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Odjel za anglistiku
Preddiplomski studij engleskog jezika i književnosti (dvopredmetni)

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1. INTRODUCTION

Feminism is described as a movement with equality between men and women as its primary goal. Although this movement had officially begun with the Suffrage movement in the late nineteenth century, ideas proposed in the feminist movement have already been presented in literary works, among which is Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* from the late eighteen century. Yet, it was not until the late 19th century that all the previous efforts for the rights of women have merged into a detectable movement, instead of series of them (Rampton 1). Women started expressing their dissatisfaction with their position in the patriarchal society, a society where women were seen only as housewives and mothers. Feminism would thus soon enable women to express their aspirations of becoming more than housewives and would play a key role in demolishing the patriarchal social systems of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries.

According to Burkett, feminism dates back to the ancient world but there is minimal evidence. Allegedly, Roman women occupied the Capitoline Hill, blocking each entrance to the Forum when Consul Marcus Porcius Cato in the third century BCE opposed the idea of repealing those laws that restricted women to use of luxury items. That, however, was only a one-time occurrence, and feminism as is known today in the Western world roots in the French Revolution, which began in 1789. French Revolution was a foundation for feminists such as Mary Wollstonecraft to voice their opinions about women's position in society. In her most known work *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* from 1792, Wollstonecraft demands that women and men be educated equally, but also have the same opportunities in work and politics (Brunell).

Scholars usually divide the history of feminism into three waves: the first wave that occurred in the 19th and early 20th century; the second wave that occurred between the 1960s and 1970s; and the third wave at the beginning of the 1990s (Drucker). The first wave includes the women's

suffrage movements, and the main concern of this wave was women's right to vote. The second wave is characterized by the women's liberation movement, which dealt with women's social and legal rights. And lastly, the third wave is a reaction to the second wave's achievements and failures ("History and theory of feminism"). It can be argued that feminism is anything but a simple concept for the reason that the term brings different associations to each individual. There are vast differences in connotations and meanings of the term depending on one's generation, sexual orientation, or ethnic identity. Although feminism is not a static notion and evolves throughout time (Pasque and Errington Nicholson 3), what remains the same is the view of feminism as a "movement to establish equal rights and legal protection for women."

To further understand this term, the etymology of the word alone should be investigated. Potter explains that the word femin- derived from the Latin *femina* which means woman and –ism derived from Greek *ismos* which implies a practice or a belief. In England in 1851, there was a record of usage of this word, but the meaning was "the state of being feminine." However, in 1837 in France, Charles Fourier coined the word "féminisme" which designated the advocacy of women's rights (Potter). According to Brunell, feminism is "the belief in the equality of the sexes, on a social, economic and political level." A more controversial view states that feminism is a way of looking at the world but from a women's perspective. Certain stereotypes have appeared because of a more controversial view on feminism. Bell hooks mentions the following stereotypes: "feminists hate men", "feminists are all lesbians" and the most outrageous one "feminists are taking all the jobs from white men" (7). As a reaction to the definition of feminism as a way of looking at the world from a woman's point of view, bell hooks defines feminism as a movement to "end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression" (4). The reason why feminism cannot be defined by a single or simple fixed definition is that feminism is a social movement that changed its goals through history. This will be shown in more detail in the following chapters on

the three waves of feminism. Despite the non-existence of one fixed definition, it can be narrowed down to one word and that is *equality*.

This paper aims to closely examine the three waves of feminism and to show how they have undermined the patriarchy and therefore embraced women to tackle the existing issue of inequality. The emphasis of this paper is feminist's change of concepts such as gender and queer, which were particularly important to the third-wave feminists.

2. THE THREE WAVES OF FEMINISM

2.1. First Wave Feminism - Voting Rights for Women

The history of feminism is frequently classified into three temporal waves. When describing a movement as a "wave", it is crucial to understand that the idea of uniform waves frequently neglects the fact that someone had previously tried to start movements with the same goals – which for the feminist movement was equality (Nicholson 1). Watkins, Rueda, and Rodriguez state that feminism began when women started to consciously, massively, and tactically organize themselves to improve their position in society (4). These organized activities can be referred to as the first, the second, and the third wave of feminism.

The first wave developed during the nineteenth and early twentieth century in the USA and Britain. It was concentrated on suffragettes and their battle for rights, primary in terms of voting rights. The first wave officially began in 1848's New York at the Seneca Falls Convention. The Convention, also known under the name the Woman's Rights Convention, demanded equality for women. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was the one who outlined the Seneca Falls Declaration, in which she claimed equality between men and women and drafted the political

strategy in which both men and women had equal opportunities. The Seneca Falls Declaration triggered the suffrage movement in the USA ("Three Waves of Feminism" 3).

The situation was not any different in Britain. The Suffragettes concentrated on enabling women to vote. They organized many campaigns to enforce their goal; however, because of the First World War this continuous fight for women's votes, in both the USA and Britain, unfortunately, had been stopped. After the war, however, in 1918's Britain, *The Representation of the People Act 1918* was delivered, giving women over the age of thirty the right to vote and ten years later, all women that were older than twenty-one were given the same right ("History and theory of feminism").

With the legislation of *The Passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution* in 1919, American women were granted voting rights in every state. It is believed that the first wave of feminisms ended in the United States of America with this event ("History and theory of feminism"). But, it is important to note that between the two world wars countries such as Soviet Russia, Canada, and Germany have granted women voting rights in the first half of the 20th century. By the end of the 20th-century women could also vote in Thailand, Turkey, and the Philippines ("Women's suffrage").

Some of the other issues the first-wave feminists dealt with were marriage and employment. It was very difficult for a woman to become economically independent, which in most cases, naturally led to her marrying a man to secure her future (Gamble 4). Girls have been raised to think that way, that is, to think that marriage is something they need to partake in if they wanted to be able to have a secure future. However, once she was married, she had no legal independence from her husband: all of the woman's belonging automatically became her husband's once she got married (Osborne 14). In return, her husband would financially provide for her for the rest of their life. A crucial part of women's role in marriage was child-bearing;

however, a woman had no right over her children (Gamble 4). Even rape was allowed inside the confines of marriage (Osborne 14).

Regarding the issue of employment, the situation was not any different. Feminist employment reformers were faced with a mindset that opposed the idea of middle-class women earning a living and was concerned that women would displace men from previously male-dominated positions. As a result, the employment options increased in areas that were viewed as women's "natural domain" as mothers and wives: these included employment opportunities in teaching, nursing, and workhouse visiting. This all further sealed the belief that women belong in the house and because of that the idea of "separate spheres" emerged.

The two spheres are the domestic and the public sphere. The basic premise was that a woman ought to stay at home and create a place of calm for her family, while a man would expose himself to the outside world, representing the family in public and making decisions on behalf of the family (Gamble 16). This doctrine of "separate spheres" is predominately based on gender roles assigned to a man and a woman from birth and the ideologies of patriarchal society. The public sphere was a male sphere, that involved government regulation, business, law, and trade; while a woman's sphere was private – incorporating the unrestricted realms of family, childcare, and home (Kuersten 16). When such a dichotomy exists, patriarchy is even stronger since the dichotomy further emphasizes the different roles a woman and a man should perform in society. A patriarchal society is one in which power relations are unequal because women's interests are subordinated to men's. In such a society, a woman's position was determined by the three C's – Cooking, Children, and Church. Women's identification with a domestic sphere precluded them from engaging in public and political affairs. Many also thought women were incompetent to join any political affair; however, the root of this problem lies in the fact that women and men did not have the same educational opportunities (Škrlec 268). Osborne argues that although women were assigned the role of "educators" at home, the possibilities for their

education were limited (16). In the 18th century, women were most frequently educated at home, by their mothers. Since women's role in society was that of a housekeeper, it was believed that they did not need much education to fulfill their role since they were raised to practically perform only those roles of housekeepers.

2.2. Second Wave Feminism – The Personal is Political

The second wave of feminism is a period between the early 1960s and the late 1980s. After the First World War, it seemed that feminists have already achieved their initial goals: most of the women in Europe and the USA were able to finish elementary schools and some women of the middle class had an opportunity to go to the university and further build their careers. Moreover, millions of young women were able to live independently due to new job opportunities — which included work in clothing factories, working in a trade, as well as working on farms ("19th and Early 20th Century | Striking Women")— and feminism at this point seemed like a battle that has long before finished and brought changes. In the 30s of the 20th century, with the era of the Depression beginning, both women and men had fewer job opportunities which is the reason why there was competition between the two sexes. The hatred towards women started to spread again because men believed that they would lose all their jobs to women. And then the Second World War started in the 40s – in that period, seven million women, for the first time, had acquired a job position in the USA. Women were undertaking variety of tasks, even those labeled as being solely "for men" – work in coal and tin mines ("19th and Early 20th Century | Striking Women"). When the war finished, most of the working women wanted to continue working. However, men were against that idea and society slowly went back to the old patriarchal ideologies, and the "separate spheres" doctrine was embraced again. As a consequence of restricting women to the domestic sphere, they were again seen as dependent on their husbands,

as housewives whose only job was to stay at home and take care of their husband and children (Watkins, Rueda, and Rodriguez 94-97).

Marsha Lear used the term "second wave" to denote a period characterized by an increase in feminist activity in the late 1960s in the USA, Britain, and Europe (Jenainati and Groves 88). However, the second wave is often known under another phrase. The phrase "The Personal is Political" became associated with the second wave. It was coined by Carol Hanisch, a feminist activist and journalist. What it refers to is the fact that every aspect of women's personal life is under the influence of the political situation (Jenainati and Groves 90). According to feminists of this wave, inequalities on a cultural and political level are intrinsically connected and second wavers urged women to understand that all areas of their private lives were politicized and all areas reflected existing sexist power systems ("History and theory of feminism"). A great example of "The Personal is Political" is an organization NOW, — standing for National Organization for Women — founded in the mid-1960s by Betty Friedan. The main goal was to enable women to fully participate in American mainstream society to achieve their full potential as living beings (Hannam 138). Since women were still tied with the roles of the domestic sphere, this organization aimed to use the legislation to create equal opportunities in employment and education (Hannam 138) as well as initiate women's engagement in the political sphere, which was male-dominated. NOW drafted a Bill of Rights for Women in which six key measures were agreed on, all to ensure women's equality. These six were: enforcement of anti-discrimination laws at work, equal job-training opportunities for less fortunate women, child-care centers which allow mothers to work, maternity leave rights, deduction of taxes for child-care fees, and equal education (Burkett). What sparked a fierce debate were two additional measures: one called for the Equal Rights Amendment to promptly be added to the US Constitution, and the other advocated for greater accessibility to contraception and abortion (Burkett). In the example of abortion, Hannam argues that it is a private issue, which when was publicly talked about,

succeeded in bringing women from different social groups, generations, as well as political backgrounds together at a higher, national level to work on a common issue (143). Whether abortion is a private issue that does not need a doctor or anyone's consent, or a public issue remains controversial in today's society.

It can be argued that it was the French philosopher and author, Simone de Beauvoir with her famous critical work *The Second Sex* what triggered second-wave feminism (Jenainati and Groves 82). In her treatise *The Second Sex*, she dealt with history, biology, psychoanalysis, Marxism, and literature. Because of the inclusiveness of various issues in this work, *The Second Sex* acts as a foundation of modern feminism ("History and theory of feminism"). De Beauvoir was also an existentialist and as such was influenced by Sartre's saying that "existence precedes essence", which consequently lead her to conclude that one is simply not born as a woman, but throughout life becomes one ("History and theory of feminism"). Existentialists believe that one first exists and then through series of acts becomes something – this is what she used as a basis for her thinking. In order to formulate "the Self" one must create something in opposition to it – that is "the Other". In her analysis, she points out that the social construction of a Woman as "the Other" is what is fundamental to women's oppression (Jenainati and Groves 83). Historically speaking, women have been viewed as unorthodox beings – since men have occupied "the Self" category, a woman from a male's perspective can only occupy the position of an object. Thus, a woman becomes inessential as opposed to men who are essential. "Woman" in that sense is "merely a projection of male fantasies" (Gamble 29). De Beauvoir goes as far as to claim that Mary Wollstonecraft, one of the foremothers of feminism, recognized men as a model that women should yearn towards. For feminism to move forward, this kind of attitude should be ruled out. Second-wave feminists embraced and modified De Beauvoir's argument that oppression of women stemmed from their socially constructed status of "the Other" in regard to men ("History and theory of feminism").

The Women's Rights Movement and the Women's Liberation Movement were two political movements that helped define the second wave of feminism. Movement was comprised of professional women whose main objective was to stop workplace discrimination against women. In the United States, the term "Women's Liberation" was first in 1964, and by 1968, it had come to apply to the whole women's movement (Jenainati and Groves 88).

Another important name for the second wave is Betty Friedan, who published *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963. Friedan showed that contrary to popular myth, educated middle-class American wives were dissatisfied with their role as housewives, whose job was to stay at home and create a welcoming home environment for their husbands and children. In her book, she exposed the misery and frustration housewives felt (Osborne 26). The term "feminine mystique" in the title alludes to the idealization of conventional female roles — that of, a wife, mother, and housewife — which are, according to Jenainati and Groves, regarded as a strategy of maintaining women's subordination to males (90). The book criticizes the idea that the only way for a woman to feel fulfilled was for her to stay within the domestic sphere and not engage in the public one. Friedan hypothesizes that due to such a belief system in society that says that women should find identity and life's meaning through their family only, women become victims and lose their identity completely. Men are encouraged to explore their identity in the public sphere, whilst women are set to find theirs only within the domestic one. Having a career goes against the idea that women's identity is based on their biology. Women are taught that their identity is only to be found in predetermined roles society has assigned to them - this is the "feminine mystique" Friedan discussed: a continual repeating of caring, homemaking images that present those responsibilities as basic femininity.

Two big issues for the feminist movement were the legislation of abortion and equal pay. In both the USA and Britain, many were supportive of legislating abortion because they wanted to reduce the number of unsafe abortions and to give women the right to do what they want to

with their bodies. In Britain, the abortion legislation was approved in 1968, but the situation in America was different: it met the disapproval of many and it still does today. Another issue was that of equal pay, which was dealt steadily unlike the question of abortion. In the USA, in 1963, the Equal Pay Act was warranted and legislated the next year. In 1975 Britain, discrimination of sexes on both pay and employment opportunities was prohibited (Osborne 30-31).

2.3. Third Wave Feminism - Grrl Rhetoric

Beginning in the early 1990s, the third wave feminism arose as a reaction to the perceived failures of the second wave of feminism. What motivated third-wavers was the fact that they saw existing feminist theory and politics as requiring change ("Three waves of feminism" 16) – in their view, by excluding a wide variety of women (black, lesbian, and so on), the first and second wavers failed to acknowledge the versatility of these women, the versatility coming from differences in race, sexuality, gender, class, religion, nationality and ethnicity (Drucker). The central issue of the third wave was a reinterpretation of concepts such as gender and sexuality ("History and theory of feminism"). Body image, heteronormativity, beauty, femininity, and masculinity are some also some issues discussed in this period.

This wave is commonly called "grrl feminism" in America, while in Europe the term "new feminism" is used. "Grrl" feminists have reclaimed the term "girl" in an attempt to draw new generations into the movement – feminists saw themselves as stronger, capable of change, and assertive social doers which was contradictory to the conventional notion of "a girl". Grrl rhetoric arose from girls-only punk groups like Bikini Kill in the USA of the early 90s of the previous century, a group that celebrated autonomy of girls and fused two strategies: the empowerment strategy of feminists and punk's D.I.Y. (Do It Yourself) strategy ("Third Wave Feminism" 16). On the continent of Europe, the activist of the "new feminism" addressed issues

such as (“Third Wave Feminism” 17) trafficking, violence against women, body surgery, and general media’s “pornofication”: normalization of explicit sexual images and themes that are found in mainstream culture.

As a reaction to stereotypical views of women in society as weak, passive, and inferior, the third wavers gave new definitions to women as powerful, assertive and the ones in charge of their own body and sexuality (Brunell). This redefinition of women as assertive resulted in the rise of symbols of powerful women in popular culture: artists such as Madonna and Queen Latifah as well as women described in television series such as *Sex and the City* (Brunell).

Perhaps the most notable example of girl rhetoric are the Spice Girls, a British girl group formed in the mid-90s, comprising of Scary Spice, Sporty Spice, Baby Spice, Ginger Spice, and Posh Spice. Through their mantra “Girl Power” they became the symbols of a new type of feminism – feminism of the 90s that encouraged women to be independent, confident, and assertive. The concept of girl power is truly reflected in their first single *Wannabe*. Through the lyric “I’ll tell you what I want, what I really want” they send a message that a woman is in charge and that she can make her own decisions. And the Spice Girls led by example: they decided to dismiss their manager after he proposed concepts for them that were contradictory to the concept of a modern and free woman the girls wanted to portray. They also dealt and voiced their message about friendship, saying in *Wannabe:* “If you wanna be my lover you gotta get with my friends.” These lyrics illustrate how they nurtured friendships and encouraged young girls to nourish female bonding. They believed and spread a message that women are powerful as individuals, but even more powerful when together. This is exactly how change is created through feminism – by a union of women. The girl group inspired a whole generation of women simply because they were accessible and not overly academic. Because of their diverse personalities, it was easy to resonate with at least one of them. Despite having different personalities, they worked as a group and continue to inspire confidence. With girl power, the Spice Girls implicitly rejected many of

the beliefs popularly associated with second-wave feminism, such as the belief that the beauty and fashion industries contribute to women's objectification, and attempted to create alternatives to patriarchal power structures by representing women who claim male privileges while preserving their femininity (Gamble 212). Clothing, along with their song lyrics, is another way in which they expressed themselves and their girl power stance. The way one dresses may be viewed as a way of exploring subjectivity and assessing the self (Bloustien 139). According to Kaja Silverman , an essential element of our subjectivity is clothing – while it articulates the body it at the same time articulates the psyche (147). All of the Spice Girls had a distinctive way of dressing, which can then according to Silverman's stance indicate confident and inventive subjectivity. The reactions to the girl power phenomenon were mixed: to some, it was a movement that celebrated feminism's achievements; while to some, such as Germaine Greer, the girl power phenomenon was merely a marketing tactic, used to attract young girls and advertise excessively sexualized femininity to them (Gambler 212).

Since the beginning of this wave, it was evident that it is different from the previous two – the third-wavers were thinking differently and actively wanted to redefine the ideas of their predecessors. For that reason, they received criticism. Many argued that the wave had broken down and that nothing changed (Brunell). Some other issues that the third wave examines are those of women's representation in politics, sexual harassment, and body image.

As Susan Osborne points out women have less adequate representation than men do in politics (34). She supports this argument with the fact that in 1985, twenty-five women established fundraising organization to raise money and help candidates, that is, pro-choice Democratic women. There were many donations; however, the situation in the British Parliament was unequal and men were still dominating. The problem of sexual harassment was triggered in the movement by the exposure of accusations Anita Hill made against Clarence Thomas. This also opened up multiple other issues such as women's right to dress how they wish regardless of

men's opinion (too provocative, too revealing or not). Feminists also covered an issue of body image, which is nonetheless a relevant issue today as many beauty magazines, films, and especially social media sites, all portray unrealistic body standards, whether through extremely thin models or heavily edited photos of celebrities.

It is difficult to talk about the aims and end-goals of the third-wave feminism, since this wave is about the rejection of any type of standardization, whether through norms or definitions. For that reason, feminists of this movement do not define their movement as "a movement" at all. The third wave does support equal rights but does not want to be tied with the term "feminism", because the third-wavers believe that in some way equality between genders has been achieved or is on the right path (Rampton 6). This could be seen as overlapping with postfeminism since postfeminists consider themselves equal to men and regard equality between genders as something that has been accomplished (Gambler 43). However, it is often very difficult to distinguish between the two terms.

3. FEMINISM AND THE CONCEPT OF GENDER

Before delving into the topic of gender in feminism, a distinction between the term sex and the term gender must be given. These two terms were employed interchangeably in the past; however, with the feminist movement, this started to change. Many scholars use the notion of gender to describe perceptual dissimilarities between women and men. What is central to this definition is the idea that those differences are social constructs (Rose 2). But the concept of gender was used by feminists to denote the cultural construction between sexes, where "sex" referred to biological differences. The difference between the two would be that "sex" is something a person is born with, whereas "gender" is developed, produced during one's lifetime. Today, these terms have entered into common usage and their definitions can be found in

dictionaries, for instance, *Cambridge Dictionary's* definition states that both gender and sex are interpreted as "the state of being male or female"; however, they are frequently used in somewhat different ways: "sex usually refers to biological differences" ("Sex"), while "gender refers to cultural or social ones" ("Gender"). Despite the common usage of the terms, the essence of these two concepts remained unchanged. As a social construct and a culturally specific definition, gender refers to a set of different expectations related to the social roles of women and men, in private and public life. This means that society and social expectations formulate patterns of behavior and actions characterized as typically masculine and typically feminine. Terminologically, this is what is known as gender roles.

Gender roles are society's expectations of how one should act, speak, dress, and behave oneself according to one's assigned sex. Many societies of the West have traditionally viewed women as being more compassionate than men. Hence, the traditional understanding of the feminine gender role suggests that a woman ought to act in ways that are nourishing, for instance, instead of working outside of the home, women should rather stay at home to perform nourishing activities, for instance taking care of her child (Blackstone 335). Men, however, are supposed to be leaders. Thus their traditional gender role includes being head of the house and financially provide for the family. According to Jenainati and Groves, the reason behind such division is patriarchy (118). The notion of gender roles is closely linked with the beginnings of patriarchy. There has been a lot of effort put towards understanding why women are traditionally expected to assume household roles. Men, on the other hand, are supposed to work outside of the home to pursue professional contentment. Labor division in this case typically reflects a social structure in which males' ability to leave the house and assume authority over women is viewed as superior and domineering ("The Origins of Patriarch." 1144-1145). Patriarchal beliefs and ideologies are carved into people's minds from an early age, usually passed on from a parent to a child. In the past, through education, religion, and family patriarchal ideology was ingrained in the minds of

women, guaranteeing that they acquire a feeling of inferiority towards men (Jenainati and Groves 118).

The following story is a great example of how certain principles, in this example the concept of gender, are taught from an early age. Judith Lorber, a scholar in gender studies, in her book *Paradoxes of Gender* describes a personal experience while she was on the subway (13). She noticed a man with a child in the stroller. She observed that the people on the subways admired the father and nodded in approval. Lorber states that everyone was subconsciously "doing gender" at that moment: man performed the role of a father by taking care of the child, while the passengers were approvingly smiling and praising the caring father (13). Another thing Lorber noticed were the baby's clothes — which are a usual indicator of a child's gender —were white, so the child could not be instantly labeled as "a girl" or "a boy" (13). But then as the father was leaving, she noticed that the child had earrings and flower-patterned socks which immediately marked the baby as "a girl." This example shows how the construction of gender starts from an early age: parents will dress their child in clothes that represent the child's sex category – sex category is assigned to a child based on child's genitalia at birth - and immediately child's sex category will begin to indicate the child's gender. Once a child starts talking, they will refer to themselves as a member of its attributed gender. In this way, gender and sex merge – a child's sex category becomes gender status through the employment of gender markers, naming, and clothes (Lorber 14). Early determining of child's gender blurs the line between these two categories - child's gender and child's sex - thus making them appear natural.

Since both gender and sex are typically seen as binary categories in the Western culture, people fall into one of two categories: male or female. This perspective on gender/sex has begun to shift, causing some opposition. One of the critics of binary categories is Judith Butler, an American academic whose works have influenced third-wave feminists. Butler argued, in 1999's version of *Gender Trouble,* that the distinction between sex and gender was made to indicate that

biological sex does not define gender: “If sex and gender are radically distinct, then it does not follow that to be a given sex is to become a given gender; in other words, ‘woman’ need not be the cultural construction of the female body, and ‘man’ need not interpret male bodies” (142). Thus gender is not as stable as sex is and is socially created. Butler goes a step further to say that action and speech are what constructs someone’s gender: what is meant by this is that gender is not innate, but rather a series of acts which, when constantly repeated suggest that gender is something that comes naturally to us (Duignan). This is what Butler calls “gender performativity.” Gender is essentially a repetition of acts socially ascribed to males and females. Dressing can be an example of a repetitive act. Judith Butler claimed in *Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory* that gender “is real only to the extent that it is performed” (527). In the preface of 1999’s version of *Gender Trouble*, she explains her arguments for viewing gender as performative: the concept of gender performativity aims to demonstrate that what is consider to be a core of gender is created through a continual sequence of acts, articulated “through the gendered stylization of the body” (15). For instance, uttering “It’s a girl!” to a newborn baby and continuing throughout the baby’s life is a performative act by which a subject is formed merely by uttering “It’s a girl.” In light of this, Butler further in *Gender Trouble* argues that “gender is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to preexist the deed” (33). What Butler meant by this is that gender is not natural as it often appears to be. Judith Lorber shares the same viewpoints as Butler. She states that people talking about gender is the same as fish talking about water (13). What this means is that many people do not think about their gender performativity, and it is rather something they do habitually. Gender appears to be almost imprinted into our DNA.

Judith Lorber argues that gender should not be related to biological and physiological differences found between females and males (17). Socially ascribed statuses constitute gender and thus these two terms are not equivalent. If gender is viewed as a social construct, it does not

necessarily automatically translate to a person's sex. Rather, the basic markers for socially ascribed statuses are some physiological differences: sex, one's developmental stage, and skin color. Lorber believes that no matter what "genes, hormones, and biological evolution add to social institutions", social actions modify them both materially and qualitatively (17). Each social organization has a material foundation; yet, culture and social behaviors change that foundation into something with fundamentally distinct patterns and limitations (Lorber 17). In the same vein, gender cannot be equal to sex. Societies of the West only have two genders: "man" and "woman"; while some Asian societies and societies of American Indians have three genders - along with man and woman, the third one are biological males, called *berdaches* or *hijras*, who behave and dress as women. Bolin explains that transvestite and transsexual people are the closest equivalents of such crossover genders, "but they are not institutionalized as third genders in Western societies" (53-54).

Judith Butler proposes in *Bodies That Matter* that sex is a social construct too (2-3). She points out that the only reason "sex" is classified in two existing categories is because of the social system of distinct and separate genders in society (2-3). For instance, people are not separated into brunette and blond categories with the assumption that the color of their hair will determine how they behave, speak or dress. If that were the case, there would be numerous stereotypes surrounding people with brown hair and people with blond hair. Sex, on the other hand, has relevance as a generic categorization system solely because of society's gendered organization. Nowadays, culturally everyone ought to be either male or female in sex; meaning that only these two options exist. As a result, children born with ambiguous genitalia are subjected to surgery to standardize their genitalia, transforming their bodies into either male or female. Therefore, Butler views sex as a social construct since the sex of people is changing to conform to society's norms.

3.1. Limitations of Gender Roles and Cross-Dressing

Binary oppositions found in society's mindset – men and women, for instance – limit society and the lives of people because they do not consider the existence of a third option and they eliminate the possibility of accepting certain unfavorable situations in contrast to the gender norms. Gender norms are societal expectations of individuals to act, behave, and speak in an appropriate way to their assigned sex. These expectations are the product of the interaction between an individual and their environment (Blackstone 335). Problems appear when people are categorized into definite roles because a person will feel that they have to belong to a single category only and thus identify themselves as a man or a woman. Societies across the world interpret biological distinctions between men and women to produce a set of expectations that define "acceptable" behaviors for men and women: for instance, dressing in pink, wearing make-up and nail polish would be deemed appropriate for a woman; whereas this would still not be appropriate for a man in a majority of societies. Gender roles can as well influence men's and women's different access to rights, resources, authority in society, and health behaviors.

Through practice of cross-dressing one can exceed those limitations. Cross-dressing is dressing in clothes typically associated with the opposite sex. There are various types of cross-dressing and various reasons behind why people cross-dress. A particular type of cross-dressing covered in this thesis will be that of drag. Cross-dressing is not a new phenomenon; cross-dressing has been used for gender disguise, drag in the contemporary world and throughout history. In the past, cross-dressing was mainly used by women to pass as men and in some cases, vice versa. For instance, some characters in Shakespeare's works, for instance, Viola in Twelfth Night disguised her gender and pretended to be a male page. The reason for cross-dressing might vary: some will engage in it because they enjoy wearing clothes associated with the opposite sex. Stereotypically gendered dressing assumes that men wear pants, dark and dull colors, and have

their hair cut short; while women should wear high heels, dresses, and vibrant colors. The occurrence of cross-dressing is today mostly noticeable in the music industry. Many musical artists use cross-dressing to challenge societal norms and to demolish those. A recent example of musicians who cross-dress would be 2021's Eurovision winners, Italian band Måneskin consisting of four members: Damiano David, Victoria de Angelis, Ethan Torchio, and Thomas Raggi. The motivation behind their cross-dressing lies in the idea that one should wear clothes that make one feel good about oneself. In numerous interviews, the band agreed that their cross-dressing is a matter of contentment as well as a way of weakening societal gender stereotypes. Some other musicians that blur the line between the stereotypically gendered dressing of a woman and a man are British singer Harry Styles, Puerto Rican singer Bad Bunny, and KPOP group BTS.

Drag is somewhat different from cross-dressing. Although cross-dressing is an act that drag is based upon, drag includes the element of performance. Previously mentioned Butler's concept of performativity applies to the example of drag. Drag refers to a practice of wearing clothes associated with the opposite sex as a performance. Butler in 1999's version of *Gender Trouble* further elaborates on gender performativity and writes "drag fully subverts the distinction between inner and outer psychic space and effectively mocks both the expressive model of gender and the notion of a true gender identity"(174). Furthermore, "In imitating gender, drag implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself – as well as its contingency" (175). Drag performers, based on this analysis, deconstruct some of society's most significant binaries: sex and gender; male and female; nature and culture. "Drag is an example that is meant to establish that 'reality' is not as fixed as we generally assume it to be" (24). A modern example of drag is RuPaul, an American *drag queen* and host of the TV series *RuPaul's Drag Race*. This TV series entails people dressing in drag and competing in weekly challenges.

4. FEMINISM AND THE CONCEPT OF QUEER

”Queer” is nowadays commonly used, and it is usually used as a synonym for gay (Marinucci 11). However, it was once considered quite offensive, a slur for those who violated the heterosexual norm (Marinucci 33). According to the *Online Etymology Dictionary*, the term “queer” went through several phases of semantic change: the first meaning of the word in 1500 was “strange, peculiar, odd, eccentric” (“queer”); by 1781, the meaning changed to “appearing, feeling, or behaving otherwise than is usual” (“queer”); and in 1922 “queer” was described in sense of “homosexual” (“queer”). Many members of the LGBT community who experienced verbal abuse of being called queer as an insult were shocked by the resurface of the term in the 1990s, stirred by a political forming of assertive LGBT activists and by contemporary academic scholars. The members of LGBT activist organization Queer Nation were initially resistant to the term’s return but eventually welcomed it by changing the language and methods of social movements, as well as an academic scholarship for the coming years. Instances can be found in manifestos and theoretical texts, such as *I hate straights* and Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble* both from the 1990s, and both presenting analyses of social alternatives to normative heterosexuality. Simultaneously, the word queer was gradually entering into the market and the public and at the beginning of the 21st century, it described virtually everything: starting with niche markets and then to student organizations (“Queer History | The American Historian”).

To account for the existence of a wide variety of people who do not adhere to the heterosexual norm, the approved sexuality paradigm has undergone a series of changes. The decades into the 21st century were marked with riots, most known as the Stonewall riots in1969, which were crucial for the gay liberation movement. The Stonewall Inn was a gay and drag bar in New York with a predominance of Black and Latino guests, and it was subject to police raids on occasion, as were many homosexual bars at the time. These raids typically resulted in arrests for

"wrongdoing": dancing, kissing, and cross-dressing. However, when Stonewall was invaded on June 28th, 1969, the guests fought back (Marinucci 30). It is often questioned what was the reason for the rise in the riots, but many, including Marinucci argue that these riots, along with the gay liberation movement, the women's liberation movement, and the Black civil rights movement, demonstrated a growing feeling of injustice in reaction to discrimination (30). A similar sense of injustice subsequently triggered a vital change in terminology – "gay" was primarily used when referring to gay men, instead, the term "homosexual" was used about gay men and lesbian women. But, the problem with this reference was that it did not represent the entire spectrum of heterosexual alternatives. Bisexuality, for instance, was often viewed as a temporal identity that one eventually overcomes, either by committing to heterosexuality or homosexuality (Marinucci 31). Therefore, to include a wider variety of identities, expansion of references to alternative sexualities, that is bisexuality, was imperative. GLB was an official abbreviation for gay, lesbian, and bisexual people. Seeing that women always tend to come in second, some individuals decided to reorder the letters, LGB, figuratively putting women ahead of men (Marinucci 31). The most recent inclusion, transgender, complete out a nowadays well-known list: LGBT. These identities on no account cover the list of alternatives to heterosexuality. Hence, the letter Q is often used as an additional category meaning "questioning", but more often it means "queer".

Queer is an umbrella term that encompasses a wide spectrum of identities and eliminates the possibility of excluding people that the LGBT acronym may exclude. Some people find the vagueness of the term "queer" appealing because it provides a sense of inclusiveness for those who do not want to label themselves "gay" or "lesbian", without the necessity for a more precise identity. From an institutional point of view, queer has been most closely identified with lesbian and heterosexual matters, although issues of cross-dressing, intersex, androgyny, and gender-corrective surgery are also covered in queer's framework. It even questions seemingly

unproblematic terminology like “man” and “woman” to prove the non-existence of any “natural” sexuality (Jagose 3).

According to Jagose, queer has been developed not just by lesbian and gay politics and philosophy, but rather by knowledge - that is historically distinct - that comprises late twentieth-century thought of the Western world (77). However, Marinucci argues that queer theory needed scholarly texts and theories that it could refer to after Teresa de Lauretis used that phrase to denote one of her conferences about lesbian and gay sexualities, the Santa Cruz conference (33). Texts like *The History of Sexuality* by Michael Foucault and Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble* are nowadays regarded as texts of queer theory (Marinucci 34).

Hanhardt comments how queer activism and theory are two different terms – while “queer” did resurface to denote the meaning of the gay and lesbian movement, many scholars and activists still argued whether “queer” was a new identity and might it merely relate to sex, gender, and sexuality as basic categories of distinction. Lisa Duggan, a historian, and Cathy Cohen, a political scientist, both made significant contributions to this discourse. Duggan observed in her essay *The Discipline Problem: Queer Theory Meets Lesbian and Gay History* rejection of liberal humanism, progressive narratives, and the identity-forming in queer theory (“Queer History | The American Historian”). Sequentially, Cohen in *Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?* accentuates how the usage of “queer” frequently reverted to a power perspective centered on the dichotomy of hetero- vs. homosexual thus neglecting the interaction of gender, race, and class (“Queer History | The American Historian”).

4.1. HIV/AIDS Epidemic

In the 80s and 90s of the previous century, feminists of the third wave initiated activism in various forms (“Third-wave and queer feminist movements”). One instance of activism from the

1980s is the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power, or in short, ACT UP ("Third-wave and queer feminist movements"). ACT UP organization was established for the purpose of pressuring the government of the United States and medical institutions to create inexpensive medications for individuals living with HIV/AIDS. In order to politicize feminist concerns and demands, third wavers started using new strategies. For instance, ACT UP began to employ intense street theater to bring to the public's attention the deaths and sufferings of individuals with HIV/AIDS, as well as to politicians and pharmaceutical firms that did not seem to care for an abundance of people dying. ACT UP organized "die-ins", inflated gigantic condoms, and invaded the offices of politicians and pharmaceutical CEOs ("Third-wave and queer feminist movements").

A virus that had previously emerged irregularly across the world began to spread throughout the United States in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Initially labeled a "gay illness", —because homosexual men were among the first to be infected — HIV and the condition it produces, Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, were unknown in 1981 but have since become household names and the number one danger to public health (History.com Editors). Activists were outraged by the portrayal of AIDS and homosexuality as synonymous, and they were afraid that such understanding would hinder effective action. They urged that the circuits of HIV transmission be reconsidered, not in terms of minoritized and so-called "risk groups", but rather in terms of universalized "risk behaviors", such as unsafe sex (Jagose 20). Since gay men were a group particularly affected by HIV, they were often discriminated against and blamed for the spreading of HIV. Homophobia — prejudice against homosexuals that manifests itself in legal restrictions, stigmatization, and even violence towards homosexuals — started to develop. In research from UNAIDS homophobia makes it difficult for LGBT individuals to obtain critical HIV prevention, testing, treatment, and care services (8).

Keith Haring, an American artist and activist, used his artwork to raise AIDS awareness and prevention to the public. As an openly homosexual man suffering from AIDS, he aspired to

overcome the taboo and stigma surrounding AIDS as a "gay disease." Haring's style and pictures allowed him to reach a wider audience and raise awareness about AIDS. He founded the Keith Haring Foundation in 1989, intending to provide funding and imagery to AIDS organizations ("Bio Keith Haring"). During his final years, Haring used his artwork to talk about his sickness and to raise AIDS activism and awareness ("Bio Keith Haring"). *Silence = Death* is one of his most known artworks, which is an adaption of a poster that eventually became connected with the ACT UP organization. At the center of this artwork is a pink triangle which symbolizes oppression since pink triangles were used during the Holocaust to mark homosexual people. Within a pink triangle are white stick figures representing the saying "see no evil, speak no evil, hear no evil" metaphorically symbolizing people suffering from AIDS who were silenced and neglected in society (Stuhltrager). Through his artwork, Haring wanted to address the issues of HIV/AIDS sufferers because there was not much being done about AIDS awareness at the time.

4.2. Adoption in Homosexual Families

Beginning in the 1970s, a few state courts affirmed transgender, homosexual, and lesbian parents' custody rights. Previously, homosexuals were not allowed to adopt children because their sexual orientation was considered a mental disorder. However, this began to change after the gay movement, with the emergence of a more open environment and the declassification of homosexuality as a mental illness. The first LGBT adoption took place in 1982 in California (Council).

Some argue that children require both a mother and a father to raise children well, while others believe that gender has no bearing on parenting. Those who agree that children require both a mother and a father to raise them continue to believe in distinct parental roles – mothers

are caregivers, while fathers finance the family. However, those different expectations for mothers and fathers have started to change.

Representation of a queer family that undergoes the adoption process can be found in the popular American sitcom *Modern Family*. This TV show perfectly depicts the story of first-time fathers who experience the good and the bad that comes with the adoption and parenting. Cam and Mitch are a homosexual couple who adopt a Vietnamese girl named Lily. Later in the show, the couple decides to adopt another child and in these scenes, the adoption process is described in a more detailed manner – even the executive producer of the show said they wanted to portray the adoption process accurately to show the audience that adoption is a long process which involves numerous interviews, home visits and even meeting with birth parents. Adoption by same-sex couples may be challenging since many people view gay and lesbian couples with children as dangerous. The reason is that gay and lesbian couples are eliminating distinctions that distinguish them from the heterosexual majority (McCutcheon 17). Therefore, with the normalization of adoption to non-heterosexual families, the line between heterosexual and homosexual families becomes blurred. Despite the belief that a child needs a mother and a father to grow stably, the situation in the world is changing. According to Munsay, recent research shows that children adopted by homosexual families are as well-adjusted as those adopted by heterosexual families. The number of children raised by LGBT parents has increased tremendously throughout the years. A recent verdict of Croatia's administrative court regarding adoption in same-sex marriages is an instance of changing times. In the month of May, this year, all gays, lesbians, and bisexuals who have entered into a life partnership can become adoptive parents. The verdict also confirms life partners must have the same rights as spouses in all proceedings (Obitelji).

5. CONCLUSION

This paper aimed to give insight into the three waves of feminism, which have marked the 20th century. Feminism, in short, is the advocacy for women's rights on a social, political, and economic level. The history of the feminist movement divides into the following three waves: the first wave was concerned with women's right to vote in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Unfortunately, due to the First World War, many feminist activities were stopped. But voting rights for women were obtained in 1919 in Britain and the US. The second wave started in the 60s and lasted till the 80s of the twentieth century. The main goal of feminists stayed the same – equality between men and women – however, second wavers were more focused on women's position in political spheres of life and dealt with inequalities in that area. Of a key role in this wave was Betty Friedan, author of *Feminine Mystique*, in which she criticized the idea that a woman could only find true happiness by staying at home and waiting for her husband. The notion of "separate spheres" was introduced in this period. The domestic sphere belonged to women and concentrated on housekeeping and childcare, while the public sphere belonged to men. The number of women who came out on the streets and demand equality has increased since the publishing of Friedan's book. The third wave began in the 1990s and the third wavers were dissatisfied with the failures of the previous two waves. Along with the fight for equality, the third wave was concerned with issues such as gender, body image, sexuality, and race. Another reason why the third-wave feminists were dissatisfied with previous waves was that until then feminism dealt with white middle-class heterosexual women and failed to take into account all differences that exist between women. That is why they stressed an inclusive approach that rejects any boundaries hence they do not want to be tied with the term "feminism", because of their belief that equality has been reached to some extent and that there were other, more urgent issues to solve.

The title of this paper indicates mentioning of the concept of “gender” and this was done by explaining the fundamental differences between sex and gender and mentioning scholars, such as Judith Butler and Judith Lorber, who argued that gender is a social construct and as such cannot be seen as a fixed category. Butler stated that gender is not innate and explained her theory on the example of drag. Moreover, Butler went a step further into the analysis and claimed that sex is also a social construct. Aside from mentioned scholars, the British pop girl group the Spice Girls also played a role in the third-wave feminism. With their “Girl power” mantra, they promoted the idea that women are powerful and allowed to be who they want to be.

The concept of “queer” was also analyzed in this paper. In the past, this term has been used as a derogatory term, while, nowadays, is usually used as a synonym for gay. However, queer is an umbrella term that does not limit itself to certain identities found in the LGBT acronym, thus many people who do not want to identify with labels “gay” or “lesbian” use this term. HIV/AIDS discourse is a topic important to the LGBT community. ACT UP organization played a key role in enabling LGBT people to open up about this issue and deal with it publically. The issue of LGBT adopting was discussed in the context of LGBT adoptions.

All three waves challenged the patriarchal society in some way. Feminists have been organizing activities for over a hundred years to fight for equality in society and a lot since the early 20th century has been accomplished, but there is more to be achieved. The topic of feminism is still relevant today and is present in one’s life more than one is aware. Feminism demolishes old-fashioned stereotypes and gender roles to help people live freely and to empower those who have felt oppressed in any way by traditional restrictions. There is certain fear today with labeling oneself as a feminist due to a vast number of definitions and this is evident in people’s, mainly men’s, behavior towards anyone who labels themselves as one. The root of this problem lies in the belief that feminism was always about women’s superiority over men. While this was never the case, consequences are seen in the society of the 21st century. The goals that

all feminists so far have accomplished should not be neglected and problematized, but rather seen as an opportunity to learn from them and focus on the end goal, that is, equality and acceptance of all people, regardless of their sex, gender and sexuality. With a genuine interest in this topic and a growing understanding that feminism benefits everyone, equality is forthcoming.

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7. THREE WAVES OF FEMINISM: CHALLENGING PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY AND INFLUENCING SOCIETY'S VIEW ON "GENDER" AND "QUEER": Summary and keywords

Feminism is defined as a social, political, and economic movement that primarily enabled women worldwide to gain equality between men and women. This movement can be separated into three waves: the first wave in which women advocated for their voting rights; the second wave in which women sought political independence, and the third wave which dealt with breaking down of essential notions of gender and with the reappearance of the term queer, no longer demeaning. Gender is distinguished from sex, in the sense that gender is a social construct. Gender is looked at from Judith Butler's perspective and her notion of gender performativity is analyzed and further elaborated on the examples of cross-dressing and drag. Queer was used as a pejorative term, but today it is an umbrella term for all people who do not conform to the LGBT acronym. HIV/AIDS discourse and adoption are two issues analyzed in the context of the queer community.

Keywords: three waves of feminism, equality, gender, cross-dressing, queer, HIV/AIDS

8. TRI VALA FEMINIZMA: POBIJANJE PATRIJARHALNOG USTROJSTVA DRUŠTVA I DJELOVANJE NA STAV DRUŠTVA O "RODU" I "QUEER-U": Sažetak i ključne riječi

Feminizam je definiran kao društveni, politički i gospodarski pokret koji je prvenstveno omogućio ženama diljem svijeta da postignu jednakost između muškaraca i žena. Taj se pokret može razdvojiti na tri vala: prvi val u kojemu se žene zalažu za svoja prava glasa; drugi val u kojem su žene tražile političku nezavisnost; i treći val koji se bavio dekonstrukcijom pojma 'rod' i afirmacijom izraza 'queer', koji se više ne koristi za omalovažavanje. Rod se razlikuje od spola, u smislu da je rod društveni konstrukt. Rod se promatra iz perspektive Judith Butler i analizira se njezin koncept performativnosti te je dodatno razrađen na primjerima fenomena transvestizma ('cross-dressinga') i 'draga'. 'Queer'se prije koristio kao pogrdan izraz, ali danas on pokriva sve one koji se ne identificiraju samo akronimom LGBT. Diskurs o HIV-u i AIDS-u te pravo istospolnih parova na posvajanje analizirani su u kontekstu 'queer' zajednice.

Ključne riječi: tri vala feminizma, jednakost, 'rod', 'cross-dressing', 'queer', HIV/AIDS