

THE MAGICAL ART



Appropriation,
réception and
interpretation of
fairy tale

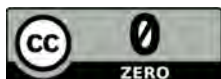
Danijela Prošić-Santovac

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To my family

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1. INTRODUCTION

Fairy tale studies started with the efforts of the Grimm brothers to annotate their collections and to present an overview of as many variants of the tales as possible. In the course of the next two centuries, various approaches have been adopted (Prošić-Santovac 2011), with theories changing in accordance with the current ideology and available scholarship. A dominant view of the origin of fairy tales as we know them today, rooted in the nineteenth-century historic-geographic approach, maintains that they stem from oral tales invented by the illiterate folk, transmitted through the ages orally, and imparted to the upper classes who put them in print, thus creating ‘contaminated’ versions of original oral tales. German Romantic nationalist movement heavily relied on this idea, resulting in the production of national collections which reflected the ‘spirit of the folk’. The first attempt at accomplishing this goal was made by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm in Germany, with the publishing of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (*Children’s and Household Tales*, 1812-1814), and it was followed by scholars from other countries (e.g. Joseph Jacobs and Edwin Sidney Hartland in England, William Butler Yeats in Ireland, etc.).

An opposite opinion to that of romantic nationalists regarding the national spirit reflected in the tales, is Carl Wilhelm von Sydow’s claim that individual ‘tradition bearers’ were responsible for dissemination, rather than an abstract ‘folk’. However, his argument is still in favour of oral transmission, with only a change of the actor introduced. A majority of modern scholars favour the theory of oral origin, as well, and Jack Zipes states it as unquestionably true that “the literary fairy tale developed as an appropriation of a particular oral storytelling tradition that gave birth to the wonder folk tale” (2006: 44).

An opposing view is held by a minority of scholars in the field. For almost a century, there has been an on-going debate between the ‘oralists’ and those that believe that the fairy tale owes its origins to the printed media, individual authors, and transmission by way of books. The first well-known proponent of the ‘literary’ origins of fairy tales was Albert Wesselski, but his proposal did not receive much positive attention in Germany during the 1920s and 1930s. He recommended “abandon[ing] the practice of examining oral variants of a not far distant past time and find[ing] and examin[ing] the old documents” (Kiefer 1947: 45). Another scholar who supported this hypothesis was Rudolf Schenda, who advanced the idea that books were the real ‘tradition bearers’ in his book *From Mouth to Ear: Elements of a Cultural History of Popular Storytelling in Europe*¹ (1993). Ruth B. Bottigheimer builds upon his thesis in *Fairy Tales: A New History* (2009), arguing that “the slowly-emerging evidence from printing and publishing history provides an explanation that is substantial, verifiable, and superior to two centuries of largely conjectural theories about oral transmission” (114).

However, regardless of which theory of the fairy tale origin is accepted as more probable, it should be noted that such a strict dichotomous view of the matter might not be necessary after all, since

there is no such thing as *the* fairy tale; however, there are hundreds of thousands of fairy tales. And these fairy tales have been defined in so many different ways that it boggles the mind to think that they can be categorized as a genre (Zipes 2000: xv).

¹ Original title in German: Schenda, R. (1993). *Von Mund zu Ohr: Bausteine zu einer Kulturgeschichte volkstümlichen Erzählens in Europa*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Parts of the book were translated in 2007 by Ruth B. Bottigheimer, and published in the form of an article.

1.1 Fairy tales: definition and term

What is most peculiar about the majority of scholarly definitions of the term ‘fairy tale’ is that it covers only a comparatively small number of tales with fairies proper in them. In the opinion of some scholars, the term represents “a specific narrative form with easily identified characteristics, but for others it suggests not a singular genre but an umbrella category under which a variety of other forms may be grouped” (Haase 2008: 322). Joseph Jacobs, for example, whose two prominent collections are one of the first attempts to create a national corpus of English fairy tales, offers an explanation of the term ‘fairy tale’ as the one covering a whole range of folk tales in which something extraordinary occurs, either tales with magical elements, such as ‘fairies, giants, dwarfs, speaking animals’ or “tales in which what is extraordinary is the stupidity of some of the actors” (Jacobs 1890: viii). Other examples of folktales included in his collections under the title of ‘fairy tales’ are drolls, cumulative stories, cautionary tales, beast tales, nonsense stories, and the like. Katherine M. Briggs, on the other hand, in *A Dictionary of British Folk-tales in the English Language* (2004), narrows the genre down to “folk fictions of which magical or supernatural episodes are a necessary part” (113). Similarly, Steven Swan Jones, makes a distinction between fairy tales and other forms of folk tales (e.g. cautionary tales), emphasising that “fairy tales depict magical or marvellous events or phenomena as a valid part of human experience” (2002: 9).

Inextricably tied to the discussion of defining the term is its comparison to those from different languages, which do denote the concept of fairy tale, though not always with a completely identical meaning. The English term itself came into existence in 1699 through translation of the French ‘conte de fees’, first in the form of ‘tales of the fairies’ (Palmer and Palmer 1974: 228). The popularity of Grimm’s collection *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (*Children’s and*

Household Tales, 1812–15) introduced the German term ‘marchen’ into scholarly use. Viewed by some as a superior alternative to ‘fairy tale’, it “has entered into the English lexicon and now functions as part of a transnational terminology among folklorists and literary scholars” because it “can imply a wide range of genres [...]: animal tale, fable, etiologic tale, jest, wonder tale, exemplum, religious tale, and so on” (Haase 2008: 322).

1.2 Tale type and motif indices

Due to disagreement or, rather, confusion in the efforts to define various kinds of tales and to find appropriate terms for them, the need arose to classify them, in order to achieve at least some degree of uniformity. The long process of ‘tabulating’ folktales began in 1884, when the Folklore Society, founded in London only six years prior to it, made a public announcement in *The Folk-lore Journal* asking scholars to volunteer. The collections were international, from 29 countries, and all translated into English. The appeal was successful, resulting in a large body of tabulated tales with numbers assigned, and each organized as follows:

- Generic name of the story,
- Title of the story,
- Dramatis personae,
- Abstract of the story,
- Alphabetical list of the incidents,
- Where published,
- Nature of collection, whether:
 1. *Original or translation.*
 2. *If by word of mouth, state narrator’s name.*
 3. *Other particulars.*
- Special points noted by the Editor of the above,

- Remarks by the tabulator (1884: 152, 1889: 169-173, 1889: 1-122).

In 1910, the Finnish scholar Antti Aarne published his 76-page-long *Index of the Types of the Folktale*,² creating a system for classifying folktales (or *märchen*, as was his term), as well as tale typology. *Märchen* are divided into the following categories in his catalogue:

1. *Animal tales* (Aa 1–299),
2. *Ordinary tales* (Aa 300–1199): A. Tales of magic, B. Religious tales, C. Novellas or romantic tales, D. Tales of the stupid ogre,
3. *Jokes and anecdotes* (Aa 1200–1999).

Each tale-type was given a name, a number (e.g. Aa 500) and an abstract of the plot, distinguishing between actors and incidents. In 1927, Stith Thompson translated and revised the catalogue, enlarging it by 203 pages. His second edition in 1961 added another 309 pages to the existing corpus, as well as new categories:

1. *Animal Tales* (AT 1-299),
2. *Ordinary Folktales* (AT 300-1199): A. Tales of magic, B. Religious tales, C. Aitiological tales, D. Novelle (romantic tales), E. Tales of the stupid ogre,
3. *Jokes and Anecdotes* (AT 1200-1999): A. Numskull stories, B. Stories about married couples, C. Stories about a woman (girl), D. Stories about a clever/stupid lucky/unlucky man (boy), E. Jokes about parsons and religious orders, F. Tales of lying,
4. *Formula Tales* (AT 2000-2399): A. Cumulative tales, B. Catch tales,³
5. *Unclassified Tales* (AT 2400-2499).

Due to various insufficiencies (e.g. gender biases in naming and describing the types (Lundell 1986)), AT numbers turned into ATU⁴ in 2004, with yet another revision of the catalogue, by Hans-Jörg

² Original title in German: Aarne, A. (1910). *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen*. FF Communications No. 3. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Tiedekakatemia.

³ The category of Formula Tales was added in the second edition as proposed by Archer Taylor in *The Journal of American Folklore* in 1933.

⁴ Aa stands for Aarne, AT for Aarne-Thompson, ATU for Aarne-Thompson-Uther.

Uther, whose 2-volume, 1155-page-long catalogue gives a much more detailed division, both into categories and subcategories:

1. *Animal Tales* (ATU 1-299): A. Wild Animals, B. The Clever Fox (Other Animal), C. Other Wild Animals, D. Wild Animals and Domestic Animals, E. Wild Animals and Humans, F. Domestic Animals, G. Other Animals and Objects,

2. *Tales of Magic* (ATU 300-749): A. Supernatural Adversaries, B. Supernatural or Enchanted Wife (Husband) or Other Relative, C. Wife, D. Husband, E. Brother or Sister, F. Supernatural Tasks, G. Supernatural Helpers, H. Magic Objects, I. Supernatural Power or Knowledge, J. Other Tales of the Supernatural,

3. *Religious Tales* (ATU 750-849): A. God Rewards and Punishes, B. The Truth Comes to Light, C. Heaven, D. The Devil, E. Other Religious Tales,

4. *Realistic Tales (Novelle)* (ATU 850-999): A. The Man Marries the Princess, B. The Woman Marries the Prince, C. Proofs of Fidelity and Innocence, D. The Obstinate Wife Learns to Obey, E. Good Precepts, F. Clever Acts and Words, G. Tales of Fate, H. Robbers and Murderers, I. Other Realistic Tales,

5. *Tales of The Stupid Ogre (Giant, Devil)* (ATU 1000-1199): A. Labor Contract, B. Partnership between Man and Ogre, C. Contest between Man and Ogre, D. Man Kills (Injures) Ogre, E. Ogre Frightened by Man, F. Man Outwits the Devil, G. Souls Saved from the Devil,

6. *Anecdotes and Jokes* (ATU 1200-1999): A. Stories about a Fool, B. Stories about Married Couples, C. The Foolish Wife and Her Husband, D. The Foolish Husband and His Wife, E. The Foolish Couple, F. Stories about a Woman, G. Looking for a Wife, H. Jokes about Old Maids, I. Other Stories about Women, J. Stories about a Man, K. The Clever Man, L. Lucky Accidents, M. The Stupid Man, N. Jokes about Clergymen and Religious Figures, O. The Clergyman is Tricked, P. Clergyman and Sexton, Q. Other Jokes about Religious Figures, R. Anecdotes about Other Groups of People, S. Tall Tales,

7. *Formula Tales* (ATU 2000-2399): A. Cumulative Tales, B. Chains Based on Numbers, Objects, Animals, or Names, C. Chains

Involving Death, D. Chains Involving Eating, E. Chains Involving Other Events, F. Catch Tales, G. Other Formula Tales (Uther 2004).

After careful examination of the index and its *Literature/Variants* sections, one is inclined to conclude that there are, in essence, few tale-types tied exclusively to one country, or even region. Many English fairy tales have been assigned to corresponding tale-types, but there are seldom those that do not have their counterparts in other countries. For example, 'Tom Tit Tot' (ATU 500 – The Name of the Supernatural Helper ; Jacobs, no.1) has several variants just in the British Isles: 'Duffy and the Devil' from England; 'Silly go Dwt,' 'Penelop' and 'Gwarwyn-a-throt' from Wales; 'Whuppity Stoorie' from Scotland; 'Peerifool' from the Orkney Islands; 'The Rival Kempers' from Ireland; and 'The Lazy Wife' from the Isle of Man (Uther 2004). Also, there are numerous variants throughout the world: 'Rumpelstiltskin,' 'Doubleturk,' 'Dwarf Holzruhrlein Bonnefuhrlein,' 'Hoppetinken,' 'Kugler,' 'Mistress Beautiful,' 'Zirkzirk' and 'Nagendumer' from Germany; 'Kruzimugeli' and 'Purzinigele' from Austria; 'The Girl Who Could Spin Gold from Clay and Long Straw' from Sweden; 'Tarandando' from Italy; 'Winterkolbl' from Hungary; 'The Little Devil of the Forest' from France; 'King Olav, Master Builder of Seljord Church' from Norway; 'Straw into Gold' from North Carolina in the United States; and 'Kinkach Martinko,' a Slav Folktale (Ashliman 1987; Wight Marshall 1973).

A rare example of a seemingly true English fairy tale is 'Jack and the Beanstalk' (ATU 328 – The Boy Steals the Ogre's Treasure; ATU 328A – Jack and the Beanstalk;⁵ Jacobs, no.13). Its early printed variants mostly share the title, with only occasional variations in the wording. The earliest known copy is from the year

⁵ 379 ATU 328A, Description: A poor boy named Jack trades his cow for some beans. [...] One of the beans grows into a giant beanstalk, which Jack climbs to an upper world where he finds the house of a giant. The giant's wife gives him food and hides him when her husband comes home. The giant smells human flesh but his wife tells him he is mistaken. The giant eats dinner, counts his money, and then falls asleep. Jack steals the money and runs home down the beanstalk. He makes two more trips, stealing the giant's hen that lays golden eggs and his self-playing harp. The third time, the harp cries out and awakens the giant, who runs after Jack. Jack reaches the bottom of the beanstalk and chops it down. The giant falls to his death, and Jack and his mother have plenty of money (Uther 2004).



Figure 1.1. *Jack and the Bean-stalk* (1830)

1807, printed in London by Benjamin Tabart, under the title *The History of Jack and the Bean-Stalk: Printed from the Original Manuscript, Never before Published*. However, although the variants represent the same tale-type, they do differ in some incidents, or motifs, as they are referred to in modern scholarship. Motifs, in this sense of the word, are “specific recognized characters, themes, concepts, actions, and topoi, none of which, in isolation, constitute a complete narrative, but, in mix-and-match combinations, are narrative building blocks” (Conrad 2008: 644) or, in Stith Thompson’s words, “those details out of which full-fledged narratives are composed” (1955: 10, Vol.1). His massive work of six volumes, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends*, first published from 1932 to 1936, organizes numerous motifs into twenty-three categories,

marked by the letter headings: A. Mythological Motifs; B. Animals; C. Tabu; D. Magic; E. The Dead; F. Marvels; G. Ogres; H. Tests; J. The Wise and the Foolish; K. Deceptions; L. Reversal of Fortune; M. Ordaining the Future; N. Chance and Fate; P. Society; Q. Rewards and Punishments; R. Captives and Fugitives; S. Unnatural Cruelty; T. Sex; U. The Nature of Life; V. Religion; W. Traits of Character; X. Humor; Z. Miscellaneous Groups of Motifs.⁶ These are further divided into progressively more specific motifs, with numbers assigned to each one:

e.g. F. MARVELS

F0-F199. Otherworld Journeys

F10-F79. The upper world

F50. Access to upper world

F54. Tree to upper world

F54.1. Tree stretches to sky

F54.2. Plant grows to sky (Jack and the Beanstalk)

Story tellers combine the motifs in different ways in order to create their stories, and only those “specific combinations of motifs that retain remarkable consistency over time and space [are] identified and designated as ‘tale types’ ” (Conrad 2008: 644). Therefore, returning to the example of the tale type 500, its synopsis could be presented as a combination of the following motifs:

H914. Tasks assigned because of mother’s foolish boasting. The mother foolishly boasts to the king that the daughter can perform an impossible task (often spinning).

H1021.8. Task: spinning gold. / H1092. Task: spinning impossible amount in one night. cf.S222.1. Woman promises her unborn child to appease offended witch.

D2183. Magic spinning. Usually performed by a supernatural helper.

H521. Test: guessing unknown propounder’s name.

N475. Secret name overheard by eavesdropper.

C432.1. Guessing name of supernatural creature gives power over him.

⁶ Letters I, O and Y are not assigned specific categories.

F381.1. Fairy (supernatural helper) leaves when he is named.

Thompson's *Motif-index* naturally has its deficiencies, and not all of the motifs sought can be found in the precise form that is needed. Thus, an approximation has to be used, indicating this fact by the letters 'cf.', as in the example above. However, both the *Motif-index* and tale type indices represent indispensable tools in the study of folktales, both from the literary and the folkloristic point of view. A comparative analysis of folktales shows that different cultures have great influence over each other's heritage, but it also enables scholars to identify how the tales are modified in accordance with regional or national cultural values and customs, and how they are transformed in the course of time.

Not even the motif and tale type indices are immune to bias on the part of the scholars. Uther's revision of the Tale Type Index mostly amended the faults and inconsistencies in previous editions; however, "the Motif Index in general (1) overlooks gender identity in its labelling of motifs [...], or (2) disregards female activity or (3) focuses on male activity at the cost of female" (Lundell 1986: 150). Unfortunately, the great task of rectifying these flaws has yet to be undertaken, as there were no attempts after Thompson's second edition, except for the creation of much smaller, usually nationally oriented motif indices.

1.3 The practice of bowdlerisation

The transformation of fairy tales has taken place over a period of several centuries. What was once considered a primary source of entertainment accompanying different kinds of tedious menial work (spinning, woodcutting, etc.) or a leisure activity for the whole family, or even neighbourhood, in the empty evenings under candlelight along with very few other forms of amusement, has lost its function with the advance of technology. Electricity, printed books, radio and

television have pushed storytelling into the realm of children. As early as the seventeenth century, collections of fairy tales have been published with a child audience in mind. The subject matter was altered in accordance with the new view of childhood, as utterly pure and innocent, and the changes were 'set in stone' through the printed word. However, "[w]hen folktales retreated from workrooms and parlors to take up residence in the nursery, something was lost in the move" (Tatar 1992: 3).

Various motifs were modified, and some were even left out because they were considered unsuitable, either by collectors of the stories as editors, or by translators who thought it appropriate to introduce changes as they saw fit. Tale type ATU 510B⁷ provides an example of such an editing practice. Three versions of the type will be compared in order to uncover the mechanisms of bowdlerisation: (1) Sir Richard Burton's translation of 'The She-bear,' Second day, Sixth diversion⁸ of *Il Pentamerone; or, The Tale of Tales*, written by Giovanni Battista (or Giambattista) Basile and published posthumously from 1634 to 1636; (2) the translation of the same tale by John Edward Taylor; and 'Catskin' (no. 83), published and edited by Joseph Jacobs in *More English Fairy Tales* (1984).⁹ Although a later translation, published in 1893, Burton's 'The She-bear' is much more faithful to the original than the very first English translation by

⁷ ATU 510B, Description: A king promises his wife on her deathbed only to marry another woman who is as beautiful as she is (whom a particular ring fits). Because she is the only one who meets this condition, the king wants to marry his grown daughter. In order to delay the wedding, the young woman asks him to give her dresses like the sun (gold), the moon (silver), and stars (diamonds), and a coat made of many different kinds of fur (a covering of wood). After he provides all these, the daughter runs away from her father and, disguised in the ugly skin, works as a kitchen maid (goose-girl) in another castle. When a series of feasts is held in the castle where she works, the young woman secretly puts on her splendid dresses. The prince falls in love with her but does not recognise her as the kitchen maid. On the following day he treats the kitchen maid badly. During the feasts he asks the beautiful woman where she comes from, and she gives cryptic answers that refer to how he had treated the kitchen maid. He gives her a ring. Then the prince becomes lovesick. In her character as kitchen maid, she slips his ring into his soup (bread). He finds her and marries her. Sometimes the young woman is discovered while she is bathing or dressing instead of being recognised through a token (Uther 2004).

⁸ The original title was: 'L' Orza: Trattenemiento VI de la Giornata II'.

⁹ An earlier variant exists in *Le piacevoli notti* (1550-1553) by Gianfrancesco Straparola. However, it will not be dealt with here as it partly belongs to ATU510B*.

Taylor almost half a century before.¹⁰ The central motif of the tale is incest between father and daughter or, at least, an attempt on the part of the father (T411.1).

T. SEX

T400-T499. Illicit sexual relations

T410. Incest

T411. Father-daughter incest.

T411.1. Lecherous father. Unnatural father wants to marry his daughter.

After the King of Rocc' Aspra's wife dies, making him promise to marry only a woman as beautiful as she was, he fails to find a new wife that fits the set criterion, to provide him with a male heir. What follows is a rather realistic depiction of both physical and psychological cruelty of the father exercising his power, as well as a realistic presentation of the daughter's emotional state and logical reactions in response to an incestuous proposal, ranging from defiance of parental authority and suicidal thoughts to turning to others for help, standing up for oneself and the ultimate escape from the violator. It also contains sexual insinuations in the old woman's speech.

(1) And seeing so many beautiful heads of celery turned to hard roots, *having resolved to have his will, he turned to his own daughter*, saying, 'What am I seeking about these Marys of Ravenna, if my daughter Preziosa is made of the same mould like unto her mother? I have this beauteous face at home, and shall I go to the end of the world seeking it?' And he explained to his daughter *his desire*, and *was severely reproved and censured by her*, as Heaven knoweth. The king waxed wroth at her censure, and said to her, 'Speak not so loud, and put thy tongue behind thee, and *make up thy mind this evening to be tied in this matrimonial knot*, otherwise the least thing that I will do to thee is that *I will have thine ears cut off*.' Preziosa, hearing

¹⁰ Compare with the original: Basile, G. B. (1788). *Il Pentamerone del cavalier Giovan Battista Basile: ovvero, Lo cunto de li cunte, trattenemiento de li peccerille di Gian Alesio Abbattutis*. Tomo I. Napoli: Giuseppe-Maria Porcelli, 205-6.

this resolve, retired within her chamber, and wept and lamented her evil fate. And whilst she lay in this plight with such a sorrowful face, an old woman, who used to bring her ungruents, and pomade, and cosmetics, and salve to anoint herself, came to her, and finding her in such a plight, *looking like one more ready for the other world than for this*, enquired the cause of her distress, and when the old woman mastered it, she said, 'Be of good cheer, O my daughter, and despair not, as *every evil hath a remedy: death alone hath no cure*. Now, hearken to me: *when thy sire this evening cometh in to thee, and being an ass, would like to act the stallion*, put thou this piece of wood in thy mouth, when *at once thou wilt become a she-bear* and then thou canst fly; as *he being afraid of thee will let thee go*. And *fare thou straight to the forest*, where 'twas written in the book of fate, that thou shouldst meet thy fortune: and when 'tis thy desire to appear a woman as thou art and wilt ever be, take out of thy mouth the bit of wood, and thou wilt return to thy pristine form.' Preziosa embraced and thanked the old woman, and bidding the servants give her an apronful of flour and some slices of ham, sent her away (Basile 1893: 184-5; italics added).

Taylor's translation (below) downplays the graphic presentation of the hurtful sexual aspect, skilfully distracting the reader in order to concentrate on the act of speaking, as if the words were merely disrespectful. It also fails to present the girl's defiance of paternal will, 'retiring her to her chamber' silenced. The father's fear of the rebellious girl disappears as well, leaving instead an impersonal statement without dramatic overturning of the subservient filial role. The threat of maiming the girl's body is completely left out.

(2) At the end of the end, one for this cause and another for that, he sent them all away, with one hand before and the other behind; and, seeing that so many fair faces were all show and no wool, *he turned his thoughts to his own daughter*, saying, 'Why do I go seeking the impossible when my daughter Preziosa is formed in the same mould of beauty as her mother? I have

this fair face here in my house, and yet go looking for it at the fag-end of the world. *She shall marry whom I will, and so I shall have an heir.*' When Preziosa heard this she retired to her chamber, and *bewailing her ill-fortune as if she would not leave a hair upon her head;* and, whilst she was lamenting thus, an old woman came to her, who was her confidant.

As soon as she saw Preziosa, *who seemed to belong more to the other world than to this,* and heard the cause of her grief, the old woman said to her, 'Cheer up, my daughter, do not despair; *there is a remedy for every evil save death.* Now listen; *if your father speaks to you thus once again* put this bit of wood into your mouth, and instantly *you will be changed into a she-bear;* then off with you! *for in his right he will let you depart,* and go straight to the wood, where Heaven has kept good-fortune in store for you since the day you were born, and whenever you wish to appear a woman, as you are and will remain, only take the piece of wood out of your mouth and you will return to your true form.' Then Preziosa embraced the old woman, and, giving her a good apronful of meal, and ham and bacon, sent her away (Basile 1848: 172; italics added).

Jacobs' no. 83, 'Catskin', is a heavily bowdlerised variant of the tale type. Although familiar with the 'Catskin' formula, i.e. type 510B, as well as the motif of the 'Unnatural father', as is evident from his Remarks,¹¹ Jacobs chose to delete the opening formula entirely, thus removing the central motif of incest from the tale. Instead, at the very beginning of the tale, the emphasis is put on the importance of having a male heir, and the unnatural father is replaced with an old man, unrelated to the heroine. The father thus becomes simply an instigator of events – a cruel and harsh father,

¹¹ "The full formula may be said to run in abbreviated form – *Death-bed promise – Deceased wife's resemblance marriage test – Unnatural father (desiring to marry his own daughter) – Helpful animal – Counter tasks – Magic dresses – Heroine flight – Heroine disguise – Menial heroine – Meeting-place – Token objects named – Threepfold flight – Lovesick prince – Recognition ring – Happy marriage.* Of these the chap-book versions contain scarcely anything of the opening motifs. Yet they existed in England, for Miss Isabella Barclay, [...] remembers having heard the Unnatural Father incident from a Cornish servant-girl" (Jacobs 1894: 240-1).

nevertheless, one that imposes his will and is detached from his child (here brought to an extreme), but not as outrageous and in accordance with the paternal role and involvement in child raising of the time. Jacobs' Notes reveal his "need to choose a variant of the tale that swerves away as far as possible from the theme of incest" (Tatar 1992: 130).

On the other hand, he did choose to introduce "the demand for magic dresses from Chambers's *Rashie Coat*, into which it had clearly been interpolated from some version of *Catskin*" (Jacobs 1894: 240), although it obviously was not a part of the original tale he had at his disposal. As the arranged marriage with a much older man was also not an unacceptable concept, the girl's feelings are not depicted, she merely does not 'know what to do', and she might even seem frivolous and demanding, as opposed to variant (1), where the focus is on the girl's character and maturity.

(3) Well, there was once a gentleman who had fine lands and houses, and he very much wanted to have a son to be heir to them. So when his wife brought him a daughter, bonny as bonny could be, he cared nothing for her, and said, 'Let me never see her face.'

So she grew up a bonny girl, though *her father never set eyes on her till she was fifteen years old and was ready to be married*. But her father said, 'Let her marry the first that comes for her.' And when this was known, who should be first but *a nasty rough old man*. So *she didn't know what to do, and went to the hen-wife and asked her advice*. The hen-wife said, 'Say you will not take him unless they give you a coat of silver cloth.' Well, they gave her a coat of silver cloth, but she wouldn't take him for all that, but went again to the hen-wife, who said, 'Say you will not take him unless they give you a coat of beaten gold.' Well, they gave her a coat of beaten gold, but still she would not take him, but went to the hen-wife, who said, 'Say you will not take him unless they give you a coat made of the feathers of all the birds of the air.' So they sent a man with a great heap of pease; and the man cried to all the birds of the air, 'Each bird

take a pea, and put down a feather.' So each bird took a pea and put down one of its feathers: and they took all the feathers and made a coat of them and gave it to her; but still she would not, but asked the henwife once again, who said, 'Say they must first make you a coat of catskin.' So they made her a coat of catskin; and she put it on, and tied up her other coats, and ran away into the woods (Jacobs 1984: 189-90; italics added).

The heroine in this variant is proactive in terms of looking for help, as opposed to the previous two, where the helpers come to their aid of their own accord. 'Old woman as helper' (H1233.1.1), a confidante, albeit with magical object at hand, a constant motif in the previous two versions, has been transformed into 'Witch as helper' (G284), the term 'hen-wife' used as a synonym for 'witch' throughout Jacobs' two collections – referring to women dealing with both white and black magic. Ironically, the 'witch' is deprived of any magic, acting solely as an advisor. All traces of heroine's transformation into an animal (previously into a bear (D113.2), here into a cat (D142.0.1)) as a means of escape, are lost in Jacobs' 'Catskin', although he does acknowledge the existence of this motif in his Remarks:

It is clear [...], at any rate, that the Heroine was at one time transformed into a Cat. For when the basin of water is thrown in her face she 'shakes her ears' just as a cat would. Again, before putting on her magic dresses she bathes in a pellucid pool. Now, Professor Child has pointed out [...] that dipping into water or milk is necessary before transformation can take place. (Jacobs 1894: 241).¹²

Modern collections, however, rarely, if ever, offer any notes or remarks concerning the changes in the plots made by the editors.

¹² "What! you dirty impudent slut,' said the cook, 'you go among all the fine lords and ladies with your filthy catskin? A fine figure you'd cut!' and with that she took a basin of water and dashed it into Catskin's face. But *she only briskly shook her ears*, and said nothing. When the day of the ball arrived Catskin slipped out of the house and went to the edge of the forest, where she had hidden her dresses. So *she bathed herself in a crystal waterfall, and then put on her coat of silver cloth*, and hastened away to the ball. As soon as she entered all were overcome by her beauty and grace, while the young lord at once lost his heart to her" (Jacobs 1894:190-1; italics added).

The changes are made in accordance with their individual opinions of what is and what is not appropriate for children. Even today, or rather, especially today, in the age of increased awareness of child sexual abuse, tales such as the ones above are published in their bowdlerized form. This may be seen as depriving children of a learning opportunity, when the original versions could be used as an impersonal prompt for topics generally difficult to tackle in conversation, and to teach them about appropriate behaviour in a difficult situation (e.g. going for advice and help to a safe adult (old woman / henwife), finding creative ways to avoid unwanted advances (dresses), finding inner strength to fight for oneself (transformation of the self), running away from the molester (going to the woods), finding out about the finality of death ('every evil hath a remedy: death alone hath no cure'), instead of ways to harm oneself and contemplating suicide ('looking like one more ready for the other world than for this'). Thus, it can be said that much of the valuable matter of the tales is lost in the process of adaptation. Kay Stone rightly observes that the essential parts of many tales are "fright, violence, injustice, and even death", but that they are "often unmagically transformed into romantic and nonviolent amusement" (1981: 233).

1.4 The use and abuse of fairy tales

Oral and literary fairy tales have existed alongside each other for a very long time, and not in isolation, but have influenced each other to a high degree. Oral tales were "learned and performed as part of the wider cultural milieu and [were] regarded by both tellers and listeners as an important literary expression" (Stone 1986: 18). Their purpose was entertainment for the most part, as they presented a plausible way to pass the long hours during various kinds of menial work. Sometimes, they performed a ritual role, as in

the case of 'the custom of the wake', when the tale "lost its function of being exclusively the entertainment of the poor and . . . assumed importance for the whole community" (Dégh 1962: 105). In the past, children were not excluded from the story-telling events, but neither were the tales adapted to suit the level of maturity that is nowadays ascribed to children. However, as already noted, "educated writers purposely appropriated the oral folk tale and converted it into a type of literary discourse about morals, values and manners so that children would become civilized according to the social code of the time" (Zipes 1983: 8). Thus transformed, fairy tale acquired a new, didactic purpose.

Just like oral tales before them, literary tales found their way into people's homes with the advent of cheap print. Broad-sides, chapbooks and, eventually, books gradually introduced reading events, displacing story-telling for a while and relegating it back to the realm of the poor and the illiterate. The Grimm's *Children's and Household Tales* (1812-1814), for example, "originally intended for the scholarly reader," gained great popularity almost immediately after their first publication, and "as early as 1823, they published a selection of fifty illustrated tales which sold at a reasonable price and became the source of thousands of children's storybooks at home and abroad" (Dégh 1979: 88) – thus really becoming a household item. Despite the claim for 'folk' authenticity, a careful examination of the seven editions of the tales (1812-1857), as well as a comparison with the Ölenberg manuscript of 1810, reveals many editorial changes in the course of time (Bottigheimer 1987; Tatar 1987; Zipes 1993). The tales were modified to suit the brothers' vision of the world and "reinforce an authoritarian socialization process" (Zipes 1979-80: 4) through the use of subtle adjustments in contents as well as in the language. A patriarchal, moralistic, highly religious and a rather sexist outlook of the tales was welcomed into the households with every copy of the book, and potentially left a permanent imprint on the minds of many generations of children. Even today, these tales are a common part of early childhood reading lists world-wide, along with the popularized versions of some of the

tales in Walt Disney's animated films, and they continue to exert their influence.

The potential of using fairy tales in formal schooling was recognised early on – in fact, as early as the eleventh century. According to Jan M. Ziolkowski, a possible predecessor of 'The Little Red Riding Hood' was used by the medieval teacher Egbert of Liège in his schoolbook *Fecunda ratis* (1022-1024) with the purpose of religious instruction. Although his is a rather distant variant, presented by him in Latin verse, Egbert "remains a folklore collector of the only sort who could have been encountered around the millennium – a male member of the literate class who, to indoctrinate youths, drew upon material that had currency among common people" (Ziolkowski 1992: 559). This is a singular example, though, and a wide gap occurred in the course of several centuries. Nevertheless, in 1903, the place of fairy tales proper within various curricula was well established, and there was "no longer a call for a demonstration, or even a statement, that there is a place in the child's education for the fairy-tale" (MacClintock 1903: 609). However, not all the uses were of a benevolent kind – indoctrination in accordance with the current ideology was especially important in Nazi Germany, for example, when fairy tales, along with other traditional folk expressions, were interpreted in such a way as to promote the values and aims of the National Socialist party. Thus, by subtly converting the vision of a rural folk community as reflected in the tales with a "'fighting folk community', standing 'in a single column' behind the Führer in unity and unquestioning loyalty, . . . the innocent folktale was transformed into an ideological weapon meant to serve the building of the Thousand Year Reich" (Kamenetsky 1977: 169).

Not only interpretation, but also the content of the tales is subject to transformation in the service of different propaganda causes. In his book *Fairy tale as myth/myth as fairy tale* (1994), Jack Zipes defines six features of importance occurring in the process of transferring fairy tales from the adult lore to that of children:

(1) The social function of the fairy tale must be didactic and teach a lesson that corroborates the code of civility as it was being developed at that time; (2) it must be short so that children can remember and memorize it and so that both adults and children can repeat it orally. . . .; (3) it must pass the censorship of adults so that it can be easily circulated; (4) *it must address social issues such as obligation, sex roles, class differences, power, and decorum so that it will appeal to adults, especially those who publish and publicize the tales*; (5) it must be suitable to be used with children in a schooling situation; and (6) *it must reinforce a notion of power within the children of the upper classes and suggest ways for them to maintain power.* (33; italics added)

An analysis of fairy-tale abuse in terms of reinforcing the status quo in power relations between different social groups is closely related to the discussion of nationalism, and refers to the question of ethnicity and race. The problem of the 'ideology of White supremacy' in popular fairy tales is examined in 'Seeing White: Children of Color and the Disney Fairy Tale Princess' (2005), where Dorothy L. Hurley compares six classic fairy tales ('Sleeping Beauty', 'Cinderella', 'The Little Mermaid', 'Beauty and the Beast', 'Snow White', and 'Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp') as adapted in Walt Disney's animated films and in the texts from the collections of the brothers Grimm, Charles Perrault, Jeanne-Marie Le Prince de Beaumont, Hans Christian Andersen and Andrew Lang's edition of *Arabian Nights*. Her aim was to establish the extent to which 'white' is presented as positive and 'black' as negative or is under-represented or even non-represented. She concluded that, since "children's self-image is affected by the ways in which they see themselves in texts both verbal and visual," especially if they do not see themselves in the texts at all, "the images found in fairy tales have particular importance for children of color in relation to the internalization of White privileging" (221). The implications of her findings are disturbing, all the more so since they are applicable not only to

children of African-American origin, but also to any other group of children of colour, including the Roma children.

Preserving the *status quo* in the distribution of patriarchal gender roles within fairy tales is the subject of another fruitful field of inquiry. Already in the early 1970s, scholars turned their attention to the existence of negative stereotypes in the most popular fairy tales. In “‘Some Day My Prince Will Come’: Female Acculturation through the Fairy Tale” (1972), Marcia R. Lieberman claims that, from the experience of reading their favourite fairy tales, “millions of women must surely have formed their psycho-sexual self-concepts, and their ideas of what they could or could not accomplish, what sort of behavior would be rewarded, and of the nature of reward itself” (385). According to Kay F. Stone, negative female stereotyping appears in a minority of tales published within the scope of most scholarly collections; however, this minority is popularised through abridged children’s editions and is of prevalent influence due to easy accessibility. Thus, because “the popularized heroines of the Grimms and Disney are not only passive and pretty, but also unusually patient, obedient, industrious, and quiet, [a] woman who failed to be any of these could not become a heroine. . . [whereas] Märchen¹³ heroes can be slovenly, unattractive, and lazy, and their success will not be affected” (Stone 1975: 44). Still today, despite the four decades of abundant scholarship pointing to the issue of fairy-tale abuse in terms of gender stereotyping, comparably little has been done to remedy the situation, as a majority of children are still exposed to the popular ‘classic’ versions of the well-known fairy tales, which, in reality, are an ‘unrepresentative selection’ since they “reflect the taste of the refined literary men who edited the first popular collections of fairy tales for children” (Lurie 1971: 6).

¹³ A synonymous term for fairy tales, sometimes used interchangeably, though slightly different in meaning (for a more detailed discussion of the term, see Prošić-Santovac 2011).

1.5 Fairy tale as a reflection of culture

Fairy tales have undergone a complex process of transition in order to become what we today consider to be classical fairy tales, and not just in terms of their content. From a wide pool of oral and printed tales, featuring a variety of different protagonists of both genders and with various characteristics, from the seventeenth century onwards mostly male, white, middle-class editors drew the tales which were in agreement with their own particular outlook on life, as well as with the requirements of the civilizing process imposed by the society at large. Thus, by a careful process of selection of the tales which were going to be immortalized in the popular printed collections, these collections came to be representative of the values nurtured by society, or rather, the dominant, hegemonic group in society – its patriarchal, white, male members. The tales chosen served as one of the means that instilled these values into the education of generations of children of both sexes, enforcing the status quo in terms of power relations within society. In these collections, tales with strong and active female characters were systematically given less and less space, or were not included at all, so much so, that when Stone performed research for her doctoral dissertation on romantic heroines in fairy tales in 1975, the forty women she interviewed were not even aware of the existence of such tales in their own culture, let alone being familiar with their content. What they were familiar with, however, were the tales that did feature heroines, but these heroines were neither strong nor active. Instead, they were, to use Professor Stone's words, 'uninspiring' and so inactive that they seemed 'barely alive' (1975: 44). Her pioneering research revealed just how influential these tales were in the formation of the value system of North American women at the time, which supported an androcentric view of the world.

The 1970s brought recognition of the importance of this issue, and of the potential of using various relatively unknown traditional

tales as a tool of 'women's liberation'. For example, in Joseph Jacobs's two collections (*English Fairy Tales* (1890) and *More English Fairy Tales* (1894)) one can find heroines such as curious and brave Lady Mary in 'Mr Fox' (ATU 955), and the witty peasant girls who married fools of their own accord in 'A Pottle o' Brains' (ATU 875, 910) and 'Gobborn Seer' (ATU 875, 910). Two heroines, Kate Crackernuts and Molly Whuppee, even have tales titled after their own names (ATU 306, 711, and ATU 328, respectively); Kate rescues a prince from the fairies and helps her sister regain her former beautiful form, while Molly outwits a giant, thus earning a husband for herself and her two sisters.

In none of these tales do we find the stereotyped conflict between the passive, beautiful woman and the aggressive, ugly one. Most of the active heroines are not even described in terms of their natural attributes . . . Like heroes, they are judged by their actions. Though most do marry, their weddings are no more central to the tale than is the concluding marriage of most heroes. . . Most important, active heroines are not victims of hostile forces beyond their control but are, instead, challengers who confront the world rather than waiting for success to fall at their pretty feet. (Stone 1975: 46)

Thus, popularizing more tales like these could provide a counterbalance to the Grimms' tales or Disney's films created in the twentieth century. In the wake of this conclusion, various anthologies were published with the tales centring on female characters: e.g. Virginia Hamilton's *Her Stories: African American Folktales, Fairy Tales, and True Tales* (1996), Kathleen Ragan's *Fearless Girls, Wise Women, and Beloved Sisters: Heroines in Folktales from around the World* (1998), Jane Yolen's *Not One Damsel in Distress: World Folktales for Strong Girls* (2000) and *Mirror, Mirror: Forty Folktales for Mothers and Daughters to Share* (2000) with Heidi E. Y. Stemple. In a similar vein, by "including folk tales from a variety of cultures and countries" and "the promotion of transcultural literature" (Hurley 2005: 230) one can simultaneously remedy to a certain extent the issues of race, ethnicity and excessive

nationalism discussed above. A drawback to this kind of approach is the fact that such collections are not as widely available as the ones of Perrault, the Grimms or Andersen. Therefore, not as many children are exposed to them in practice, and their potential formative influence in terms of general public is thus drastically reduced. In addition, not all the children, caregivers and teachers are necessarily interested in reading the 'disruptive' tales, since, if they belong to the dominant group, they might not be willing to abandon what they feel to be a position of power. What is more, the very titles of many of these collections are formulated in such a way that they might actually be off-putting to the opposite group, implicitly excluding them from the whole picture, be it male readership or the members of the dominant ethnic community. On the other hand, subversive animated films, like the Shrek films by DreamWorks, or some more recent Disney films, seem to have more power in combating the worldview as promoted by the older Disney films, since wider circulation, as well as the subtlety of their 'disruptiveness' ensures that they are not rejected by the general public.

Developing critical literacy skills is another way of dealing with problematic contents of some tales, without eliminating them altogether from the curricula and home reading lists. Nancy Polette's *Teaching thinking skills with fairy tales and fantasy* (2005) and Joan M. Wolf's *The beanstalk and beyond: developing critical thinking through fairy tales* (1997) offer ideas and guidance in working with fairy tales with this aim in mind. Getting into the habit of asking "what world view is advanced by the texts and should these views be accepted" (Hurley 2005: 229) puts the children into a superior position in relation to texts, thus empowering them to challenge their subliminal messages, which may otherwise become imperceptibly internalized. If nurtured from an early age, these skills provide a useful tool not only in dealing with fairy tales, but with any other content, either textual or audiovisual. This is especially important in an era of television and the Internet, with texts and videos galore, which children often use unsupervised, or even if they are under

adult supervision, it does not necessarily have to be the case that the adults themselves are equipped with the necessary skills to help children understand what they read and see.

Because fairy tales are generally heavily used during the early childhood years, and sometimes later on in the context of foreign language teaching or literature courses, a combined approach would seem most appropriate. As one cannot always control what children read and watch, it is best to give them the knowledge that would help them sail through the texts they encounter without falling prey to the promoted worldview. The following example, taken from a popular Wordsworth edition of *Perrault's Fairy Tales* (2004), readily available to today's children, speaks louder in favour of this recommendation than a thousand theoretical explanations: in the story of Donkeyskin (ATU 510B), following an incestuous proposal on the part of the father, one can find an outrageous piece of advice given to the young princess by her fairy godmother: "You must not disobey your father, but first tell him that you must have a dress which has the colour of the sky" (84).

2. FAIRY TALE APPROPRIATION THROUGH TIME

During the nineteenth century, when enthusiasm for collecting fairy tales flourished, national collections of fairy tales started appearing, from the most popular ones of the Grimm brothers to those less familiar, as are, for example, the collections of English fairy tales by Joseph Jacobs or Edwin Sidney Hartland.¹⁴ Different variants of the same tales were recorded, but, for the most part, they did not remain unaltered, as storytellers and editors “embroidered the narratives passed on to them with the cultural values as well as with the facts of their own milieu” (Tatar 2003: 105).

When fairy tale books and chapbooks became a commodity, their availability further influenced their popularity, so that, by the twentieth century it was almost a norm for children to be acquainted with fairy tales early on, in one form or another, both through the medium of books and film. In the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries, the trend continued and various, sometimes anonymous, storytellers incorporated their own worldviews into the tales they modified. Because fairy tales are deeply interwoven into the fabric of numerous cultures around the world, there is nowadays hardly a child or an adult who has not come across them at one time or other in their lives. More often than not, they represent an ever-present ingredient in the education of a child, especially at an early age. Thus, when a personality is still in formation, and is most plastic and prone to ‘moulding’, messages and values embedded in tales can imperceptibly seep through and settle permanently, participating in the formation of the traits of individuals, and thus vicariously

¹⁴ There were other collections before these, from the seventeenth century, such as the French one by Charles Perrault or the Italian one by Gianbattista Basile, but they were not created with the intention of making collections representative of a national culture.

affecting the society as well. In this way, through the process of fairy tale appropriation, “we have inherited more than a taste for ‘popular tales’ from our nineteenth-century predecessors: we have also inherited a set of ideologically charged textual practices and interpretive frameworks” (Schacker 2003: 1) which reveal much both about the culture of the past and about the culture of the present.

2.1 The socializing role of fairy tales

Some of the issues identified since the 1970s have become globalised to a large extent, due to the development of technology and a much easier distribution of fairy tales by various means, both printed and cinematic, but seem to have been relatively neglected in the academic thought of our country. Because of this, research was undertaken with the aim to reveal which exactly are the tales and their variants that young adults in Serbia most often encounter in their childhood, and to uncover what these tales have in common. It was hypothesised that fairy tales in general would be perceived as belonging mainly to the female domain, as well as children's. The assumption was that fairy tales still represent one of the earliest contributions to childhood education, and that they therefore have a chance to strongly influence children, as the messages embedded in them can be uncritically internalized due to young age and low level of maturity. Another supposition was that in “the world of globalized capitalism, children and adults are more apt to be familiar with cinematic versions of the fairy tale than they are with oral or printed ones” (Zipes 2011: 22). Because of this, it was hypothesized that the influence of Western culture would be predominant, at the expense of the domestic culture as it is presented through the medium of fairy tales. The method of compiling information, via questionnaires, has been both quantitative and qualitative, with the research done in two phases over the span of two years. In the first phase, a response

to fairy tales in general was obtained and the most influential ones were singled out, while, in the second phase, personal responses to values promoted by these tales were collected.

The sample consisted of 165 respondents, whose average age was 20.06. They were all students of the first and second year at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, who attended various study programs at 15 different departments and came from 58 different towns and villages both in Vojvodina and in Serbia proper, as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina. This contributed to achieving the 'random' element, as the participants' cultural experience was not tied to one town or village only and helped gain insight into a variety of mindsets. The limitation, however, in terms of area of specialization was that, although the participants' different fields of studies influenced their being in sufficiently varied state of mind, it was nevertheless within limits of the humanistic sciences framework. Also, the gender distribution was not even, with 73.94 per cent of female and 26.06 per cent male participants. The sampling was purposive in that the researcher aimed at acquiring the relevant information from the people who were in a similar phase of life to that in which a majority of fairy tale protagonists are found at the time the narratives take place. The informants were all unmarried, they had just finished secondary school and started attending university or were in the second year of their studies, and were beginning a life on their own. They were mostly still reliant on their parents, at least in terms of financial help, and in that sense were on the verge of growing up, just like many protagonists in fairy tales. In the past, at the time when the classic fairy tales came into existence, the symbolic age for 'coming of age' was considered to be 15 or 16, and it is still represented as such in the tales, but nowadays this important transition, from childhood to adulthood, is seen to happen between the age of 18 and 25, which is why this age was set as the criterion of the sample selection. An additional benefit of such sampling strategy was the fact that the participants were still young enough to remember well their childhood reactions to fairy tales and

the thoughts evoked by them, but were mature enough to articulate them effectively and to reflect upon them critically.

Two distinct questionnaires were used in the two phases of research. Because the range of possible answers was completely unknown and any pre-prepared answers would have compromised the validity of the research, both questionnaires featured open-ended questions, with some of the closed-ended items in the second questionnaire being derived from the information collected in the first phase. The purpose of the first questionnaire was to obtain a response to fairy tales in general, as well as to single out the most popular and influential ones from the point of view of the participants, while the second questionnaire sought to further define the exact variants of the tales that the participants were familiar with, in addition to checking some of the findings from the first phase. Both contained factual questions which were used to uncover demographic characteristics, but also to collect details about the informants' experience, such as the age when they were introduced to fairy tales, the most common sources of tales, the tales best remembered, etc. Behavioural questions were used to find out whether the respondents still read fairy tales and watched fairy tale films, while attitudinal questions revealed memories, reactions and attitudes to fairy tales in general.

The closed-ended items which were utilised with the aim to define the exact variant of a tale that the participants were familiar with were formulated as in the following example:

In the fairy tale 'Cinderella':

- a) Cinderella's two evil sisters marry aristocrats at the end of the tale,
- b) doves peck the evil sisters' eyes as a punishment for their deeds,
- c) before Cinderella has the chance to try on the glass slipper, it breaks into pieces, but Cinderella produces the other one as a proof of her identity.

For this purpose, only the most widely known variants of the tales were listed. In the example above, the first option refers to the

tale published by Charles Perrault in 1697, the second describes the ending of the variant by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, published in 1857, and the third refers to Walt Disney's animated fairy tale film released in 1950, the plot of which is based on Perrault's variant but also differs from it to a great extent. This was done because different variants of a tale do not carry the same, and sometimes not even similar messages, as can be seen from the example supplied. Before finalising the questionnaires, the initial piloting of the instruments was performed, and the questions were modified based on the feedback.

2.2 Fairy tales as a reading choice

The analysis of the self-reported data confirmed the initial hypothesis that fairy tales represent one of the earliest contributions to childhood education, as the average age when the participants first encountered fairy tales was found to be 3.84. In order to establish the importance and the place fairy tales have in the lives of children, the effort was made to make a distinction between the kinds of books that the participants were read to by adults and the kind of literature they themselves preferred reading during their childhood. Over three quarters (77.38 per cent) of those questioned reported that fairy tales were the main genre of literature that they encountered by way of adults, while just over a half (54.76 per cent) continued reading them of their own accord.¹⁵ Nevertheless, fairy tales still held the most prominent place among different genres of

¹⁵ These results are consistent with previous research done in the field, where the analysis of the research on cultural needs of preschool children showed that children at the age of five and six held fairy tale in the highest regard, and for those at the age of six and seven "fairy tale was still a dominant genre for one half of the participating children" (Milovanović, 2002: 9). However, since children usually acquire their reading skills after the age of seven, the age difference must also be taken into account, as the reading tastes change in time, as well.

literature, since nursery rhymes, fables and children's stories, in the far second place, were read to only 4.76 per cent of participants each, while children's stories were the second most favourite choice for 13.09 per cent of participants when they were in the position to start choosing for themselves.

Gender of the child was an important factor that influenced adults in choosing whether to read fairy tales to their children, with 81.36 per cent of female and 68 per cent of male participants reporting the experience. An even greater discrepancy exists between those who continued to read fairy tales of their own free will – 66.1 per cent of females did so, as opposed to only 38.89 per cent of males. Gender was also a significant factor in determining the reaction to fairy tales in general, with 90.31 per cent of the females reporting a positive attitude, and only 3.23 per cent having an entirely negative attitude; another 3.23 per cent showed mixed feelings towards fairy tales, and 3.23 per cent did not remember their experience. On the other hand, only 50 per cent of the males claimed to feel positively about fairy tales, while 18.18 per cent had a negative attitude, 13.64 per cent supplied a mixed response, and 18.18 per cent reported not remembering their reaction to fairy tales at all. Unfortunately, there were examples among both genders of people who were not read to at all during childhood – 8 per cent of male population and 1.69 per cent of female, some of whom indicated that instead of reading they were exposed only to watching cartoons and animated films. Furthermore, when asked what they liked reading, 3.39 per cent of females stated they did not like reading at all, while as many as 22.22 per cent of males claimed the same, preferring to watch cartoons and animated films instead.

Of the study population, 15.07 per cent claimed that they still often read fairy tales for various reasons, 9.59 per cent that they sometimes did, while as many as 41.09 per cent said that they rarely and 34.25 per cent that they never did that anymore. By contrast, fairy tale films and cartoons were still watched 'often' by 37.5 per cent of the respondents, 'sometimes' by 22.22 per cent, 'rarely' by 27.78 per cent, and 'never' by 12.5 per cent of those questioned.

When asked if they considered fairy tales to be aimed specifically at children, 73.68 per cent answered that they were also suitable for adults, and only 26.32 per cent believed that they belonged exclusively to the children's domain. Taking into account the previously stated results, it is not surprising that the most influential medium through which fairy tale content was consumed was film, either live-action or animated, with more than a half of the respondents (55.56 per cent) stating so. Books were second in popularity with 33.33 per cent of responses, followed by primary school readers with 4.17 per cent, comics with 3.47 per cent, picture books with 2.08 per cent, and oral storytelling with only 1.39 per cent.

For the most part, the results obtained support the initial hypothesis that fairy tales do represent an integral part of early education, since they were found to be the main source of literature the majority of the respondents were introduced to at a very young age. In accordance with the expectations, gender played an important role in the amount of experience the participants had with fairy tales, as females were exposed to fairy tales to a greater degree, and a larger number of female participants reported continuing to read them later on. Female participants also showed a more positive attitude towards fairy tales, with many of the additional comments showing strong feelings and great enthusiasm, while male participants more often linked boredom with their experience. Among the few people who were either not exposed to reading at all in childhood, or did not have a favourable attitude towards reading themselves, males were represented in a much greater number, which contributes to viewing reading, especially reading of fairy tales, as a predominantly female activity.

Contrary to expectations, though, it was found that fairy tales were not considered to belong to children's domain exclusively by most respondents, which indicates that they felt rather comfortable during questionnaire administration as they did not feel ashamed of their own 'childishness' and pressured to give a 'socially acceptable' answer in terms of their peer group's supposed attitude.

Nevertheless, reading fairy tales was not an activity that a large number of the participants pursued into their adulthood, although a lot of them continued watching fairy tale films and cartoons, probably because this was the way fairy tale content had been consumed by a majority of the informants in the first place. Significantly, if one is to judge from the responses obtained, the culture of oral storytelling to children seems to be in decline, to the degree that it is almost non-existent, and it is steadily being replaced by the impersonal reception of the content from the TV screen.

2.3 Fairy tale sources and popular tales

The best remembered collectors and writers of fairy tales were found to be Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm (49.1 per cent), Hans Christian Andersen (30.36 per cent), and Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (9.82 per cent), while only 7.15 per cent remembered Serbian writers of fairy tales, such as Grozdana Olujić and Desanka Maksimović. These results were confirmed in the second phase of research, with only slight differences in percentages.¹⁶ In both phases, Walt Disney, a film producer, was mentioned as a collector/writer of fairy tales,¹⁷ which is not surprising since there are many fairy tale collections available on the market that are published based on the contents of his animated films and that bear his name on their covers. Thus, through Disney's work, "film had a powerful impact on the oral and print tradition of fairy tales and . . . the Disney fairy-tale as commodified film and book rose to predominance in the twentieth century" (Zipes 2011: 22).

¹⁶ Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm (56.32 per cent), Hans Christian Andersen (31.03 per cent), Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (4.6 per cent), Grozdana Olujić (3.45 per cent) and Desanka Maksimović (2.3 per cent).

¹⁷ In the first phase, 3.57 per cent of responses contained Walt Disney's name, while in the second phase, 2.3 per cent of respondents mentioned him.

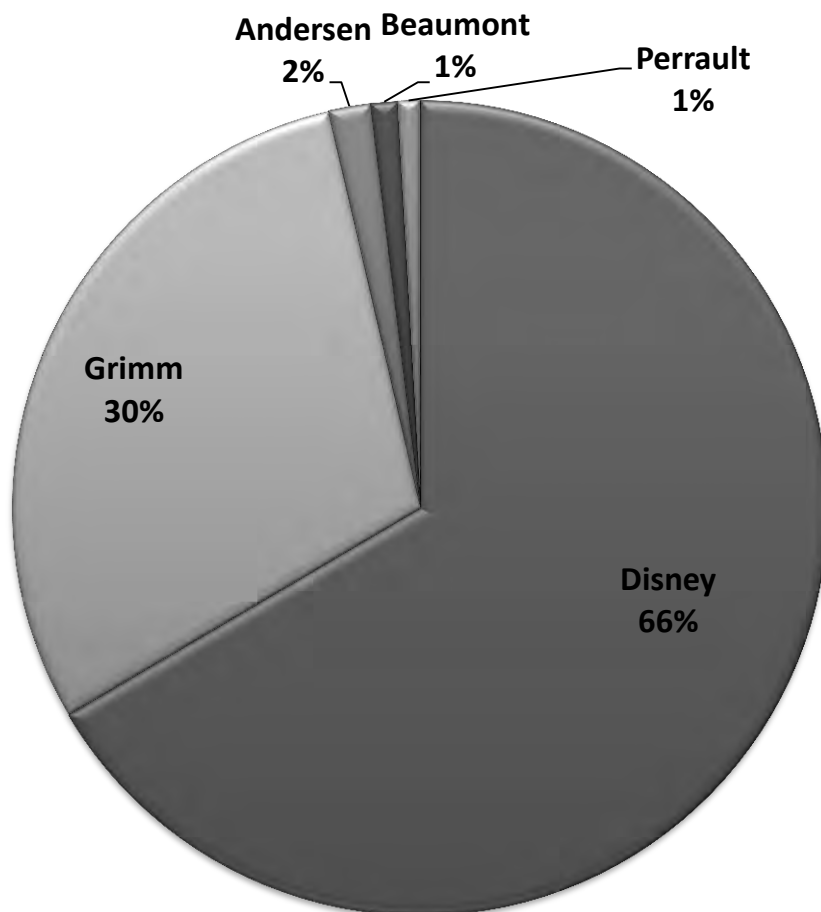


Figure 2.1. The distribution of fairy tale variants according to the source

The overwhelming influence of the Western culture is also evident in the choice of other names remembered, since the Grimm brothers, as German editors and collectors of folk tales, and Hans Christian Andersen, as a Danish writer of literary fairy tales, accounted for approximately four fifths of answers, with the most notable Serbian collector of folk tales lagging far behind. By comparison, Serbian writers of literary fairy tales turned out to be

barely remembered, which altogether speaks loudly of the rather insignificant influence that domestic fairy tales might have in the formation of the participant's system of values. Accordingly, the best remembered tales were those that can be found within the collections of the Grimm brothers, but also in those by Hans Christian Andersen, Jeanne-Marie Le Prince de Beaumont, and Charles Perrault (Figure 2.1). Nevertheless, the most striking result to emerge from the data is that, although the tales were known to a number of the participants from these 'original' sources, a great majority of them came into contact with the tales through the medium of Disney's films. Therefore, although this is a small scale study, it can be concluded that the messages embedded in the Disney variants, followed by the Grimms' variants, have the greatest chance of imprinting themselves upon young minds.

In addition, the participants were asked to write the titles of the tales they remembered best from their childhood, which also yielded results that were remarkably similar in both phases of the research process, with the same tales appearing in top six places, only in different order (Table 2.1). The variants of the tales that the respondents were familiar with are given in Table 2.2.

Table 2.1. Fairy tales in the order of popularity

| No | Titles obtained in the 1st phase | per cent | Titles obtained in the 2nd phase | per cent |
|----|----------------------------------|----------|----------------------------------|----------|
| 1 | 'Cinderella' | 22.93 | 'Snow White' | 25.6 |
| 2 | 'Snow White' | 22.14 | 'Cinderella' | 18.7 |
| 3 | 'Sleeping Beauty'/'Briar Rose' | 18.97 | 'Little Red Riding Hood' | 16.8 |
| 4 | 'Beauty and the Beast' | 15.41 | 'Sleeping Beauty'/'Briar Rose' | 14.9 |
| 5 | 'Little Red Riding Hood' | 10.67 | 'Beauty and the Beast' | 13.1 |
| 6 | 'Little Mermaid' | 9.88 | 'Little Mermaid' | 10.6 |

Table 2.2. The variants of the fairy tales known to the participants

| | Disney (%) | Grimm (%) | Andersen (%) | Beaumont (%) | Perrault (%) |
|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 'Cinderella' | 89.02 | 7.32 | - | - | 3.66 |
| 'Snow White' | 86.75 | 13.25 | - | - | - |
| 'Beauty and the Beast' | 92.75 | - | - | 7.25 | - |
| 'Little Red Riding Hood' | - | 98.78 | - | - | 1.22 |
| 'Sleeping Beauty'/'Briar Rose' | 45.57 | 54.43 | - | - | 0 |
| 'Little Mermaid' | 89.61 | - | 10.39 | - | - |

2.4 Walt Disney and tale appropriation

Establishing the variants of the tales that the participants were familiar with was necessary in order to be able to understand their response to values promoted by them, since different variants of a single tale can also have different messages embedded in them. The individual variants of the tales singled out as the most popular and best known which have been in the focus of the analysis are the following: Walt Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), *Cinderella* (1950), *Sleeping Beauty* (1959), *The Little Mermaid* (1989), *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), and Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm's 'Briar Rose' (1857) and 'Little Red Riding Hood' (1857). However, Disney's adaptations of 'Little Red Riding Hood' have been disregarded and omitted from the analysis on three accounts: firstly, his 1922 early black-and-white animation, a part of the 'Laugh-O-Grams' series, which was considered to be lost for a long time, is fairly unknown to today's youth, and therefore not influential in terms of the formation of their cultural values; secondly, the 1934 cartoon 'The Big Bad Wolf', a part of 'Silly Symphonies' series, is an amalgamation of 'Little

Red Riding Hood’ and ‘The Three Little Pigs’, and is, thus, not suitable for the analysis either; and finally, and most importantly, none of the participants showed awareness of any of these variants.

2.4.1 ‘Cinderella’

‘Cinderella’ is a tale belonging to the tale-type ATU¹⁸ 510A, the description of which is an amalgamation of various tale variants, which differ significantly in details of their content. For the purpose of this research, only the most widely known variants of the tales were listed in the questionnaire.¹⁹ Thus, the first option referred to the tale first published by Charles Perrault in 1697 in his *Histoires ou contes du temps passé or Les Contes de ma Mère l’Oye* [Stories or Fairy Tales from Past Times or Mother Goose Tales], the second described the ending of the variant by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, published in 1857, in the 7th edition of their collection *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* [Children’s and Household Tales], and the third referred to Walt Disney’s animated fairy tale film released in 1950, the plot of which is based on Perrault’s variant but also differs from it to a great extent. Thus, for example, in Perrault’s variant, Cinderella’s two evil sisters marry aristocrats at the end of the tale, in the Grimms’ variant, doves peck the evil sisters’ eyes as a punishment for their deeds, while, in Disney’s variant, they disappear from the scene altogether in the end. Such a difference in what is seemingly only a detail in the plot, as are, for example, the outcomes reserved for the evildoers in the variants, sends a drastically different message to the reader, regardless of the reasons why the changes were introduced – whether it was for the purpose of bowdlerization, moral instruction, or changing the focus of the plot.

¹⁸ ATU numbers refer to tale-typology as given in Hans-Jörg Uther’s *The Types of International Folktales. A Classification and Bibliography* (2004).

¹⁹ For example, a fairly unknown variant from the ninth-century China was omitted; here, the heroine’s name is Yeh-Shen, a magical fish performs the role of helper instead of the godmother (Perrault’s version) or the tree and the dove (Grimms’ version).

Nevertheless, the variants do keep a unified underlying message, glorifying the dependent, silent, passive, submissive and powerless heroine, emphasising the importance of physical beauty and, simultaneously, setting the standards for it, and, most importantly, promoting a patriarchal outlook on life as preferable to



Figure 2.1. *Cinderella* (1901)

all other options – an escape from ‘evil female environment’, uncontrolled by ‘benevolent’ males. A distorted view of heterosexual love is present in all variants, as well, with the male getting to choose a mate from a pool of available objectified females, the protagonists ‘falling in love’ without exchanging a single word, solely based on appearance, and marriage seen as a path to improving one’s social standing. As expected, taking into account the ‘technological culture’ that the respondents grew up in, the variant that most of them were familiar with was Disney’s (89.02 per cent), followed by the Grimms’ (7.32 per cent), with the least known being Perrault’s ‘Cendrillon’ (3.66 per cent).

2.4.2 ‘Snow White’

‘Snow White’ belongs to the tale-type ATU 709, the description of which mostly refers to the Grimms’ variant of the tale, while Walt Disney’s *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), although based on the Grimms’ tale, changes the focus entirely, from the relationship of an older and younger female, laden with envy because of physical beauty, and only instrumental appearance of the prince towards the end of the tale, to a much greater importance assigned to the prince in the film. He appears at the very beginning, and his role is crucial in waking up Snow White by kissing her, while in the Grimms’ variant, she is woken by coincidence, when the prince’s servants drop her coffin on the ground. In the Grimms’ tale, she is relatively active, saving her own life by begging the hunter for mercy, then finding the dwarfs’ house on her own, although she is also objectified towards the end of the tale, when the prince takes her from the dwarfs and says: “I will honour and prize her as my dearest *possession*” (Grimm 2007: 270; italics added). However, in Disney’s variant, she loses whatever initiative she might have had, the hunter is the one who initiates her release, the animal helpers lead her to the dwarfs’ house, and the prince does not even ask her acceptance for their ensuing marriage. The only active role she is allowed to have is that of an organizer, albeit in the domestic domain, when she gives

tasks to the animals while cleaning the dwarfs' house. Also, as a member of aristocracy, she is allowed to show an authoritative attitude towards the working class dwarfs, who are stereotypically presented as uneducated, physically underdeveloped and slovenly, and a whole episode is devoted to her forcing them to adopt the habits of hygiene. Most importantly, what is only an undertone in the Grimms' variant, receives an open expression when Disney puts misogynist words in a dwarf's mouth: "She's a female! And all females is poison! They're full of wicked wiles!" (Disney 1937: lines 303, 304). Predictably, 86.75 per cent of respondents were familiar with Disney's variant, and only 13.25 per cent expressed familiarity with the Grimms' variant.

2.4.3 'Sleeping Beauty' / 'Briar Rose'

'Sleeping Beauty'/'Briar Rose' belongs to the tale-type ATU 410, the description of which describes Perrault's 'The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood', which is a fairly unpopular and a rather unknown variant, if one is to judge from the results of this research, since there were no participants familiar with it. Surprisingly, there were more respondents who remembered the Grimms' variant (54.43 per cent) than those who remembered Disney's *Sleeping Beauty* (1959) (45.57 per cent). Here, again, the differences between variants are significant, as are the messages they convey to the audiences. Similarly to the previous tale, the nameless prince appears towards the end in the Grimms' variant, while in Disney's he has a name and he makes his appearance at the very beginning, while he is still a child and Princess Aurora a newborn baby. His role is so prominent that he is presented to the viewers even before the fairies, and the arranged marriage is announced immediately, thus shifting the focus from the princess. The fairies' gifts bestowed upon the princess also differ to a certain extent; in the Grimms' tale, beauty is in the second place, after virtue, while in the film it is the very first gift, followed by the rather useless gift of 'song'.

The curse-breaking spell in Disney removes the dimension of time and, instead, introduces ‘true love’s kiss’ as a prerequisite to waking the princess. Thus, in the Grimms’ tale, it is the case that simply a hundred years had passed, which in itself had taken the spell off the princess and the castle, and the prince just happened to come along at the right moment, while in the film he is also present in the middle of the film, falling in love with Aurora, again at first sight and based solely on physical appearance, and towards the end fights the evil fairy actively in order to save the princess, who is utterly passive in the course of film. Her freedom of choice is taken away from her at the very beginning of her life, and the only reaction she shows towards impositions made upon her life is total deference. When the curse is about to be fulfilled, she is shown in a trancelike state, led by a green, translucent light towards her destiny, and when the evil fairy orders her to touch the spindle, she obeys without questioning. The Grimms, on the other hand, describe her as “beautiful, modest, good-natured, and *wise*” (Grimm 2007: 248; italics added), and indeed, she is shown as characterized by curiosity – she explores the castle on her own, she is brave enough to unlock a door in a deserted tower, she makes inquiries about the spindle, and wants to try out the new skill of spinning herself. In the case of this tale, Disney also introduced a dimension of social class into the story, since the fairies protect the ‘one and only’ royal princess Aurora by immersing her into the anonymity of the lower classes, giving her an ordinary name, Rose, and living as peasants.

2.4.4 ‘Beauty and the Beast’

The tale belongs to the tale-type ATU 425C, which faithfully describes the tale as told by Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont, first published in France in 1756, and translated into English in 1757. This variant was relatively unknown to the participants, as only 7.25 per cent expressed their familiarity with it, while as many as 92.75 per cent claimed to have watched Walt Disney’s *Beauty and*

the Beast (1991), which differs significantly from its predecessor. As in the previous cases, a much greater emphasis is put on 'romantic love' in the film. Heterosexual relationships are in focus, while female relationships, between sisters, are completely removed, despite the fact that they take up much of the tale that the film is based on. An additional suitor, Gaston, is introduced at the very beginning, and is an important figure throughout the film, and the beast/prince's story of enchantment is told even before Belle's story begins, thus giving him greater prominence. In LePrince de Beaumont's tale, the beast is pictured as a kind companion who Beauty enjoys talking to, and who pays her regular visits during her three-month stay in his castle.²⁰ Their budding romantic love is presented as based on friendship, which is a much more mature model for the young audiences than Disney's glorification of love at first sight, discussed for the previous tales. LePrince de Beaumont, a female living in the eighteenth century, in a time when arranged marriages with often older or unknown men were still a practice, tries to come to terms with such state of affairs, stating through Beauty's mouth, that

it is neither good looks nor great wit that makes a woman happy with her husband, but character, virtue, and kindness, and Beast has all those good qualities. I may not be in love with him, but I feel respect, friendship, and gratitude toward him. If I made him unhappy, my lack of appreciation would make me feel guilty for the rest of my life (LePrince de Beaumont 1999: 40).

However, it ought not to be forgotten that Beauty is the beast's captive throughout the tale, with little reason for feeling gratitude, which potentially positions her newly developed feelings for him as the Hostage Identification Syndrome (HIS) (Ripley 2007), a "psychological process that is intensified by factors related to the immediate life-threatening nature of the hostage situation," such as "1. face-to-face contact, 2. timing of violence, 3. language, 4.

²⁰ In Disney's film the would-be lovers hardly talk at all, similarly to the situation in other films discussed. The remake of the film from 2017 rectifies this to a certain extent, although the rest of the film is rather faithful to the animated version.



Figure 2.3 *Beauty and the Beast* (n.d.)

sophistication of the individuals, 5. cultural value structure, 6. preexisting stereotypes, 7. the passage of time” (Turner 1985: 705, 707). These factors are especially influential in the animated film: first of all, there is the daily contact of the protagonists; secondly, violence occurs mostly at the beginning of the captivity period; thirdly, they use a shared language; fourthly, the knowledge of psychological phenomena is transferred from the servants onto the beast in order to consciously manipulate Belle’s feelings while courting her; fifthly, the beast falls in love with Belle, since “identification in some situations will move in the direction of the person who has strong beliefs and can articulate them in a nonhostile fashion” (709), which Belle does indeed; sixthly, Belle’s perception of the beast changes over time in a favourable direction; and finally, there is the long-term imprisonment in the castle, which contributes to the development of HIS, as all other “factors that lead

to positive identification are present” (710). The film features an additional episode which speaks in favour of such a vision of the relationship in focus: the peasants that come to fight the beast are presented in a negative light, and in the case of HIS, “the outsider becomes the enemy, the destabilizing force” (710). Even if a milder view of the relationship is taken, it still cannot be characterized as a healthy one in any way, since the beast is violent towards Belle, both verbally and physically, and the message this story sends to young audiences is a rather problematic one, to say the least. The power in the female-male relationship is extremely unequally distributed, and what is meant to be seen as an ideal of a romantic relationship is actually a highly abusive one, in which the victim stays first because of the outer stimulus, the sheer force on the part of the partner, and later on, because of the inner motivation, created out of the narrowed vision of the submissive partner exposed only to the influence of the dominant party.

The heroine, however, differs to a large extent from those previously discussed: she is not the embodiment of passivity and helplessness, nor is she only a pretty face. Being the “mistress of a great deal of resolution” (Leprince de Beaumont 1783: *n.p.*), she bravely sets out to find her father during the film, frees him from captivity by sacrificing herself in his stead, thus choosing her own destiny, she shows curiosity in searching the castle, just like the Grimms’ Briar Rose does, she is intelligent and self-assured, she refuses the unwelcome advances of the brutish Gaston, she confronts the beast on several occasions, and finally saves him from death by her love. The additional episode when the beast, as a male, saves Belle from wolves during her attempt to escape is Disney’s creation, while in LePrince de Beaumont’s variant males do not have the traditionally patriarchal role of protector and saviour.

Nevertheless, similarly to other heroines, she strives to escape the ordinary life in a provincial town and is dazzled by the wealth of the aristocratic class, of which she eventually becomes a member by way of marriage. In the film, as opposed to LePrince de Beaumont’s variant, the subject of class receives much attention. Working class

servants are entirely objectified, reduced only to their function in the household, and completely dehumanised, which may be interpreted as a critique of the impersonal attitude of the aristocratic class towards the working people, especially because they are trying very hard to regain their human form and dignity by directing the beasts behaviour towards Belle, in order to lift the spell by making her fall in love with him. However, this message is greatly undermined by placing the following words in the servants' mouth:

Life is so unnerving for a servant who's not serving
He's not whole without a soul to wait upon
. . . we're obsessed
with your meal, with your ease
yes, indeed, we aim to please" (Disney 1991: lines 609, 610, 629, 630)

2.4.5 'The Little Mermaid'

By far the greatest changes were made by Disney in his interpretation of Hans Christian Andersen's 'The Little Mermaid' (1837), and, unfortunately, as many as 89.61 per cent of participants were familiar with his *The Little Mermaid* (1989), and only 10.39 per cent were aware of the content of Andersen's original. Paradoxically, the nineteenth-century variant carries a much more modern, and, one might even claim, a feminist message. Female-female relationships are emphasised throughout the tale and presented in an entirely positive light; the Sea King basically has no role in the tale, while the powerful old grandmother is the primary caregiver of the six sisters who deeply love and support each other, and even the sea witch is presented as a benevolent woman who questions little mermaid's decision, asking her to think it through before acting upon it, and warns her about the consequences in a timely fashion. In addition, the little mermaid refuses to harm the prince, and vicariously, her rival, the prince's bride, at the cost of her own life, as

opposed to Disney's variant, in which female rivalry over the prince is full of animosity and fighting.

The patriarchal view of marriage and the woman giving up on her own identity and, metaphorically, her voice, is heavily criticised by Andersen, since the little mermaid's actions geared towards becoming a part of the prince's world eventually prove to be fruitless, and she is basically punished by death for forsaking her own self, her home and her family. What Disney retained from the original is her being a courageous, curious and adventurous person, but the rest of the story is distorted to the extent that its message may be characterised as entirely opposite in nature. Thus, as in other films, *The Little Mermaid's* opening scene is not of Ariel's world, but again, of Prince Eric's, which immediately puts the story in a patriarchal frame. Ariel's father, King Triton, is a stereotypical protector and an ever-present authority in the film, while the grandmother is completely removed and the sisters reduced to an instrumental role. In Andersen's tale, the little mermaid is the one who is the saviour of the prince's life, and her sisters are the ones who try to save hers at the end, whereas in Disney's film great emphasis is put in the film finale on Prince Eric's coming to the rescue of Ariel from the powerful witch Ursula, the only prominent female character apart from Ariel, who is here presented as the embodiment of evil and a short-lived ruler whose power is to be taken away as soon as possible.

The mermaid's transformation into human form is extremely painful in the original tale, reinforcing the message, especially for young girls, that one ought not to change oneself for another to the extent that her or his individuality is entirely erased; this is not so in Disney's film, where the transformation is presented as joyful, and eventually rewarded by a happy ending in the form of marriage. Thus, from an adventurous and rebellious girl, capable of standing up to her father, Ariel's nature is subdued, she is 'silenced' in order to be with a man and is reduced to her looks only. Silencing of women even becomes a generalised topic in Ursula's song, and even if the intention may have been to introduce subversive undertones, it is highly unlikely that the child audience can have the cognitive

abilities to understand the irony, but would rather take it at face value:

The men up there don't like a lot of blabber . . .
Yes, on land it's much preferred for ladies not to say a word . . .
They're not all that impressed with conversation
True gentlemen avoid it when they can
But they dote and swoon and fawn
On a lady who's withdrawn
It's she who holds her tongue who gets her man. (Disney 1989:
lines 566, 568, 571-575)

2.5 Recurring patterns in the tales

The analysis of these variants confirms the hypothesis that “there are certain fairy-tale patterns, motifs, and models which constantly arise . . . [and] which appear to have been preserved because they reinforce male hegemony in the civilisation process” (Zipes 1986: 9). These patterns have been found to be the most prominent in the domain of personal characteristics of characters and their interpersonal relationships.

2.5.1 Personal characteristics

The single most striking observation to emerge from the data comparison was that the tales best remembered by both male and female participants were those that featured female protagonists, which could be ascribed to the presumption that fairy tales are seen as belonging to the female domain. Except Little Red Riding Hood, who is most often perceived and represented as prepubescent

nowadays,²¹ the heroines are all teenage girls, and the emphasis is put on their emerging sexuality, and even in the case of Little Red Riding Hood, the implication of a sexual threat by the wolf cannot be disregarded, and some authors argue that this tale is about women and rape actually (Brownmiller 2008; Zipes 1993). The accompanying male partners of protagonists are of a similar age, slightly older than the heroines,²² presented as either well socialised human beings or uncivilised beastly figures.

As can be seen from Table 2.3, the characterization of female and male characters is based on the principle of binary oppositions. Males are represented as the embodiment of power and activity, while the descriptions of females are geared towards fostering helplessness and dependency on the dominant patriarch, be it the parent or the marital partner. The characteristics in the table have been sorted into the categories of 'desirable' and 'undesirable' based on the final outcome of the tale, in terms of how the protagonists fared in life. Thus, for example, physical beauty is the main factor contributing to a woman's 'success' in life, i.e. obtaining a husband, and is presented as by far the most important asset of a woman, while high social ranking is seen as the most important characteristic in a man, providing him with abundant choices in the course of life and rewarding him with a final happy ending.

²¹ This is not the case in all variants of the tale. In Disney's 1922 version, Little Red Riding Hood is represented as a young woman, who eventually kisses her saviour and flies away with him in his plane, while the wolf is represented as an adult man, openly pointing to his sexual intentions. This is by no means a unique interpretation of the tale, since, for example, Perrault's collection offers the following moral after the tale: "From this story one learns that children, especially young lasses, pretty, courteous and well-bred, do very wrong to listen to strangers, and it is not an unheard thing if the Wolf is thereby provided with his dinner," adding that among the 'wolves' "there is one kind with an amenable disposition, neither noisy, nor hateful, nor angry, but tame, obliging and gentle, following the young maids in the streets, even into their homes" (Perrault, 2004: 69).

²² The only male whose age is precisely stated is the Beast – at the time when the narrative takes place, he is about to turn 21.

Table 2.3. Personal characteristics of the protagonists according to gender

| FEMALE CHARACTERISTICS | | MALE CHARACTERISTICS | |
|--|--------------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| Desirable | Undesirable | Desirable | Undesirable |
| Physical beauty (small waist, small feet, disproportionately big eyes, richly dressed) | Intelligence | High social status | Unkindness |
| Gracefulness | Curiosity | Physical beauty (tall, dark hair, broad shoulders, muscular legs, richly dressed) | Overt |
| Kindness | Talkativeness | | animalistic nature |
| Shyness | Rebelliousness | | Uncontrollable temper |
| Humility | Being in power | | |
| Docility | Being the initiator of actions | | |
| Being defenceless | Inflicting violence | Self-assuredness | |
| Willingness to give up on one's own way of life to be with a lover | (physical and psychological) | Selfishness | |
| Enduring violence (physical and psychological) silently | | Being in power | |
| | | Being a protector | |
| | | Rebelliousness | |
| | | Being the initiator of actions | |
| | | Inflicting violence (physical and psychological) | |
| | | Fighting violence (physical and psychological) actively | |

Female intelligence is a rather problematic category in its own right. It is overtly made an issue of only in the most recently created of the films, *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), and even here it is

presented in a relatively controversial way. Belle is intelligent and she likes reading, but this fact is so overemphasised that it almost ceases to be a positive characteristic and becomes a form of critique. She reads so much that she fails to socialise with the people in her surroundings, and is therefore considered strange by them and is “never part of any crowd – ‘cause her head’s up on some cloud” (*Beauty and the Beast* 1991: line 49). The underlying message, repeated on multiple occasions throughout the film, is that “it’s a pity and a sin she doesn’t quite fit in” (line 115), encouraging conformism on the part of the audience. Probably intended as a critique of the patriarchal view that “it’s not right for a woman to read [because] / soon she starts getting ideas and thinking” (lines 127, 128), coming from the mouth of Gaston, the antagonist, who is characterised by Belle as “boorish, brainless” and “positively primeval” (lines 175, 129), this statement still remains openly expressed and heard by the audience, and when one takes into account how Belle’s life develops, the critique is eventually blurred in the course of the film. She does get a prince in the end, albeit an abusive one, but she becomes even more socially isolated in the castle than when living in the community of the town, surrounded only by books and talking furniture, which eventually gets transformed into servants. The message of her almost feminist rejection of Gaston’s advances, which finishes with her statement that she wants “much more than this provincial life, . . . adventure in the great wide somewhere, . . . so much more than they’ve got planned” (lines 281, 282, 286), is seriously compromised by the way her life is settled in the end.

2.5.2 Interpersonal relationships

Taking into account the patriarchal overtones of the tales under analysis, it is not surprising that male-female relationships are the main focus of the tales. Love relationships between women and men are presented as being of crucial importance, while platonic

friendship between the two sexes appears only in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, and even here, only because the parties involved do not belong to the same social class, nor do they share equally idealised physical features. Love is invariably presented as based on appearances only, as partners rarely exchange any words before falling in love or even getting married, with the exception of *Beauty and the Beast*, where the abusive male keeps the female captive in order to free himself from a curse, forcing her to get to know him in the course of time spent together.

On the other hand, when they do appear within the tales singled out in this research, female-female relationships are, more often than not, saturated with envy, jealousy, rivalry and viciousness; here, again, the focus is on beauty and the ‘acquisition’ of a man. Except for the good fairy godmothers who are unreal creatures in their own right, which discredits the benevolent relationship as applicable to real life, “these tales offer readers no imaginable female ally” (Fisher & Silber 2000: 130). Even when supportive relationships do exist in the original tales, their importance is underplayed, as in the example of *The Little Mermaid*, where the important figure of grandmother of Andersen’s tale is completely erased from the Disney variant, while the role of loving sisters is minimised to the extent that they become mere background characters. Mothers are absent from the plots entirely, except when mentioned as instruments of giving birth, in ‘Briar Rose’, for example, or providers of food and moral instruction in ‘Little Red Riding Hood’ – “indeed, the ‘triumphant’ exclusion of adult female characters in the final narrative frame signifies a ‘happy’ return to male dominion” (130). By contrast, fathers are given much more prominence, with the role of protector emphasised, even if it is an unsuccessful one, as in *Beauty and the Beast*, or if the protector is only a father figure, like the hunter in ‘Little Red Riding Hood’.

These observations have several implications for practice, and in working with children, either as a teacher or as a parent, one ought to bear in mind how gender identities are formed, and how the fairy tales analysed influence this process by emphasising “the

negative side of femininity for girls (fragility, timidity, obsession with appearance and with domesticity), and the negative side of masculinity for boys (aggression, insensitivity, rudeness, and a refusal to be helpful)” (Davies 2003: xi). Based on the findings, it can be concluded that the tales promote such values in terms of personal characteristics which, if internalised uncritically, can contribute to forming a female personality that is exceptionally well conformed to a patriarchal society, and a male one which is oppressive and domineering in relation to women. Since the same stories can be a part of the early experience of both males and females, their content can also have a negative impact on children’s perception of the opposite sex, as well as the relationships in children’s lives and the expectations they might have from these relationships.

One important aspect of these tales, which is for the most part overlooked, is their attitude to enduring and inflicting violence, whether physical or psychological. Tales like *Cinderella*, where the protagonists are rewarded by a ‘happy end’ for enduring both physical and psychological violence silently, while the perpetrators even go unpunished in the most popular version, can affect children of both genders in terms of their attitude towards various forms of abuse and bullying which is “a common and persistent problem in society, particularly in schools” (Sanders 2004: 12). In fact, of the six tales analysed, only *The Little Mermaid* features a protagonist who stands up for herself in the face of violence; thus, Ariel jumps on the witch Ursula in self-defence, before she is eventually saved by Prince Eric. In the rest of the tale variants, if salvation does come, it comes as a product of circumstances and not the characters’ own actions. These heroines share some of the typical characteristics of the victims of bullying in real life: they are mostly submissive, they “believe others are more capable of handling various situations,” feel that “external factors have more of an impact on them than internal control” and “believe that they cannot control their environment,” or they “have difficulty relating to peers” (18), as Belle in *Beauty and the Beast* does. Although the pattern is not the same in terms of gender and victimization, with two thirds of female victims being abused by

a female agent and only one third by male in the tales, while in real life situations in schools the case is opposite, with 60 per cent of female victims being bullied by males (Olweus 1991), what children of both sexes can learn from the tales is a dangerous lesson, and one which provides negative models of behaviour for both the victims and bullies themselves.

2.6 Interpretation of the messages and values embedded in the tales

The perception of values greatly varied in accordance with the gender of the participants. Thus, when asked about the importance of beauty in a woman's life as it is presented in the tales, male informants mostly realistically evaluated the embedded message, stating that beauty is treated as "the single most important thing" M6,²³ and "the key which opens all doors for women" (M2). A number of female informants, on the other hand, tended to interpret the message in more idealistic terms, sometimes distorting it to the point that they believed the tales taught us that "the only thing that matters is one's spiritual beauty and not physical one" (F32), which can hardly be the case, as beauty is a prerequisite for the future 'happiness', i.e. obtaining a husband, for each of the five heroines discussed. A male informant's comment "that beautiful girls are the only ones that can be noticed, and that ugliness signals evil" (M14), paralleled by a female participant's statement that "physical beauty is very important in a woman's life, but it is accompanied by all possible virtues" (F21), both speak of the realistic perception of what is promoted in the tales in terms of desirable characteristics of a woman well conformed to a patriarchal society, and they can best be

²³ Because of the anonymous nature of the research, each participant in the study was assigned a letter that stands for her or his gender and a number that denotes the order.

summarized by another female informant's answer: "Virtues are what makes us good and what makes people love us. We, girls should be humble, modest, hardworking, and docile," and "we should bear the difficulties in life because, in the end, we will be rewarded" (F15).

Both some females and some males concluded that appearance and wealth are presented as much less important than character, obviously not taking into account, for example, the fact that the very prerequisite for Cinderella's entrance into the ballroom was the possession of richly adorned dresses and her changing into something she was not. Also, although only one heroine, Belle/Beauty, is of lower social rank than the male partner, a female respondent claimed that the tales send the message "that love is a feeling strong enough to survive the differences in social status of the lovers, and that people should not be ashamed of their status and always be what they really are" (F43). The importance of social status and possession of material goods was observed by male respondents as high on the priority list in the life of men, as "all the princes get their beauties, while poor men remain single" (M25), as is the case with dwarfs or Gaston, for example. Females shared the opinion, stating that "status in the life of men is of equal importance as beauty is in the life of women" (F42).

The representation of heterosexual relationships in the tales was perceived more realistically by male respondents, as well. For example, one stated that they are often superficial and materialistic, forged with a view of improving the female's social status, and "that it is often the case that the partners are total strangers" (M25). Another claimed that fairy tales "offer a false view of romantic relationships which can lead to disappointment during adolescence" (M38). However, females also saw through the outlook on life as promoted by the tales, saying that "the male is presented as protector, and the woman simply as a factor of motivation for the male action" (F87), but there were also many who fell prey to the promoted worldview, characterising the relationships as 'perfect'. On the other hand, a great majority of participants of both genders perceived female-female relationships presented in the tales as saturated with envy,

hatred, rivalry and abuse, which is quite in accordance with the variants of the tales that the participants had in mind while answering the questionnaires.

2.7 Conclusion

All of the most popular variants of the tales analysed promote a patriarchal worldview, both in terms of desirable and undesirable characteristics in people of both sexes and in terms of the quality of the relationships between people of the same and different sexes. Thus, heroes are invariably pictured as wealthy, athletic and protective, and strength and independence are characterised as positive qualities in them. On the other hand, strong and independent women are presented as anti-heroines in the most popular variants of the tales, while passive and docile ones are presented as 'good', and even Ariel and Belle are, to a certain extent, socialised into stereotypical females in the course of the tales. The heroines share similar characteristics emphasised as important in the life of a woman, the most crucial one being physical beauty. The definition of what female beauty is, though, has changed in the course of time, and what started with relatively realistic proportions of Snow White's body and her chubby cheeks and rather flat chest, evolved into exceedingly unrealistically-looking bodies of the subsequent Disney heroines, with overemphasised curves and thin waists, which represent a supposed ideal for young girls in the audiences to strive for. Expensive clothes also account for a great deal of the perception of beauty, as if, by defining a heroine's high social status, they simultaneously define her as beautiful and more worthy of being noticed. Also, the focus of all of the Disney variants is on romantic relationships, thus assigning them a disproportionate importance in the eyes of the young audiences, while relationships between women are either full of hatred and rivalry or entirely non-

existent. This is especially the case with mother-daughter relationships, since none of the five heroines has a living mother.

With 80 per cent of most popular variants of all the tales analysed, film has proved to be a much more influential medium for dissemination of fairy tales, and, vicariously, the values embedded in them, than the books. Therefore, the worldview presented in the twentieth-century Walt Disney's fairy tale films, which is often more radically patriarchal and capitalist than the one promoted by the printed tales from the nineteenth century, can easily be internalised by child viewers if no critical thinking skills are nurtured in them by caregivers. Because of the many commercial products by Disney available on the market as well as the peer pressure, it is difficult to escape the influence of Disney's films and characters. However, what can be done is to expose the children to a variety of tales with different protagonists, both female and male, who have various personal characteristics, both physical and psychological.

Fortunately, there are also new fairy tale films, such as *Brave* (2012) or *Frozen* (2013) by Disney/Pixar, which offer an alternative by moving away from gender stereotypes connected with personal characteristics and relationships, if not in the actual physical appearance of the heroines. The protagonist of *Brave* (2012), for example, is a strong, independent and powerful young girl, while the focus of the film is, refreshingly, a mother-daughter relationship, and the theme of female-male romantic relationships features only in that they are used to emphasise the fact that young girls, and boys for that matter, are not ready for serious decisions concerning their love life at the age of 16, which is in direct opposition to the message of the films analysed above, in which all of the heroines are 15 or 16 years old at the time of their marriage. *Frozen* (2013) also focuses on a female-female relationship, between siblings this time, and offers a stark contrast to the sibling relationship in *Cinderella*, for example. The sisters are both presented as strong characters, albeit in very different ways. The depictions of female-male romantic relationships exist, but they are used to emphasise the importance of friendship and getting well-acquainted before entering a relationship, as

opposed to forming bonds based on appearances. The latter is openly criticised through the younger sister's failed relationship with a prince, which was based on 'love at first sight', with a simultaneous adoption of a more relaxed attitude towards mixing between different social classes. Also, *Shrek* films (2001-2010), produced by DreamWorks Animation, although loosely based on William Steig's fairy tale picture book *Shrek!* (1990), use motifs and characters from various fairy tales in such a way as to function as a subverting agent, and, as opposed to *Brave*, where stereotypical representations of characters in terms of appearance are still predominant, *Shrek* films subvert the patriarchal ideal of beauty, which can only partly be claimed for gender roles, though.

Hopefully, more and more people will embrace the changes in the discourse, and thus contribute to creating a more egalitarian society for the new generations in the twenty-first century, as fairy tales have a role in the formation of children's cultural values, since they are used very often and mostly as entertainment. Whether sitting in front of the TV screen or safely cuddled with a caregiver, reading a book, what children see while enjoying themselves creates a positive experience, and whatever is incorporated in the content they receive is usually viewed in a positive light. Thus, when fairy tales are consumed, in one form or another, most often the caregivers' 'guard' is off because they are considered to be a harmless pastime. However, just as all other products of culture, they contain cultural values incorporated into their content, and because they are a cumulative product of different ages, they often contain some outdated pedagogical messages which are in discrepancy with the direction in which modern society ought to develop itself, and thus contribute to keeping the status quo in society instead of working towards its advancement.

3. PERCEPTION AND RECEPTION OF LITERARY FAIRY TALES

In response to the criticism of the classical fairy tales, such as those from the pen of Charles Perrault and the brothers Grimm, as well as the film industry, personified by Walt Disney, another male and white representative of the middle class, which narrowed the popularized selection further during the twentieth century, putting even greater emphasis on weak and passive female characters that present rather negative role models for modern children, researchers started looking for different kinds of stories. Thus, within a wider domain of the nineteenth-century collections, tales were revealed which feature strong and active female heroes, such as those from English fairy tale collections, edited by Joseph Jacobs, a folklorist with relatively liberal attitudes (Figure 3.1). A reversal of gender roles²⁴ is present in 'Kate Crackernuts' and 'Molly Whuppee', two folk tales in which one protagonist rescues a prince from the fairies and another obtains a husband as a reward for outwitting a giant. In addition, in the twentieth century, Charles Joisten, a French folklorist collecting oral folktales in the 1950s, published thirteen different versions of 'Little Red Riding Hood', out of which eight portray the little girl saving herself, instead of being saved by a patriarchal father figure (Zipes 1993: 5). However, these and similar tales have rarely been reprinted, and even then mostly within feminist collections, which have a limited circulation in comparison with the classical ones.

²⁴ 'Reversal of gender roles' is a rather problematic term in its own right, since it presupposes that there are certain roles which are predetermined for each of the two genders. However, it will be used in the book due to a lack of linguistic resources that would adequately reflect the phenomenon from the point of view of patriarchal ideology.

New literary feminist fairy tales were also written, such as *The Paper Bag Princess* (1980) by Robert Munsch or *Prince Cinders* (1987) by Babette Cole, for example. Similarly to some of the traditional tales with strong female heroes, Elizabeth in *The Paper Bag Princess* saves the prince, but rejects the marriage with him after realizing he does not treat her with respect, while in *Prince Cinders*, a fractured variant of ‘Cinderella’ with an obvious reversal of gender roles,



Figure 3.1. The frontispiece to Joseph Jacobs’ *More English Fairy Tales* (1894)

the prince is abused by his brothers, does all the household chores for them, and, through the help of a fairy, ends up being married to a princess. However, even before “the feminist discussion about the social and cultural effects of fairy tales began in the early 1970s” (Zipes 1989: 4) with Alison Lurie and Marcia R. Lieberman’s debate on the influence of fairy tales on female socialization, Jay Williams, as one of the first writers of literary feminist fairy tales, embarked on the task of purposely writing feminist fairy tales aimed at young

audiences. His *Philbert the Fearful* (1966) and *The Practical Princess* (1969) both capitalized on the inversion of gender roles at a time when such reading material was scarcely published, featuring protagonists whose personal traits and actions subvert stereotypical notions of what constitutes power for both girls and boys, and other tales in his collection from 1978 followed suit.

3.1 Overlapping discourses in Jay Williams' fairy tales

There are not many academic studies that even lightly touch upon Williams's fairy tales (Stone 1975a, 1975b; MacDonald 1982; Zipes 1982, 1989; Winston 1994), let alone those that concentrate solely on them, and, except the occasional inclusion of individual tales in feminist or children's literature anthologies (Moss and Stott 1986; Zipes 1989), they no longer occupy a prominent place in the domain of children's literature. Therefore, little information is available on the details of Williams's private life, his liberal attitude with a feminist slant is made clear in his fiction as well as his non-fiction writing, where, as early as 1947, he states that "the progressive writers' central problem is that of portraying the true picture of the modern world for young people" (Williams 1947: 11). He discusses a juvenile series about an independent female nurse with a direct reference to its formative influence on the female readership, stating that, for a girl, this series "presents a possible career without glossing over its obstacles, and in addition it allows the reader to place herself in circumstances outside the orbit of her own life" (11). Such thinking, especially on the part of male authors, was relatively rare at the time, so the appearance of *The Practical Princess and Other Liberating Fairy Tales* (1978) on the feminist literary scene was all the more important.

Being a male with a feminist view of the world at a time when this was not a common occurrence, Williams positioned himself

among the most progressive writers of the era. However, he was also the product of his time, brought up in a patriarchal culture like the rest of his contemporaries and functioning within the terms that the largely patriarchal society allowed, which is why the six tales in his collection *The Practical Princess and Other Liberating Fairy Tales* (1978) contain overlapping discourses. Viewed superficially, the tales do overtly promote an egalitarian worldview in terms of gender roles, but they also feature content that undermines the intended messages, imperceptibly reinforcing patriarchy through characterization and the use of language which is limited by originating in a patriarchal culture. This competition of discourses in the texts results in a cacophony of voices, of which sometimes, unfortunately, those which were not intended to be heard gain prominence in the process.

3.1.1 *The Practical Princess and Other Liberating Fairy Tales*

Williams's approach to fairy tale writing has been disputed by some and glorified by others. Jack Zipes praises him "as a male writing to question present gender arrangements," his goal being "the rearrangement of gender and social roles so that power is not used to gain advantage but to resolve contradictions" (1989: 17). On the other hand, Joe Winston criticizes his tales, claiming that their "self-conscious didacticism and parodic nature leave no room for the mysterious and the magical" (1994: 103), thus robbing them of their allure. This didacticism is evident in the very title of the collection, which is self-proclaimed as 'liberating', but this does not reduce its value. On the contrary, it is significant to note the use of this adjective, and not 'feminist', because such non-gendered characterization in the title does not limit the audience to either girls or boys. Also, the organization of the texts within the collection, with an equal number of tales with female and male protagonists, which are distributed in a balanced way, makes *The Practical Princess and Other Liberating Fairy Tales* one of the rare fairy tale collections

aimed at the readership of both genders, as opposed to other, more modern ones, such as Jane Yolen's *Not One Damsel in Distress: World Folktales for Strong Girls* (2000) and *Mightier Than the Sword: World Folktales for Strong Boys* (2003), which do not avoid readership segregation.

However, female power as presented in the six tales of this collection is relatively ambiguous if observed from a modern point of view. Thus, although the tales feature prominent female characters in an equal number of protagonist and sidekick roles, these characters demonstrate varying degrees and kinds of heroism, from the typically masculine type to the more stereotypically feminine ones, and not only that which "involves forging on in the face of insurmountable odds and great personal danger" (Campbell 2010: 58). What is more, one of the characters, the sidekick in the tale 'Philbert the Fearful', does not display any heroism at all, her only accomplishment being the inclination to actively vocalize her opinions and wants, which, in itself, does not have to be viewed as a demonstration of power. Nevertheless, if observed from another point of view, one which regards the possession of speech as the possession of power, and if compared with the position of female characters in traditional fairy tales, many of whom have had their power of speech reduced or entirely taken away (Bottigheimer 1986), then, speaking one's mind freely and without restraint can indeed be seen as a form of power, and not an insignificant one, for that matter. In light of this, the representation of the six female heroes²⁵ in Jay Williams's *The Practical Princess and Other Liberating Fairy Tales* is analysed and the ways in which their actions and characteristics undermine or perpetuate gender stereotypes in fairy tales and the distribution of power, as well as the wider context within which these female characters function.

²⁵ In this chapter, the term 'heroine' will be used only to denote the female protagonist of the canonical fairy tales of patriarchal tradition, such as 'Sleeping Beauty', 'Cinderella' and 'Snow White', to connote a sense of passivity, helplessness and dependence on others, as well as on their own physical beauty for the achievement of success in life, usually through marriage, while the use of the term 'female hero' will signal a strong female character, who actively seeks her own destiny, in any way which is consistent with her character traits.

3.1.2 Double discourse: ambiguity of female power

In her seminal article 'Fairy Tale Liberation' (1970), one which started an avalanche of academic thought on fairy tales and feminism, Alison Lurie decidedly claims that many traditional fairy tales "suggest a society in which women are as competent and active as men, at every age and in every class" (42), and, indeed, there are, as various collectors have shown in their compilations of unearthed folktales featuring strong female heroes. Jay Williams took another route, reinventing the tales to produce novel creations, and for his female heroes, class is not a defining feature either in terms of power possession. Social status in general does not play a significant role in advancing the plots of the stories, except in the sense that two thirds of them end up married to partners of the same social rank, and two marry either above or below their station with no special emphasis on the fact. Four out of six heroes are princesses, but only Bedelia, the protagonist of 'The Practical Princess', uses her royal position to a certain extent to influence the events affecting her life, by being able to attend the meeting of the king and his councilors and confronting them in order to avoid being sacrificed to a dragon. Much more importantly, however, both Bedelia and other princesses, as well as the two members of the lower social class, exercise other forms of power, entirely disconnected from their rank. In fact, in these tales, female power is mostly synonymous with activity, of any kind, which is almost always connected to the power of proactive thinking. The use of mind by the female heroes in the stories stands in stark contrast to the customary use of physical force by the male heroes in canonical fairy tales, but is in line with the way strong female heroes are represented in noncanonical fairy tales from the nineteenth century collections, such as 'Kate Crackernuts' or 'Molly Whuppie' (Jacobs 1890). However, what makes these tales stand out is the fact that female and male power are equalized to a great extent, with other forms of power aside from physical aggression being celebrated in male protagonists, as well.

Bedelia is, again, a notable exception to this tendency, since she uses a 'masculine' form of aggression, in addition to logical reasoning and knowledge acquired in the course of her education, to literally kill the life-threatening dragon by blowing him up using gunpowder hidden in a straw doll, a fake representation of herself. Significantly, though, she has two males perform the act of throwing the straw doll at the dragon, which emphasizes the fact that only the idea of aggression is hers, while she remains incapable of doing the actual act of violence herself, being both physically weaker as a woman and lacking the necessary incentive. This, in turn, strengthens the overall message that female power lies exclusively in the realm of mind. Nevertheless, reader response from the time when this tale was first published shows that, for contemporary women, even this was too much, as Kay F. Stone found out while doing research via interviews for her doctoral dissertation. A majority of her informants "reacted favorably to [the] rewritten version of AT 300 ("The Dragon-Slayer"), in which an unintimidated princess destroys her own dragon and leaves the men to clean up the remains" (Stone 1975b: 49-50). However, many respondents "find this heroine too violent," while one suggests that "something in-between her and the more passive heroines would be acceptable" (Stone 1975a: 188), and, indeed, other female heroes in the collection are presented as 'something in-between', and often, their power is undermined by various devices.

Sylvia, the sidekick in 'Stupid Marco', claims control over her life by deciding on her own to set on adventure in order to overcome boredom, albeit on another's quest. She joins Marco, the prince of Lirripipe, on the conventional task of rescuing princess Aurelia, making all the decisions in the course of their journey herself. The extent of her mental dominance is best illustrated by Marco's question to her: "What now?" (Williams 1978: 33), which he poses after putting on the seven-league boots obtained with a view to arrive more quickly to the tower where Aurelia was imprisoned. Just like Bedelia, Sylvia uses her wit to figure out how to save Aurelia instead of Marco, and enters the tower courageously passing by a two-

headed giant with the words: “The monster has instructions to bash any young man who comes to the gate. But I’m a girl” (35). Similarly to her, Prudence, the protagonist of ‘The Silver Whistle’, sets on a quest which is not her own. Although forced to do so by her mother’s death, she takes control over her own life and actively looks for employment, learning new and interesting things while performing the tedious and menial tasks in service of an old witch. In the course of her quest, she saves a man’s life, again as a part of her employment with him, completing the initial task successfully. However, her personal power is undermined by being largely dependent on magic inherent in the whistle that provides her with animal helpers at key points in the tale, but this magic still represents female power, as the whistle is the last gift from her mother.

Female power is further made ambiguous in ‘Forgetful Fred’, where Melissa performs the role of a benevolent helper who provides knowledge, advice, and magical gifts at critical moments, but otherwise does not do much, except a little bit of ordering to prompt Fred into action, and she does not even leave the house of the witch who she works for throughout the tale. Again, real power lies in magic, in the objects Melissa gives Fred to aid him in his search for the Bitter Fruit of Satisfaction that would earn him a half of all his employer’s riches, but this time, it is the paternal gifts that are being used as an aid to the male hero, while maternal magic was the source of help for the female hero in Prudence’s case, which may or may not be viewed as coincidence. Similarly, Victoria, the damsel in distress in ‘Philbert the Fearful’, does not contribute much to advancing of the plot in a literal sense, except providing Sir Philbert with a mirror, which he uses to trick a monster, but she does actively seek help, by yelling from the window and not simply waiting to be rescued in silence and despair. Also, she shows assertiveness when she insists on accompanying the knights on their journey, after being rejected by two of them following the rescue, as well as the ability to communicate openly and to accept other people without judgment when they do not fit the stereotypical gender roles, as is the case

with the intelligent Sir Philbert, whose main preoccupations are not bravery and violent adventures, as might be expected from a manly knight, but rather his personal health and staying alive.

Petronella, the protagonist of the tale with the same title, is the only one who makes a decision both on her own terms and to set on her own quest. She chooses not to conform to social expectations, and decides to look for a prince to rescue and later marry, in keeping with the royal family tradition according to which the youngest born in the family, generally a male until Petronella's birth, "always rescued a princess, brought her home, and in time ruled over the kingdom" (Williams 1978: 65). Her feisty spirit is, however, focused on only briefly at the beginning of the story, when she refuses to be dissuaded from pursuing her adventure. The rest of the story emphasizes entirely different forms of power vested in her, mostly those considered 'feminine' in nature, such as kindness, when she selflessly thinks of the wellbeing of an old man instead of her own as well as of the hungry and unkempt horses, and talent for singing, which she used to calm down the hawks that she had to spend a whole night with as a challenge from the enchanter who she believed kept a prince as his prisoner. Nevertheless, she also exhibits what was termed 'bravery' by Williams, when faced with fierce hounds, and what could also be called assertiveness, since, "instead of backing away, she went towards the dogs [and] began to speak to them in a quiet voice" (71). Her physical assertiveness is even more evident in the episode when she 'rescues' the prince who is unwilling to leave the enchanter's comfortable house, when "she grabbed him by the wrist and dragged him out of bed, [. . .] haul[ing] him down the stairs" (74). The power of creative thinking, however, is undermined in her case, both by her requiring instructions for everything she does from the old man she saved by her kindness, and by her earning all stereotypically feminine magical objects from a male figure as the source of power, since she obtains a magic comb, a mirror and a ring from the enchanter for the challenges she overcomes.

These female heroes face various problems, from Bedelia's battle for survival and escape from both physical imprisonment and marriage with an undesirable partner, over Sylvia's search for entertainment, Prudence's providing for her own sustenance through employment, Melissa's escape from drudgery of daily life and menial housework, and Petronella's quest for a marital partner, to Victoria's need to be rescued from imprisonment. Those characters that perform the role of the protagonists in their tales also function as rescuers. Thus, Bedelia saves both her own life and her kingdom from a dragon, and she frees herself along with prince Perian who was imprisoned and put under a spell by the evil Lord Garp, her unwelcome suitor. Prudence saves a man, the Wazar, from death, but she also protects Prince Pertinel from an insincere marriage with a witch transformed into a beautiful maiden, and in doing so, protects her people from being ruled by an evil queen. Finally, Petronella goes to great lengths to rescue a prince, and she completes her self-imposed task successfully, only to discover that Prince Ferdinand is actually an intruder at Albion the enchanter's house, an unwelcome guest who the enchanter had been too polite to ask to leave.

On the other hand, the three female heroes who are in a side character role use their power to be of help to male protagonists in the tales. Melissa shares magical objects in her possession and provides instructions for traveling, and she does so out of romantic interest in Fred, the young man who went on a quest on behalf of his employer, Bumberdumble Pott. Victoria, after being rescued from a damsel-in-distress position, acts also as a provider of a helpful object, a non-magical mirror, as well as psychological support and companionship to her savior. In Sylvia's case, though, the distinction between the role of a side character and protagonist is largely blurred, and her role as helper is intertwined with her role as a rescuer, since, in the end, she is the one who successfully enters the tower to save the other princess.

3.1.3 Mind and body: fairy tale heroine liberation

The female heroes in Williams's tales were obviously meant to function as alternative role models for modern children in terms of gender roles, as he was "one of the first and best of the authors who responded to the feminist movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s" and although "his stories are traditional in their choice of episode and motif, they also overturn nearly all the conventions of the genre to illustrate new ideas about women" (Lurie 2002: 552). His female heroes do not share common ground with the most popular fairy tale heroines purposefully, in order to emphasize the contrast and to expand the observed range of possibilities that exist for his young female, as well as male audience. Thus, the most prominent characteristic in Bedelia's case is her practicality, and, although she is also described as graceful and "as lovely as the moon shining upon the waterlilies" (Williams 1978: 9), these stereotypically feminine traits are not capitalized on, but rather, her common sense is what moves the action forward, since all problem resolutions depend on her using her wit. Another character with superior intelligence is Sylvia, who leads Marko through his adventure, making calculations and decisions that lead to their reaching his goal, and in her case beauty is not a defining feature, either, although she does sport a distinctly feminine look, with "smooth brown hair [which] hung in long plaits tied with golden bows" (26). However, although Sylvia shows as much initiative as Bedelia does in the course of the tale, and is highly protective of her male companion, what undermines the feminist message of her characterization is the motivation behind her actions. She was utterly bored before a man came into her life, and, although he follows her in a literal sense, she is the real follower in the story, because she is the one who conforms to a maximum, adopting his purpose in life and forsaking her own world to help him achieve his goals, which can be viewed as a standard patriarchal practice.

Other characters follow this pattern, too. Melissa was also bored with her life, serving a witch day after day, and she welcomed

the entertainment brought to her by Fred's arrival. She enjoyed his singing and storytelling, and, because she liked him and "she was a good cook, [. . . she] fed him well" (59). Unlike Sylvia, she doesn't follow the male protagonist on his mission, but stays at home, giving him her paternal inheritance, which, taking into account the fact that they marry in the end, can be interpreted as even giving dowry of sort. Victoria, the character who finds herself in the most standard damsel-in-distress fairy tale situation, apart from being assertive and inquisitive, does not do much to contribute to the plot development. However, her most important positive characteristic is her unconditional acceptance of a male with non-hegemonic masculinity traits, something equally important in a world of gender equality and something that not every woman is comfortable with due to being conditioned by patriarchal upbringing, which is quite evident in Ruth MacDonald's criticism of Williams's male characters as not "of manly or otherwise noteworthy virtues" (1982: 18). For Victoria and Melissa, physical appearance plays no role in the tale. Melissa is described as pretty, with blue eyes and black hair, but just as in Victoria's case, who "had large, merry brown eyes and long brown hair in two braids down her back" (Williams 1978: 84), this has no effect on the outcome of the tale, nor is it given any additional mention after the character introduction, which is not the case for the remaining two female heroes.

The description of Petronella's unconventional physical appearance, with her flaming red hair and tallness, serves to set the stage for an unconventional spirit but, in the course of the tale, her kindness is what is emphasized as the most important, and not her feistiness. There is no reference to her beauty until the very ending, when the enchanter explains that he was chasing her because she was 'just the girl' for him, being "brave and kind and talented, and *beautiful* as well" (77; *italics added*), thus overshadowing the importance of her personal achievements and putting emphasis on beauty, which weakens the overall message of the tale. However, the only tale in which physical appearance is intentionally put focus on and is the driving force of the tale is 'The Silver Whistle'. If anywhere,

this is the case in which Joe Winston's (1994) criticism of Williams's tales as overtly and overly didactic stands ground, as Prudence's main power lies in her refusal to accept the cultural norms connected with beauty, embracing her ordinariness much in the manner of Amy, the protagonist of Mary Margaret Kaye's *Ordinary Princess* (1980). Prudence is described "as plain as the day is long," with "a snub nose, a wide mouth, straight straw-colored hair, and so many freckles that it looked as if someone had sprinkled her with cinnamon" (Williams 1978: 39). The plot revolves around beauty, as well, since Prudence goes in search of the magical mirror of Morna, which makes those that look into it beautiful, in order to provide the witch she works for with the means towards the marriage with Prince Pertinel. Her wisdom is capitalized on when she consciously refrains from looking in the mirror in her possession, saying: "I don't think I want to be beautiful. I might be different outside but I'd be the same inside, and I'm used to the way I am" (51). Nevertheless, although she shows honesty when she uses her whistle to break the mirror in order to expose the witch's deception, the prince does not decide to marry her on the account of her noble act, but rather, her physical appearance, because "as it happens, [he] prefer[s] freckles" (53).

Williams does not devote much space to the description of physical appearance, or any other character feature, for that matter, letting the characters develop through their actions and thoughts. However, the amount of space devoted to these direct descriptions is rather indicative of the importance that a character's looks have in the tale. Thus, the word count on Prudence's appearance is by far the largest among female heroes, with thirty-four words used, with Bedelia and Petronella following with twenty-nine and twenty-seven respectively, as opposed to the much lower count for non-protagonists with only sixteen in the case of Melissa and Victoria, and twenty in Sylvia's, which directly corresponds to the character's importance in the tale. Nevertheless, all female characters are described in terms of their looks, whereas this is not the case for all male characters, regardless of their role in the tale. Of the three male protagonists, two are described using only one word, 'handsome' for

Marco and 'good-looking' for Fred, while Sir Philbert's appearance is not paid attention to at all. Male sidekicks' looks are given a greater amount of space, with as much as forty-one word describing the ugliness of Lord Garp, the villain from 'The Practical Princess', and twenty-five words describing the fearsomeness of the enchanter in 'Petronella', but again, when it is good looks that is being described, in the case of Prince Ferdinand, only one word, 'handsome', is used. Such practice undermines Williams's conscious intention of subverting the gender stereotypes again, and unknowingly ascribes greater significance to female physical appearance, much in the manner of the popular traditional tales which he intended to distance himself from.

In the descriptions, as well as elsewhere in the text, the term 'young man' denotes male protagonists, while the term which is perpetually used to refer to the female characters is 'girl' instead of 'young woman', and this is one additional way in which female characters are deprived of power. Another is their occasional linguistic connection with delicate flowers, as floral imagery is used in their physical description. Especially in Petronella's case, linguistic choices are of significance, as she is depicted as 'handsome' at the beginning of the tale, while she is acting strong-mindedly and in a nonconformist way, while at the end, when she is about to comply with the ways of patriarchy, she is presented as 'beautiful'. Nevertheless, what must be stated in Williams's favor and what provides counterbalance to this tendency are the names given to female characters, as not a single one carries any reference to beauty, or any kind of feminine fragility. Instead, they provide powerful associations, to wisdom for Prudence, industriousness for Melissa, strength, both in terms of social status, for Bedelia, and nature, for Petronella and Sylvia, and victory in Victoria's case. Significantly though, only one out of three tales is entitled after the female protagonist, whereas all three titles of the tales with male protagonists contain their personal names, giving them due prominence and focusing the readers' attention to their character,

even when the female sidekick takes over most of the action, as it is the case with Sylvia in 'Stupid Marco'.

3.2 Reception of feminist fairy tales in Serbia

Functioning within patriarchal discourse and conforming to it in terms of characterization may be the reason why this particular set of feminist fairy tales hasn't received widespread popularity, as they send confusing messages to the audience, because "[w]hen several discourses are produced in the same text, . . . these discourses can be seen not just as 'jostling' together, but also as competing, or contradictory" (Sunderland 2006: 52). However, this case is not isolated when it comes to discourse overlapping within the tales, as many other feminist fairy tales came into existence under similar circumstances, originating from what Dale Spender (1980) termed 'man-made language', and, indeed, many are being opposed to on the ground that they do not offer adequate alternative role models to either girls or boys when compared to traditional fairy tales. Nevertheless, they still do present an effort to change people's schemata in the direction of greater tolerance and acceptance of diversity, which is why one might argue that they should be incorporated into children's education, in order to provide balance and alternative points of view.

To illustrate this point, when the tale 'The Practical Princess', with its reversal of gender roles, first appeared in the format of a picture book in 1969, it "caused a minor sensation, and as a result both readers and writers now approach fairy tales in new and interesting ways" (Lurie 2002: 552) throughout the world, as the trend of writing such tales spread. The change is noted in research, as well, since in 1975, when Kay Stone performed her study on 40 interviewees of various ages in Canada and the USA, hardly anyone was familiar with this kind of story (Stone 1975), whereas by 1993,

when Ella Westland studied a sample of 100 Cornish primary school children, nine to ten-year-old girls had already become ‘resisting readers’, who “favoured ‘upside-down’ fairy-tale scenarios that gave their heroines independence, while the boys clung to the traditional image of the prince for the same reason” (Westland 1993: 237).

Because both publishers and end users, teachers and parents in Serbia, may be reluctant to introduce feminist fairy tales into children’s education, since the message they promote is in disagreement with the more or less patriarchal mainstream culture, research has been performed with the aim to examine the attitudes of young people in Serbia towards one such tale and to compare them with those of primary school children. The older, 20-year-old participants²⁶ in study, being born after the year 1993, but living in an entirely different environment and culture and not having come across feminist fairy tales before they took part in the research, were expected to be critical of a tale which goes against the grain of domestic culture, especially male young adults who, in order to be acceptant of the message embedded in the tale, were required to figuratively abandon the position of hegemonic power within the current patriarchal social model. This expectation was also based on two studies of secondary school students’ attitudes (Turjačanin and Stojanovski 2009; Radoman 2011), which both reported an alarming level of gender bias among the youth, and their views on what constitutes ‘proper’ male and female identity. The hypothesis was that also a majority of the younger, 10-year-old participants would be resistant to this type of tale, especially the male respondents, and also hesitant to accept the reversed roles of characters, having previously encountered traditional fairy tales mostly.

Jay Williams’s ‘The Practical Princess’ (1986) was used in the research because of the similarity of its motifs, though turned topsy-

²⁶ The sample consisted of 185 students at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad (mean age 19.8; 73 per cent female and 27 per cent of male informants). There were 77 ten-year-old children from a small town near Novi Sad, who were all in the fourth grade of primary school at the time the research took place (56.6 per cent were girls and 43.4 per cent boys). Children were included in the research under the author’s assumption that they are “valid research subjects able to express their views” (Savić & Prošić-Santovac 2018: 64).

turvy, with those in two traditional fairy tales, 'Sleeping Beauty' and 'Rapunzel', with the expectation that the participants were familiar with these tales, especially with 'Sleeping Beauty' since it is recommended for the use in mother tongue classes in the fourth grade of primary school by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia. 'The Practical Princess' begins with Princess Bedelia's birth, when the fairies bestow presents upon her. However, apart from being given the gift of beauty and gracefulness, she is also given the gift of common sense, which her father thinks is unnecessary. He is proved wrong when a dragon comes to the kingdom and demands that the princess be sacrificed to him, or he will destroy the kingdom. Instead of being saved by a prince or by her father, Bedelia saves herself using her own resourceful mind. She takes her best dress and stuffs it with straw and gunpowder, which explodes when the dragon eats the false princess, having come into contact with the fire in its belly. Further complications arise when Lord Garp of Istven, a greedy old man, comes to ask 18-year-old Bedelia's hand in marriage, threatening war if she doesn't consent. She again uses her common sense and the knowledge she acquired in the course of her education to outwit him, and refuses to marry him. In order to punish her, Lord Garp uses magic to imprison her in a tower. There she finds the sleeping Prince Perian, the rightful ruler of Istven, whose hair and beard have grown extremely long during his imprisonment. Bedelia eventually frees the prince from Lord Garp's evil spell, rescues him and herself and takes him for her husband as a reward.

The participants were given the fairy tale, in case of the younger ones slightly shortened and adapted to their maturity level, without providing them with the information that the tale used was not a traditional one. The questionnaires questioning the attitudes towards the plot and the characters were distributed after the participants have read the tale. In order to combine "quantitative measurement and qualitative inquiry," a questionnaire "that asks both fixed-choice (closed) and open-ended questions" was used (Patton 2002: 5). Closed-ended items were formulated so as to require a 'yes/no'

answer, while the purpose of open-ended probes was to unravel the reasons behind the answers the participants gave about their attitude towards the newly encountered tale and the characters appearing in the tale. The questions were short, direct and “specific to the respondent” (Bell 2007: 463), in that different versions of the questionnaire were used for female and male participants, with male and female grammatical forms inserted where required with the aim of avoiding depersonalisation. The order of the answers to close-ended items was alternated, because “some respondents may simply offer an affirmative response” (Krosnick 1991: 217) to whatever question was posed to them if, for example, the affirmative option always came first. The quantitative data were processed using SPSS Statistics software, while the elicited texts were analysed using content analysis with the aid of descriptive codes and frequency word lists, obtained by Simple Concordance Program software.

3.2.1 Perception of the feminist fairy tale by young adults

Contrary to expectations, 84.5 per cent of the participants expressed their liking of the tale. However, gender was, indeed, a significant factor in defining the attitude,²⁷ which was positive in the case of 90.9 per cent of females, while in the case of males, the percentage was much lower, 67.3 per cent. The general type of the tale was viewed less favourably, with 82.8 per cent of females and 55.1 per cent of the males stating that they would like to read similar stories in the future, while even fewer males, 40.7 per cent, expressed the wish to watch an animated film based on the tale, as opposed to 83.6 per cent of the female participants. These results point to the fact that acquiescence bias may have been present in the case of responses to the first question, which is why the other two items, which restate the question from a different point of view, were

²⁷ Pearson Chi-square indicates a statistically significant difference in case of: the attitude towards the feminist fairy tale ($X^2(1) = 15.172, p < .005$), the wish to read another similar tale ($X^2(1) = 14.567, p < .005$) and to watch a film based on the tale ($X^2(1) = 17.253, p < .005$).

introduced in the second part of the questionnaire, in order to vicariously check the truthfulness of the initial answers.

The qualitative data elicited in close connection with these answers support the quantitative findings, but are also in accordance with some of the critics of Jay Williams's work. Thus, for example, a female informant, F36, explains her dislike for the tale by stating that "the moral of the story is too obvious,"²⁸ which replicates a critic's opinion that the tale's "self-conscious didacticism and parodic nature leave no room for the mysterious and the magical" (Winston 1994: 103). The analysis of the explanations for the positive attitude yielded three categories of responses which were consistent regardless of the participants' gender: the emphasis on the dichotomy between the importance of female appearance and female mind, the respect for the initiative shown by the female hero, and the approval of the reversal of gender roles.

By far the greatest number of statements speak in favour of appreciating the power of female mind as opposed to the standard practice of putting beauty on pedestal, "because mind ought to be used to solve problems and not beauty" (F21), especially in the case of a "contemporary and practical woman of the twenty-first century that the princess in the tale represents" (F14). Thus, the tale is praised for advocating against superficiality and materialism by "putting the brains into focus, and not the looks" (M11), for promoting the message that "physical appearance and charm are not the prerequisite for success, but rather some of the personal characteristics, such as common sense and being practical" (F55), and for "showing that women can be capable of different things, not just being beautiful" (F76).

Unfortunately, the negative responses were not elaborated on in detail for the most part. Reversal of gender roles drew most attention, especially with male audience, as some expressed their dislike of the underlying message in the tale, stating that it "is not quite useful" (M24), because "all the men in the story seem to be either stupid or

²⁸ If not stated otherwise, all the quotes have been taken from the texts elicited from the participants, and translated from Serbian into English by the author of the study.

incompetent” (M10). This view is, again, shared by some of the critics, as, for example, Ruth MacDonald, in her article ‘The Tale Retold: Feminist Fairy Tales’ (1982), condemns Williams for not designing his male characters to be “of manly or otherwise noteworthy virtues” (18). Here, the patriarchal worldview reappears at the surface, through the definition of what ‘noteworthy virtues’ actually are, for both MacDonald and the participants in the study quoted above.

3.2.2 Perception of the characters in reversed gender roles by young adults

What distinguishes Williams from a majority of his contemporaries, especially authors writing for children and young adults, is the fact that he was “a male writing to question present gender arrangements” with the aim of rearranging “gender and social roles so that power is not used to gain advantage but to resolve contradictions” (Zipes 1989: 17). In his view, ‘noteworthy virtues’ do not differ based on a person’s gender, and, in his literary world, they are the same for males and females alike, without being assigned to one group or the other. However, when observed from the point of view of patriarchal ideology, because no such dichotomy exists, the gender roles are perceived as being ‘reversed’, with the characteristics usually associated with one gender seen as marked when used for the other. The influence of ideology can sometimes be so strong, that it permeates all levels of one’s existence, including the language (Spender 1980), which can best be illustrated by one especially interesting attempt on the part of a female participant to try to readjust her mindset after the encounter with the reversal of gender roles in ‘The Practical Princess’: “The princess is not a typical beauty who waits for a prince on a white horse. She is the *prince* who has found his *beauty*” (F68; italics added). This statement reveals a person who does not possess adequate language resources within her patriarchal schemata to describe gender relations that do not fit

in with her life experience, and this tendency is mirrored in a male respondent's statement explaining the dislike of the prince to be due to his being "more a *princess* than a *prince*" (M27).

Living in a culture in which being a strong and active female is becoming increasingly acceptable, whereas weak and passive males are still being looked upon with disapproval, the participants voiced their views accordingly. Thus, 99.3 per cent of females and 85.7 per cent of males were favourably inclined towards the 18-year-old princess Bedelia who saves her own life by outwitting and blowing up the dragon with the help of a doll she herself makes using a dress, straw and gunpowder, who uses her education to outsmart lord Garp, an old man who tries to force her into marriage, and who, when imprisoned in a tower, does not despair for long, finding instead a way to release herself and prince Perian from the spell, taking him for her husband subsequently. On the other hand, only 49.6 per cent of females and 41.7 per cent of males approve of prince Perian, a young man who passively sits in the tower under lord Garp's spell, constantly counting sheep and lulling himself to sleep, whose hair and beard have grown so long due to his immobility that they hamper his movements, who does not show initiative to rid himself of the spell, but lets Bedelia deal with the situation completely, obeying her instructions without questions.²⁹

The difference in attitudes is evident in the choice and the number of adjectives used by the respondents to describe the two characters, as well. Whereas in Bedelia's case 27 items were used to refer to her characteristics that were perceived as the most prominent, with only 3.7 per cent used with negative connotations, in Perian's case there were 11 adjectives of which 54.5 per cent presented him in a negative light (Table 3.1). Interestingly, though, the disappointment with his character was expressed more vocally by the female participants, who stated that he did not live up to their

²⁹ In total, Bedelia is looked upon favourably by 73.4 per cent of all participants, while in Perian's case, it is only 47.4 per cent. The results of Pearson Chi-Square test indicate that there is a statistically significant relationship between gender and the attitude towards the character of Bedelia ($X^2(2) = 15.860, p < .005$), but that, in the case of prince Perian, the two variables do not have a statistically significant relationship ($X^2(1) = .875, p > .5$).

expectations, as some “expected *him* to be the hero” (F34) and to “contribute more to the action” (F49), and not to “let a woman save him, instead of being brave, smart and capable as a man ought to be” (F28). A male participant reinforces the latter message, by stating he disliked Perian because “he was a man, and men must not be incompetent” (M14). Bedelia’s character also elicited responses that state, as the reason for the dislike, her nonconformity with stereotypical gender roles, such as her “being too clever for a woman” (M20) and “too practical” (M36), as well as a general disapproval of the fact that the main character “should be a princess, instead of a prince” (M13). However, there were also many responses that praised her problem solving skills, reliance on logical thinking and actively fighting for herself, which are all features stereotypically associated with males, while Perian’s obedience was a characteristic that, surprisingly, caused a positive reaction.

As expected, the pupils were largely familiar with the two traditional tales that shared their motifs with ‘The Practical Princess’ – 98.9 per cent had previously come across ‘Sleeping Beauty’, while 91.8 per cent knew about ‘Rapunzel’. However, the results negate the research hypothesis to a great extent, as it predicted that the children would be resistant to the reversal in the stereotypical gender roles of characters, and that they would not look upon ‘The Practical Princess’ favourably, especially the male respondents. This was not the case, and the self-perceived attitude towards the tale was positive for all of the participants. Nevertheless, a discrepancy in the data emerged when it came to a vicarious indicator of the attitude; thus, although all females expressed their wish to read more similar stories, 13.8 per cent of the males stated that they wouldn’t like to do so in the future.³⁰ These results raise doubt about the truthfulness of the initial answers of this particular group of male respondents about

³⁰ Pearson Chi-Square test was performed to examine the relation between gender and the attitude towards the feminist tale as expressed through the participants’ wish to read more similar tales in the future. The results indicate that there is a statistically significant relationship between these two variables ($\chi^2(1) = 6.28, p < .05$).

Table 3.1. Adjectives used by the participants in the study to describe princess Bedelia and prince Perian

| PRINCESS BEDELIA | | PRINCE PERIAN | |
|--------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>Adjective</i> | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Adjective</i> | <i>Frequency</i> |
| practical | 18 | incompetent | 6 |
| smart | 18 | good | 5 |
| wise | 6 | stupid | 4 |
| resourceful | 6 | positive | 3 |
| witty | 5 | atypical | 3 |
| brave | 5 | passive | 2 |
| beautiful | 5 | funny | 2 |
| independent | 5 | weak | 2 |
| not spoiled | 4 | useless | 1 |
| capable | 4 | impractical | 1 |
| self-reliant | 3 | likable | 1 |
| determined | 3 | | |
| shrewd | 3 | | |
| persistent | 3 | | |
| full of initiative | 2 | | |
| confident | 2 | | |
| persistent | 2 | | |
| combative | 1 | | |
| dominant | 1 | | |
| brusque | 1 | | |
| ideal | 1 | | |
| sophisticated | 1 | | |
| prudent | 1 | | |
| contemporary | 1 | | |
| likeable | 1 | | |
| free | 1 | | |
| atypical | 1 | | |

liking the tale, which could have been reported due to acquiescence response bias, perhaps in order to please the teacher when they were still at the beginning of the questionnaire, while the influence may have faded as the work on the questionnaire progressed, since the

latter question was placed later on in the questionnaire, in order to screen for this precise situation.

3.2.3 Perception of the feminist fairy tale by young participants

Nevertheless, a majority of respondents showed preference towards the feminist tale over the classical ones, and here again, there was striking similarity between the answers in terms of the respondents' gender, especially for 'Sleeping Beauty' (74.4 per cent of female and 74.2 per cent of male respondents favoured 'The Practical Princess'). A somewhat higher percentage of those who preferred 'Rapunzel' among the members of both groups (64.3 per cent of female and 71 per cent of male respondents favoured 'The Practical Princess') may have been influenced by an adaptation of the traditional tale 'Rapunzel', Walt Disney's animated film *Tangled*³¹ (2010), since the film features a much more active heroine than is the case in the Grimms' tale, and is largely action-driven. The latter characteristic, however, was most often quoted as the reason for preference of 'The Practical Princess' over the two traditional tales, with 24 per cent of males and 33 per cent of females stating 'adventure' as the main reason; the exception were the five cases where the (female) participants reported having seen *Tangled* and liking it more because of a large number of adventures and events depicted. Other arguments for preferring 'The Practical Princess' were its uniqueness and novelty (from the point of view of the pupils who had never before come across such a tale), as well as the humour present in the tale, which some of the participants claimed to be lacking from the two traditional tales; thus, humour was an important issue for 18.2 per cent of female and 18.6 per cent of male

³¹ The title of the film was changed to *Tangled* in order to appeal to the audience of both sexes, as it was supposed that boys would not eagerly watch a film with a female lead which is titled after her name.

respondents. Also, a large amount of decision making was quoted by a male participant as a plus of the tale, while a female participant thought it to be more appropriate for the respondent's age than 'Rapunzel' and 'Sleeping Beauty', which were considered suitable for younger children. Contrary to expectations, only one female respondent quoted 'romance' as a criterion for preferring the tale. For 21 per cent of males and 19 per cent of females, the most important criterion for the preference towards the feminist tale was the strength, independence and resourcefulness of Princess Bedelia, and one comment of a female participant especially deserves to be singled out, since it shows that some children are at least intuitively aware of the gender asymmetry present in the works of literature that they encounter: "I like this tale because finally a girl was the one to save herself and the prince, and, finally, a girl is the real hero in a tale."³² A similar opinion was shared by 18.2 per cent of the females and 18.6 per cent of the males, and one might even detect a sort of relief from the social pressure in some of the answers of the male respondents: "I like the tale because here the prince does not have to save the princess", because "the princess thinks for herself and saves herself on her own," and "she can take care of herself and can kill the dragon on her own." Nevertheless, there were also those with an opposing attitude; thus, one female respondent expressed her disagreement with the reversal of gender roles, stating that "the prince should be the one to save the princess, not the other way round."

3.2.4 Perception of the characters in reversed gender roles by young participants

The fact that all respondents, apart from one male, expressed their liking of the active and intelligent princess perhaps testifies of

³² Unless specified otherwise, all the quotes used in this section are from the pupils who participated in this research. In addition, all the quotes have been translated from Serbian into English by the author.

the changing view of desirable or acceptable sets of gender-related characteristics among younger generations, but this finding can also point to the fact that the ten-year-olds are still undergoing the process of socialization which is by no means finalized at that age and are therefore more likely to be open-minded. A relative similarity in the percentages of those children of both sexes who liked the passive, helpless and docile prince (81 per cent of female and 86.2 per cent of male respondents) also offers hope that children can, at this age, still be socialized into members of society who are acceptant of diversity, rather than being oriented towards stereotypical types of behaviour and being. Lord Garp, straightforwardly presented as the villain of the tale, quite expectedly had an entirely negative reception; nonetheless, there was one male respondent who, rather than explicitly 'liking' him, expressed his pity for Lord Garp, who was "heartlessly and without any respect rejected by Bedelia." The greatest discrepancy can be seen in the perception of the role of the dominant patriarch, the father (the dislike towards this character was felt by 81 per cent of female and 31 per cent of male respondents). Almost one third of the whole sample was of the opinion that the father should have been the one to protect and save Bedelia from the dragon (18.6 per cent of the male and 42 per cent of the female respondents). Such a difference in percentages may be ascribed to the possibility that the females identified with the princess while in distress at the beginning of the tale, and since they were all still little girls, the focus in their lives is unlikely to be the search for a partner, but rather a need for a protective father. This need is, however, highly culturally conditioned, as females are stimulated towards it artificially and are not encouraged to use their own resources and act independently. Males, on the other hand, are taught from the beginning of their lives to fend for themselves, and not to rely on their fathers to protect them as a matter-of-course, and they therefore did not express such a level of dissatisfaction with the father who did not perform his protective role properly.

On the whole, the research findings largely support the argument that feminist fairy tales ought to be used in English

language teaching classes. However, this conclusion can only be generalised, to a certain extent, for working with children around the age of ten, since this was the population from which the sample was drawn. Research in this field is scarce; in fact, two studies that deal with a similar topic, albeit in a different manner and scope, and using alternative methodology, are Ella Westland's "Cinderella in the Classroom: Children's Responses to Gender Roles in Fairy-tales" (1993) and Bronwyn Davies's *Frogs and Snails and Feminist Tales: Preschool Children and Gender* (2003).³³ Westland's research, performed in Great Britain, focused on children of the same age as the present study, and she used the Grimms' version of 'Snow White', Martin Waddell's 'The Tough Princess' (1986), and Babette Cole's 'Princess Smartypants' (1986) and 'Prince Cinders' (1987). She concluded that the girls included in her study were 'resisting readers', "able to criticise and manipulate (as well as enjoy) the gender images presented to them in the dominant fairy tales of our culture" and that the boys "had more of a vested interest than the girls in sticking to fairy-tale stereotypes," which is why she stated that "we should be worrying about the effect of fairy-tale stereotypes not upon our daughters, but upon our sons" (Westland 1993: 237). By comparison, the results of the present study do not show such great discrepancy in girls' and boys' attitudes, which may be accounted for by the fact that almost twenty years had passed in between, and that, although Serbia can be characterised as a country with a largely patriarchal outlook, time may have indeed made a difference, influencing a more liberal way of upbringing of children. Davies's study, on the other hand, as the subtitle implies, focuses on preschool children, and is therefore for the most part inadequate for comparison due to the different stages of development that the examined children were in at the time when research took place. In addition, the reception of feminist tales constitutes only a portion of Davies's research project, conducted in Australia in the 1980s, and concentrates on four tales, of which two are of the similar

³³ Replicated in 2004 in Japan, and published under the title *Gender in Japanese Preschools: Frogs and Snails and Feminist Tales in Japan*.

kind to 'The Practical Princess': 'The Paper Bag Princess' (1980) by Robert Munsch and 'The Princess and the Dragon' (1981) by Audrey Wood. Davies's study serves "as a caution to anyone who might imagine that such books, by themselves, can dismantle the gender order" (Broom 1990: 402), and she concludes that "the power of the pre-existing structure of the traditional narrative to prevent a new form of narrative from being heard is ever-present . . . and there is no single solution to this for the feminist writer or for the adults who are interacting with and reading stories to children" (Davies 2003: 72). This chapter, on the other hand, although acknowledging the difficulties one might face while working with such materials, offers a more optimistic view of the matter, and suggests that age might play a significant role in children's acceptance of feminist fairy tales, since by the age of ten, children experience a whole range of gender positionings, as well as the biases that come along with these, and might even be aware of and resistant to some of them.

3.2.5 Comparison of the two generations

On the whole, the ten-year-old children showed much greater enthusiasm towards the tale than their twenty-year-old counterparts (Table 3.2), with only the attitude towards the strong heroine being similarly viewed among the females in both groups. However, compared to younger ones, older males were much less approving towards the independence and character of the young girl, which, on the one hand, may indicate a change in the way gender-related characteristics are distributed among younger generations, but, on the other hand, can also be a product of an unfinished socialization process. As has already been noted, a rather negative attitude among young adults proved to be more prominent, by comparison, when it comes to the prince, whose character is in direct opposition to the ideal of hegemonic masculinity, which confirms the previous conclusion that, among young adult population, especially among its female part, it is relatively acceptable for a woman not to conform to

patriarchal norms, but when it comes to the man's non-conformity, the situation changes drastically in case of both genders, who condemn weakness and passivity in males. This shows that the pressure to conform to social norms is even stronger for the young adult males. A difference in attitudes was evident also in relation to the male parent in the story, with young adults showing much greater resistance to the image of the father, while the younger participants still expected the parental protection that king Ludwig failed to provide in order to save his daughter's life. Also, older participants in the research showed greater maturity in their consideration of the villain of the story, since they were able to observe the nuances between good and evil, and did not think of Lord Garp's character only in terms of extremes.

Table 3.2. The attitudes of ten-year-old and twenty-year-old participants towards 'The Practical Princess' and the characters in the tale

TEN-YEAR-OLD PARTICIPANTS'S ATTITUDES

| | FEMALE (%) | | MALE (%) | |
|--------------------------|------------|----------|----------|----------|
| | positive | negative | positive | negative |
| 'The Practical Princess' | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 |
| Princess Bedelia | 100.0 | 0.0 | 96.7 | 3.3 |
| Prince Perian | 81.0 | 19.0 | 86.2 | 13.8 |
| King Ludwig | 19.0 | 81.0 | 31.0 | 69.0 |
| Lord Garp | 0.0 | 100.0 | 3.3 | 96.7 |

TWENTY-YEAR-OLD PARTICIPANTS'S ATTITUDES

| | FEMALE (%) | | MALE (%) | |
|--------------------------|------------|----------|----------|----------|
| | positive | negative | positive | negative |
| 'The Practical Princess' | 90.9 | 9.1 | 67.3 | 32.7 |
| Princess Bedelia | 98.5 | 1.5 | 85.7 | 14.3 |
| Prince Perian | 49.6 | 50.4 | 41.7 | 58.3 |
| King Ludwig | 3.1 | 96.9 | 6.1 | 93.9 |
| Lord Garp | 13.4 | 86.6 | 19.2 | 80.8 |

However, although both groups were largely familiar with the two traditional fairy tales (98.9 per cent of ten-year-olds and 95.1 per cent of twenty-year-olds had previously come across 'Sleeping Beauty', and 'Rapunzel' was known to 91.8 per cent of ten-year-olds and 82.1 per cent of twenty-year-olds), the attitude towards the feminist fairy tale in comparison with that towards the two classical tales was completely different among younger population (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3. The attitudes towards the feminist fairy tale and the two traditional tales

TEN-YEAR-OLD PARTICIPANTS'S PREFERENCES

| | FEMALE (%) | MALE (%) |
|--------------------------|------------|----------|
| 'The Practical Princess' | 74.0 | 74.0 |
| 'Sleeping Beauty' | 26.0 | 26.0 |

| | | |
|--------------------------|------|------|
| 'The Practical Princess' | 64.0 | 71.0 |
| 'Rapunzel' | 36.0 | 29.0 |

TWENTY-YEAR-OLD PARTICIPANTS'S PREFERENCES

| | FEMALE (%) | MALE (%) |
|--------------------------|------------|----------|
| 'The Practical Princess' | 36.4 | 37.0 |
| 'Sleeping Beauty' | 63.4 | 63.0 |

| | | |
|--------------------------|------|------|
| 'The Practical Princess' | 50.0 | 28.9 |
| 'Rapunzel' | 50.0 | 71.1 |

Approximately two thirds preferred 'The Practical Princess' over the other two tales, which is quite the opposite from the attitudes of young adult population. Only in case of 'Rapunzel', the responses of female young adults were equally distributed, with half of them favouring the feminist and half the classical tale, which is a result that may have been influenced by Walt Disney's adaptation of the traditional tale, the animated film *Tangled* (2010), in which Rapunzel is presented as a much stronger character than in the Grimms' tale, and several respondents did specifically state watching the film as

the reason. The reasons that the children stated for preferring the feminist tale were its uniqueness and novelty, humour present in the tale, as well as a large amount of decision making and a large number of adventures and events depicted. On the other hand, young adults' main argument for preferring the traditional tales was compliance with stereotypical gender role, as in the following statement given by a male respondent: "In 'Sleeping Beauty' the prince is a *real* prince – the man should take the princess for his wife, not the other way round!" (M16). A female respondent adds to this by stating that "although I think that the woman should be capable, clever and brave, the man should be the one that she can rely on and he should be the one to save her" (F45).

Comparison between purely qualitative data revealed interesting overlaps, as well as complete discrepancies in opinions depending on different ages. For example, while a ten-year-old girl thought 'The Practical Princess' was more appropriate for her age group than were the two classical tales, which she deemed more suitable for younger children, a twenty-year-old female informant expressed her concern about the feminist tale being more appropriate for adult readers, instead. However, another older informant considered the tale useful for the young generations because it can be a timely lesson for "girls to learn that they do not have to wait for someone to help them and that they can take care of themselves" (F67). Interestingly, though, in both age groups there were informants, mostly female, who, probably due to their patriarchal upbringing, had a distorted perception of the roles that the characters had in the act of release from imprisonment, which is best summarized via two statements that comment on Perian's character in a positive light because, "although he was enchanted, he was able to free himself from imprisonment" (F58) and "because he saved the princess" (F35), as well. This testifies of the strength of the ingrained belief held by a number of participants that the male must be superior and play the role of the protector, so much so that they cannot adapt their mindset to a different point of view, even when the events in the story line explicitly state the opposite.

3.3 Conclusion

The optimistic view of the study is generated on the account of the overall positivity of the children's reaction to the feminist fairy tale. However, as "young children have a particular tendency to want to please adults by agreeing with them or being overly positive in their responses" (Bell 2007: 464), deferential agreement bias may have occurred, although precautions have been taken against it. Also, as the sample used in this research was drawn from the population situated in the northern part of the country, the findings may not be transferable to the attitudes of children from other parts, which is why further data collection would be needed to determine these in order to be able to make wider generalization. Since all the pupils belonged to one school climate, research in other geographic areas may yield entirely different results, based on the mindset of pupils, their parents and teachers. Nevertheless, regardless of the limitations, this study should give enough teachers impetus to encourage them to try an approach to teaching alternative to traditional practice.

The findings in this study have shown that the resistance on the part of ten-year-old children to the newly encountered form of fairy tale is not an issue for a majority of respondents, and that, although "children need the reassurance of the familiar materials with which they feel confident and at ease" (Machura 1995: 79), they are open to new experiences, as well. Contrary to expectations, the criteria for deciding on one's attitude towards the feminist tale were similar for both genders, with humour and the presence of adventure being the most prominent ones. Reversed gender roles did not pose a problem, either, which is why the conclusion has been drawn that it is advisable to allow children to explore different points of view, using a balanced approach, both through traditional and through modern tales.

However, the availability of the books of feminist fairy tales, either collections or individual picture books, does present a problem in our country, thus making it difficult to compete for popularity with the readily available traditional fairy tales. The examples are still few and far between, and feminist fairy tales occupy a marginal place within the domain of children's literature, especially in the case of the Serbian literary scene, since, to the best of the author's knowledge, *The Paper Bag Princess* and picture books based on the animated films *Brave* and *Frozen* are the only ones that have been translated into Serbian. The only effort to write new fairy tales based on traditional ones, with a feminist slant, was made by Aleksandra Izgarjan and Ivana Milojević (2012), who combined motifs from both Serbian and other popular tales with the messages of gender, racial and ethnic equality. Of these, probably the best chance of exerting their influence on the young audience lies with the *Frozen* and *Brave* books, due to their being of the popular 'Disney Princess' brand as well as being closely associated with the medium of film. Because of all this, fairy tales which teachers use while teaching English to young learners should be drawn from a wide pool of sources, not restricted to classical fairy tale collections, but encompassing also the more modern collections of feminist tales. However, due to an obvious lack of choice in the Serbian language, the role of English teachers is all the most important in this. As they are familiar with the language in which most of such tales are available, they have at their disposal a greater number of stories than do class teachers who are not fluent in English, and they should use this advantage to contribute to opening up their students' horizons, especially while they are at an age when their personalities are still plastic and prone to 'moulding'.

4. INTERPRETATION OF FAIRY TALES

Possibly the most iconic of fairy tales, *Cinderella* is a story with a long history, so much so that as early as 1893 Marian Roalfe Cox published a collection of the tale abstracts from forty-eight countries, recorded between 1544 and 1892, under the title *Cinderella: Three Hundred and Forty-five Variants*. Following this publication, in 1910, Antti Aarne constructed the system of European tale types which included different variants of *Cinderella* stories under the number 510, which was later revised by Stith Thompson in 1928 and 1961, and finally by Hans Jorg Uther in 2004 to include an international assortment of the tales. In the latter, the tale type 510A is summarised as follows, encompassing several versions in the abstract:

A young woman is mistreated by her stepmother and stepsisters and has to live in the ashes as a servant. When the sisters and the stepmother go to a ball (church), they give Cinderella an impossible task (e.g. sorting peas from ashes), which she accomplishes with the help of birds. She obtains beautiful clothing from a supernatural being or a tree that grows on the grave of her deceased mother and goes unknown to the ball. A prince falls in love with her but she has to leave the ball early. The same thing happens on the next evening, but on the third evening, she loses one of her shoes. The prince will marry only the woman whom the shoe fits. The stepsisters cut pieces off their feet in order to make them fit into the shoe, but a bird calls attention to this deceit. Cinderella, who had been first hidden from the prince, tries on the shoe and it fits her. The prince marries her. (Uther 2004: 293-294)

The plot has undergone many adaptations, printed in a variety of formats, ranging from anonymous chapbooks in the past centuries



Figure 4.1. *Papalluga* (Serbian Cinderella tale, 1917)

A Hmong Cinderella (1996), by Jewell Reinhart Coburn with Tzexa Cherta Lee, etc.³⁴ (Figure 4.1). However, the most influential by far has been the 1950 screen adaptation variant by Walt Disney, based on Charles Perrault's version of the tale, and the resulting large number of books retelling this particular variant of the tale over and over again.

to the edited collections by famous collectors and writers, such as Charles Perrault and Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. Also, nowadays, one can come across numerous retellings of international variants of the tale, such as *Yeh-Shen: A Cinderella Story from China* (1996), retold by Ai-Ling Louie, *Adelita: A Mexican Cinderella Story* (2004), by Tomi de Paola, *Kongi and Potgi: A Cinderella Story from Korea* (1996), by Oki S. Han, *Cendrillon: A Caribbean Cinderella* (2002), by Robert D. San Souci, *The Egyptian Cinderella* (1992) and *The Korean Cinderella* (1993), by Shirley Climo, *Jouanah:*

³⁴ For a more detailed overview, see, for example, chapter 3 in Zipes (2013), or Joosen (2008) and Fernandez-Rodriguez (2008).

This variant, alongside some other versions, has been characterised by scholars as contributing to “the perpetuation of romance ideology, the binary positioning of women and men, and women’s and girls’ obsession to manifest socially defined beauty” (Parsons 2004: 135). The criticism of the tale resulted in its reworking into a variety of fractured and/or feminist stories, some of which used a direct role inversion, positioning a male character in place of the female, such as *Bubba the Cowboy Prince: A Fractured Texas Tale* (1997) by Helen Kettelman or *Prince Cinders* (1997) by Babette Cole. Other tales written with the aim of subverting the dominant fairy tale discourse include, for example, the fractured *Seriously, Cinderella is so Annoying! The Story of Cinderella as Told by the Wicked Stepmother* (2011) by Trisha Speed Shaskan, *Cinder-Elly* (1997) by Frances Minters, *Cindy Ellen: A Wild Western Cinderella* (2001) by Susan Lowell or *Cinder Edna* (1994) by Ellen Jackson. Thus, *Cinderella* tales live throughout the world in numerous forms, “enjoy(ing) both temporal and spatial stability” (Goldberg 2000: 95).

4.1 *Cinder Edna*

Ellen Jackson’s *Cinder Edna* (1994) has been chosen as the focus of the study because, unlike other fractured variants, it does not only subvert the traditional text, but uses explicit comparison of the traditional *Cinderella* plot, retaining a typical Cinderella character and exaggerating her character traits and life choices, and the newly created plot, by introducing a new character, Cinder Edna, in very similar life circumstances, with the aim of contrasting the two. In the story, Cinderella suffers quietly, feeling sorry for herself, waits for things to be provided for her and forms romantic relationships based solely on appearance, whereas Cinder Edna uses her situation in a practical way, acquiring knowledge from daily

experience, provides things for herself, and her relationships are based on personality compatibility and interests. Cinderella ends up married to prince Randolph who is an heir apparent, and is presented towards the end of the book as living in boredom, with little personal interaction with her new husband, while Cinder Edna marries his brother Rupert, who is not interested in the throne, but rather in recycling and saving orphaned kittens. She and her husband spend time together, doing things they both love, and sharing a sense of humour, as well. The story ends with a prompt: "Guess who lived happily ever after" (Jackson 1994: n.p.), stimulating the reader to look back and reflect on the characters' attitudes, which present stark contrast to each other – one girl dwelling in pain passively, and the other "say[ing] yes to life' in spite of all the tragic aspects of [her] existence" (Frankl 1985: 17).

4.2 The authors' and readers' interpretation of fairy tales

With the aim of determining what meanings can be inferred from two variants of folktale type 510A, the traditional tale *Cinderella* and Ellen Jackson's *Cinder Edna* (1994), a modern reinterpretation of the story, the purpose of which is to counteract the effects of the traditional plot development, two research questions were formulated:

1. Are the meanings the authors wanted to convey reflected in the readers' perceptions of the tale messages?
2. How do the readers interpret the messages of the traditional and the modern tale?

The research aimed at collecting the data from both the author of *Cinder Edna*, Ellen Jackson, from Santa Barbara, California, and the readers of the tale, i.e. a sample of 117 participants whose mean age was 20.45 and who were all students at the Faculty of

Philosophy in Novi Sad, Serbia. Female informants formed 68.4 per cent of the sample, 23.7 per cent of the participants were male, while 7.9 per cent chose not to reveal their gender. The opinion of the author was asked for directly, because no amount of critical analysis of a literary piece on the part of any scholar can match asking the authors themselves about their intended meanings while writing a book, as they are the only ones who can claim that with certainty. However, because literary works have a life of their own once they leave the author's hands, they frequently can and do have different meanings for their readership, which is what this chapter aims to reveal in more detail concerning this particular tale.

The instruments used for data collection were two questionnaires which featured both open-ended and closed-ended items, with a view to obtaining both qualitative and quantitative data. The answers to closed-ended items were offered either as multiple-choice, yes/no, or Likert-type scale answers (1 – completely disagree, 2 – mostly disagree, 3 – not sure, 4 – mostly agree, and 5 – completely agree). The author received and returned the author questionnaire via email, while the readers filled in a paper-and-pen version of the reader questionnaire at one sitting, after reading *Cinder Edna* for the first time. The content of the two questionnaires overlapped to a certain extent, but both also contained items that differed in accordance with the participants' role related to the story.

In general, and rather expectedly, familiarity with the traditional *Cinderella* tale was expressed by 94.7 per cent of the readership sample. A majority had had contact with the film version of the story (42.5 per cent), while the printed version was the source for half that number of participants (21.7 per cent). Slightly over one third (35.7 per cent) of the participants came across the *Cinderella* story through both the medium of film and the book. In order to ascertain which particular version of the tale the participants had in mind while giving their answers, the different endings of three well-known versions of the tale were offered as closed-ended options for the participants to choose from. Thus, Walt Disney's 1950 variant, in which, while trying out the glass shoe, it gets broken, but Cinderella

takes out another as a proof of her identity, was chosen by 52.8 per cent, or more than half of the participants; Charles Perrault's 1697 variant, in which Cinderella's two evil stepsisters marry noblemen in the end, was chosen by 13.2 per cent; while the least known variant, chosen by 1.9 per cent, was Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm's 1857 variant, in which doves pick the evil stepsisters' eyes as punishment. A little under one third or 31.1 per cent had none of these endings in mind connected to the story of *Cinderella*. According to the author of *Cinder Edna*, the variant that she had in mind when writing her story was Charles Perrault's tale (Jackson, personal communication), just as Walt Disney had previously found his inspiration in this tale (Ford and Mitchel 2004: 34).

4.2.1 Intended vs. interpreted meanings in the stories

The first part of the research question on whether the meanings the authors wanted to convey are reflected in the readers' perceptions of the tale messages cannot be answered by way of interviewing the author of the variant of *Cinderella* which was taken as the basis of both the well-known animated film and *Cinder Edna*, but Charles Perrault did leave a trace of his intention in the morals he published after each tale. Thus, for example, one of his morals is as follows:

A great advantage 'tis no doubt to a man,
To have wit, courage, birth, good sense and brain,
And other such-like qualities, which we
Receive from Heav'n's kind hand and destiny.
But none of these rich graces from above,
To your advancement in the world will prove
Of any use, if godsires make delay,
Or godmothers, your merit to display. (Perrault 1925: 86)³⁵

³⁵ I thank Ellen Jackson for drawing my attention to this moral.

To a modern day reader, this message might not be immediately transparent, due to a more or less weakened role of godparents nowadays, but it may not have been so one or two hundred years after the medieval times when Perrault wrote the moral, because, then, mortality was much higher than in today's western world and godparents sometimes had to take on more important roles in the lives of their godchildren (Hanawalt 1986). Thus, for example, "the selection of a higher-status individual to be at least one of the godparents suggests that the parents hoped the sponsor would help the young [person] where he was looking for places and preferment" (247). Perhaps, as a result of that, "when a godparent appears in folk literature, the role is usually that of a *deus ex machine*, intervening in a bad situation" (248). However, today's readers largely do not think that the message Perrault's tale carries is that 'we do not have to try to get what we want ourselves, because there will always be someone else there to help us' ($\bar{x}=2.56$, $Mdn=2.00$, where value 2.00 signifies 'mostly disagree'), as nowadays excessive relying on others for things one can achieve him or herself is not regarded as a positive character trait for the most part. In accordance with this, Ellen Jackson's motivation for rewriting *Cinderella* into *Cinder Edna* is contained in the following statement: "I wanted to invent a character who was spunky and self-reliant and did everything for herself" (Jackson, personal communication). And, indeed, among the rest of the story characters, this one received the most favourable views (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. The participants' attitude towards the tale characters

| Did you like the following characters: | YES (%) | NO (%) |
|--|----------|---------|
| Cinder Edna | 86.1 | 13.9 |
| Rupert (Cinder Edna's husband) | 83.0 | 17.0 |
| Cinderella | 41.4 | 58.6 |
| Randolph (Cinderella's husband) | 27.2 | 72.8 |

In accordance with the author's intention for her readers to "see Edna as: active, resourceful, practical, and humorous and Rupert with the same qualities, and Randolph as vain, slow-witted, and shallow" (Jackson, personal communication), the participants described the new characters she created in a similar vein. Thus, female participants used the following adjectives to describe Edna: positive (F7)³⁶, self-reliant (F10), persistent (F34), strong (F26), resourceful (F41), and optimistic (F48). In their view, she "uses her situation in the best possible way" (F12), "fights for herself" (F9), "tries hard to get what she wants" (F17), and "to find meaning in life" (F45), and, finally, she was considered to be "an example of a contemporary woman" (F36). Males saw her as spontaneous (M6), practical (M23), intelligent (M21) and "a true fighter" (M3), stating that she represents "a dream girl for a modern man" (M19), being "an ordinary girl who loves life regardless of her social status" (M18) and "lives from her work and enjoys it" (M8), while one of the participants even personally identified with the character, stating that Edna was like "the kind of girl (he was) looking for" (M4). Among males, there were also those who thought Edna's was "an unnecessary character" (M5), with "a bad sense of humour" (M15). Her partner, Rupert, in accordance with the author's intended characterization, was considered to be "similar to Cinder Edna" (F67), natural (F54), spontaneous (F1), relaxed (F7), rational (F9), practical (F34), self-reliant (F56), kind (F42), and humane (F1), which makes him "a good partner" (F27), "a modern kind of guy" (F46) and "a real man" (F44). However, female participants with a more traditional, i.e. patriarchal worldview, saw these characteristics in a negative light, as belonging to "a wimp" (F2), or "a book-worm" (F31). His other prominent characteristic was that "he did not let power influence his personality" (F53), and that, "apart from being a prince, he nurtured other interests in life" (F37). Males appreciated him for being "an ordinary man of the 21st century" (F4), clever (F21), rational (F17), modest (F16) and practical (F13), as well as for "falling in love

³⁶ From this point onwards, participant references will be coded as follows: F for a female, and MP for a male participant, followed by the number of the participant in his or her group.

because of character traits” (F22), and being “devoted to work and his wife” (F7).

By comparison, Randolph, apart from being handsome (F2), was seen as a superficial (F5), boring (F18), vain (F8) and selfish (F6) “snob” (F12) and “chauvinist” (F62) with “no personal interests” (F60), who “thinks too much about himself” (F57) and “cannot see himself separately from his princely role” (F37). As “in the original tale” (F3), he “looks for a wife based on her appearance” (F1, M13), and is a conceited (M6), egoistic (M16), lazy (M7), spoiled (M9) and arrogant (M12) person. For Cinderella, the only ‘pre-existing character’ in the tale, apart from seeing her as beautiful (F2), innocent (M20) and fragile (M22), the participants mostly reserve negative descriptions, as well. Thus, they consider her to be “too passive” (F5, M15), boring (M4), wimpy (M2), “a ‘gold-digger’” (F28) and “a victim” (F26), who “only waits for things to happen to her” (F36), “leaving everything to destiny, since, had the fairy not appeared, she would never have married the prince” (F49). According to the participants, she is “characterised as in the original tale” (F3), “expecting problems to get solved on their own” (F8) and “spending time feeling sorry for herself” (F19).

In contrast to the similar perception of characters on the part of both the author and the readers, the messages that may potentially be inferred from the text are viewed quite differently (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2. The comparison of the author’s and the readers’ interpretation of the potential messages that *Cinder Edna* conveys

| Statements | Author | Readers | | |
|--|--------|---------|--------|------|
| The message that <i>Cinder Edna</i> conveys is that: | | Mean | Median | Mode |
| • we have to try to get what we want ourselves, because no one else will be there to help us all the time. | 2 | 4.19 | 5.00 | 5.00 |

| | | | | |
|--|---|------|------|------|
| • it is wrong to put up with abuse, and it is the effort on the part of the person suffering which is necessary in order for salvation to come in the end. | 1 | 3.89 | 4.00 | 5.00 |
| • a person in trouble needs to actively think in order to come up with a solution and s/he needs to actively put her or his plans into practice. | 2 | 4.39 | 5.00 | 5.00 |
| • women are not helpless in the face of violence, and they should have a positive attitude towards life and use their situation in the best possible way. | 3 | 4.07 | 4.00 | 5.00 |
| • it is not a good solution to enter marriage with the aim of escaping from violence in one's own family; instead, people should get married only if they get to know each other well and have similar interest in life. | 3 | 4.06 | 4.00 | 5.00 |
| • 'love at first sight', without talking and getting to know each other, is not true love. | 1 | 3.75 | 4.00 | 5.00 |
| • it is wrong to passively accept whatever life brings. | 2 | 4.27 | 5.00 | 5.00 |
| • it is necessary to become familiar with the personality and interests of one's partner in order to have a successful romantic relationship. | 2 | 4.30 | 5.00 | 5.00 |
| • a woman can protect herself from violence by having a positive attitude towards herself. | 1 | 3.54 | 4.00 | 3.00 |

As can be seen, there is a great difference in the way the author and the readers perceive the tale. While on the one hand, the author states that she “would certainly hope that none of the ‘messages’ suggested are embedded or otherwise incorporated into the story” (Jackson, personal communication), the readers mostly agreed with the statements offered, and added some of their own interpretations. Thus, for example, some participants considered the message of *Cinder Edna* to be that “luxury is not the meaning of life” (M15), and that “love and a happy life are much more valuable than the material aspects of life” (M13), while others stated that “regardless of all the problems, one should find meaning in things that are fulfilling and view life in a positive way” (F37). Also, the message of *Cinder Edna* was thought to be that “the traditional customs and behaviour patterns need to be critically examined, and not passively accepted” (M12). The authors’ suggestion of a potentially embedded message in *Cinder Edna* is the following: “Whatever your circumstances in life, look around and see if you have resources—internal or external—that can help you. Try to be an active agent in your life” (Jackson, personal communication).

4.2.2 The traditional vs. modern tale message interpretation

The second research question concerned the comparison of the readers’ interpretation of the messages of the traditional and the modern tale. The messages were extrapolated from the tales in such a way that they present pairs of opposed statements, since, in a way, Cinderella’s and Cinder Edna’s character traits, and consequently, destinies, are in relative opposition, as well. The results show that the readers, for the most part, have a much more sentimental attitude towards the traditional tale, and that they do not view it as critically as they do the modern tale, negotiating the messages in *Cinderella* in order to be able to view the tale in a more positive light (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3. The readers' interpretation of the messages embedded in the traditional and the modern tale

| Statements | Mean | Median | Mode |
|---|------|--------|------|
| We do not have to try to get what we want ourselves, because there will always be someone else there to help us. <i>C</i> ³⁷ | 2.56 | 2.00 | 1.00 |
| We have to try to get what we want ourselves, because no one else will be there to help us all the time. <i>CE</i> | 4.19 | 5.00 | 5.00 |
| It is okay to put up with abuse, because salvation will come eventually, regardless of the involvement on the part of the person who is suffering. <i>C</i> | 2.46 | 2.00 | 1.00 |
| It is not okay to put up with abuse, and it is the effort on the part of the person suffering which is necessary in order for salvation to come in the end. <i>CE</i> | 3.89 | 4.00 | 5.00 |
| When a person is in trouble, the only thing they can do is cry over their own destiny. <i>C</i> | 2.39 | 2.00 | 1.00 |
| A person in trouble needs to actively think in order to come up with a solution and s/he needs to actively put her or his plans into practice. <i>CE</i> | 4.39 | 5.00 | 5.00 |
| Women and girls are helpless in the face of violence of any kind. <i>C</i> | 2.57 | 2.00 | 1.00 |
| Women are not helpless in the face of violence, and they should have a | 4.07 | 4.00 | 5.00 |

³⁷ The italicised letter *C* will be used in brackets following the statement to signify that the message formulated refers to the traditional *Cinderella* tale, while the letters *CE* will refer to *Cinder Edna*.

| | | | |
|--|------|------|------|
| positive attitude towards life and use their situation in the best possible way. <i>CE</i> | | | |
| Getting married is the only way to escape the violence in one's own family. <i>C</i> | 2.63 | 2.00 | 1.00 |
| It is not a good solution to enter marriage with the aim of escaping from violence in one's own family; instead, people should get married only if they get to know each other well and have similar interest in life. <i>CE</i> | 4.06 | 4.00 | 5.00 |
| 'Love at first sight' is the only true love. <i>C</i> | 3.06 | 3.00 | 5.00 |
| 'Love at first sight', without talking and getting to know each other, is not true love. <i>CE</i> | 3.75 | 4.00 | 5.00 |
| It is okay to passively accept whatever life brings. <i>C</i> | 2.58 | 2.00 | 1.00 |
| It is not okay to passively accept whatever life brings. <i>CE</i> | 4.27 | 5.00 | 5.00 |
| Only physical attraction is sufficient for having a successful romantic relationship. <i>C</i> | 2.94 | 3.00 | 1.00 |
| It is necessary to become familiar with the personality and interests of one's partner in order to have a successful romantic relationship. <i>CE</i> | 4.30 | 5.00 | 5.00 |
| Only a man can protect female individuals when exposed to violence. <i>C</i> | 2.89 | 3.00 | 1.00 |
| A woman can protect herself from violence by having a positive attitude towards herself. <i>CE</i> | 3.54 | 4.00 | 3.00 |

When asked how these messages can affect children who are told or read the tales, almost two thirds (65.1 per cent) of the participants thought that *Cinder Edna* could affect children in a positive way, 28.3 per cent that the messages have no influence on children whatsoever, and 6.6 per cent that it could have a negative influence. In the case of *Cinderella*, the number of those who think it can have a positive influence in children's development is much lower, less than one half (47.7 per cent) of the participant, no influence was reported by one third (33.6 per cent) of the participants, while the number of those who thought the messages embedded in the tale can have a negative influence neared one fifth of the sample (18.7 per cent).

A general liking for the modern tale, *Cinder Edna*, was expressed by two thirds of the participants (68.1 per cent), dislike by 23.9 per cent, and 8.0 per cent did not state their opinion. Pearson Chi-Square test was performed to examine the relationship between gender and the attitude towards the modern tale and the results indicate that there is a statistically significant relationship between these two variables ($X^2(2) = 5.97, p < .05$), as, in case of females, 87.0 per cent stated that they liked the tale, while in the case of males 66.7 per cent did the same. When asked for their preference of one tale over the other, 60.4 per cent of the participants stated that they preferred *Cinder Edna*, while 39.6 liked *Cinderella* more. However, regardless of all the previous findings, when asked if children should be read *Cinderella*, more participants (80.7 per cent) answered affirmatively than in the case of *Cinder Edna* (73.9 per cent). The reasons that the participants stated for such an attitude were the following: "Because it is wonderful, especially for girls, as it makes them think they can turn into a princess any moment" (F38), "It has been read to generations of children, so it must be good" (M21), or, for example, "Cinderella should be read because it familiarizes children with tradition" (F16). The author's response to the question whether *Cinderella* should be read to children was also affirmative, and the reason stated was because the tale "is part of our literary heritage" (Jackson, personal communication).

4.3 Conclusion

When asked how she would classify *Cinder Edna*, Ellen Jackson choose neither the option of a feminist nor a fractured fairy tale, nor any other, not wanting “to characterize or pigeon hole *Cinder Edna*,” since it has “obviously been many things to many readers” (personal communication). And, indeed, it has, as it has been classified as both fractured and feminist (Luongo-Orlando 2010: 96), but also as a Marxist tale retelling, where “the emancipation of female characters often goes hand in hand with anticapitalist and antiroyalist messages” (Joosen 2011: 120). However, the most frequently used adjective to describe *Cinder Edna* is only ‘feminist’ (Nikolajeva and Scott 2013: 75; Paludi 2012: 197; Mickenberg and Nel 2008: 139; Doughty 2006: 74). “The canonical *Cinderella* fairy tale,” on the other hand, belongs clearly to a traditional, patriarchal discourse (Crowley and Pennington 2010: 308) in reaction to which numerous retellings have emerged “from the struggles of the women’s movement and are being used to elaborate social choices and alternatives for both females and males” (Zipes 1989: xii).

The existence of so many different interpretations³⁸ and, thus, classifications and meanings extrapolated from the tales testifies of “[t]he difficulty of making a close examination of the matter under discussion,” because what one “intended to refer to may be quite other than what [one] did refer to, a fact which it is important to remember if it is hoped to reach mutual comprehension, and eventually agreement or disagreement” (Ogden and Richards 1923: 192). As has been seen, except in the case of the intended

³⁸ It was inevitable for the researcher’s personal perspective and interpretation of both tales to influence the formulation of the items in the questionnaire, and thus the results and the whole research design. Thus, the research design would have benefitted from a more qualitatively oriented perspective, and the inclusion of in-depth interviews, which would have yielded more and also more complete information. Therefore, although the current participants had the opportunity to fill in their answers to open-ended questions, triangulation is recommended for future research on the topic.

characterization, the authors and the readers do not associate the same meanings with texts, and it is highly likely that children being read the stories will have their own interpretations, perhaps unrelated to either of these. That is why “it is necessary to have a discussion after reading each tale” (F26), as “children engage in interpretive reproduction, and, in so doing, they borrow from adult culture and renegotiate the messages in a reflexive process of defining and (re)producing what is real” (Baker-Sperry 2007: 722-723). Therefore, it is necessary to educate readers to think critically and discuss “the times when the tales were written or filmed, as well as the mentality, life circumstances and worldview of the people who produced them” (Prošić-Santovac 2014: 653), in order for them to be able to use the knowledge gained to their own benefit.

5. PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Fairy tales have been a part of home education of young children for centuries, their use primarily being for entertainment. However, they have never been void of a didactic purpose, and as early as the seventeenth century, one could even find the explicitly expressed morals printed after the texts of the tales, as seen in the example of Charles Perrault's *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralités: Contes de ma mère l'Oye* [*Stories or Tales from Times Past, with Morals: Tales of Mother Goose*, 1697]. The nineteenth century brought about one of the best known collections of tales, the Grimm brother's *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* [*Children's and Household Tales*, 1812-1857], and when these tales "passed into the hands of German educators, they quickly became a highly effective pedagogical tool for instructing the youngest citizens . . . in the language and mores of their people" (Magnanini 2008: 166). By the beginning of the twentieth century, there was "no longer a call for a demonstration, or even a statement, that there is a place in the child's education for the fairy-tale," but what was considered necessary "in discussing the use of the tales, particularly their use in the school, [was] to point out some principles of selection" (MacClintock 1903: 609), and, at the time, the amount and the kind of violence in the tales and some moralistic issues were in the focus of the discussion for the most part, influencing the form and content of the tales throughout the world in the subsequent decades. Today, what children encounter in the course of their education are indeed mostly the bowdlerised forms of the popular tales, with gory elements removed where they might have existed before. However, since fairy tales are still used extensively, both at home and in school, the 'principles of selection' still need to be borne in mind, with the set of

criteria enlarged so as to encompass the burning issues of modern day.

5.1 Fairy tales in teaching English to young learners

Fairy tales are a frequent addition to language teaching classes for young learners, providing opportunities for “rich, authentic uses of the foreign language” (Cameron 2001: 159), as well as “introducing elements of fun [which] can sometimes be overlooked by teachers more experienced in other ELT areas” (Prošić-Santovac 2017: 570). Some of the benefits of using tales in English language classes include, but are by no means restricted to, the following: acquisition of new vocabulary, development of children’s imagination and literary competence, as well as listening skills, “creating a friendly, anxiety-free and safe environment can foster language creativity” (Savić & Prošić-Santovac 2017: 154), and most importantly motivation (Zaro and Salaberri 1995: 2-3).

However, when it comes to choosing which tales to use in their classes, teachers sometimes resort to a haphazard approach, using what is readily available, and creating their reading programmes while “groping in the dark for texts” (Machura 1995: 71). Very often, it is the most popular tales that are chosen for the use in class, one reason for this being the children’s familiarity with their content. These tales owe their everlasting popularity to the ‘culture industry’, as they are readily available for consumption in various forms, and the caregivers supply children with them by default simply because of their availability. Once the books and DVDs are already present in homes, schools and libraries, inertia continues, and many children and teachers themselves opt for consuming what they can easily find in their immediate surroundings.

These, so called classical or traditional, tales “are the product of centuries” (Fox Eades 2006: 35), and because of this they have

acquired many layers of meaning due to various cultural influences over time, undergoing a process of canonisation during the nineteenth and, especially, the twentieth century by being filtered through the lens of editorial policies which fostered an old-fashioned, patriarchal worldview. Tales were promoted based on their compliance with the constructed ideals of femininity and masculinity, so that the existing tales with strong, active and independent heroines got to be heavily neglected at the expense of those featuring submissive, passive and dependent ones, such as ‘Cinderella’, ‘Sleeping Beauty’, ‘Snow White’, etc.

What is more, the content of such tales was gradually modified, so that, by the time Walt Disney’s films came into existence, whatever initiative the heroines might have had in the printed editions of the nineteenth century was entirely lost in the cinematic versions, and subsequently, in a majority of printed versions as well, under the influence of the powerful medium of film. The negative consequences of such a trend in terms of the formation of gender stereotypes ought not to be underestimated, and, certainly, ought not to be reinforced in the classroom, since these stereotypes are the underlying basis of power relations not only in society at large, but also in each individual classroom. This is especially true in recent years, when many mainstream fairy tale films and stories avoid following this trend.

Pre-primary and primary teachers of English can and should make choices which are more in line with the ideals of gender equality, because “schools play a key role in teaching and reinforcing the dominant values of culture and this holds especially true in areas of gender and sexuality” (Meyer 2010: 3). English language classes are exceptionally suitable for dealing with gender issues, because of “the ability of the Language Arts curriculum to address a wide variety of subject matter [which] allows a diverse range of topics and concerns to be discussed” (68). In these classes, fairy tales can be used as a prompt for discussion about gender roles and stereotypes, and in that sense, the above mentioned and similar traditional tales can also be utilised and, in an age appropriate

manner, exposed as an example of practice which promotes outdated worldviews, thus contributing to the development of children's critical reading skills. With the same aim in mind, "accompanying illustrations should also be observed concerning the representation of characters, the settings and activities they engage in, as well as the synchronization of illustrations with the text" (Prošić-Santovac 2015: 25).

However, it is also possible to entirely avoid introducing gender bias into one's lessons, by carefully choosing the texts to be presented in class, and including tales which feature protagonists of both genders who are strong, active, resourceful and independent, as well as those who are not, so that every child can have the opportunity to identify her/himself with a protagonist, without feeling left out or inadequate. A combinatory approach can be applied so that both kinds of tales receive due attention and are compared under the critical eye of both teachers and students. The advantage of the latter approach would be that in this case gender equality would get to be discussed as a matter-of-factly state rather than a state the existence of which needs to be vindicated. Needless to say, all the activities, as well as the tales used, should be adapted in such a way that they resonate well with children, both in terms of their cognitive development and in terms of the level of their knowledge of the English language, in order to be able to encourage critical thinking in children and to raise awareness of the issues present in the tales.

Setting the tales into the past times during which they were created can oppose the illusion of timelessness in children's minds that is often nurtured in connection with fairy tales by educators and caregivers. When children come to understand that there is nothing universal about fairy tales, and that they "only ever express conditions, attitudes, and values pertaining at specific socio-cultural moments, and whenever collectors or rewriters turn folk tales into literary fairy tales, or invent new literary fairy tales, they express the social and moral assumptions of their own time and culture" (McCallum & Stephens 2002: 161), they will find it easier to

challenge the prescribed gender roles in the tales or any other pedagogical message that would put them in a disadvantaged position if internalised uncritically. However, an essential prerequisite for this is that the significant adults in children's lives are eager to be educated in the vein of such thinking in order to be able to transfer their skills of interpretation onto the young generations.

5.2 Fairy tales and the Serbian literary scene

Most literary feminist fairy tales came into existence as a response to the feminist critique of traditional fairy tales, both folk and literary ones. However, some tales with protagonists in non-traditional gender roles existed in oral tradition even before any form of feminism arose, and some even preserved their place within classical collections of the nineteenth century despite the dominant social ideology of the time.³⁹ Nevertheless, these tales have suffered neglect, especially during the twentieth century, and, although modern feminist fairy tale collections aim to spark a renewed interest in them, they have been largely marginalized by the Western mainstream, while in our country they are on the verge of being non-existent, either in translation or otherwise, which is a state that should be remedied, because of the positive socialization role they can play in the lives of young people.

The participants in the studies discussed, born long after some of the most popular literary feminist fairy tales were written, could have encountered them in a timely fashion, just like the children in other countries mentioned have, had the culture they grew up in been supportive of the outlook on life promoted by these tales. As it

³⁹ Similar tales, though not tales of magic proper, also exist among the stories collected by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, as for example 'The Girl Who Outwitted the Emperor' (1853) where the focus of the plot is on female intelligence, but with an entirely positive attitude towards it.

is, until very recently, none of these tales had been translated into Serbian, and thus, did not have much chance of imprinting their message on young people's minds, even marginally. Nowadays, when half a century has passed since the publication of some of the first literary feminist fairy tales in the twentieth century, very few translated or newly-written stories of this kind exist on the Serbian market, and, due to the prevalent mentality of the consumers, it is not likely that their popularity will soon overshadow that of the traditional fairy tales, especially those that nurture an extreme patriarchal outlook, such as a majority of earlier, but still very popular, Disney's fairy tale adaptations.

The younger the children are when they come across a new type of tale, the more receptive they are towards the worldview promoted. At a time when the culture in Serbia is undergoing changes, and when the plots of traditional fairy tales are no longer entirely grounded in real life situations, stories that the young generations read or are read to should follow suit. Even if the tales with patriarchal outlook reflect true situations for a part of the population, models of alternative states of being ought to be offered to children in order to move closer to an ideal of egalitarian society, at least in terms of gender in this case, "because of the far-reaching consequences that the knowledge and attitudes acquired at an early age can have on the life of a child" (Prošić-Santovac 2009: 64).

The fact that even Disney films have started to change their focus from the motifs exclusively based on patriarchal relationships is something that ought to be capitalized on, fruitfully using the small steps made in this direction and the slight movement of the mainstream fairy tale literature and film away from the out-dated plots. Writing new tales or finding stories in foreign languages, and translating them, and even introducing some into the national primary curriculum instead of or, even better, in addition to the traditional ones, would move these tales from the margins towards the mainstream. In addition, bolder advertising campaigns are necessary, which would contribute to reaching wider audiences, and lead to multiple printings, preventing the tales from falling into

obscurity. However, most of the suggested measures need funding, and if society is not willing to invest into developing young generations' minds in this direction, the efforts may be futile, which is why policy makers need to be educated, as well.

Bibliographic notes

This monograph represents a synthesis of the author's previously published articles on the topic of fairy tales. The texts have been rearranged and updated, with the data recombined in order to enhance unity. The original bibliographic information for the articles is as follows:

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