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**FEMINIST GAME:
UKRAINIAN SOCIETY AND EUROPEAN VALUES**

*When a woman became undiscriminated,
she obtained advantages over a man at the same time.
Sophocles*

The article examines feminism as a social and political movement, which goal is to eliminate the discrimination against women; it studies the main orientation of feminism: liberal and reformist, socialist, radical, socio-cultural, Marxist. In this research a political and historical approach is used, it finds out the combination of gender roles in the society.

Key words: feminism, genderology, Ukrainian society, the liberal-reformist, socialist, radical, socio-cultural and Marxist feminism.

The actuality of feministic movement research is caused by a keen necessity to reinterpret the polivariation of the globalized world's pictures and the role of the woman in it. The development of genderology in the Western society was connected with the sexual revolution in the 1960's. And at the beginning of the XXI century it acquired a perfect aspect. The post-Soviet society, including Ukrainian, is only joining the constructive combination of gender roles in the social activity, the proportional representation of female

and male will significantly enrich the society in the future, stimulate its creative energy, optimize a decision-making process to the benefit of different social groups.

A modern analysis of feminism as a philosophical concept of socio-cultural development is based on the substantial research and is in detail studied by A. San-Simon, E. Balayeva, T. Rubantsova, R.Owen, Charles Fourier [1–7].

The purpose of the study is caused by necessity of theoretical analysis of the phenomenon of feminism in contemporary social and political science. Feminism is a typically European phenomenon, philosophical concept of socio-cultural development of the ideology of equality of women, socio-political movement the goal of which is to eliminate the discrimination against women, to provide women alongside men with full rights in all spheres of human existence.

«Association 9», which appeared in Finland in 1966 and had an aim to achieve a gender equality declared: «The change of woman's position changes the status of a man.»

However, despite the dramatic changes in the European society, for which male values are typical: the government, the principle of violence and oppression. Strength and power are constantly established through aggression and expansion, they are considered to be a male culture. Thus a woman must be weak in a male society, because otherwise the archetype of a strong man is not possible. Without any suppression, it is impossible to become free. Therefore, the attributes of man in western moral are such values as equality, individualism, independence, women self-sacrifice, gentleness, emotionality, care.

Some researchers consider that the first to do research into feminism was Plato. He was the first in the history of philosophy to study the problem of women's social role in the state. Another group of researchers believe that the emergence of feminism refers to the Renaissance, with its cult of man. The first treatises such as Christine de Luzan and Cornelius Agrippa were written then, which told about the oppression of the individual women in the society.

The age of feminism is estimated at more than two hundred years. However, its first steps were known in the ancient times, and were made by a feminist-poet Sappho. The most common view connects the origin of feminism with the cult of man in the Renaissance. Thereby, the names of the first Italian female writers Izotty Noharolly, Laura Cherety and especially Venetian by birth, who worked in France, Christine Leaning (1364-1430), the Author of «The Book of the Ladies' City» are commonly mentioned [3].

The Great French Revolution stimulated the interest to women's status in the world. Naturally, the unequal status of the «weaker sex» had been thought of before. In the XVII century an idea appeared that woman was born with the same ability to be a free person of full value as a man. The Great French Revolution proclaimed the slogan of liberty, equality and brotherhood of all people regardless of their origin, which enabled women to desire equality. Olympia Rouge required to grant women civil and electoral rights and opportunities to hold a post. «If a woman is worthy to raise the scaffold, she is worthy to enter the parliament» were her well known words.

The European women took an active part in the social life during the whole XVIII century. A large number of women had economic independence, a right to the free access to public places, to organize their salons, which gave a possibility to interfere in politics. In common demands for freedom women requested the recognition of their rights to civilian life: to be educated, to work, to be respected in the family and society. In France, at the beginning of the French Revolution of 1789, the first magazine was published. It was devoted to women's struggle for equality. The women's revolutionary clubs appeared with the aim to take part in the political struggle. If the beginning of the emancipation of women dates back to the French Revolution, the emergence of the term «emancipation delafemme» to the era of the July Revolution of 1830.

The full emergence of feministic ideas in the Western society is associated primarily with the liberal philosophical tradition (J.

Locke, J.J. Rousseau, D.S. Miles), within which the theory of human rights was developing. Feminism grew on the basis of social utopias of A. Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, Robert Owen. The term «feminism» was introduced by Robert Owen. The concept of feminism in the scientific revolution was brought by French utopian socialist Charles Fourier in the late XVIII century. He believed that «the social status of women is a measure of social progress» and called feminists the supporters of women's equality [5, p. 35].

At the same time in England Mary Wollstonecraft published her book «On the conquest of women», in Germany a work by Theodor von Hippel «About the improving of female civil status» was published. The initial women's movement emerged during the War of Independence in the United States. Abigail Smith Adams was the first to defend women's rights. Her famous phrase went down in history. She said, «If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice, or representation». One of the first works, developing feminist ideas, was her book «Protecting the rights of women,» first published in 1792.

One of the most important events in the history of the emergence of women's movements in Europe became the petition to the British Parliament, signed by 1,500 women in 1866. It contained a demand to grant women the full electoral rights. The petition was ignored. In response, the organizers formed the «National Society for Women's suffrage» a year later. The members of this society were known as suffragists, since that time this word has served as a reminder of the petition, with which in the XIX century women appealed to Parliament to extend voting rights to them.

From the 1850's both in the Old and in the New World, the women of educated privileged class began taking a more active part in the society activity, demanding political equality. The main centers of struggle were in Great Britain and the USA in the second part of XIX century, therefore the English term «suffrage», which

means the electoral right in general, went down in history as the definition of a political direction in feminism. Friedrich Engels was the father-founder of gender feminism. In his work «The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State», he defined the oppression of woman as the most ancient and severe form of depression, which had not been in the history of mankind. A peculiar trend in feminism of the early XX century were anarcho-feminist organizations. American Emma Goldman was the theorist of anarcho-feminist («Red Emma»), which considered that a woman is rescued not by the right to vote and the right to choose work, but by the personal autonomy, psychological independence and freedom from the norms of «common morality.»

By the 60-ies of XX century the following areas of feminism had been formed in the Western society: liberal-reformist, socialist, radical, socio-cultural, Marxist, etc.

The representatives of the liberal-democratic feminism saw the problem of women's inequality in the absence of civil and legal rights or their insufficiency. The solution to the problem were socio-economic and legal reforms. Among the representatives of this trend are Betty Fridan and her supporters of the National Organization of Women (Gloria Stein, Bella Abzug, Shirley Chisholm). The liberal (or moderate) feminism has the longest historical tradition [7].

The first complete presentation of the principles of liberal feminism is considered the book by Mary Wollstonecraft «Justification of women» (1789). The book was primarily aimed at finding the ways to improve the status of women within the existing socio-economic structures.

Gloria Stein became the most influential American woman with «Harper 's Bazaar» magazine in September, 1983. She received this award for her work «A pink collar for ghetto». Her words «A woman always has a choice: feminism or masochism» are well-known.

Liberal feminism is based on the following beliefs: 1) all people have certain inalienable properties – capacity for intelligent,

spiritual activities and self-realization; 2) the exercise of these abilities may be protected by legislative recognition of universal rights; 3) attributed to gender inequality between men and women actually – a social construction, which is not set in «nature»; 4) social changes aimed at establishing equality can bring benefit by the appealing to the intellectual part of the community and using the possibilities of the state.

Liberal feminist discourse introduced the concept of «gender» as a means of understanding of all socially constructed characteristics, dividing them into men and women. A global feminism played a role in the development of feminist discourse, that is fighting with racism in North America and everywhere it defends «human rights of women.» Such documents as Statement of Intent national organization for women's rights and the Beijing Declaration became fundamental statements that reflect this discourse.

In socialist feminism (Zilla Eisenstein, Linda Gordon, Juliet Mitchell, Ann Oakley) Marxist and feminist views are synthesized. Socialist (or Marxist) feminism is based on the socio-established differences between men and women, and it sees the main cause of discrimination against women in the division of labor by gender (e.g., fixing a non-prestigious, low or totally unpaid areas of self-realization for women). Instead, the concept of cultural division of labor is proposed.

The main thesis of radical feminism (Kate Millet, Mary Doyle, Christine Delphi, Emma Goldman, Shulamit Fayrstoun) discrimination against women by gender (sexism) – is a consequence of universal activity of patriarchy as a system of men's domination over women. The main task of women's movement, as seen by radical feminists, is drastic change in the system of social relations in favor of women. The exceptional interest of men is to save the current system, therefore the representatives of radical feminism in their extreme manifestations declare their purpose of building a feminist-central society and the elimination of men as a class. In the research «Sexual Politics», Kate Millet argues that relations between

the sexes are sexual-political. Sexual politics correlates with patriarchy, men's power over women is a political system of government. Authority of men is demonstrated by the fact that at all levels the most important and significant positions are occupied by men. The dominance of men is also manifested in sexism and desire to humiliate the object of desire, so there is a combination of aggression and pleasure. Simone de Beauvoir could be called a representative of socio-cultural feminism, who in her work «The second sex» was the first to raise the problem of suppression. She showed that society constructs men's as positive cultural norm, and women's as a negative norm, the deviation from the norm. The cultural feminism appeared in the XIX century and is focused not on political transformations, but on a broader cultural transformation in connection with the appearance of women on the political arena. A cultural feminism focuses on the irrational and intuitive side of life, giving a great importance to education and independence and not appealing to the similarity of men and women as rational beings [1].

Josephine Donovan («feminist theory») argues that the revival of the idea of matriarchy was a reaction to the increasing enslavement of women of the West in the XIX century and a response to a social Darwinism as the dominant paradigm of that period. A social Darwinism turned into a weapon against the idea of matriarchy, explaining the evolution of social relations through survival in human society the fittest.

Margaret Fuller is considered to be the main among the feminists of a cultural trend. In the work «A woman in XIX century» she used the concept of organic development in order to encourage women to develop independence. She often used the metaphor where a person was compared with a family. A man as a family has a program, following which you can realize your potential. M. Fuller called women «... in common efforts to keep ourselves aloof from mundane care in order to discover their true nature.»

M. Fuller believed that feminine energy could radically transform the society, and the feminization of the society could lead

to a harmonious system of governance, end violence in all spheres, overcome destructive habits. The society could even stop the killing of animals for food. Thus, the feminists of the cultural trend argue the originality of woman and emphasize the inevitability of positive change in the society, if women were allowed to influence the social sphere.

Marxist feminism. Marxists were interested in women's status in the capitalist economy. The debate was around issues what value a woman produces: added value or use value. The connection of Marxism with feminism is not obvious, especially feminists doubt in the validity of «masculine» concepts and prospects for social development. But Marxism has much in common with feminist theories, moreover, Marxism is a theoretical source not only for social feminism but for all its forms on the whole, with its position about the oppression of women in the bourgeois family and the necessity for their appearance. Nowadays feminism is trying to reach a new level of their ideas directly using the Marxist thesis on raising of women's consciousness as an oppressed class, which must fight against patriarchal oppression.

The reluctance of feminists to use a «male» social theory had led to the fact that Marxism was served as a social or materialist feminism. One of the basic principles of Marxism developed in the «Critique of Political Economy» (1859), states: «A method of material production determines the social, political and intellectual processes in general.

Not a human consciousness determines its existence, but rather a social being that determines its consciousness».

The critics of a tender feminism were accused of they «are women who hate women.» Social feminists, as well as Marxists, are using a closed system. If a person criticizes a social feminism, it just proves that the person is poisoned by ideology of falocentrism. Single mothers, divorced or abandoned by men, are forced to care for their own children by themselves, also the women are easy prey of antimem propaganda.

An important thesis of social feminism is the concept of alienation. Marx believed that the roots of modern experience of alienation are in the conditions of capitalist production. Workers are not satisfied with their work, because they are unable to participate in the whole process. Their work does not belong to them, it belongs for the capitalist owner. Thus, a worker (woman) is a simple commodity. In work «German ideology», K. Marx, division of labor in the family is directly linked with the origin of ownership of one person over another person. Thus, Marx drew the first ownership of women's and children's enslavement by men.

Marx did not develop in detail the question of the nature of the family, as this nature, in his opinion, entirely depended on the economic structure. Friedrich Engels used the Marxist approach to the study of the family in his work «The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State» (1884). Early work in this area came from the fact that the couple «man and woman» was the first type of family. However, this view had changed under the influence of Lewis Morgan's «Ancient Society» (1877). Later, in a footnote to the third edition of «Capital» Engels wrote «Careful research of the life's conditions of primitive man gives the author an opportunity to suggest that not the family has evolved into a tribe, but, conversely, the tribe was the primitive and spontaneous form of human objects' connections on the basis of consanguinity, and later different forms of the family began to form due to the losses of tribal ties».

Engels developed the Marxist view of the family, using the scientific achievements of Lewis Morgan. He was the first to discover that the earliest social unit was a group, not a couple «man-woman». He believed that such a group was exogamous and matriarchal, where a relationship and offspring were determined by the maternal line. Engels linked stages in the development of the family with the changes of the production mode and said about the three forms of marriage. They correspond to the three stages in the development of human society. A group marriage was responsible to the period of savagery, pair marriage – to the period of barbarism,

and a monogamy with accompanying prostitution and adultery corresponds to the civilized society. «The development from lower to higher stages is noted by one peculiarity, especially a woman but not a man loses more sexual freedom of group marriage» and also economic independence [6].

A group marriage was connected with a matriarchal kinship. The installing of matriarchal type of social organization as a presupposition of human society was an important point in the development of Marxist thought. It became possible to say that the injustice to women and their exploitation have not been always existed, and appeared with private property and class conflict.

In contrast to the cultural feminists Engels pointed out different steps in the family development, and the emergence of the family was caused by a private property and commodity exchange. The transition from gathering to settled agriculture is marked on the stage of barbarism. At this stage a man gets an economic and political power.

The excess product and private property appeared , they led to the destruction of collectivism. Only a man benefited from this transition as «all additional product got to him.» At this stage of development the man took «his» family and settled on «his» land. It is considered to be a defeat of matriarchy, and the establishment of patriarchy with the «historic defeat of woman.» Civilization developed in connection with the exploiting class relationships that resulted in the oppression of women, that has survived till nowadays.

Marx and Engels, Lenin agreed that women should be more actively involved in the economic and political life. Marxists of the first wave, such as August Bebel, believed that resolving women's issue is similar the solution of the social question».

It was claimed that socialism liberates woman not only in social production, but in the marriage relationship. It was claimed that the economic emancipation would be also expected in their sexual life. Marx and Engels said that the «liberation of individual economy is inseparable from the development of the family.» In the

«Communist Manifesto» they advocated the destruction of the family, stressing that «the bourgeois family as such would cease to exist.» In his work» The doctrine of Karl Marx «Lenin wrote « The new form of family, the new status of women and the new terms of educating the younger generation are preparing the destruction of the patriarchal family.» At the same time it was foreseen the end of the domination of one sex over the other. The development of Althusser is a fundamental change in the Marxist feminist research.

In traditional Marxist studies the exploitation of women is often limited to an intangible superstructure. They found the emergence of the women's exploitation in family, analyzed family and sexual relations as part of an ideology. Many began to resort theories, such as psychoanalysis, and focused their attention on the gender socialization of communication with the outside class society.

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В статье исследован феминизм как общественно-политическое движение, цель которого в уничтожении дискриминации женщин; изучаются основные направления феминизма – либерально-реформистский, социалистический, радикальный, социокультурный, марксистский. В исследовании используется объединение гендерных ролей в общественной деятельности.

Ключевые слова: феминизм; гендерология; украинское общество; либерально-реформистский, социалистический, радикальный, социокультурный, марксистский феминизм.

У статті досліджується фемінізм як суспільно-політичний рух, метою якого є усунення дискримінації жінок; вивчаються основні напрями фемінізму – ліберально-реформістський, соціалістичний, радикальний, соціокультурний, марксистський. У дослідженні використаний політико-історичний підхід, з'ясовується поєднання гендерних ролей у суспільній діяльності.

Ключові слова: фемінізм; гендерологія; українське суспільство; ліберально-реформістський, соціалістичний, радикальний, соціокультурний, марксистський фемінізм.