"Kicking Ass is Comfort Food:" Buffy as Third Wave Feminist Icon

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Buffy: I love my friends. I'm very grateful for them. But that's the price of being a Slayer.

. . . I mean, I guess everyone's alone, but being a Slayer - that's a burden we can't

share.

Faith: And no one else can feel it. Thank god we're hot chicks with superpowers!

Buffy: Takes the edge off . . .

Faith: Comforting!

Buffy the Vampire Slayer, "End of Days" (7021)

I definitely think a woman kicking ass is extraordinarily sexy, always. . . . If I wasn't compelled on a very base level by that archetype I wouldn't have created that character. I mean, yes, I have a feminist agenda, but it's not like I made a chart.

Joss Whedon, "What Makes Buffy Slay?"

What accounts for the extraordinary feminist appeal of the hit television series *Buffy the Vampire* Slayer and how has its ex-cheerleading, demon-hunting heroine become the new poster girl for third wave feminist popular culture? In this chapter I examine Buffy through the problematic of third wave feminism, situating the series as part of a larger cultural project that seeks to reconcile the political agenda of second wave feminism with the critique of white racial privilege articulated by women of color and the theoretical insights afforded by poststructural analysis. I suggest that if one of the primary goals of third wave feminism is to question our inherited models of feminist agency and political efficacy, without acceding to the defeatism implicit in the notion of "postfeminism," then Buffy provides us with modes of oppositional praxis, of resistant femininity, and in its final season, of collective feminist activism that are unparalleled in mainstream television. At the same time, the series' emphasis on individual empowerment, its celebration of the exceptional woman, and its problematic politics of racial representation remain important concerns for feminist analysis. Focusing primarily on the final season of the series, I argue that season seven of Buffy offers a more straightforward and decisive feminist message than the show has previously attempted, and that in doing so it paints a compelling picture of the promises and predicaments that attend third wave feminism as it negotiates both its second wave antecedents and its traditional patriarchal nemeses.

"Third wave feminism" functions in the following analysis as a political ideology currently under construction. Buffy makes a similar claim about her own self-development when (invoking one of the more bizarre forms of American comfort food) she refers to herself as unformed "cookie dough" ("Chosen" 7022). Ednie Kaeh Garrison proposes that the name "third wave feminism" may be "more about desire than an already existing thing" (165), and Stephanie Gilmore has suggested that, ironically, the defining feature of third wave feminism "may well be its inability to be categorized" (218). Transforming such indeterminacy into a political principle, Rory Dicker and Alison Peipmeier state that one of the aims of their recent anthology, *Catching a Wave: Reclaiming Feminism for the 21st Century* (2003), is to "render problematic any easy understanding of what the third wave is" (5). While there are arguably as many variants of third wave feminism as there are feminists to claim or reject that label, the characteristics I have chosen to focus on here are those that provide the most striking parallels to *Buffy's* season seven: its continuation of the second wave fight against misogynist violence; its negotiation of the demands for individual and collective empowerment; its belated recognition and representation of cultural diversity; and its embrace of contradiction and paradox.

Combining elements of action, drama, comedy, romance, horror, and occasionally musical, *Buffy* sits uneasily within the taxonomies of television genre. Darker than *Dawson*, and infinitely funnier than *Felicity*, *Buffy* was explicitly conceived as a feminist reworking of horror films in which "bubbleheaded blondes wandered into dark alleys and got murdered by some creature" (Whedon quoted in Fudge par. 2). From its mid-season U.S. premiere in 1997 to its primetime series finale in 2003, the chronicles of the Chosen One have generated, in the affectionate words of its creator and director, Joss Whedon, a "rabid, almost insane fan base" (Longworth 211). Subverting the conventional gender dynamics of horror, action, and sci- fi serials, as well as the best expectations of its producers, the series has followed the fortunes of the Slayer as she has struggled through the "hell" that is high school, a freshman year at U.C. Sunnydale, and the ongoing challenge of balancing the demands of family, friends, relationships, and work with her inescapable duty to fight all manner of evil. As the voiceover to the show's opening credits relates, "In every generation there is a Chosen One. She and she alone will fight the demons, the vampires and the forces of darkness. She is the Slayer."

Television critics and feminist scholars alike have been quick to appreciate the implicit feminist message of the series as a whole. Buffy has been celebrated as a "radical reimagining of what a girl (and a woman) can do and be" (Byers 173); as a "prototypical girly feminist activist" (Karras 15); and as a "Hard Candy-coated feminist heroine for the girl-power era" (Fudge 17). Her ongoing battle with the forces of evil is seen as symbolic of several second wave feminist

struggles: the challenge to balance personal and professional life" (Bellafante, "Bewitching Teen Heroines" 83), the fight against sexual violence (Marinucci 69) and the "justified feminist anger" young women experience in the face of patriarchal prohibitions and constraints (Helford 24). More metacritically, the series has been analyzed in terms of its "wayward" reconfiguration of the mind/body dualism (Playden 143), and its refusal of the "inexorable logic" of binary oppositions (Pender 43). Despite the fact that the series itself has ended, the furore of attention it continues to generate both within and outside the academy assures *Buffy* an active afterlife. The last two years alone have seen an online journal, three one-day conferences, and four anthologies devoted to the burgeoning field of "Buffy Studies," with at least another six publications, and three further conferences in the academic pipeline (see Badman; Lavery; Lavery and Wilcox).

But what propels such feminist fandom? What inspires this excess of affect? Rachel Fudge addresses this question directly when she writes that the impulse that propels Buffy out on patrols, "night after night, forgoing any semblance of 'normal' teenage life," is identical to the one "that compels us third-wavers to spend endless hours discussing the feminist potentials and pitfalls of primetime television." Fudge claims that Buffy "has the sort of conscience that appeals to the daughters of feminism's second wave," women for whom "a certain awareness of gender and power is ingrained and inextricably linked to our sense of identity and self-esteem" (par. 8). In her examination of Buffy as the third wave's "final girl," Irene Karras argues that Buffy's appeal lies in her intentional "slaying [of] stereotypes about what women can and cannot do." Karras applauds the show's combination of sexuality and what she calls "real efforts to make the world a better and safer place for both men and women" (par. 15). Blending an exhilarating athleticism with a compulsion to activism, Buffy's spectacular agency – her (literally) fantastic facility for kicking ass – has come to function as feminist comfort food.

When fellow Slayer Faith consoles Buffy with the thought: "Thank god we're hot chicks with superpowers" (epigraph above), the gesture is offered as sympathy and support, it helps to "take the edge off" the burden they "can't share." In this exchange, the Slayer's burden is assuaged in part by what Whedon (above) refers to as the "sexiness" of the Slayer; in part by the very exceptional qualities or superpowers that isolate her to begin with; and perhaps ultimately by the sharing of confidences, and by extension, of responsibilities. The "comfort" offered here is a complex conglomerate, and one that rewards further scrutiny. The title of this chapter, "kicking ass is comfort food," comes from the episode, "The Prom," which occurs immediately

prior to season three's apocalyptic Ascension. Buffy has just been told by her lover, Angel, that – in the event that they survive the imminent end-of-the-world – he will be abandoning their relationship and leaving town. To complicate matters, a jilted senior denied a prom date has secretly been training hellhounds to attack partygoers wearing formal attire. Buffy's mentor Giles attempts to console his devastated charge with the conventional cure for a broken heart:

Giles: Buffy, I'm sorry. I understand that this sort of thing requires ice cream of some sort.

Buffy: Ice cream will come. First I want to take out psycho-boy.

Giles: Are you sure?

Buffy: Great thing about being a Slayer – kicking ass is comfort food.

("The Prom" 3020)

Kicking ass becomes comfort food for Buffy when her supernatural abilities provide her with an extraordinary outlet for more conventional frustrations. Action – in this case a cathartically violent form of action – serves up a supernatural solace for a range of quotidian, human afflictions.

Kicking ass offers Buffy psychological and physical relief: it allows her to simultaneously redress straightforward social evils and to palliate more personal sorts of demon. For the feminist viewer, the spectacle of Buffy kicking ass is similarly comforting; equally, exhilarating and empowering, Buffy provides the compound pleasures of both the hot chick and her superpowers. Recent feminist critiques of the heteronormative assumptions and moral policing that underlie second wave theories of visual pleasure ensure that as feminist viewers, we too can find the spectacle of "a woman kicking ass . . . extraordinarily sexy" (epigraph above, see also Stoller; Johnson). At the same time, as Elyce Rae Helford has argued, Buffy can stand metaphorically for young women everywhere who are angered by having "their lives directed by circumstances or individuals beyond their control" (24). In an era which can sometimes seem saturated with condemnations of feminism's increasing frivolity, Buffy's indomitable militancy – her unrelenting vigilance – can be consumed by the feminist spectator as primetime panacea. Buffy's predilection toward, and consummate abilities in, the art of kicking ass thus simultaneously soothe and sustain, inspire and incite the compulsion to feminist activism.

While over the last seven years the series has addressed a staggering range of contemporary concerns – from the perils of low-paid, part-time employment to the erotic

dynamics of addiction and recovery – it is significant that *Buffy's* final season makes a decisive shift back to feminist basics. Season seven eschews to a certain extent the metaphorical slipperiness and pop-cultural play that is typical of its evocation of postmodern demons and instead presents a monster that is, quite literally, an enemy of women. The principal story arc pits an amorphous antagonist, The First Evil, against the Slayer and her "army," a group that has swelled to include in its ranks "Potential" Slayers from around the globe. Staging the series' final showdown with a demon that is overtly misogynist and creating an original evil with a clearly patriarchal platform, *Buffy's* season seven raises the explicit feminist stakes of the series considerably.

Unable to take material form, The First Evil employs as its vessel and deputy a former preacher turned agent-of-evil called Caleb. Spouting hellfire and damnation with fundamentalist zeal, Caleb is, of all of the show's myriad manifestations of evil, the most recognizably misogynist: "There once was a woman. And she was foul, like all women are foul" ("Dirty Girls" 7018). Dubbed "the Reverend-I-Hate-Women" by Xander ("Touched" 7020), Caleb is a monstrous but familiar representative of patriarchal oppression, propounding a dangerous form of sexism under the cover of pastoral care. "I wouldn't do that if I were you sweet pea," Caleb at one point warns Buffy; "Mind your manners. I do believe I warned you once" ("Empty Places" 7019). At other times he calls her "girly girl" ("End of Days" 7021), a "little lady" ("Empty Places" 7019), and, once (but only once), "whore" ("Touched" 7020). Buffy's response (after kicking him across the room) is to redirect the condescension and hypocrisy couched in his discourse of paternal concern: "You know, you really should watch your language. Someone didn't know you, they might take you for a woman-hating jerk" ("Touched" 7020).

In comparison to the supernatural demons of previous episodes Caleb's evil might seem unusually old-fashioned or even ridiculous, but successive encounters with the Slayer underscore the fact that his power is all the more insidious and virulent for that. Mobilizing outmoded archetypes of women's weakness and susceptibility: "Curiosity: woman's first sin. I offer her an apple. What can she do but take it?" ("Dirty Girls" 7018), Caleb effectively sets a trap that threatens to wipe out the Slayer line. Within the context of the narrative, his sexist convictions: "Following is what girls do best" ("Dirty Girls" 7018), and more importantly, their unconscious internalization by the Slayer and her circle, pose the principal threat to their sustained, organized, collective resistance.

In its exploration of the dynamics of collective activism, *Buffy's* final season examines the charges of solipsism and individualism that have frequently been directed at contemporary popular feminism. "Want to know what today's chic young feminist thinkers care about?" wrote Ginia Bellafante in her notorious 1998 article for *Time* magazine: "Their bodies! Themselves!" ("Is Feminism Dead?" 54). One of the greatest challenges Buffy faces in season seven is negotiating conflicting demands of individual and the collective empowerment. Trapped by the mythology, propounded by the Watcher's Council, that bestows the powers of the Slayer on "one girl in all the world," Buffy is faced with the formidable task of training Potential Slayers-inwaiting who will only be called into their own power in the event of her death. In the episode "Potential," Buffy attempts to rally her troops for the battle ahead:

The odds are against us. Time is against us. And some of us will die in this battle. Decide now that it's not going to be you. . . . Most people in this world have no idea why they're here or what they want to do. But you do. You have a mission. A reason for being here. You're not here by chance. You're here because you are the Chosen Ones.

("Potential" 7012)

This sense of vocation resonates strongly with feminist viewers who feel bound to the struggle for social justice. However, such heroism can still be a solitary rather than collective endeavor. On the eve of their final battle, after decimating her advance attack, Caleb makes fun of what he calls Buffy's "One-Slayer-Brigade" and taunts her with the prospect of what we might think of as wasted Potential:

None of those girlies will ever know real power unless you're dead. Now, you know the drill . . . "Into every generation a Slayer is born. One girl in all the world. She alone has the strength and skill" There's that word again. What you are, how you'll die: alone.

("Chosen" 7022)

Such references make clear that loneliness and isolation are part of the Slayer's legacy. Balancing the pleasures and price of her singular status, Buffy bears the burden of the exceptional woman. But the exceptional woman, as Margaret Thatcher and Condaleeza Rice have amply demonstrated, is not necessarily a sister to the cause; a certain style of ambitious woman fashions herself precisely as the exception that proves the rule of women's general

incompetence. In one of the more dramatic and disturbing character developments in the series as a whole, season seven presents Buffy's leadership becoming arrogant and autocratic, her attitude isolationist and increasingly alienated. Following in the individualist footsteps of prominent "power feminists," season seven sees Buffy forgoing her collaborative community and instead adopting what fans in the United States and elsewhere saw as a sort of "You're-Either-With-Me-Or-Against-Me" moral absolutism ominously reminiscent of the Bush administration (see Wilcox), an incipient despotism exemplified by what Anya calls Buffy's "Everyone-Sucks-But-Me" speech ("Get It Done" 7015).

The trial of Buffy's leadership is sustained up to the last possible moment, and its resolution repudiates recurring laments about the third wave's purported political apathy. "According to the most widely publicized construction of the third wave," write Leslie Heywood and Jennifer Drake, "'we' hate our bodies, ourselves, our boring little lives, yet we incessantly focus on our bodies, and our boring little lives. . . . 'We' believe that the glamorization of nihilism is hip and think that any hope for change is naïve and embarrassing" ("We Learn America" 47). Jennifer Baumgradner and Amy Richards respond to such allegations directly when they write "imagine how annoying it is to hear from anyone (including the media and especially Second wave feminists) that young women aren't continuing the work of the Second wave, that young women are apathetic, or 'just don't get it." Baumgardner and Richards state that they have reacted "by scrambling to be better feminists and frantically letting these women know how much we look up to them." Ultimately, however, they have "refused to accept this myth" (85).

Drawing attention to the Slayer's increasing isolation, Caleb highlights the political crisis afflicting her community, but in doing so he inadvertently alerts Buffy to the latent source of its strength, forcing her to claim a connection she admits "never really occurred to me before" ("Chosen" 7022). In a tactical reversal Giles claims "flies in the face of everything . . . that every generation has ever done in the fight against evil" ("Chosen" 7022), Buffy plans to transfer the power of the Chosen One, the singular, exceptional woman into the hands of the Potentials; to empower the collective, not at the expense of, but by force of, the exception. In the series finale, "Chosen," Buffy addresses her assembled army in the following terms:

Here's the part where you make a choice. What if you could have that power *now*? In every generation one Slayer is born, because a bunch of men who died thousands of years

ago made up that rule. They were powerful men. This woman [pointing to Willow] is more powerful than all of them combined. So I say we change the rules. I say *my* power should be *our* power. Tomorrow, Willow will use the essence of the scythe to change our destiny. From now on, every girl in the world who might be a Slayer, *will* be a slayer. Every girl who could have the power, *will* have the power. Can stand up, will stand up. Slayers – every one of us. Make your choice: are you ready to be strong?

("Chosen" 7022)

At that moment – as the archaic matriarchal power of the scythe is wrested from the patriarchal dictates of the Watcher's Council – we see a series of vignettes from around the world as young women of different ages, races, cultures and backgrounds sense their strength, take charge, and rise up against their oppressors. This is a "Feel the Force, Luke" moment for girls on a global scale. It is a revolution that has been televised.

In transferring power from a privileged, white, Californian teenager to a heterogeneous group of women from different national, racial, and socio-economic backgrounds Buffy's final season addresses, almost as an afterthought, the issue of cultural diversity that has been at the forefront of third wave feminist theorizing. Garrison has drawn attention to the connections between Chela Sandoval's articulation of "U.S. Third World Feminism" and U.S. third wave feminism, representing the latter as a movement fundamentally indebted to the feminist critique articulated by women of color. Garrison claims that, "unlike many white feminists in the early years of the Second Wave who sought to create the resistant subject "women," in the Third Wave, the figure "women" is rarely a unitary subject" (149). This understanding of third wave feminism is borne out by Baumgardner and Richards, who argue that "the third wave was born into the diversity realized by the latter part of the second wave," a diversity represented by the works of African American and Chicana feminists, third world feminists of color and U.S. third world feminists (77). Heywood and Drake make the third wave's debt's to third world feminism explicit when they state that the arguments that women of color scholars introduced into the dominant feminist paradigms in the 1980s "have become the most powerful forms of feminist discourse in the 1990s" ("We Learn America" 49). They claim that:

Although we owe an enormous debt to the critique of sexism and the struggles for gender equity that were white feminism's strongest provinces, it was U.S. third world feminism that modeled a language and a politics of hybridity that can account for our lives at the

century's turn. ("Introduction" 13)

From some of its earliest incarnations academic third wave feminism has presented itself as a movement that places questions of diversity and difference at the center of its theoretical and political agenda. However, as Stacy Gillis and Rebecca Munford have pointed out, the "extent to which third wave feminism has learned how to incorporate, rather than to exclude" (5) remains an issue for ongoing concern. Examining what she sees as the serious limitations of predominantly western third wave feminism, Winnie Woodhull warns that the third wave risks repeating the exclusionary errors of earlier feminist practices. "Given the global arena in which third wave feminism emerges," she writes, "it is disappointing that new feminist debates arising in first world contexts address issues that pertain only to women in those contexts" (6). Woodhull claims that the significance and potential of third wave feminism "can be grasped only by adopting a global interpretive frame, that is, by relinquishing the old frameworks of the west and developing new ones that take seriously the struggles of women the world over" (6). In its most rigorous and responsible guise, then, third wave feminism's call for cultural diversity is the political response to the critique of white racial privilege articulated by second wave feminists of color, and the theoretical consequence of incorporating the discourse of difference elaborated by poststructural theory more broadly. In its less careful incarnations, as Buffy demonstrates admirably, it can perform the very strategies of occlusion and erasure that its more critical proponents are at pains to redress.

Buffy's racial politics are inarguably more conservative than its gender or sexual politics, a situation pithily summarized by one of the few recurring black characters of the show's first three seasons, Mr. Trick: "Sunnydale. . . . Admittedly not a haven for the brothers – strictly the Caucasian persuasion in the Dale" ("Faith, Hope, and Trick" 3003). While the final season of the show has seen an expansion of Buffy's exclusively white, middle class cast with the introduction of character Principal Robin Wood and the international expansion of the Slayer line, such changes can easily be dismissed as mere tokenism. Season seven makes repeated recourse to racial stereotypes – most notably in its primitivist portrayal of the "First Slayer" and the "Shadow Men" as ignoble savages, and its use of formulaic markers of cultural difference to distinguish the international Slayers. As Gayle Wald has warned in a slightly different context, feminist scholarship must be wary of uncritically reproducing simplistically celebratory readings of popular culture that focus on gender performance "as a privileged site and source of

political oppositionality," and in which "critical questions of national, cultural, and racial appropriation can be made to disappear under the sign of transgressive gender performance" (590). A critical analysis of *Buffy's* racial representations need not be considered a critique of the palpable pleasures provided by the show, but rather, as Wald suggests, "a critique of the production of pleasure through gendered and racialized narratives that signify as new, transgressive, or otherwise exemplary" (595).

In extending the Slayer's powers to young girls across the globe, Buffy's season seven can be seen to begin to redress – albeit belatedly and incompletely – the national, cultural and racial privilege the show has assumed through its seven year cycle. Bringing ethnic diversity and racial difference to the Slayer story, a generous reading of Buffy's finale might see it as an exemplary narrative of transnational feminist activism. A more critical reading might see it as yet another chapter in a long, repetitive story of U.S. imperialism. I would suggest that these readings are not as inimical as they might initially seem; season seven's narrative implies that both of these readings are admissible, perhaps even mutually implicated. In her analysis of what she calls "the globalization of Buffy's power," for instance, Rhonda Wilcox has argued that "Buffy can be seen as both a metaphor for and an enactment of globalization" one that contemplates both its negative and positive aspects. Wilcox claims that the series celebrates capitalist institutions such as the mall at the same time that it recognizes and critiques the "cultural presumption" inherent in the idea of "all-American domination of the world . . . through the spread of technological goods and through governmental aggression" (see Wilcox). Similarly, I would suggest that the idealized vision of universal sisterhood with which Buffy concludes needs to be read against the immediate political context in which its final season screened; a context that illuminates some of the same gestures of cultural imperialism that the series elsewhere successfully critiques. Buffy's celebration of what is effectively an international military alliance under ostensibly altruistic American leadership demands special scrutiny in our current political climate. In the context of the indefensible arrogance of Bush's "War on Terror" and the spurious universalism of his "Coalition of the Willing" Buffy's final gesture of international inclusivity is imbued with unwittingly inauspicious overtones.

It would be a mistake, I think, to underestimate or to collapse too quickly the contradictions embedded in *Buffy's* cultural politics, contradictions that are in turn indicative of the crosscurrents that distinguish the third wave of feminism. The refusal of misogynist

violence, the battle against institutionalized patriarchy, and the potential of transnational feminist activism are issues that remain at the forefront of the third wave agenda, and themes that *Buffy's* final season explores with characteristically challenging and satisfying complexity. The fact that its success in critiquing its own cultural privilege is equivocal should be read less as a straightforward sign of failure than as a reflection of the redoubtable contradictions that characterize third wave feminism itself. Fudge has suggested that *Buffy* "constantly treads the fine line between girl-power schlock and feminist wish-fulfillment, never giving satisfaction to either one" (par. 17). Adopting one of the signature rhetorical and political strategies of feminism's third wave, *Buffy* has consistently welcomed such apparent contradiction with open arms. I suggest that in its examination of individual and collective empowerment, in its ambiguous politics of racial representation, and its willing embrace of contradiction, *Buffy* is a quintessentially third wave cultural production. Providing a fantastic resolution – in both senses of the word – to some of the many dilemmas confronting third wave feminists today, *Buffy* is comfort food for girls who like to have their cake and eat it too.

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