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## **Who's Afraid of the Brothers Grimm? Socialization and Politization through Fairy Tales**

*Jack Zipes*

Over 170 years ago the Brothers Grimm began collecting original folk tales in Germany and stylized them into potent literary fairy tales. Since then these tales have exercised a profound influence on children and adults alike throughout the western world. Indeed, whatever form fairy tales in general have taken since the original publication of the Grimms' narratives in 1812, the Brothers Grimm have been continually looking over our shoulders and making their presence felt. For most people this has not been so disturbing. However, during the last 15 years there has been a growing radical trend to overthrow the Grimms' benevolent rule in fairy-tale land by writers who believe that the Grimms' stories contribute to the creation of a false consciousness and reinforce an authoritarian socialization process. This trend has appropriately been set by writers in the very homeland of the Grimms where literary revolutions have always been more common than real political ones.<sup>1</sup>

West German writers<sup>2</sup> and critics have come to regard the Grimms' fairy tales and those of Andersen, Bechstein, and their imitators as "secret agents" of an education establishment which indoctrinates children to learn fixed roles and functions within bourgeois society, thus curtailing their free development.<sup>3</sup> This attack on the conservatism of the "classical" fairy tales was mounted in the 1960s when numerous writers began using them as models to write innovative, emancipatory tales, more critical of changing conditions in advanced technological societies based on capitalist production and social relations. What became apparent to these writers and critics was that the Grimms' tales, though ingenious and perhaps socially relevant in their own times, contained sexist and racist attitudes and served a socialization process which placed great emphasis on passivity, industry, and self-sacrifice for girls and activity, competition, and accumulation of wealth for boys. Therefore, contemporary West German writers moved in a different, more

progressive direction by parodying and revising the fairy tales of the 18th and 19th centuries, especially those of the Grimms.

For the most part, the "classical" fairy tales have been reutilized or what the German call "umfunktioniert": the *function* of the tales has been literally turned around so that the perspective, style, and motifs of the narratives expose contradictions in capitalist society and awaken children to other alternatives for pursuing their goals and developing autonomy. The reutilized tales *function against* conformation to the standard socialization process and are meant to *function for* a different, more emancipatory society which can be gleaned from the redirected socialization process symbolized in the new tales. The quality and radicalism of these new tales vary from author to author.<sup>4</sup> And it may even be that many of the writers are misguided, despite their good intentions. Nevertheless, they have raised questions about the socio-political function of fairy tales, and this is important. Essentially they reflect upon and seek to understand how the messages in fairy tales tend to repress and constrain children rather than set them free to make their own choices. They assume that the Grimms' fairy tales have been fully accepted in all western societies and have ostensibly been used or misused in furthering the development of human beings who might be more functional within the capitalist system than other non-conformist types of people. If one shares a critique of capitalist society, what then should be changed in the Grimms' tales to suggest other possibilities? What structural process forms the fairy tales and informs the mode by which the human character is socialized in capitalist society?

Before looking at literary endeavors to answer these questions by West German writers, it is important to discuss the nature of the Grimms' fairy tales and the notion of socialization through fairy tales. Not only have creative writers been at work to reutilize the fairy tales, but there have been a host of progressive critics who have uncovered important historical data about the Grimms' tales and have explored the role that these stories have played in the socialization process.

## I

Until recently it was generally assumed that the Grimm Brothers collected their oral folk tales mainly from peasants and day laborers and that they merely altered and refined the tales while remaining true to their perspective and meaning. Both assumptions have been proven false.<sup>5</sup> The Grimms gathered their tales primarily from petit bourgeois or educated middle-class people who had already introduced bourgeois notions into their versions. In all cases the Grimms did more than simply change and improve the style of the tales: they expanded them and made substantial changes in characters and meaning. Moreover, they excluded certain tales from their collection, and their entire process of selection reflected the bias of their philosophical and political point of view. Essentially, the Grimm Brothers were responsible for the literary "bourgeoisification" of oral tales which had belonged to the peasantry and lower classes and were informed by the interests and aspirations of these groups. This is not to say that they purposely sought to betray the heritage of the common people in Germany. On the contrary, their intentions were honorable: they wanted the rich cultural tradition of the common people to be used and accepted by the rising middle classes. It is for this reason that they spent their lives doing research on myths, customs, and the language of the German people. They wanted to contribute to the development of a strong national bourgeoisie by unravelling the ties to Germanic traditions and social rites and by drawing on related lore from France and central and northern Europe. Thus, wherever possible, they sought to link the beliefs and behavior of characters in the folk tales to the development of bourgeois norms.

This process of rewriting and its overwhelming success were due not only to the artistic quality but also to the socio-historical background. The bourgeois century, which now also allowed the child to come into his own rights in the *Biedermeier* (i.e., *Victorian*) family world, provided the fertile ground for the fairy-tale world of the Brothers Grimm. The

victory procession of the *Children and Household Tales* was only made possible because the children's rooms of bourgeois homes formed the willing and enthusiastic circle of consumers. It was into this 19th century where a bourgeois sense for family had been developed that the Grimms' fairy tales made their entrance: as the book read to children by mothers and grandmothers and as reading for the children themselves. The Grimms countered the pedagogical doubts from the beginning with the argument that the fairy-tale book was written both for children and for adults, but not for the badly educated. . . . The enormous amount of editions and international circulation of the Grimms' fairy tales as book fairy tales can also be explained by its bourgeois circle of consumers. Here is where the circle closes. Beside the questionable nature of the "ancient Germanic" or even "pure Hessian" character of the collection, we must consider and admire the genial talents of the Brothers who were able to fuse random and heterogeneous material transmitted over many years into the harmonious totality of the *Children and Household Tales*. Thus, they were able to bring about a work which was both "bourgeois" and "German" and fully corresponded to the scientific temper and emotional taste of their times. The room for identification provided to the bourgeoisie in general completely encompassed the virtues of a national way of thinking and German folk spirit, and the Grimms' *Children and Household Tales* contained all this in the most superb way. Its success as book cannot be explained without knowledge of the social history of the 19th century.<sup>6</sup>

The sources of the tales were European, old Germanic, and bourgeois. The audience was a growing middle-class one. The Grimms saw a mission in the tales and were bourgeois missionaries. And although they never preached or sought to convert in a crass manner, they did modify the tales much more

than we have been led to believe. Their collection went through 17 editions during their own lifetime and was constantly enlarged and revised. Wilhelm Grimm, the more conservative of the two brothers, did most of the revisions, and it is commonly known that he endeavored to clean up the tales and make them more respectable for bourgeois children—even though the original publication was not expressly intended for children. The Grimms did not collect the tales only to “do a service to the history of poetry and mythology,” but their intention was to write a book that could provide pleasure and learning.<sup>7</sup> They called their edition of 1819 an “Erziehungsbuch” (an educational book) and discussed the manner in which they made the stories more pure, truthful and just. In the process they carefully eliminated those passages which they thought would be harmful for children’s eyes.<sup>8</sup> This became a consistent pattern in the revisions after 1819. Once the tales had seen the light of print, and once they were deemed appropriate for middle-class audiences, Wilhelm consistently tried to meet audience expectations. And the reading audience of Germany was largely bourgeois, growing in power and becoming more *Biedermeier* or Victorian in its morals and ethics. Wilhelm set a high standard as moral sanitation man, and his example has been followed by numerous “educators” who have watered down and cleaned up the tales from the 19th century up to the present.

Thanks to the 1975 re-publication of the neglected 1810 handwritten manuscript side by side with the published edition of the tales of 1812 by Heinz Rölleke, we can grasp the full import of the sanitation process in relation to socialization. We can see how each and every oral tale was conscientiously and, at times, drastically changed by the Grimms. For our purposes I want to comment on three tales to show how different types of changes relate to gradual shifts in the norms and socialization process reflecting the interests of the bourgeoisie. Let us begin with the opening of *The Frog Prince* and compare the 1810 manuscript with the editions of 1812 and 1857.

### **1810 Manuscript**

The king's daughter went into the woods and sat down next to a cool well. Then she took a golden ball and began playing with it until it suddenly rolled down into the well. She watched it fall to the bottom from the edge of the well and was very sad. Suddenly a frog stuck his head out of the water and said: "Why are you complaining so?" "Oh, you nasty frog, you can't help me at all. My golden ball has fallen into the well." Then the frog said: "If you take me home with you, I'll fetch your golden ball for you."<sup>9</sup>

### **1812 Edition**

Once upon a time there was a king's daughter who went into the woods and sat down next to a cool well. She had a golden ball with her that was her most cherished toy. She threw it high into the air and caught it and enjoyed this very much. One time the ball went high into the air. She had already stretched out her hand and curled her fingers to catch the ball when it fell by her side onto the ground and rolled and rolled right into the water.

The king's daughter looked at it in horror. The well was so deep that it was impossible to see the bottom. She began to cry miserably and complain: "Oh! I would give anything if only I could have my ball again! My clothes, my jewels, my pearls and whatever I could find in the world." While she was complaining, a frog stuck his head out of the water and said: "Princess, why are you lamenting so pitifully?" "Oh," she said. "you nasty frog, you can't help me! My golden ball has fallen into the well." The frog said: "I won't demand your pearls, your jewels, and your clothes, but if you accept me as your companion, and if you let me sit next to you at your table and eat from your golden plate and sleep in your bed and if you cherish and love me, then I'll fetch your ball for you."<sup>10</sup>

### **1857 Edition**

In olden times when making wishes still helped, there lived a king whose daughters were all beautiful, but the youngest was

so beautiful that the sun itself, who has seen so much, was astonished by her beauty each time it lit upon her face. Near the royal castle there was a great dark wood, and in the wood under an old linden tree there was a well. And when the day was quite hot, the king's daughter would go into the woods and sit by the edge of the cool well. And if she was bored, she would take a golden ball, and throw it up and catch it again, and this was the game she liked to play most.

Now it happened one day that the golden ball, instead of falling back into the little hand of the princess when she had tossed it up high, fell to the ground by her side and rolled into the water. The king's daughter followed it with her eyes, but it disappeared. The well was deep, so deep that the bottom could not be seen. Then she began to cry, and she cried louder and louder and could not console herself at all. And as she was lamenting, someone called to her. "What is disturbing you, princess? Your tears would melt a heart of stone." And when she looked to see where the voice came from, there was nothing but a frog stretching his thick ugly head out of the water. "Oh, is it you, old waddler?" she said. "I'm crying because my golden ball has fallen into the well." "Be quiet and stop crying," the frog answered. "I can help you, but what will you give me if I fetch your ball again?" "Whatever you like, dear frog," she said. "My clothes, my pearls and jewels, and even the golden crown that I'm wearing." "I don't like your clothes, your pearls and jewels and your golden crown, but if you love me and let me be your companion and playmate, let me sit at your table next to you, eat from your golden plate and drink from your cup, and sleep in your bed, if you promise me this, then I shall dive down and fetch your golden ball for you again."<sup>11</sup>

By comparing these three versions we can see how *The Frog Prince* became more and more embroidered in a short course of time—and this did not occur merely for stylistic reasons but to make the story more acceptable in light of changing bourgeois tastes and morals. In the original folk tale of 1810 the setting is simple and totally lacking in frills. There is no castle. The incident could be taking place on a large estate. The king's



daughter could well be a peasant's daughter or any girl who goes to a well, finds a ball, loses it, and agrees to take the frog home if he finds the ball for her. He has no other desire but to sleep with her. There is no beating around the bush in the rest of the narrative. It is explicitly sexual and alludes to a universal initiation and marital ritual (probably derived from primitive societies), and in one other version, the princess does not throw the frog against the wall, but kisses it as in the *Beauty and Beast* tales. Mutual sexual recognition and acceptance bring about the prince's salvation. In both the 1812 and 1857 versions the princess provides more of an identification basis for a bourgeois child, for she is unique, somewhat spoiled, and very wealthy. She thinks in terms of monetary payment and basically treats the frog as though he were a member of a lower caste—an attitude not apparent in the original version. The ornate description serves to cover or eliminate the sexual frankness of the original tale. Here the frog wants to be a companion and playmate. Sex must first be sweetened up and made to appear harmless since its true form is repulsive. The girl obeys the father, but like all good bourgeois children she rejects the sexual advances of the frog, and for this she is rewarded. In fact, all three versions suggest a type of patriarchal socialization for young girls which has been severely criticized and questioned by progressive educators today, but the final version is most consistent in its *capacity* to combine feudal folk notions of sexuality, obedience, and sexual roles with bourgeois norms and attirement. The changes in the versions reveal social transitions and class differences which attest to their dependency on the gradual ascendancy of bourgeois codes and tastes.

Even the earlier French "haute bourgeois" values had to be altered by the Grimms to fit their more upright, 19th-century middle-class perspective and sense of decency. Let us compare the beginning of Perrault's *Le petit chaperon rouge* with the Grimms' 1812 *Rotkäppchen* since the French version was their actual source.

#### *Le petit chaperon rouge* (1695)

Once upon a time there was a little village girl, the prettiest

that was ever seen. Her mother doted on her, and her grandmother doted even more. This good woman made a little red hood for her, and it became the girl so well that everyone called her Little Red Riding Hood.

One day her mother, having baked some biscuits, said to Little Red Riding Hood: "Go and see how your grandmother is feeling; someone told me that she was ill. Take her some biscuits and this little pot of butter." Little Red Riding Hood departed immediately for the house of her grandmother, who lived in another village.<sup>12</sup>

### *Rotkappchen* (1812)

Once upon a time there was a small sweet maid. Whoever laid eyes on her loved her. But it was her grandmother who loved her most. She never had enough to give the child. One time she gave her a present, a small hood made out of velvet, and since it became her so well, and since she did not want to wear anything but this, she was simply called Little Red Riding Hood. One day her mother said to her: "Come, Red Riding Hood, take this piece of cake and bottle of wine and bring it to grandmother. She is sick and weak. This will nourish her. Be nice and good and give her my regards. Be orderly on your way and don't veer from the path, otherwise you'll fall and break the glass. Then your sick grandmother will have nothing."<sup>13</sup>

In a recent article on Perrault's *Little Red Riding Hood*, Carole and D. T. Hanks Jr. have commented on the "sanitization" process of the Grimms and later editors of this tale.

Perrault's tale provides a classic example of the bowdlerizing which all too often afflicts children's literature. Derived from the German version, "Rotkäppchen" (Grimm No. 26), American versions of the tale have been sanitized to the point where the erotic element disappears and the tragic ending becomes comic. This approach emasculates a powerful story, one which unrevised is a metaphor for the maturing process.<sup>14</sup>

The word “emasculates” is an unfortunate choice to describe what happened to Perrault’s tale (and the original folk tales) since it was the rise of authoritarian patriarchal societies which was responsible for fear of sexuality and stringent sexual codes. Secondly, Perrault’s tale was not written for children but for an educated upper-class audience which included children.<sup>15</sup> The development of children’s literature, as we know, was late, and it only gradually assumed a vital role in the general socialization process of the 18th and 19th centuries. Therefore, Perrault’s early tale had to be made more suitable for children by the Grimms and had to reinforce a more conservative bourgeois sense of morality. This is most apparent in the changes the Grimms made at the very beginning of the tale. Little Red Riding Hood is no longer a simple village maid but the epitome of innocence. However, it is not enough to be innocent. The girl must learn to fear her own curiosity and sensuality. So the narrative purpose corresponds to the socialization at that time for young girls: if you do not walk the straight path through the sensual temptations of the dark forest, if you are not orderly and moral (*sittsam*),<sup>16</sup> then you will be swallowed by the wolf, i.e., the devil or sexually starved males. Typically the savior and rebirth motif is represented by a male hunter, a father figure devoid of sexuality. Here again the revisions in word choice, tone, and content cannot be understood unless one grasps the substance of education and socialization in the first half of the 19th century.

Let us take one more example, a short section from the Grimms’ 1810 and 1812 versions of *Snow White*.

### 1810 Manuscript

When Snow White awoke the next morning, they asked her how she happened to get there. And she told them everything, how her mother the queen had left her alone in the woods and went away. The dwarfs took pity on her and persuaded her to remain with them and do the cooking for them when they went to the mines. However, she was to beware of the queen and not let anyone in the house.<sup>17</sup>

### 1812 Edition

When Snow White awoke, they asked her who she was and how she happened to arrive in the house. Then she told them how her mother wanted to have her put to death, but that the hunter spared her life, and how she had run the entire day and finally arrived at their house. So the dwarfs took pity on her and said: "If you keep our house for us, and cook, sew, make the beds, wash and knit, and keep everything tidy and clean, you may stay with us, and you will have everything you want. In the evening we come home, and dinner must be ready. During the day we are in the mines and dig for gold, so you will be alone. Beware of the queen and let no one in the house."<sup>18</sup>

These passages again reveal how the Grimms had an entirely different socialization process in mind when they altered the folk tales. Snow White is given instructions which are more commensurate with the duties of a bourgeois girl, and the tasks which she performs are implicitly part of her moral obligation. Morals are used to justify a division of labor and the separation of the sexes. Here, too, the growing notion that the woman's role was in the home and that the home was a shelter notion that the woman's role was in the home and that the home was a shelter for innocence and children belonged to a conception of women, work, and child-rearing in bourgeois circles more so than to the ideas of the peasantry and aristocracy. Certainly, the growing proletarian class in the 19th century could not think of keeping wives and children at home. They had to work long hours in the factories. Snow White was tailored for sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie, and the 1812 version stresses a bourgeois sentimental notion of courting where innocence is prized and the young husband becomes the active hero. In the 1810 version, the father comes with doctors and saves his daughter. He arranges a marriage for his daughter and punishes the wicked queen. In the margin of their manuscript, the Grimms remarked: "This ending is not quite right and is lacking something."<sup>19</sup> Their own finishing touches could only be topped by the prudish changes made by that 20th-century sanitation man, Walt Disney.

Aside from situating the compilation of folk tales and grasping the literary transformations within a socio-historical framework, it is even more important to investigate the pervasive influence which the Grimms have had in the socialization process of respective countries. We know that the Grimms' collection (especially the 1857 final edition) has been the second most popular and widely circulated book in Germany for over a century, second only to the Bible. We also know that the tales and similar stories are the cultural bread and basket of most children from infancy until ten years of age. Studies in Germany show that there is a fairy-tale reading age between six and ten.<sup>20</sup> Otherwise the tales have already been read or told to the children by adults before they are six. Incidentally, this means that certain groups of adults are constantly re-reading and re-telling the tales throughout their lives. Ever since the rise of the mass media, the Grimms' tales (generally in their most prudish and prudent version) have been broadcast by radio, filmed, recorded for records, tapes, and video, used as motifs for advertisements, and commercialized in every manner and form imaginable. Depending on the country and relative reception, this means that these particular tales have exercised a grip on our minds and imagination from infancy into adulthood, and, though they cannot be held accountable for negative features in advanced technological societies, it is time—as many West German writers believe—to evaluate how they impart values and norms to children which may actually hinder their growth, rather than help them to come to terms with their existential condition and mature autonomously as Bruno Bettelheim maintains.<sup>21</sup>

Here we must consider the socialization of reading fairy tales with the primary focus on those developed by the Brothers Grimm. In discussing socialization I shall be relying on a general notion of culture which is defined by the mode through which human beings objectify themselves, come together, and relate to one another in history and materialize their ideas, intentions, and solutions, in the sense of making them more concrete. By concrete I also mean to imply that there are forms people create and use to make their ideas, intentions and solutions take root in a visible, audible, and generally perceptible

manner so that they become an actual part of people's daily lives. Thus, culture is viewed as a historical *process* of human objectification, and the level and quality of a national culture depends on the socialization developed by human beings to integrate young members into the society and to reinforce the norms and values which legitimize the socio-political structures and systems and guarantee some sort of continuity of society.<sup>22</sup>

Reading as internalization, or technically speaking as resubjectification, has always functioned in socialization processes, whether it be the conscious or unconscious "understanding" of signs, symbols, and letters. In modern times, that is, since the Enlightenment and rise of the bourgeoisie, reading has been the passport into certain brackets of society and the measure by which one functions and maintains a certain place in the hierarchy.<sup>23</sup> The reading of printed fairy tales in the 19th century was a socially exclusive process: it was conducted mainly in bourgeois circles and nurseries, and members of the lower classes who learned how to read were not only acquiring a skill, they were acquiring a value system and social status depending on their conformity to norms controlled by bourgeois interests. This is not to be understood in a mechanistic or reductive way, i.e., that reading was solely a safeguard for bourgeois hegemony and only allowed for singular interpretations. Certainly the introduction of reading to the lower classes opened up their horizons and gave them more power. Also the production of books allowed for a variety of viewpoints often contrary to the ruling forces in society. In some respects reading can function explosively like a dream and serve to challenge socialization and constraints. But unlike the dream it is practically impossible to determine what direct effect a fairy tale will have upon an *individual* reader in terms of validating his or her own existence. Yet, the tale does provide and reflect upon the cultural boundaries within which the reader measures and validates his or her own identity. We tend to forget the socio-historical frameworks of control when we talk about reading and especially the reading of fairy tales. Both socialization and reading reflect and are informed by power struggles and ideology in a given society or culture. The Grimms' fairy tales were products not only of the struggles of the common people

to make themselves heard in oral folk tales—symbolically representing their needs and wishes—but they also became *literary* products of the German bourgeois quest for identity and power. To this extent, the norms and value system which the Grimms cultivated within the tales point to an objectified, standard way of living which was intended and came to legitimate the general bourgeois standard of living and work not only in Germany but throughout the western world.

In all there were 51 tales in the original manuscript of 1810. Some were omitted in the 1812 book publication, and those which were included were all extensively changed and stylized to meet bourgeois taste. This process of conscious alteration for social and aesthetic reasons was continued until 1857. The recent findings which have stressed and documented this are not merely significant for what they tell us about the Grimms' method of work or the relation of the tales to late feudal and early bourgeois society in Germany. They have greater ramifications for the development of the literary fairy tales in general, especially in view of socialization through reading.

## II

First of all, through understanding the subjective selection process and adaptation methods of the Grimms, we can begin to study other collections of folk tales which have been published in the 19th and 20th centuries and to analyze similar transcription methods in light of education and socialization. Recent attention has been paid to the role of the narrator of the tales in folklore research, but the role of the collector and transcriber is also significant, for we have seen how consciously and unconsciously the Grimms integrated their world views into the tales and those of their intended audience as well. The relationship of the collector to audience is additionally significant since printed and transcribed folk tales were not meant to be placed back into circulation for the original audience. The lower classes did not and could not use books due to their lack of training. Their tradition was an oral one. The 19th-century and early 20th-century transcription of folk tales was for the educated classes, young and old. The reception of the tales in-

fluenced the purpose and style of the collectors. This remains true up through the present.

As I have noted, psychologists have explored the relationship between dream and fairy-tale production, and moreover they have endeavored to explore the special role which fairy tales have played in socialization. One of the most succinct and sober analyses of why the fairy tale in particular attracts children and functions so well in the socialization process has been made by Emanuel K. Schwartz. He argues that,

the struggle between what is perceived as the “good parent” and the “bad parent” is one of the big problems of childhood. In the fairy tale the bad mother is commonly seen as the witch (phallic mother). The great man, the father figure (Oedipus), represents the hero, or the hero-to-be, the prototype, for the young protagonist of the fairy tale. The process of social and psychological change, characteristic of the fairy tale, is childishly pursued, and magic is used to effect changes. On the other hand, experience with having to struggle for the gratification and the fulfillment of wishes results in a social adherence to and the development of an understanding of social norms and social conformities. This does not mean, however, that the reinforcement of an awareness of socialization results in submissiveness; but a certain amount of common sense, which goes into conforming with the social *mores*, is a realistic necessity for children and adults alike.<sup>24</sup>

To a certain extent, Schwartz minimizes the inherent dangers in such narratives as the Grimms' fairy tales which function to legitimize certain standards of action and make them acceptable for children. Reading as a physical and mental process involves identification before an internalization of norms and values can commence, and identification for a child comes easily in a Grimms' fairy tale. There is hardly one that does not announce who the protagonist is, and he or she commands our identification almost immediately by being the youngest, most



oppressed, the wronged, the smallest, the most naive, the weakest, the most innocent, etc. Thus, direct identification of a child with the major protagonist begins the process of socialization through reading.

And although it is extremely difficult to determine exactly what a child will absorb on an unconscious level, the patterns of most Grimms' fairy tales indicate what they will be made aware of on a conscious level. As children read or are read to, they follow a social path, learn role orientation, and acquire norms and values. The pattern of most Grimms' fairy tales involves a struggle for power and autonomy. Though there are marked differences among the tales, it is possible to suggest an overall pattern which will make it clear why and how they become functional in the bourgeois socialization process.

Initially the young protagonist must leave home or the family because power relations have been disturbed. Either the protagonist is wronged or a change in social relations forces the protagonist to depart from home. A task is imposed, and a hidden command of the tale must be fulfilled. The question which most of the Grimms' tales ask is: how can one learn—what must one do—to use one's powers rightly in order to be accepted in society or recreate society in keeping with the norms of the *status quo*. The wandering protagonist always leaves home to reconstitute home. Along the way the male hero learns to be active, competitive, handsome, industrious, cunning, acquisitive. His goal is money, power, and a woman (also associated with chattel). His jurisdiction is the open world. His happiness depends on the just use of power. The female hero learns to be passive, obedient, self-sacrificing, hard-working, patient, and straight-laced. Her goal is wealth, jewels, and a man to protect her property rights. Her jurisdiction is the home or castle. Her happiness depends on conformity to patriarchal rule. Sexual activity is generally postponed until after marriage. Often the tales imply a postponement of gratification until the necessary skills, power, and wealth are acquired.

For a child growing up in a capitalist society in the 19th and 20th centuries, the socialization process carried by the pattern and norms in a Grimms' fairy tale functioned and still func-

tions to make such a society more acceptable to the child. Friction and points of conflict are minimized, for the fairy tale legitimates bourgeois society by seemingly granting upward mobility and the possibility for autonomy. All the Grimms' tales contain an elaborate set of signs and codes. If there is a wrong signalled in a Grimms' fairy tale—and there is always somebody being wronged, or a relation disturbed—then it involves breaking an inviolate code which is the basis of benevolent patriarchal rule. Acceptable norms are constituted by the behavior of a protagonist whose happy end indicates the possibility for resolution of the conflicts according to the code. Even in such tales as *How Six Travelled through the World*, *Bremen Town Musicians*, *Clever Gretel*, and *The Blue Light*, where the downtrodden protagonists overthrow oppressors, the social relations and work ethos are not fundamentally altered but reconstituted in a manner which allows for more latitude in the hierarchical social system—something which was desired incidentally by a German bourgeoisie incapable of making revolutions but most capable of making compromises at the expense of the peasantry. Lower-class members become members of the ruling elite, but this occurs because the ruling classes need such values which were being cultivated by the bourgeoisie—thrift, industry, patience, obedience, rationalization, etc. Basically, the narrative patterns imply that skills and qualities are to be developed and used so that one can compete for a high place in the hierarchy based on private property, wealth, and power. Both command and report<sup>25</sup> of the Grimms' fairy tales emphasize a *process* of socialization through reading that leads to internalizing the basic 19th-century bourgeois norms, values, and power relationships, which take their departure from feudal society.

For example, let us consider *The Table, the Ass and the Stick* to see how functional it is in terms of male socialization. It was first incorporated into the expanded edition of the Grimms' tales (1819), deals mainly with lower middle-class characters, focuses on males, and will be the basis for a discussion about a reutilized tale by F. W. Waechter. Also it largely concerns master/slave relationships. Three sons are in charge of a goat, who rebels against them by lying and causing all three to be

banished by their father, a tailor. After the banishment of the sons, the tailor discovers that the goat has lied. So he shaves her, and she runs away. In the meantime, each one of the sons works diligently in a petit bourgeois trade as joiner, miller, and turner. They are rewarded with gifts by their masters, but the two eldest have their gifts stolen from them by the landlord of a tavern. They embarrass the father and bring shame on the family when they try to show off their gifts which the landlord had replaced with false ones. It is up to the third son to outsmart the landlord, bring about a family reunion, and restore the good name of the family in the community through exhibiting their wealth and power. The father retires a wealthy man, and we learn that the goat has also received her due punishment by a busy bee.

Though the father “wrongs” the boys, his authority to rule remains unquestioned throughout the narrative, nor are we to question it. The blame for disturbing the seemingly “natural” relationship between father and sons is placed on liars and deceivers, the goat and the landlord. They seek power and wealth through devious means. The elaborated code of the tale holds that the only way to acquire wealth and power is through diligence, perseverance, and honesty. The goal of the sons is submission to the father and maintenance of the family’s good name. The story enjoins the reader to accept the norms and values of a patriarchal slave/master relationship and private property relations. In general, there is nothing wrong with emphasizing the qualities of “diligence, perseverance, and honesty” in a socialization process, but we are talking about socialization through a story that upholds patriarchal domination and the accumulation of wealth and power for private benefit as positive goals.

In almost all the Grimms’ fairy tales, male domination and master/slave relationships are rationalized so long as the rulers are benevolent and use their power justly. If “tyrants” and parents are questioned, they repent or are replaced, but the property relationships and patriarchy are not transformed. In *The Table, the Ass and the Stick* there are a series of master/slave relationships: father/son, patriarchal family/goat, master/apprentice, landlord/son. The sons and other

characters are socialized to please the masters. They work to produce wealth and power for the father who retires in the end because the sons have accumulated wealth in the proper, diligent fashion according to the Protestant Ethic. The goat and landlord are punished for different reasons: the goat because she resented the master/slave relationship; the landlord because, as false father, he violated the rules of private property. Although this remarkable fairy tale allows for many other interpretations, viewed in light of its function in the bourgeois socialization process, we can begin to understand why numerous West German writers began looking askance at the Brothers Grimm during the rise of the anti-authoritarian movement of the late 1960s.

### III

Actually the reutilization and transformation of the Grimms' tales were not the inventions of West German writers, nor were they so new.<sup>26</sup> There was a strong radical tradition of rewriting folk and fairy tales for children which began in the late 19th century and blossomed during the Weimar period until the Nazis put an end to such experimentation. This tradition was revived during the 1960s, when such writers as Hermynia zur Mühlen, Lisa Tetzner, Edwin Hoernle, and Walter Benjamin<sup>27</sup> were rediscovered and when the anti-authoritarian movement and the Left began to focus on children and socialization. One of the results of the general radical critique of capitalism and education in West Germany has been an attempt to build a genuine, non-commercial children's public sphere which might counter the exploitative and legitimizing mechanisms of the dominant bourgeois public sphere. In order to provide cultural tools and means to reutilize the present public sphere for children, groups of people with a progressive bent have tried to offset the racism, sexism, and authoritarian messages in children's books, games, theaters, tv, and schools by creating different kinds of emancipatory messages and cultural objects with and for children.

In children's literature, and specifically in the area of fairy tales, there have been several publishing houses which have

played an active role in introducing reutilized fairy tales created to politicize the children's public sphere where children and adults are to cooperate and conceive more concrete, democratic forms of play and work in keeping with the needs and wishes of a participating community.<sup>28</sup> Obviously the rise of a broad left-oriented audience toward the end of the 1960s encouraged many big publishers to direct their efforts to this market for profit, but not all the books were published by giant companies or solely for profit. And, in 1979, when the so-called New Left is no longer so new nor so vocal as it was during the late 1960s, there are still numerous publishing houses large and small, which are directing their efforts toward the publication of counter-cultural or reutilized fairy-tale books and children's literature. My discussion will limit itself and focus on the reutilized Grimms' tales published by Rowohlt, Basis, Schlot, and Beltz & Gelberg. In particular I shall endeavor to demonstrate how these fairy tales reflect possibilities for a different socialization process from standard children's books.

In 1972 the large Rowohlt Verlag established a book series for children entitled "*rororo rotfuchs*" under the general editorship of Uwe Wandrey. An impressive series was developed and now contains a wide range of progressive children's stories, histories, autobiographies, handbooks, and fairy tales for young people between the ages of four and eighteen. Here I want to concentrate on two of the early and best efforts to reutilize old fairy tales, one by the Grimms and the other incorporating motifs from the Grimms' tales.

Friedrich Karl Waechter, illustrator and writer,<sup>29</sup> has written and drawn numerous politicized fairy tales and fairy-tale plays for children. One of his first products, *Tischlein deck dich und Knüppel aus dem Sack* (*Table Be Covered and Stick Out of the Sack*, 1972) is a radical rendition of the Grimms' *The Table, The Ass, and the Stick*. His story takes place in a small town named Breitenrode a long time ago. (From the pictures the time can be estimated to be the early 20th century.) Fat Jakob Bock, who owns a large lumber mill and most of the town, exploits his workers as much as he can. When a young carpenter named Philip invents a magic table that continually spreads as much food as one can eat upon command, Bock (the name means



“ram” in German) takes over the invention and incorporates it since it was done on company time. He promises to Philip his daughter Caroline if he now invents a “stick out of the sack” for the power Bock needs to guard his property. Philip is given the title of inventor and put to work as a white-collar worker separating him from his friends, the other carpenters, who had helped him build the magic table. At first Philip and his friends are not sure why Bock wants the stick, but an elf named Xram (an anagram for Marx spelled backwards) enlightens them. They decide to work together on this invention to have control over it. But, when it is finished, Bock obtains it and plants the magic table as stolen property in the house of Sebastien, a “troublemaker,” who always wants to organize the workers around their own needs. Bock accuses Sebastien of stealing the table and asserts that he needs the stick to punish thieves like Sebastien and to protect his property. However, Philip exposes Bock as the real thief, and the greedy man is chased from the town. Then the workers celebrate as Philip announces that the magic table will be shared by everyone in the town while Xram hides the stick. The final picture shows men, women, children, dogs, cats, and other animals at a huge picnic sharing the fruits of the magic table while Bock departs.

Like his story, Waechter’s drawings are intended to invert the present socialization process in West Germany. This narrative is primarily concerned with private property relations, and it begins traditionally with the master/slave relationship. The ostensible command of the tale—“obey the boss and you’ll cash in on the profits”—is gradually turned into another command—“freedom and happiness can only be attained through collective action and sharing.” The narrative flow of the tale confirms this reversed command, and the reading process becomes a learning process about socialization in capitalist society. Philip experiences how the fruits of collective labor expended by himself and his friends are expropriated by Bock. With the magical help of Xram (i.e., the insights of Marx) the workers learn to take control over their own labor and to share the fruits equally among themselves. Here the master/slave relationship is concretely banished, and the new work and social relationships are based on cooperation and collective ownership

of the means of production. The virtues of Philip and the workers—diligence, perseverance, imagination, honesty—are used in a struggle to overcome male domination rooted in private property relations. Socialization is seen as a struggle for self-autonomy against exploitative market and labor conditions.

In Andreas and Angela Hopf's *Der Feuerdrache Minimax* (*The Fire Dragon Minimax*, 1973), also an illustrated political fairy tale,<sup>30</sup> the authors use a unique process to depict the outsider position of children and strange-looking creatures and also the need for the outsider to be incorporated within the community if the community is to develop. The Hopfs superimpose red drawings of Minimax and the little girl Hilde onto etchings of medieval settings and characters.<sup>31</sup> The imposition and juxtaposition of red figures on black and white prints keep the reader's focus on contrast and differences. The narrative is a simple reutilization of numerous motifs which commonly appear in the Grimms' tales and associate dragons, wolves, and other animals with forces of destruction endangering the *status quo*. *The Fire Dragon Minimax* demonstrates how the *status quo* must be questioned and challenged.

The story takes place during the Middle Ages in the walled town of Gimpelfingen. While sharpening his sword, the knight causes sparks to fly, and the town catches fire. There is massive destruction, and the dragon is immediately blamed for the fire, but Hilde, who had fled the flames, encounters Minimax, who had been bathing in the river when the fire had begun. So she knows that he could not have caused the fire. In fact, he helps extinguish part of the fire and then carries Hilde to his cave since he prefers to roast potatoes with his flames and sleep for long hours rather than burn down towns. The knight pretends to fight in the interests of the town and accuses Minimax of starting the fire and kidnapping Hilde. He darns his armor and goes in search of the dragon, but he is no contest for Minimax, who overwhelms him. The knight expects the dragon to kill him, but Minimax tells him instead to take Hilde home since her parents might be worried about her. Again the knight lies to the townspeople and tells them that he has rescued Hilde and killed the dragon. Hilde tries to convince the people that he is





lying, but she is only believed by a handful of people who fortunately decide to see if Minimax is alive or dead. Upon finding him, they realize the truth and bring Minimax back to town. This causes the knight to flee in fear. Minimax is welcomed by the townspeople, and he helps them rebuild the town. Thereafter, he remains in the town, roasts potatoes for the children or takes them on rides in the sky. Hilde is his favorite, and he flies highest with her and often tells her fairy tales about dragons.

Obviously the Hopfs are concerned with racism and militarism in this tale. The dragon represents the weird-looking alien figure, who acts differently from the "normal" people. And the Hopfs show how the strange and different creature is often used by people in power as a scapegoat to distract people's attention from their real enemy, namely the people in power. In contrast to the dominant master/slave relationship which is established in the medieval community, Hilde and the dragon form a friendship based on mutual recognition. Their relationship is opposed to the dominant power relationship of male patriarchy in the town. In terms of problems in today's late capitalist society, the tale also relates to feminism and the prevention of cruelty to animals. The activism of Hilde on behalf of the dragon sets norms of behavior for young girls asserting themselves and using their talents for the benefit of oppressed creatures in the community. As in Waechter's politicized fairy tale, the textual symbols of goal-oriented behavior are aimed at cooperation and collectivism, not domination and private control.

The publishing house which has been most outspoken in behalf of such general socialist goals in children's culture has been Basis Verlag in West Berlin. Working in a collective manner, the people in this group have produced a number of excellent studies on fairy tales and children's literature,<sup>32</sup> as well as a series of different types of books for young readers. Here I want to examine just one of their fairy-tale experiments entitled *Zwei Korken für Schlienz* (*Two Corks for Schlienz*, 1972) by Johannes Merkel based on the Grimms' tale *How Six Travelled through the World*. The reutilized fairy tale deals with housing difficulties in large cities, and the text is accom-

panied by amusing photos with superimposed drawings. Here a young man named Schlienzt, who can smell things a mile away, wants to meet other people because it is boring to be alone in a large city. So he hangs a sign around his neck: "Who Wants To Get To Know Me?" Three other young people respond to his invitation: a woman named Minzl, who has large ears and can hear the slightest sound no matter the distance; another woman named Gorch, who can outrun cars; and a strong man with huge muscles named Atta, who can piss over tall buildings. All four decide to live together. They rent an apartment and set up a collective way of doing things which they enjoy. However, the landlord is a swindler and cheats them by demanding more rent, just as he has done with the other tenants. So the four organize the other tenants to protest against the landlord. They demonstrate the collective value of their magic talents, but the other tenants become scared and do not agree with their actions. Therefore, the four must fight alone and barricade the building. In the end, the landlord calls upon the police to remove the four from the building. The final scene shows them in jail where they reflect upon the mistakes they made and hope to get advice—even from readers of the tale—so that they can organize things better the next time.

Unlike the two other fairy tales by Waechter and the Hopfs, this story has no resolution. The intended open ending forces the reader to see socialization as a never-ending process. Like the other reutilized tales the process of reading leads to a realization that personal happiness is dependent on the welfare of a community or collective of people whereas most Grimms' fairy tales are concerned with the happiness of a prince or princess, frequently a couple, who gains power and property at the expense of others. Power is attained over the community, rather than in and with the community. The mistake the four young people make is that they fail to take into consideration the different interests and needs of the other people in the building and to win their support. Implicit is a critique of the student movement in West Germany, but for young readers the purpose of this tale is to demonstrate the real rules of private property relations in the big city and how difficult it is to initiate new forms of communal living—how difficult it is to use

one's talents for other purposes than making profit and protecting privileges. There are no illusions created in the tale. The protagonists contribute to their own downfall, but the struggle to change social and property relations is viewed as necessary to bring about more equality and justice.

Most of the tales in *Janosch erzählt Grimm's Märchen* (*Janosch Tells Grimm's Fairy Tales*, 1972) are intended to smash illusions, too, but it is not so apparent that Janosch has a particular socialist goal in mind, i.e., that he envisions collective living and sharing as a means to eliminate the evils in the world.<sup>33</sup> He is mainly concerned with the form and contents of 50 Grimms' tales which he wants to parody to the point of bursting their seams. He retells them in a caustic manner using modern slang, idiomatic expressions, and pointed references to deplorable living conditions in affluent societies. He is a relentless critic of hypocrisy and the principles of achievement and competition. Thus, each tale endeavors to undo the socialization of a Grimms' tale by inverting plots and characters and adding new incidents. This does not necessarily amount to a "happier" or more "emancipatory" view of the world. If Janosch is liberating, it is because he is so humanely candid, often cynical, and disrespectful of conditioned and established modes of thinking and behavior. For instance, in *The Frog Prince* it is the frog who loses his ball and is pursued by a girl. The frog is forced by his father to accept the annoying girl in the subterranean water palace. However, her pestering becomes too much for him, and he suffocates her. This causes her transformation into a frog princess whereupon she marries the frog prince and explains to him how she had been captured by human beings and changed herself into an ugly girl to escape malicious treatment by humans. Her ugliness prevented other humans from marrying her and allowed her to return to her true form.

Such an inversion makes a mockery of the Grimms' tale and perhaps makes the reader aware of the potential threat which humans pose to nature and the animal world. This point can be argued. But what is clear from the story is that Janosch fractures the framework of audience expectations, whether or not the readers are familiar with the original Grimms' tales. The

numerous illustrations by Janosch are just as upsetting, and the tales derive their power by not conforming to socialization of reading in capitalist society. Commodity exchange and money fetishism are shown to be the monsters which uphold the grotesque standards of behavior in western society and threaten to turn humans into caricatures of themselves.

Since there are so many tales in this volume, it is difficult to comment on the manifold and subtle techniques which Janosch employs. Therefore, I shall discuss two which I think provide good examples of major tendencies in Janosch's work, *Puss 'n Boots* and *King Thrushbeard*.

In *Puss 'n Boots* there is a rich man who has three sons, five factories, 27 homes, and cars and property and lakes and woods. When he dies, the two oldest sons inherit all the property while the youngest, the bastard offspring of the father and a maid, is granted a room in the gardener's house, three simple meals a day, the right to have a suit every five years, and a puss in boots. All this is guaranteed for the rest of his life. Compared to what he might have inherited, this is but a drop in the bucket, and Hans, the young man, is envious and complains to the cat, who tells him that he has actually received the best part of the inheritance. However, Hans maintains that being rich is better than anything else. The cat wants to prove him wrong. Since he has the power to change Hans into a little golden moth, he transforms Hans so that he can fly about and see how the rich live without being noticed. As golden moth, Hans visits his brothers, then other rich people, who own sports cars and eat royally in restaurants, and in each instance Hans realizes that their wealth makes these people into bickering, nasty, sick creatures. Thus, he decides to live a long carefree life with the cat and enjoy his small pension.

The thrust of the tale is a rejection of capitalist values and relations. Hans is socialized by the cat and exposed to the emptiness and meaninglessness of "high" society. He experiences how rich people place more stock in objects than in the lives of other people and become objects themselves. This is not to say that the cat or Hans are model characters or point to models for creating a new society. They are symbols of refusal, and in their refusal, they establish more human contact and

knowledge of human affairs between them than the other characters of the tale.

Janosch does not only write about refusal. He also shows what happens to people when they accept the affluent society, and he always tries to pinpoint who these people are and their different motives. In *King Thrushbeard*, the daughter of a rich man rejects many suitors including an extremely wealthy man whom she names "King Thrushbeard" because of his grotesque looks. This rebellious young woman hates money and riches. She declares to her father that she will marry a beggar. So she runs away from home and meets a young hippie among other slovenly types. She joins up with this ragged young man who sports a beard and sun glasses and they travel throughout the country. However, wherever they go, they are chased by the police because they are trespassing on King Thrushbeard's property. Finally they travel to Spain, but the young woman can no longer take the hard life, and she returns to her father. Soon thereafter she meets her former travelling companion, now dressed neat and clean and beardless, at a party thrown by King Thrushbeard, his father. The rich young man and woman marry and together become even more rich.

The cynicism in this tale is quite evident, and in many ways it indicates Janosch's strong distaste for capitalist society, again his rejection of it, but here he emphasizes how acceptance can lead to emptiness and hypocrisy. Socialization is built on manipulation, and human depletion to safeguard vested interests of the rich. This also occurs in a story like *Doctor-Know-It-All*, in which a farmer's wife teaches her husband to become a wealthy doctor by learning how to say a few meaningless phrases and prescribing harmless medicine. Janosch's stories are like antidotes to the "poison" of socialization consumed through the original Grimms' tales and the socialization of capitalist societies which instrumentalize and exploit the talents and qualities of people for economic purposes. But rarely does he talk about the necessity for socialism or collectivism. Janosch is iconoclastic, and his achievement as a fairy-tale writer results from his sober refusal to become entangled in processes which deceive human beings and prevent them from realizing what forces are acting upon them in their environment.







One of Janosch's major supporters and a writer of fairy tales himself is Hans-Joachim Gelberg, who has been one of the most important proponents for the reutilization of the Grimms' tales and the creation of more politicized and critical stories for children and adults. Gelberg edits a yearbook in his own publishing house which includes various types of fairy tales that break with the dominant socialization process.<sup>34</sup> These outstanding yearbooks have actually received special awards in West Germany, for Gelberg has pointed in new directions for a children's literature which refuses to be infantile and condescending. In addition to the yearbooks, Gelberg has edited a significant volume of contemporary fairy tales entitled *Neues vom Rumpelstilzchen und andere Haus-Märchen von 43 Authors*, 1976.<sup>35</sup> Since there are 58 different fairy tales and poems, it is difficult to present a detailed discussion of the reutilization techniques in regard to socialization in the tales. Generally speaking, the direction is the same: a whole-scale rethinking and reconceptualization of traditional fairy-tale motifs to question standard reading and rearing processes. Since the title of the book features Rumpelstiltskin, and since the motto of the book—"No, I would rather have something living than all the treasures of the world"—is taken from this tale, I shall deal with the two versions of *Rumpelstiltskin* by Rosemarie Künzler and Irmela Brender<sup>36</sup> since they represent the basic critical attitude of most of the authors.

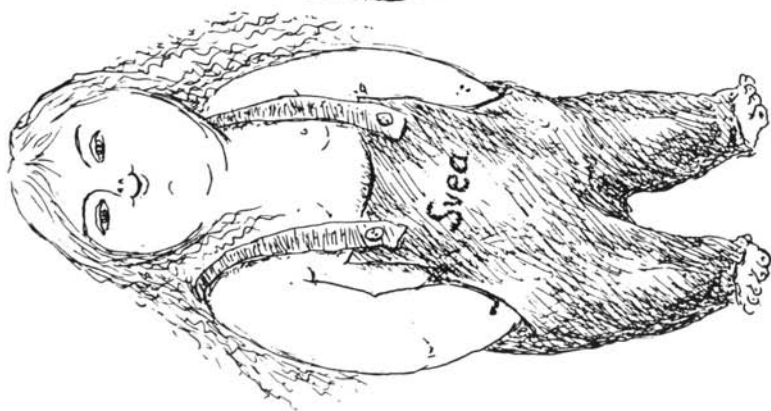
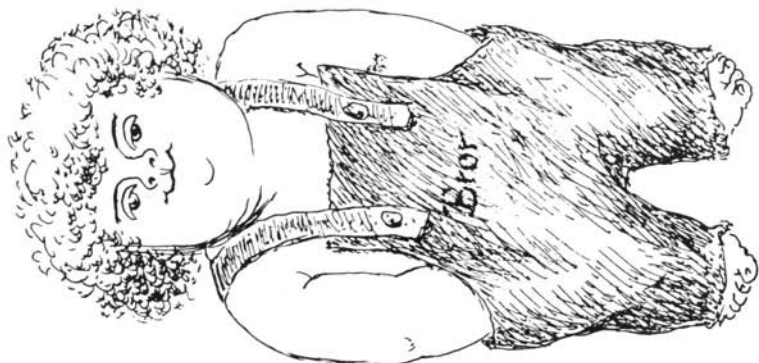
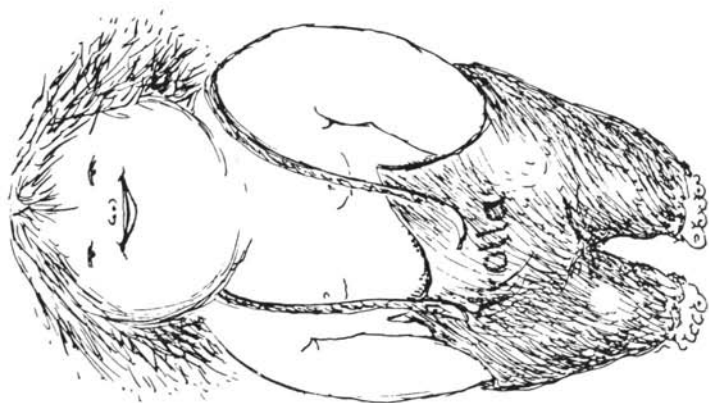
Both Künzler and Brender shorten the tale drastically and take different approaches to the main characters. Künzler begins by stressing the boastful nature of the miller who gets his daughter into a terrible fix. She is bossed around by the king and then by some little man who promises to help her by using extortion. When the little man eventually barter for her first-born child, the miller's daughter is shocked into her senses. She screams and tells the little man that he is nuts, that she will never marry the horrid king nor would she ever give her child away. The angry little man stamps so hard that he causes the door of the room to spring open, and the miller's daughter runs out into the wide world and is saved. This version is a succinct critique of male exploitation and domination of women. The miller's daughter allows herself to be pushed

around until she has an awakening. Like Janosch, Künzler projects the refusal to conform to socialization as the first step toward actual emancipation.

Brender's version is different. She questions the justice in the Grimms' tale from Rumpelstiltskin's point of view, for she always felt that the poor fellow had been treated unfairly. After all, what he wanted most was something living, in other words, some human contact. She explains that Rumpelstiltskin did not need money since he was capable of producing gold any time he wanted it. He was also willing to work hard and save the life of the miller's daughter. Therefore, the miller's daughter could have been more understanding and compassionate. Brender does not suggest that the miller's daughter should have given away the child, but as the young queen, she could have invited Rumpelstiltskin to live with the royal family. This way Rumpelstiltskin would have found the human companionship he needed, and everyone would have been content. The way things end in the Grimms' version is for Brender totally unjust. Her technique is a play with possibilities to open up rigid social relations and concern about private possession. Through critical reflection her narrative shifts the goal of the Grimms' story from gold and power, to justice and more humane relations based on mutual consideration and cooperation.

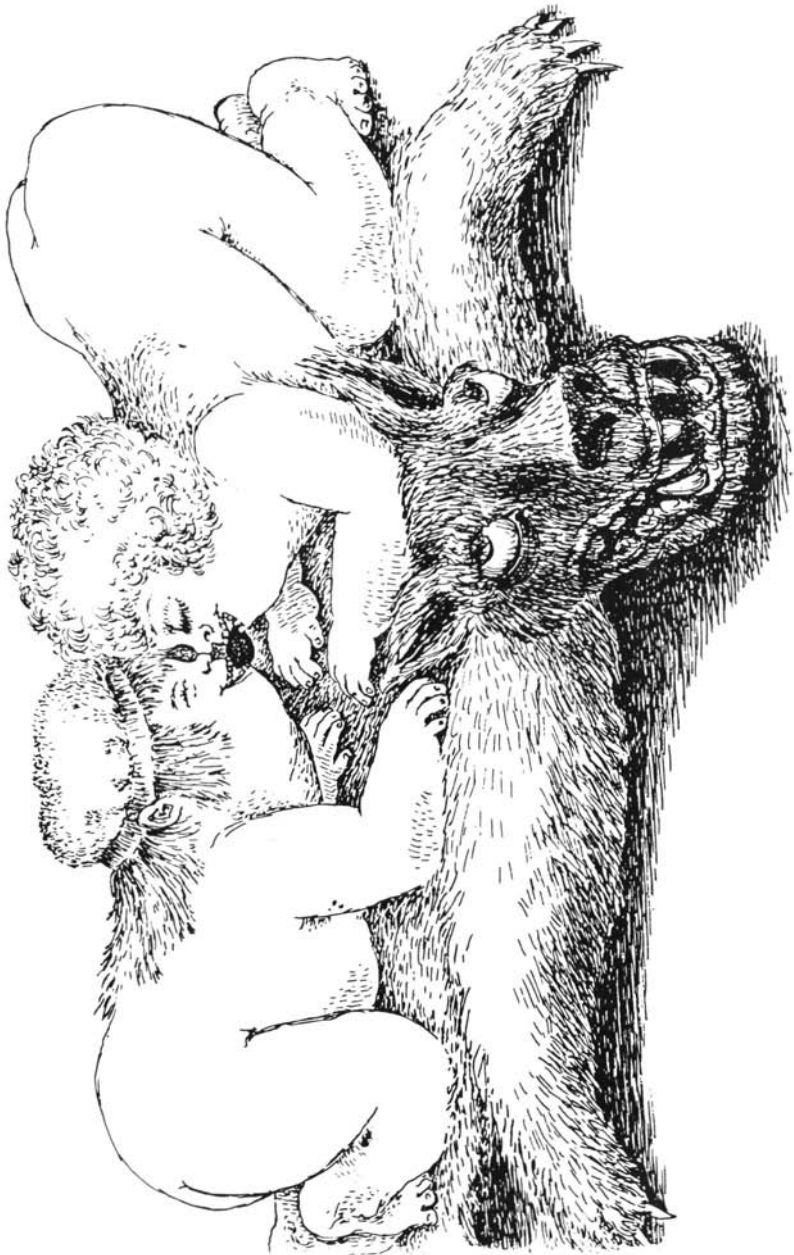
Both Künzler and Brender seek a humanization of the socialization process by transforming the tales and criticizing commodity exchange and male domination, and they incorporate a feminist perspective which is at the very basis of an entire book entitled *Märchen für tapfere Mädchen (Fairy Tales for Girls with Spunk, 1978)* by Doris Lerche, illustrator, and O. F. Gmelin, writer.<sup>37</sup> They use three fictitious girls named Trolla, Svea, and Bror from the North to narrate different types of fairy tales which purposely seek to offset our conditioned notions of sexual roles and socialization. Two adaptations of the Grimms' renditions of *Little Red Riding Hood* and *Hansel and Gretel* will suffice as examples of their philosophy and technique.

The very beginning of *Little Red Cap* indicates a markedly different perspective: "There was once a fearless girl. . . ."<sup>38</sup>



She is not afraid of the wolf, and, even though she is swallowed by him in her grandmother's bed, she keeps her wits about her, takes out a knife, and cuts herself a hole in his stomach while he sleeps. She jumps out of the wolf's stomach with her grandmother, and they fill his stomach with stones. When he tries to leave the house, he falls to the ground and dies. *Little Red Cap* skins him, and underneath the fur she discovers a young boy. Little Red Cap embraces the boy. The grandmother brings some nuts for them to crack, and they crack nuts until the dawn of day. Though Gmelin keeps much of the same plot and setting, there is a shift in emphasis and socialization. The mother is not punitive. She instructs Little Red Cap to be considerate of the grandmother. Red Cap is not pictured as helpless but learns to defend herself and cope with creatures who prey on girls. The tale does not shy away from reflecting upon the brutal way humans treat each other, but it also suggests another way of love between boys and girls by the end, illustrated in an amusing and tender drawing by Lerche.

Gmelin's version of *Hansel and Gretel* appears to begin where *Little Red Cap* ended. Here Hansel and Gretel decide for themselves to go into the woods and catch fish because their parents are poor and starving. When they return home, the parents are happy because they had been concerned about their children's disappearance. Soon bad times come again, and once more Hansel and Gretel go into the woods. This time they become lost. After wandering in the forest and showing kindness to a little bird, they are repaid in kindness by the bird's father, who directs them to a house and instructs them to feed a cat and dog, who will then help them. The old woman who owns the house has become mean because she was driven from the village when she had become old and useless. Now, in revenge, she exploits animals and wants to make slaves out of Hansel and Gretel. However, the animals help them escape, and the old woman cannot catch them because they have a magic comb and brush which turn into a lake and forest that prevent the woman from pursuing them. In the end, they are reunited happily with their parents. The antagonisms and mysteries in the Grimms' version are fully reutilized here. The poor parents are not the enemies of the children. Both the



children are thoughtful, take the initiative, and are mutually supportive. Social conditions are depicted as affecting all people. For instance, the old woman is no longer a witch, but an outcast who has learned to live by the rule others have set for her. Hansel and Gretel act against the rule of the land. They do not punish the old woman. They seek to help animals and people who are disadvantaged. There is no preaching in this tale. The reality and environment for poor people is portrayed as hard and filled with obstacles. These obstacles can only be overcome in a process of struggle toward understanding. Imagination, talents, and power are used for humanizing the socialization process. The children return home, but the ending is not one where the children bring a treasure and where the step-mother has been eliminated. The ending is open as is the process of socialization which must be developed.

#### IV

The open endings of many of the reutilized fairy tales from West Germany indicate that the future for such fairy tales may also be precarious. Given the social import and the direct political tendency of the tales to contradict and criticize the dominant socialization process in West Germany, these tales are not used widely in schools, and their distribution is limited more to the educated classes in West Germany. They have also been attacked from the conservative press because of their "falsifications" and alleged harmfulness to children. Nevertheless, the production of such tales has not abated in recent years which may reflect something about the diminishing appeal of the Grimms' tales and the needs of young and adult readers to relate to fantastic projections which are connected more to the concrete conditions of their own reality.

Folk tales and fairy tales have always been dependent on customs, rituals, and values in a particular socialization process of a culture. They have always symbolically depicted the nature of power relationships within a given society. Thus, they are strong indicators of the level of culture, that is, the essential quality of a culture and social order. They have always functioned within a socialization process, and the effectiveness of

emancipatory and reutilized tales has not depended on the tales themselves but on the manner of reception, their use and distribution in society. The fact that West German writers are arguing that it is time for the Brothers Grimm to stop looking over our shoulders may augur positive changes for part of the socialization process. At the very least, they compel us to reconsider where socialization through the reading of the Grimms' tales has led us.

### **King Thrushbeard** <sup>39</sup>

*Janosch*

Once upon a time there was a rich man who had a beautiful daughter. She had more than she needed, though, and since her father bought anything her heart desired, there was nothing more her heart desired, nothing at all which made her happy. And this is why she became naughty. Then she became rebellious and stubborn and found fault with everything around her. Yet, because her father was so rich and because she was to inherit his fortune one day, many men came to court her.

Once there was a tall baron with a thin neck who called upon her. He owned eight castles and who-knows-what-else. The girl mocked him: "Look how long his legs are and how thin his neck. He could perform in a circus as Eiffel Tower with hat, and he coughs, too. Ha, ha, ha."

Then her father brought her an elderly, somewhat fat suitor, who owned five sausage factories worth four million all together. "Holy cow!" the girl exclaimed and made a laughing stock out of him. "He's got to have a car with an extended steering wheel, or better yet, a bus where he can sit in the last row so that he can fit his beer belly in front of the steering wheel. Ha, ha, ha. And whenever I stand in front of his belly, I'll need a telescope if I want to see his bald head."

Anyone who sought her hand in marriage was scoffed, humiliated, ridiculed, and given a nickname. "All the men in

the whole world want to marry me,” the girl said. “I can get anyone I want. I’m sick and tired of this. It’s all so boring.”

But one man kept coming and sent her red flowers every day, sometimes more than forty in a bouquet. She called him “King Thrushbeard” because his chin was somewhat too long. From the side he looked like a thrush, from the front he looked like a thrush, and from behind, too. But Thrushbeard was very, very rich, and the girl’s father was annoyed that his daughter didn’t want to marry this man. He had already figured out the combined worth of his and Thrushbeard’s fortune.

“I don’t care about your money,” the daughter said. “You can stick it on your hat or smear your shoes with it. I’m sick and tired of all this. I’m going to marry a beggar. You’ll see!”

And she packed her suitcase with bright-colored clothes and ran away from home. She went to the city, and there she met many young men begging in the streets. And she hung around with one guy who never combed himself, never cut his hair, and sported a beard over a foot long. He wore wonderful clothes but had no shoes.

“Where are we going to live?” the girl asked.

“Everywhere,” said the young man. “In all the empty houses because everything belongs to everyone.”

So they slept in old buildings which were to be torn down. But the police chased them away because the houses belonged to Thrushbeard. Then they slept in new buildings because the walls still had to be painted before people moved in. But the police chased them away because the new buildings belonged to Thrushbeard.

When it was cold, the girl froze sometimes and sang softly:

“Oh, the cold is cold and the ground is hard,  
But this is still better than Thrushbeard the lard!”

She asked the young man: “What are we going to eat?”

“Can you work?” he asked.

“No.” She had never learned to work.

“Then let’s go begging.”

They went begging, but sometimes they couldn’t beg enough to still their hunger, and she sang:

“Oh, the cold is cold and the ground is hard,



But this is still better than Thrushbeard the lard!”

Then the winter came, and they decided to hitch to Spain. They stood on the roadside and travelled in cars which picked them up. In Spain they saw beautiful houses, big and small. They belonged to Thrushbeard.

The bright clothes of the girl had become torn, and she couldn't buy new ones. Moreover, the people there didn't give them anything when they went begging. That's where the love stopped, and the girl went home to her father.

Then one time when Thrushbeard threw a large party and also invited the girl, she saw Thrushbeard's son there and recognized him as the guy with whom she had gone begging. In the meantime he had had his hair cut and shaved off his beard and looked exactly like his father, only he was even uglier than his father. He, too, had run away from home because he had wanted to live in poverty and freedom, wanted to starve and freeze because he had become sick and tired of his father's money. But, when it had become cold and he had experienced hunger, he, too, had returned to his father and lived again in the comforts of home and had all he wanted to eat and drink.

Upon seeing that their children already knew each other, the two fathers were happy—the wedding could take place. And the two children inherited everything from their fathers, and together they became very, very rich.

## **Little Red Cap**

*Max von der Grün*

Once upon a time there was a girl from a well-to-do family. She had everything she needed and even more than enough. All her wishes were filled by her parents and grandparents, for she was very charming, an ideal child, liked by everyone in the neighborhood and at school. She was pretty and had such natural grace that there was hardly a person who was not attracted to her. Nor were her girl friends jealous in any way.

Suddenly this changed.

On her seventh birthday the girl received a red cap from her grandparents as a present. There was a small white star on the left side of the cap which was very expensive. The grandparents had bought it in an exclusive shop which carried only exquisite things. The red cap was very becoming to the girl. Now she looked even more beautiful, even more lovely than before. In fact, the girl was so much in love with the red color that she would have liked to have kept on the cap with her in bed.

But when the girl went to school the next day anticipating the admiration of all the other children, she was disappointed to find that some children laughed about the red cap. Most of them were horrified by it. Yes, she even caught anxious looks following her around. During recess the girl was suddenly excluded from the usual games in the schoolyard, and during class her schoolmates were suddenly envious about her accomplishments which at one time made them just as proud as if they themselves had done them. After school none of the girls walked Little Red Cap home as they usually did. None of them went to her home in order to copy the homework. Even the children in the neighborhood suddenly turned away from her when they saw her coming on her bike. When the women in the neighborhood noticed that Little Red Cap wanted to speak with their children, they fetched them off the street. When she went shopping, the girl was treated properly, to be sure, but in contrast to former times, she was looked after in an unfriendly way. Neither sales people nor customers exchanged an unnecessary word with the girl.

Everything continued like this for days and weeks, and Little Red Cap's mother, who could not help but notice the change, asked herself what all this meant and searched for the reasons, for it never occurred to the mother or her daughter that the unfriendly attitudes around them could be connected to the red cap. The mother asked her neighbors, too, why they were being so hostile toward her over the past weeks, but they did not respond. The mother tried to be more friendly, more helpful, more agreeable than she already was, but even this did not bring about a change. The girl had become even more industrious in school than she already was, the father even more inventive in the construction business than he already was. But

even the father could not fail in the long run to notice the hostile looks of his associates, the jealous talk of those who were less successful. The father soon began to worry about his job.

One day the mother sent her daughter to get something from her grandparents who lived in another part of the city. Little Red Cap rode on her bike. She carried a carton tied to the rack which contained a cake that her mother herself had just baked. As the girl rode away from her house, she already noticed that some children were following her, also on bikes and always at the same distance. When she came to a narrow curve, one of the boys from her neighborhood passed her and forced Little Red Cap to stop her bike to prevent herself from falling. She was afraid of the boy and asked him:

"Jimmy, how come you have such big eyes?"

"So that I can see you better," Jimmy said.

"But, Jimmy, how come you suddenly have such big ears?"

"So that I can hear where you are."

"Yes, but Jimmy, how come you have such big hands?"

"So that I can grab hold of you better," Jimmy answered, and he dragged the girl from her bike, threw her into a ditch along the side of the road and began beating her. The other children stood around and laughed and clapped their hands, amused by the scene. Only when a car stopped and a man jumped out to help Little Red Cap did Jimmy stop beating her. The boy and all the other children jumped on their bikes and fled through a street which was too narrow for the car to follow them.

The man picked up the girl. Her nose and mouth were bleeding, but she did not cry. She thanked the man for his help, then continued on her way as if nothing had happened.

The grandmother asked: "What's happened to you, child?"

"I fell from my bike, grandmother."

"But child, . . . where's your red cap?"

"Cap . . . oh, I must have lost it."

"Lost it? But child, you just don't lose such an expensive and beautiful cap. . . . What will your mother say?"

Little Red Cap went home only much later, and she took the roundabout way. She told her mother that she had an accident

with her bike and fell down. "I lost my beautiful, expensive red cap."

The mother said nothing.

But on the next day, when the girl went to school without the red cap, she noticed that everyone was friendly to her again, schoolmates and teachers alike, in a way they hadn't been for weeks, and, when she went shopping for her mother in the afternoon, the sales people and customers were friendly again and spoke to her. Suddenly her father's accomplishments were recognized again in the business. The neighbors spoke with her mother again and showed how appreciative they were of her helpfulness. The three of them were happy again, and, one day when the father returned home from work, the mother said: "The past few weeks were like a bad fairy tale. If I hadn't experienced it myself, I wouldn't believe it had happened, even if someone else told it to me. Do you think we were the cause? Did we behave differently? What could have been the reason?"

"I don't know," the father said, "but you're right, the past few weeks were like a bad fairy tale."

## **Little Red Cap**

*G. F. Gmelin*

Once upon a time there was a fearless girl, who was loved by all who laid eyes upon her, but most of all by her grandmother, who could never give the child enough. One time she brought the girl a cap made out of red velvet. And since the girl found it very becoming, she wore nothing else and was soon called Little Red Cap.

One beautiful fall day her mother placed a basket under her arm and said: "Here's a piece of cake and a bottle of wine. Take this to grandmother. She's sick and weak, and this will strengthen her. — You'd better leave now before it gets too hot. And when you're under way, go straight ahead and keep on the path, otherwise you'll fall and break the bottle. Then grandmother will have nothing. — And when you get to her house, be

courteous and behave yourself and don't snoop around so much!"

"Yeah, don't worry, mother. I'll do as you say."

And Little Red Cap hurriedly gave her mother a kiss and went out the door. There she saw her brother's jackknife lying on the ground. She picked it up and stuck it in her belt quickly so that her mother wouldn't see. Then she slammed the door behind her and went on her way.

However, the grandmother lived in the woods, about half an hour from the village. And when Little Red Cap entered the woods, she met the wolf. She wasn't afraid of him and remained calm. Even though she knew that the wolf was a dangerous animal, she said to herself: 'C'mon now, the wolf is just a big mouse.'

"Good morning Little Red Cap," said the wolf. "Where are you going so early in the day?"

"To my grandmother's."

"What are you carrying in the basket?"

"Cake and wine. We baked some things for grandmother yesterday so that she can get well and strong."

"And where does your grandmother live?"

"You mice know where she lives—what are you asking for?"

"It's the house under the three oak trees, isn't it?" the wolf declared.

"I've got to get a move on," said Little Red Cap.

However, the wolf thought to himself, 'This tender young thing, she's a juicy morsel. She'll taste even better than the old woman. You've got to be sly to catch both of them.' He went along with Little Red Cap for awhile, and then he said: "Look at the beautiful flowers all around you. Why don't you look at them? I don't think you're even listening to the charming songs of the birds. You barrel ahead as if you were going straight to school, and it's really delightful here in the woods."

Little Red Cap stood still, opened her eyes and looked around. She saw the sunbeams dance here and there on the ground of the woods.

"You're right, my little mouse. It is beautiful here—and those flowers! If I were to take a bunch of flowers to grandmother, that would make her happy, and she'll give me

something for it. It's still early in the day, and I have plenty of time to get to her house."

And Little Red Cap forgot the wolf and went from the path into the woods. She looked for the largest and prettiest flowers. And as soon as she picked one, she would see a prettier one further off and run after it deeper into the woods. However, the wolf went straight to grandmother's house and knocked on the door.

"Who's there?"

"Little Red Cap, I've brought you cake and wine. Open up!"

"Lift the latch," cried the grandmother.

The wolf entered the house. Without saying one word, he went straight to the grandmother's bed and devoured her. Then he put on her clothes, lay down in her bed, and drew the curtains.

Meanwhile Little Red Cap had been running after the flowers. And after she had gathered more than her basket could carry, she continued on her way to her grandmother's house. She was surprised to find the door standing open. Wasn't someone snoring? And she called into the silent room: "Good morning! Hello there!" But no one answered her.

Finally, she went to the bed and pulled back the curtains and saw somebody on her grandmother's bed covered in a shawl who didn't look like her grandmother.

"Grandmother, what large ears you have!"

"The better to hear you with."

"Grandmother, what large eyes you have!"

"The better to see you with."

"Grandmother, what large hands you have!"

"The better to grab you with."

"But, grandmother, what a large mouth you have!"

"The better to eat you with," said the wolf who sprung out of the bed and swallowed the girl.

When the wolf had satisfied his hunger, he lay down in bed, fell asleep, and began to snore very loudly. While he lay there and slept, Little Red Cap took the knife and began to slice open the wolf's stomach from inside. After she had made the slit wide enough, she hopped out. Then out jumped her grandmother after her, alive and well. Little Red Cap quickly fetched

some large stones in front of the house and filled the wolf's stomach with them. When he woke up, he saw Little Red Cap with the jackknife in her hand and became frightened.

"Why am I so terribly thirsty?" he bellowed grimly.

"Because you stuffed yourself," said Little Red Cap.

"And why can't I life myself up?"

"Because there are stones in your stomach."

"And what do I have to do to get them out?"

"You've got to stay with us and guard the house."

He tried to jump up and run away. But the stones were too heavy so that he sunk to the ground and lay there lifeless. So Little Red Cap went over to him, and in the wink of an eyelash, she had skinned the fur from the wolf. And underneath the fur was a boy with black eyebrows and blond hair. Little Red Cap went over to him and embraced him tenderly. He smiled back at her and stood there motionless. But the grandmother dragged a sack of nuts from the kitchen. And Little Red Cap and the boy went on cracking nuts until the dawn of day.

## **A Razzle-Dazzle Fairy Tale**

*Karlhans Frank*

Once upon a time there was a king, and it had been awhile since he begot a child. Then he cut his finger and said: "Blue like blood, black like ebony." So now he had a child who wore a red cap on her head. There was great joy in the entire kingdom. The wicked fairy also arrived on the scene and said: "Putty, nutty, take it from me, hansy, pansy, in the sea." Then the sea began to bubble furiously, and a frog with a small crown on its left ear asked: "Who's been eating from my plate?"

The king's daughter did not like such questions. So she took the frog and hurled it against the rose-colored wall paper, and when the frog fell to the floor, it was a bear whose skin glimmered like gold through the fur wherever it wasn't properly

buttoned. When the bear was ruffled too hard, he roared: "What's that pummeling in my belly. I thought it might be seven dwarfs, and now I feel as though a witch in red hot iron slippers were dancing in me."

One time the bear went through the woods. There he saw a little man dancing around a little fire and singing with a tender little voice. "Today I chop wood, tomorrow I'll steal beer, in two days I'll fetch the king's child. Oh, how good that I myself don't know that my name is King Thrushbeard."

Soon thereafter he saddled his noble steed and rode upon it from the woods into the city right onto the market place and into a porcelain shop. With each step the steed cried: "Seven at one blow!" It so happened that the steed caught a piece of porcelain in his hoof and thus demanded from Thrushbeard that he make him a pair of fine boots, "if you want to make sure that you'll be happy." Thrushbeard scratched himself on his long chin and then scratched together some money and did as his steed requested.

The steed in boots trotted faster than a speeding bullet to the castle of the evil magician and broke a piece of peppermint cake from the roof. Whereupon the roof mumbled: "The glutton knows what's good." Suddenly there was a voice from the well. "If your mother knew about this, it would break her heart."

The brave steed did not respond. Again there was a voice from the well. "Whoever drinks from me will become human." Despite his fear the steed still did not respond, and it ate a piece of cotton candy from the chimney of the castle.

Once again the voice cried from the well. "Rapunzel, Rapunzel, let your hair down." However, the steed pretended not to hear anything. Now the door of the castle opened and out popped the bear who had been a frog, for it was none other than the frogbear who was the evil magician. The frogbear-magician roared: "I know why you've come. You want to release the princess from the magic spell, but the princess is sitting high upon the glass mountain which is covered with peas and guarded by seven ravens. Every day she must shake the feathers of the pillows so it snows on earth. But only a pure virgin can release her by performing three tasks."



By chance the steed in boots was a pure virgin, and she quickly demanded to know what the three tasks were:

"Here is the first task," said the magician, "How much is one and one?"

"That's easy," answered the steed. "Two, just as many eyes as the princess has in her head."

"Here is the second task," said the magician. "How much is two and two?"

"That's also easy," answered the steed. "Four, because that's as many fingers the princess has on one hand."

"Here's the third task," the magician said. "How much is three times three?"

"Ten," answered the steed. "That's how much hair the princess has on her head and how many teeth she has in her mouth."

"The devil told you that!" the magician cried without checking whether the answer was right, and he disappeared with a horrible bolt of lightning. The princess was released from the magic spell and married King Thrushbeard.

They lived happily together. To be sure, sometimes when the princess read in her book of fairy tales, she sighed: "Oh, if only my flesh could be made to creep and my hair could stand on ends, but her flesh could no longer creep nor could her hair stand on ends because she never looked out of her book of fairy tales.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>It has always been fashionable to try to rewrite folk tales and the classical ones by the Grimms. However, the recent trend is more international in scope, not just centered in Germany, and more political in intent. For some examples see, Jay Williams, *The Practical Princess and other Liberating Fairy Tales* (London, 1979); Astrid Lindgren, *Märchen* (Hamburg, 1978), which first appeared in Swedish; *The Prince and the Swinherd, Red Riding Hood, Snow White* by the Fairy Story Collective (Liverpool, 1976), three different publications by four women from the Merseyside Women's Liberation Movement.

<sup>2</sup>My focus is on the development in West Germany only. The official attitude toward fairy tales in East Germany has gone through different phases since 1949. At first they were rejected, but more recently there

has been a favorable policy, so long as the tales do not question the existing state of affairs. Thus, the older fairy tales by the Grimms are accorded due recognition while reutilization of the tales in a manifest political manner critical of the state and socialization is not condoned. See Sabine Brandt. "Rotkäppchen und der Klassenkampf," *Der Monat*, 12 (1960). 64-74.

<sup>3</sup>See Dieter Richter/Jochen Vogt, eds., *Die heimlichen Erzieher. Kinderbücher und politisches Lernen* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1974).

<sup>4</sup>See Erich Kaiser, "Ent-Grimm-te' Märchen?" *Westermanns Pädagogische Beiträge* 8 (August, 1975), 448-459, and Hildegard Pischke, "Das veränderte Märchen," *Literatur für Kinder*, ed. Maria Lypp (Göttingen, 1977), pp. 94-113.

<sup>5</sup>See Heinz Rölleke's introduction and commentaries to the 1810 manuscript written by the Grimms in *Die älteste Märchensammlung der Brüder Grimm* (Cologne-Geneve, 1975); Werner Psaar/Manfred Klein, *Wer hat Angst vor der bösen Geiss?* (Braunschweig, 1976), pp. 9-30; Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann's introduction to *Kinder- und Hausmärchen gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm*, Vol. I (Frankfurt am Main, 1976), 9-18.

<sup>6</sup>Weber-Kellermann, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm*, Vol. I, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 23-24. This is taken from the 1819 preface by the Brothers Grimm.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup>Rölleke, ed., *Die älteste Märchensammlung der Brüder Grimm*, p. 144. Unless otherwise indicated, all the translations in this essay are my own. In most instances I have endeavored to be as literal as possible to document the historical nature of the text.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>11</sup>*Kinder- und Hausmärchen gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm*, p. 35-6.

<sup>12</sup>*Contes de Perrault*, ed. Gilbert Rouger (Paris, 1967), p. 113.

<sup>13</sup>Brüder Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen. In der ersten Gestalt*. (Frankfurt am Main, 1962), p. 78.

<sup>14</sup>"Perrault's 'Little Red Riding Hood': Victim of Revision," *Children's Literature*, 7 (1978), 68.

<sup>15</sup>For the best analysis of Perrault and his times, see Marc Soriano, *Les Contes de Perrault* (Paris, 1968).

<sup>16</sup>The word *sittsam* is used in the 1857 edition and carries with it a sense of chastity, virtuousness, and good behavior.

<sup>17</sup>*Die älteste Sammlung der Brüder Grimm*, pp. 246, 248.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 249, 251.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 250.

<sup>20</sup>Psaar/Klein, *Wer hat Angst vor der bösen Geiss?* pp. 112-136.

<sup>21</sup>See *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* (New York, 1976). For a critique of Bettelheim's position, see James W. Heisig, "Bruno Bettelheim and the Fairy Tales," *Children's Literature*, 6 (1977), 93-114, and my own criticism in the chapter "On the Use and Abuse of Folk and Fairy Tales: Bruno Bettelheim's Moralistic Magic Wand" in *Breaking the Magic Spell: Radical Theories of Folk and Fairy Tales* (London and Austin, 1979), pp. 160-182.

<sup>22</sup>Helmut Feud, *Sozialisation durch Literatur* (Weinheim, 1979), p. 30, remarked: "Socialization proves itself to be a process of resubjectification of cultural objectifications. In highly complex cultures and societies this involves the learning of complex sign systems and higher forms of knowledge as well as the general comprehension of the world for dealing with natural problems and the general self-comprehension of human beings. Through the process of resubjectification of cultural objectifications, structures of consciousness, that is, subjective worlds of meaning, are constructed. Psychology views this formally as abstraction from particular contents and speaks about the construction of cognitions, about the construction of a 'cognitive map,' or a process of internalization. In a depiction of how cultural patterns are assumed in a substantive way, the matter concerns what conceptions about one's own person, which skills and patterns or interpretations, which norms and values someone takes and accepts in a certain culture relative to a sub-sphere of a society. Generally speaking, what happens in the socialization process is what hermeneutical research defines as 'understanding'. Understanding is developed and regarded here as an interpretative appropriation of linguistically transmitted meanings which represent socio-historical forms of life. To be sure, this understanding has a dif-

ferentiated level of development which is frequently bound by social class.”

<sup>23</sup>See Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy* (Boston, 1957).

<sup>24</sup>Emanuel K. Schwartz, “A Psychoanalytic Study of the Fairy Tale,” *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 10 (1956), 755.

<sup>25</sup>The terms are from Victor Laruccia’s excellent study, “Little Red Riding Hood’s Metacommentary: Paradoxical Injunction, Semiotics and Behavior,” *Modern Language Notes*, 90 (1975), 517-534. Laruccia notes that, “all messages have two aspects, a command and a report, the first being a message about the nature of the relationship between sender and receiver, the second the message of the content. The crucial consideration is how these two messages relate to each other. This relationship is central to all goal-directed activity in any community since all human goals necessarily involve a relation with others,” p. 520. Laruccia’s essay includes a discussion of the way male domination and master/slave relationships function in the Grimms’ tales.

<sup>26</sup>See Dieter Richter, ed., *Das politische Kinderbuch* (Darmstadt, 1973). A writer such as Kurd Lasswitz began writing political fairy tales at the end of the 19th century. Two important collections of political fairy tales from the Weimar period are: Walter Eschbach, *Märchen der Wirklichkeit* (Leipzig, 1924) and Ernst Friedrich, ed. *Proletarischer Kindergarten* (Berlin, 1921), which contains stories and poems as well.

<sup>27</sup>All these writers either wrote political fairy tales or wrote about them during the 1920s and early part of the 1930s. One could add many other names to this list such as Ernst Bloch, Bruno Schönlink, Berta Lask, Oskar Maria Graf, Kurt Held, Robert Grötzsch, and even Bertolt Brecht. The most important fact to bear in mind, aside from the unwritten history of this development, is that the present-day writers began to hark back to this era.

<sup>28</sup>See my article “Down with Heidi, Down with Struwwelpeter, Three Cheers for the Revolution: Towards a New Socialist Literature in West Germany,” *Children’s Literature*, 5 (1976), 162-179.

<sup>29</sup>Waechter is one of the most gifted writers and illustrators for children in West Germany today. He is particularly known for his book *Der Anti-Struwwelpeter* (Darmstadt, 1973).

<sup>30</sup>Angela Hopf has written several interesting books which are related to political fairy tales: *Fabeljan* (1968), *Die grosse Elefanten-Olympiade* (1972), and *Die Minimax-Comix* (1974).

<sup>31</sup>For a thorough and most perceptive analysis of this book, see Hermann Hinkel/Hans Kammler, "Der Feuderdrache Minimax"—ein Märchen? —Ein Bilderbuch!" *Die Grundschule*, 3 (1975), 151-160.

<sup>32</sup>Among the more interesting studies related to the fairy tale are: Dieter Richter/Johannes Merkel, *Märchen, Phantasie und soziales Lernen* (Berlin, 1974); Andrea Kuhn, *Tugend und Arbeit. Zur Sozialisation durch Kinder- und Jugendliteratur im 18. Jh.* (Berlin, 1975); Andrea Kuhn/Johannes Merkel, *Sentimentalität und Geschäft. Zur Sozialisation durch Kinder und Jugendliteratur im 19. Jh.* (Berlin, 1977).

<sup>33</sup>Janosch is considered one of the most inventive illustrators and writers for young people in West Germany. Among his many titles, the most important are: *Das grosse Janosch-Buch*; *Ich sag, du bist ein Bär*; *Die Löwenreise*; *Oh, wie schön ist Panama*.

<sup>34</sup>A good example is *Erstes Jahrbuch der Kinderliteratur. "Geh und spiel mit dem Riesen,"* ed. Hans-Joachim Gelberg (Weinheim, 1971), which won the German Youth Book Prize of 1972.

<sup>35</sup>Many of the tales were printed in other books edited by Gelberg or they appeared elsewhere, which is indicative of the great trend to reutilize fairy tales.

<sup>36</sup>Translations of the tales by Brender and Künzler have been published in my book *Breaking the Magic Spell*, pp. 180-182.

<sup>37</sup>Gmelin, in particular, has been active in scrutinizing the value of fairy tales and has changed his position in the course of the last eight years. See, Otto Gmelin, "Böses kommt aus Märchen," *Die Grundschule*, 3 (1975), 125-132.

<sup>38</sup>Lerche/Gmelin, *Märchen für tapfere Mädchen*, p. 16.

<sup>39</sup>The following tales are examples of the reutilized fairy tales being written in West Germany. They have been translated by Jack Zipes.

After I wrote this article, my attention was drawn to this important essay by Linda Dégh, "Grimm's *Household Tales* and Its Place in the Household: The Social Relevance of a Controversial Classic," *Western Folklore* XXXVIII (April 1979), 83-103. Many of her ideas are compatible with my approach.

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