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*Feminism and its Impact On  
woman in the Modern Society*

*Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Foreign Languages as a Partial  
Fulfillment of the 'Master' Degree in Anglo Saxon Literature and Civilization.*

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# DEDICATION

*I dedicate this work to:*

*My dearest parents who provided me with whatever I need and surrounded me with great affection to reach my objectives in this life.*

*My dearest sisters and My brother*

*My best friends and sisters Sihem and Nabia*

*My partner Rabha and to all who know me.*

AMINA

# DEDICATION

*I dedicate this work to:*

*My dearest parents who provided me with whatever I need and surrounded me with great affection to reach my objectives in this life.*

*My dearest sisters and brothers*

*My best friends and sisters Sarah and Nawel*

*My partner Amina and to all who know me.*

*Rabha*

# Abstract

Woman passed through many problems, obstacles and barriers to become an important member in the society. In the past, woman did not have any kinds of rights, she was isolated, neglected and mistreated by man. By the coming of Feminism, the profile and the image woman have changed completely and from being a poppet in the hands of man she becomes a queen, president, artist and teacher...

This dissertation examines the wishes, dreams and the ability of woman to change her position in the society not just as being a daughter, wife or a mother but rather as normal citizen with regular rights and duties. This research produces a number of key findings: recent research and statistics that confirm a significant development of woman participation in different fields such as economic growth, cultural upheavals in addition to the political and social structures.

The main conclusion drawn from this research is that the Feminist efforts were efficient in many ways in which they brought a huge change in the position and the role of woman. They were able to remove the majority if not all the stereotypical pictures and to give her more importance in the society by giving her the political, social and economical rights.

## **List of Abbreviations**

BWOA: Black Women Organized for Action.

IPU: Inter-Parliamentary Union.

NAWSA: National American Women's Suffrage Association

NBFO: National Black Feminist Organization.

NWP: National Women Party.

OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

UNICEF: United Nation International Child Emergency Fund

WHO: World Health Organization

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# GENERAL INTRODUCTION

# General introduction

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After a long suffering and discrimination of woman to find limited recognized place in the society, she is nowadays playing an important role in society as a politician, socialist and economist. Those achievements emerged by the coming of feminism which granted woman's rights.

This research work studies woman suffering, dehumanization and segregation by man. It deals also with the efforts of Feminism to change woman's oppression in the entire world and to ask for her equal rights and existence in all the domains. This work tries to see at what extend does feminism influence woman's fighting path and to answer the following questions:

1. How was the situation of woman in the past?
2. What did feminism brought to woman?
3. Was feminism efficient to change woman's life?

The questions asked in this research aims to find if feminism was able to change the stereotypical image of woman and to give her more opportunities to have a place in the society, this why this research hypothesis that:

1. Feminism was able to eradicate the stereotypical image of woman.
2. It gave more chances to woman to be important members in the society.

This extended essay is divided into two chapters. The first chapter introduces feminism by giving its definition and origin in addition to its different types that are liberal, radical and socialist feminism. It deals also with the different waves of feminism focusing on the main objectives of each wave, which influence people's opinion about woman to make her an important member in society. It focuses on the living conditions of woman and her bad life situation in patriarchal societies by giving examples of Muslim and Black woman racism.

## General introduction

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The second chapter explains the radical change of woman's profile from the lowest class of human beings to an important member in her society. It sheds light on woman achievement in all domains: politics, society and economics. It emphasizes also on the way woman effected the society by proving that she was able to develop her country like man do and to show that being a woman does not mean inferiority. At the end we gave some examples of the most famous woman leaders in the political, scientific and social fields to illustrate feminism goals.

# Chapter one

## The Concept of Feminism

## Chapter one: The Concept of Feminism

### 1.1 Introduction

### 1.2 Definition of Feminism

### 1.3 Origins of Feminism

### 1.4 Types of Feminism

#### 1.4.1 Liberal Feminism

#### 1.4.2 Radical Feminism

#### 1.4.3 Socialist Feminism

### 1.5 Woman Suffering in the World

#### 1.5.1 Black Woman Racism

#### 1.5.2 Muslim Woman Racism

### 1.6 Waves of Feminism

#### 1.6.1 The First Feminist Wave: Votes for Woman

#### 1.6.2 The Second Feminist Wave: The Personal Is Political

#### 1.6.3 The Third Feminist Wave: Transversal Politics

### 1.7 Conclusion

**1.1 Introduction:**

After a long trip of making the world better by making new rules, inventing new things and changing ancient ideas and thoughts. Women were still struggling every moment and they were still looking for their rights. Feminism has generated an on-going debate in all over the world and it came to solve women's problems and to put an end to the injustice treatment for them. It was the voice of women in times they were not able to speak or to express their feelings and wishes.

This chapter deals with the general definition of Feminism in addition to some important concepts related to it like types, different waves and how does this idea grow through time. It gives also an over view of Muslim and Black Feminism.

**1.2 Definition of Feminism:**

Many researchers and scholars used the term "Feminism" and they tried to define and explain it differently. Some of them use it to refer to some historical political movements in USA and Europe. Whereas, others refer it to the belief that women live an injustice life with no rights and no equality Zara Huda Faris explained this idea, as: "...*Women need feminism because there are women who suffer injustice ...*"<sup>1</sup>

The term 'Feminism' has a long history; it represents women's problems and suffering in addition to their dreams in equal opportunities in societies controlled by man i.e. his power, rules, wishes and orders. Lara Huda Faris added also: "...*women have traditionally been dehumanized by a male dominated society, which they call patriarchy; and that has been always better to be a man...*"<sup>2</sup>

The term feminism has a history in English linked with women's activism from the late 19th century to the present, it is useful to distinguish feminist ideas or beliefs from feminist political movements, for even in periods where there has been no

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<sup>1</sup>-Zara Huda Faris: Article: ' *Do Women Need Feminism*'.Muslim Debate Initiative (MDI° 28 February 2013.p1

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

significant political activism around women's subordination, individuals have been concerned with and theorized about justice for women.

Despite of the painful segregation and the hard inequality, women were able to stand up each time and they were able to speak and express their problems, feelings and wishes. In addition, women were able to spread it in all over the world, make it a symbol of equality, and make all people believe that men and women deserve equality in all opportunities, treatments respect and social rights.

### **1.3Origins of Feminism**

The term Feminism appeared in France in the late of 1880s by Hunburtine Auclert in her Journal *La Citoyenne\_as La Feminitè*\_where she tried to criticize male domination and to claim for women's rights in addition to the emancipation promised by the French revolution.

By the first decade of the twentieth century, the term appeared in English first in Britain and then in 1910s in America and by 1920s in the Arab World as Niswia. Feminism originates from the Latin word *femina* that describes women's issues. Feminism is concerned with females not just as a biological category, but the female gender as a social category, and therefore feminists shared the view that women's oppression tied to their sexuality. This was so because women and men's biological differences reflected in the organization of society, and based on these differences, women have treated as inferior to men. Whether as a theory, a social movement or a political movement, feminism specifically focuses on women's experiences and highlights various forms of oppression that the female gender has subjected in the society.

Whether Feminism is considered as a social movement or a political movement, it specifically and mainly focuses on women's experiences in her daily life, which she subjected to in the society. Since Feminists are able to feel and experience the pain and suffering of women they are totally convinced of what it means to be a "women" in Patriarchal societies. Feminists, therefore seek to remove all the barriers to equal



social, political and economic opportunities for women and object to the notion that a women's worth is determined principally by her gender and that women are inherently inferior, subservient or less intelligent than men.

#### **1.4 Types of feminism:**

Feminism is both an intellectual commitment and a political movement that seeks justice for women and the end of sexism in all forms. There are many kinds of feminism in which sometimes and each one of them gives principles and conditions for giving woman her rights.

##### **1.4.1 Liberal feminism:**

Liberal feminism is a particular approach to achieving equality between men and women. It emphasizes on the power of an individual Person to alter discriminatory practices against women. It is considered as the most important kinds of feminism, which works within the structure of society to integrate women into it. Its roots stretch back to the social contract theory of government instituted by the American Revolution.

Liberal feminism aims for individuals to use their own abilities and the democratic process to help women and men to become equal in the eyes of the law and in society. By organizing women into larger groups that can speak at a higher level, push for legislation, and raise awareness of issues, those taking a liberal feminist approach will use the resources and tools available in our society to advocate for change<sup>3</sup>.

Liberal feminism witnessed several waves of changes that contributed in its development and its power throughout the history. By the beginning of the 1960s, a particular resurgence in energy followed the civil rights movement in the United State, which led to The Famous March on Washington. This march was able to move the

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<sup>3</sup><http://www.sociology.org.uk> 2005

ideas and principle of liberal feminists to another level. The spirit and the importance of their ideas were able to move to other civil rights movements who adopted it as a form of realization and awareness of the importance of speaking and expressing their problems and ideas. Raising consciousness included ensuring that personal experiences and information passed from person to person about the issues of the day that affected the group. This helped people in the movement to stay conscious of the need for their individual contribution to the movement to improve conditions.

The main thrust of liberal feminism is that an individual woman should be able to determine her social role with as great freedom as does a man. Feminism therefore has required removing the historic structure of patriarchal law that denied women's civil rights. The major emphasis is that equality of women before the law, in educational and professional opportunities, change in marriage laws, property rights, inequitable divorce, equal pay for equal work, protection from rape, wife battering in the home and liberation from all dehumanizing forces. In short, it aims at bringing equality between women and men in the framework of the existing social systems-do not question the underlying basis of women's subordination.

#### **1.4.2 Radical feminism:**

Radical feminism is a movement that believes sexism is so deeply rooted in society that the only cure is to eliminate the concept of gender. It started to emerge in the late 1960s by the famous leaders T. Grace Atkinson and Shulamith Firestone. It denies the liberal claim that the lack of political or civil rights causes women's oppression.

It is a perspective within feminism that focuses on the hypothesis of patriarchy as a system of power that organizes society into a complex of relationships based on the assertion that male supremacy oppresses women. Radical feminism aims to challenge and overthrow patriarchy by opposing standard gender roles and oppression of women and calls for a radical reordering of society. The reason this group gets the radical label is that they view the oppression of women as the most fundamental form

of man's domination, one that cuts across boundaries of race, culture, and economic class. In fact, this is a movement intent on social change, change of rather revolutionary proportions.

This group of feminists claims that the root of women's oppression is biological. They believe that the physical subordination of women by men is the primary form of oppression and others are secondary. Therefore, radical feminism believes that woman's liberation requires a biological revolution. They raise the demand for the destruction of patriarchy. There is a shift in emphasis from struggle for role and legal reforms to the destruction of patriarchy. The chief institution of patriarchy is the family and the family promotes patriarchy in the society. Moreover, they believe that the whole system must be abolished even, its biological aspects.

Radical feminism principles contains many interesting claims such as pregnancy and child birth in which they consider them as the most painful and unpleasant experiences that can person pass through. They believe that the technology should be used to eliminate all kinds of pain particularly from the fundamental inequality of the bearing and rising of the children. This must be the basic achievement because they believe that the heart of women's oppression is their childbearing and childrearing roles<sup>4</sup>.

Radical feminists believe that the male psychology or biology is the source of women's oppression and pain. This is why they call for separatism and the independence from men. By posing an all-inclusive sisterhood as the solution to patriarchy, radical feminists overlook the class differences that prevent women as a whole from having the same interests. They often minimize the importance of solidarity between women and men of color in the fight against racism. They tend to ignore issues that do not relate directly to a narrowly defined female experience.

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.landfield.com/faqs/feminism>

Radical feminism questions why women must adopt certain roles based on their biology, just as it questions why men adopt certain other roles based on gender. They attempt to draw lines between biologically determined behavior and culturally determined behavior in order to free both men and women as much as possible from their previous narrow gender roles.

### **1.4.3 Socialist feminism:**

Socialist feminism also known as Marxist feminism or Materialist feminism is an important movement of feminism. It calls for an end to capitalism through a socialist reformation of economy. Socialist feminists view gender inequalities as intrinsic to the capitalist system, which makes vast profits off women's unpaid labor in the home and underpaid labor in the workforce.

Socialist feminism argues that capitalism strengthens and supports the sexist status because men are the ones who currently have power and money. Those men are more willing to share their power and money with other man, which means that women have fewer opportunities and resources. Therefore, they tried to eliminate the capitalist system and replace it with socialism, which collectively shares the wealth created by human labor and has no economic stake in maintaining exploitation. Sexism benefits the capitalism, by providing a supply of cheap labor for industry. Women are in low paid, low status or even no paid work. It means that, Socialist feminists reject the idea that liberation for women requires the abolition of childbirth. They seek to analyze the subordination of women as linked with other forms of oppression, and attempt to unite the fights for socialism with that for women's liberation.

Under the socialist conditions, Marxist feminism believes that the restoration of women to autonomy is possible. Modern industrialization was, in fact beginning this liberation of women by forcing working class women into wage labor. Having equal salary for both man and woman was in the top of Socialist feminists' aims and demands.

## 1.6 Waves of Feminism:

People usually wonder about how Feminism was able to pave the way for woman in the entire world to become an important creature after painful raping, killing and suffering for ages. The history Feminism movements passed through many activities or as they were called The Three Feminism Waves<sup>5</sup>.

### 1.6.1 The First Feminist Wave: Votes for Women

When speaking about the right to vote nowadays, all people would say that all citizens have the right to vote, choose and give their opinions freely whether he is a man or she is a woman. However, this did not exist centuries before.

The first Feminist Wave goes back to World War I, when members of the National Women's Party (NWP) made a strike in USA outside the White House. They were carrying banners and writings about the undemocratic practices done by the government over women in America. They wanted to show to the world that they were living in very bad situations in addition to prove to leaders of the world that there was no dreams and happiness in the land of dreams. On the other hand, Germany and few other countries already made a step in the freedom of woman. They granted women suffrage, freedom and social rights.

In that period, Woman institutions and organizations in all over the world started to speak about woman rights to vote and express her thought etc...Among them: the National Women's Party in USA, which considered as illegal party since it was speaking about Strange, Bizarre and Weird things according to American government. This is why many women arrested even they were white and educated.

In a way or in another this action of NWP inspired by radical agitator Alice Paul (1885–1977), who wanted to introduce militant tactics to it by doing parades, marches, picketing mainly the White House as well as watch fires to burn President Wilson's speeches (Campbell, 1989). Alice Paul's tactics were confrontational but also clever,

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<sup>5</sup> Cathryn Bailey, *Making Waves and Drawing Lines: The Politics of Defining the Vicissitudes of Feminism*, (Hypatia 1997),p28.

and they were a thorn in the side of President Wilson, who much preferred the less radical plans of the National American Women's Suffrage Association (NAWSA).

The first wave of feminism was able to influence and inspire other feminist movements in all over the world and allowed women to vote .In the early stages. The first wave of feminism in the United States was interwoven with other reform movements to make woman be able to involve in working classes in all the fields not only politics or voting. This process of feminism also supported by Black women abolitionists such as Maria Stewart (1803–1879), Sojourner Truth (1797–1883), and Frances E. W. Harper (1825–1911).They joined this activity for all Black woman or as they were calling her Colored Woman.

When women's rights activists gradually realized that their efforts were worthless, they started to act differently, by making it a universal controversial issue. In a certain way, those Feminists wanted to give proves about the importance of women's voting. This activity of searching for equality touched all kinds of women (educated, non-educated, rich, poor...).And In addition to that, they spoke about colored man rights.

During the Civil War World War I and World War II woman was not permitted to do anything without the control of man especially in public places. This domination of man over women mainly existed in all the fields with no exception. Those activities made people judge woman and gave her a stereotypical image. She was no more than a housekeeper, a mother and a wife<sup>6</sup>. In addition to that, Woman was also required to be modest and humble. She was even ignoring her biological weaknesses like the smaller brain and a more fragile physique, which she was supposed to protect in order to ensure her reproductive abilities. Those kinds of segregations made women's rights activists argue that women should immediately gain the right to vote not only for her but for man also. Moreover, if she got her rights such as voting and working she would be able to perform their roles as mothers and housewives even better.

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<sup>6</sup> Susan Faludi, *The Undeclared War against American Women* (New York: Crown Press,1991), p 40.

Women activists in that period were trying by all the means to make people feel and touch the suffering of woman so, they were producing each time a new concept like “equal-opportunities feminism” or “equity feminism”, and it characterized by the lack of distinction and differentiation between sex and gender. In addition to that, biological differences were the main important and basic ideas related to social gender roles where as some anti-feminism did not accept those ideas as valid reasons for discrimination.

The First Wave of Feminism in Europe was mentioned in the famous work of Mary Wollstonecraft’s “*A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*” (1792) that considered as a revolution in its own. In that book, Wollstonecraft believed that education is the best way to make woman took her position in society in equivalent with man.

In this wave, Virginia Woolf wrote a famous book about women rights “*A Room of One’s Own*” (1929) in which she helped Mary Wollstonecraft and others to build a new road for woman to change her life. This idea of giving woman a new image and place started to spread in all over the world; it moved to the Soviet Union, Russia and Germany. In addition, the leaders of those activities in those countries paved the way to the second wave to appear.

### **1.6.2 The Second Feminist Wave: The Personal Is Political**

The term second-wave feminism referred mostly to the radical feminism<sup>7</sup> and mainly to Women’s liberation movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. This activity considered as the continuation of the previous one. In this period there was a competition called Miss America Pageants in 1968 and 1969 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.

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<sup>7</sup> Radical feminism is an important group and kind of feminism. They believe in woman’s total freedom and they believe that male-based authority and power structure leads to oppression and inequality in society.

This event made feminist in America and in some other countries become angry. They tried to stop this event and they staged several types of theatrical activism: crowning a sheep Miss America and throwing Oppressive gender artifacts, such as bras, girdles, false eyelashes, high heels, and makeup, into a trash can in front of reporters. They wanted to prove to the world that woman is an equal creature the same as man not just a puppet or a marionette in the hands of man. They made strikes and walks against the competitions in particular and the image of women in general. They carried posters in their hands like “Cattle Parades Are Degrading and humiliating to Human Beings,” “Boring Job: Woman Wanted,” and “Low Pay: Woman Wanted,” “Women’s Liberation,” “Freedom for Women” and “No More Miss America,” This time feminists made their message loud and clear: Women were victims of a patriarchal, commercialized oppressive and unfair beauty culture. After all those events, the idea of woman rights and equality started to become a world interest and the media (TV, journals...) started to speak about it.

In fact, Radical second-wave feminism was not able to study and discuss the topic woman separately from the other movements of the 1960s and 1970s, like The Anti-Vietnam War Movement, The Lesbian and Gay Movements and in the United States, the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements. All those movements argued on the same ideas like the criticism of “capitalism” and “imperialism. The well known and the most effective group was The Redstockings who created their name by combining “bluestockings”, a pejorative term for educated and otherwise strong-minded women in the 18th and 19th centuries, with *red*, for social revolution. The ‘Redstockings’, even though it didn’t last for a long time (from 1960s to 1970s) but they were very effective and influential, they produce many expressions and words that have become symbols of Feminism mainly in USA like: ‘Sisterhood is powerful,’ ‘consciousness raising’, ‘The personal is political’, ‘the politics of housework’. That period noticed also the production of many books related to Second-wave Feminism Juliet Mitchell in “The Subjection of Women” (1970) and Shulamith Firestone in “The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution “(1970) and others...



They claimed that patriarchy and women oppression are old ideas and they relates to bourgeois societies showing that the sexual differences are important to those societies more than race, class and religion of women. Feminists in that period were not only looking for women right to vote or to be equal to man but they wanted her to be dependent in everything including her body and feelings. They started to discuss the right of women to marry and to be with the person she likes taking no consideration to his or her sex. This why those new ideas of Lesbian, homosexual and heterosexual people were considered as sins for some anti-feminism. On the other hand, Feminists and leaders of those activities and ideas tried to show to anti-feminism in particular, and to the whole world that they have strong relationships with each other despite the differences among them and to show their unity as well.

After a long period of struggles, strikes and events woman started to go deeper in looking for her rights. From asking only for the right to vote, the right to marry, she finally wanted her total freedom in almost everything: economical, political, social and religious fields. In addition to all of that, this period noticed the joining of other groups like: Socialists and Marxists feminisms. They started to criticize the working condition for women and to claim for equal pay and salary with man. Sheila Rowbotham discussed those ideas in her book "*Women, Resistance, and Revolution*" (1972) in addition to Angela Y. Davis who expanded those ideas of equality and woman right, race and class in a very famous interesting book called *Women, Race, and Class* (1981). Those feminists tried by all the means to remove capitalism and to raise socialism. For them, this is the best way to insure that woman will be equal to man and she will be no more dependent from man and family the idea of dependency and self-reliance and to get involved in different working fields.

In a way or in another, liberal feminism mainly in USA and in Europe brought their ideas from Betty Friedan and her book "*The Feminine Mystique*" in (1963) in which she shared many points with previous writer Rowbotham with some differences of course. All the writers in that period (whether they were writing literature, philosophy or any other domain) agreed almost on the same ideas concerning middle-class women mainly in western societies, especially after the period of the wars. Those

writers and feminists believed that women do not have any political or social right and they have no power or decision in their lives. This is why they tried to give proposals and solutions for woman situation. In addition to that, they start to ask about the right of woman to be paid even when working in her own house (housewife) as a kind of citizen income. Moreover, People should respect woman for doing this job since it is the best, hardest and the most important job in all the society and because woman is able to build or destroy any society if she wanted to. In the same context, all types and kinds of feminist organization mainly in USA joined this activity including liberals, socialists and Marxists ...

The majority of those leaders worked hardly to influence the society by rising awareness between people. In addition to that, they tried to convince them by giving women an appropriate place in society not just by calling her women (or as a wife of or a daughter of ...). Whereas on the other hand, there was a group of feminists called Radical Feminists who were somehow the extremist category of feminism, they gave opposite and negative opinions about those activities. They considered those institutions and organizations as patriarchal institutions rather than considering them as human rights or women rights organizations. This extreme radical kind of feminism was in effective in many ways in the opinions of people in that time and they are still affecting people until now, and they are still looking for strange and weird things like preventing woman from being pregnant by allowing babies to grow outside her body.

In 1980s, new ways of thinking appeared by correcting the real aims of those feminist waves. Leaders of those waves tried to show people that they want woman to be a part of this society hand in hand with man and they want her to vote, to work, to marry as a normal person. Moreover, they want change the stereotypical ideas about the reality of feminism not just as a woman right organization but also as an organization for the rights of all humans.

The idea of feminism equality was able to raise awareness mainly for woman and to build her identity as well; it was able also to effect the growing of criticism (mainly the second wave identity) from black, working class and lesbian feminists to many others. For them, the only way to make woman take her rights of equality,

dependency and freedom was by working on her real identity and how and what she want to be.

The act of building woman identity paved the way and show woman in all over the world that they have the right to be better by all the means and to get her right live her life in the way she likes. This idea was able also to build woman culture and interest in many things like literature, poetry, politics and religion...In fact, the idea of equality and woman identity welcomed by some people but others also rejected it. The best example of woman in that period mainly in USA who wanted to remove the bars of racism and inequality was the black woman. They started to act to change their bad destiny by forming organizations like: Black Women Organized for Action (BWOA) and the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO). The both of those organizations (in addition to others) wanted to bring gender and racism into national consciousness and to stop considering colored woman as inappropriate others as some people used to call them. In Europe, the idea of women identity was quite different since it was not generalized like in America, it was known as “l’écriture féminine” and it was suggested by the three waves of feminism in Europe. In the same context European feminists and more exactly the French, wanted to remove the idea of Patriarchy and the common idea of ‘man as the one and the only’. They wanted also to give woman the right to choose how she wants to be by allowing the marriage of people from the same sex and they start to give opportunities for homosexuals, gays and lesbian people to show their reality with no shame or embarrassment.

After a long trip of looking for the lost identity and the neglected dreams, woman in some places in the world started to gave up this why many feminists , researchers and scholars started to look for other means to achieve their goals since the previous activities were not enough. Julia Wood for example was among those scholars who wanted to make people believe that the question is not whether you are a feminist or not but rather which kind of feminism you are. This question was the main reason behind the emergence of the third-wave feminism, and its appearance not because the previous ones failed but because they were the first steps in the ladder of feminism.

### 1.6.3 The Third Feminist Wave: Transversal Politics

This wave of feminism referred to a group of feminist activity. They were appeared in the early 1990s and continuing to the present. Rebecca Walker is the symbol of this wave. She used this term ‘third wave feminism’ at the first time in 1992<sup>8</sup>. This wave came as a reaction of the second wave ideas and activities like women in pornography, sex work, and prostitution.

The third wave feminists generally consider themselves as the most powerful, the effective and the stronger group between all the other previous activities of feminism. Schneiders describes the third wave feminism as a movement of liberation: *“This movement is concerned not simply with the social, political, and economic equality of women with men but with a fundamental reimagination of the whole of humanity in relation to whole of reality, including non-human creation”*.<sup>9</sup>

These new generations of feminists believed that the best way to make this third wave effective more than the last ones is by developing and changing the ways and the methods of looking for the rights of women. They started by using terms, which were simple and strong like instead of saying women they were saying ‘girl’ to attract the new generation to the importance of feminism mainly in the last decades in which the world noticed huge development in Technology and Science. They started to prepare some invents and parties about girls and young women interests like fashion and clothes. By doing that, they wanted to make women love herself (from inside and outside) and believed in her abilities to change the world in a positive way. They used expressions like “Do it yourself” but on the other hand, not all girls understood those words correctly and they did not reach the goals of this wave like the improvement of women and the development of society ...

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<sup>8</sup> Rebecca Walker, *To Be Real: Telling the Truth and Changing the Face of Feminism* (New York : Anchor Books, 1995),p70

<sup>9</sup> Schneiders, S.M.*Oil in Their Lamps: Faith, Feminism, and the Future* (New York: Paulist Press,2000). P98.

Those activities helped also in the growing in numbers of ‘riot girls’<sup>10</sup> groups in USA and Europe. The leaders of this wave were totally convinced by the effectiveness of their activities. They started to spread their new ideas about feminism by using new methods and ways of technology like TV, magazines, radio and recently the net.

Moreover, they produced many works in relation to this idea like “*Friendly Grrls*”<sup>11</sup> *Guide to the Internet–Introduction*” (1996) and “*Guide to the World Wide Web*” (1998). This activity took the responsibility of removing the stereotypical, traditional and typical pictures of women by deleting ideas like sexist language unfair terms used for girls and woman. They invented new words and terms used by girls and only girl new self-celebrating words and new forms of communication.

This wave of feminists was totally convinced by the importance of the development of feminist theories and politics by all the available means and they believed that they are able to make those theories successful and effective. In a very strange and attractive way, those new generation of feminists were criticizing the previous waves and feminists but at the same time, they showed their respect to them and their great efforts. They started to give proposals in relation to different laws and politics about woman roles (motherhood and womanhood...) and some interesting topics for woman like gender, class and sexuality.

It was also associated and connected to the generations and to the new world order characterized by the fall of communism, new threats of religious and ethnic fundamentalism. This new wave called in USA is grrl feminism, and in Europe, known as new feminism.

It characterized by local, national and transactional activism and it deals with ideas like violence against woman and self-mutilation. Those know wave of feminists wanted to build in new image of women’s rights not only in America but also in the

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<sup>10</sup> Riot girls: Hillary Belzer: “Words + Guitar: The Riot Grrrl Movement and Third-Wave Feminism” (Thesis, Georgetown University, USA, 2004) . It seeks to provide an understanding of the Riot Grrrl phenomenon and to examine how postmodern philosophy, cultural theory, and political history have been woven together to produce a new form of feminism.

<sup>11</sup> *Grrls*: The feminists of the third wave used word girl written incorrectly in that way to make more attractive and more effective and by doing that they were able to gather huge number of flowers of this term and they were able to collect both negative and positive criticism in the entire world.

entire world. They tried to give a new world order to the world by criticizing the previous waves of feminism i.e. in a respectful, positive way; they tried also to give close and logic answers and definitions to some questions about feminism, womanhood and identity. In fact, they wanted to finish what the previous images, waves started to do by redefining feminism in a new different way by gathering ideas, stereotypical images but at the same time, they wanted to keep the real spirit of feminism and feminine issues. This new wave of feminism was by all the means an attractive and effective activity and the reason behind its success was its leaders. They were determined to prove that the third wave feminism is powerful and effective not only by words but also by actions and decisions. In addition to that, their first and most important goal was avoiding putting and classifying women into categories and removing stereotypical images. This new group of feminists was not looking only for political and social rights for woman but they wanted her to perform in all the domains and more importantly to have a role in life even if it was simple. This period also noticed the appearance of many writers and scholars who wanted to make people (man as woman) believe that we cannot separate woman from any activity in the society. Among those researchers, there was Judith Butler who was a Gender and social theorist. She wrote many famous books like '*Gender Trouble*' (1990) and '*Bodies That Matter*' (1993) who tried to discuss and criticize unfair rules put by the governments and some anti-feminism organizations. We have also some literary works like "*The Vagina Monologues*" written by Eve Ensler (an American playwright) in addition to others like Willa Shalit and Elizabeth Wurtzel.

Another important perception that has contributed to third-wave feminism was ideas and suggestions about cyber feminism used by Donna Haraway's (1987/1991). It helped woman to be an important part in the development of technology especially after the emergence and the growth of new techniques and methods of technology.

Globalization was also a related topic to feminism in that period. Feminists wanted to reorganize power that challenged feminist theory and politics and wanted to discover women's interests and perspectives i.e. all groups of woman with no exception. Those feminists seek to be inclusive of the many diverse relationships and

roles women fulfill. This is why many feminists starting from 1990s until now were trying to prove that those feminists' theories and activities deserved respect and awards in the different manifestations. They tried also to gather the biggest number of participants from different places, races and religions. They wanted to convince people by the importance of helping each other to overcome the segregation against woman.

According to some points of view, the third wave of feminism was not strong enough to speak about women rights since it lacked to a cohesive goal, and it usually seen as an extension of the second wave. More importantly, it does not have a set definition that can distinguish itself and its different goals from second-wave feminism.

Finally, each of the feminist waves discussed before has played an important role in feminist theories and politics starting from the 1960s until now. They paved the way to other waves and activities to appear and help woman to get her social, political, cultural, religious and sexual rights each one in its own different way.

## **1.6 Examples of feminism**

### **1.6.1 Black feminism**

Obviously, when speaking about women rights, equality and suffering we can automatically refer our explanation to Black Women Segregation. Although feminism claimed in its symbols and goals to the equality of all women from every ethnic and social belonging, it did not give importance to the problems of Black females. In practice, feminism concentrated on the needs of middle class white women in Britain and America while posing as the movement for the emancipation of women globally. Patricia Collins as one of the Famous black Feminists considered that feminism did not bring any rights to the black woman at all. Moreover, the Black woman was separated from participating in any social, economical or political activities done by feminist Organizations, which were controlled at that time with white woman.

In a way or in another, women in any every place suffered, killed and raped but no one suffered in a violent and painful way like black woman. Both man and white women classified Black women as the lower class of women. These is why many



Black women started to revolt against this unfair classification and make them create another variant of feminism called “Womanism”, a term coined by Alice Walker in one of her great collection of essays. It was titled as *“In Search Of Our Mothers’ Gardens: Womanist Prose”* (1983). Thus, Womanism established a new space for the Black female literary experience to express their wishes and dreams. She considered womanism as the only truth in the life of any black woman; and the most important thing in this idea is that lives is not just asking for equal rights with man but looking for equal rights with white woman

This ideology ‘womenism’ focused on the unique experience, struggles and needs of Black women but it was not able to resist in the face of man orders and control and in the face of White Feminism unfair activities..Womenism was not able to give its fruits in practical way and black women were not able to make this hypothesis became a theory.

#### **1.4.2 Muslim feminism**

Muslims believe that justice and equality are intrinsic values and cardinal principles in Islam. Human beings are equal whether they are black or white, man or women. This idea of equality between sexes emerged in Muslim societies by the coming of Islam centuries before, but a Muslim extremist were always trying to remove the right given by God to women and makes her a servant or less. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century people started to think differently by forming new ideologies, organization and departments of women, most of the time called “Islamic feminism” or “Arab Feminism”. Scholars and researchers were always studying and discussing issues and stories of women in the Quran, which contains principles of gender equality and wider issues of social justice, thus laying grounds for challenging patriarchal traditions done by those researchers.

Every aspect of life presented already in the Quran whereas some political rules in the Arabic-Islamic countries were sometimes with women and other times against her. Early in the 20th century, feminists from different parts of the world made efforts to join hands in international meetings and conferences to strengthen the role of women



at home and abroad. Islamic feminists were including in those meetings to show the real image of Muslim women as a mother, wife, teacher, doctor and parliament member.

After the appearance of Feminism in western countries like USA and some European countries, it started to move to the Arab and Muslim countries as a new idea. Some people were interested in it because they believe that God gave rights to woman and make her responsibility, happiness and life in the hands of man as a father, husband and brother to protect and support her. However, others totally reject it because they believe in a patriarchal extremist way and they refused to accept her as an effective important person in the society.

According to Friedirich Ebbert Stiftung in the documentation FES conference 2008: *“There are a significant number of Muslim men who hardly appreciate the emancipation efforts of women and who watch them with suspicion...Such linking networks would allow them to advance more effectively with united strength, so as to gain acceptance and appreciation with their “women’s power” in public life”*<sup>12</sup>.

The Islamic Feminism is one of the most powerful movements of feminism in the world; they have approximately the same goals of the western countries but still with differences. The leaders of this activity are mostly an elite educated, cultivated group of women from different countries of the Arab and Muslim world. Among them, Amina Wadud .Her research specialize in clued gender and Quranic studies which speaks about Muslim woman Rights as a wife, mother; sister; scholar and feminist. She emphasized on the importance of education of Muslim woman for herself and society. Wadud said, *“This must include new ideas about justice and about the values, about the valuable roles played by women as individuals, as members of family and as public servants in Muslim civil societies and global citizens today”*<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Friedirich Ebbert Stiftung. Women in Islam: feminist Orientation and Strategies For the 21st Century. Documentation.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p6

In addition to Wadud there is Dr Hasna Husin who works as programmer director for UNICEF and Dr. Malika Benradi who works for the UNESCO. She wrote articles about life conditions of women and children in Muslim societies. Dr. Lale Akgün is also one of the famous woman's rights leaders in the Muslim community. She emphasized on the importance of social relations; Family life, trade, penal law and of course gender equality are covered by that .By the help of other Muslim Feminists like Prof. Irshad Manji, Dr. Alia Hogben and Zainab Al-Suwaij they were able to move the Muslim Woman image to another level by deleting her negative stereotypical image.

### **1.7 Conclusion**

This theoretical chapter mainly tried to line out some essential points related to Feminism as an idea, a belief and movement. It deals with the some different ideas related to this concept and more importantly focusing on the historical background of feminism, its different types and waves. It sheds lights on some feminist experiences like Black and Muslim racism. It gives an over view of woman's path in which they suffered a lot, they have been raped, killed and segregated. However, they were able to make themselves and all women in the world proud not because they succeed to give woman her social, economical and political rights but rather by making her believe that she is human being who has the right to live, to marry, to vote, to say no when she wants. More importantly, those woman activists were able to make woman believes in her importance creature the same as man.

# Chapter two

## **Women in modern time**

### Chapter Two: Women in Modern Times

#### 2.1 Introduction

#### 2.2 Women and Society

#### 2.3 Women and Education

#### 2.4 Woman and Health

#### 2.5 Women and Economics

#### 2.6 Women and Politics

##### 2.6.1 Status of Woman in Politics

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###### 2.6.8.1.4 Tansu Çiller

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###### 2.6.8.1.6 Julia Gillard

###### 2.6.8.1.7 Sheikh Hasina

##### 2.6.8.2 Science and Society

###### 2.6.8.2.1 Dr. Lale Akgün

###### 2.9.8.2.2 Prof. Irshad Manji

#### 2.7 Conclusion

**2.1 Introduction**

Women constitute slightly more than half of the world population. Their role in the social, political and economic development of societies is also more than half as compared to that of men by virtue of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres. They are an important part in the balance of power in the societies in all over the world. Nowadays, all the decisions made in the world (economical, social, political, educational and artistic) are made by both man and woman in an equal way but this was not the reality years before. Woman through all this time tried to look for her rights by all the means and thanks to the idea of Feminism that helped her to be a partner in all the domains of society. The social and the political rights for woman were always in the top of Feminism demands. Woman proves that her efficiency in the society is equal to man throughout her role in all fields as well as at home.

This chapter deals with the most important political, social and economical participations of women in her society, taking into consideration the most common obstacles and barriers that stand in her roads in addition to representing bibliographies of famous woman leaders.

**2.2 Women and Society:**

The role of Women is important in our society in which man is still dominating and playing the most important roles. In the last few years, Women position in society has been greatly overseen in comparison to their profile in the past; when they were seen just as housewives and their only role is taking care of children and obeying man orders. Moreover, they were not allowed to do any kinds of jobs out their homes like voting, studying or writing.

A Century before, women started to think about the importance of their roles in society. In all over the world and by all the means, women wanted to change their situation or traditional place in the society this lead to series of strikes marches that aimed to prove their equality to men. During the first and second world war, woman

participation in the society emerged because she replaced man who went to the war inside and outside the house. In addition, she worked double shift to earn more money for helping her family.

### **2.3 Women and Education**

Women were kept away from learning and education because knowledge would make them question the obligatory power of the conventions and beliefs, which held them in their place; and it, would show them how to achieve their freedom, and might even encourage them to assume leadership. Therefore, Feminist researchers and writers emphasize on the importance of education in woman's life like Marry Wollstonecraft who paved the way to other Feminists to look for equal opportunities for both girls and boys in learning.

Educating men and women is a key to economic and social growth and sustainable development in all countries. Raising the education levels and literacy rates of women is one of the most effective investments for increasing female productivity as well as enhancing the well-being of families and children. In some areas where women are becoming more educated than men, the challenge is making better use of women's qualifications. In developing countries, reducing gender inequality in literacy and in primary and secondary education is essential to reducing poverty and accelerating economic development.

In all over the world governments started to realize the importance and the necessity of educating females not only for her benefits but also for the development of society in all the domains. They started to encourage parents to let their children especially girls to study to decrease the level of literacy. Recently, the African countries started to help children to inter the school especially children from the rural areas. In sub-Saharan Africa in 2005, the World Bank found that 83.6 girls for every 100 boys were enrolled in primary schools.

Primary school enrollment figures do not tell the whole story because the gender gap in higher levels is more dramatic where there is more boys than girls, which results the lack of leadership capacities.

Catherine Beecher was among the famous feminists who were asking for the education of woman. She added to her work in schools a general propaganda for woman's education, and she devised large plans for its development. In 1852, she organized the American Woman's Educational Association to help American women to have education, honorable position, and remunerative employment. She was able to affect the opinions American girls and raising their awareness in the importance of education<sup>14</sup>.

Finally, Education should be considered as important as voting and working and should be in the priority of all the governments because teaching fits them to be good mothers and helpful citizens. By improving the educational capacities of women, they would be able to form the characters of girls and boys; and by building their personalities, they are building better societies.

#### **2.4 Women and Health:**

The bases of any successful country are the availability of all forms of comfortable life like education, work and health. The importance of health can be in the first range. Feminism from the beginning was calling for the importance of taking care of woman not just by giving her jobs or letting her vote but also by giving her health a priority since she has the most sensitive and fragile body structure in addition the pregnancy and other mother activities.

In order to give cost-effective and high-quality health care, governments need to adopt a gender point of view based on the physical differences of men and women but also other social and cultural factors. The costs of preventing and treating disease and ill health in men and women differ over their lifetimes. Gender-specific diseases

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<sup>14</sup> Marion TALBOT, *The Education of Women* ( University of Chicago: Chicago Press, 1910),p64

and reproduction needs should be in the top of health care policy in all over the world<sup>15</sup>.

In the United States, the Office of Women's Health promotes health justice for women through gender-specific approaches, including educating health professionals on gender implications for prevention and treatment and motivating behavioral change through broader dissemination of gender-based health information. Several countries have specialized centers devoted to women's health care, such as the National Centers of focused on Medicine for the Elderly and Women's Health in Norway. Sweden's new public health policy requires a gender perspective to raise awareness, for example, the impact of labor market conditions on women's health as well as the consequences of their power disadvantage and male violence against women<sup>16</sup>.

According to the World Health Organization Health (WHO) the biological, social and environmental factors interact and affect the health of women and men. There is insufficient knowledge of the prevalence and incidence of physical and psychological risk factors related to women's work patterns in combining two jobs and being generally underpaid. In addition to specific work issues, the health consequences of discrimination and violence against women need special attention. In this context, National Health, Education and Criminal Justice Sectors should consider health issues a priority in their policy formulation<sup>17</sup>.

Women are more interested in health more than men are. Usually we find that feminists are always calling for the importance of creating now and helpful methods for health not only for woman or children but also for all members of society. Susan Dusel said: *"When the health care system is cut back women get hit with a triple*

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<sup>15</sup> World Health Organization (WHO) *Gender Equality, Work and Health: A Review of the Evidence* (2006).

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> World Health Organization (WHO) (2005), *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women: Initial Results on Prevalence, Health Outcomes and Women's Responses*.



*whammy. First, women tend to be the health care workers who are losing their jobs or are being run off their feet because of understaffing. Second, women and their children tend to be the heaviest users of the health care system. Finally, women have to pick up the slack when the state no longer funds health care services.”<sup>18</sup>*

## **2.5 Women and Economics:**

Women are participating in many fields, including economics in which the female employment rate rising to 20.5% in 2000. By the beginning of the 1890s woman started to participate in political debate and economic challenges. Swelling numbers of women entered the work force in seeking for new equal opportunities and forming a new image and profile of them. Nowadays nearly, 25% of woman is participating in workforces in comparison to 2000 in which, there was only 20.5%.

In her book “*Women and Economics*”, Charlotte Perkins Gilman mentioned that humans are the only species in which the female has to depend on the male for survival this why she was asking women change their cultural identities and to be independent. In addition, women who sacrifice to be nurturers and educators will produce better children. Gilman believes that others can assist with these tasks or even do them more effectively. She was one of the first to propose the professionalization of housework, encouraging women to hire housekeepers and cooks to release them from housework. This would allow women to participate in the workforce and lead a more worldly life. Gilman believed that women could desire home and family life, but should not have to retain complete responsibility of these areas and she stated that these changes would eventually result in better motherhood and fatherhood, better babyhood and childhood, better food, better homes, better society.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Susan Dusel, “Government puts the brakes on women’s movement” *Network of Saskatchewan Women*, Vol. 4, No. 7, 1987, p4

<sup>19</sup> Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *Women and Economics*( New York: Source Book Press, 1970) ,p 317

Woman participation in the workforce was uncompleted since she was under unfair rules in which there was always priority for man. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, women used to work 12 hours a day with a very low salary whereas men worked only 6 hours. As a result, feminists refused this segregation and started to ask for more equality in working conditions by forming organizations and Institutions for woman workers.

By the end the 19<sup>th</sup> century, legislations started to lower the barriers facing women in the participating in workplace by giving better work conditions with less time and better salary. In Europe for example, Governments gave women more space in which they required a minimum representation of 40%. The first one who adopted this policy was Norway with 25% in 2004 to 36% in 2006 and 42% in 2009<sup>20</sup>.

In 2007, Spanish government wanted to reach a minimum quota of 40% by forcing Companies to use more employees and encourage equal opportunities for both gender. In 2000, Denmark required states companies to have balance participation of men and women and to have at least 35% of women members. However, only 18% of women were employed.

Despite all the laws used by the different governments to bring change in the representation of woman in the work force but not all the countries rise the quotas genders.

## **2.6 Woman and Politics:**

One of the most fundamental aspects of civil society is the assurance of personal safety and fair treatment under the law for all citizens. However, the act of assuring those rights for all members of society regardless their economical, social, racial and religious belongings became a hard thing to do for both developing and developed countries. In the same context, it is difficult in many societies to make

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<sup>20</sup> <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=764&langId=en>.

women become the same as man in the duties and rights because people still believe in the old stereotypes about women.

When speaking about woman representation in the political fields one can say that it is improving in comparison with the last years. Woman now is occupying all the domains and all the positions especially in politics. She is now a president, minister, diplomatic and parliament member. Although 40 to 50% of party members are women, they hold only about 10% of the leadership positions within those parties. Ensuring women's equal participation in the decision-making structures of parties is essential for promoting gender equality within them. This is why nowadays many international organizations like Woman Rights Organization, United Nations Development Programmers (UNDP) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) in addition to many national and local institutions in all the world are trying to give woman opportunities to show her abilities to effect and change the political fields.

When speaking about woman's role and position in any country we will find that woman is always in the second position after man. Decades before, woman was not allowed to participate in any social, political and religious ceremonies in her society and she was under the total control of man (as father, husband and brother). In all the means, woman was just a servant in the house; her only job was only to clean, cook and raise children.

Sapiro confirms this idea in one of his books, that: *"There is already a body of academic work which suggests that women politicians across the world are stereotypically seen as mothers, housewives or sex objects and that none of these roles is viewed as compatible with political leadership"*<sup>21</sup>

Today, she is an important member in her society not just as a wife or mother but also as a leader, minister and as a president.

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<sup>21</sup> V. Sapiro, "The Uses of Symbolic Women: An Essay in honor of Murray Edelman" in *Political Communication*, Vol. 10, 1993.

### 2.6.1 Status of Woman in Politics:

The modern global conversation around women's rights and political participation has been taking place for almost 40 years. Recently many countries started to adopt new working programs in which they included both man and woman workers. In that period, people started to think differently and they begin to delete all forms of discrimination against woman. According to Maurice Duverger:

*“The equality of men and women in the matter of political rights is established by a large number of constitutions, codes and laws. Few indeed are the modern countries that have not proclaimed it...Many nations, which have adopted the system of representative government at a later juncture, and whose customs and traditions maintain women in a secondary and subordinate position”<sup>22</sup>*

Those new activities and programs of woman participation in the political field allowed her to play variety of roles: as voter, political party member, candidate and office holder...; more importantly, woman nowadays is more involved in politics in comparison with her involvement years before.

Equality between women and men in politics in many countries in the world has grown substantially in the past fifty years. More women were elected in national parliaments than ever before and a record number of women hold executive positions within their nations' government<sup>23</sup>.

However, there is still a huge gender gap in political representation in many countries and woman is still struggling to find a place in her country especially in politics. Some researchers argue that women engage, overall, less than men in politics and political activity, others argue that woman effectiveness in politics is

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<sup>22</sup> Maurice Duverger , *The Political Role of Woman* ( Paris:University of Paris and Bordeaux,2010),p 55

<sup>23</sup> Loven duski,J ,*Feminizing Politics* (Cambridge University: Polity Press, 2005),p90

noticeable and can be classified among the first ranges of political leaders in any country in the world.

In any institution in the world nowadays, we find that women have the right to join a political party and seek elected office in their own right. Where data are collected, the number of women candidates for national office seems to be increasing. In USA for example, there is a noticeable number of women who ran for Congress in 2012. The same thing happened in the United Kingdom and some European countries in which the number of women seeking for democratic position is increasing in comparison with years before.

At the end of 2012, the global average of women in parliament stood at 20.3 % in comparison with 19.5 % in 2011. Woman participation average in the political field is increasing and many countries and governments are encouraging woman to be a part of the political activities like voting for example.

### **2.6.2 Public Opinion about Women in Politics:**

People's opinion towards women's leadership in politics differs from region to region and from one person to another. Moreover, the connection between the opinions about women participation in the political leadership positions and the degree to which women serve in noticeable leadership roles can be judge differently.

According to some researches, some countries in Western Europe, North America and Latin America generally consider both man and woman as equally good political leaders and the effectiveness of their activities came from the collaboration between them. In the same context, those researchers argued that majorities in Mali (65%), the Palestinian territories (64%), Kuwait (62%), Pakistan (54%), Bangladesh (52%) and Ethiopia (51%) saying men make better political leaders than women, as do nearly half of Jordanians (49%) and Nigerians (48 %)

Russians are a divided: 44 % say men and women make equally good leaders while 40 % say men are better. Only in Brazil do more people say women

make better political leaders than say men do: 15% of Brazilians say women make better political leaders and 10 % say men are better leaders<sup>24</sup>.

Recently researchers showed that people believe that men and women should think in the importance of the involvement of women in politics but in a limited way. She is allowed to do that in condition to not conflict with cultural gender norms. In other words, they started to accept woman in political jobs but she should be under the supervision and the control of man. Study research made mainly in some Arabic countries in 2013 showed there are some differences in the acceptances of woman to participate in some political roles. In Libya for example, statistics shows that both men and women support women voting, lower numbers supported women as political party members, as ministers or as members of parliament. In 2011, other statistics made in Iraqi showed that although there was a general agreement for the right of women to vote, there was less support for women to play a more active role in the public sector, either as members of parliament or government ministers. Similarly, in 2013 researches made in Afghanistan showed that while a majority of the male respondents stated that they supported women, there was more support for women in “social” rather than “political” positions.

In the same context, some organization that specialized in the effectiveness of women in the political fields showed that women are better managers and more ready than men to deal with many important policy issues.

Feminists and woman rights leaders were always looking for the equality between man and woman in all the fields, in addition, all the groups and the waves of feminism agreed in the importance of the participation of woman in mainly in the political fields. Her right to become a citizen is not only by making her marry and have children but also by giving her the right to vote first and to become a parliament member or minister or even president.

Decades before, woman was not considered as human being, she was under the total control of man as a father or husband. By all the means, she was preventing

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<sup>24</sup> United Nations Statistics Division, *Trends and Statistics*. (World's Women 2010),p119.

from doing any social, political or economical activity. Today, she is the most effective member in society either as a simple citizen mother, wife, and teacher or as political member.

### 2.6.3 The Need for Women in Politics:

Among the strongest and the most common questions are why do we need woman in politics? Moreover, what she can add to the political development of any nation? All those question were discussed and studied by many political and social researches in which they tried to show the importance of giving woman her right to vote or to be a political responsible.

In a way or in another, woman was under pressure to show her ability to be a good leader or a good political participant. Between 2006 and 2008, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) gathered views of parliament members from 110 countries about women's most effective activities. They found that woman is more active in women's issues, gender equality, social and community matters and family-related matters<sup>25</sup>. Women lawmakers, therefore, have often been perceived as more sensitive to community concerns and more responsive to constituency needs.

According to the same study done by IPU, female parliamentarians gave priority to issues like childcare, equal payment and mother issues in addition to topics like violence, poverty and raping. In places such as Rwanda and South Africa, an increase in the number of female lawmakers led to legislation related to land inheritance and reproductive rights. In France and some European countries, women are more involved in topics like human rights and more importantly in women's social, political and economical rights.

A study from Stockholm University showed an increase in the budget for education expenditures as the number of women in the Swedish Parliament increased. As more women reach leadership positions within their political parties,

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<sup>25</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union. *Equality in Politics: A Survey of Men and Women in Parliaments*. Geneva, 2008. Available from: <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/equality08-e.pdf>.

these parties tend to prioritize issues that influence health, education and other quality of life issues<sup>26</sup>.

It is not surprising when women are empowered as political leaders; countries often experience higher standards of living with positive developments in education, transportation and health.

In relation to that and according to a research made by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 19 member countries they found that there is an increase in the number of women legislators results in an increase in total educational spending. In addition to that, this study showed that many countries like India, South Africa and other European countries who gave woman more political positions noticed a huge development in education, health and transport.

The study showed also that by the presence of a woman in the Governmental positions the gender gap in school and working opportunities reduced in a very noticeable way. Women in many countries in the world were able to become an important member and leader. They brought to their societies many achievements like: more health care for women, children and old people, more work opportunities for both man and woman, social and political rights for woman the same as man. More importantly, those woman leaders were able to change the stereotypical profile of woman.

According to President of Chile Michelle Bachelet: *“When one woman is a leader, it changes her. When more women are Leaders, it changes politics and policies.”* Many Feminists, researchers and Human rights leaders already presented what the president of Chile has said. All of them agreed by giving woman the floor to vote, work and to become a leader this would affect the society positively. Woman Leaders usually work for the benefit of the society rather than working for

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<sup>26</sup> <https://docs.google.com/a/ndi.org/file/d/0B6GvclWz7P39aWVIdVRLWENNQ0E/edit>



their own benefit. They also think for all members of society without taking the matters of race, gender or age into consideration.

Finally, research and studies made in many countries in the world shows that women tend to be deeply committed to peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction and have a unique and powerful perspective to bring to the negotiating table. In addition, women often believe in giving second chances to people and they are more involved in social problems (family, woman and child care) more than any other thing.

At the same time, researches proved that, even if women are not interested in politics in a strong way but if they work in these fields they would be more effective than men.

#### **2.6.4 Women and formal political representation:**

Feminist and researchers of democracy are always looking for equality between men and women in all the fields especially politics. They believe in the importance of giving women their right to vote, to be parliament member or even becoming a minister or president. They also emphasize on the importance of political representation of women in all the positions and legislative bodies inside and outside any country. Having women representatives in political and other decision-making institutions that work on behalf of all citizens has been a topic of interest and policy at the European level for the past several decades. In that situation, Feminist theorists in all over the world have used a sharply feminist-critical lens to explore the reality of the gender political representation. They call for the election of more women as politicians. They want to show that women and men should have the same opportunities in the political representation.

Moreover, researchers of the political fields want to make all members of society participate in the different elections of any country, so they found that the best way to show the effectiveness and the credibility of any election is by including women as an important member in it either as voters or as candidates

### 2.6.5 Interest in politics:

In order to make more women engaged in politics, political scholars and feminists tried to show the benefits of making women a part of any political activity. They want also to prove to all women that by entering the political fields they would be able to speak and show their problems and interests easily. Recent research in the UK shows that levels of interest in politics are at their lowest for several years and that the gap between men and women's interest in politics continues. For example, in 2012 only 37% of women said they were interested in politics in comparison to 49% of men the same study found that knowledge of politics is also in decline. A number of factors affect political interest and involvement in similar ways for males and females. The engagement of any member of society in any field primarily came from his familial and societal environment. Since woman was forbidden from working in politics for a long time, this surely affects her interests and views about politics in general.

Many studies made to know how we could change woman's negative attitudes towards politics<sup>27</sup>. In the majority of those researches, scholars found that women were put in a very harsh and unfair gender gap where they were isolated from any kind of political participations. This isolation from political activities make them far away from it and most of the time we found that women are not aware of many things in relation to politics. Beyond this truth, we find that woman was forced to be like that not by her will.

In her study of young women's interest in mainstream politics, Briggs (2008)<sup>28</sup> identifies that socially disadvantaged young women are alienated from most

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<sup>27</sup> Optic Research (KMRC Ltd). Women in Decision- Making. The role of new media for increased political participation. Policy Department C -Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs. European Parliament. June 2013.

<sup>28</sup> Briggs JE.(2008): Young women and politics: an oxymoron?, Journal of Youth Studies,

political debate. In her qualitative research, she found that young women usually feel that they are far away from any related topic to politics. In this study, Briggs found that even if most of young women are far away from politics but this does not mean that they do not have personal political beliefs.

### **2.6.6 Woman in Political Assemblies, Government and the Civil Service**

The number of women who are members in the political and administrative assemblies (parliament, local assemblies, and municipal councils) of the government and of the higher civil service was extremely small mainly centuries before. This phenomenon noticed in the majority of world countries with no exception. In a research made in 1950s in Paris University, America in which all the world call it the nations of democracy was years before among the nations that had the lowest percentage of woman members of parliament. In this concern, political scholars found that since there are a few number of woman candidates so automatically we have few numbers of women members in all the political institutions. The highest figures at that time were for Norway, where 16 % of the candidates for the 1949 parliamentary elections were women. France follows, with 9 % for the 1951 elections. Germany is close behind with 8.5 % for the 1953 elections and 8.9 % for those of 1949<sup>29</sup>. In that study, researchers found that the woman representation in any political activity was extremely absent and this absence of female existence is due to man radical rules that prevent her for many years to be a part in her society.

Years and after the long journey of woman in looking for her social, economical and political rights, we can say that she is now a human being with equal opportunities and conditions of living. This can be noticed from the recent statistics do in many countries of the world, for example in 2008<sup>30</sup> women took 20.6% of seats

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<sup>29</sup> UNESCO Book Coupons. 1950

<sup>30</sup> [www.ipu.org](http://www.ipu.org)

up for renewal in 66 chambers in 54 countries, the highest renewal on record. The organization of IPU<sup>31</sup> reports in 2008: *“Women’s access is affected by different factors, including attitudes about the role of women in society, lack of support of political parties and bias among the electorate. But electorate arrangements and political will are amongst the most important factors ....”*

In the same year, researchers found that those countries that used special measures elected 24% women to parliament on average, as opposed to 18 % for countries that did not use such measures. In the same topic, we find some differences in statistics in relation to other countries like African regions in which woman’s image and profile is still kept in away or in another as it was years before. In addition, the political representation of woman in political position is very little in Ghana for example only 20 women Members of parliament, for Tanzania, there is a noticeable increase in which they have 21.36 % of woman representation in the parliament. In Argentina and in 1995 women occupied 21.8% of parliamentary seats; in 2005, the figure rose to 33.7%. Costa Rica is in the top of the southern American countries by 38.6 % of woman representation in the parliament.

Concerning the Arabic countries, one may say that recently the Arab woman start to draw a new position in the political activities i.e. The situation of woman in the Arab world was all most the same as woman in the whole world. She was kept at home to take care of children and she was eliminated from any political or social activity whereas nowadays she an important citizen and activist mainly in politics. In most of Arabic countries, there is at least 23%<sup>32</sup> of woman in the parliament and this noticeable number in comparison with the past.

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<sup>31</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union

<sup>32</sup> Ahmed, H, *Women in the Shadows of Democracy*, (Middle East Report, 2006), p239.

### 2.6.7 Barriers and Obstacles in the political Representation of woman

Woman of today is not the same as she was years before. In many countries of the world woman in a way or in another get her rights in politics, society and religion but even though she is still in need for more equality not only in the political or economical domains but also in her rights to be a human being. Woman still face the barriers that remains from a combination of stereotypical attitudes and perceptions, which continue to compartmentalize and classify people and leadership qualities by gender, and the existing of inequality itself, which is among the first reasons behind the restriction of female role.

In 2002, a study by Catalyst<sup>33</sup> and The Conference Board Europe interviewed 500 senior women from corporations and professional firms across Europe. In this event, researchers asked about barriers to the advancement of women, two thirds highlighted stereotypes and preconceptions of women's roles and abilities as the most important obstacle they faced, in the second range, there is a lack of suitable female role models, a lack of relevant management experience, family commitments, and a lack of mentoring opportunities. This study showed that the main important idea behind the lack of woman representation in most of the fields is the ancient idea of woman's role. I.e. in all the societies and even in the very developed nations; man still believes that the best place for woman is her house with her children and her personal dreams, achievements and career are not important and can be removed and replaced easily.

Another study done by Euro-Chambers<sup>34</sup> reports that 90% of the women interviewed agreed that men are in a better position to progress in their career

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<sup>33</sup> *Women in Leadership: A European Business Imperative*, Catalyst and the Conference Board Europe, 2002. <http://www.catalyst.org/publication/92/women-in-leadership-a-european-business-imperative>

<sup>34</sup> Eurochambres interviewed women entrepreneurs (41%) and managers (59%) in six EU Member States. <http://www.eurochambres.be/Content/Default.asp?PageID=216>.

because women is under pressure and family constraints, 80% saw motherhood as an obstacle to their career. The same study shows that nearly two thirds of the women interviewed had heard women being described as less believable and convincing in business than men, the remaining few women heard that women had difficulties with decision-making.

Woman in any place of the world was and still under unfair rules that she was obliged to follow and obey. Feminism organization and Woman rights movements started in the whole world and years before; first to give woman her rights and second to remove any stereotypical bad image of woman. All the movements and activities that the world have noticed through history from Marry Wollstonecraft's work "*A vindication of the rights of woman*" to Black American Feminists to Woman and Child Organization recently were and still raising the same principles and dreams which are the total equality and freedom for all woman in any place of the World. When looking at woman's success and achievements nowadays one can say that all those women who were killed, raped and died for this dream deserve respect and appreciation for all what they have done.

### **2.7 Famous Woman Leaders**

Feminism as a dream or as an activity came to stop the pain and suffering of woman in the entire world. In all the means and by a general agreement, it succeeded to change woman from a slave or even an animal to a human being with rights and chances in living their lives in the way they want it. This success can be observed when looking at the domains where woman exists and with different positions and professions.

## 2.7.1 in Politics

### 2.7.1.1 Margaret Hilda Thatcher

Thatcher was born in 13 October 1925 in Grantham, Lincolnshire and died in 8 April 2013. She was the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990 and the Leader of the Conservative Party from 1975 to 1990. She was the longest-serving British Prime Minister of the 20th century and is the only woman to have held the office. A Soviet journalist dubbed her the "Iron Lady", a nickname that became associated with her uncompromising politics and leadership style. As Prime Minister, she implemented policies that have come to be known as Thatcherism. In 1959, she was elected as Conservative MP<sup>35</sup> for Finchley. In February 1975, she won leadership challenge against Edward Heath and became the head of the British Conservative Party. In 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1979, Thatcher was elected Britain's first female prime minister. She retained the position for 11 and half year, making her the longest serving prime minister of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. She died in 2013 at the age of 87 and left behind her a history full of achievements, problems and success. She was insisting on the importance of the political, social and economical education for all citizens especially women.

### 2.7.1.2 Michelle Bachelet

Michelle Bachelet is the current Under-Secretary-General and Executive Director of UN Women and was the former President of Chile, the first woman to hold the presidency. A moderate Socialist, her presidential campaign was based on a platform of continuing Chile's free market policies, while increasing social benefits to help reduce the country's gap between rich and poor, one of the largest in the world. In 2007, Forbes magazine ranked her as 27th in the list of the 100 Most Powerful Women in the World. Prior to becoming President, Bachelet served as Minister of Health and Minister of Defense (the first Latin American woman to hold

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<sup>35</sup> MP: Member of Parliament.

the post) under President Ricardo Lagos. Bachelet has also worked for the Pan-American Health Organization, the World Health Organization, and Chile's National AIDS Commission. Bachelet is a surgeon, pediatrician, and epidemiologist, and has a Master's degree in Military Science. Bachelet has three children and speaks Spanish, English, French, German, and Portuguese.

### **2.7. 1.3 Laura Chinchilla Miranda**

Laura Chinchilla Miranda was elected Costa Rica's first female President in May of 2010. Before she became a politician, she was consultant in Latin America and Africa, focusing on judicial reform and public security issues. Due to her expertise, she went on to serve in the José Maria Figueres Olsen administration as vice-minister for public security (1994–1996) and minister of public security (1996–1998). From 2002 to 2006, she served in the National Assembly as a deputy for the province of San José. Prior to serving as President, she was a Vice-President for the Oscar Arias Sanchez administration and was his administration's Minister of Justice. Chinchilla graduated from the University of Costa Rica and received her Master in Public Policy degree from Georgetown University. She said one time in an interview that becoming a president was her dream from her childhood not because she wants to lead the country but she wants to bring happiness and prosperity and wealth to her nation.

#### **2.7.1.4 Tansu Çiller**

Tansu Çiller is an economist and politician who served as Turkish Prime Minister from 1993-1996. She entered politics in November 1990, joining the True Path Party, and was elected to Parliament in 1991 as deputy of her hometown of Istanbul, where she served as Minister of State for Economics. In 1993, she became the leader of the True Path Party and the Prime Minister of the coalition government. When she was the Prime Minister, her major achievement was the transformation of the Turkish Army into a modern fighting force. The coalition government collapsed in 1996, but Çiller remained involved in politics, serving as Minister of Foreign



Affairs from 1996-1997. Çiller retired from political life in 2002. Before her, she entered politics, Çiller served as an economics professor at several universities and as President of the Istanbul Bank. She is married with two children.

#### **2.7.1.5 Luísa Dias Diogo**

Luisa Dias Diogo became the first woman Prime Minister of Mozambique in 2004, representing the country's FRELIMO party, which has ruled the country since the nation's independence in 1975. During her time in power, she was especially focused on gender equality and women's empowerment. Prime Minister Diogo has urged African health ministers to offer reproductive and sexual health services free of charge throughout the continent. She recently launched the MUNIPA network, which brings together women ministers and parliamentarians to strengthen advocacy and lobbying activities in favor of gender equality legislation. Prior to becoming Prime Minister, Dias was Minister of Planning and Finance, a post that she held until 2005. Before that, she served as head of Mozambique's Finance Industry and Director of the National Budget, a World Bank program officer, and Deputy Finance Minister.

#### **2.7.1.6 Julia Gillard**

Julia Gillard became the 27th Prime Minister of Australia in June of 2010. Prior to serving as Prime Minister, she worked in various political roles. After graduating from college, she worked as a solicitor in Melbourne with the law firm Slater and Gordon and became a partner in 1990, focusing on employment law. From 1996 to 1998, she served as Chief-of-Staff to the then Opposition Leader of the State of Victoria, John Brumby. She was elected to the Federal seat in Australian Labor Party in 1998. From 1998 to 2001, she served on the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Employment, Education and Workplace Relations. In 2001, she was appointed Shadow Minister for Population and Immigration and subsequently took on responsibilities for Reconciliation and Indigenous Affairs in 2003. From 2003 to 2006, she was Shadow Minister for Health. On December 4,

2006, she became Deputy Leader of the Australian Labor Party and served as Shadow Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations and Social Inclusion. Following the victory of the Labor Party in the 2007 elections, she was sworn in as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Education; Employment and Workplace Relations and Social Inclusion before becoming Prime Minister. She received an arts and law degree from the University of Adelaide and became involved in a campaign against education funding cuts. In 1983, she moved to Melbourne to complete her degree at Melbourne University.

### **2.7.1.7 Sheikh Hasina**

Prime Minister Hasina was born on 28<sup>th</sup> of Sept 1947, in the village of Tungipara. She was the daughter of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who led Bangladesh to independence from Pakistan in 1971. While at the University of Dhaka in the late 1960s, she became active in politics and served as her father's political liaison while Pakistani rulers imprisoned him. Prime Minister Hasina and other members of her family were also forced into captivity briefly in 1971 after they participated in an uprising during the liberation war. On Aug. 15, 1975, Bangladeshi military officers assassinated Hasina's father, mother, and three brothers in their home. Prime Minister Hasina spent six years in exile. During this time, she was elected to a leadership position in the Awami League, the largest political organization in Bangladesh. On her return home in 1981, Prime Minister Hasina immersed herself in the fight for democracy which resulted in numerous house arrests. The Awami League led by Sheikh Hasina reclaimed power at the next election in 1996 but lost to the Bangladesh Nationalist Party again in 2001. Undaunted, Sheikh Hasina led her party in the 2008 general elections during which she vowed to build a "Digital Bangladesh" by 2021. The Awami league won the elections on December 29, 2008 with an overwhelming majority and Sheikh Hasina was named Prime Minister of Bangladesh. She continues to serve in that capacity today. According to her, the journey that she experienced with the death of her family and the exile did not

prevent her or make her stop looking and speaking about the rights of Freedom and equality

### **2.7.2 Science and Society**

#### **2.7.2.1 Dr. Lale Akgün**

Lale Akgün, born 1953 in Istanbul, moved to Germany, Cologne, in 1962 and has been living here since. After obtaining a degree in medical sciences, ethnology and psychology in 1981, she received her doctorate at the faculty of natural science of the Albertus Magnus University in Cologne in 1987.

She then became an assistant professor at that university. During that time, many of the publications she wrote included topics such as migration and its psychological and social consequences. Between 1997 and 2002, she chaired the Federal Centre for Immigration North Rhine-Westphalia in Solingen. She was a member of the Social Democratic Party since 1982. In 2001, she became a member of the executive committee of the party's municipal region of Cologne. She is among the famous Muslim Feminists and she was always calling for equality between man and woman in all the fields.

#### **2.7.2.2 Prof. Irshad Manji**

Irshad Manji was born in 1962 in Uganda. She moved with her family to Canada, where young Irshad attended public schools as well as an Islamic school. She was expelled from the school at the age 14 for asking too many questions, but kept her faith. Today, Irshad Manji is senior fellow with the Brussels-based European Foundation for Democracy and director of the Moral Courage Project at New York University. In both capacities, she is leading a global campaign to reconcile Islam with human rights. Professor Manji is the internationally bestselling author of *The Trouble with Islam Today: A Muslim's Call for Reform in Her Faith*. Her book has been published in 30 countries, including Pakistan, India, Lebanon and Indonesia. Irshad Manji is also creator of the acclaimed

Documentary Faith without Fear, It was launched at this year's Muslim Film Festival organized by the American Islamic Congress. Prof. Manji graduated in intellectual history from the University of British Columbia, earning the Governor General's medal for top academic achievement in humanities. She went on to an award-winning career in public interest journalism, becoming a fellow at Yale University and writer-in-residence at the University of Toronto, where she wrote *The Trouble with Islam Today*. Her personal faith and believe was always directing her works and activities. She is among the famous Feminists who believe in the importance of improving woman's education and culture.

### **2.8 Conclusion:**

The second chapter sheds light on the participation of woman in the different fields like economy, society and politics. It displays a glance about woman status in health and education. It presents the common obstacles and barriers that most of women face in their carries. This chapter also presents some bibliographies of the most famous woman leaders in the political and social fields in which its shows that woman were able to remove and delete their stereotypical image and become important leaders in many their domains.

# GENERAL CONCLUSION

## General Conclusion

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During a long period in history, woman was not considered as equal citizens, they suffered from bad treatments, discrimination and racism under man domination and rules. In spite these problems, they could challenge them and prove themselves over the society.

Woman in the past was living unequal and unfair life. She was prevented from doing any political, social and economical activities and her only job is being a housewife who takes care of home and children. At that time, woman was under the control of man who dominates all the fields in which he represents the symbol of power.

After all those problems, suffering and misery woman in the entire world started to find ways to improve herself and to change her position in life. They tried also to join their efforts, dreams and wishes to form a universal idea that speaks about all women in any place in the world this leads to the appearance of Feminism.

By the coming of Feminism, woman was able take back her rights in addition to changing her negative image. Feminism proves that woman is capable to play important roles the same as man. Moreover, the most important goals of Feminism were giving woman her total freedom in addition to equal opportunities in the representation of the political and social events.

This modest work tries to give an over view of Feminism and how it developed from being an idea or a belief to becoming a theory with standard goals and principles. The first chapter of this work was theoretical, in which we presented the definition of Feminism in addition to its origin and its different types. It presents also some famous waves of Feminism in which it tackled the famous leaders of each one of them and more importantly, it gives its principles and goals. This chapter speaks also about the suffering of Muslim and Black woman.

The second chapter indeed gives more importance to role of woman and her achievements in the political, social and the economical fields. It shows also the status and the role of woman in the decisions making in addition to restating the common

## General Conclusion

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obstacles that can any woman face when looking for her rights. This chapter contains the best examples of Feminism success that are a group of woman leaders mainly in politics, society and science.

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