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Exploring gender representations and parenting value preferences among parents of preschool children - The Disney Princess phenomenon

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Tesis booklet

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Introduction

In the process of children's learning about gender and gender roles, the purposeful and spontaneous patterns of the family and the immediate environment are coloured and given linguistic form by the fictional narratives that are transmitted to children: fairy tales and their visual (animated and dramatic) representations. According to Giroux (1995), animated films for children are most often thought of primarily as a means of entertainment, despite their ability to convey ideas and values represented by role models with the same power as traditional learning situations, and to contribute to an understanding of the adult world and the place of individuals in society (Hinkins, 2007).

Since 1937, the Disney company has been producing feature-length animated films with unbroken success in the international media. The Disney Princess (DH) stories are a franchise within Disney animation and, thanks to the marketing that has been built on them, DHs are not only in animated films but in almost every aspect of the lives of young children, boys and girls (Wohlwend, 2009). Both scholars and casual cultural critics agree that DHs are more than animated film characters, but rather cultural icons and role models of childhood (Eisenhauer, 2017). In response, a number of studies have examined DH films and characters from different approaches (physical appearance, racial representation, gender role representation). Children's media consumption, particularly their exposure to Disney princess content, has received considerable attention in academic circles due to its impact on young people's mental health (Orenstein, 2012), self-image (Bispo & Schmid, 2014), thinking, worldview (Wohlwend, 2009; 2012; Zsubori, 2023) and behaviour (Golden 2018).

This paper attempts to explore the current issues and problems arising from early childhood media consumption in an attempt to understand the favourite Disney princesses of preschool children based on parents' perceptions and focuses the study on the relationship between children's character preferences along the parent's character perception and preference and the value-based expectations and attribute lists towards children. By examining existing research and considering the socio-cultural context, the study aims to contribute to the debate on responsible media consumption by children by nuancing perspectives on Disney princesses.

In our paper, we first illustrate the changes in the role of socialization agents along some theories of socialization. In addition to some definitions of values, we have discussed the phenomenon of value socialization and the parent's views on the importance of value socialization in child rearing. We have dealt with the social science approach to gender and stereotypes. The phenomenon of gender stereotypes and ideologies was examined, followed by a clarification of the concept of gender roles and the results of previous research on the development of gender identity, gender roles and stereotypes, and gender roles and media effects. A key part of the theoretical framework of the thesis is the presentation of the Disney princess phenomenon and related previous content analysis, linkage and impact studies. Following this, we formulate our own objectives and research questions.

Research questions and hypotheses

- 1. Which are the children's favourite Disney princess stories according to parents?
- 2. Is there a difference between the princess stories liked by boys and girls in preschool?
 - H1: Boys prefer modern, less feminine princesses to the classics. We base our hypothesis on gender stereotype research and some recent studies that have analysed boys' attitudes towards Disney princesses (e.g. Coyne et al., 2021a, 2021b; Hamilton & Dynes, 2023)
- 3. How do parents describe their own children in terms of the characteristics they associate with Disney princesses, and is there a correlation between a child's parent-perceived character and a favourite princess?
 - o H2: Children with feminine traits are more likely to be associated by parents with classic princesses with feminine traits as a favourite. There is no previous research data on this, but based on research on the organization of parents' lay views of their own children's personalities, we hypothesize the presence of consistency in their responses (see Kohnstamm et al., 1998). This tendency toward consistency may prompt parents to select a fairy tale character as a favorite based on the child's perceived/actual traits.
- 4. Is there a correlation between parents' value-based expectations of their children and the traits of the Disney princess they think their children will like? We are unable to formulate a hypothesis on this question, as there are no known studies that have investigated parents' value-based preferences for children and children's media consumption.

- 5. Is there a correlation between the parent's favourite Disney princess and the child's perceived favourite Disney princess character?
 - H3: Parents like to share their favorite fairy tales with their children (Antalóczy et al., 2012), which suggests that they will have a shared favorite.
- 6. How do parents see Disney princesses, do they notice a change in the image of women in the characters of the princesses?

Method

The interpretations of the Disney princesses are seen as central phenomena of social organisation which, in addition to being interesting in themselves, are about more general problems, about social relations themselves and about cultural differences. Just as the primary aim of feminist research is not to theorise, our research draws attention to a specific segment of social problems, the diversity of representations of women and their interpretation as patterns of identity.

We wanted to find out about parents' views on Disney princess fairy tales by means of a questionnaire survey. The content of our own questionnaire-based cross-sectional survey was based on the international and national literature described in the introduction. The research explored parents' views on gender roles, gender ideologies, expectations and characterisations of their children, and perceptions of Disney princesses, in order to explore possible links between different perspectives on the subject, but essentially through the lens of social gender. The questionnaire used both closed and open-ended questions, scales and attribute lists. The questionnaire was pre-tested on a small sample and, after necessary corrections, was administered online and on paper to the respondents. Completion of the questionnaire was voluntary and anonymous, and no sensitive data were collected or stored. The research was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of ELTE PPK under number 2019/201-2.

Both the paper-based and the online completed questionnaires were aggregated in Microsoft Excel spreadsheet and processed using IBM SPSS software. After data cleaning, a total of 959 online and 351 paper-based questionnaires were used for the analysis out of the completed 1365 questionnaires, resulting in a total number of items in the parent study: 1310.

Our post-positivist view is that we can only more or less grasp the objective world around us, so we did not seek the whole truth. In the course of data collection, we accepted everything from the respondents along with the acceptance of the asymmetric nature of the questionnaire and our own situation. However, when processing the data, we interpreted the responses in a cautious and questioning way in order to present a possible reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Results

In presenting the results here, only those closely related to answering the research questions are presented.

Sample characteristics

The majority of parents who completed the questionnaire were women aged 20-56 years (94.8%). More than half of the respondents live in a city (50.6%) and their educational attainment is typically tertiary (52.2%). Our sample is over-represented in terms of tertiary education compared to the national data, so comparisons are always interpreted with caution.

Based on parents' responses, the distribution of preschool children by gender and age is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1.Distribution of children by sex and age

	3 years old	4 years old	5 years old	6 years old	7 years old	8 years old	Total
Boys	57	142	154	158	91	13	615
Girls	70	141	179	170	118	15	693
Other non-binary	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Total	128	284	333	328	209	28	1,310

Division of labour and gender roles in the family

Based on Szabó's (2008) global gender role interpretation scale, parents in our sample largely identified with the 'modern' gender role concept, according to which women and men should play equal roles in domestic and non-domestic work. Consistent with Szabó's (2008) results, our results show that male respondents are less gender-equal than female respondents, but this result is limited because very few men participated in the survey (N=66).

The ordering of the items we used, adapted from scales used in previous research on the measurement of sexism (Swim et al., 1995, Glick & Fiske, 1996, Szabó, 2008), resulted in five factors (Hostile sexism, Traditional feminine virtues, The better part of

man, Old-fashioned paternalistic, Male-female equality). Women scored higher than men on the "Traditional feminine virtues" factor, while men showed stronger agreement than women on the "Better part of man" and "Old-fashioned-paternalistic" factor. However, the differences are very small and the strength of the gender effect is low for all variables examined. Regarding the age of parents, a negative correlation was found with the factors "Hostile sexism" and "Traditional feminine virtues", which could be explained by the fact that older parents with pre-school children have a significantly higher educational level than younger parents. In terms of educational attainment, the results show that parents with lower education (up to secondary level) reported higher than average agreement than those with higher education on all four sexism factors, except for the 'Male-Female Equality' factor. Along the lines of parents' place of residence, we also see that residents of villages and towns scored higher than average on the Hostile Sexism, Traditional Feminine Virtues and Male Betterment factors than those living in larger types of municipalities (county towns and the capital). Consistent with the theoretically hypothesised correlation, we found that the more traditional the respondent's understanding of gender role, the higher the scores on the statements of the 'Hostile sexism', 'Traditional female virtues' and 'Old-fashioned-paternalistic' factors, but the lower the scores on the 'Male-female equality' factor.

Perception of the child's personality and value-based expectations of the child

Perception of the child's personality

Girls are perceived by parents to be more affectionate, controlling, sensitive to the needs of others and caring than boys, while boys are perceived to be more athletic than girls. The fact that parents perceive their girl children as more controlling than boys is probably related to the greater social orientation and better communication skills of preschool-age girls, which parents may perceive in social situations such as play (De Fruyt et al., 1998) and which research suggests may not persist and in most cases may be reversed later (Barbu et al., 2011).

The traits used to characterise children in this study were grouped into three factors based on parents' perceptions. In the first factor, the traits of athletic, courageous and caring were included, and this group of traits was named after Mulan. In the second factor, the traits sensitive, shy, gentle and caring were grouped together, so we named this factor Snow White. Finally, the trait of being controlling and assertive and the trait of

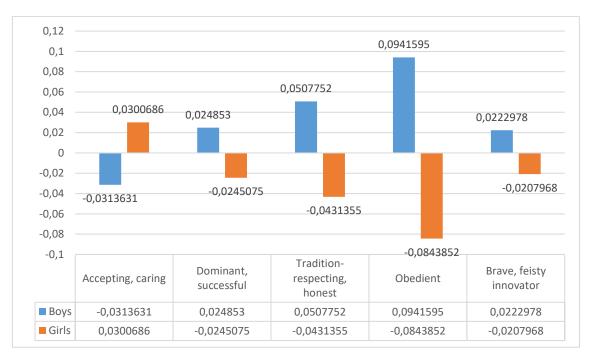
being submissive were sorted into separate factors, so we interpreted this trait as dominant and named this factor Vaiana/Moana. We found a correlation along gender differences in trait factors. As we expected, parents perceived their female children as more indicative of the Snow White traits than average, while their male children perceived them as less indicative. In addition, the age of the children showed a negative correlation with the factor summarising the controlling, autonomous, less subordinate "Vaiana/Moana" traits, i.e. the younger the child studied, the more autonomous and dominant. Parents are likely to interpret the dachshund period at the age of 3-5 years as the child's autonomy and dominance, compared to which older children appear more adaptable and more controlled. However, the correlation is very weak, so it can be assumed that the significant correlation is due to sample size rather than true correlation (McLean & Ernest, 1998).

Parents' value-based expectations of their children

The items of Schwartz's Value Profile (1992, 2003a, and b; Nguyen et al, 2000), modified for our purposes based on parental responses, were organized into five factors covering the four dimensions described by Schwartz (Altruism, Openness, Self-Actualization, and Preservation), but the Preservation dimension was split into 2 parts, separating the traits of Traditionalism, Honesty, and Dutifulness. The prominence of the latter of the values is explained by the parent-child relationship, in which traditionally the child's obedience is important (Varga & Gordon Győri, 2014). As an adult, this trait as a value is much less emphasized in countries with individualistic cultures, and Hungary can be considered as such (Matsumoto, et al., 2008).

Averages of the value-based expectation factors show that parents have more expectations of their male children and that these expectations tend to be towards active involvement in life (Dominant, successful, traditionalist, honest, obedient, courageous, faisty, innovative). Parents' expectations of their daughters are less restrictive and the only value factor for which parental expectations are above average and positive is caring and acceptance (see Figure 1).





So parents expect a little more rule-following, obedience, modesty and security-seeking from their preschool-age boys than from their preschool-age girls, perhaps because they perceive that girls are more obedient than boys anyway. This is supported by our previously discussed results on the gender difference in perceived traits, which found a difference in favour of girls precisely in the caring, submissive, modest (Snow White) trait factor.

Along the lines of the global gender role interpretation and value-based expectations towards children, we found that the more egalitarian the parent's view of gender role, the higher the level of benevolence and care expected from his/her male child, and for girls in the same context, the more modern the parent's view, the higher the level of acceptance, care and lower the level of obedience and respect for tradition and honesty expected from his/her female child.

We hypothesized that the parent-perceived characteristics of the child, mediated by the child's gender, would be related to parental value preferences, i.e., the values that parents would like their child to possess. Our results show that parents formulated value-based expectations of both boys and girls that reinforced the child's perceived traits. Male children described as gentle were more likely to expect kindness and caring from their male children, while brave, independent boys were less likely to expect obedience and

responsive. However, the correlations found are very weak. Parents expected more kindness, respect for tradition and less courage from accepting, caring girls, while they expected less obedience, more innovation and courage from brave, assertive girls. Correlation analysis does not reveal cause and effect, so we can assume either direction of the child-environment interaction.

Discussion, conclusions

When interpreting our results, it is important to keep in mind that we have tried to understand children's film experiences and story references through their parents' responses, so our results may reflect parents' perceptions, not their children's.

The results of the questionnaire survey show that the majority of children, regardless of gender, but typically more girls, watch more DH stories as they get older. Parents' accounts suggest that the majority of children had last seen the current DH story with their parent, so it is likely that responding parents have accurate information about their children's views on princesses.

In the survey, most children had last seen the fairy tale The Ice Magic or The Ice Magic II, which is the most recent fairy tale film shown on the cinema screen at the time of the survey. Consistent with the results of Gomez (2014), we also found that The Ice Wizard is the most familiar fairy tale regardless of the gender of the children. It is followed in second place in terms of popularity by Goldilocks and the Big Tangle. A gender gap was found in the third most popular fairy tale. According to the parents surveyed, unlike girls, for whom it is The Little Mermaid, the third best-known fairy tale among boys is Aladdin. This fairy tale may be so successful among boys because it focuses more on the lived reality and struggles of the male hero (Aladdin) than on the personal story of the fairy tale's princess (Jasmine). Most of the children have seen more than one version of the fairy tales The Ice Magic and Goldilocks and the Great Tangle. Even in terms of the number of fairy tales seen more than once, there was only a gender difference for the third most viewed fairy tale, which was Cinderella for girls and Vaiana/Moana for boys. In relation to Cinderella, it is assumed that young girls seek out stories of strong women (e.g. Vaiana/Moana in the fairy tales) who can be weak, needy and yet valuable, rather than strong women (e.g. Vaiana/Moana in the fairy tales) who can do their best, who can be strong and needy in life, rather than the stories of characters (Cinderella) who can be weak and needy and yet valuable. The popularity of the Maori princess among boys suggests that her active, persistent, world-saving character probably reflects motivations that are familiar to boys, and thus makes it easier for them to identify with this world.

Almost half of the parents, typically girls, observed in their child's behaviour characteristics (mostly singing songs) that their child probably learnt from Princess Disney. Critics have argued that the prejudice and gender stereotypes found in DH films are not only reflected in the visual world, but also in the text and language, including the lyrics (Giroux, 1995; Faherty, 2001). Our results suggest that children's experiences of fairy tales are closely linked to the songs that can be interpreted as identity text in fairy tales

In light of these findings, it is understandable that DH research typically focuses on the feminine image of fairy tales and the relationship between DH and girls, yet the relationship between boys and DH fairy tales is not neglected, as there are detectable gender differences in boys' and girls' DH media consumption.

Answers to the research questions

1. Which are the children's favourite Disney princess stories according to parents?

In all but five cases, children's parent-identified character preferences were related to which Disney princess fairy tale children had last seen and were also related to which fairy tales children had seen more than once. The results are not suitable for establishing the direction of the relationships, but they do show that children's choice of animated movie models is associated with recent movie experience and repeated viewing, two important elements of modeled learning (Bandura 1969, 1986).

2. Is there a difference between the princess stories that boys and girls like in preschool?

According to parents, the princesses Elsa and Anna are a common favourite among boys and girls, which can be explained by the novelty effect of the Ice Magic fairy tale. Parents think that the character of Vaiana/Moana is a popular favourite among boys, while the third favourite among girls is the princess Goldenhair. The character of Vaiana/Moana, similar to the story of Aladdin, presumably provides a better connection to identification for boys (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). And the character of Goldenhair (curious, a bit "boyish", brave) and her spiritual richness (including her hair with magic powers, her

ability to help others, her many friends) fit well with children's image of a "good girl" princess (Zsubori, 2023). The characterisation of a character as a favourite who fits the lived reality of women is not surprising if we accept that children's gender expectations and behaviour also tend to be in line with societal expectations (Eagly & Wood, 2012; Endendijk et al, 2013; Gregor & Kováts, 2018; Hamilton et al., 1990). In addition, children's perceived character as a third favourite may also be influenced by parents' mention of these two princesses as their favourites.

When age-classified into Garabedian's (2015) age grouping of favourite Disney princesses, they show similar patterns for boys and girls. The highest proportions of both boys and girls named a modern princess as a favourite. On the one hand, this can be explained by the time of release of the fairy tale films, the strength of the marketing process associated with them, and the attractiveness of the products currently advertised and available. On the other hand, we would like to think that the DH preference of today's children is also shaped by what they may know about gender. Accordingly, the women they know are more likely to be modern (or post-modern) women, whose image is more in tune with DHs who are more in tune with the modern era. These characters are no longer just good at stereotypically feminine traits (e.g. sensitive, caring), but also represent some traits not commonly associated with women, such as courage, rescuing. The second most popular period, the Middle Ages, saw more boys than girls favouring the brave but family-oriented princesses, who in turn chose early princesses representing traditional gender roles more often than boys, but also very rarely overall. One exception is Cinderella, who also stands out in popularity among girls compared to other classic princesses. This is not surprising, as Cinderella is arguably the most classic princess character.

3. How do parents describe their own children in terms of the characteristics they associate with Disney princesses and is there a correlation between the child's perceived character and the favourite princess?

Our results show that not only do boys and girls prefer different DH fairy tales, but that their preference for a particular fairy tale hero is related to the traits they attribute to their children in gender-different ways.

Boys who are perceived by their parents to be less controlling, decisive and dominant are more likely to prefer Ariel, who, although she is a princess of middle age,

i.e. not as passive and submissive as previous princesses (England et al, 2011), is still a sacrificial and romantic heroine. Conversely, boys who were described by their parents as more controlling, decisive and dominant than average, were perceived by parents to prefer braver, more assertive DH characters, such as Mulan.

Girls, however, are attracted to other DH characters than boys. More masculine girls, who are more decisive, brave, in control, and athletic than average, prefer a character trait similar to Merida, who is athletic, brave, and ready for action, than those who are less masculine than average.

Merida's story can be contrasted with Mulan's in many ways. While Merida is a rebel, trying to avoid a forced marriage, Mulan goes to war for her father's honour, and in some ways behaves in a strongly conformist way. Merida's story, in a family context, focuses more on the mother-daughter relationship and the creation of femininity independent of men, while Mulan's is more focused on the father-daughter relationship, where she does not ultimately step outside the usual "love + marriage = happiness" scenario. Mulan fights between men without being perceived as a man, i.e. without compromising their self-esteem, but Merida wins over men without her femininity being conspicuous throughout, so that her victory is humiliating for men. In addition, it is also clear that the Chinese war-themed story may be more popular with boys than girls.

The perception of children's qualities and the relationship between the favourite Disney princesses should be interpreted back and forth. Consistent with the views of Bandura (1969, 1986), the results show that, based on parents' perceptions of modeled learning, children choose as their favorite characters whom they admire or whose qualities they find similar to their own.

4. What value-based expectations do parents have of their children and is there a correlation between the expectations of children and the characteristics of the Disney princess they think their children like?

Parents' value-based expectations of their children also showed a correlation with favourite fairytale characters.

No such association was found for boys, but for girls three associations were found between parents' value-based expectations of their daughters and their favourite DH character, two of which were associated with a preference for classic female protagonists

(Sleeping Beauty and Snow White) and a preference for traditional female values (traditionalist-honest and dutiful), which are reflected in the story of the fairy tales. In relation to the negative correlation found along the values belonging to the brave-ambitious-renewing factor, we believe that Belle represents the traditional "good girl" character of our time, she learns well, respects her father, keeps her promises, so that little girls who like Belle may very well follow traditional values.

It is important to stress, however, that the direction and why of the associations between children's characteristics, their value-based expectations and the Disney princess characters they think they like cannot be explained by our results.

5. Is there a correlation between the parent's favourite Disney princess and the child's perceived favourite Disney princess?

Our results show that almost one in two parents have a favourite Disney princess, which, along with the sex ratio of completers, also means that mothers typically have a prereferred DH character. The results suggest that parents who have a favourite DH think
their child has one too. Responses suggest that the princesses most often named as a
favourite by parents (Vaiana/Moana and Belle) are different from the children's perceived
favourites (Elsa and Anna), but the third favourite princess (Golden Hair) is the same for
parents and children alike. The results of our study show a correlation between the
parent's favourite Disney princess and the children's perceived favourite Disney princess
character in most of the DH stories. Our results, in line with the research of Antalóczy et
al. (2012), probably reflect that parents who grow up liking DH fairy tales are both eager
to introduce their children to their favourites and also eager to watch new fairy tales with
their children, which in turn leads to new favourites for them.

6. How do parents see Disney princesses?

Most parents, regardless of gender, have seen a Disney princess story. Parents' overall perceptions of Disney princesses, in line with Maity's (2014) findings, show that Disney princess characters can easily fall victim to the 'same-old' judgement. However, the results also show that along our qualities, parents (varying along education and age) perceive Disney princesses as feminine, masculine or androgynous. The simplistic perceptions and stereotype exposure associated with lower educational attainment may explain why parents with lower educational attainment perceive DHs as more traditional feminine women and are insensitive to the complexity of modern princess character

(Matthews & Power, 2002, Xiaoi & Andes, 1999). The results confirm that a DH born in the early days, e.g. Snow White, typically represents stereotypical feminine qualities (England et al, In contrast, a princess from the modern era, e.g. Merida, typically conveys qualities that emphasise women's strength, courage and efficiency (Sumana, 2022). In this context, it is worth highlighting that parents perceive and express DH differences in line with scientific findings, which goes beyond stereotypical generalisations of DH and femininity in general.

Limitations of the study, outlook

Challenges and limitations

A major limitation of our research is that we attempted to understand preschool-aged children's relationship with DH stories and their favourite DH characters based on their parents' responses, so that few conclusions can be drawn about the children. It would be worth asking the children themselves about the same.

Our research was based on convenience sampling (online space and a survey conducted in kindergartens accessible to the researchers), which, while reliable in terms of size for this type of quantitative study, is not representative.

Possible directions for further research

In the future, it may be interesting to investigate what themes and identification possibilities are conveyed by The Golden Hair and the Big Tangle, which could make it so popular with both boys and girls.

It would be exciting in future studies to investigate the popularity of princesses and the marketing appearance of characters in parallel, to see how much the popularity of a character is influenced by the frequency of appearance.

In the light of these results, we think it would be interesting to conduct analyses and impact studies focusing on gender identity messages in the lyrics of DH fairy tales.

The research results of Baker-Sperry (2007) and Zsubori (2023) do not show whether the concept of princess differs along children's gender. Therefore, it may be interesting to investigate whether boys and girls define the concept of princess differently and what content they give to it.

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