

Stitch: The Creation, The Model Citizen, and The Reality Discovered Through Exile

Emily King

ABSTRACT

Disney's *Lilo & Stitch* explores a multi-faceted migration story in which Stitch is exiled because of his creation and perceived behavior, yet rather than the migrant only being against a greater power—which Glenda Carpio attempts to refute in her book *Migrant Aesthetics*—Stitch is shown to struggle with beratement from the dominant culture, his place in his new home, and with his internal perception of himself. Stitch, an alien creation by a mad alien scientist, is an outcast both in space and on the Hawaiian island he crashes into. He immediately recognizes the need to blend in with similar creatures, leading him to minimize his alien features. However, because he is unfamiliar with Hawaiian culture and other normalities on Earth, his unexpected and unusual actions cause his newfound O'hana (the cultural value in which family is never left behind or forgotten) to face public scrutiny and other difficulties. The expectations set forth by the community are loosely verbalized to him when the social worker states Stitch's need to become a "model citizen:" He is expected to assimilate to life on Earth. When Stitch fails to meet the social expectations, Stitch begins questioning who he really is and where he needs to be. Eventually, he reveals his alienness and receives pushback from his found family; yet, they come to realize that Stitch displaying his differences doesn't change who he is. In the end, the audience is

© King, *The Digital Literature Review*, 12 (6), 84-98.

doi: 10.33043/cyd2d399. Shared with CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 License.

shown the culture swapping the family participates in, as well as Stitch's assimilation to his new community. Throughout the essay, I argue that the film reflects Carpio's previous claim that the depiction of migration must move beyond the "problem of two opposed entities," instead displaying how migration "is produced by the actions of institutions that permeate every level of society" (8). Thus, Stitch's story depicts the battle between the expectations from one's community, assumptions from outsiders, and real identity, displaying the complexity of migration and exile in a fictional tale.

Much like other aspects of life, different forms of art and entertainment are directly influenced by positive and negative life experiences, including migration and exile. Simultaneously, important topics and ideas – such as migration and exile – are shaped by the representation and language used when such stories are told (Carpio). An example of entertainment depicting a migration story is Disney's animated movie *Lilo & Stitch*. In the movie, Experiment 626 (Stitch) is deemed a monstrosity, doomed to wreak havoc on cities, steal "left shoes," and generally have "no place among [the alien society]" he was born into (1:24-2:53). Yet, after escaping his harsh, seemingly unjust imprisonment, he migrates to Earth only to face further condemnation. His appearance and lifestyle are called into question by most; however, Lilo, a six-year-old girl native to the area, accepts Stitch for who he is, allowing him into her family without question. As a result, the audience witnesses Stitch questioning who he is meant to be and where he belongs. Stitch, from Disney's *Lilo & Stitch*, is pulled between three aspects of himself: who he was made to be, who he is believed to be, and who he actually is. These aspects are explored through his exile from his homeland, forced assimilation into a new culture, and eventual acceptance into a found family.

Lilo & Stitch provides a complex yet comprehensible introduction to migration stories, targeting a younger audience but reaching far broader demographics. In this

essay, I argue that the movie responds to Glenda Carpio's book *Migrant Aesthetics* in which the author sets a foundation of understanding by attempting to “[challenge] the view of migration as a problem of two opposed entities: the migrants, who must beg admission to sites of power, and the powerful, who must figure out how to protect their borders” (8). Carpio argues that “migration needs to be understood as a global phenomenon, one that, much like global warming, is produced by the actions of institutions that permeate every level of society” (8). In other words, migrants are depicted as being forced to fight for any chance at equality and acceptance in lands dominated by those in power or the accepted majority. Yet, migration is not that simple: it has a variety of causes – far beyond just those of two vastly different groups – including the widespread patterns of discrimination present in society. Because of these complexities, introducing complex topics to a younger audience in a simple yet hope-inducing manner becomes vital in changing the perception of migration over time. *Lilo & Stitch* provides a multi-faceted migration story in which Stitch is exiled because of his creation and perceived behavior, yet rather than the migrant only being against a greater power, Stitch is shown to struggle with beratement from the dominant culture, his place in his new home, and with his internal perception of himself.

All that said, I would like to note that I don't feel comfortable comparing Stitch to real-life immigrant experiences. I recognize and seek to acknowledge the harm that can be caused by comparing fictional, alien creatures to real people who have been discriminated against because of their cultural, physical, etc. attributes. However, I cannot neglect the connections between Stitch's story and immigrants' stories, including his exile and forced assimilation into an unfamiliar society.

The Creation

Stitch is a new, never-before-seen alien species, making him a distinct outcast no

matter where he is located. In the opening scene, self-proclaimed mad scientist Dr. Jumba Jookiba is charged by his alien government body known as the United Galactic Federation (UGF) with “illegal genetic experimentation.” The resulting creation is Experiment 626 whom he claims is a new alien species with immense power and, despite his small stature, city-destroying desires (0:1:27-0:1:53). Jumba’s description of the creature later known as Stitch casts the both of them in distinctly negative lights and results in the surrounding crowd visibly and audibly gasping. Crysta Rollison’s article “We Are Not Alone: Finding Family Across a Universe of Differences in *Lilo and Stitch*” explores how Jumba’s description is an example of science fiction’s use of “extraterrestrial Others” to cast out specific individuals because of their differences (1-2). In her article, Rollison refers to David Seed’s book *Science Fiction: A Very Short Introduction*, in which she summarizes his depiction of the term “alien,” explaining how it “did not originally refer to extraterrestrial beings, but rather to other human beings” (2). In this opening scene, the Grand Councilwoman of the UGF refers to Stitch in a similar manner explained by Seed; however, instead of using the term “alien,” she labels him an “abomination” that “is a fiord project of a deranged mind” with “no place among [the UGF]” (0:2:43). The opening scene establishes this aspect, alluding to how Stitch will be rejected, “not just by humans, but also from the very alien society that he was created into” (Rollison 1-2). As a result, Stitch is imprisoned and informed of his exile to a “deserted asteroid” (0:3:35 - 0:3:57). It is not clear whether or not Stitch understands why he is being imprisoned; however, he understands that he is imprisoned and will be subjugated to immensely restrictive conditions if he doesn’t escape. Thus, he plans and executes his escape, eventually activating his stolen spaceship’s hyperspeed and blasting off to a foreign land (0:4:26-0:7:10). Luckily for Stitch, instead of finding himself landing on an uninhabitable planet or stranded somewhere in space, he lands on Earth on an island in Hawaii.

His outcast label is further bolstered immediately after landing on Earth by the exaggerated, fearful reactions he receives in the animal shelter. After his crash landing, Stitch is believed to be a dog after getting run over by a semi-truck, so he is brought to the animal shelter. While at the animal shelter, Lilo and her sister Nani arrive to adopt a pet though Lilo initially struggles to find any pets. She calls out, “Hello? Hello! Are there any animals in here?”, and the frame pans upward, revealing scared, shaking animals clinging to the rafters and tops of the kennels (0:25:46 - 0:25:54). Beyond the animals, Nani and the animal shelter worker show obvious shock and fear at the supposed dog before them, most notably when the animal shelter worker states, “Oh, yes, all our dogs are adoptable... Except that one!” (0:26:23). During the pause in her exclamation, she physically jumps back in her chair before running forward to pull Stitch away from Lilo’s side, claiming “it was dead this morning” (0:26:31). Stitch then begins to pull the animal shelter worker toward an excited Lilo being held by a scared Nani. Despite her fear, Nani allows Lilo to adopt Stitch. This scene shows the fear caused by the unnatural aspects of the once-dead “dog” and the fear sparked by the Other. As stated in Iris-Aya Laemmerhirt’s “From Outer Space to Paradise? Remapping Hawai’i in *Lilo and Stitch*,” “the idea that these creatures from outer space, which exist beyond the borders of the known, are being used as metaphors of binary oppositions, because ‘difference and otherness are the essence of aliens’ and according to most science-fiction narratives, the only way to prevent chaos and to restore social order is to relentlessly eliminate these aliens”(88). In the context of the scene, the otherness of Stitch evoked fear and discomfort in those who recognized the differences. Lilo, though, is young and malleable. She does not yet recognize the “binary oppositions” brought forth as a result of the alien creature she has willingly chosen to be a part of her family. Since the target audience of the movie is younger individuals who are meant to be able to identify with Lilo, the scene allows the audience members to adopt the same beliefs as her, meaning they are more willing to go against the cultural norms and accept the Other with greater ease. However,

Stitch's perception is not only hindered by his blue alien appearance and aggressive personality; his lack of understanding of the surrounding culture also interferes.

Stitch's unfamiliarity with Hawaiian culture and normalities on Earth cause a variety of individuals to react negatively, including restaurant patrons. However, because Nani and Lilo hold the cultural value in which family is never left behind or forgotten (known as O'hana), Stitch is allowed to stay with the pair. During the Luau-themed restaurant scene, the audience is shown Stitch, who is currently considered a dog, and Lilo sitting at a table eating dinner while Nani works as a waitress (31:58-35:28). Nani walks up to the table and scolds Lilo for allowing Stitch to eat while sitting at the table in which Lilo simply responds, "Stitch is troubled. He needs desserts!" (32:36). Reluctantly, Nani agrees and brings both of them a slice of cake, and Stitch attempts to eat both slices in one bite. Lilo shows her clear disappointment with a simple drawn-out "hey," causing Stitch to spit out the cake slices and offer them both back to Lilo who audibly displays her disgust (33:00). This scene displays the clear disconnect between Stitch and the surrounding culture: While Nani and Lilo seem to understand the restraints surrounding "dogs" in restaurants in their community, Lilo doesn't seem to care, Nani is too resigned to force Stitch to the ground, and Stitch doesn't know the expectations placed upon him in the moment. Moments later, Stitch is lured to Jumba and UGF agent Pleakley's table who are dressed in tourist-style disguises. Stitch begins gnawing on Pleakley's head when they try to detain him and take him back to the United Galactic Federation for his sentence in exile. Stitch's outlash is not without justification, though. Because of his inability to communicate the situation to Lilo, Nani, and the owner of the restaurant, Nani is fired from her job, and the group is asked to leave the premises. After returning home that evening, Nani and Lilo have a small argument regarding Stitch's place in the family because of his seemingly unwarranted, feral behavior:

Nani: Hey! Look at him, Lilo. He's obviously mutated from something else. We have

to take him back.

Lilo: He was an orphan and we adopted him! What about O'hana?

Nani: He hasn't been here that long.

Lilo: Neither have I. Dad said O'hana means family. Huh? O'hana means family.

Family means...

Nani: ...nobody gets left behind.

Lilo: Or...?

Nani: Or forgotten. I know. I know. (Lilo & Stitch 35:14-36:37)

In these scenes, the audience is shown a clear miscommunication between Stitch and his newfound family unit, leading to rising tension and Nani's attempt to convince Lilo to bring Stitch back to the animal shelter. However, because of Lilo's reference to their cultural belief O'hana, Nani realizes she would be violating the expectations and the trust built between herself and Lilo if she went against their values. Thus, despite the numerous cultural transgressions impacting the family that are performed by Stitch, he is allowed to stay with the duo because of his new label: O'hana. The movie is attempting to display how families "can be formed under the most strained and difficult situations and can unite even angry, desperate, and otherwise abandoned people (and creatures)" (Minow). In other words, Stitch is able to overcome the "prejudices and social fears" enacted by his label of "alien" and "Other," making room for the creation of family ties in an unlikely scenario (Laemmerhirt 92). He is still struggling within the greater community; however, with Lilo's help, he has begun to make headway within his family unit.

The Model Citizen

After being on Earth for a few days, wreaking havoc both on the island and in Nani and Lilo's home, the undefined expectations posed by those on the island are verbalized by social worker Cobra Bubbles: He is expected to become a model citizen and assimilate

to life on Earth. To become a model citizen, Lilo proposes Elvis Presley as an individual whom Stitch should mirror his behavior after. The audience, then, begins to hear Elvis's "You're the Devil in Disguise" playing in the background while a montage in which Stitch attempts to meet the pillars set forth by Lilo, arbitrarily including dancing, playing guitar, and romance. Simultaneously, the audience sees Nani attempting to get a job at a variety of different businesses around the island. Stitch is shown learning how to hula dance, play the ukulele (noticeably not a guitar), and romance women. Nearing the end of each of his lessons, Stitch makes vital mistakes in which he knocks a watermelon onto an elderly woman's head, shatters windows at a coffee shop, and kisses a woman in the lobby of a hotel (0:41:42-0:44:08). Unfortunately for Nani, because of Stitch's missteps, she doesn't receive any job offers, and as a last resort, she goes to the beach in an attempt to become a lifeguard. The camera pans the area and shows a variety of individuals of varying demographics relaxing and enjoying the beach when Stitch, dressed in a white, sparkly Elvis-style outfit and hairstyle, walks to the middle of the beach and begins to play alongside the Elvis track. In doing so, he draws the attention of the beachgoers who then begin to surround Stitch and take an overwhelming amount of flash photography, causing Stitch to overreact, shred all his clothes, and cause the crowd to flee the beach, knocking over the lifeguard during their rapid departure (0:44:13-0:45:37). When Stitch begins to make mistakes, the lyrics of "You're the Devil in Disguise" shift from the sweet opening lyrics, "You look like an angel (look like an angel) / Walk like an angel (walk like an angel) / Talk like an angel," to the chorus, "You're the devil in disguise / Oh, yes, you are, devil in disguise," displaying how his appearance looks sweet but something about him is off-putting and inherently negative to the general public. The mayhem he causes in this scene displays an idea described by Carpio in which she claims people "have a hard time experiencing empathy for those we can only imagine abstractly" (10). In other words, people who are different from the majority of the population, whether physically or psychologically, are difficult for others to empathize with as their differences

become hard to comprehend. In this instance, the individuals who flee from Stitch fail to empathize with him because of his physique, attire, and actions. They saw him as a spectacle and became fearful after he reacted to the lack of empathy from the crowd. Despite Stitch's valiant attempts to become a "model citizen" as ordered by Cobra Bubbles, he ultimately fails and remains labeled an outcast.

When Stitch fails to meet the social expectations, Stitch begins questioning who he really is and where he needs to be. The evening after the beach debacle, Stitch begins to recall what Lilo described to him early in the movie regarding the children's book *The Ugly Duckling* in which she states, "That's the Ugly Duckling. See? He's sad because he's all alone and nobody wants him. But on this page, his family hears him crying, and they find him. Then the Ugly Duckling is happy because he knows where he belongs" (0:40:26-0:41:04). Stitch then leaves through Lilo's window and is shown reading *The Ugly Duckling* in a dark, vegetation-dense forest in a lone patch of dirt and beam of moonlight. His distressed facial expressions indicate his remorse regarding the pain and suffering he has caused Lilo, Nani, and the others he has harmed. The camera zooms in on a page where the duckling cries, "I'm lost!" While reading, the audience sees Stitch stroke a page in which the duckling finds its family. Simultaneously, his ears lay flat down his back with his eyebrows pitched upward in a concerned manner. He then starts clasping his hands together repeatedly, indicating his anxiety and despondency. Furthermore, the film utilizes a crane shot in which Stitch looks at the sky and copies the duckling, stating "I'm lost" (0:54:43-0:55:45). The film's choice in using a crane shot indicates to the audience that "there has been a dramatic change of perspective," and this idea is further indicated by the difference in his demeanor and body language compared to earlier in the movie (Corrigan 73). Additionally, his choice to repeat the book's phrase "I'm lost" verbalizes how Stitch isn't sure of where he belongs: He understands that he has caused harm to his O'hana, but he doesn't know what he is meant to do next or who he can

turn to. Stitch is immensely vulnerable in this position, and his confused, melancholy demeanor helps the audience, who has spent the entirety of the film up to this point connecting to Stitch, “to think, as themselves, from the position of another person and thus to call into question their own preconceptions and actions” as called for by Carpio (8).

The Reality

Upon revealing his alienness, Stitch does receive a lot of pushback from Lilo; however, after being put into a dangerous situation, she recognizes that Stitch displaying his differences doesn't change who he is. After Stitch's reflective moment in the woods, a battle with other aliens, and the destruction of Lilo and Nani's house, Lilo runs away when Bubbles attempts to take her to foster care. For context, throughout the movie, Bubbles, the family's social worker, has been monitoring the care of Lilo and informed them that Lilo could be removed from the home if her care is insufficient. In this scene, Lilo just fled from Bubbles and is now walking away from the remains of her house. She is shown with pinched eyebrows, her mouth ajar, and slightly squinted eyes, indicating to the audience that she is in emotional distress after her whole life is uprooted by Jumba and Pleakley, the aliens actively hunting Stitch. When suddenly running into Stitch, her first words are, “You ruined everything,” shortly followed by “You're one of them?” and a swift shove and order for him to leave (1:03:54-1:04:06). Lilo, the first and only person to accept Stitch unconditionally, has turned on him as a result of the detrimental situation caused by the other aliens. Before Stitch is able to address Lilo's feelings, the duo is captured by Captain Gantu of the UGF. Stitch, however, is able to escape because of his alien attributes and works with Nani, Jumba, and Pleakley to successfully rescue Lilo from her capture. During the rescue, when it seems as if it may not be possible for Lilo to be rescued, she yells to Stitch “Don't leave me, ok?,” indicating that she does trust him despite being a part of the demographic who destroyed her home and kidnapped her

(1:11:35). Lilo's initial reaction to his alien reveal was fueled by her emotions: She knows he is good. Her emotional outburst is not surprising as Stitch's migration to Earth has had major negative consequences for Lilo, including her lack of stability and removal from her guardian. She couldn't have known he was actively being persecuted and hunted by the same group of people. Despite her age, though, Lilo recognizes that while he is an alien, he is not the cause of the disruption they are faced with. These scenes introduce the audience to the idea that even though an individual is a part of or shares attributes with a certain group of people, they can't assume the person fits within the stereotype they associate with that group. Labels are not one-size-fits-all situations: There is variation, especially in people.

The next major scene in the movie highlights the bureaucratic migration conflict between two larger entities while also showing how the institutions created problems for migrants in the first place: The scene reflects Carpio's previously stated claim in which the depiction of migration must move beyond the "problem of two opposed entities" instead displaying how migration "is produced by the actions of institutions that permeate every level of society" (8). After the chase and Lilo's rescue, the Grand Councilwoman and multiple UGF cronies cuff Stitch and inform him of their intentions to bring him back to space for his criminal sentence to be served. However, questions from Pleakley, Lilo showing Stitch's adoption papers, and Bubbles arguing how "aliens are all about rules" convince the Grand Councilwoman to agree to change his exile location to Earth rather than the deserted planet previously mentioned (1:14:05-1:16:57). In this instance, instead of the two governmental bodies (the UGF and the United States Government) arguing over who has claim over Stitch; Pleakley, Lilo, and Bubbles argue for why Stitch should be allowed to stay, meaning a UGF member, a former CIA agent-turned-social worker, and a member of the general public all pitched in to fight for Stitch's migration to Earth. The migration struggles permeated throughout multiple levels

of society because of the actions of the UGF: they caused “dire consequences for those who are misread and/or are unseen by that law,” with Stitch, Lilo, and Nani being among those who are “misread” and “unseen” by the law and the consequences being depicted throughout the entirety of the movie (Espiritu 26). The scene reinforces the idea that the actions of UGF are what caused his migration and eventual consequences.

Before the movie officially ends, Stitch is shown to have assimilated within the family and on the island, even displaying signs that Nani and Lilo are willing to take on aspects of Stitch’s alien culture and vice versa. After being formally exiled to Earth, the audience is shown a short sequence of video clips and photos displaying his assimilation to life on Earth and his acceptance into Lilo and Nani’s family, and while there are fewer, the audience is also shown scenes of Stitch, Jumba, and Pleakley sharing aspects of their space culture as well. This sequence begins with Stitch playing the ukulele while Jumba, Pleakley, Nani, and others are shown rebuilding the family’s destroyed home, though instead of building the house exactly as before, the group adds a room that looks like a red planet or a small ship with white detailing, accenting the nontraditional addition (1:17:35). Stitch learns to bake, partakes in holiday festivities, travel to a variety of locations outside of Hawaii, and perform group hula dances with Lilo (1:17:35-1:20:20). The audience also gets to see Stitch helping Lilo carve a pumpkin with a laser gun, teach her classmates about space, and see Jumba give Lilo and Stitch child-sized flying ships for Christmas. They partake in a variety of culture-blending and assimilating activities while they are together. This ending of the movie wraps up Stitch’s migrant story quite nicely in which he understands who he really is, where he is meant to be, and how he can connect with those in the dominant culture. It is important to note, however, that real migration stories are complex and don’t typically end in such a finite manner. Finding one’s place in the world is a complex process, especially after migrating to unknown lands, whether forcefully or not. At the same time, for the primarily child-based audience, the ending

reassures the audience that “hope is never lost,” that “things *will* get better,” even if it doesn’t feel that way (Parker).

Conclusion

According to a New York Times article by A.O. Scott, *Lilo & Stitch* is “an example of quiet, confident craftsmanship that tells a sweet, charming tale of intergalactic friendship;” however, the movie is far more complex than the simplicity posed by Scott. The film manages to respond in a positive manner to Carpio’s migrant aesthetic perspective which frames “migration solely in terms of the nation-state, belonging, acculturation, and individual and collective identity formation, [limiting] our apprehension of a global phenomenon that constitutes our whole world to the great suffering of many and the benefit of a few” (14). Instead of expanding perspectives to a global level, *Lilo & Stitch* takes theories of migration aesthetics and broadens it to a universal level with the inclusion of actual aliens, providing a way for the story to represent a wide range of individuals and their migrant stories. Stitch’s sudden departure from his home paired with the internal questioning and eventual community acceptance emphasizes Carpio’s claim on page 13 in which she states, “Migration shapes and is shaped by language and narrative, specifically how we write and read fiction, and how the language of migration in turn influences real-life phenomena.” Thus, Stitch’s story depicts the battle between the expectations from one’s community, assumptions from outsiders, and real identity, displaying the complexity of migration and exile in a fictional tale.

Works Cited

- Carpio, Glenda. "Introduction: Migration Aesthetics." *Migrant Aesthetics: Contemporary Fiction, Global Migration, and the Limits of Empathy*, E-book, Columbia University Press, 2023, pp. 1-32.
- Corrigan, Timothy. *A Short Guide to Writing About Film*, Tenth Edition, Waveland Press Inc., 2024.
- Denbroeder, Lena. "Fragile Families in Lilo and Stitch." *Sociological Images*, 28 Oct. 2019, <https://thesocietypages.org/socimages/2019/10/28/fragile-families-in-lilo-and-stitch/>. Accessed 20 Feb. 2025.
- Espiritu, Yen Le, et al. "Introduction: Departures." *Departures: An Introduction to Critical Refugee Studies*, vol. 3, University of California Press, 2022, pp. 11-29.
- Laemmerhirt, Iris-Aya. "From Outer Space to Paradise? Remapping Hawai'i in Lilo and Stitch." 2013: World Designs of the Fantastic: *Narrating - Writing - Playing*, 1 Jan. 2013, Komparatistik Online, https://www.komparatistik-online.de/index.php/komparatistik_online/article/view/101/66. Accessed 6 Jan 2025.
- Lilo & Stitch*. Directed by Chris Sanders and Dean Dublois, Walt Disney Feature Animation, 2002.
- Luibhéid, Eithne. "Immigration." *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*, Third Edition, NYU Press, 2007, <https://keywords.nyupress.org/american-cultural-studies/essay/immigration/>.
- Minow, Neil. "Parents' Guide to Lilo and Stitch." *Common Sense Media*, <https://www.common SenseMedia.org/movie-reviews/lilo-and-stitch>. Accessed 20 Feb. 2025.

“Movie: Lilo and Stitch,” *Content Kids*, <https://content-kids.com/review-for-movie/lilo-and-stitch/>. Accessed 20 Feb. 2025.

Ness, Mari. “Aliens and Family Values: Lilo and Stitch.” *Rector*, 27 Oct. 2016, <https://reactormag.com/lilo-and-stitch/>. Accessed 15 Jan 2025.

Parker, Lacie. “Why I Still Love Animated Kids Movies as a (Grownup) Highly Sensitive Person.” *Sensitive Refuge*, 23 Dec. 2021, <https://highlysensitiverefuge.com/why-i-still-love-animated-kids-movies-as-a-grownup-highly-sensitive-person/>. Accessed 20 Feb. 2025.

Rollison, Crysta A. “We Are Not Alone: Finding Family Across a Universe of Differences in Lilo and Stitch.” *Interdisciplinary Journal of Student Research and Scholarship*, vol. 4, no. 1, University of Washington Tacoma, 2020, https://digitalcommons.tacoma.uw.edu/access/vol4/iss1/7?utm_source=digitalcommons.tacoma.uw.edu%2Faccess%2Fvol4%2Fiss1%2F7&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages. Accessed 6 Jan. 2025.

Scott, A. O. “Film Review; Escaping Deep-Space Exile and Making Friends in Hawaii.” *New York Times*, 21 June 2002, <https://www.nytimes.com/2002/06/21/movies/film-review-escaping-deep-space-exile-and-making-friends-in-hawaii.html>. Accessed 20 Feb. 2025.

Sharpson, Neil. “Disney Reviews #42: Lilo and Stitch.” *Unshavedmouse*, 12 Dec. 2025, <https://unshavedmouse.com/2013/12/12/disney-reviews-42-lilo-stitch/>. Accessed 20 Feb 2025.