

**PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA**  
**MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND**  
**SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH**  
UNIVERSITY OF AMMAR THELEDJI- LAGHOUAT  
FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES  
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH



**Generational Differences in the Second and Third Wave**  
**Feminism: Reasons and Results**

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH IN PARTIAL  
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR MASTER DEGREE IN CIVILIZATION AND  
LITERATURE

**By:**

**Mezaoukh Mohamed Aymen**  
**Rakhrour Oumelsaad**

**Board of Examiners:**

**Mr. BAKHOUCHE Salah**

**Dr. GUELLIL Assia**

**Mrs. NOUIOUA Amira**

**University of Laghouat, Chairman**

**University of Laghouat, Supervisor**

**University of Laghouat, Examiner**

**Academic Year 2021-2022**

## **Acknowledgments**

We would like to thank our amazing supervisor **DR. GUELIL** for her consistent support and guidance during the running of this research. Furthermore, we would like to thank the jury staff and the rest of the teachers who contributed in the process.

## **DEDICATON**

I would like to dedicate this work of ours to whoever trusted the process, to my beloved mother and father, and to the teachers who helped me reach this point.

Let me not forget my partner in this research paper, Oumelsaad.

*Mezaoukh Mohamed Aymen.*

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate our work to my family and their belief in me, specially my mother and my father, as well as our supervisor who put much effort to help us overcome the difficulties we faced during the making of our research.

To my partner Aymen and to my best friends.

*Rakhrour Oumelsaad.*

## **Abstract**

Feminism is known for the huge changes it had witnessed during its long history. Yet, the conflict that occurred between the second and third waves marks a very important era. The second wave feminism fought to liberate women's body; meanwhile the third wavers came with the urge to liberate their actions.

This exploratory-analytical research aims to explore this conflict and shed light on the reasons behind it, its consequences on modern feminism as well as its relationship with the theory of generations.

According to the main results drawn from this research, the differences that emerged during the third wave are the reason behind problems within the movement, such as porn industry and the legalization of prostitution under the name of body freedom in addition to the promotion of mono-sexual marriage.

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# **General Introduction**

## General Introduction

Feminism in general is the movement that calls for equal rights of women compared to those men, naturally, have. However; it has no specific agreed definition, as it went through multiple changes and different generations and was divided into strands and waves .Feminism is not linear , there were ups and downs , wins and losses and times where it froze , so with these changes over time, feminism became a study material to show American society through women's eyes over centuries .

Despite the fact that the movement took long miles to end discrimination against women, sexism and all subjects of patriarchy and succeeded in making steps forward in gender equality in many aspects of life, the progression of the generations and different waves created an inside conflict between the traditional feminists of the second wave and the younger feminists of the third wave, the thing that suspected the main goals of the movement in the public eye.

Naomi Wolf said ‘no matter how wise a mother's advice is, we listen to our peers.’ in a direct way declaring the distance between the two generations, in our case it's between the women who had organized feminist groups and protests during the 1960s and 1970s, and their younger counterparts, who came of age in an era that was simultaneously more hostile to feminism and less restrictive of women. (Nancy Whittier) the 1980s was the decade of change, at a time where people started to ask ‘is feminism dead?’, the new feminism of younger women conducted new ways to be activists, way that go in parallel with their own lifestyle, which helps to emerge a generational divide and results in debates and shifts within the women's movement, although they were all fighting for the same goal, under one umbrella, that of ‘feminism’.

The main goal of this research is to shed a light on the journey of feminism over decades, exploring the reasons for the series of changes that began with the third wave of feminism in the 1990s, causing not only an inter-generational conflict with the second wave but also changing feminism's history as a whole, including an analysis of the main chronological differences and the social and political conditions that helped to create a new ideology within feminists community.

This study is an academic attempt to explore the causes and consequences of the generational conflict between the second and the third waves of feminism and answer the following questions:

- What was the origin of feminism in the United State?
- What changed during the third wave of feminism? And how did that occur?
- Why was there a generational gap? and what were the reasons and the consequences?
- How has the generational shift impacted feminism today?

This generational conflict was most noticeable at the social and political levels, which will be discussed in this study.

This exploratory analytical research paper focuses on following the timeline of feminism in the United States from the 1960s to the 1990s. The era that represents the period of the second and the third waves, and tracing the reasons that caused the generational conflict, the data used is selected from valuable and academic resources on the internet, articles, essays, and autobiographies, and using many famous books that had a big influence on feminism and discussed, partly or mainly, the inter-generational conflict between the two previously mentioned waves.

“Not My Mother’s Sister” by Astrid Henry who declared the resurrection of new waves or generation of feminism by younger feminists who are able to reform the movement in the way it serves their ideologies and conditions, in which they rebelled against their ancestors and traditions and minimized their achievements, the book also tackles comparisons between first and second waves, then second and third waves and analyze the relationships between each of them.

secondly, “Feminist generation” by Nancy Whitter where she followed the changing process that affected the term “feminism” over time, from the beginning of the second wave in the 1960s moving on to the backlash against feminism from the 1980s to the 1990s, which has a big role in shaping third wavers’ identity then analyzing the differences that led to the generational conflict. Many reviews on the book, claim that it is an important addition to women’s history. Then “American Women's History” by Susan Ware traces the multiple experiences of American women from the early days in many areas, such as politics and

culture the thing that may help to understand why each wave is being the way it is, and finally, Strauss and Howe theoretical book “Generations”.

The book describes what’s called the “peer-personality” of one generation who may share the same attributes, some of them, or almost none of them that every generation includes all kinds of people who share the same “age location” in history and the generation’s collective mindset of the individuals cannot help but influence them whether they agree or spend a lifetime fighting against. The origins of the generational theory or what is also known as Strauss-Howe theory belong to Karl Mannheim in his 1923 essay, ‘The Problem of Generations. Applying this theory to the generational conflict within the women’s rights movement may help to understand each generation’s point of view and what are the factors that lead to the end of a generation and the start of another.

The first chapter starts with an overview of the first wave of feminism and its beginning and the reasons behind it as an introduction to the second wave's appearance, passing to the main events of the second wave and its achievements. Second chapter deals with the social and the political reasons that participated in the falling of the second wave since they were the main areas of activism for the feminists at that time, then it jumps to the third wave and discussion of the most important points about it starting by the recognition of its existence in the early years of the 1990s, to the achievements young feminists conducted and what makes them different from earlier feminists. Finally, it will end with a small entrance to the generational conflict which would be the main subject of the next chapter. Then, the third and the last chapter carries an analytical study of the results of the questionnaire we made and use them to explore how the idea of the generations affects people on one hand, and the women’s rights movement on another, stating the factors, the differences and the reasons of the inter-generational conflict that shifted the definition of feminism in one decade, and how it affected American women generally and their political and social positions in particular.

# **Chapter 1:**

# **The Emergence of**

# **feminism in America**

## INTRODUCTION

After a long journey of making the world a better place by creating new rules and altering ancient concepts and thoughts, women were still striving and fighting for their rights at all times. Feminism has sparked an ongoing debate all across the world, with the goal of resolving women's issues and putting an end to the inequitable treatment of women. From generation to another, the feminist movement has fought for women's rights. Many scholars and activists believe that feminism has three distinct "waves", with the "Me too Movement" representing a contemporary fourth wave, the history of the feminist movement is far more complicated.

### 2. THE FIRST WAVE FEMINISM:

The metaphor of "waves" representing various surges of feminism began in 1968, when Martha Weinman Lear published an article titled *"The Second Feminist Wave"* in *the New York Times*. Lear's article linked the nineteenth-century suffrage movement to the 1960s women's movements. This new terminology quickly spread and became the accepted definition of feminism. Although the metaphor of "feminist waves" can help people distinguish between different eras of women's activism, it is impossible to pinpoint specific dates when each wave of feminism began or ended. In reality, each historical epoch was influenced by a long tradition of activism that cut across generational lines.

The first wave of the feminist movement is typically associated with the 1848 Women's Rights Convention. However, the collective activism of women in various other reform movements influenced first wave feminists. In particular, feminists drew strategic and tactical insight from women participating in the French Revolution, the Temperance Movement, and the Abolitionist Movement.<sup>1</sup> "NWHM"

#### 2.1 The Seneca Falls Convention:

Feminism as an ideology has emerged in the US in 1848. Though the roots of the efforts women had done go back to earlier dates, the first recognized convention which is known as the Seneca Falls convention that took place on July 19<sup>th</sup> 1848. The 'Seneca Falls Convention', originally known as the women's rights convention fought for the social, civil and religious rights of women.

The women's first meeting ever was held in 2 days, many women attended and at the second day, men were invited to attend and participate as well. The convention seemed like an interesting event to many people, but was a silly event to others, and that is what made the challenge harder for women.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Author, lecturer, and chief philosopher of the woman's rights and suffrage movements formulated the agenda for woman's rights that guided the struggle well into the 20th century. Stanton is a well-educated woman who became active in the anti-slavery movement and worked alongside leading abolitionists of the day including Sarah and Angelina Grimke and William Lloyd Garrison.<sup>2</sup> “ Debra Michaels, PhD,2017” Elizabeth happened to be one of the organizers who made a public speech in which she stated the goals and the purpose of the convention.

**“we are assembled to protest against a form of government, existing without the consent of the governed: to declare our right to be free as man is free, to be represented in the government which we are taxed to support, to have such disgraceful laws as to give man the power to chastise and imprison his wife, to take the wages which she earns, the property which she inherits, and in case of separation, the children of her love; laws test her against such unjust laws as these that we are assembled today.” Stanton**

Women, back in the day were fighting for some of the basic rights, such as freedom and fundamental rights. The government and the patriarchal system considered women as an owned object, each and every female belonged to her father while young, and to her husband when married. Men back then owned their money, their time and their property. No woman could afford to act freely and all the power was held between men's arms.

Another point is that of women's right to pursue their happiness, away from the belief that they belong in the house, rising children, cooking and cleaning as if they were created to live a life under the rule of men. *The declaration of sentiments* carried the latter issues, with an emphasis on the liberty of women to choose the way they live their lives.

The Seneca Falls convention was the first time that American women united and called for change. The call for vote was not the only thing on the program at Seneca Falls that July. In writing her demands, Stanton had consciously played on the nation's foundational principles, enunciated 72 years earlier.<sup>3</sup> Missy Sullivan

Like Thomas Jefferson, Elizabeth laid out the case against the ruling power, the American man, who “has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she has no voice,” Stanton read in her litany of charges against men. The convention caused quite a stir around the country, the critics rained on this convention shortly after since many newspapers mocked it with unflattering political cartoons.

Many articles ridiculed the convention as dull and uninteresting, or insane and ludicrous; some even declared equal rights for women to be a monstrous injury to all mankind. The wave of negative press was so humiliating for some of the participants to handle, particularly those who had signed the declaration of sentiments.

However, the public shaming did not stop the movement from going, the impact and the premise of the Seneca Falls convention was undeniable. Around one month later, a second larger convention was held in Rochester with the declaration of sentiments gaining more than 100 additional signatures.

One particular resolution in the declaration of sentiments would evolve into a fledged crusade, the demand for women’s suffrage, decades of political organizing; marches and protests would ultimately result in the 19<sup>th</sup> amendment, which guaranteed women’s right to vote.’<sup>4</sup> ‘Stanton. Seneca Falls Declaration and Resolutions.p73

Neither the evolution of feminism as an ideology nor as a movement would have happened without the Seneca Falls convention; it is what paved the way for feminism’s emergence, it leads us to the fact that the Seneca Falls convention signals the birth of the women’s rights movement.

The first wave was linked to the abolitionist movement in the United States at the time; both revolutions sought social transformation and freedom from oppression, The former stems from patriarchy, whereas the latter stems from racial intolerance. An example of the connection between the two movements can be found in the origins of the first feminist wave itself.

The right of women to vote in elections became the goal of the movement with the formation of the American Equal Rights Association in 1866. When this organization disbanded in early 1869, the National Women Suffrage Association (NWSA) was formed. The American Women Suffrage Association (AWSA) formed later that year.’<sup>5</sup> Tara Anand, “A brief summary of the first wave feminism.”

This first wave of feminism preceded later feminist social waves that broadened their scope to address race, class, sexuality, and gender identity. The first wave denotes the period in which figureheads advocated for women's rights and worked toward basic legal reform for single and married women. At times, this movement addressed working women's issues and earning a higher education, but most of the efforts concentrated on obtaining the right to vote.<sup>6</sup>

By the second decade of the twentieth century, this wave of feminism came to an end, it was often linked with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution (1920), granting women the right to vote. This was the major victory of the movement, which also included reforms in higher education, in the workplace and professions, and in health care.<sup>7</sup>

## **2.2 Daughters paving their way:**

After the Second World War, Women went back to their ancient role that consists of their duties inside the house, to marry and bear children, cook and clean which made them feel like the first wave hadn't given them enough rights. It wasn't until the early sixties that feminists started their revolution, it synchronized Betty Friedan's book "The Feminine Mystique", which criticized the postwar beliefs. There also were many similar feminist thinkers before Friedan, including Simone DE Beauvoir, The Feminine Mystique had a far greater reach, bringing feminism to the attention of everyday women, mothers, and housewives. The feminist movement took off, focusing on public and private injustices, such as rape, reproductive rights, domestic violence, and workplace harassment. The main reason behind the emergence of the second wave was the casual systemic racism present in society, which nobody found pleasant.<sup>8</sup>

## **3. THE SECOND WAVE FEMINISM:**

The second wave feminism or the women's liberation movement was a period of feminist activity that began in the early 1960s and lasted roughly two decades. It took place throughout the Western world, and aimed to increase equality for women by building on previous feminist gains.<sup>9</sup>

This movement began in the United States of America and subsequently expanded to other Western countries. While the First Wave was primarily concerned with the suffragette

fight for the right to vote, the Second Wave was more concerned with both public and private injustices.

According to “UrAkedmi”, a YouTube educational channel that deals with all kinds of literature, poetry and civilization topics, Second wave feminism was not as political as the former wave; it was a retort to women returning to their roles as housewives and mothers following the end of World War II. Men that had to leave the workforce to join the defense forces had returned and women were fired from their positions and replaced by men. ‘10

In the 1960s, 38 percent of American women who worked were mostly employed as teachers, nurses, or secretaries. Women were expected to return to their life as obedient and subservient spouses discreetly. Housewives were projected to spend 55 hours a week on domestic chores. Women, however, did not want to repeat these roles after having worked and been independent of male authority during the war, resulting in the Second Wave of feminism.’<sup>11</sup> Tara Anand

The protest movements of the 1960s inspired many white and middle-class women to form their own organized movement for greater rights, which is known as second-wave feminism, just as the abolitionist movement made nineteenth-century women more aware of their lack of power and encouraged them to form the first women's rights movement, which is sometimes called first-wave feminism. Many were older, married women who were dissatisfied with their usual duties as housewife and mother.

Freedom was pretty much the main reason behind the initiation of the second wave, the women of that era had enough of living under men’s wing and being under their control, they hated being seen and treated as an object that cooks, cleans, raises children and stays home all the time, especially when the most basic rights of theirs were prohibited. It was in the 60’s that women like Betty, Adrienne Rich, Audre Lorde and other intellectuals spoke up for the rest of their kind, revealing their desire to have a better life in such a messed up society, full of patriarchy. They all felt that men were their biggest enemy, men who raped women, men who took control over their belongings, and men who had all the power.

However, men were not as strong of an enemy as women’s silence; most women did not have the chance to speak because of fear, only those who had broken the barriers of fear could deliver the message. "I write for those women who do not speak, for those who do not

have a voice because they were so terrified, because we are taught to respect fear more than ourselves. We've been taught that silence would save us, but it won't." '12 Audre Lorde.p90

Audre Lorde, a Caribbean-American writer and activist, declared that fear and silence were more horrible than men, and that women were taught to respect men out of fear in hopes that it will save them from mistreatment, finishing her statement with a clear answer, that silence won't make any changes, perhaps make everything worse for women.

What really was a problem for the second wave is unity. Inspired by the abolitionist movements, women gathered and went on manifestations along with people who had rights to fight for as well like dark skinned people for example. They figured out that in order to make their voice heard, they had to unify and give their word a bigger echo. "The connections between and among women are the most feared, the most problematic, and the most potentially transforming force on the planet."13 Adrienne Rich.p184

Unity, after being reached, was a motive for women to start putting drastic changes to their lives; it had even woke a revolutionary soul in them. "Let us begin the revolution and let us begin it with love: All of us, black, white, and gold, male and, female, have it, within our power to create a world we could bear out of the desert we inhabit for we hold our very fate in our hands."14 Kate Millet. P.279

Before the emergence of this movement, people of color suffered and felt unaccepted by white people, but by the time it emerged, feminism made every woman feel welcome. There was no difference between a white and colored woman, it was a movement of humanity before being anything else, not only did it help women of color, it gave hope to all people of color.

### **3.1 CHANGE IS IN THE AIR:**

Freedom was a goal for women back in the 1960's, not only for the sake of it, but also to have power over themselves, only women could see the potential, the chances, the strength they had deep inside and the skills they could develop that would lead to many great accomplishments, whether in terms of their professional or personal life.

What felt freer than free to Boomers (Boomers is a reference to the generation that was born between 1946 and 1964) is more freedom, the whole movement or wave started to fight for more freedom. "Women's liberation did not see the female's potential in terms of the

male's actual; the visionary feminists of the late sixties and early seventies knew that women could never find freedom by agreeing to live the lives of unfree men."15 Germaine Greer, "A feminist theory of refusal".P164

The Quote above speaks about the differences between men and women in the time where women's liberation was on, Liberationists didn't seek equality only, they searched the globe for hints about what women's lives would be like if they were free to establish their own values, order their own priorities, and select their own fate, 'Arguing that equality would only make a woman feel at ease inside, but not to have broad hips and hairy thighs. Germaine Greer'16

The 1960s were filled with the prospect of imminent freedom, not just for women, but also for others more closely associated with the civil rights, anti-war, and women's liberation movements. Margaret Sanger and Katherine McCormick had championed the idea of female control over contraception in the years leading up to this decade, saying that real female emancipation was impossible without it. Their support for what one historian called "the contraceptive mentality," or the idea that a woman has the right to manage her own fertility, was a watershed moment in the evolution of feminist activism.'17 American Experience

Translating the quote in this image in relation to the pill had certainly given women power over themselves, since they could decide whether to give birth or not.

The contraceptive pill "Envoid" made it possible for women to control their fertility, it was to play a significant role in improving the professional opportunities for women. By no longer having to take complete responsibility for child-care and able to postpone when to have children or space births, women for the first time in history were able to continue their career objectives without being hampered by unexpected pregnancies.

I do not wish them  
[women] to have  
power over men;  
but over themselves.

Mary Wollstonecraft

[www.zoroboro.com](http://www.zoroboro.com)



The pill was the first medicine ever intended to be taken by people who were not sick. Even conservatives believed it may strengthen relationships by removing the worry of an unintended pregnancy and enhancing women's health. Its opponents, however, argued that it would promote sexual promiscuity, undermine the institutions of marriage and the family, and destroy the moral code of the nation.'18

### **3.2 Radical Feminism: the personal is political**

The second wave feminism is referred to the radical feminism, which is an important group and kind of feminism that believes in woman's total freedom and they believe that male-based authority and power structure leads to oppression and inequality in society. It is a perspective within feminism that calls for a radical re-ordering of society in which male supremacy is eliminated in all social and economic contexts, while recognizing that women's experiences are also affected by other social divisions such as in race, class, and sexual orientation.'19

Radical feminism is also a type of feminism, it's called radical because it opposes patriarchy, not men; radical feminists typically take a more militant stance than other feminists. A radical feminist seeks to demolish patriarchy rather than make legal improvements to the system. In addition, radical feminists oppose reducing oppression to an economic or class issue, as socialist or Marxist feminism has done or does.

Radical feminism was grounded in the larger radical contemporary movement. Women who engaged in the anti-war and New Left political movements of the 1960s were denied equal influence by the men in the movement, despite the movements' supposed underlying values of empowerment. Many of these women split off into specifically feminist groups, while still retaining much of their original political radical ideals and methods. "Radical feminism" became the term used for the more radical edge of feminism.

With many of their initial political radical objectives and strategies still present, many of these women broke off into particularly feminist organizations. The phrase "radical feminism" came to describe the more extreme side of feminism. In order to increase awareness of women's oppression, radical feminism is credited with using consciousness-raising organizations. The focus on sexuality was occasionally added later by radical feminists, some of whom transitioned to radical political lesbianism. Some key radical feminists were Ti-Grace Atkinson, Susan Brownmiller, Phyllis Chester, Corrine Grad

Coleman, Mary Daly, Andrea Dworkin, Shulamith Firestone, Germaine Greer, Carol Hanisch, Jill Johnston, Catherine MacKinnon, Kate Millett, Robin Morgan, Ellen Willis, and Monique Wittig. Redstockings, New York Radical Women (NYRW), the Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU), Ann Arbor Feminist House, The Feminists, WITCH, Seattle Radical Women, and Cell 16 are a few organizations that belonged to the radical feminist wing of feminism. In 1968, radical feminists staged protests against the Miss America pageants.<sup>20</sup>

### **3.3 Miss America Pageants:**

In 1968 and 1969, there was a competition called Miss America Pageants in which woman was presented as cattle to emphasize and highlight that the way woman looks, wears and speaks is more important from the way she thinks, believes and acts.

The Miss America contest started as a marketing ploy, like so many other things. It was first held in Atlantic City the weekend following Labor Day in 1921 as a method for newspapers to boost readership and for the resort's merchants to extend their lucrative summer season. Young women's photos were judged in contests sponsored by newspapers around the nation, and the winners traveled to Atlantic City to compete in a competition where they were judged on "personality and social graces". There was no equivocating. Women's beauty—white women's beauty—was a tool.

The pageant has changed over the years, though not always for the better. In 1938, the talent competition was started so that the young women would be evaluated on criteria other than just how they looked, but that tiny step forward also brought backwards. The pageant made the decision to only accept unmarried, never-married female contestants between the ages of 18 and 28 the same year. The pageant aimed to recognize a very particular and narrow type of beauty: the demure, slender but not too thin lady, the girl next door with a bright white smile, a flirty but not unduly coquettish demeanor, intellectual but not too smart, and undoubtedly straight. Even a "Rule 7" that required candidates for Miss America to be "of good health and of the white race" was dropped in 1940. The winner spent the entire year performing volunteer work, promoting sponsors' goods, and later entertaining American troops.

The radical feminist Carol Hanisch, who made "The personal is political" popular, was the one who came up with the idea for the rebellion in 1968. In the summer of that year, she

reasoned that "just might be the way to put the embryonic Women's Liberation Movement into the public arena" was to disrupt the beauty pageant.

Although the Miss America pageant has never been a progressive competition, in 1968 it helped to launch the feminist movement. Women who organized the inaugural Miss America protest did so in response to how the country as whole treated women, not only the contest and its outmoded, patriarchal views on women and beauty.<sup>21</sup>

About 100 demonstrators called attention to the way women's bodies were portrayed and exploited by gathering a heap of artifacts they called torture symbols and dumping them into a "freedom trashcan," including high-heeled shoes, hairspray, makeup, girdles, and many other objects that represented women's efforts to please men. Protesters crowned a sheep with the Miss America crown and paraded her down the boardwalk to suggest that women were judged like animals; their goal was to draw attention, disrupt organizers and contestants, and permanently tarnish Miss America.<sup>22</sup>

These tactics drew widespread attention; radical feminists excluded men from their demonstrations and emphasized their desire to live without male influence; some called for safe spaces free of male influence; and others argued that heterosexuality made women dependent on men and insisted that women separate from men entirely.

### **Conclusion:**

The 1980's saw the end of what's thought to be one of the toughest waves of feminism, after the huge efforts that were made by the baby boomers, it was time for a new wave, a new mindset and even what some called a 'new order generation' to take place. The new generation or the new wave wasn't less important than any previous generation; they had their own set of goals, thoughts, standards and norms, inheriting some standards from their elders.

# **Chapter 2**

## **Daughters taking the lead**

**Introduction:**

The primary objective of the 1968 protests against the strict beauty standards, which were primarily intended to objectify women for social and economic reasons, was to free women from the oppressive mental conditioning of what and how a woman should be and appear. This was the method that the radical second wavers used to oppose and spread the notion that women don't exist to appease men or to be considered as such just because of certain ridiculous or serious conditions such as shape and dressing or race and ethnicity, which made it even worse. This was one of the main arguments for the second wave of feminism, but difficult times are yet to come.

The second wave of feminism had a significant impact on American society on a variety of fronts, but as they began to celebrate their victory after two decades of struggle, they encountered numerous challenges that ultimately led to its downfall.

Some historians assert that the second wave came to an end in the late 1980s, just before the third wave's declaration, while others assert that it happened far earlier. What, then, were the causes of the second wave's demise, and when did it occur?

**2. The end of the second wave: Social and political reasons**

It has been claimed that the "second wave" of feminism took place between the early 1960s and the 1970s. To distinguish themselves from a "first wave," American activists used the term "second wave" to describe themselves. On the other side, the time after the "second wave" (the 1980s and the Reagan era), which had previously been characterized as a time of conservative opposition to feminism and a lack of activism, gave rise to a self-described "third wave" of feminism movement in the 1990s.(Molony and Nelson,2019)<sup>1</sup>

Before moving on to the causes of the second wave's dissolution, it should be noted that radical second-wave feminism was not the only movement in the 1960s to the 1970s. It grew out of leftist movements in postwar Western societies, among them were the student protests, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the lesbian and gay movements, and, in the United States, the civil rights and Black power movements. These movements criticized "capitalism" and "imperialism" and focused on the notions and interests of "oppressed" groups: the working classes, blacks, and, in principle, also women and homosexuals.(Kroløkke, Charlotte and Anne Scott Sørensen,2005,1-23p).<sup>2</sup>

## 2.1. Political reason:

We must examine the political climate from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, when there was a noticeable disorder among the feminist community, to understand how feminism transformed in the 1980s and how politics affected the activism of the second wavers.

New Christian right organizations claimed a great deal of responsibility for the conservative successes that followed Ronald Reagan's victory in 1980, the Republican capture of a majority of Senate seats, and huge gains for the Republicans in the House. Such assertions were not unchallenged. The Moral Majority and other conservative Christian organizations were argued to have had minimal influence on the 1980 election. (Miller and Wattenberg 1984, p. 301.)<sup>3</sup>

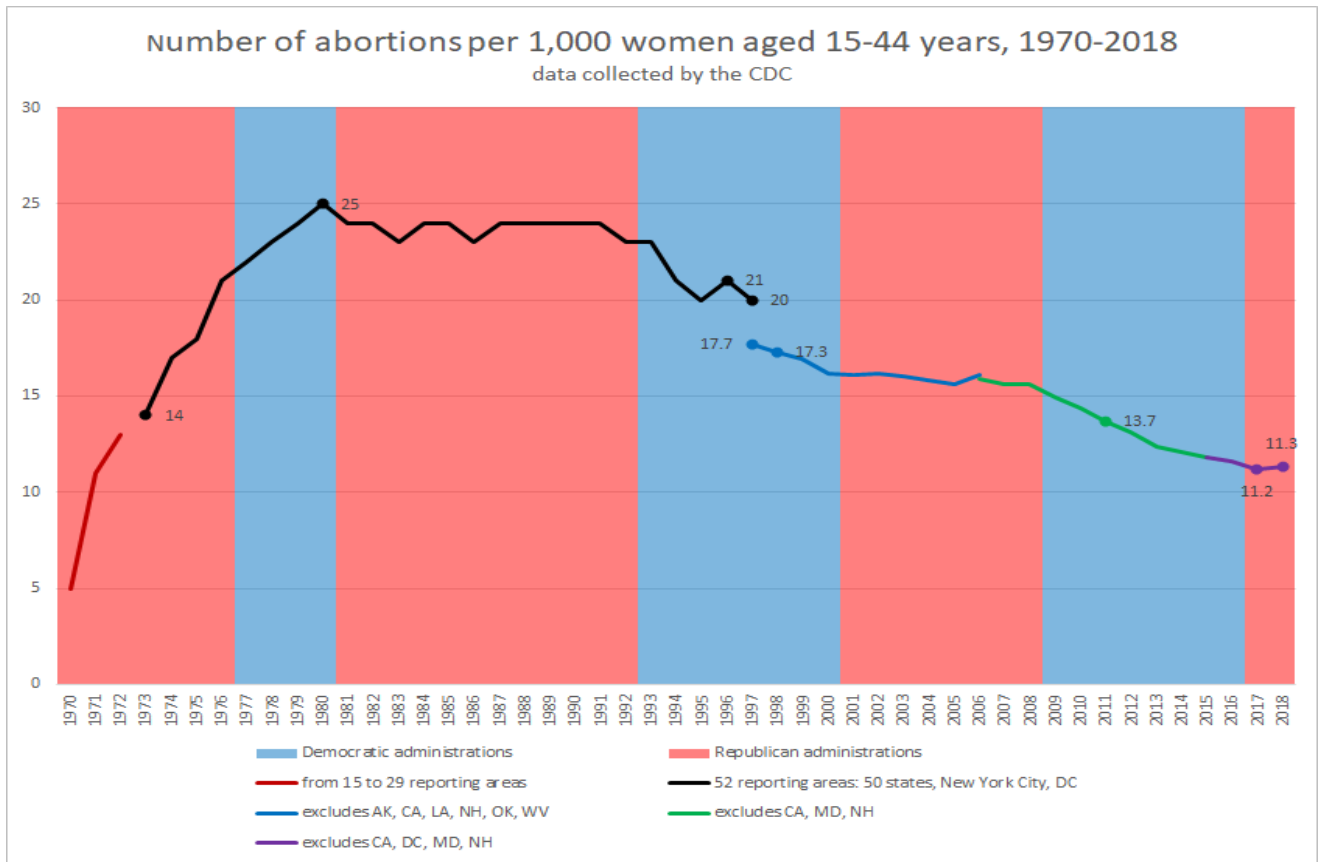
Ronald Reagan's presidency is regarded as one of the hardest times for feminists, especially when it comes to the abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment which were seen strongly related to the religious beliefs. Reagan's presidency was driven by religious motives with the wide spread of conservative Christian groups that called for the re-linking with the traditions; with his evangelical religious roots. As he discussed his second wife, Nancy Davis, and how he secretly wished she would stop working and return to her conventional role as a housewife, which she eventually did, Ronald Reagan's hate of feminism was not a secret, and his anti-feminist agenda was made very clear. (Coste,p.2) <sup>4</sup>

According to Reagan and the anti-ERA movement, women already have all the rights they require, and further feminism will only destabilize the American family structure. The STOP ERA campaign was organized by Illinois-based conservative lawyer and activist Phyllis Schlafly, who contended that the bill would eventually result in same-sex marriage, gender-neutral toilets, and women serving in war, among other things. (Wilfred U. Codrington III and Alex Cohen, 2020) <sup>5</sup>

Reagan was clever in his use of the Christian press to express his desire to go back to traditional life and reject all the excesses of the sixties culture, considering them as aberrations; "the time had come to run to God and reassert our trust in Him for our great nation's healing. We need to join forces to reclaim the great principles embodied in the Judeo-Christian traditions and in the Holy Scriptures. " ('Ronald Reagan Library,1965-1980')<sup>6</sup>

Reagan defended his support for abortion by citing his lack of experience while he was

governor of California. Otherwise, he consistently opposed abortion using the same justification as the Christian Right, namely that "more than 15 million unborn children" have been killed since 1973.



**Credit:** Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

Additionally, Reagan and his group opposed the Women's Economic Equity Act for a variety of reasons, including their belief that it was being passed only "for the purpose of doing something for women." " Politically, it would have given the federal government expanded anti-discrimination authority that went beyond what small-government conservatives, who pledged in 1980 to curtail Washington's interventionist machinery, referred to as "its legitimate role." similar to financial aid for divorced women, which the reaganites considered immoral because it was unfair to married women and might encourage them to divorce in order to benefit from the advantages of the divorced women, whose number had already increased since the 1960s due to the percentage of working women, female-headed household and same-sex families. Conservatives were extremely worried about the definition of "family" moving away from religious principles and toward a gender-based perspective. The Women's Economic Equity Act was unable to pass Congress without

the White House's support (Coste, p. 6). 7 And based on this, we can all agree that the Reagan administration was doubtlessly the worst for feminists.

## 2.2. Social reasons

A new phase of feminism known as "post feminism" emerged when feminists began to endure what has been referred to as "a backlash against feminists" as a result of the Reagan administration's policies toward women that caused them to lose the right to abortion as well as the ERA and the WEEA. The Term "backlash" has come to be used almost interchangeably with that other ubiquitous late 90s/early twenty-first century word, "post-feminism." Both of these terms are most often wielded as a kind of shorthand to identify and denounce examples of what are perceived to be anti-feminist (and in some arguments, even anti-women) emphases throughout popular culture(Braithwaite, 2004). 8

Backlash, as defined by the Oxford Dictionary, is a strong unfavorable response by a sizable population, particularly to a social or political movement. In "Backlash: The Undeclared War on American Women," Susan Faludi makes a strong case that backlash frequently follows feminist victories. Faludi believes that reaction discreetly undermines feminist liberation initiatives and advancements for women. Backlash as a method of opposing feminism develops out of fear of change (Mapes, 2016) 9.

Feminism, according to those who launched the backlash, made women unhappy. Faludi believed that the New Right movement in the United States, which promoted traditional familial responsibilities, was where "the backlash against women" first established itself (Susan Faludi, chap09) 10.

Anti-feminist beliefs claim that "feminism is terrible for women as well as society as a whole" (Victoria Brown, (2012): 905–920). 11. This view, of course, was propagated through a variety of political and media outlets, and by the late 1980s, feminism was on the edge of disappearing until emerging again in the early 1990s in sort of new wave by young free women .

### 3. Third wave of feminism:

**“I am not a post-feminism feminist. I am the Third Wave.”**

**Rebekah Walker**

The women's rights movement is back on the social and political scene after the backlash against feminism and the crises of post-feminism when it was difficult to tell who is a feminist and who isn't; not only as a new wave but as a new generation of young women with new concepts and different ways to express their vision of what feminism should be. It started in the early 1990s and has continued up to the present day, though there are doubts about the appearance of the fourth wave already.

The early feminism, which includes the first and second waves and everything they experienced, had a significant impact on the development of the modern feminism of the third wave, as did post-feminism. Susan Faludi's description of post-feminism as a devastating response to the ground gained by the second wave of feminism in "Backlash: The Undeclared War Against Women (1991)" is considered to be one of the most influential definitions of post-feminism through reference to a rhetoric in which she was clearly addressing individuals who believed post-feminism to be the third wave of feminism, which was not.

#### 3.1. Defining Third-wave Feminism:

The third wave of feminism is believed to have started in the early 1990s as a partial response to the issues brought up in the Hill-Thomas Senate hearings on sexual harassment, allegations of "post-feminism," and Time Magazine's 1998 cover story asking the question "Is Feminism Dead?" A "Third Wave Foundation" was established with the goal of enlisting and supporting feminists between the ages of fifteen to thirty in response to the Hill-Thomas hearings' misogyny and the twelve years of Reagan-Bush conservative policies. In addition, the emergence of punk bands like Riot Grrrls and "zines" resulted in the emergence of a new musical culture and media tools (Kathleen P. Iannello, p. 315 )<sup>12</sup>

**“women doing zines is a very political thing, because it's usually men's voices that are heard. Particularly white men's voices. And so for women to make a forum for themselves in which to speak is really a political act”.**<sup>13</sup>

Third-wave feminism is characterized by four recurring ideas: "(a) Resisting negative social messages about women, (b) recognizing connections and building collective identity, (c) claiming voice, (d) continuing to invest personally in the feminist struggle." They continue by pointing out that third wave feminism is, in many respects, a continuation of second wave politics and ideas with a stronger emphasis on exclusivity and multicultural issues." (Howry and Wood (2001) p. 326-333) 14

The problem, according to Anita Harris in her article "Riding My Own Tidal Wave," is not with the young women who were accused of being apathetic, but rather with the system used to categorize and classify these young women: "Many young women's activism and experiences are still not covered by these categories." The majority of the academics and journalists that write the papers claiming to be a summary of millennial feminism are white middle-class women. Most of the time, young women who are not a part of a formalized feminist movement have not created these criteria and categories.

Harris' point was that while many young women practice feminism and identify as feminists, yet they are not interested in being involved in any organization or within any category. But the media and other individuals merely used this as a marketing trick for their own profit. "Trying to sum up young feminism in a series of op-positional categories is a good marketing and media ploy, and it helps to sell some people's books, but it does not really get at the diversity of young women's feminism." (Harris ,Apr. 2001).15

In the same article, Harris declared that the new feminism has evolved into something more than just defending women's rights; it has evolved into humanism, in which young women are engaged in both specific issues affecting them in their own communities and global concerns:

**“Feminist activism might be girls organizing in children's clubs in Nepal, young women working against prostitution in Thailand and Burma, or girls in unions and associations fighting child labor and sweatshops in Vietnam and India. These are all examples of girls' feminist practice even though they have little to do with young feminist labels. “**

She also suggested three key features of feminism that are practiced in various ways by young feminists around the world every day; I have conveyed them literally:

A) It is diverse, multiple, and open to a range of viewpoints.

B) It uses technology, popular culture, and the media in many ways.

C) It is "do-it-yourself" (DIY) rather than leader-focused. Young women rejected.

The absence of leadership and individualism of most feminists are hallmarks of third-wave feminism. 'There is no requirement put on them to choose one or the other, or to try to homogenize issues into one big movement that might involve silencing or excluding some over others.' Harris said.

### **3.2. Hill/Thomas hearings**

The Senate Judiciary Committee's hearings on Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas were widely publicized. It drew the attention of millions of mystified Americans. President George Bush nominated Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court after the retirement of the first African American Justice, Thurgood Marshall, in July 1991. Thomas, a black federal appeals court judge, was well-known for his anti-affirmative action and anti-abortion views. The testimony of Anita Hill, who accused her former boss of sexual harassment, threatened to thwart his nomination. (Sylwia Kuma-Markowska)<sup>16</sup>.

Anita Hill is an African American attorney and professor who made history in 1991, when she testified before Congress in a televised hearing about sexual harassment she claimed she experienced while working as an aide to Clarence Thomas, who was her supervisor at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission at the time. In front of the all-white Senate, Thomas retaliated by denying the allegation and claiming to be a victim of high-tech lynching. The United States Senate voted 52-48 in favor of Thomas after a lengthy debate, and he was eventually appointed to the Supreme Court. As a result of the massive backlash she earned, Hill's reputation was ruined. In response, and in support of Hill, Rebekah Walker, the daughter of novelist and second-waver Alice Walker, wrote in *Ms. Magazine* in 1992, "Becoming the Third Wave," about how she is tired of women being silenced and men using their privilege to get away with sexual harassment and other forms of oppression. "So I write this as a plea to all women, especially women of my generation: Let Thomas's confirmation serve to remind you, as it did me, that the fight is far from over," she said, coining the term "third-wave feminism." Using this rejection of a woman's experience to awakening other women voices and turning them to a political power. Walker's strategies took the form of grants and prohibitions. Vote against them unless they work for us. Do not have sex with them, eat with them, or nurture them if they do not prioritize our freedom to control our

bodies and lives. I am not a feminist who believes in post-feminism. "I am the Third Wave," Rebekah Walker said. "I am not one of those people who sat transfixed in front of the television, watching the Senate hearings." I had classes to attend, papers to write, and the whole thing was excruciatingly painful. A black man was grilled by a panel of white men about his sexual deviance. A black woman claims harassment and being discredited by other women. "I could not bring myself to watch that sensationalized assault on the human spirit" she says. A panel of white men grilled a black man about his sexual deviance. A black woman claims she has been harassed and discredited by other women. "I couldn't bear watching that sensationalized assault on the human spirit," she says. The hearings, according to Walker, were not about determining whether or not Clarence Thomas harassed Anita Hill. They were about testing and redefining women's credibility and power. Can the experience of a woman adversely impact a man's career? Can a woman's voice, her sense of self-worth and injustice, challenge a structure based on our gender's subjugation? Anita Hill's testimony threatened to do just that.

If Thomas had not been confirmed, every man in America would be in danger. How many senators have never cracked a sexist comment? "How many men have not used their male privilege to undermine the influence or ideas of a female colleague, friend, or relative?"<sup>17</sup>

Following Hill's story, many other women had the courage to speak out about their own sexual misconduct experiences. If Thomas had not been confirmed, every man in America would be in danger. How many senators have never cracked a sexist comment? "How many men have not used their male privilege to undermine the influence or ideas of a female colleague, friend, or relative?"<sup>18</sup> Following Hill's story, many other women had the courage to speak out about their own sexual misconduct experiences.

This was one of two events that are widely regarded as having inspired a new generation of women's rights activists. Furthermore, beginning in the 1990s, underground feminist punk rock bands known as "Riot Grrrl" emerged. In response to various forms of sexism, feminist musicians decided to use their activism to organize a "girl riot." These women formed their own bands and launched publications devoted to women's empowerment. Much of their content dealt with sexism, patriarchy, abuse, racism, sexuality, and rape. Popular bands such as Bikini Kill, Bratmobile, and Heavens to Betsy are spearheading this activism trend. ('Feminism: The Third Wave')<sup>19</sup>

Statements from The Riot Grrrl Manifesto, published in 1991 in the Bikini Kill Zine 2:

BECAUSE us girls crave

records and books and fanzines that speak to US that

WE feel included in and can understand in our own ways.

BECAUSE we wanna make it easier

for girls to see/hear each other's work

so that we can share strategies and

criticize-applaud each other.

BECAUSE we don't wanna assimilate to someone else's

(boy) standards of what is or isn't.

BECAUSE we are angry at a society that tells us

Girl = Dumb, Girl = Bad, Girl = Weak ('Feminism: The Third Wave')<sup>20</sup>

### 3.3. Third-wave Feminism's issues

The issues and theoretical positions addressed by third-wave feminist activism were diverse. The following are some of the most important concerns for third wavers:

-**Women's violence:** such as rape, domestic violence, child marriage, and sexual harassment

-**Sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR):** everyone has the right to control their own sexuality and to make freely and responsibly decisions about their sexuality without fear of coercion, discrimination, or violence <sup>21</sup>. It also includes sexual and reproductive health, sexual and reproductive rights, and sexual and reproductive rights. ("Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR) - Ministry for Foreign Affairs")<sup>21</sup>

-**The Gender Wage Gap:** imbalances in average wages or salaries between men and women. (Medora W. Barnes, "Gender Wage Gap"). <sup>22</sup>

**-Gender Roles:** These are stereotypes regarding attitudes, characteristics, and actions that are imposed on men and women based on their gender. These kinds of assumptions are usually detrimental to society. (“Gender Roles: What Are They?”)<sup>23</sup>

**-Toxic Masculinity:** According to a study published in the "Journal of School Psychology," toxic masculinity is defined as "the constellation of socially regressive [masculine] traits that serve to foster domination, the devaluation of women, homophobia, and wanton violence." (“Toxic Masculinity: Definition, Common Issues, and How to Fight It”)<sup>24</sup>

**-The Pink Tax:** This is a feminist economic issue caused by society's gender roles, so everyday products marketed to women often cost more than nearly identical versions marketed to men. Pink razors and pastel-colored pens are two of the most frequently cited examples. Toys marketed to girls are also more expensive. On the website of a well-known big box retailer, for example, a pink Radio Flyer scooter was selling for twice the price of a comparable red scooter. (“The Pink Tax”)<sup>25</sup>

### **3.4. Third-wave Feminism’s accomplishments:**

The third wave emphasized collaborative rhetoric, which "creates new meanings for individuals' experiences through the interaction of many voices." This clearly relates to past consciousness-raising efforts, but it also resonates with the current Me-Too movement (Andersen).<sup>26</sup> Tarana Bruke, an African American social activist, founded the movement in 2006 on the social networking service Myspace to highlight the prevalence of sexual harassment, particularly among women of color. It gained attention in late 2017, when several high-profile actresses spoke out about their experiences with sexual harassment in the film industry.

Since then, the movement has served as a source of support for women of all backgrounds who have faced sexual harassment, most often but not always at the hands of a male colleague.. (“Me Too: Sexual Harassment Awareness and Prevention | Maryville Online”)<sup>27</sup>. Barbara Kingsolver wrote “If the Me-Too revolution has proved anything; it’s that women live under threat. Not sometimes, but all the time.”

#### **-Black Women Studies**

Because the third wave of feminism is known for its diversity, it has played a major role in the growth of Black women's studies, which is the development of creative tension

between Black womanists and feminists and White feminists, as well as between Black studies and women's studies. Black studies has always been defined as the study of black men and women, male and female, family and community. Early Black women's studies literature was built on and expanded in various fields in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly in literature such as "All the Women are White, All Blacks are Men, But Some of Us are Brave" by Barbara Smith ( Bank, Barbara J., Sara Delamont, and Catherine Marshall)<sup>28</sup>.

### **-Empowerment of young women**

Girls are forced by culture to choose between two very different identities: good girl or bad girl. In recent years, two factors have contributed to the emergence of a third identity, one that is less concerned with moral conformity and more concerned with empowering young women: jammer girl. The rise of the JAMMER girl can be traced back to the Internet and third wave feminism. ("LibGuides: Feminism: Third Wave")<sup>29</sup>

### **-Women's Rights Are "Human Rights"**

The slogan "women's rights are human rights" emerged during the UN Human Rights Conference in 1993, catapulting issues of violence against women into the international spotlight, leading to a UN General Assembly resolution on the abolition of violence against women. Previously, international human rights law was interpreted to only regulate conduct in the public sphere (for example, a state's use of torture), but the UN inserted the language of rights into the private sphere. This was a major victory for feminists in their fight against widespread violence against women. ("Women's rights movement")<sup>30</sup>

### **-Intersectionality**

With the arrival of third-wave feminism in 1989, civil rights activist and professor Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term "intersectionality." Intersectionality, according to the Oxford dictionary, is a network of connections between social categories such as race, class, and gender, particularly when this may result in additional disadvantage or discrimination. Kimberlé defines intersectionality theory as "the study of how different power structures interact in the lives of minorities, particularly black women," in light of the fact that they face both sexism and racism. In the meantime, intersectionality has emerged as the dominant way of conceptualizing the relationship between oppressive systems. "Women have different identities but also (...) they can come together around specific issues." Crenshaw defined intersectionality as the interaction of gender and race, claiming that "although racism and

sexism readily intersect in the lives of real people, they seldom do in feminist and anti-racist practices"(Zdenka ŠADL, Tajda FERKO p925) 31.

## **Conclusion**

Third-wave feminism arose from young feminists' discontent with their social and political positions, as well as the continuation of sexual discrimination everywhere and especially at work, in addition to their focus on other women who are not only white or only middle class, such as women of color, lesbians, bisexuals, and others. Rebekah Walker is a living example of a true third waver who, on the one hand, rejected all claims of feminism's futility and, on the other, broke away from traditional second wave feminism. It even admitted the failure of old feminists to cover and protect all women equally. In fact, some second wave feminists saw women of the same gender as an embarrassment to the movement. This new era of women's struggle is not just another wave, but a turning point in the history of feminism, with new definitions, tactics, and goals. Again, it is not just another wave, but a new generation that the ancestors of the second wave saw as reaching the highest peak this movement could ever reach, not knowing or understanding what these young ladies are thinking to add to their success.

**Chapter 3**

**The generational  
conflict:**

**Reasons and results**

## Introduction:

It was the 1990s. A third wave of feminism emerged as a result of a series of political, social and cultural events, just after the post-feminism decade, which was marked by a notable lack of feminist activities, feminism is back to the scene again. Post-feminism, that was not a real movement but an overreaction to the second wave of feminism, played a significant role in shaping younger feminists' rejection of the previous wave. Due to the efforts of post-feminism writers such as Naomi Wolf and others, who led harsh critiques of the second wave feminism, the two subsequent waves found themselves facing a generational conflict that was tackled in many academic women's studies, which admitted that the third wave feminism is unquestionably different from the second wave. The differences are based on chronological age as well as social and political changes.

The term "feminist generational conflict" demonstrates the existence of at least two generations of feminists in the United States during the second half of the twentieth century. Third wave feminists were identified as daughters. The thing that was neither fair nor logical to them was that the age difference between each wave's representatives was at least thirty years which is equivalent to one familial generation according to historians, which makes the two generations totally separated, in addition to that, the surrounding conditions, whether politically or socially, were not the same. Aside from the fact that each generation's starting point is different and for different reasons, so the goals and strategies will be different as well. Then how, when, and why did the second and third waves of feminism become involved in a generational conflict? What are the main differences among the two waves, and what are the consequences of this conflict?

## 2. About generations:

Karl Mannheim described a generation as : **“a community of date and space and a common location in the historical dimension of the social process, in which a generation encounter “the same concrete historical problem.”** It is also defined as an imaginary collective that both reveals truths about people of a particular age and tries to mold those people into a unified group.(Andrea Hajek, 224-244).Karl Mannheim argues in his famous work on generations that every thirty years, a new generation emerges. While he bases his understanding of generations on their emergence in society, culture, and politics, he contends

that "the sociological phenomenon of generations is ultimately based on the biological rhythm of birth and death.(Karl Mannheim, pp. 278, 290.)

The second and third waves of feminism fit Mannheim's concept perfectly. In fact, the launch of the third wave is commonly regarded as the beginning of a new feminist generation because it adheres to the 30-year structure: the second wave was born in the 1960s, and the third wave in the 1990s, which fits the familial generational model of 30 years.

Because they correspond to the familiar understanding of generations, the terms "second wave" and "third wave" appear coherent. Baby Boomers (people born between 1947 and 1961) are members of the second wave, while third-wave feminists are easily grouped into the larger category of Generation X. (people born between 1961 and 1981).( Neil Howe and William Strauss). The terms "Baby Boomers" and "Generation X" are used as generational categories to describe the shared historical experience of those born during a specific point in time.Sociologists who study generations, on the other hand, have argued that the historical events surrounding coming-of-age moments help to transform a random group of people of roughly the same age into a seemingly coherent generation. (Arlie Russell Hochschild,2000) which means that not only the chronological age differences is what makes a new generation to appear but also the surrounding conditions , whether they are political or social or even cultural .

Belonging to a generation is not always marked by the birth year , Although one is undoubtedly born into a generation, generations also entail what Mannheim has called a kind of "identity of location" in "the problem of generations." This refers to the idea that generational units must be created by actively identifying with their particular historical moment. In feminism generations, Rita Alfonso states, “There are women of my age group who identify with the struggles of the second wave of feminists in a straightforward manner, and there are women of the baby boomer generation who are acutely aware of the experiences and issues informing a third wave of feminism.” (Alfonso 1997)

What lead us to one conclusion,that belonging to a generation is not always restricted by certain conditions, it can be also an ideological choice.and this what Mannheim has called a kind of “identity of location.”in “the problem of generations.”which refer to the idea that one can be identified with a generation other than the one placed into by date of birth.

### 3. Generations of feminists: The main differences between second and third wave:

A thing to agree on is that every wave of feminism had, since the early days, one main goal which is to make women's lives as better as possible, and make sure they would be treated fairly and equally, but what was different are the ways, the strategies and even the demands sometimes. In this part of the research we are going to state these differences in order to explore the nature of the conflict or the lack of understanding between the waves, the second and the third to be precise.

The early years of the 1990s witnessed a remarkable change in the definition of the term feminism that was given by their ancestors, according to second wave feminists, who mainly were radical white-middle class women, second wave seeks to address the root causes of patriarchal oppression, not just legislative or economic changes(Cottais), which is way similar to the first wave feminism; however, the third wave formed ,by the young feminists, as a backlash to second-wave feminism 's essentialist views on women and the realization that women are of "many colors, ethnicities, nationalities, religions, and cultural backgrounds"("Definition of Third-Wave Feminism) but both have a mutual point that sees women as a collective group that has been and still is oppressed either by men or the system .

Because of the mutual, similar, historical struggle for women's rights, the second and first waves are identified together. That is what made the third wave of young feminists spearheaded not only by the previous wave, but also by the entire feminism organization. A generation is defined by the mutually shared experiences of its members. The identification of the second wave with the first wave provided feminists with a group identity in the 1960s. Third-wave, or "younger" feminists, on the other hand, derive their identity from their identification with and rejection of second-wave feminism.

American feminist writer Betty Friedan helped ignite the second feminist wave with her book "The Feminine Mystique." Released in 1963, Friedan builds on the foundation of Simone DE Beauvoir's work "The Second Sex", while the third wave emergence was declared in response with the publicized Thomas-Hill hearings and the effect of the best-selling feminist book: Susan Faludi's Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women. Despite the fact that the content of the two books is completely different, women from both generations were readers and educated enough to understand and be affected by them.

The second wave of feminism was divided into many types, including liberal feminism, radical feminism, Marxist feminism, and social and political feminism, and there were rumors about an internal conflict between them. Meanwhile, these types did not exist in the new generation but there were two contradictory opinions about the third wave, with some claiming that it is a new feminism with no links to the previous waves, which would be true if it concerned intersectional feminism or issues affecting women of color, which were not an essential case in the previous waves. However, third-wave feminists did not bring feminism into being; they did not create feminism from within, like second-wave feminists did, but their experience of becoming feminists and developing the women's movement, on the other hand, had a sense of newness, discovery, and rebellion; and this lies elsewhere, than in the act of making feminism, like in the conflict with the second wave. So the best to say is that in the 1990s, feminism was being reclaimed and reshaped by new generation of women.

Post feminism blamed the radical feminism of the second wave, both for not doing enough and for doing too much to change the lives of women, gaining their rights and making them miserable working women. Yet third wavers blamed them for victimizing women and obliging them to be categorized as if a woman is a woman only if she is a feminist, independent or working woman.

Third wave of feminism gave women the freedom to choose what to be and in which way they like since this whole movement was all about free choices. Within the new generation there were women who don't consider themselves feminists and don't find it necessary, and they still defending women and struggling for equality.

Unlike second wave which its main focus was on women, white middle class women to be precise, third wave feminism worked on larger classes including women of color, bisexuals, lesbians, children ...etc. Younger feminists charged their elders with racism, claiming that *The Feminine Mystique* and its "problem without a name" were only for white middle-class women: Women who needed to work to support themselves were oppressed in very different ways than women of color who were socially discouraged from working. Second-wave feminists, on the other hand, claimed that working outside their homes was not a major concern for black women, despite the fact that they were involved in another fight to stop forced and coerced sterilizations of women of color, which are grave violations of medical ethics and can be described as acts of torture and cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment. Ending a woman's reproductive capacity forcibly may result in extreme social

isolation, family discord or abandonment, fear of medical professionals, and lifelong grief (Crockett, Wight, 2020). It remains a woman's issue that should be addressed by feminism, so black feminists left feminism to found womanism. In 1983, Alice Walker wrote, "Womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender." ("The Feminist Waves")

In the opposite , Young women who were engaged in both specific issues that affect them in their own communities and in wider concerns that reach across the world, makes them not just feminists but humanists (Harris,p27-31)

#### **4. Is the inter-generational conflict real?**

Everything about the third wave of feminism demonstrates their rejection of the second wave, and the internal conflict within the movement was not hidden. The conflict was not just about chronological or political and social changes; the ideological perspective of the young feminists represented a significant break from traditional feminism on many levels, deeply affected by the generational gap that followed post-feminism and its impact on the second wave of feminism.

##### **4.1 Individualism in third wave**

Feminism began as a form of group activism. Seneca Falls' convention is a prime example of this. In addition to the second wave of feminists, who were most active in teamwork such as strikes and consciousness-raising groups of the late 1950s and the early 1960s, the new generation of feminists, predictably, took a different path of activism.

Third wave feminism is not generally thought of as an active movement because there does not seem to be a collective identity.in fact third wave feminism rejected the notion of collective identity, it is said that its members are not able to be categorized because they embrace the disunity.

Individualism is valued by young feminists who seek social justice and prefer to work in a diverse range of social contexts. paradoxically share a collective identity of rejecting the collective identity.(Kathleen. P.Iannello,chap 09,P315)

As previously mentioned, third-wave feminists criticized the second wave for its lack of diversity, that the second wave was mostly dominant by white, advantaged women. Third-wave feminism is multi-cultural, and known for its sexually diversion, with gay, lesbian,

bisexual, and transsexual perceptions and that's why it can't be represented or led by specific category that may not be aware of the issues of others.

#### 4.2 My body, my choice

Another example of how the second and third waves are taking very different paths in the fight for women's rights. Even if their intentions are mutual, young feminists appear to be abandoning their ancestors who, in their opinion, led American women of the 1990s to be the way they are.

As mentioned in the first chapter, On September 7th, 1968, SWFs reacted harshly to turning women's bodies into products with certain standards and treating them like animals in the beauty pageant "Miss America Pageants," which for them has always resembled anti-feminism, yet they are still criticized again for categorizing women and limiting and molding the character of the feminist, as if wearing makeup, a bikini, and participating in stereotypically feminine activities became contrary to feminist values.

Paula Kamen, in her 1991 "*Feminist Fatale*", found that when she asked 103 "non-activists" "What do you associate with the word 'feminist'?" the responses she got went like this: "I imagine: bra-burning, hairy-legged, amazon, castrating, militant-almost-antifeminine, communist, Marxist, separatist, female skinheads, female supremacists, he-woman types, bunch-a-lesbians, you-know-dykes, man-haters, man-bashers, wanting-men's jobs, wanting-to-dominate men, angry, white-middle-class radicals." (Donald I. Fine, 1991) As if the second wave desired to be more than equal to men, but to be men themselves. In other words, second wave feminism gave a general image of the importance of how they look more than what they really are fighting for.

Young women have supported "New" feminism because, as Kathy Bail thinks; they do not want to be associated with anything that sounds unfeminine, asexual, or implies inferiority. They did not want to appear as victims, but rather as sexy, attractive, and fun. Third wave was marked by the press and the media as a generation that is more interested in self-determination and individual decisions than in understanding and doing politics. So unlike older feminists' perception of the woman's body, TWFs supported porn industry

**The 1990s saw the normalization of the commodification of bodies of both genders, the development of the body as the hottest fashion accessory, the most valued personal asset, and the normalization of porn that occurred with the internet, Calvin**

**Klein and Victoria's Secret ads, among other factors...Furthermore, posing for sexualized images no longer carries the social stigma it once did. For much of the younger demographic, exhibiting a hot body is an intense sign of valuation and does not signify devaluation. (Heywood and Dworkin 2003, 88-89)**

On one hand, one of the consequences of making sex more accessible is do-me feminism, which is defined as a feminist who is interested in things that previous feminists rejected or who simply rejects sexual negativity. This is one of TWF's values, and it literally objects women. Do-me feminism celebrates sexualizing the appearance and behavior of women (such as exhibitionist stripping) as acts of female empowerment, combining the sometimes-opposing ideologies of women's rights and the sexual revolution... (Genz, Stéphanie and Brabon, Benjamin.2022, pp. 139-154.)

On the other hand, and over time, it has become much more dangerous with the appearance of what we call the "OnlyFans" website, which was launched in November 2016, where women of various ages began to expose their bodies in the form of pictures and videotapes for a fee. "Many girls from Generation Z have been making OnlyFans accounts and making easy money fast," according to Urban Dictionary. TWF thus affected not only Generation X, but also Millennials and successive generations." Fans," however, have to pay a monthly membership fee to "unlock" the creators content. Although OnlyFans advertises itself as a social media platform where any type of content can be sold, the truth is that the website is primarily used and known for pornographic and sexually explicit content. Police, policymakers, and the press have rightly increased their scrutiny of OnlyFans due to mounting evidence of child sex abuse material (CSAM, the more accurate term for child pornography), sex trafficking, harassment, doxing, cyberstalking, and image-based sexual abuse, among a slew of other harms and potential crimes. In August 2021, 101 members of Congress wrote to the US Department of Justice demanding that OnlyFans be investigated for reports of child sex abuse material and sex trafficking. ("OnlyFans - NCOSE")

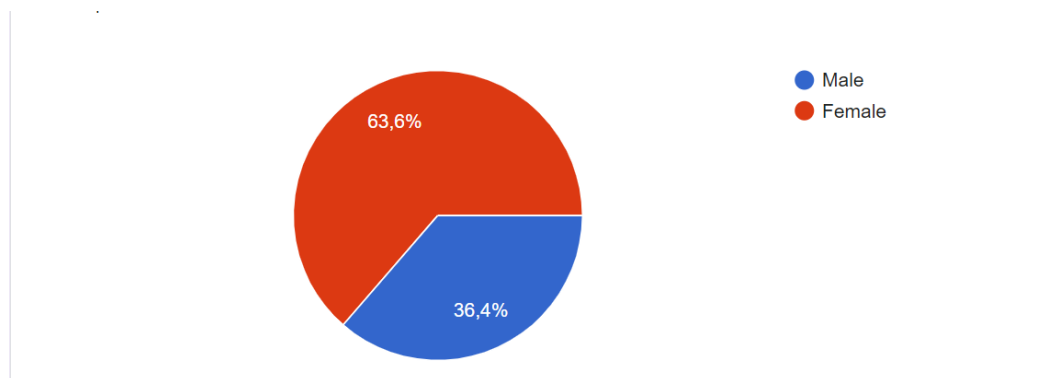
TWF worked not only to liberate women from men and society, but also from old feminism. However, along the way, they lost the lead and, paradoxically, it started defending a woman who was harassed but made many other women vulnerable to it. Nevertheless, this explains why second-wave feminists are angry at young feminists and their reshaping of feminism, but in the same time shows how TWFs were powerful, with no noise, using technology and indirect strategies to attain their goals, which mostly were seen as unnecessary

and negative for women. Everybody else stood against them even the other women, but they did not stop them in which we can sense the change they did the the American society.

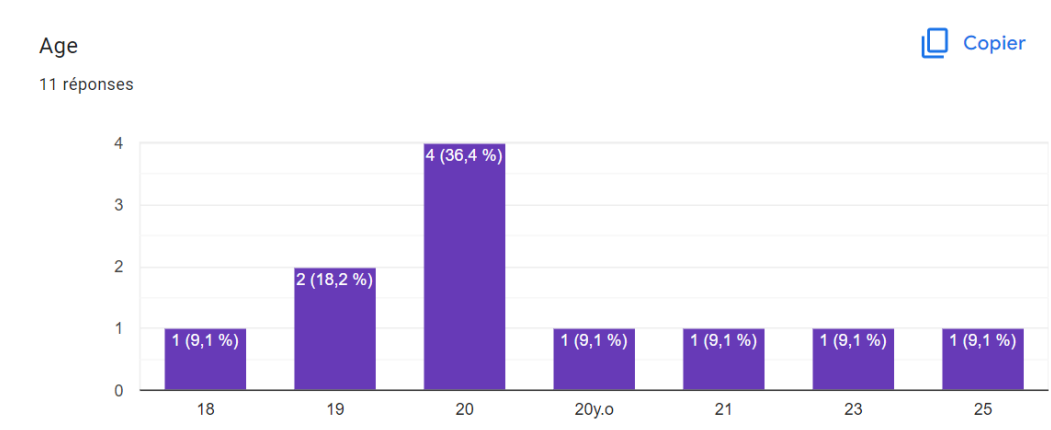
### 5. Analysis of the Questionnaire

In a questionnaire we have done about generations and feminism, we received the following answers:

*Percentage of genders:*



*Age of people who answered:*



### Question 01:

Do you think you belong to your generation ?

11 réponses

- Yes
- Yup, gen z all the way, sheeesh
- Yes, it's not really optional
- No
- partially
- sometimes I do, sometimes I don't
- yes
- Unfortunately no.. their inclinations arn't same as me

Analysis:

Around 50% of the people who answered feel like they belong to their generations in terms of thoughts, the other 50% don't share the same feeling, according to them, they think they belong to older generations due to the changes their generation carried.

Question 02:

Has the previous generation affected you in any way?

11 réponses

Yes

I mean, ain't the trauma enough effect?

It did, it mostly showed what I don't want for myself and for my generation

Yes, a somewhat closed mind mentality surely affects you

no, i found my way out

Doubt it

Yes my parents had a great affect on me

yes, the previous generation traumatized me (and I think many young adults like me) with thier high expectations and unrealistic standards

Definitely

Yes it has

no it didn't unlike this generation's doing .. affecting me greatly/ and this is due to the change between the origin of what we were and what is happening to us

Analysis:

80% of answers were yes, speaking of the traumatic negative effects the previous generations left them with, whereas only 20% weren't affected or at least found their ways out of what they called a "somewhat closed mentality" referring to how hard it was for them to be accepted by their parents, family or the older generation in general.

## Question 03:

Do you think gender issues are mutual problems among generations?

11 réponses

Yes

No

Oh yeah, the only diff is that internet gave access to open more conversation abt it

They are Ofc, the exact problems may differ from a generation to another, but there def are those which fall into gender issues category in each and every generation

Not really previous generations had a goal and purpose, this one just likes making tiktoks about being delusionals

no, each generation have specific beliefs about genders

yes

yes

Yes

no it wasn't prblm till this new generation where everything becomes strange .. ideas .. culture .. origin's gone slowly!

## Analysis:

Around 75% think that gender issues are mutual between generations, Stating that older generations faced these issues but weren't so obvious about them, and the difference between old and new generations is how global any issue could get thanks to the internet. while the other 25% claim that older generations had more goals and purposes than to pay attention to such "minor problems", they also think that standards have changed, carrying a huge change on the new generations.

## Question 04:

If you're a feminist, which wave you think represents your ideology? Explain briefly.

10 réponses

Talking labels, I'd say Intersectional feminism, but then again I believe in women's rights (and women's wrongs) in every way, and for all women, no matter their belief, ethnicity, background, sexuality, like I can't discriminate against one, feminism is for all

I don't really put a "wave" label on my definition of feminism, my beliefs are : i call for Freedom. Freedom is a human right that shouldn't be effected/taken away in the name of gender differences. When i say freedom, automatically basic other human rights will following-ly fall into it

The first ones, where woman had something to defend truly in the essence of making women equal to men and not superior, it was a humble admirable period of time that solidified the presence and resilience of women at that time

I'm not

Don't consider myself a feminist

i am not sure about which wave but definitely not this current one because its too contradicting and its attachment to the lgbtqa+ community because feminists should focus on the deeper issues effecting women world-wide.

I am a feminist because I think whether you're a female or a male, Young or old generation we all suffer from something called inequality it is the reality (that women suffer more of) in the sense that they are seen as less, inferior and unworthy compared to the other male species and this patriarchy system has created division between the two genders rather than inclusion

Liberal feminism

I'd rather say intersectional feminism but also influenced by my cultural and religious background

the logic one that we all know without mention .. the one that represent the origin of u and me and all of us!

## Analysis:

Most of the answers stated how corrupt and unjust the modern feminist movements are, as they fight for some illogical goals such as LGBTQ and supremacy over men, while stood with the first and second waves since they've fought for basic rights they actually needed, from this question and its answers, there's no need to question whether there was a conflict between the second and third wave since the second wave has its supportes( speaking 85% of the answers).

## Question 05:

What are the factors you think have the main role in creating new generations?

11 réponses

Religion education and behavior

I guess tech economic socio political advancement

#1 EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

#2 literature (all type literature, yes music is part ofc ) / social medias (being the main stream for the literature in the latest generations) books (being the main stream for literature for earlier ones).

#3 parenthood

I'd say these are the main ones in order, parenthood being the last, time to grow up and stop blaming our parents for everything / credit em for everything as well 😊

Culture and worldwide events that shape the time of which a generation lives in, for example baby boomers talk a lot about wars since they attended a lot of them, iraq, Syria, algeria and france...ect

since internet showed up, it's taking less years to create new generation, so it's a big factor

Change in the lifestyle, or just having an age difference depending on what you mean by generation

Definitely technology, the different believes, mindset among other things.

I don't think there are factors because everybody's different and everybody raises their children different but I think what we should keep in mind is that the world is constantly changing (for the better or worse) thus far the parenting ways of our fathers and grandfathers should also change not because we feel pressured but because we understand that maybe their ways were more suitable for them but that doesn't mean that they are always right

Social media / family

I don't understand the question

In the past, we adhered to a certain culture, unlike now, windows have opened to different cultures, which led to the creation of a new generation that sees all cultures as normal, and from here I can tell you that the first factor that contributed to changing generations faster is the communication tools

## Analysis:

According to the answers, parents, technology and social media have changed the concept of 'generation', since it made it faster to create a new generation with a whole different mindset, with more technology and less heritage, usually it takes up to 30 years for a new generation to form up, in the last decades, it took way less (around 10-12 years) to form new generations, ones which has affected adults as well. Another reason is connecting the world, culture used to be more of an identity to every community, now every community share and exchange cultures which made culture itself weaker.

## Question 06:

In your opinion what is the power of generations and how does it control the social terms?

11 réponses

Development and sticking to the identity by remaining always the same society and going in parallel with development

Each generation has its own stepping stone, with that they can put pressure on others, relate to each other and unite in certain occasions. Now if we talk about social influence, we must mention the stereotypes that come with a generation and the demystification of it. Gen z are considered completely useless and all about phones and all meanwhile they register lower levels of addiction, more creativity and they dominate the online game on social media and digital entrepreneurship, while other generations look down on them, they know they are a force and they don't listen to others

The power is literally it being natural, like the changes and growth and development and whatever happens between 1 generation to the next, the whole process being nature's work. I don't have a comment on it controlling social terms tbh

Each generation is different and thus has a different reach of power, you can not count previous gens as "powerful" compared to the dominance of gen z into the political spectrum which is equally as impressive as it is heart wrenching giving how stupid most of them are

Older generations have more experience and are usually seen as wise, people tend to follow what worked in the older generations instead of risking to fail

When a generation agrees on something enough to normalize it while it was a taboo thing in other generations it definitely holds power than for example abortion.

Whether we like it or not Boomers control the world we only follow certain religious beliefs or politics because we've been thought to do so since birth by our parents our teachers and the government. so generations actually has a lot of power over the social norms and terms however the uprising in generation is constantly fighting to change these outdated views and beliefs and other that's right or wrong it is unable that is going to happen because the Boomers were no longer control the world and that is a reality they also need to face

It can break or make the future.

I believe each generation add to the creation of new Cultural ideologies, these reinforced ideologies lead to the transformation of culture and thus society

## Analysis:

According to the answers, generations come with their own set of social terms, each generation brings its own terms to the table, the power of this change is the development, given examples of Gen Z developing a new way to capture financial freedom, working from home and having more chances of escaping what's called "the matrix" –a system that had been created by older generations to control the world's economy- the power of each generation is its development and the change it puts in the world.

## Question 07:

How does the new generation of feminists serve the journey of feminism?

10 réponses

Tbh, I'm not well versed in that, in terms of global feminist generations, but from I see around me, I find that later generations like gen z and millennials are more open minded and understanding meanwhile older generations are still held back by their biases

As far as I'm aware, right now it differs from society to another, based on my definition of feminism, the call for Freedom, today's feminists everywhere are either :

A. Living the freedom and proving that really it's not a threat to men if we're having the same rights, thriving in life and adding much to society the way we could've never bfr. And just proving that feminism is not a threat.

B. Still thriving to get to A's level, thankfully having the way already paved and tryna follow it through

C. Still suppressed, still chained by latter generations' social terms, tryna learn more about the whole movement but low-key.

D. Getting harassed, killed, raped.. I don't need to say more, in the name of.. Latter generations' social terms/ religion/... Lotta shit actually while it's just cruelty and evil in disguise ❤️

Evil manifests itself thru humans in various ways, it can always be sugar-coated

Nban m3amra cuz i am.

It doesn't, feminism lost it's cause of fighting and glory in my personal opinion there isn't much left for women to fight for politically and more that they have cultural/social issues to deal with like catcalling...ect

no idea

Mixed I'd say, women lose some of their privelages such as custody for their children or no having to work or pay, but they gain other privelages like more chances to work and more freedom

it helps women when it comes to women owning their body's, their sexuality, their competence in the career field and fighting the social misogynistic standards.

The old generation of feminists May gave us stuff like the right to vote the right to work the same jobs as men but they're still a lot of gaps that they didn't fill for example unequal pay where a woman and a man do the same job that there are paid differently or when a woman doesn't get the same privileges just because she isn't a man this is where the new generation comes where they recognize these gaps and they try to solve them walking on the same path and on the same footsteps as the old generation of feminists

Keep on calling for the rights we have always wanted

I do not know yet

إذا " my english isn't good that i can explain everything but if u really intresting abt my opinion translate this " كنت تقصد بالنسوية موجة النساء الذين يدعون للتحرر من كل معتقد و أصل على أساس انها الحرية التي تستحقها كل منا فأنا لست منهن إطلاقا لأنه صراحة بعيدا عن المعتقدات الدينية و التي هي المتضرر الأكبر من هاته الموجة هذا لم يخدم النساء بالشكل المطلوب لان ميول كل انتى نحو الاصل الذي أتينا منه كلانا او كلنا بالأصح .. بغض النظر عما تواجهه كل واحدة على حدا هذا ليس السبب الكافي لنتخلى عن أصلنا الذي صانتهن على عكس الآن بدل تحررهم من المشاكل العقائدية مثلما يزعمون اصبحت هاته المشكلة الأكبر لهم و كأنهم مترددون عما كان الحق في ما كانوا عليه أو ما يفعلونه الآن .. كتبت كثيرا لكن لن تفهمني لو لن اكتب لك مقالة بالشرح الواضح من الزاوية التي ارى منها الموضوع // أهناك سؤال يستحق النقاش  
In short, as a Muslim, it serves her negatively because all the influential women now are lost in creating content and not creating themselves for pass this life in the right way!

Analysis:

Generally, new generations are slowly destroying feminism, the way they're changing it for their own interests and not caring about the roots of this movement. What bothers the most is that new feminists weren't born to face the same issues as older feminists, and not even had the intensity of these issues been the same, old feminists are thought to be the roots of feminism, the ones who really had a purpose and a cause to stand for, while new generations are only carrying what's thought to be heritage, and messing it up with their new illogical goals and purposes.

**Conclusion:**

Because of the failure of second wave of feminism, a new generation of young women took charge and applied feminism in their own unique way. Because of the generational gap, which existed from the early 1980s to the early 1990s, the sociological map of feminism shifted to new areas, and instead of continuing their ancestors' struggle, they created new organizations for women's rights, which, of course, have their own negative and positive sides, that continues to be a debatable matter as long as the third wave of feminism continues to influence American society and affect American women. Unless a new generation comes along and changes things.

# **GENERAL CONCLUSION**

## General Conclusion

Feminism, just like any other movement the world has witnessed throughout years, has been developed and changed with due to many events and many figures, who, thanks to them, it transformed from an ideology to a movement with a huge set of standards, aims and goals. It is not a movement that was founded recently to look for a way out of the struggles its founders were facing, its history and heritage go back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, July of 1848 exactly, as well as the goals it fought for, feminism was founded to seek equality between men and women and to minimize the inhuman acts committed against women, also to minimize the supremacy men have had during the whole time.

It took far more than a hundred years and two waves for women to establish a legitimate movement and gain basic rights, speaking of social and brief political rights, the first and the second wavers were born to face real issues concerning their rights and really had fought in various ways in order to claim such basic rights, meanwhile younger generations opened their eyes to certain freedom and a huge heritage inherited from their elders. The first and second waves put a lot of effort to end discrimination, sexism and all sorts of patriarchy and succeeded in changing the position of women.

The third wave of feminists came to establish new sets of goals, which for them, was proceeding what their mothers were fighting for, but who would've thought that such a well-built movement would have a crack in the middle, this crack was the radical change that third wavers implemented on the movement as a whole, as well as the political and social changes that happened in the world by the 1990's. These changes led to a conflict between Gen Z and their ancestors, Millenials accused their daughters of ruining a heritage which they had been working on for decades, meanwhile third wavers thought of it as a development that came with their generation, denying every thought of being harmful to such a great movement.

According to many scholars, thinkers and writers, feminism was developing as every other movement was, but to feminists who really experienced the trauma and the struggle, third wavers were seen as the wave that'd demolish the efforts and achievements their elders built, we can take the issue of objectifying women as a great example.

According to our research, some factors changed during the emergence of the third wave, The political change that happened at the early years of the 1980s, followed by the harsh conservative days of Reagan-Bush that witnessed a backlash against the feminist entity which extended during the 1960s to the 1970s, which spread an anti-feminist ideology over a decade, were the main motives that third wave feminists are the way they are, on a hand rejecting second wave feminism and on another don't agree with post-feminism claims about feminism .Practically, the most important reasons why feminism changed were the misuse of youth power, as claimed by second wave feminists, as well as the technological advances and the use of previous achievements; the struggle became simple and accessible to any woman with a voice, without the need for organized meetings with other feminists. Another reason why second wave feminists strategies were mouth and gums by the younger generation was that they represented the neglect of other women who needed them, as well as the embodiment of racism, in which black women who faced both racism and gender discrimination were not prioritized by second wave feminists. As a result, they changed that by becoming a mixed movement for all types of women. Third wavers advocated for diversity and attempted to include as many women as possible in American society.

There was a generational gap between the two generations, which arose simply as a result of the post-feminism period, during which feminists became less active and more rejected by society as those irritated by women's remarkable appearance in various domains of social and political life waged war on them. It was not only a gap in time, but also a gap in thoughts, ideas, and methods that had a significant impact on the personal identity of the next generation of women. During this time, feminism took on a new form, altering the system that had been built over half a century and causing a deep divide between the second and third waves from all sides. The lack of communication, combined with each party's fanaticism for its own ideas, widened the gap even more.

This huge Generational conflict has influenced feminism, though there is no agreement or official declaration about the end of the third wave, there are claims that the fourth wave of feminism began around 2012, and this hesitancy is due to shared ideologies and a lack of change. It is simply a continuation of the feminism of generation Z feminists, or, to put it another way, it resembles its goals, in which every woman in the United States, regardless of race, color, ethnicity, or sexuality, is aware of her rights and has complete control over her

body. She can be the woman she wants to be by speaking loudly with no fears and that was too clear in the MeToo movement of the 2018.

To conclude with, and according to the results of this research, Feminism faces changes every now and then; the conflict between the two waves is due to generational changes that occurred whenever a new generation took the lead.

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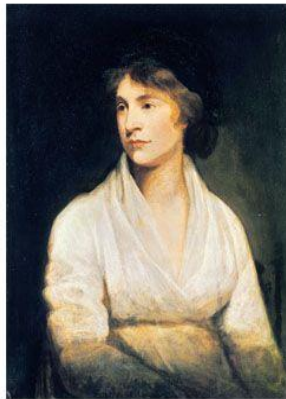
# Appendixes

## Appendix One

I do not wish them  
[women] to have  
power over men;  
but over themselves.

Mary Wollstonecraft

[www.zoroboro.com](http://www.zoroboro.com)



Mary Wollstonecraft quotes on pinterest

## Appendix two



Suffrage leaders Lucretia Mott, Susan B Anthony, & Elizabeth Cady Stanton

### Appendix three



Members of the National Women's Liberation Party holding protest signs in front of Convention Hall where the Miss America Pageant was held in Atlantic City, N.J. on Sept. 7, 1968. The picketers, also seen behind, are protesting the annual pageant as degrading to women.

## Appendix four



Anita Hill's testimony

## Appendix five



Two different strikes from two different generations of feminists

## الملخص

تعرف النسوية بالتغيرات الكبيرة التي شهدتها طيلة تاريخها ، مع ذلك تعتبر الفترة التي حل فيها الصراع بين الموجة الثانية و الثالثة مهمة جدا . صارت الموجة الثانية لتحرير جسد المرأة بينما جاء ممتطو الموجة الثالثة بإلحاح لتحرير أفعالهم . يهدف هذا البحث الإستكشافي التحليلي لاستكشاف هذا الصراع و تسليط الضوء على أسبابه و مخلفاته على النسوية المعاصرة وكذا علاقته بنظرية الأجيال . تبعا لنتائج البحث الأساسية ، الفروقات التي حلت خلال الموجة الثالثة كانت السبب وراء هذا الصراع الذي خلف مشاكل إجتماعية داخل الحركة مثل صناعة المحتوى الإباحي و تشريع الدعارة و تشجيع الزواج أحادي الجنس .

## Résumé

Le féminisme est un mouvement connu par d'énormes changements au cours de son existence, mais le conflit qui s'est produit entre la deuxième et la troisième vague a marqué la période la plus importante de son histoire. La divergence des deux vagues s'exprime par la bataille menée par la deuxième vague pour libérer les corps des femmes, alors que la troisième vague avait pour objectif la libération de leurs actions.

Cette étude exploratoire et analytique a pour objectif d'éclaircir les raisons de ce conflit, ses conséquences sur le féminisme moderne ainsi que son rapport avec la théorie des générations.

Selon les principaux résultats tirés de cette recherche, les divergences apparues lors de la troisième vague sont à l'origine de ce conflit qui a causé de graves problèmes sociaux au sein du mouvement, tels que l'industrie du porno et la légalisation de la prostitution au nom de la liberté de le corps en plus de la promotion du mariage mono-sexuel.