

# FEMINISM

Definition- History- Development

Debates: 1<sup>st</sup> Wave, 2<sup>nd</sup> Wave & 3<sup>rd</sup> Wave

4<sup>th</sup> Wave??

Feminism in Pakistan

History- Development

Debates & Actors

Achievements



## Feminism --- Defined

1. The theory of the political, economic, and social equality of the sexes
2. Organized activity on behalf of women's rights and interests
3. Though largely originating in the West, feminism is **manifested** worldwide and is represented by various **institutions** committed to activity on behalf of **women's rights** and interests.

## Feminism

1. Feminism is both an intellectual commitment and a political movement that seeks justice for women and the end of sexism in all forms
2. Motivated by the quest for social justice, feminist inquiry provides a wide range of perspectives on social, cultural, economic, and political phenomena  
– Ref. Feminist Philosophy Plato.stanford.edu

## Feminism

1. Feminist philosophical scholarship begins with attention to women, to their roles and locations
2. What are women doing? What social/political locations are they part of or excluded from?
3. How do their activities compare to those of men?
4. Are the activities or exclusions of some groups of women different from those of other groups and why?

## Feminism

1. There are millions of people who both **inwardly and outwardly do not support the idea that there should be equal rights** and equal opportunities for men and women
2. There are thousands of people who feel we've **already arrived at equality for men and women.**
3. There are also thousands of people **who believe we're not at all there yet, and support continuing efforts** to pave the way for equal rights for men and women.
4. There are thousands **who believe in equal rights but find "feminism" a word and a movement that doesn't align with their personal beliefs or values**
5. It's abundantly clear that our **specific views** on these issues are rooted deeply in **our own personal and direct experiences**, rather than on any data, research or science surrounding the issues
6. In other words, if we've **personally faced discrimination**, we know beyond doubt that it exists. But if we haven't faced it ourselves, we often doubt that it happens
7. Finally, both conscious and unconscious gender bias is rampant within us, but most of us aren't aware of it

## Why do so many hate the term feminism and the feminist movement?

1. Feminism has been associated with **strong, forceful and angry women**, and our society continues to punishes **forceful women**
2. Many people fear that feminism will mean that **men will eventually lose out** – of **power, influence, impact, authority, and control, and economic opportunities**
3. Many people believe that **feminists want to control the world** and put men down
4. Many people fear that feminism will overturn **time-honored traditions, religious beliefs and established gender roles**, and that **feels scary and wrong**
5. Many people fear that feminism will bring about negative shifts in **relationships, marriage, society, culture, power and authority dynamics**, and in **business, job and economic opportunities** if and when women are on an equal footing with men

## History

1. The theory of equality that feminists of the nineteenth century used in their fight for women's rights came out of **liberal political philosophy**, which said that all men should be equal under the law, that no one should have special privileges or rights
2. Initially, Enlightenment philosophers focused on the inequities of social class and caste to the exclusion of gender
3. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for example, portrayed women as silly and frivolous creatures, born to be subordinate to men
4. In addition, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, which defined French citizenship after the revolution of 1789, pointedly failed to address the legal status of women

## History

1. Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), was published in England
2. Challenged the notion that **women exist only to please men**
3. she proposed that women and men be given equal opportunities in **education, work, and politics**
4. Women, she wrote, are as **naturally rational** as men
5. If Women are silly, it is only because **society trains them to be irrelevant**

## History

1. In the United States, feminist activism took root when **female abolitionists** sought to apply the concepts of freedom and equality to their own social and political situations
2. By the mid-19th century, issues surrounding feminism had added to the tumult of social change, with ideas being exchanged across Europe and North America.

## 1<sup>st</sup> Wave of Feminism

### The suffrage movement

1. Seneca Falls Convention, New York, 1848
2. Elizabeth Cady Stanton drew up the “**Declaration of Sentiments**” that guided the **Seneca Falls Convention**
3. Using the Declaration of Independence as her guide to proclaim **that “all men and women had been created equal,”** she drafted 11 resolutions, including the most radical demands -The right to the vote
4. Woman’s equal participation with men in the various trades, professions and commerce
5. Education- Property – Marriage – Divorce
6. women’s suffrage, a goal that would dominate international feminism for almost 70 years

## 1<sup>st</sup> Wave of Feminism

### The suffrage movement

1. Like the Americans, British suffragists, led by the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies, had initially approached their struggle **politely**, with “**ladylike lobbying**”
2. But in 1903 a dissident faction led by Emmeline Pankhurst began a series of boycotts, bombings, and pickets – **Militant Feminism**
3. Following the British lead, American women activists, organized mass demonstrations, parades, and confrontations with the police

## 1<sup>st</sup> Wave of Feminism

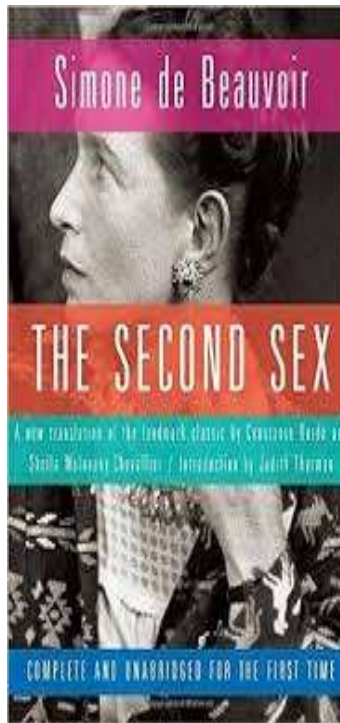
### The suffrage movement – Major Achievements

1. Their tactics ignited the nation, and in 1918 the British Parliament extended the vote to women householders, householders' wives, and female university graduates over the age of 30 – limited Franchise
2. In 1920, American feminism claimed its first major triumph with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S Constitution
3. <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/from-new-zealand-to-saudi-arabia-when-women-won-the-vote-worldwide-1.3731396>

### 1<sup>st</sup> Wave of Feminism - Criticism

1. Radical feminists challenged the single-minded focus on suffrage as the sine qua non of women's liberation
2. Emma Goldman, mocked the notion that the ballot could not secure equality for women, since it hardly accomplished that for the majority of American men
3. However, the right to vote was won by women due to their sheer resistance, courage and perseverance in face of all patriarchal norms and values that underpin our societies and that deem women as secondary, inferior to men and apolitical
4. In so many countries, women's right to vote is not recognized and women still have to fight for their right to vote
5. In countries like Pakistan, women can be disenfranchised even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century e.g. in Lower Dir, KPK in 2013 General Election





## Second-wave Feminism 60s-80s

### > What did it want?

1. Increased representation of women in the workforce
2. End employment gender discrimination; equal pay and maternity rights
3. Body autonomy; legal/available contraception and abortion
4. Elimination of the sexual objectification of women and the ban of pornography

### > What did it achieve?

1. Abortion legalisation acts
2. Equal pay acts
3. Employment Protection acts
4. Upgraded rape to a criminal offense
5. Recognition of domestic abuse



## 2<sup>nd</sup> Wave Feminism – 2 important Books

1. The second wave of the modern feminist movement began with the publication in France in 1949 of Simone de Beauvoir's book **The Second Sex**
2. This sweeping account of the historical and current status of women in the Western world argues that men set the standards and values, and women are **the Other** who lack the qualities the dominants exhibit
3. Men are the actors, women the reactors
4. Men thus are the first sex, women always the second sex
5. Men's dominance and women's subordination is not a biological phenomenon, de Beauvoir insisted, but a social creation: **"One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman ...** ; it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature ... which is described as feminine"
6. In *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), American author and feminist Betty Friedan referred to "the problem that has no name," in which women felt constrained, unsatisfied, and unhappy in their roles as wives, mothers, and homemakers
7. The Bitch Manifesto by Jo Freeman  
<https://www.jofreeman.com/joreen/bitch.htm>

## 2<sup>nd</sup> Wave Feminism (1960s-1980s) Background & Demands

1. Civil Rights Movement
  2. Protests against Vietnam War
- Demands**
1. Discrimination in the Pattern of employment to be removed
  2. Unequal pay to be made equal
  3. Legislative guarantees of equal pay for equal work, equal job opportunities, and expanded child-care services
  4. Legal inequality removed, and meagre support services for working women to be provided
  5. Recognition of Violence against women & its Elimination
  6. Social Equality – Education, Health to ensured
  7. Sexual equality to ensured – Marriage – Divorce- Childbirth – Family Planning Contraceptives
  8. Abortion to be legalized– My Body My Choice

## 2<sup>nd</sup> Wave Feminism (1960s-1980s) – Impacts

1. second-wave feminism provoked extensive theoretical discussion about the origins of women's oppression, the nature of gender, and the role of the family
2. Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* 1970 - she broadened the term *politics* to include all "power-structured relationships" and posited that the personal was actually political
3. Shulamith Firestone 1970, a founder of the New York Radical Feminists, published *The Dialectic of Sex* in the same year, insisting that love disadvantaged women by creating intimate shackles between them and the men they loved—men who were also their oppressors
4. One year later, 1971, Germaine Greer, published *The Female Eunuch*, in which she argued that the sexual repression of women cuts them off from the creative energy they need to be independent and self-fulfilled

## Achievements

1. Many goals of the second wave were met
2. More women in positions of leadership in higher education, business and politics
3. Abortion rights; access to the pill that increased women's control over their bodies
4. More expression and acceptance of female sexuality
5. General public awareness of the concept of and need for the "rights of women" (though never fully achieved)
6. A solid academic field in feminism, gender and sexuality studies
7. Greater access to education
8. Organizations and legislation for the protection of battered women
9. Women's support groups and organizations
10. An industry in the publication of books by and about women/feminism
11. public forums for the discussion of women's rights
12. A societal discourse at the popular level about women's suppression, efforts for reform, and a critique of patriarchy

## Critique

1. While the Second Wave was a hugely successful movement that comprised many legal and cultural victories leading to greater equality, it had its shortcomings
2. At the time in the United States, the movement against racism was active too. Women of colour found themselves to be under-represented by the feminist movement
3. Prominent feminists were white middle-class women who wrote feminist theory centered around their own experiences and troubles
4. While there were many black, Latina, Asian and Native American members of the movement, they felt excluded from the narrative and ignored
5. The agenda of the leading white feminists were often a contrast to theirs
6. Many women felt that it was unwise to discuss gender equality without taking into consideration racial inequality too
7. This gap between white and People of Colour feminists motivated women of colour to form their own organizations to represent their interests in the movement. One such organization was the *Third World Women's Alliance*.

## Feminism / Feminist Movements in Pakistan

- Feminism and the Women's Movement in Pakistan Actors, Debates and Strategies  
Dr. Rubina Saigol
- <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/pakistan/12453.pdf>

## Feminist Movements in Pakistan From 1947-2020

- “For realizing, in letter and spirit, the ideals of a democratic welfare state, it is necessary to institute a system which fully guarantees human rights, generates conducive environment for the pragmatic use and beneficial enjoyment of human rights and provides operative safeguards and expeditious remedy against any violation of human rights”. Critically evaluate the statement with special reference to Pakistan. 2020
- Outline and explain the three major waves of feminist movements in the West. Discuss the influence of these waves on feminist movements in Pakistan. 2019
- short notes – APWA and WAF 2018
- “Women active political participation could stabilize democracy and boost economic development.” Comment on this statement within context of socio-economic realities of Pakistani society. 2017

## Welfare Feminism-1950s-1960s

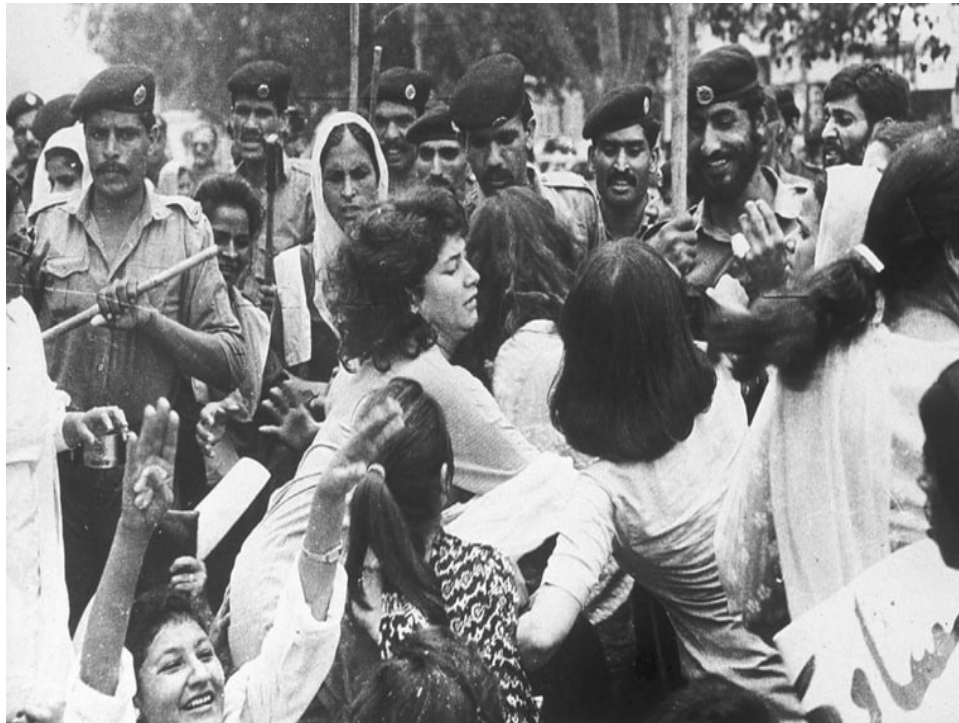
- 1947- Women's Relief Committee, founded by Fatima Jinnah
- 1949-Begum Ra'ana Liaqat Ali, founded the All-Pakistan Women's Association
- Moral, social and economic welfare of Pakistani women
- The 1960s saw the proliferation of women's welfare and development organizations but it was the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) that became the face of the women's movement in the country in that decade

## Welfare Feminism-1950s-1960s

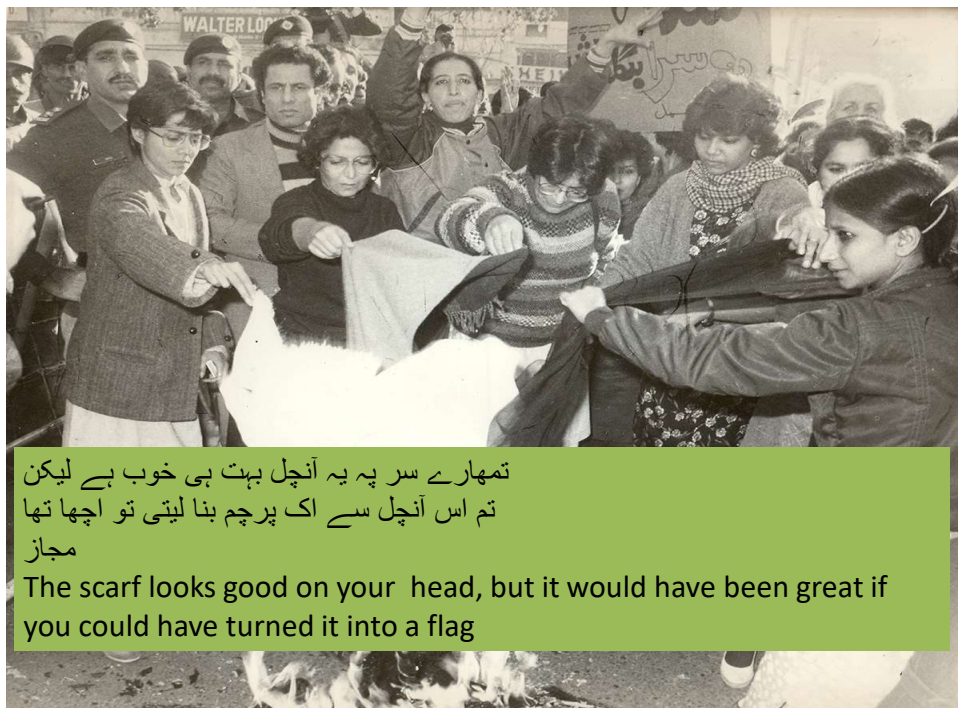
1. The passage of the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (1961), pushed by APWA, reflected a minor ingress by the state in the private sphere as it placed certain procedural limits on the men's arbitrary right of divorce
2. It gave women some rights regarding child custody and maintenance
3. Even the small changes repeatedly stirred public controversy with clerics clamouring for the reversal of the ordinance

## Welfare Feminism-1950s-1960s-1970s

- APWA's approach was characterised by two salient features:
  - Social welfare and development work for education and income-generation activities;
  - Collaboration with the state to achieve its aims
- APWA shied away from an overtly political position in that it did not contest dictatorship
- It preferred to play it safe even when **Fatima Jinnah**, a woman, remained the sole campaigner against dictatorship
- The cooperation and collaboration of women leaders with the state to attain women's rights continued during the civilian rule of the Pakistan Peoples Party (1971-1977)

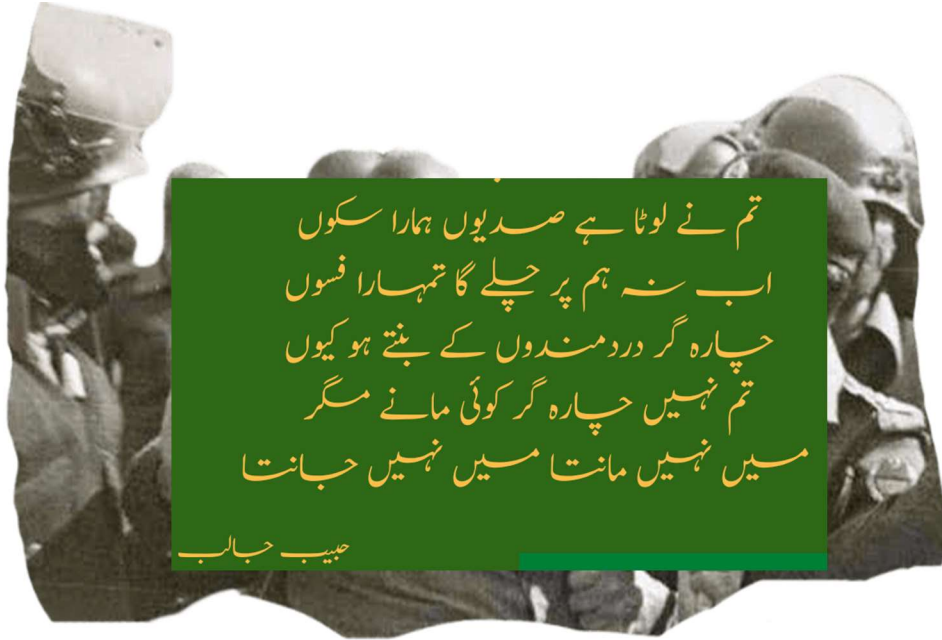






تمہارے سر پہ یہ آنچل بہت ہی خوب ہے لیکن  
تم اس آنچل سے اک پرچم بنا لیتی تو اچھا تھا  
مجاز

The scarf looks good on your head, but it would have been great if  
you could have turned it into a flag



## Feminism in Pakistan- 1970s-1980s

1. The feminist movement and the women's rights struggle that arose in the 1980s, spearheaded by Women's Action Forum 1981 (WAF) in the urban areas and Sindhiani Tehreek in rural Sindh, were significant for their overtly political stance.
2. Both these movements were formed in the context of a absolute dictatorship that relied on a particular version of religion for legitimacy
3. Women consistently challenged both the military rule and the incursion of religion in politics

## Feminism in Pakistan- 1970s-1980s

1. WAF struggled for a democratic, inclusive, plural and secular state
2. While Sindhiani Tehreek strove for an end to feudalism and patriarchy  
.Restoration of democracy and championed the principle of federalism and provincial autonomy
3. These movements represent a significant break from the former paradigm of **collaboration and cooperation** with the state

## Feminism in Pakistan 1970s-1980s

1. They challenged patriarchal power in every domain — political, religious and legal.
2. Unlike the welfare and social uplift-oriented movements of the 1950s & 1960s, the **struggles** launched by women in the 1980s were essentially **political movements** anchored in the ideas of **democracy**, **basic rights** and **sociopolitical change**

## Feminism in Pakistan - 1970s-1980s

1. Women confronted the authoritarian state, and were engaged in frequent street protests and demonstrations.
2. They took risks and were beaten, jailed, baton-charged and otherwise threatened by the dominant religious-military patriarchies of the time
3. **Reflection & Action**

## Radical Feminism 1970s-1980s - A glimpse from the past - Poetry

چادر اور چار دیواری  
 حضور میں اس سیاہ چادر کا کیا کروں گی  
 یہ آپ کیوں مجھ کو بختتے ہیں بصد عنایت  
 نہ سوگ میں ہوں کہ اس کو اوڑھوں  
 غم و الم خلق کو دکھاؤں  
 نہ روگ ہوں میں کہ اس کی تاریکیوں میں خفت سے  
 ٹوب جاؤں  
 نہ میں گناہ گار ہوں نہ مجرم  
 کہ اس سیاہی کی مہر اپنی جبین پہ ہر حال میں  
 لگاؤں  
 سیاہ چادر تو بن چکی ہے مری نہیں آپ کی  
 ضرورت  
 کہ اس زمین پر وجود میرا نہیں فقط اک نشان شہوت  
 حیات کی شاہ راہ پر جگمگا رہی ہے مری ذہانت  
 زمین کے رخ پر جو ہے پسینہ تو جھلملاتی ہے  
 میری محنت  
 یہ چار دیواریاں یہ چادر گلی سڑی لاش کو مبارک  
 کھلی فضاؤں میں بادباں کھول کر بڑھے گا مرا سفینہ  
 میں آدم نو کی ہم سفر ہوں  
 کہ جس نے جیتی مری بھروسہ بھری رفاقت  
 Fehmida Riaz

## Radical Feminism 1970s-1980s - A glimpse from the past- Poetry

ہم گنہ گار عورتیں ہیں  
 جو اہل جبہ کی تمکنت سے نہ رعب کھائیں  
 نہ جان بیچیں  
 نہ سر جھکائیں  
 نہ ہاتھ جوڑیں  
 یہ ہم گنہ گار عورتیں ہیں  
 کہ سچ کا پرچم اٹھا کے نکلیں  
 تو جھوٹ سے شاہراہیں اٹی ملے ہیں  
 ہر ایک دہلیز پہ سزاؤں کی داستانیں رکھی ملے  
 ہیں  
 جو بول سکتی تھیں وہ زبانیں کٹی ملے ہیں  
 یہ ہم گنہ گار عورتیں ہیں  
 کہ اب تعاقب میں رات بھی اُٹے  
 تو یہ آنکھیں نہیں بجھیں گی  
 کہ اب جو دیوار گر چکی ہے  
 اسے اٹھانے کی ضد نہ کرنا!  
[کشور نابید](#)

Radical Feminism 1970s-1980s  
A glimpse from the past – Performing Arts- Sheema Kirmani  
– Nighat CHoudhry



Radical Feminism 1970s-1980s  
A glimpse from the past - Journalism





## Feminism in Pakistan-2000 & onwards

1. The new wave of feminism includes people from all classes, genders, religions, cultures and sects without any discrimination or prejudice
2. The young feminists are diverse, yet inclusive.
3. There are no leaders or followers — they are all leaders and followers
4. The young groups of women say openly what their grandmothers could not dare to think and their mothers could not dare to speak
5. But the entire framing of the narrative around the body, sexuality, personal choices and rights can be best understood in the global context and in the context of 3<sup>rd</sup> Wave of Feminism

## Feminism in Pakistan -2000 & onwards

- Aurat March – 2018 - Karachi
- Reactions to Aurat March, held on the International Women’s Day 2018, onwards ranged from supportive to condemnatory and everything in between
- Reaction of the Clergy – Anti Religion
- Reaction of the patriarchal mindset – Anti-Culture
- The national conversation that followed raised some important questions not only about the role and status of women in the Pakistani society but also the significance of the issues highlighted by the marchers









### 3<sup>rd</sup> Wave Feminism

- The historical and political conditions in which the Second Wave feminism emerged no longer exist and therefore it does not chime with the experiences of today's women
- 1990s – A new Wave of Feminism – Media- Music
- The feminism of a younger generation of women who acknowledge the legacy of second wave feminism, but also identify what they see as its limitations
- This Wave seeks to challenge the definitions of femininity based on experiences of upper middle-class white women
- The third-wave sees women's lives as intersectional, demonstrating how race, ethnicity, class, religion, gender, and nationality are all significant factors when discussing feminism
- It examines issues related to women's lives on an international basis

### 3<sup>rd</sup> Wave Feminism

- “Third Wavers” pride themselves on their global perspective
- Very much at the heart of feminism’s third wave is the sense of generational conflict – one generation claiming its own space and fashioning the movement in its own image
- Third-wavers do not completely reject the agenda of second-wave feminism rather they want to add and change it in accordance with there time
- Third-wave feminism emphasizes an inclusive and nonjudgmental approach that refuses to police the boundaries of feminist ideas and debates – for instance sexuality
- It is certain that third wave activism is still in its relative infancy and that more academic commentaries will gradually emerge

### 4 Major claims of 3<sup>rd</sup> Wave Feminism

- **First claim**, third-wavers emphasize that because they are a new generation, they want their own version of feminism that addresses their different **societal contexts** and the particular **set of challenges** they face
- Young women today face a **world colonized by the mass media** and information technology, and they see themselves as more sophisticated and media savvy than feminists from their mothers’ generation – Virtual CR Groups

## 4 Major claims of 3<sup>rd</sup> Wave Feminism

- **Second Claim**, third-wavers claim to be less rigid and judgmental than their mothers' generation which is often represented as antimale, antisex, antifemininity, and antifun
- In contrast to their perception of their mothers' feminism, third-wavers feel entitled to interact with men as equals, claim sexual pleasure as they desire it (heterosexual or otherwise), and actively play with femininity – cosmetics, surgeries, body piercing, tattoos etc.

## 4 Major claims of 3<sup>rd</sup> Wave Feminism

- **Third Claim**, third-wavers depict their version of feminism as more inclusive and racially diverse than the second wave
- Third-wave feminism respects not only differences between women based on race, ethnicity, religion, and economic standing but also makes allowance for different identities within a single person – bisexual – asexual – transgender
- Women can now be religiously devout or into sports or beauty culture, and still be a feminist



## 4 Major claims of 3<sup>rd</sup> Wave Feminism

- **Fourth Claim**, third-wavers claim to have a broader vision of politics than second-wave feminism, to have no “party line,” and to focus on more than just women’s issues – climate change

## Critique of 3<sup>rd</sup> Wave Feminism

1. Because third-wavers frequently overstate their distinctiveness while showing little knowledge of their own history, the movement has been widely criticized by second-wavers
2. Third-wave feminism can be viewed as the rebellion of young women against their mothers and as their desire to have a feminism of their own, even though their political remains quite similar to that of their mothers
3. Second-wave CR in its classic form occurred in face-to-face settings
4. Third Wave CR also takes place virtually – Social Media
5. The phrase “the personal is political” still forms the core of feminism, and sharing personal experiences functions as a form of CR & virtual CR Groups within the third wave – Times Up, Me Too
6. Third Wavers have yet to come up with their own theoretical perspectives on matters like gender, violence, patriarchy, discrimination and many more

## 3<sup>rd</sup> Wave Feminism – Horizon

- Prostitution – Sex Industry – protection of workers
- Pornography – Revenge Porn (RP) – laws against RP
- Commercial Surrogacy
- Gender and Cyber Crimes – digital harassment
- LGBTQ Rights – Laws and behaviours
- Protecting the achievements – rise of anti-feminist , anti-women policies