's many "Main Streets" but use it only as a descriptive term. This research briefly indicates that nostalgia is important by explaining that, "this nostalgic fantasizing reveals a great deal about the special relationship Americans have with Disney and the manner in which Disney has managed to bring American cultural fantasies to life" but does not sufficiently explain specifically how these features are nostalgic or why this is done (Salamone & Salamone, 1999, p. 85). Since current academic research has failed to adequately address Disney's use of nostalgia, non-Disney related examples of nostalgic research may provide a better understanding of how nostalgia should be analyzed at Disney theme parks.

Current research on nostalgia often deals with its use in the area of politics (Smith, 2000; Parry-Giles & Parry-Giles, 2000; Depoe, 1990). In a general study of

the use of the political nostalgia Smith (2000) explains that the concept of nostalgia is ideologically charged and that "reliance on the concept of nostalgia threatens to distort our understanding of the rhetorical and political uses of history and the significance of memory in political resistance" (p. 505). Accepting the historical use of nostalgia by progressives as a negative concept limits the ability of modern politicians to use "memory as a ground for political action" (Smith, 2000, p. 524). Other studies on political nostalgia focus on the significance of its use in public addresses. In an analysis of President Clinton's address commemorating the March on Washington, Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles (2000) explain that, "Clinton's use of nostalgia distorts the memory of the civil rights movement to achieve an emotional response and to shape a particular vision of that era and this president for his own political ends" (p. 432). Through this address Clinton used nostalgia rhetorically to improve his own political image in order to help excuse personal issues that were affecting his presidency at the time. Another article looking at the use of nostalgia in public address analyzed Edward Kennedy's use of nostalgia in his address at the 1980 Democratic National Convention (Depoe, 1990). Depoe (1990) explains that Kennedy used nostalgia appeals to convince the audience into believing that he could return liberals to their idyllic past. "Kennedy used both condensation symbols and anecdotes connecting past and present in an attempt to generate a nostalgic emotional response in his audience" (Depoe, 1990, p. 180). These nostalgic appeals functioned both therapeutically and deliberatively which led to mixed responses from his audience (Depoe, 1990, p. 187).

Other studies of nostalgia vary from looking at the use of nostalgia in television commercials to nostalgic reactions as a result of watching documentaries (Unger, McConocha, & Faier, 1991; Aden, 1995). Aden (1995) looks at the use of nostalgic communication in a documentary on the golden years of baseball called "When It Was a Game" (p. 21). In this study it was found that nostalgia provides a temporal escape for viewers by providing "individuals with a means of symbolically escaping cultural conditions that they find depressing and/or disorienting" (Aden, 1995, p. 35). These temporal fantasy escapes are explained to function as a form of cultural therapy from the undesirable characteristics of contemporary culture. A content analysis of commercials on major television networks was used to show that about 10% of commercials utilize nostalgic themes or music (Unger et al., 1991, p. 345). It was also found that commercials for food and beverage products were significantly more likely to use nostalgic themes in their advertisements (Unger et al., 1991, p. 353). In order to define nostalgia, six types of references were found to be clear indicators of nostalgic content: "references to past family experiences", "references to olden days", "period-oriented symbolism", "period-oriented music", "references to old brands", "patriotism" (Unger et al., 1991, p. 351). The identification of these indicators is significant since very few other studies provide criteria for how to determine if something is nostalgic.

While most research looks at the use of nostalgia in popular media, the use of nostalgia in physical locations and structures has also been studied as a form of nostalgic communication. An interesting analysis of nostalgia use on the streets of

Old Pasadena shows that nostalgia functions as a way of creating "memory places" (Dickinson, 1997, p. 4). Dickinson (1997) argues that, "times of rapid change or insecurity encourage a tremendous desire for the past" (p. 1). Since contemporary urban experiences encourage the fragmenting of community social structures and traditions, the maintenance of a stable coherent identity has become difficult (Dickinson, 1997, p. 1). In order to counter this modern crisis it is explained that, "the contemporary individual visits a memory place like Old Pasadena in an attempt to recall or recover a stabilized identity" (Dickinson, 1997, p. 4). The significance of nostalgia in a physical landscape like the streets of Old Pasadena as opposed to nostalgia used in visual media is due to the ability for the audience to participate. The rhetorical importance of these memory places is developed as participants are able to draw a connection between memory and their performative identity through stylized enactments (Dickinson, 1997). Academic studies like these exploring various mediums of communication from television and public address to physical locations demonstrate that the use of nostalgia can be a powerful tool and it is therefore important to understand how nostalgia is being used to influence audiences. Since current research looking at the use of nostalgia in Disney theme parks is limited, in order to gain a better understanding of how nostalgia is being presented visually it would be beneficial to examine studies that analyze the visual features that make up the Disney theme parks.

Visual Elements

From elaborate architecture to people dressed in costumes representing various animated Disney characters, there are a wide variety of visual elements found throughout Disney theme parks. These visual elements play a significant role in developing Disney's interpretation of reality and nostalgia and therefore require academic attention. Past studies analyzing the carefully designed visual features found in Disney theme parks are commonly related to the Disney encouragement of consumerism (Allan, 1999; Findlay, 1992; Kuenz, 1995; Nooshin, 2004; Steeves, 2003). As Steeves (2003) explains, "Disneyland is constantly enforcing the will to consume" (p. 190). Several studies argue that the design and layout of the park itself is constructed in order to encourage the consumption of their products (Findlay, 1992; Kuenz, 1995; Nooshin, 2004). Findlay (1992) describes how the layout and physical aspects of the environment of Disneyland are used to almost force people into shops and restaurants. A study looking at advertising within the theme park writes that Disneyland is "an environment where entertainment and advertising are so thoroughly fused that it is hard to tell them apart" (Nooshin, 2004, p. 242). Since so many of the attractions are based on commodities themselves, the various visual features of Disneyland naturally lends itself to advertising through character images and even shops based on movie themes. This type of visual communication intentionally designed to focus the audience's attention on commodities is argued to be responsible for a variety of visual features that are used to influence their customer's experience. Kuenz (1995) notes that the design of attractions is "consistent with the park's often

noted goal of using architecture and layout to control and ultimately inhibit

movement" (p. 63). Foss and Gill (1987) address this park layout issue by explaining

that design elements like Main Street USA and the central hub are deliberate

examples of how, "architectural and spatial mechanisms regulate the flow of people"

(p. 392). In a similar study, Nooshin (2004) explains, "from the particular shade and

positioning of litter bins to the way in which movement of people through the park

and past shops is managed in order to maximize sales, every tiniest detail of image

and style is rigorously controlled by members of a design team (p. 244). Concepts

such as the park having only one entrance/exit and specifically designed walking

loops lead customers to where the park designers want them to go.

Although not usually explicitly connected to economic issues, another area of

visual analysis looks at the designer's ability to control what the audience sees and

how they see it (Allan, 1999; Klingmann, 1998/1999; Steeves, 2003). It is explained

that in the Disney design process "forced perspective is commonly used to create

various illusions" (Steeves, 2003, p. 180). Forced perspective is "a theoretical design

technique whereby the designer plays with scale in the real world in order to effect

the perception of scale in an illusory world" (Wright, 2005, p. 24). Using techniques

like forced perspective encourages the audience to see these visual features as

realistic, whether they are realistic or not. One study focuses on the narrative nature

of architecture found in Disneyland (Klingmann, 1998/1999). In this analysis

Klingmann (1998/1999) points to the idea that "Disney architecture explores the

cinematic possibilities of architecture, letting people step right into the story" (p. 23).

Designers, known as Imagineers, use cinematic strategies such as close up or

sequential images to develop the different story lines presented throughout the park.

Disney architecture allows the audience to walk up and experience these stories in

ways that are not possible in film. Klingmann (1998/1999) concludes with the

concept that architecture has potential "as an important medium to communicate both

myth and metaphor" (p. 23). Although this analysis was done from the perspective of

an architect, its focus on the use of rhetorical concepts such as metaphor and narrative

encourages a connection between architecture and rhetorical analysis.

Since it is possible that visual rhetoric may best be able to analyze the visual

elements of Disney theme parks, it is important to note that visual rhetorical analysis

has currently neglected Disney theme parks. Ever since the generally accepted

introduction of visual rhetoric during the 1970 National Conference on Rhetoric, the

study of visual rhetorical artifacts has focused primarily on two-dimensional images

(Foss, 2005). In addition to various studies being done evaluating artistic images like

paintings, in print media great attention is being paid to visual artifacts such as

cartoons (Morris, 1993; Refaie, 2003), photographs (Goodnow, 2003; Newbury, 2005;

Scott, 2004), and advertising (Perlmutter & Golan, 2005; Teo, 2004). Also, a societal

shift from print to electronic media has encouraged rhetorical studies in film (Rushing

& Frentz, 2000), television (Bellon, 1999; Smith & Boyson, 2002), and computer

graphics (Burn & Schott, 2004; Lemke, 2002). The importance of these studies is

their adoption of rhetorical methodologies, traditionally associated with verbal

artifacts, to visual artifacts in order to gain a better understanding of these visual

phenomena. In two articles addressing messages found in political cartoons a metaphorical analysis methodology is adopted in order to identify the rhetorical devices being used in these cartoons (Morris, 1993; Refaie, 2003). Photographs are a fairly common area of visual rhetoric research where authors have applied a wide variety of methodologies. For example, Goodnow (2003) adopts Fisher's concept of "narrative" and applies it to the analysis of news photographs and their role in what the author calls "social narratives" (p. 4). In another study, Scott (2004) uses echoic mention theory in order to gain a better understanding of the ironic nature of photographs. Although it would not be beneficial in this study to review every rhetorical methodology found in the analysis of two-dimensional visual artifacts, it is clear that rhetorical studies of visual artifacts exist and have expanded the field of Communication.

It is important to note that visual rhetoric researchers have not completely neglected Disney. However, a majority of this research focuses on Disney films and other related two-dimensional artifacts. Topics such as the portrayal of gender roles (Bell, 1995; Jeffords, 1995; Lacroix, 2004) and race (Lacroix, 2004; Millar & Rode, 1995; Sperb, 2005) in Disney films are very common in this area of research. For example, several studies take a rhetorical look at various aspects surrounding race in the animated films Song of the South and The Jungle Book (Millar & Rode, 1995; Sperb, 2005). Significant conclusions drawn from these studies include, "These films contribute not only to the production of racist, sexist, and classist cultural scripts, but to the abilities in all of us to write and rewrite them" (Millar & Rode, 1995, p. 95).

The Disney presentation of "the perfect girl" (Bell, 1995) or the encouragement of masculine violence (Jeffords, 1995) in films such as <u>The Little Mermaid</u> or <u>Beauty and the Beast</u> are frequent subjects in rhetorical study. While these examples demonstrate that Disney is in fact an area of visual rhetorical study, this review establishes that visual rhetoric has currently neglected physical visual artifacts such as Disneyland in favor of two-dimensional image analysis.

Although I have come across several studies analyzing three dimensional visual artifacts such as public monuments, this research is limited and far from exhaustive. In an analysis of Old Pasadena as a "memory place", visual elements are used to identify ways in which this street is designed to evoke feeling of nostalgia for participants (Dickinson, 1997). Dickinson (1997) explains, "Old Pasadena's rhetorical strength lies in its nostalgic invocations. This nostalgia is formed in two ways: first through the memories encoded by inscriptions, signs and legends; and second, by the landscape's architectural style" (p. 7). The focus of this study connecting nostalgia to physical visual elements indicates that this type of connection can be similarly applied to the analysis of visual elements seen as nostalgic in Disney theme parks. This type of rhetorical research analyzing various visual elements found at Disney theme parks would aid in the understanding of the reality Disney is presenting to its audience. However, the methodology Dickinson uses is unclear making the application of this study to other areas difficult.

Although research analyzing some of the visual features found at the various Disney theme parks exists, even more research is required to fully understand the

function of the numerous types of visual materials used in these locations. For

example, the study of visual features, like those done by Dickinson (1997) and

Klingmann (1998/1999), applied to various visual features in Disney theme parks will

aid in the identification of the messages that Disney designers are trying to present to

their audience. Also, even though the use of nostalgia is argued to play a substantial

role in design of many of the Disney attractions, current analysis of the visual

elements that help develop these nostalgic features is limited and requires greater

attention.

Musical Elements

In addition to the various visual features that make up the theme park, musical

features also clearly play an important role in developing the Disney experience.

Carson (2004) bluntly states that upon entering Disneyland guests are "bombarded by

innumerable musical events" (p. 229). This music not only bombards guests but also

serves various functions. Simply put, "music plays a central role in shaping the

whole environment of the park" (Nooshin, 2004, p. 243). These musical events range

from background music that can be heard almost anywhere in the park to a wide

variety of live performances that occur at various locations. In an analysis of

discursive rules developed in Disneyland, Foss and Gill (1987) explain, "Music

emanates from bushes, from a variety of performances, and from rides and exhibits.

The music is the same – trivial, not socially significant, not challenging, but lilting,

melodic, and captivating" (p. 393). Their analysis of these musical elements is used

to explain how music is one of the many mediums that play a role in developing knowledge within the Disneyland theme park. They also briefly draw a connection between the musical choices and the visual images that visitors are presented with, "Disneyland specifies that the lilting, melodic music is the correct form of music, evidenced in its association with positive images such as patriotism and fun" (Foss & Gill, 1987, p. 396). While this brief statement fails to identify what specific music or images are being used, there is a clear connection between music and the visual that can be further explored.

Carson's (2004) evaluation of the use of music in Disney theme parks concludes that music functions circularly by addressing two key concepts. Carson (2004) explains that, "Disney both constructs and speaks to elements of children's lived experiences, while providing adults with opportunities for nostalgic fantasies about their own past" (p. 229). These dual messages are circular because the children's experiences eventually become what the adults are nostalgic about. Instead of referencing nostalgic abstract themes, these nostalgic fantasies were originally created by Disney. In Disneyland, music is purposefully used to "simultaneously refer to earlier Disney experiences and create new ones" that can be referred to in the future (Carson, 2004, p. 229). The background music usually has an immediately recognizable style that specifically relates to the themed land it is found in and live, free, professional musical performances only enhance the effectiveness of music as a way of developing the Disney experience (Carson, 2004, p. 230). Although a majority of this article focuses on the use and function of music in Disney World's

EPCOT World Showcase attraction, this brief look at music Disneyland and general analysis of music use in Disney theme parks provides a foundation for this area of research.

The significance of music to the Disney experience can also be found in studies that view how other cultures are being represented in Disney theme parks. In an article evaluating the representation of different cultures on the Disneyland attraction "It's A Small World" the music used to accompany the ride is argued to have cultural significance. Although the intended message of the ride is to promote global harmony and diversity through the coming together of various cultures, this analysis argues that the opposite occurs. Instead of promoting and celebrating diversity and coming together, Nooshin (2004) argues that a combination of visual images and musical elements display the dominance of Euro-American norms over other cultures (p. 244). This dominance over other cultures can be seen in the use of the familiar theme song that is played throughout the ride. "While a variety of languages can just about be made out in the song lyrics, these are symbolically drowned out by the overbearing volume of the main English-language version of the lyrics" (Nooshin, 2004, p. 240). In addition to the predominance of English lyrics, the various musical elements including the use of the C major key, common time, a tonic dominant base, and a march like chorus are clearly associated with Euro-American music (Nooshin, 2004, p. 243). Although detailed analyses of specific musical selections used at Disneyland like this exist, they are limited and often too general to provide significant insight into the function of music in Disney theme

parks. The abundance and wide variety of musical elements found throughout the park clearly indicates that music plays an important role in the reality that Disneyland is presenting to its customers and therefore deserves substantial academic consideration.

General research in the field of music is very broad and covers a wide variety of areas ranging from the close analysis of the compositional choices of specific composers to the broad psychological affects music can have on society. In order to narrow this broad area of research down, this review will focus on musical studies focusing on nostalgia. For example, in a study focusing on issues of time and discussing the problems with classifying music in terms of decades, Kotarba (2002) uses nostalgia as a basis for his personal choice for a cohort based music classification system. The nostalgia that baby boomers feel toward rock 'n' roll serves as a basis for his conclusion that "we would therefore expect generation-driven categories such as…the Baby Boomer Generation to resonate well with many people" (Kotarba, 2002, p. 401). Using nostalgia as a way to classify music is an interesting application of this concept that can be applied to identify other periods of music. Snyder's (1993) analysis of participant responses to musical selections connected to various sporting events sites nostalgia as a common response. In one example, respondents listening to a recording of the song "Take Me Out to the Ball Game" expressed a variety of nostalgic reactions about specific personal memories and more general reflections about "the sport of baseball, including summertime, friends, family, food, and rituals" (Snyder, 1993, p. 173). This investigation examines the

way audiences connect meaning to music and more significantly demonstrates that strong nostalgic memories can be drawn from exclusively musical selections. Botstein (2000) indicates that nostalgia is important because it allows researchers to understand how memory and recollection have worked in the past through personal reflections about musical transactions (p. 533). According to this study nostalgia only comes into existence as a result of the interaction between the performer and the listener that can be reflected on later (Botstein, 2000, p. 532). This specific historical interpretation of nostalgia is uncommon however because it does not recognize the ability for participants to be nostalgic for things they have never personally experienced.

Several studies have looked at the importance of music's nostalgic function in how it affects various cultures (Cassia, 2000; Eckart, 2005; Emoff, 2002). An analysis of Ghana folk music in Malta shows that the nostalgic function of non-traditional music has led to a new understanding of Malta's own traditions (Cassia 2000). It is explained that, "it is not so much traditions that are being revitalized, but rather that the relationships between 'tradition' and 'modernity' is being redefined in new ways" (Cassia, 2000, p. 282). This study demonstrates that music can be used to shape and influence the way a culture views its own past. In Germany nostalgia found in poetry and music is argued to fuel the Gothic youth subculture (Eckart, 2005, p. 547). The Gothic subculture musical focus on lyrics from the Romantic period emphasizes the "ideal philosophy" that they maintain in opposition to a more modern German cultural ideology (Eckart, 2005, p. 552). In another cultural study it was

found that the performance of colonial era music in Madagascar utilizes nostalgia in different ways to appeal to both French and Malagasy participants (Emoff, 2002). For French listeners these performances often encourage feelings of longing for the past for periods of French colonization to counter feelings of lament due to perceived inadequacies of their contemporary lifestyle (Emoff, 2002, p. 272). Emoff (2002) explains, "French club members attempt to evoke nostalgia for a distant homeland and past through these performances" (p. 272). However, these same musical performances also function nostalgically as a form of satire and humor to Malagasy listeners who often mock the colonial period through various mediums (Emoff, 2002, p. 266). This study clearly demonstrates that nostalgic musical selections can function differently for different audience members depending on their cultural background.

Music analysis focusing on nostalgia also has looked at the use of nostalgia by specific composers (Burnham, 2000; Key, 1995). In one study, nostalgia is identified through the sentimentality often used in Stephen Foster's song writing. In his lyrical composition nostalgia was often a desired effect through the voice of a musical narrator, "One of the most characteristic textual devices of the sentimental ballad was to portray an individual narrator in the throes of nostalgia" (Key, 1995, p. 149). It is also argued that the versatility of Foster's music also increased its nostalgic effect through its ability to adapt, "Foster's music moves easily from the parlor to the street, adapting itself to its context in an eminently and current manner" (Key, 1995, p. 163). Burnham attempts to show the connection between music and memory through the

music of Schubert. He explains, "Like our perception of time, music moves toward the future, inviting us to anticipate, while also streaming into the past, inviting us to recollect" (Burnham, 2000, p. 655). Schubert's references to Beethoven in several of his pieces as well as using repetition to refer to his own music both indicate a reflective nostalgic characteristic in his music (Burnham, 2000, p. 663). It is also interesting to note that in this study it is explained that the audience's feeling of nostalgia can be present without referring to any memory at all. Schubert's compositional style encourages an uncommon style of listening from the audience that makes them feel like they are experiencing memories (Burnham, 2000, p. 661). This greatly increases the possible uses and functions of nostalgia if there is no reference to any past required. This wide range of issues addressed by researchers about musical elements outside of Disney clearly shows that there are various aspects of Disney's use of music that have yet to be explored.

Conclusion

Since Disney theme parks have played such a significant role in shaping the way the world views entertainment, there is a large amount of academic research that has studied many different aspects of these important landmarks. Issues related to Disney's use of reality construction, nostalgia, visual elements, and music and have all been addressed in these past studies. However, despite this variety of available academic literature, research on Disney theme parks is far from complete. This review has found only a very limited amount of research addressing Main Street USA

at Disneyland and the reality it is presenting to park guests. Since Walt Disney

himself explained that, "I don't want the public to see the world they live in while

they're in the park, I want them to feel they're in another world," it is important to

evaluate this other world or reality that is being intentionally presented to the public

(Findlay, 1992, p. 92). Due to the fact that Main Street USA acts as the gateway to

Disneyland providing guests with their first experience of the park, analyzing how

Disney has created this alternative reality to influence customer feelings is significant

to understanding how and why Main Street USA was designed the way it is. In

addition, although Main Street USA is often described as being nostalgic I have found

no research looking at Main Street USA's use of framing to create nostalgia for its

audience leaving this important area of analysis open for much needed further study.

Finally, although nostalgia is often used to describe many aspects of Disney theme

parks, analysis of the function of this nostalgia as well as the visual and auditory

elements that contribute to this nostalgic perception of Disneyland has also received

little academic attention. The use of nostalgia as well as both visual and musical

elements is vital to the Disney theme park experience and therefore it is also

important that research in these areas is developed further. As a result of this review

it is clear that although there is a growing amount of research being done looking at

nostalgia, visual rhetoric, and music, this current focus has failed to adequately

analyze the importance of understanding Disneyland and Main Street USA's use of

these features.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Since all of the visitors who attend the Disneyland theme park are forced to walk down Main Street USA as the only entrance and exit to the park, understanding the reality Disney is trying to present to their customers through this area is important to being able to identify the function of Main Street USA. As a result, in order to understand how the design of Main Street USA uses nostalgia to influence its guests, it is first necessary to identify how this reality is being developed through the various visual and auditory elements that make up this setting. Therefore, in this study a frame analysis will be used to both identify the framed reality being developed on Main Street USA through its various features as well as indicate why Disney chose this frame to influence Disney park guests.

The concept of frame analysis was originally developed by Goffman (1974) as a way of defining situations. Since individuals experience situations differently, Goffman attempted to find a more accurate way of examining and explaining these situations. He explains, "it is the meaning of our experiences and not the ontological structure of the objects which constitute reality" (Goffman, 1974, p. 4). Koenig (2007) simplifies Goffman's explanation by stating, "In other words, frames are basic cognitive structures which guide the perception and representation of reality" (para. 5). Therefore, in every situation there are principles of organization connected with social involvement that create a frame that defines the reality of the situation. In addition, Goffman (1974) argues that these frames are not deliberately manufactured

but are unconsiously adopted through communication as the parts of reality that are noticed.

However, Goffman's view of framing was developed more as a philosophical framework for understanding reality than as a clear methodology to be applied to objects of analysis. This lack of clarity in methodological structure and the difficulty in consistent measurement and identification of frames has led to a wide variety of interpretations of framing and frame analysis. Criticism of frame analysis often focuses on this ambiguity (Benford, 1997). Benford (1997) explains, "the problem lies in the fact that frame analytic methods remain underdeveloped" (p. 412). He also argues that use of framing has become "cliché" in social movement research without providing any significant empirical studies (Benford, 1997, p. 415). To improve the quality of frame analysis, Benford suggests that framing studies look at frames across time, movements, and cultures. Other critiques of frame analysis include criticism of the methodology's lack of depth in deep ideological studies such as cultural studies (Munson, 2001) and political movements (Oliver & Johnston, 2000), as well as its limited usefulness by being too static (Benford, 1997; Steinberg, 1998).

In response to these criticisms, many studies using frame analysis have shifted their interpretation of frames from Goffman's original conception to a view that a frame is something that is constructed deliberately. Koenig (2007) writes, "The difficulty of measuring latent frames could partially explain the gradual theoretical shift towards a conceptualization of frames as being more actively adopted and manufactured" (para. 9). This shift was led by Entman who adopted frame analysis

as a useful methodological approach in media studies. Entman (1993) redefined

framing as, "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them

more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular

problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment

recommendation" (p. 52). In order to be able to critically evaluate frames constructed

by journalists and evaluate their effects, media studies have strongly supported

Entman's interpretation of frame analysis. These studies often focus on identifiying

frames constructed by journalists in order to present a situation in a specific way

(D'Angelo, 2002; Nitz and West, 2004; Pompper, 2004; Reese, 2001; Tankard, 2001;

Unger et al., 1991). Relying on Entman's (1993) framing concepts of selection and

salience, "to select some aspects of a percieved reality and make them more salient in

a communicating context", media research is able to evaluate the view of reality

journalists are presenting to their audiences (p. 52). A study by Tankard (2001) even

goes as far to suggest that frames are purposfully designed to deceive their audiences.

While not all reaserchers emphasize this posibility of deception, Tankard's study

further emphasizes the importance of understanding what frames are being used in

any given situation in order to protect both journalists and their audiences.

Content analysis is often the methodology of choice for identifying frames.

For example, content analysis has been applied to identify and compare frames used

in public policy and environmental risk media coverage (Pompper, 2004), news

stories during Presidential election campaigns (Nitz and West, 2004), and nostalgia

use in television commericals (Unger, et al., 1991). While content analysis can be

used effectivly in some types of frame identification, there are some researchers like Tilley and Cokley (2005) who dislike using content analysis to identify frames because it is too time consuming and difficult to use in many situations.

In order to develop a more useful framing methodology for journalists, Tilley and Cokley (2005) developed a version of framing analysis that can be used as a framing tool to allow journalists to efficiently "take more control over framing their own stories" (p. 74). Instead of using content analysis, Tilley and Cokley (2005) established five questions designed to address issues surrounding framing based on the "five Ws and an H" questions journalists should already be familiar with (p. 76). Instead of simply asking who, what, where, when, why, and how, this modified frame analysis asks:

Question 1: What is the problem here?

Question 2: Who, or what, is blamed for this problem?

Question 3: What solution is proposed?

Question 4: What type of frame is this? (fact-based, values-based, interest-based, or relational?)

Question 5: What other frames are possible?

These particular questions were compiled as a result of drawing from the previous framing studies including "Entman's descriptions of what framing does and Knight's descriptions of commonly used frames" (Tilley & Cokley, 2005, p. 76). In order to demonstrate the usefulness of this modified framing methodology, Tilley and Cokley apply this methodology to different newspaper articles in order to both identify the

frames being used and show that understanding framing can be beneficial to journalists.

Although this particular use of framing identification and interpretation was designed for a journalistic function, this methodology can be applied to rhetorical artifacts outside of the journalistic field. By adopting Entman's interpretation of frames as deliberately manufactured through the process of selection and salience, these five questions can be used to identify frames being used in any situation involving communication. Therefore, in this study I plan to use these five questions developed by Tilley and Cokley as a foundation for analyzing the frame or frames being used on Main Street USA in the Disneyland theme park. Identifying the frame or frames that are being used on Main Street USA will indicate how Disneyland intentionally influences its audience to view both itself and the outside world in a particular way. Additionally, identifying these frames will aid in the understanding why nostalgia is being used on Main Street USA.

In order to answer the questions used in this methodology as accurately as possible, I spent six days in Disneyland observing the many aspects of Main Street USA. For example, although the set list of the songs that play in the background on Main Street USA is restricted information, I was able to create a list of the twenty nine songs that play in this musical loop during my time in the theme park (Appendix 1). These personal observations of both the visual and musical elements that are presented to Disneyland park guest provided the information I needed to complete my analysis.

Frame analysis' function of identifying how reality is viewed in various situations, whether it is manufactured or not, makes this methodology an effective choice in analyzing the reality being presented on Main Street USA. Main Street's purposeful physical construction leads to the use of Entman's interpretation of the manufactured frame focusing on the use of deliberate selection and salience in the development of Main Street USA. Entman's view of frame analysis also encourages the use of Tilley and Cokley's five question methodology in order to identify various aspects of the frame being used.

The first two questions serve the function of determining the background issues that are responsible for shaping the development of the framed response. The first question asks to determine what the problem or problems that are being addressed by Main Street USA. For this study the definition of problem will be: a set of circumstances that encourages some sort of response. Here I will look at the problem, or the set of circumstances, that might have influenced Disney to develop Main Street USA in a certain way as the gateway to the rest of this theme park. To further explore this problem, the second question asks who or what is to blame for this problem. As in question one, this analysis will look more specifically at the set of circumstances that influenced the version of reality being presented in Main Street USA. However, this second question goes further in an attempt to identify who is being blamed or held responsible for the problems Main Street USA is seen as responding to.

The third question leads to an analysis of Main Street USA itself in order to understand what solution is presented as a response to the problem found in the first two questions. This analysis of Main Street USA will draw on Entman's concepts of selection and salience in order to more effectively identify the characteristics of the frame being used. By identifying the selection and salience of various components found in the visual and auditory features of Main Street USA, the frame being presented by Disney will be more clearly understood.

Since several previous studies have stated that nostalgia is present on Main Street USA, the use of nostalgia will also be evaluated here in its role in framing a solution to the problem. In order to clearly identify how nostalgia is being used on Main Street USA, Unger, McConocha, and Faier's (1991) six types of nostalgic references will be used to evaluate the various visual and musical elements found on Main Street USA. These nostalgic references include: "References to past family experiences", "References to 'olden days'", "Period-oriented symbolism", "Period-oriented music", "References to old brands", and "Patriotism" (Unger et al., 1991, p. 51). By identifying the use of these nostalgic references found on Main Street USA, nostalgia's role in constructing this frame will be made apparent.

Question four asks specifically what type of frame is being used. Tilley and Cokley (2005) explain that there are four possible types of frames that can be used in any framing context. A fact-based frame is defined as "those providing objective information or documented evidence to issues and statements from experts", values-based frames that "report in terms of right and wrong or reporting statements that

allocate blame for doing wrong", interest-based frames which "report participant's

needs, desires, and visions for how it ought to be, rather than concrete data", and

relational frames are designed to "emphasize emotional bonds among disputants"

(Tilley & Cokley, 2005, p. 80). To determine which of these frames is being used on

Main Street USA, I will use my analysis from the previous questions in order to aid

the identification of which of these four frame types are being used most consistently.

To conclude this analysis I will address the final question that asks what other

frames could have been used. Since the frame being presented through Main Street

USA is manufactured to serve a specific purpose, choices were made from a variety

of options and the options not selected are important to understand in order to see

how else the frame might have been developed. This concept can be related to

Entman's (1993) discussion of salience which explains, "frames select and call

attention to particular aspects of the reality described, which logically means that

frames simultaneously direct attention away from other aspects" (p. 54). Therefore,

since Disney's framing of Main Street USA selected a particular version of reality to

present to their customers, it would be interesting to look at other possibilities that

might have been used in this frame. Additionally, by evaluating the other specific

frame types that might have been applied to Main Street USA we will be able to gain

a better understanding of why Disney's choice of a particular frame was made.

The frame used in any particular situation greatly influences the audience that

views it. As Entman (1993) argued, the use of a deliberately constructed frame does

more than simply define a particular reality, it goes on to both evaluate and provide a

response to that reality as well. Therefore, by answering these five questions this frame analysis will not only be able to identify the carefully designed reality that is being presented on Main Street USA through the various visual and auditory elements, but it will also explain why this reality was chosen by Disney to influence their audience.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS

Introduction

After waiting in a long line to pay for an outrageously priced parking ticket, then waiting in another long line to buy an outrageously priced admission ticket, and finally waiting in a long line to actually enter the park itself, as you first enter Disneyland you are greeted by a long street that leads to the center of the theme park. This street designed to represent a nostalgic small American town Main Street, officially titled Main Street USA, serves as the gateway to the rest of Disneyland. While many Disneyland guests are interested in hurrying down this street and onto the other attractions in the other variously themed lands, as the only entrance and exit to the theme park this street is an important part of the Disneyland experience.

The vast number of carefully designed visual and musical elements that make up Main Street USA let guests know that this is more than just a gateway but an area for them to experience. However, what exactly is this experience that Disney is presenting to its customers on Main Street USA? As stated previously, several authors are quick to point out that Main Street USA uses nostalgia to influence park guests (Allan, 1999; Findlay, 1992; Kuenz, 1995; Salamone & Salamone, 1999). If this is true then what specifically about Main Street USA is nostalgic and additionally why is nostalgia being used to influence this audience? In order to answer these questions Tilley and Cokley's (2005) frame analysis will now be used to identify the

reality that Main Street USA is presenting to its customers, which will clarify how Disney's designers are using nostalgia.

The first question in this analysis will look at the problem or problems that Main Street USA can be seen as a response to. Second, after the problems are established the second question will identify what is being blamed for these problems. The third question will look specifically at the various elements associated to how Main Street USA is designed to functioning as a response. Fourth, using the information found in the previous questions the actual frame or frames that are being used on Main Street USA will be identified. Finally, the fifth question will look at other frames that could have been used in the design of Main Street USA.

Question 1: What is the problem here?

Before we begin analyzing Main Street USA itself and looking at the frame or frames that are being used, it is important to first understand why Main Street USA was designed the way it was. In their methodology, Tilley and Cokley (2005) explain that the frame being used in any particular framed situation is developed as a response to a problem. Therefore, in order to determine the frame being used on Main Street USA, first we need to answer the question: what is the problem or problems that Main Street USA is responding to? In other words, what problem or set of circumstances led to the design and development of this specific gateway to Disneyland?

Since Walt Disney was the one who developed the entrance to his own theme park, it makes sense to begin answering this question by looking at his own thoughts

on Main Street USA. Although he never specifically addressed Main Street USA as a response to a problem, he does indicate why he chose the design of a turn of the century small town. Bob Thomas, a friend of Walt Disney, explained that in the development of Disneyland, "[Walt] intended [Main Street USA] to set the mood for the visitors" (Thomas, 1976, p. 275). Walt Disney clearly expressed this "mood" that he was trying to create in his statement, "For those of us who remember the carefree time it recreates, Main Street will bring back happy memories. For younger visitors, it is an adventure in turning back the calendar to the days of their grandfather's youth" (Wright, 2005, p. 23). This description of Main Street USA's function identifies the use of nostalgia as a way of creating the mood by developing "carefree time" and "happy memories" for his customers. However, although Walt Disney clearly expressed his reasoning for selecting the design for Main Street USA, this does not specifically answer the question of what problem Main Street USA is responding too.

Before you step onto Main Street USA itself you are forced to walk under a tunnel with a sign that reads, "Here You Leave Today and Enter the World of Yesterday, Tomorrow, and Fantasy". Although Walt Disney never explicitly referred to Disneyland, or Main Street USA, as a response to a particular problem, this sign indicates that there is a problem with "today" that he wants his customers to leave behind at the entrance to the park. In order to find what this problem or problems are it would be beneficial to look at what was going on in history at the time Disneyland was being developed. Walt Disney initially began developing plans for his amusement park in the late 1940s, shortly following the end of World War II. During

this period in United States history Americans enjoyed new levels of affluence and were confident in the prosperous democratic structure they had defended in the war. However, this period also saw the rise of the Cold War as a result of America's conflicting views with the Communist philosophy of the Soviet Union. Although the Cold War never reached the point of a nuclear holocaust that many people feared, Communism was seen as a significant threat to many Americans. Hughes-Wilson (2006) states that the threat of Communist infiltration into the United States created "extraordinary panic that overcame many sensible Americans" (p. 114). Individuals like Senator Joseph McCarthy, made famous for his anti-Communist hearings, as well as several organizations created during that period devoted themselves to fighting the spread of Communism in America (Hughes-Wilson, 2006). Even Hollywood was not spared from the threat of Communism and Walt Disney himself, like many others in the entertainment industry, supported the fight against Communism. Walt joined organizations like the "Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals", which fought Communist influence in Hollywood, and even testified to the House Un-American Activities Committee about the effect that he believed Communism had on his employees, who had unionized and gone on strike (Thomas, 1976, p. 235). This strike in 1941 deeply troubled Walt Disney since it disrupted the "utopia" he had developed at his studio (Thomas, 1976, p. 235). In order to relieve some of the stress he was feeling at the time he vacationed to Europe for several months traveling around to various locations, which he explained later was a significant time in the development of his original conception of Disneyland (Allen,

1999). Therefore, these problems that Walt Disney faced along with the rest of American society, connected to the fear of Communism, which threatened the ideal American way of life, may have played a significant role in the development of Main Street USA. As stated previously, Walt designed Main Street USA as a place where Disneyland visitors could experience "turning back the calendar" to a "carefree time" (Wright, 2005, p. 23). This better "carefree" time on Main Street USA, at the turn of the century, is a time when the problems of the Cold War and Communism did not exist. As Sewell (2002) writes, "Fear of nuclear holocaust meant that stability was prized" (p. 1). Main Street USA's design used nostalgia to provide this stability allowing park visitors to escape the current problems and fears they were experiencing.

While Disney's problem with Communism may have played a role in the initial development of Main Street USA, those issues are less significant today now that the Cold War has ended and Communism is no longer a real threat to America. However, despite the loss of these initial problems, Main Street USA still uses nostalgia to function in the way Disney originally desired and therefore should be viewed as responding to new contemporary problems that need to be identified.

In order to understand these contemporary problems that nostalgia is being used to respond to on Main Street USA, it would be beneficial to look at similar uses of nostalgia in contemporary society. In a study analyzing the importance of nostalgia in what he calls "memory places" found in society, Dickinson (1997) spends a great deal of time answering this first question by identifying the problems

that nostalgia is used to respond to. He explains, "The shift of identity from traditional familial, community and work structures to 'lifestyle' along with the fragmentation and globalization of postmodern culture engenders in many a profoundly felt need for the past" and also that "Times of rapid change or insecurity encourage a tremendous desire for the past" (Dickinson, 1997, p. 1). This problem of the fragmentation of modern culture is also found in James's (2000) analysis which explains, "Through developments in communication, transportation, and computer technology, our lives have become increasingly fragmented" (p. 18). In these studies, modern changes in society as well as changes in the individual's role in society are sources that often lead to insecurity which cause individuals to seek nostalgic gratification. Friedman (2004) elaborates on this problem of insecurity due to changes in social identity by explaining that as a result of "the atomization of extreme individualism…the self has become increasingly fragile" (p. 163). Nostalgia is therefore used in order to respond to the problems created by contemporary urban culture that fragments communities and traditions tearing individuals away from familiar social structures they desire.

Main Street USA can therefore be viewed as a response to several problems that have been found in society. Starting with the original development of Disneyland, fear in American society caused by the threat of Communism during the Cold War may have led Walt Disney to design Main Street USA as a nostalgic place for park visitors to escape the problems facing America at the time. As time passed and the Cold War ended new problems began emerging for Main Street USA to

respond to. The problems of fragmentation and globalization commonly found in modern community have led to widespread insecurity, which in turn has led people to have a strong desire for the past. This insecurity is developed through the modern organization of contemporary society, which emphasizes the importance of the individual and as a result has shifted itself away from traditional family and community structures. Fragmentation and individualism also discourages and limits physical locations that promote traditional structures that function in providing places of memory for members of society to develop their own identity as a member of the community. As a result of these problems, Main Street USA in Disneyland is designed to function as a response to meet the nostalgic needs of society and allow them to escape the problems of "today". Therefore, not only was Walt Disney creating a gateway to his theme park that encouraged the development of "happy memories", he was also creating a response to significant problems in society as they changed whether he knew it or not.

Question 2: Who, or what, is blamed for this problem?

After identifying the problem or problems Main Street USA is designed to respond to in question one, the second question in Tilley and Cokley's frame analysis asks: Who, or what, is blamed for this problem. Since this methodology was originally designed to allow journalists to evaluate the frames used in their own stories, looking at who or what they are blaming for the problems they identify in the first question is important to reporting accurately. In a journalistic setting, specific

people or things are often blamed for the problems that are being reported on and therefore identifying who is being blamed can help journalists evaluate articles to see if an appropriate frame is being used. For example, in a newspaper article written about a local issue regarding fishing laws it was found that the author was using an inappropriate racial frame blaming the native Maori people in the area for the problems identified in the article (Walker, 2002). Using Tilley and Cokley's frame analysis, an evaluation of this second question establishes that the author was inappropriately blaming the Maori people for the problem using them as a "racial scapegoat" (Walker, 2002, p. 215).

Although evaluating the function of Main Street USA is not quite the same as critiquing a journalistic article, being able to identify the frame being used in a situation is dependent on the problems and things identified for causing those problems regardless of the medium being analyzed. Therefore, since several problems were identified in the first question regarding Main Street USA, it is important to also identify what is being blamed for causing those problems in order to aid in determining the frame or frames being used.

In the first question it was found that the problem of the threat of Communism in America during the Cold War might have had a strong influence on the original design of Main Street USA. Internationally, blame for the problem of Communism can be attached to the Socialists Marx and Lenin who were responsible for much of the ideology that led to the rise and adoption of Communism by the Soviet Union. After the Second World War the ideology of Communism began to spread throughout

the world, which was viewed by many Americans as a threat to their Democratic and Capitalist way of life. Nationally, blame for the fear that many Americans shared believing Communism would infiltrate their own society can be found with people like Alger Hiss, a government official convicted of spying for the USSR, and Senator McCarthy, who publicly investigated Communists in America and encouraged citizens to "hunt down the Communist enemy within" (Hughes-Wilson, 2006, p. 115). Although the problem of the threat of Communism in America can be traced to a wide variety of sources, these particular characters stand out as being responsible for developing much of the fear that Americans were feeling at the time and are therefore blameworthy.

It was also found that there are several contemporary problems that Main Street USA can be viewed as responding to. The shift of modern society away from a traditional turn of the century social organization can be blamed on a variety of sources. Although Americans were opposed to Communism during the Cold War, the alternative Capitalist society they were trying to protect has contributed to this modern issue. The nature of Capitalism, which is based on the need to increase individual profit has led to an increase in consumerism and individualism which has aided in breaking up the traditional organization of society. The contemporary culture stressing independence and the importance of individual self-reliance has discouraged these long established cultural relationships leading to insecurity to which Main Street USA is trying to respond. While Capitalism can be blamed for fragmenting society, globalization can similarly be blamed as responsible by bringing

society together. Instead of fragmenting the organization of modern society, globalization has led to insecurity by creating so much homogenization that identity and traditional culture becomes lost. As a result, both Capitalism and globalization can also be blamed for leading to insecurity by manipulating and changing these traditional social relationships.

Although these are the people and things that are commonly blamed for these various problems, Main Street USA does not explicitly blame anything for the problems it is designed to respond to.   Since Walt Disney's original intent was to develop Main Street USA as a positive environment, the concept of blaming things would go against this desire to create a happy and enjoyable place for his customers to experience. In addition to the idea that by definition "blame" negatively connects the person or thing being blamed to the problem they are seen as responsible for, several authors have written about the negative effect blaming has on an audience (Avraham, 2006; Gibelman, 2004; Solomon, 2006; Tilley & Cokley, 2005). In these studies it was found that audiences that are exposed to media that explicitly focus on who or what should be blamed for a particular problem have the tendency to view the whole situation negatively. Therefore, although Main Street USA can be viewed as a response to these previously identified problems, blaming things for these problems would create a negative mood for park visitors, which would go against the intended function of Main Street USA.

Instead of blaming these various people and things for the problems Main Street USA is responding to, it would be more accurate to say that Main Street USA

attempts to distract the audience from these problems. Like the sign at the entrance to Disneyland reads, "Here You Leave Today". Instead of telling the audience to focus on the problems and the associated things being blamed for them, on Main Street USA Walt Disney is inviting his customers to "leave" all of the problems and all of the negative associations connected to them behind. Additionally, blaming specific things would greatly reduce the ability of Main Street USA to act as a solution to a wider variety of problems. Although several particular problems have been identified in this analysis, the problems Main Street USA can respond to are not limited to these few examples. By leaving today, any problem that his guests might be facing outside of the theme park can be left behind. If Main Street USA had chosen to have a specifically Anti-Communist frame then its ability to act as a solution to the other problems previously discussed as well as its ability to act as a solution to a wide variety of other problems that park guest might be having would be significantly reduced. This choice clearly affects the frame being used on Main Street USA. Therefore, since Disney chose to avoid blaming in the frame used on Main Street USA and instead chose to distance customers from these problems, it is now important to look at how he alternatively chose to respond to the problems in order to determine what kind of frame is being used.

Question 3: What solution is proposed?

In order to determine what frame or frames are being used on Main Street USA, it is first important to identify exactly what Main Street USA is presenting to its

audience. It has already been argued that Main Street USA functions as a response to the various problems previously identified and that it chooses to distract its audience from these problems instead of blaming. Therefore, the frame that is being used is dependent on the various selections Disney has made in the development of Main Street USA as a response.

Several studies have claimed that Main Street USA uses nostalgia to influence Disneyland Visitors (Allan, 1999; Findlay, 1992; Kuenz, 1995; Salamone & Salamone, 1999). However, these studies typically use nostalgia as a descriptive label without sufficiently explaining what is actually nostalgic about the street. Arguments evaluating the use of this nostalgia in these studies are usually brief, such as Main Street USA provides "nostalgia for an age of innocence" (Salamone & Salamone, 1999, p. 85) or the street is a "village of bygone years" (Findlay, 1992, p. 95). Although these statements are not necessarily inaccurate, they fail to fully explain how Main Street USA is truly nostalgic. This analysis agrees with these studies that nostalgia is used on Main Street USA. In addition, since this frame analysis argues that Main Street USA functions as a response to a variety of problems, this use of nostalgia serves as the response to these problems Disney is providing to its customers.

In order to determine how Main Street USA utilizes nostalgia, Entman's concepts of selection and salience will be used to identify the use of Unger, McConocha, and Faier's (1991) six types of nostalgic references on Main Street USA. The frame used in a situation is strongly affected by selection and salience. As

Entman (1993) explains, "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text" (p. 52). Therefore, in order to aid our understanding of the frame or frames being used on Main Street USA this analysis will look at selection (what aspects are being presented) and salience (which of these aspects is being made more noticeable and memorable to the audience). By using selection and salience to identify Disneyland's use of nostalgic elements referencing the olden days, period-oriented symbolism, old brands, patriotism, period-oriented music, and past family experiences found on Main Street USA, the nostalgic function of Main Street USA will be more clearly defined aiding in the identification of the frame or frames that are being used (Unger, et al., 1991).

The first three types of nostalgic references that will be addressed on Main Street USA are visual references to the "olden days", period-oriented symbolism, and old brands. In Unger, McConocha, and Faier's (1991) analysis of the use of nostalgia in television commercials these three types of references were grouped separately from each other because they wanted to be able to compare and contrast the different styles of visual nostalgic references used in separate commercials. However, since this analysis is looking specifically at Main Street USA as the single source of nostalgic references the deliberate separation of these various visual references is unnecessary. Additionally, I would argue that references to period-oriented symbolism and references to old brands can be viewed as specific examples of references to the "olden days" and therefore do not require their own categories. As a result, instead of separately identifying each particular type of visual nostalgic

references this analysis will look more generally at how all of the visual selections

work together to function as nostalgic references to the olden days on Main Street

USA.

Since Walt Disney himself explained that Main Street USA was designed to

nostalgically "[turn] back the calendar," it would be difficult to argue that much, if

anything, on Main Street USA is not a reference to the "olden days". However, it is

initially important to identify what "olden days" Main Street USA is designed to

represent. While outside of Disneyland the reconstruction and restoration of famous

historical locations are rooted in a specific period of time, Main Street USA never

actually existed in the past and therefore is only vaguely based on any particular time

frame. It is explained that the design for Main Street USA was "based on Walt's

recollections of his childhood home of Marceline, Missouri" the way it looked during

his childhood at the turn of the century (Wright, 2005, p. 23). However, it is clear

from photographs of Marceline that Main Street USA is only very loosely based on

this particular town's Main Street (Gabler, 2005, p. 139). In addition, the design of

Main Street USA was also strongly influenced by the original Disneyland Art

Director Harpor Goff who incorporated images from his own hometown of Ft.

Collins, Colorado (Wright, 2005, p. 23). As a result, Disneyland's Main Street USA

is designed to represent the "olden days" of turn of the century small town America

while remaining vague about its specific physical location.

A study emphasizing the importance of physical nostalgic locations explains,

"[T]he American search for spontaneous community with the like-minded is made

urgent by the fear that there may be no way at all to relate to those who are different.

Thus the tremendous nostalgia many Americans have for the idealized small town"

(Bellah, et al., 1985, p. 251). Dickinson (1997) shares a similar perspective in his

analysis of Old Pasadena (a reconstruction of a historic main street) that evaluates the

importance of nostalgia being used in physical locations. As a result of these

problems in society he writes, "This lack of secure structures for identity raises the

personal desire for a stabilizing community clearly rooted in a physical place"

(Dickinson, 1997, p. 5). In this study he emphasizes the importance of "memory

places" where individuals can physically go to construct their own identity by acting

out the past. Both of these studies identify turn of the century small towns as ideal

ways of using nostalgia to respond to problems found in contemporary culture.

Main Street USA's connection to these historical turn of the century small

towns is most easily seen in the selection of particular buildings to represent a small

town Main Street. Dickinson (1997) explains, "As a cultural form, Main Street

consists of a town square with several long blocks with ornate two and three story

buildings on either side. The bottom story was typically devoted to merchants, the

upper stories to offices and fraternal meeting rooms" (p. 14). Disney's development

of Main Street USA clearly attempts to stay consistent with this traditional cultural

model in order to create a more seemingly realistic setting for its audience. As you

first enter Disneyland and walk under the tunnels at the entrance you enter a small

town square. In this square are a large ornately designed City Hall and Opera House

as well as a fire station and train station that all surround a large flag pole standing

high in the middle of the square displaying an American Flag. These buildings are made salient to park guests due to their location and arrangement on Main Street USA as the only visible features that can be seen immediately upon entering the park. Disneyland's most dominant feature, the Sleeping Beauty Castle, can be seen at the far end of the street by walking a little bit further out onto Main Street USA. However, in order to view the castle, park guests are forced to first experience these initial buildings of Main Street USA. The use of these four buildings is significant because they set the scene and mood for the rest of Main Street USA as a small town at the turn of the century and also provides the first real experience of Disneyland. This first experience not only acts as a nostalgic reference to the "olden days" but also communicates to park visitors that Disneyland is a place of order (City Hall), safety (fire station), entertainment (the Opera House), and technological innovation (train station). As the opening experience of Disneyland, these buildings provide the audience with comfort as well as letting them know what they should expect from the rest of their Disney experience.

In order to create this desired nostalgic "turning back the calendar" that Walt Disney describes, the design of the buildings on Main Street USA is not modern but resembles what small town buildings looked like at the turn of the century. The architectural design of the buildings found on Main Street USA follows the "Eastern seaboard Victorian" style that was popular in American small towns in the late 1800s and early 1900s including a variety of flat-arch windows, terra-cotta panels, shadowed entrances, towers, and crisply painted woodwork (Rafferty, & Gordon,

1996). Visual design selections like these provide clear nostalgic references to the

olden days for park guests who are familiar with the way turn of the century buildings

should look.

As you leave the town square and enter the actual street portion of Main Street

USA there are a wide variety of other visual selections Disney designers developed in

order to reference the past. All along Main Street USA on both sides of the street are

various two and three story buildings connected to each other with various fronts that

stay consistent with the previously mentioned turn of the century design. As you

walk down Main Street USA you come across a small cinema playing old silent

Mickey Mouse cartoons in black and white representing a time when Americans were

curious about motion pictures, a market front advertising canned goods and spices, a

large penny arcade with a wide assortment of turn of the century games, an ice cream

parlor, and even a fine jewelry store. To further indicate the turn of the century

setting of Main Street USA, Disney designers chose to use electric bulbs instead of

gas lamps in buildings and in the street lights in order to show the town's

advancement during the industrial revolution when cities were being electrified

(Peltier, 2007). The assortment of diverse visual store fronts also is used to

encourage the feeling that Main Street USA is a genuine small town. Although most

of the stores are all openly connected on the inside to provide ease of movement

through the various shopping areas, to the outside viewer every few feet there is an

entrance provided to a different store or attraction.

Disneyland guests are not allowed on the second or third stories of the various buildings. However, even though customers do not have access to these areas, Disney designers paid special attention to making these features consistent with the rest of the turn of the century references on Main Street USA. On the upper story windows there are various fake advertisements that make references to past Disney employees as well as blinds which limit visibility into the rooms upstairs. In the few cases where Main Street USA developers chose to avoid the use of blinds, props are added in the window to make the setting feel authentic. For example, in the upper window of one of the stores you can see a traditionally carved book shelf with several old books and decorations. In the evenings at Disneyland, several of the upper story windows along Main Street USA are lit from behind with flickering candles and occasional animated shadows in the background to give the illusion that people are living on the other side of the blinds of this small town. Although these references to the olden days are not made as prominent to park visitors as many of the other features on Main Street USA, by including these visual selections Disney designers provide additional support to the nostalgic setting and feeling being developed.

In addition to the turn of the century buildings, there are also several interactive features on Main Street USA that serve as references to the olden days and make the experience feel more like an authentic small town. Throughout the day on Main Street USA there are a number of recognizable time period consistent vehicles that park guests are encouraged to board and ride as passengers on their journey back and forth from the entrance town square to the Disneyland hub in front of the

Sleeping Beauty Castle. Wright (2005) emphasizes the importance of these vehicle

selections in setting the time period and mood on Main Street USA by explaining, "Is

the city bustling? Is the town booming? Is the rural area industrialized? All of these

questions can typically be answered with a quick glance at the local transportation

systems" (p. 28). This assortment of vehicles serve as references to the olden days

that also indicate Main Street USA's level of technology and a sense of the density of

population and the activity level of this small town.

On Main Street USA you can ride in both horse-drawn streetcars as well as

more modern horseless carriages. The juxtaposition created by including both the

horseless carriage and the horse-drawn streetcars immediately gives the audience an

idea of the time period at the turn of the century when although horse powered

transportation was still common automobile use was becoming more popular. The

Herdic styled horse-drawn carriage, a reference to the popular horse-drawn carriages

of the late 1800s used for public transportation in small towns and cities, carries about

twenty passengers as it is pulled by a single horse along a track in the ground down

the center of Main Street USA (Wright, 2005). The horseless carriages are also

obviously consistent with the time period. The various jitneys in use on Main Street

USA are modeled after the four-cylinder Franklin Automobiles that were in wide use

between 1903 and 1907 (Wright, 2005). In addition to these various types of

traditional public transportation there is also a fire engine that guests can ride. This

horseless style of fire engine commonly used in cities starting in the early 1900s

serves as another consistent reference to the turn of the century setting of Main Street

USA (Romano, 2007). These vehicles not only provide another ride for park guests to experience but their movement and noise also greatly influence the feeling that Main Street USA is an actively moving lived-in small town.

Unger, McConocha, and Faier (1991) also indicate that references to "Old celebrities" also fit into this category of references to olden days. Since Main Street USA is only loosely based on a historical time period and not a specific place in time, the use of specific celebrities and historical figures is limited. Although it could be argued that the various names used on the various buildings of Main Street USA, taken from real people associated with Disney and the design of the theme park, could be considered nostalgic references, very few park visitors would be able to identify who those names belong to decreasing their significance as nostalgic references. For example, one of the windows on Main Street USA advertises, "Seven Summits Expeditions led by Frank G. Wells". Frank Wells was a Former President of Disney who loved mountain climbing and Disney constructed this sign as a tribute to him. However, few typical customers walking down Main Street USA even notice this sign on the second story, let along identify the significance of the reference being made.

Although the selection and use of historical Disney names contributes relatively little to the nostalgic references being made to the "olden days", there are two more prominent examples of "Old celebrities" that should be acknowledged. The only non-Disney related historical figure to make a significant appearance on Main Street USA is Abraham Lincoln. In the Opera House in the town square section of

Main Street USA there is a theater presentation called "Great Moments with Mr.

Lincoln". In this show the very first Audio-Animatronic human character was

developed as a model of President Lincoln. During the show the model of Abraham

Lincoln moves and talks to the audience even reciting a section of his famous

Gettysburg Address. A theatrical production based around this particular historical

figure provides a clearly recognizable nostalgic "celebrity" reference for park visitors

on Main Street USA. Although the time period of the show set during the American

Civil War initially seems a little early to be consistent with the rest of turn of the

century Main Street USA, its separation from the other attractions on Main Street

USA (taking place inside a theater) and the vagueness of the actual time period being

represented on Main Street USA reduces the noticeability of this inconsistency.

However, despite this apparent time period inconsistency, at the turn of the century

Lincoln began to "slowly emerge as a major historical symbol" that represented

patriotism and unity (Bodnar, 1992, p. 35). Even Walt Disney himself recalled

parading around school dressed as Abraham Lincoln reciting the Gettysburg Address

to amuse his teachers during that time (Gabler, 2005, p. 27). As a result, the

appearance of Lincoln related material at the turn of the century would have been

common making "Great Moments with Mr. Lincoln" an appropriate choice to include

on Main Street USA.

The second "Old celebrity" made salient on Main Street USA is none other

than the animated iconic character of Mickey Mouse. While it is not surprising to see

Mickey in any area of Disneyland, the selected use of his image on Main Street USA

provides a clear reference to the "olden days". The character of Mickey Mouse can be considered a contemporary celebrity image. However, changes in his image and character over his eighty year existence have led to various identifiable periods of development. Therefore, instead of using the modern version of Mickey Mouse, Main Street USA uses the original black and white conception of Mickey created by Walt Disney himself in the 1920s to provide this nostalgic reference. The original Disneyland designers chose to make Mickey Mouse a featured part of Main Street USA by creating a small theater called "Main Street Cinema" half way down the street that continuously plays several early Mickey Mouse cartoons in black and white as they were originally animated. The marquee outside the theater draws the audience to come in and watch the original more crudely drawn Mickey in "Plane Crazy," "Mickey's Polo Team," "The Moose Hunt," "Traffic Trouble," "Dog Napper," and "Steamboat Willie". Although the time period of these cartoons featuring Disney's most famous celebrity shares a similar inconsistency with "Great Moments with Mr. Lincoln" being created at a time much later than turn of the century Main Street USA implies (the first Mickey Mouse cartoon was developed in 1928), the selection of Mickey Mouse as a celebrity, specifically the older version of Mickey, provides an almost universally recognizable nostalgic reference of the "olden days" for park guests to experience.

A fourth type of visual nostalgic reference that Unger, McConocha, and Faier (1991) use are references to patriotism. Patriotic selections can be identified immediately upon entering Main Street USA, especially in the town square area near

the entrance to the park. In the town square there are four large American flags being displayed. One flag is posted high on top of the central train station and two of the flags are posted above the buildings that transition from the town square to the actual street area of Main Street USA. The fourth and most prominent American flag waves high from the top of a large flag pole located directly in the middle of the town square region. Although there are several flags, Disney does not initially draw the audience's attention to these patriotic symbols. A majority of park guests that enter Disneyland are more likely to be drawn to the large Sleeping Beauty Castle at the far end of Main Street USA or to the other nostalgic selections being more dominantly featured on Main Street USA. However, Disney does make several attempts to utilize the power of these patriotic selections. Every evening there is a flag ceremony in the town square area where park visitors are invited to participate in viewing the retiring of the main central American flag. Although this brief ceremony is clearly not as dramatic and memorable as the many other performances and parades that take place on Main Street USA, the choice to include this tribute to the American flag demonstrates the significance of patriotism to park guests.

In addition to the American flags being displayed in and around the town square, Disney has also selected several other patriotic themes that appear though out Main Street USA. Previously mentioned, the Audio-Animatronic theater presentation in the Opera House "Great Moments with Mr. Lincoln" is set during the American Civil War and includes selections from Lincoln's Gettysburg Address to provide a recognizable patriotic experience for park guests. Additionally, several of the

buildings along Main Street USA demonstrate patriotism through the display of large semi-circular drapes that are obviously designed to resemble American flags.   The red and white stripes accompanied by a blue stripe filled with stars on these drapes clearly acts as a symbol of patriotism on Main Street USA for park guests to experience.   Also, the color scheme of a majority of the buildings and other features on Main Street USA consists of primarily red, white, and blue. Although more subtle than the flags and drapes, these color choices enhance the overall patriotic theme that Main Street USA attempts to make salient.

Although the wide varieties of nostalgic references that have been identified so far have been primarily visual, there are also several auditory references that are used on Main Street USA. Unger, McConocha, and Faier (1991) group these references under the category of period-oriented music. These nostalgic period-oriented music references on Main Street USA appear in two forms, continuously playing background music and live musical performances.

No matter where you go on Main Street USA you can always hear some sort of music being played. Piped in background music can be heard in the town square, along the street, in the stores, and even in the restrooms. The only time this background music is turned down or off is during parades or other live performances that are usually accompanied by their own specific musical selections. Although this background music is purposefully not loud enough to be a distraction from the other more intentionally highlighted features, its continuous presence serves as an additional reference to the olden days and contributes to the overall experience of

Main Street USA. Instead of greeting park guests by playing familiar and popular

Disney songs made famous through movies and other sources, in order to stay

consistent with the turn of the century time period, the background music on Main

Street USA consists of a variety of songs from that era of music. Even the few

background song selections that were actually written by the Disney employees

Richard and Robert Sherman (Flitterin', Summer Magic, I Could Love a Million Girls,

and Fortuosity) are less identifiable as specifically Disney songs since they are styled

after the films they originally appeared in that are consistent with the turn of the

century time period of Main Street USA.

During most of the year at Disneyland this background music on Main Street

USA consists of twenty nine songs played in a continuous loop. These particular

songs selections are specifically chosen to be consistent with the turn of the century

visual features of Main Street USA they accompany. From beginning to end this loop

of background songs was designed to take about an hour. This particular amount of

time serves the function of being long enough that park guests are unlikely to hear the

same song twice in one particular period of time spent on Main Street USA but short

enough that on return trips the songs sound familiar.

The most common style of the background music featured on Main Street

USA is ragtime. Ragtime was originally an early American form of dance music

derived from the march style that utilized rhythmic bass lines and syncopated

melodies to give the music a lively feeling (Taylor, 2005, p. 3). Also, since few

ragtime songs have lyrics and are primarily performed on the piano its use as

background music required little change from Disney to make it fit. More than a third

of the songs that can be heard on Main Street USA are various "rags" that reached

their height of popularity at the turn of the century. Songs such as "Atlantic City",

"Delmonico Polka", "Banana Peel Rag", "Dynamite Rag", and "Winter Garden Rag"

made famous by Scott Joplin, Joseph Lamb, James Scott and other ragtime composers

are just a few of the several ragtime styled musical selections that can be heard in the

background as you walk down Main Street USA. Additionally, the use of ragtime as

background music is an obvious choice for the Disney audio department because it is

not only consistent with the time period but the upbeat bouncy style itself also

contributes to the positive mood being developed by the other selected features of

Main Street USA.

In addition to ragtime, there are a wide variety of other songs selections that

were developed as background music in order to serve as references to the turn of the

century. The tunes to popular songs in the early 1900s including "How Ya Gonna

Keep 'em Down on the Farm?", "Old Timers Waltz", "Beautiful Beulah", "Made in

America", and "Bring Back My Lovin' Honey Boy" are included as well as songs

taken from several musicals based on that time period such as "Kansas City" and

"Surrey With The Fringe On Top" from Oklahoma and George M. Cohan's famous

"Yankee Doodle Dandy". In order to make these song selections fit as background

for Main Street USA most of the songs were re-recorded by the Disney Audio

Department in order to make them instrumental and ensure the consistency of the

music being presented to their audience (Rafferty, 1996, p. 130). As a result of this

re-recording process, even songs that were written much later in the 40s and 50s such as "Kentucky Home", "Dearie", "Goodbye My Coney Island Baby", and "Mary's a Grand Ol' Name" are modified and are then able to function as references to the turn of the century since the transitions between the old and new songs is seamless and the newer songs themselves are adapted to have a similar sound and feeling as the songs actually from that time period. Even during December when the song selections are briefly changed to holiday music the arrangements of these songs that are played stay consistent with the turn of the century setting. Making these songs consistent with the other songs and their surroundings is significant in developing a realistic feeling on Main Street USA. Anything that fails to meet this consistency to the turn of the century setting on Main Street USA is immediately noticeable to the audience as being out of place. In the 1970s popular music at the time including Simon and Garfunkel and The Mamas and the Papas was brought in to replace the traditional background music on Main Street USA. However, this change received so many complaints as being out of place from park guests that background music was soon changed back to the familiar turn of the century period-oriented music the audience expected (Dennis, 2007).

While background music is a feature used to subtly develop the overall experience of Main Street USA, other musical and auditory selections are made more salient to the audience. Throughout the day on Main Street USA there are a variety of live musical performances that take place in various areas. Park guests are encouraged to stop and take a listen to a traditional barbershop quartet strolling down

the street singing famous barbershop songs such as "Heart and Soul" and "Lida Rose" in perfect harmony. If you stop in the Carnation ice cream parlor for a snack there is often a vaudeville styled pianist who can carry on a conversation with you as he plays various complicated rags and other period-oriented pieces that draw more attention here than their counterpart heard in the background music. Even the fire station has its own Dixie band known as the Firehouse Five Plus Two that will sit around the fire engine from time to time and play jazzy versions of songs like "Dixieland", "Muskrat Ramble", and "Firehouse Stomp". These various live performances use turn of the century music to both serve as a reference to the past and connect the audience personally to this small town by providing an interactive experience with actual "citizens" of Main Street USA. Additionally, since all of the musicians on Main Street USA are highly trained and auditioned professionals, their flawless performances help develop the positive ideal image of small town America that Main Street USA is designed to provide.

While these various visual and auditory features made salient on Main Street USA function as clear references to the olden days, it is important to remember that these references were originally designed and constructed by Disney. Even though the references discussed so far cause Main Street USA to appear like a realistic turn of the century small town, several of Disney's purposefully less emphasized design selections are important to note in their influence on the appearance and effect of Main Street USA.

In the development of Main Street USA Disney designers made extensive use of design selections that fall into the category of what is called "heightened reality". Heightened reality is a design technique that is used in order to create feelings of nostalgia, whether these features are historically accurate or not (Wright, 2005, p. 23). As a result of using this process, the reality being presented by Main Street USA has less to do with portraying an accurate turn of the century town than it has to do with selecting features that the audience will emotionally connect with. It is important to note that no turn of the century small American town ever looked like Main Street USA. Instead of presenting an accurate historical representation, Disney's designers have created Main Street USA to be the perfect small town that their audience will believe they remember even though very few if any guests have ever experienced this type of small town. As park visitors walk down the street they notice the positive aspects of an ideal turn of the century small town. Nicely painted authentic looking buildings and various vehicles give the impression that they are experiencing a realistic nostalgic setting. However, the reality of this experience is diminished when you realize that there is no trash or dirt anywhere (even with live horses patrolling the streets), the smells of bakeries and other pleasant aromas being fanned out toward the street, the subtle but continuous sound of background music, and that the scale and perspective of the buildings have been manipulated and are clearly unrealistic. Even the use of heightened reality design selections such as having thousands of white lights lining every contour of the buildings that light up every evening and lowering storefront windows much lower than is historically accurate so children can see inside

reduces the credibility of Main Street USA as an authentic small town. However, Main Street USA's portrayal as a realistic historic place is far less important than its ability to emotionally connect with its audience. These heightened reality design choices are of little concern to the majority of park guests since the image of a nostalgic other place is carefully enough constructed by Disney designers to cover any concerns about historical authenticity.

For example, the buildings that line Main Street USA utilize a design effect known as "forced perspective". Forced perspective is a theatrical design technique that involves manipulating the scale of things in the real world to give them an alternate perception in the imaginary world the audience experiences (Wright, 2005, p. 24). Each building along the street is built with floors that diminish in size as they get higher. Two feet of vertical height are reduced each consecutive floor in order to give the appearance that the buildings on Main Street USA have more stories and are higher than they actually are "without making the whole of Main Street too large and impersonal" (Wright 24). This effect is less noticeable because it only is used on the buildings along the street portion of Main Street USA and the Sleeping Beauty Castle at the far end but not the buildings in the town square, which are to a realistic scale. By using forced perspective and choosing to manipulate the reality being presented on Main Street USA, Disney is able to create two very strong mood effects for its audience to experience. When you enter the park and look down the long street, forced perspective makes the buildings and the castle at the end look much farther away than they really are encouraging excitement in park guests who are beginning

their adventure to the vast theme park awaiting them. However, when traveling the other direction down Main Street USA there is a significantly different effect that is created. Since the buildings in the town square are to scale, traveling towards them makes them appear closer since they appear to grow in size which also functions in creating a more personal feeling on Main Street USA so guests feel less weary on their walk to the exit after a long tiring day at Disneyland. If you stop and look critically at the buildings on Main Street USA the use of forced perspective seems odd since things are clearly not as they really are and this design selection should not serve as a references to the olden days. However, since this particular design choice is made far less salient than the other features of Main Street USA very few people notice this inconsistency and it ends up both contributing to the other references to the past as well as developing the positive mood Walt Disney was trying to develop.

The final type of nostalgic reference that Unger, McConocha, and Faier (1991) address are selections that focus on past family experiences. This particular reference type focuses on nostalgic selections that are more personal to the audience encouraging their recollection of what the authors call "private nostalgic Kodak moments" (Unger, et al., 1991, p. 349). These "nostalgic Kodak moments", which include memories of growing up and past interactions with family and friends, are more dependent on the individual guest and are therefore less directly controlled by Disney. Since few, if any, of the people who visit Main Street USA have ever actually experienced a turn of the century small American town in its original form, the many nostalgic references to the olden days contribute little to these references to

past family experiences. However, despite the lack of connection between the setting

of Main Street USA and its guests lived experiences, Main Street USA does function

as a reference to these personal nostalgic experiences.

Since Disneyland and Main Street USA have been around long enough in the

current form, contemporary park guests are able to feel nostalgic about their own past

experiences at Disneyland itself. In an analysis of the use of music at Disney World,

Carson (2004) explains that, "the 'nostalgic fantasies' these adults are hoping to

recapture were, in fact, originally constructed by Disney" (p. 229). As a result,

instead of feeling nostalgic about Main Street USA's resemblance to their own

childhood home towns, the nostalgic effect of Main Street USA for many park

visitors is a feeling of nostalgia for their own past experiences on Main Street USA.

While many of the other themed lands at Disneyland have adapted and changed over

time to meet the changing needs and desires of their customers, Main Street USA's

static nature serves as a nostalgic reference to itself. The same turn of the century

designed buildings that lined the streets in 1955 during the parks grand opening are

still standing to this day and have visibly changed very little. Therefore, a child that

experienced the nostalgic effects of Main Street USA in the 1970s for the first time

can return today with their own children and in addition to being exposed to the turn

of the century design that still serves as a reference to the olden days, they will also

experience nostalgic feelings that are connected to their own personal experiences.

The fire truck that they rode years ago is still winding its way up and down the street,

the barbershop quartet they heard is still serenading guests, and even the ice cream

shop they visited for a treat after a long day at the park is still serving those traditionally prepared waffle cones. All of these unchanging visual and auditory nostalgic references to the turn of the century found on Main Street USA encourage the audience to turn back the calendar as Walt Disney desired. However, these references not only turn back the calendar to a positive and ideal past at the turn of the century that visitors can identify with, but they also turn back the calendar for park guests to relive their own personal experiences with family and friends on Main Street USA itself.

As you can see, Main Street USA clearly makes extensive use of these various types of nostalgic references. The designer's selection and salient use of both visual and auditory elements on Main Street USA work together, in order to develop a consistent nostalgic setting for park guests to repeatedly experience. This nostalgic function of Main Street USA can be seen as Disney's desired solution to the problems his visitors are forced to deal with outside the park. Dickinson (1997) states that the use of nostalgia creates "a warmly remembered past, a past that can cover the confusions of the present" and goes on to explain that "Places of memory – as commercialized, sanitized and repressive as they are – are nevertheless, compelling responses to deeply troubling contemporary problems" (p. 6). Instead of focusing the design of Main Street USA on dealing with communism, or the fragmentation of society, or any of the other wide variety of problems their audience could be facing, Disney chooses to temporarily distract their audience by encouraging them to forget their problems and instead enjoy a positive, problem free, nostalgic experience.

Although Disney could have chosen a wide variety of other ways to design the single entrance and exit of Disneyland, the choice of using nostalgia as the initial experience for his audience is an effective tool for setting the mood of the rest of the park. As Smith (2000) explains, "Nostalgia has come to mean a universal but aberrant yearning for an irrecoverable past, a reality distorting emotionalism triggered by thoughts of home, small towns, and rural life" (p. 511). Although this definition depicts a fairly negative view of nostalgia, the author goes on to state that nostalgia is an "inescapable part of the human condition" (Smith, 2000, p. 509). Therefore, if nostalgia is an inescapable part of the human condition then the use of nostalgia on Main Street USA as the entrance to Disneyland is a way for Disney to introduce his theme park with an appeal to a universal human experience desired by all of his customers.

This universal nostalgic desire that Disney is utilizing in order to influence its customers depends on the audience to forget about their problems and instead adopt the reality that is being presented to them as a result of experiencing Main Street USA nostalgic references. Dickinson (1997) explains the audiences acceptance and response to nostalgic references is a result of the designers ability to "play on the longing for home and hearth, emphasizing the good lives led by ordinary people…playing on fond memories of hometown and the warmth of secure familial relations" (p. 15). These cultural values and optimistic mood are precisely what Walt Disney originally envisioned as the function of Main Street USA. As a result, all of the elements that make up Main Street USA were designed to serve as various types

of nostalgic references in order to ensure this vision was realized. By forcing Disneyland visitors to walk down the whole length of Main Street USA while bombarding them with a large quantity and wide variety of nostalgic references just to simply enter the rest of the theme park, park guests have no option but to leave today and their problems behind at the entrance and accept the reality that Disney is providing for them. The nostalgic effect that Main Street USA has on park guests is significantly increased by repeatedly exposing the audience to these ideal unchanging references, both visual and auditory, that make positive nostalgic experiences of the past more convincing. Main Street USA's careful and selective use of these nostalgic references in order to create its consistent positive turn of the century setting increases the likelihood that the audience will buy into this manufactured reality and leave the reality with the problems of communism, societal fragmentation, and anything else Disney purposefully leaves out behind.

Question 4: What type of frame is this?

Now that it has been determined how Main Street USA developed nostalgia to serve as a solution to the various problems previously found in this frame analysis, the frame or frames that are being used on Main Street USA to encourage this function can now be identified. Tilley and Cokley (2005) explain that in any framing context there are four possible types of frames that can be utilized. These four types of frames are fact-based, values-based, interest-based, and relational. Although there

is typically one dominant frame that can be identified as being used more extensively than the other three, the use of several frames in one situation is also common.

Although Tilley and Cokley (2005) favor the use of fact-based framing in journalism since it leads to what they argue is the most accurate type of reporting, the use of fact-based framing on Main Street USA is limited. Fact-based frames are, "those providing objective information or documented evidence to issues" (Tilley & Cokley, 2005, p. 80). The construction of Main Street USA is deliberately designed to reference a small Midwest American town at the turn of the century. Specific details used to make Main Street USA appear more realistic might be seen as examples of Disney designers trying to use a fact-based frame in order to convince skeptical park guests that their street is based on objective representations of the past. However, since Main Street USA is a representational and controlled environment inside Disneyland, a fact-based frame would fail to account for the widespread use of heightened reality and forced perspective to deliberately manipulate the realistic nature of Main Street USA into a place clearly designed to emotionally connect with visitors rather than communicate an objective historical setting. Removing the use of heightened reality in favor of a purely factual representation would also contradict the ideal and problem free version of reality that Walt Disney wanted his guests to experience. Additionally, the use of a fact-based frame would not choose to emotionally distract its audience from the problems they are facing. Instead this type of frame would look for objectively designed solutions to directly encounter and solve the problems themselves. Since Main Street USA avoids directly responding to

these problems and instead tells park visitors to forget about them and leave them behind, the objective direct nature of fact-based framing in forming a solution is clearly not being intentionally utilized on Main Street USA.

The second type of frame is values-based framing which "reports in terms of right and wrong or reporting statements that allocate blame for doing wrong" (Tilley & Cokley, 2005, p. 80). Use of this type of frame usually focuses on the information found in question two that asks who or what is blamed for the situation and tries to develop a dichotomy between that which is bad (what is being blamed for the problem) and that which is good (usually something that represents what is morally right in opposition to the problem). As it has already been explained, Main Street USA deliberately chooses to avoid blaming those that are responsible for the problems its guests are dealing with in order to present a positive optimistic experience. Therefore, the typical blaming function of a values-based frame is limited in this particular case.

However, while Main Street USA does not explicitly use this blaming function, a values-based dichotomy between what is good and what is bad can be interpreted through Disney's design choices. Instead of focusing on blaming and emphasizing the negative side of the frame, Main Street USA presents exclusively the positive side in such a way that the audience is encouraged to view everything else not included in Disneyland as bad or at least inferior to the reality they are currently experiencing. Although Disneyland never explicitly states that today and the problems associated with it are bad, a negative view of today is developed as a result

of Disney telling their audience to leave today behind and then immersing them in an

ideal problem free carefully controlled positively designed environment purposefully

separated from the complex problem filled reality of today that cannot possibly

compete. In this way, Disney is not actually supplying a solution to solve the

problems of communism or any of the other problems in the real world besides the

unlikely possibility that they are indicating that the rest of the world would be better

if it was controlled and designed to be as positive as Main Street USA. However,

since Disney is a corporation and Disneyland's success is based on their audience's

desire to come to Disneyland and pay a significant amount to escape the real world, if

they were really indicating that the rest of the world should be like Main Street USA

there would no longer be a reason for guests to pay to visit. Instead, it would be more

reasonable to believe that Disney silently encourages the view that the real world is

bad and full of problems so that their guests will value and desire an opportunity to

experience the positive temporary distraction they provide, for a price. Although this

separation between the introduction of Disneyland through Main Street USA and the

rest of the world seems to create a values-based distinction between what is good and

what is bad, the specific use of this type of frame on Main Street USA is not clearly

emphasized.

The use of interest-based framing on Main Street USA is made apparent

through various design elements. Interest-based frames are those that focus on

"participant's needs, desires, and visions for how it ought to be, rather than concrete

data" (Tilley & Cokley, 2005, p. 80). This type of frame functions almost as the

opposite of the fact-based frame. Instead of designers focusing on how Main Street

USA serves as an objective, factual, historical representation of turn of the century

America, the use of this interest-based frame gives the audience what they want

regardless of its accuracy and realism. The deliberate choice by Disney designers to

use heightened reality and forced perspective in the development of Main Street USA

clearly demonstrates the use of interest-based framing. As explained previously, the

appearance of newly painted perfectly maintained buildings, the immediate collecting

of garbage and other waste by numerous park employees, the manipulation of

building scale such as lowering store windows or using forced perspective on the

upper stories, the use of highly trained professionals in their live musical

performances, and even the continuous presence of background music all contribute

to providing for the audience's needs and desires at the cost of realism. Realism is

not necessarily important at all as long as Main Street USA functions to encourage

feelings of nostalgia in its visitors. Since the realistic presentation of aged realistic

buildings along with undesirable sounds and smells including the presence of dirt,

feces, and other waste on Main Street USA which serve as references to a less than

ideal past might hinder or limit the audience's ability to feel nostalgic Disney

designers used interest-based framing to remove all of these undesirable realistic

aspects of the past. As a result, only selections that serve as positive references of

what a small turn of the century American small town "ought to be" are used on Main

Street USA in order to encourage only positive nostalgic experiences. Many

Disneyland park guests fail to recognize or even deliberately choose to ignore these

selections that are unrealistic since they are less interested in analyzing historical

accuracy than they are in using Main Street USA as a way to forget the problems of

today by accepting the positive nostalgic experience Disney is providing. Therefore,

even though Main Street USA's inconsistencies with a factual past are apparent

through careful observation, Disney ignores these inconsistencies and instead chooses

to use interest-based framing in its design and presentation in order to appeal to the

positive nostalgic experience their audience desires.

The extensive use of interest-based framing in the design of Main Street USA

is used primarily to increase the effectiveness of Disney's use of relational framing.

Since one of the primary desired effects of Main Street USA is to use nostalgia to

develop emotional attachments for its customers, the use of relational frames, which

are designed to "emphasize emotional bonds", is an effective choice (Tilley & Cokley,

2005, p. 80). Disney's deliberate use of relational framing can be seen through its

wide use of nostalgic references used to influence visitors emotionally. These

references work to frame Main Street USA relationally both by encouraging positive

feelings of nostalgia for a better time at the turn of the century and also for their own

past experiences at Disneyland itself. Both of these types of nostalgic reactions create

a desire for the past that emotionally connects the audience to Main Street USA as the

source of the emotional bonds. In fact, the use of relational framing on Main Street

USA is responsible for initiating many of these personal nostalgic reactions. As a

result of experiencing the use of interest-based and relational framing in their

previous encounters on Main Street USA that function together in order to

emotionally connect them to a desired warmly remembered past, each additional trip increases the number of nostalgic references that Main Street USA is able to use to strengthen the emotional bonds visitors have towards the park. This effective use of both interest-based and relational framing together on Main Street USA is consistent with Tilley and Cokley's (2005) conception that the use of interest-based frames often lead to the effective use of relational frames since giving the audience what they want typically encourages the audience to respond more positively to the source creating stronger emotional bonds. Main Street USA's effectiveness is dependent on all of the nostalgic references functioning together in order to create relationally framed nostalgic emotional bonds.

Therefore, the use of fact-based and values-based frames on Main Street USA is significantly limited in comparison to extensive use of interest-based and relational framing, which strongly influence the design and function of Main Street USA. A subtle values-based frame of Main Street USA might be implied as a result of exclusively presenting what Disney considers to be good while separating the negative aspects of reality to those things outside Disneyland. However, since the main purpose of this type of frame is to blame, Main Street USA's clear avoidance of taking this approach in its design indicates that values-based framing is not a primary goal. On the other hand, the use of interest-based and relational framing is easily identifiable. Interest-based framing is utilized in the design choices on Main Street USA, which manipulate the realistic nature of the setting in order to create a more ideal and unchanging version of a turn of the century small town American main

street that park guests desire over an accurate historical representation. These interest-based design choices function to further develop the effectiveness of the relational framing being used on Main Street USA. The various nostalgic references that are being used on Main Street USA provide a relational frame by encouraging visitors to develop strong emotional bonds with the park as a result of experiencing these nostalgic selections. Since every aspect of Main Street USA is used to increase the effect of these emotional nostalgic references that function to distract park guests from the problems they are facing in reality, the use of relational framing in creating nostalgic emotional experiences is crucial to the success of Main Street USA.

Question 5: What other frames are possible?

Of all the possible options Walt Disney could have chosen for the entrance to his theme park, he chose to develop a turn of the century small town "Main Street" for visitors to walk down. As a result, Main Street USA primarily uses a combination of interest-based and relational framing to influence their audience using nostalgia. However, in order to determine if these framing choices are the most appropriate and effective, it would be beneficial to examine some alternative ways that Disney could have framed the design of Main Street USA.

Assuming that the design of a turn of the century small American town was the desired setting for the entrance of Disneyland, the use of a fact-based frame would have significantly altered the way Main Street USA is presented to the audience. Instead of the somewhat vague time period and location that the current Main Street

USA represents, a fact-based framing of this area would be much more concerned about the historical accuracy as well as the realistic qualities of the design. It would be likely that by using this frame that the design of Main Street USA would be based on a particular small town main street to give the setting a location and place in time that the vague description of Main Street "USA" fails to provide. Instead of creating a general main street to nostalgically appeal to a wide audience, since emotion and nostalgia are not the purpose of a fact-based approach, a recreation of a specific location like Walt Disney's hometown of Marceline, Mo. would provide the greatest opportunity for an accurate representation on which they could base their designs. However, even if a general design was chosen the emphasis would still focus on creating an accurate historically setting with the goal to inform park guests as opposed to emotionally affecting them. Like the many restorations that have been made to historical locations outside of Disneyland, created primarily with the function to serve as an objective and factual learning tool for guests to observe, Main Street USA would have been designed paying careful attention to details that would indicate that this was an accurate representation of the past. Heightened reality selections such as continuous background music, forced perspective, and many of the live performances would not be present because they would not have regularly appeared in the original version of the small town being referenced and therefore compromise the authenticity of the realistic experience a fact-based frame encourages.

Although many of the nostalgic references to the past would still be included in the design, since this type of framing is not primarily interested in evoking

emotions the effectiveness of using nostalgia to respond to their visitor's problems

would be limited. Nostalgia would still be present in a fact-based frame of the turn of

the century as it would in any form of communication that provides clear references

to a remembered past. However, a fact-based framing of Main Street USA

discourages the use of design selections and references that are present only to evoke

emotion. As a result, while Main Street USA uses every opportunity, realistic or not,

to encourage park guests to experience nostalgia as a way to distract them from their

problems, a fact-based frame deliberately limits these less realistic references and

therefore would be less equipped to provide this distraction to its audience.

Additionally, a fact-based frame would not typically intend to distract the audience

from these problems at all, making the choice of a turn of the century small town as

their proposed solution significantly less likely. Instead, in order to objectively define

and respond to these problems directly a more modern design would most likely be

used to present facts about these problems and offer input that would lead to a

solution. However, this particular type of frame would have drawbacks in

relationship to serving as the entrance to Disneyland. To specifically deal with each

problem the design of Main Street USA would have to constantly be modified to still

function effectively as problems changed. For example, a location designed to

objectively report on and provide information about communism would have little

success with an audience member that is concerned less about the problem of

communism and instead is facing a problem with a loss of traditional values in

society. The specific nature of a fact-based frame, designed to objectively examine

each individual problem, limits its ability to appeal to a wide range of audience

members with various problems at one time. On the other hand, instead of attempting

to specifically address and solve each of their customer's problems, the general

relational frame that is currently used on Main Street USA is able to respond to an

almost limitless amount of problems simultaneously by alternatively distracting their

audience with a desired nostalgic experience. Additionally, some might argue that

distracting their audience is an inappropriate solution since all it does is create

emotional effects that are temporary instead of permanently dealing with the

problems themselves. However, the purpose of Main Street USA as a gateway is

clearly not to objectively solve these problems but to influence the emotions of park

visitors in order to create a positive enjoyable mood both entering and exiting

Disneyland. Although an "Anti-Communist Land" or "Street of Traditional Social

Order" might be more appropriate in a fact-based frame, these would not have the

same effect as Main Street USA in positively preparing audiences to experience

Fantasyland, Tomorrowland, and the rest of the Disneyland experience.

The use of a values-based frame would also significantly affect the

appearance and function of Main Street USA. As with a fact-based approach, a

values-based frame would avoid distracting their audience and instead would attempt

to present both sides of each problem their audience is facing. However, unlike the

fact-based frame that tries to be objective in its presentation of the problem, a values-

based frame would take the problem and specifically blame specific things for the

problem to create an obvious dichotomy between what is good and what is bad. In

order to make this type of frame more salient on Main Street USA, Disney designers would have to explicitly identify problems and those things that are blamed for them emphasizing the difference between the things being blamed and the good side that they are encouraging. However, since this type of frame requires the actual problems themselves to be identified and dealt with, a values-based frame runs into similar problems as the fact-based frame. A values-based frame's primary function is to provide blame, which means that specific problems and the things that are being blamed for them need to be explicitly identified. As with the fact-based frame, the specific problems that are presented and the things being blamed limit the amount of problems that can be addressed on Main Street USA. Disneyland guests have a potentially wide variety of problems they could be facing. Therefore, since Main Street USA is limited to a confined amount of space, addressing all of these problems would be difficult. Also, the changing nature of problems would require the continuous modification of the area in order to meet the ever changing needs of its visitors. Additionally, the intentional use of blaming made salient through the choice of a values-based frame has the tendency to develop negative emotions in an audience and would consequently go against Walt Disney's original desire and Main Street USA's current function of creating a positive mood through experiencing the gateway to his theme park. Therefore, any use of blaming through a values-based frame on Main Street USA would appear out of place since it would conflict with the positive emotions that are being developed through the use of interest-based and relational framing.

It is important to remember that Main Street USA's function is not only that of responding to the various problems its audience is facing but also that of preparing its audience for experiencing the rest of Disneyland. Because of this, the usefulness of fact-based and values-based framing is diminished since even though they can handle the problems themselves effectively they are limited in their ability to encourage the positive mood required to view the rest of Disneyland as Walt Disney intended.

Additionally, even though it is clear that interest-based and relational frames are the most effective choice to be used on Main Street USA to serve the function of developing a positive mood in its visitors by distracting them from their problems with nostalgic references, it also would be beneficial to look at some other interest-based and relational framing choices that could have been used instead. Although examples of interest-based framing on Main Street USA are obvious through simple observation, their use is usually more subtle and limited to several specific design choices selected to enhance the relational emotional effects by manipulating reality in order to provide features their audience desire. While continuous background music and forced perspective seem clearly out of place when compared with a realistic turn of the century town, Main Street USA still attempts to present a fairly realistic environment. As a result, the role of interest-based framing could be made much more salient if Main Street USA was willing to sacrifice this realism. Instead of a recognizable realistic turn of the century design, Disney designers could have taken more liberties in developing Main Street USA into something that would be more at

home in Fantasyland than in a small American town if that is what they believed their audience wanted. However, the less realistic Main Street USA becomes, the harder it is for park guests to relate to and the less effective the nostalgic references will be. Although the use of bright colors and unusual designs on the buildings might attract the audience's attention more strongly than the traditional architecture and light shades of red, blue, and yellow, it is clear that this is not what park visitor's desire. As demonstrated by the immediate audience backlash to Disney changing the background music on Main Street USA in the early 1970s from traditional turn of the century music to contemporary songs, Disneyland park visitors desire the realistic time period appropriate references that Main Street USA provides. As a result, the use of interest-based framing is necessarily limited to subtle design choices that do not distract from the authentic small town environment guests believe they are experiencing.

The emotional bonds that are created on Main Street USA through relational framing are dependent on the use of nostalgia. However, why was the turn of the century the most effective choice of a time period for creating the mood Walt Disney desired? Since the nostalgic time period being used should be recent enough that people have actually experienced it or have at least been connected to people who have, the turn of the century is about as far back in time as it would make sense to go to create authentic nostalgic reactions. At the time when Disneyland was created in the 1950s, the turn of the century was an obvious choice since many people including Walt Disney himself still remembered that period from their childhood. If the street

was set at an earlier time, for instance during the civil war, since few if any visitors to Disneyland actually lived through that time period, instead of feeling nostalgic about their own experiences Main Street USA would feel more like a history lesson. On the other hand, more recent time periods would have been less effective in creating positive nostalgic feelings since they were too recent and were often characterized by problems such as the World Wars, the Great Depression, and Communism that Disneyland was trying to provide escape from. Although some might argue that the turn of the century Main Street USA would be more effective today as a street based on the 1950s to appeal to contemporary park guests the way the it did when originally opened, Disney's use of nostalgic references aids in making this less of a necessity. The ability for Main Street USA provide nostalgic references to past family experiences in addition to references to the turn of the century gives it the ability to create strong nostalgic feelings in guests regardless of the fact that they never experienced the setting the street is based on. As the turn of the century moves further and further into the past it will be even more important for Main Street USA to remain the same and make sure that these past family experience references are emphasized in order to maintain its nostalgic self referential quality.

Besides using nostalgic references to develop emotional bonds, there may also be other ways Disney could have relationally framed Main Street USA. Bonding through the use of shared negative emotions can also be an effective way of bringing people together. For example, propaganda used to relationally frame Communists as evil in the mid 1900s encouraged many Americans to bond together against a

common enemy. Although in this situation values-based blaming is clearly being used, relational framing is also present creating shared emotional bonds. Many of the emotional responses developed through this use of negative framing emphasized fear and anger. While these relationally framed emotions were effective in bringing people together, the negative emotions that were developed influenced how they viewed the situation itself and the world around them. Similarly, in the case of Main Street USA, the use of negative emotions such as anger, fear, or sadness at the entrance to the park would not only develop negative feelings that would influence how park visitors view Main Street USA, but the rest of Disneyland as well. Therefore, in order to develop the positive emotional experience that Walt Disney originally intended for his audience, the use of a positive relational frame appears to be the most appropriate choice.

Although Main Street USA was always Walt Disney's vision of how he wanted to introduce people to his park from the beginning, what if Main Street USA did not exist and instead Disneyland simply began and ended with the hub area in front of the Sleeping Beauty Castle. Since the image of the Sleeping Beauty Castle is so widely used by Disney on everything from movies to t-shirts the castle itself could serve as a source of self referential nostalgia. Additionally, the experience of viewing the castle itself might be able to serve the function of leaving today behind much like Main Street USA but instead of starting by entering the past the audience would be entering the realm of fantasy. However, despite these abilities, this type of entrance and exit to Disneyland would have several limitations that fail to meet the variety of

functions that Main Street USA performs. While the repeated use of the image of the

Sleeping Beauty Castle might function nostalgically through its continued use, simply

viewing an imaginary castle does not encourage reflection towards the past. On the

other hand, immediately upon entering Main Street USA it is obvious that the

environment that park guests are experiencing is a nostalgic reference to the past that

they are invited to enjoy. This initial nostalgic reaction makes the development and

recollection of past family experiences more of a deliberate side effect of Main Street

USA than it would be by simply looking at the castle. This emotional bond with the

past on Main Street USA is made even more significant through the use of many

features that allow visitors to live out this past by physically interacting with it.

Although you can walk over the drawbridge and under the Sleeping Beauty Castle

into Fantasyland, besides the appearance of an occasional Disney princess guest are

cut off from physically interacting with the castle. Main Street USA however

provides nostalgic vehicle rides and live musical performances that function along

with the other nostalgic references to create a realistic positive setting. Additionally,

Main Street USA's design, functioning as the gateway to the park, increases the

effectiveness of the Sleeping Beauty Castle itself. Since the castle cannot be seen

immediately upon entering the park the layout of Main Street USA builds anticipation

for things to come. As park guests are funneled down Main Street USA toward the

castle at the far end they are bombarded with numerous nostalgic references that

attempt, during the time it takes to get from one end to the other, to force them to

forget their contemporary problems and develop positive emotions both toward the

past and what awaits them in the future. If for some reason the carefully designed use of nostalgic references on Main Street USA appealing to a universal human need is not enough, then the fixed image of the Sleeping Beauty Castle at the far end of the street provides a clear goal that should be more than enough to draw their audience's attention away from their problems and create a positive emotional response. However, many of the visitors to Disneyland enter Main Street USA with an intentional desire to temporarily leave today and their problems behind and therefore are willing to accept the reality being provided for making the nostalgic relational frame being used that much more effective.

Conclusion

As you can see, Main Street USA does more than simply function as an entrance and exit to the rest of Disneyland. Main Street USA plays an important role in greeting and influencing park guests as they first enter Disneyland. By using Tilley and Cokley's frame analysis to identify the interest-based and relational frames that are being used on Main Street USA, it is clear that nostalgia is utilized to emotionally distract the audience from their various problems and create a positive mood. In addition, identifying the use of Unger, McConocha, and Faier's nostalgic references on Main Street USA provides strong evidence that Disney designers intentionally use nostalgia in the development of the various visual and musical elements found throughout the street. Therefore, in the end all of the outrageous costs

and long waiting required to get into Disneyland are soon forgotten as a result of

experiencing the nostalgic effects of this turn of the century small town Main Street.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Introduction

"Here You Leave Today and Enter the World of Yesterday." Although simply stated, these first words found above the tunnel leading to Disneyland describe in a nutshell the basic function of Main Street USA. While Main Street USA may initially appear to only be a gateway to the rest of Disneyland, a closer investigation has demonstrated that there is more to Main Street USA's role than simply providing a pathway to the rest of the park. All of the various design elements, features, and attractions that make up Main Street USA work toward this goal of using the past to remove the audience from "today". By effectively using nostalgia, Main Street USA encourages park guests to forget today and the problems associated with it as they are transported back in time to a warmly remembered positive past.

To conclude this thesis, first a brief review of chapter four will be provided in order to summarize the analysis of Main Street USA. Following this review I will examine the implications of these findings to gain a better understanding of what this frame analysis indicates about Main Street USA and its use of nostalgia. Finally, the significance of this thesis will be further explored by looking at what this thesis teaches us about Disneyland, nostalgia, and frame analysis and identifying future research in each of these areas that is encouraged as a result of these findings.

Review

In order to examine how nostalgia is constructed and determine the effects nostalgia is intended to have on park guests, in this thesis the five questions of Tilley and Cokley's frame analysis were used to evaluate the reality being presented on Main Street USA. In question one it was found that although Walt Disney intentionally designed Main Street USA to have a specific purpose in influencing the mood of his park guests, he never specifically addressed Main Street USA as a response to a problem. However, problems in society at the time Disneyland was created, like the widespread fear of Communism, my have had a strong influence on the development of Main Street USA as a location deliberately separated from these problems. As the threat of Communism passed, other social problems such as the fragmentation of traditional social organization and individualism were also found to be problems that Main Street USA could be seen as a response to.

Question two briefly looked at what is blamed on Main Street USA for the various problems that were identified in question one. Although information on the things traditionally blamed for Communism and social fragmentation is provided, it was found that in Main Street USA's response to these problems blaming is not used. Since the negative emotions often associated with blaming would contradict the positive experience Walt Disney desired for his visitors, instead of blaming, Main Street USA chooses to distract its audience from their problems as opposed of focusing on solving them.

The actual response that Main Street USA provides to these problems was addressed in question three. It was found that nostalgia plays a significant role in the reality that is being presented to guests on Main Street USA and as a result, Unger, McConocha, and Faier's (1991) six types of nostalgic references were utilized to identify how nostalgia is being used.

The first three types of nostalgic references, references to the "olden days", period-oriented symbolism, and old brands, were evaluated together since they all focused on similar visual elements found on Main Street USA. Although it was influenced by a variety of sources, Main Street USA is designed to represent a small American town at the turn of the century. The choice of particular buildings, time-period appropriate architecture, and various vehicles including horse-drawn carriages and turn of the century horseless carriages all contribute visually to give Main Street USA the illusion that it is an authentic small town. Even the use of "old celebrities" like Abraham Lincoln and Mickey Mouse are present to serve as nostalgic references.

Another one of the six types of nostalgic references that focuses on the visual elements found on Main Street USA is patriotism. The wide use of the American flag throughout Main Street USA, including flag designed drapes on many of the buildings, and the extensive use of a red, white, and blue color scheme indicate that patriotism is an essential part of the Main Street USA experience. The importance of patriotism is also highlighted in attractions such as "Great Moments with Mr. Lincoln" and every evening as park guests are encouraged to view a ceremony retiring the American flag in the town square.

In addition to the various visual elements that serve as nostalgic references, there is also a variety of musical elements that make up Main Street USA. Period-oriented music is utilized to further encourage the nostalgic effects park guests are experiencing. Period-oriented background music can be heard throughout Main Street USA. This continuously playing loop of instrumental background music includes a variety of music from turn of the century ragtime to songs from popular musicals based on that time period like "Oklahoma" and the "Music Man". In addition to background music, there are also a variety of live music performances on Main Street USA including a vaudeville pianist, barbershop quartet, and Dixieland jazz band. These live performances are important to increasing the believability of Main Street USA since they allow park guests to interact with their environment.

Although most of these visual and auditory nostalgic references function to encourage the audience to believe that Main Street USA is a realistic turn of the century small town, there are some important design choices that intentionally manipulate the realistic nature of Main Street USA. The concepts of heightened reality and forced perspective were addressed to demonstrate intentional unrealistic design choices that were made by Disney to influence its audience. Adjusting the scale of buildings to create optical illusions and purposefully changing design elements from the way they were used historically is important to observe because many of these features often go unrecognized to park visitors. Identifying these subtle design choices that intentionally manipulate the reality of Main Street USA is

noteworthy since these design choices significantly influence the reality that the audience is forced to accept.

The final type of nostalgic reference used on Main Street USA is references to past family experiences. This type of reference is less controlled by Disney itself and instead is dependent on audience members to personally reflect on their own past experiences on Main Street USA to create feelings of nostalgia. As a result, nostalgia becomes even more effective in influencing park guests since the nostalgia they are feeling is for their own personal experiences on Main Street USA. The unchanging nature of Main Street USA is what makes this type of references so effective by repeatedly providing guests with the same experience.

By analyzing the use of these six types of nostalgic references found on Main Street USA it is clear that nostalgia is being used extensively to develop the reality that Disney is presenting to its audience. Additionally, the effectiveness of Main Street USA as a response to the problems identified previously in this study is dependent on the audience's ability to be distracted from their problems as a result of accepting this alternative nostalgic interpretation of reality being presented to them.

Question four specifically looked at what particular frame or frames are being used on Main Street USA. On Main Street USA the use of fact-based and values-based frames are limited because the use of these frames would focus too much on analyzing specific problems and providing a solution. This type of focus in designing Main Street USA would limit the amount of problems that could be addressed as well as hinder the development of the positive feelings that Walt Disney desired for his

guests. Alternatively, relational and interest-based frames are clearly being used

throughout Main Street USA. Although the exaggerated use of an interest-based

frame would appear too unrealistic and distract from the nostalgia that the relational

frame is trying to develop, the effective use of interest-based framing can be seen in

various design elements like heightened reality and forced perspective that subtly

give the audience what they want without noticeably distracting from the realistic

feeling of the environment. Relational framing is the primary frame being on used

Main Street USA since it focuses on the emotional bonds that are being developed

through the use of nostalgia. All of the nostalgic references work together in order to

develop strong positive emotional bonds between guests and Main Street USA itself.

The final question in this analysis looked at what other frames could have

been used on Main Street USA. The use of a fact-based frame on Main Street USA

would focus on being historically accurate and avoid distracting its audience from

their problems. It would develop some sort of area that would objectively define the

problem and offer a clear solution for its audience to use. However, the wide variety

of problems that Main Street USA has to respond to makes this type of frame

unrealistic since it would be difficult to create an area to specifically deal with all of

the possible problems their guests may be dealing with. A values-based frame would

have similar characteristics as the fact-based frame except instead of objectively

defining the problem and providing a solution, the use of this type of frame would

emphasize blaming one specific side of each problem. However, this type of frame

would also be limited in its usability since it has to choose specific problems.

Alternative uses of interest-based framing would go in the opposite direction of fact-based and values-based frames that emphasize historical accuracy and instead could be designed any way the designers wanted as long as they believed that it was what the audience desired. However, the less realistic that an interest-based frame gets, the harder it is for the audience to relate to, decreasing the emotional connection that guests have with Main Street USA. Finally, although the use of relational framing could be used in different ways, like changing the time period of Main Street USA to the 1950s or emotionally connecting people against a common enemy, none of these options provide the same positive emotional responses as well as a nostalgic setting that the audience can continue to feel connected to.

Implications

In the introduction of this thesis it was explained that as a result of evaluating Main Street USA the goal was to be able to identify what elements are serving as references to nostalgia and also determine why these nostalgic elements are being used to influence Disney park guests. The use of this methodological structure was ideal in this situation because it helped provide a response to both of these issues by evaluating what elements on Main Street USA serve as references to nostalgia and then using those elements within the context of the frame analysis to indicate why Main Street USA is using nostalgia to influence park guests.

By using Unger, McConcha, and Farier's (1991) six types of nostalgic references to evaluate the visual and musical elements found on Main Street USA,

question three of this frame analysis was able to provide strong evidence that Main

Street USA can be considered nostalgic as a result of its extensive use of these

references. In fact, there are very few, if any, elements found on Main Street USA

that cannot be classified as nostalgic by using one of these types of references. As a

result, it is clear that Disney designers carefully constructed every aspect of Main

Street USA to stay consistent with the nostalgic turn of the century reality they were

creating for their customers to experience.

In the original study that developed these nostalgic references it was found

that even the use of only one type of these references would provide enough evidence

to identify something as an example of nostalgia (Unger, et al, 1991). Therefore,

since Main Street USA demonstrates the extensive use of all six of these nostalgic

references through its various visual and musical elements, there is strong evidence

that Main Street USA can be accurately labeled as nostalgic.

Since the nostalgic references found on Main Street USA demonstrate that

nostalgia is being used in the reality being presented to its audience, it is then

important to understand why Main Street USA uses this nostalgia to influence park

guests. It is clear from this study that Tilley and Cokley's (2005) frame analysis was

an effective choice for identifying the function that nostalgia serves on Main Street

USA. As a result of evaluating the problems that Main Street USA can be seen as a

response to, looking at what is being blamed for those problems, and identifying the

response Main Street USA is providing to its audience, the use of both relational and

interest-based frames were identified.

The particular reality that these two types of frames present is developed through the various nostalgic references that make up Main Street USA. Nostalgia is therefore the framed reality that Disney is presenting to park guests to serve as a solution to the various problems they may be facing. However, instead of specifically dealing with these problems, Main Street USA uses this nostalgic reality to distract the audience from these problems. Nostalgia's ability to encourage park guests to forget today and reflect on a positively remembered past both functions to distract the audience from their problems and encourage the development of positive feelings. With the audience's mind no longer on the problems of communism, a fragmented society, or anything else that can be seen as negative, they enter the positive mindset that Disney wants them to have as they experience the rest of the theme park.

The identification of these two particular frames as a result of this frame analysis is significant because they also help indicate why nostalgia is being used on Main Street USA. The nostalgic reality presented to park guests on Main Street USA is designed to act as a solution to various problems by using the emotional attachments developed through the relational frame combined with the audience focus found in the interest-based frame which distract the audience from these problems and force them to instead focus on a positive past. If it was determined that fact-based or values-based frames were instead being used on Main Street USA, the ability for Disney to use nostalgia to distract their audience would be significantly diminished as a result of the reality these alternative frames would present to the audience. Therefore, the identification of relational and interest-based framing

combined with the strong evidence of nostalgia provided through numerous nostalgic references demonstrates why nostalgia is so prevalent on Main Street USA.

Since Main Street USA and the rest of Disneyland are in a highly controlled environment the various realities being presented to customers are carefully planned and developed to have specific effects. Even if a majority of the over fifty million people who have traveled down Disneyland's Main Street USA could identify this area as nostalgic, it is unlikely that many of them have carefully evaluated how this nostalgia is created and more importantly critically analyzed why the various elements are being used to emotionally influence them. Although this thesis is not in a position to make moral judgments about the particular design choices Disney makes throughout the theme park, being able to identify the specific ways that the audience is being influenced may encourage the audience to be more critical of what they are accepting as reality.

Future Research

As a result of this thesis it is clear that Main Street USA intentionally uses nostalgia to influence park guests as they enter Disneyland. This is significant because it teaches us that Disney designers make particular choices that purposefully influence park guests in specific ways. These various design choices can be found in both the visual and musical elements that guests are exposed to as they experience the theme park. This analysis demonstrates this by identifying the various visual and musical elements of Main Street USA that are being used together to influence

customers using nostalgia. Although it may not always be the case that nostalgia is the effect that the Disney designers are attempting to create, being able to identify these effects is important to understanding why Disney is influencing park guests. Therefore, it is important for academic research to continue evaluating the various features of Disneyland in order to determine all of the ways Disney customers are being manipulated by their environment.

Although this study takes a significant step forward in the nostalgic research being done at Disneyland by evaluating the use of nostalgia on Main Street USA, this analysis examines only one of the many nostalgic areas that deserve academic attention in both Disneyland and the other Disney theme parks throughout the world. By using the methodology and information found here as a guide, further research can look at how nostalgia is being used in other Disneyland themed areas such as Adventureland, Frontierland, and New Orleans Square. Additionally, it would be interesting to see how nostalgia is being used in other Disney theme parks throughout the world to see if differences exist in the nostalgic references and experiences that Disney provides to its customers. For example, Disneyland Paris also uses a Main Street USA that is similar to the one found in the original theme park but Tokyo Disneyland instead chooses to greet park guests with a World Bazaar representing various world regions. Since Tokyo Disneyland, Disneyland Paris, and Hong Kong Disneyland exist in cultures outside the United States, the choice to use nostalgic references anywhere in the park indicate what Disney believes these other cultures will accept as reality. Analyzing how nostalgia is being used to influence these

different cultures in particular ways through these variously designed areas will help

identify both how Disney views these cultures and how they are choosing to appeal to

each specific culture.

In addition to research evaluating the use of nostalgia in Disneyland, it is also

important to look at other ways Disney is influencing its guests. For example, even

though Tomorrowland clearly does not focus on the use of nostalgia in the reality it is

presenting to its audience, it would be beneficial to evaluate the carefully constructed

elements of this themed area in order to determine what affects they are designed to

have on their audience. Since Tilley and Cokley's frame analysis is not limited to

situations where nostalgia is present, this would be a useful methodological approach

to use in determining what kind of reality Disney is presenting to their audience.

Identifying how reality is being presented in different ways throughout Disney theme

parks is not only important to academic literature but it may also help customers be

more critical of what Disney is presenting to them.

As a result of this study it is also now acceptable for Allen (1999) to state that

"the visitor is reminded of the past at every turn, from stepping out into Main Street

to the end of the visit" and for Salamone and Salamone (1999) to write ""the entire

Main Street experience is designed to evoke nostalgia for an age of innocence" as

well as anyone else that wants to describe Main Street USA as nostalgic (p. 227; p.

85). Although Unger, McConocha, and Farier's six types of nostalgic references

have been around for many years their use in the identification of nostalgic elements

has been limited in academic literature. This analysis of the use of nostalgia on Main

Street USA is significant because it provides a clear structure that demonstrates how these nostalgic references can be used to evaluate the nostalgic elements found in a wide variety of artifacts. These nostalgic references can be used in future research to not only evaluate other physical locations like Main Street USA but to also analyze speeches, artwork, and any other sources that use nostalgia.

In addition to providing future researchers with a methodology that aids in the identification of nostalgia, this analysis also importantly demonstrates the powerful effect nostalgia can have on an audience. If nostalgia only existed as a set of visual and musical elements representing the past it would be far less important to determine if something was nostalgic. However, since this analysis demonstrates that nostalgia is effectively used to influence park guests by forcing them to forget about their problems and instead accept the positive reality that Disneyland is providing, identifying the use of nostalgia becomes much more important. If using nostalgia can have this kind of effect on an audience then it is important that future research focuses on other uses of nostalgia not only to be able to identify them as nostalgic using Unger, McConocha, and Farier's nostalgic references but to also determine what effect these references are having on the audience.

It is clear from this study that frame analysis is a valuable methodology that can be used to determine how audiences are influenced in various situations by the realities that are being presented to them. Tilley and Cokley's approach to frame analysis was originally designed to be used in the evaluation of written articles in a journalistic setting. The five questions that they developed were chosen so that

writers could quickly examine written pieces to determine whether the information being presented was being framed appropriately. However, as a result of this analysis it is clear that Tilley and Cokley's methodology can be effectively used to evaluate sources outside a written journalistic environment. By using these five questions it is possible to gain a better understanding of the frame or frames that are being used in any particular framed situation and the effects those frames are having on an audience. While this particular study used frame analysis as a methodology to explore the use of nostalgia, it is clear that any situation that encourages an evaluation of the reality being presented to an audience would benefit from using this method.

In addition, this study also demonstrates that it is important to understand how visual and auditory elements are being used to influence audiences in a variety of settings. Main Street USA is obviously not the only environment or medium that uses visual and musical features to influence its audience. Therefore, the use of Tilley and Cokley's frame analysis to evaluate the way that these elements are used will aid in providing a better understanding of the effects these features can have on an audience. Whether it is through journal articles, television commercials, websites, or even other physical locations like Main Street USA, if these design elements are purposefully developed to influence audience members in a specific way it is important to have a methodology like Tilley and Cokley's frame analysis that can be effectively used to identify them.

Conclusion

Although this analysis is as complete as possible, it is important to note that these findings and conclusions are based only on information about Disneyland and Main Street USA that is available to the general public. Access to some information about Disney's specific design choices and effects, like the track list of songs used as background music, are intentionally restricted by the Disney Corporation and therefore it is possible that some information could be missing in this current investigation. However, this restriction of information makes it even more important for future research to evaluate Disneyland in order to identify these possibly significant aspects of Disneyland that they are unwilling to share.

As you can see, analyzing how Main Street USA is constructed and why it uses nostalgia is significant to gaining a better understanding of how Disney intends to influence its audience. It is my hope that this study will be able to serve as a starting point for future research that will be able to look at various topics related to the effects of both Disneyland and nostalgia. With millions of guests experiencing Disneyland each year it is important for us as academic researchers to continue investigating this significant American landmark. Besides who would not want to spend some time doing research in the "Happiest place on earth".

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APPENDIX

Appendix A – Main Street USA background music track list

01 - Goodbye, My Coney Island Baby
02 - Banana Peel Rag
03 - Old Timers' Waltz
04 - Dearie
05 - In My Merry Oldsmobile
06 - Delmonico Polka
07 - We've Got Elegance
08 - Aviation Rag
09 - Put On Your Sunday Clothes
10 - Dynamite Rag
11 - Fortuosity
12 - Let's Have a Drink On It
13 - Atlantic City
14 - Surrey With The Fringe On Top
15 - Kansas City
16 - Sidewalks of New York
17 - Mary's a Grand Ol' Name
18 - Flitterin'
19 - Summer Magic
20 - Beautiful Beulah
21 - I Could Love a Million Girls
22 - Yankee Doodle Dandy
23 - Winter Garden Rag
24 - Wells Fargo Wagon
25 - Bring Back My Lovin' Honey Boy
26 - Iowa Stubborn
27 - Made in America
28 - Kentucky Home
29 - How Ya Gonna Keep 'em Down on the Farm?