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Feminist Conflicts and Women's Selfhood: Perspectives on Gender and Identity from **Postfeminist and Third Wave Feminist Standpoints**

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Abstract: Both Post feminism and Third Wave Feminism emerged from 1970s feminist theory, expanding upon and challenging certain concepts. A central point of contention addressed by postfeminists and third wave feminists revolves around the concept of identity. While Second Wave feminists perceived identity as fixed and stable, emphasizing shared experiences, other philosophical and cultural movements questioned the notion of a stable, fixed identity and subjecthood. The incorporation of these ideas into feminism gained urgency as feminism evolved from a purely political movement to a comprehensive cultural theory or set of theories. Post feminism adopted the idea of a fluid and shifting identity, arguing that an emphasis on collective action could generate internal strains by neglecting differences, initially of class and color, and ultimately of identity. Third Wave feminism engages with post feminism on the topic of identity but asserts that collectivism remains relevant, as women have yet to attain complete freedom. Third Wavers contend that Post feminism leans towards competitive individualism, overlooking the various ways women experience fear, violence, and political and economic underprivilege. Texts from the Third Wave, such as Third Wave Agenda, Manifesta, and Colonize This! grapple with women's intersectional identities and call for an end to all forms of oppression. This paper aims to analyze the ideological premises and differences between these two feminist strands in constructing gender and identity. Seminal works from both strands will be scrutinized to highlight the opposition between their sources and mechanisms, contributing to the construction of a coherent version of feminism.

Index Terms - Post feminism, Third Wave Feminism, Gender, Identity, Intersectionality.

I. INTRODUCTION

In the 1980s, feminism experienced a decline in popularity among women, largely due to the perceived fanaticism displayed by second-wave feminists in their relentless pursuit of equality and freedom. Figures like Betty Friedan, Kate Millet, and Elaine Showalter, who were influential feminist theorists, propagated the idea of "activism" as a moral imperative for women.

Betty Friedan, in her seminal work "The Feminine Mystique" (1963), addressed the plight of white middle-class women, coining the term 'the problem that has no name' to describe the widespread discontent among women. Friedan argued that women should aspire to more than traditional roles as wives and mothers, urging them to venture beyond the confines of domesticity into the professional realm for self-actualization. She highlighted a desire within women for something beyond the traditional roles of wife, mother, and homemaker.

Germaine Greer, another prominent feminist voice, asserted that women had become detached from their libido, desire, and sexuality. She advocated for women to explore and embrace their own bodies, encouraging them to experience their menstrual cycles and reject practices like celibacy and monogamy. Greer's mantra was one of 'change through revolution, not evolution,' emphasizing the need for radical transformations in societal norms.

Elaine Showalter proposed a different approach, advocating for women's self-discovery through the expression of female writing and lived experience. Women were positioned as victims, and Showalter argued that it was a collective responsibility to empower women and dismantle the entrenched structures of male patriarchy.

The second wave of feminism, in contrast to the androgynous ideals embraced by first-wave feminists like Virginia Woolf, viewed identity as stable and unitary. Central to their philosophy was the belief that gender is a social construct, exerting a repressive influence on women. This perspective led to the promotion of collective action, the emphasis on sisterhood, and the assertion that the 'personal' is inherently 'political.' However, these empowering ideas eventually paradoxically led some women to embody characteristics reminiscent of the very object of their resistance - the 'man.'

The media, reflecting prevailing sentiments, portrayed Second Wave Feminism as synonymous with the denigration of motherhood, pursuit of selfish goals, and the adoption of a suit-clad, workaholic, unshaven demeanor (Rye 2003:105-109). The rigorous routines and demanding activism associated with being a feminist proved wearying for many young women. They grew disillusioned with the notion that diverging from the male-defined expectations of womanhood and adopting opposing traits brought them no tangible

While acknowledging the tangible and widespread gains achieved through Second Wave Feminism, some women asserted that the battle for equality and freedom had been won, rendering the movement obsolete. They reflected on the unintended consequence of these achievements, realizing that, amidst the pursuit of equality, they had been effectively deprived of a crucial element contributing to the happiness of many women – relationships with men.

In response to these realizations, a cohort of women ushered in a new era of feminism, coined as post feminism. This emerging ideology aimed to address the needs of contemporary women who were economically and sexually liberated. Instead of prescribing a specific feminist or feminine path, post feminism sought to emancipate women to choose any path they desired. This shift marked a departure from the stringent confines of Second Wave Feminism, reflecting an evolving understanding of women's autonomy and agency in shaping their lives.

II. POST FEMINISM: ROOTS, DYNAMICS, AND CRITIQUES

Post feminism, a concept with a history spanning over two decades, traces its roots back to 1919 when a journal was established by female literary radicals. In this early manifestation, the proponents expressed a shift in focus towards people rather than gender binaries, advocating for a stance that transcended moral, social, economic, and political standards based on sex. The term "postfeminist" was thus coined to encapsulate this perspective, emphasizing a pro-woman stance without adopting an anti-man sentiment (Cot 1987: 128).

The term experienced a resurgence in the 1980s, characterized by a backlash against second-wave feminism. Today, post feminism serves as a label encompassing a diverse array of theories that critically engage with earlier feminist discourses, presenting challenges to the ideas propagated during the second wave (Modleski 1991: 3). Amelia Jones, in her examination of postfeminist texts emerging in the 1980s and 1990s, noted a tendency to portray second-wave feminism as a monolithic entity, offering generalized criticisms.

Some contemporary feminists, such as Katha Pollitt and Nadine Strossen, assert a fundamental feminist tenet: "women are people." This perspective aims to break down simplistic views that separate the sexes, underlining the notion that feminism fundamentally advocates for the recognition of women as fully realized individuals.

Post feminism places a significant emphasis on the individual and the accomplishments of that individual, a phenomenon described by McRobbie as the process of female individualization. In this context, the empowered and liberated individual, well-versed in the various ideologies surrounding her, including feminism, is not only capable but also expected to make informed decisions. As the societal expectations traditionally placed on women, such as marriage and childbearing, diminish in strength, the capacity for personal agency proportionally increases. Post feminism, therefore, positions collective agency as a relic of the past, once indispensable as a political strategy but now deemed obsolete and certainly inferior to the potency of personal agency in the postfeminist era (Włodarczyk 2010:7).

This celebration of the individual and individual accomplishments in post feminism correlates with a notable preoccupation with consumption. In this context, consumption serves as a measure of one's success and concurrently functions as a tool of empowerment. The prosperous postfeminist woman, equipped with financial means, indulges in purchasing expensive clothing and accessories, employing this act as a means to enhance mood and bolster self-confidence.

Post feminism is often criticized as media's endeavor to resurrect more traditional femininities that were previously discouraged by feminism. These revived attributes include an unapologetic return to more traditional relationships with men, a heightened focus on consumerism, a reconsideration of motherhood, and attempts to embrace domesticity. The themes of individualism, domesticity, and consumerism are prominently portrayed in influential television shows such as Bridget Jones Diary, Ally McBeal, and Sex and the City. The protagonists in these shows embody postfeminist ideals, characterized by sexual liberation and an assertion of equality with men across economic, legal, and social dimensions.

In essence, post feminism navigates a complex landscape where the individual's agency and achievements take center stage, intertwining with a heightened consumerist culture. Simultaneously, it faces criticism for potentially reinforcing traditional gender roles that were once challenged by feminism. These dynamics are vividly portrayed in popular television narratives, reflecting the evolving attitudes and complexities of postfeminist ideals.

One of the notable characteristics within postfeminist media culture is its intense fixation on the body. In a departure from previous methods of representation, femininity now seems to be defined predominantly as a physical attribute rather than a manifestation of social structures or psychological qualities. The possession of a 'sexy body' is framed as the primary source of women's identity. The body is simultaneously portrayed as a fount of power for women and as inherently unruly, necessitating perpetual monitoring, surveillance, discipline, and modification (often accompanied by consumer spending) to align with increasingly narrow standards of female attractiveness. This particular approach results in the "ironic normalization of pornography," wherein women seemingly consent to being perceived as sexual objects. This consent is framed as an expression of their freedom of choice and the supposed empowerment derived from showcasing their sexuality. This stands in stark contrast to the perspective of second-wave feminists, who regarded pornography as a criminal assault on female identity and a form of oppression.

McRobbie examines the widespread dissemination of soft-pornographic images in contemporary visual culture through this lens. Women, she contends, may reluctantly consent to the presence of such images due to social pressures, fearing that objecting to them would label them as "uncool." In this way, postfeminism subtly manipulates women into relinquishing their agency and accepting objectification. Moreover, the very language of feminism, with terms like liberation and empowerment, undergoes a transformation when strictly confined to sexual contexts, rendering these powerful concepts grotesque in their sexualized usage (McRobbie 2004: 255-264).

In her groundbreaking book "Backlash" (1991), Susan Faludi explores Post feminism as a movement strategically utilized by popular media to undermine the hard-won achievements of feminists. She argues that this construct of Post feminism, largely engineered by male-dominated media, serves as a tool in collaboration to suppress female activism and reintroduce traditional

concepts of femininity. Faludi terms this concerted effort a "Backlash" and issues a rallying call for a return to feminism as a countermeasure against this assault (Faludi 1991:85).

Rebecca Walker also identifies this purported conspiracy and advocates for a collective initiative and activism to confront and counteract the Backlash. Disputing the notion that equality between women and men has been fully realized, Walker rejects the label of a "postfeminist feminist" and asserts her allegiance to the Third Wave. Her stance underscores the misconception that the fight for gender equality is concluded, declaring, "I am not the postfeminist feminist, I am third wave." Walker emphasizes the need to connect with feminist predecessors and the historical women's movement while creating space for younger generations to forge their distinct form of resistance under the banner of the Third Wave (Wlodarczyk 2010:18).

III. THIRD WAVE FEMINISM: DIVERSE PERSPECTIVES AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

The Third Wave defines itself in opposition to the popular understanding of post feminism by articulating what it is not and the reasons behind this distinction. The primary differentiator is the insistence on the necessity of collective action, a crucial element for both safeguarding the achievements of feminism and pursuing new objectives. Unlike post feminism, which portrays the existing status quo as an accomplishment to be enjoyed and unquestioned, the Third Wave recognizes the ongoing need for social mobilization. Post feminism, as argued by the Third Wave proponents, cannot be classified as a social movement but is limited to the realm of a social theory.

Similar to the earlier manifestations of first and second wave feminisms, third wave feminism doesn't adhere to a singular perspective. The third wave narrative is characterized by multivocality, as identified by Siegel (1997:46-75), encompassing diverse and analytically distinct approaches to feminism that center on concepts such as difference, deconstruction, and decentering (Mann 2005:57). Third wave feminists are often described as 'a political generation' by Nancy Whittier, denoting a group that shares formative social conditions and interprets the world through a common framework shaped by historical circumstances (Alfonso 1997:

In stark contrast to Second Wave feminism and post feminism, third wave feminists embrace an inclusive and anti-essentialist perspective on gender and identity. Second wave feminism and post feminism have been criticized for their essentialist definitions of gender, focusing predominantly on white heterosexual women from the middle class. These movements tend to overlook the diversity among women in terms of colors, ethnicities, nationalities, religions, and cultural backgrounds. In response, third wave feminists position themselves as representatives of this diversity.

The third wave incorporates a wide array of theoretical frameworks, including queer theory, anti-racism, women-of-color consciousness, womanism, girl power, postcolonial theory, postmodernism, transnationalism, cyberfeminism, ecofeminism, individualist feminism, new feminist theory, and transgender politics. Within the scope of the third wave is also the concept of sexpositivity, which celebrates sexuality as a positive aspect of life. This involves adopting broader definitions of sex and challenging pre-existing beliefs about oppression and empowerment in the context of sex. For instance, many third wave feminists reevaluate the opposition to pornography and sex work that characterized the second wave, questioning assumptions that participants in these industries are always being exploited.

Third wave feminists contend that Post feminism leans heavily on competitive individualism, neglecting collective action and thereby obscuring the various ways in which women commonly face fear, sexual assault, violence, and endure political and economic disadvantages. In contrast, the third wave, as evidenced in texts such as "Third Wave Agenda," "Manifesta," and "Colonize This!," grapples with the intricate intersections of women's identities and advocates for the elimination of all forms of oppression.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Pleasetakenoteofthefollowingitemswhenproofreadingspellingandgrammar. Amber Kinser, in her analysis, characterizes third wave feminism as a nuanced effort to navigate a space between second-wave and postfeminist thought, representing a complex negotiation (Kinser 2004:135). Deborah Siegel (1997) interprets it as a stance of political resistance, challenging popular assertions of a moratorium on feminism and feminists. The editors of "Third Wave Agenda: Doing Feminism, Being Feminist" assert that the third wave is a movement that incorporates elements of second-wave critique on beauty culture, sexual abuse, and power structures while also acknowledging and interpreting the complex interplay of pleasure, danger, and defining power within those structures (Kinser 2004:140).

Post feminism, in contrast, presents collective agency as a relic of the past, once crucial as a political strategy but now deemed obsolete and inferior to the strength of personal agency in the postfeminist landscape. On the other hand, the third wave, right from its inception, underscores the imperative for collective action and revitalizes the second-wave concept of sisterhood. However, the emphasis is on building a community rooted in the appreciation of differences rather than assuming a uniformity among women. The third wave thus represents a dynamic and inclusive movement that not only acknowledges the challenges faced by women but actively seeks to address and eliminate systemic forms of oppression

One of the most contentious ideas scrutinized by postfeminists and third wave feminists revolves around the concept of identity. Second wave feminists perceived identity as fixed and stable, underscoring the importance of a shared experience to cultivate a heightened consciousness of women's identity, thereby facilitating political change. This perspective was significantly influenced by the groundbreaking ideas of French theorist Simone de Beauvoir in her seminal work, "The Second Sex" (1949). Beauvoir, challenging the notion of identity as biologically determined, posits that gender is socially constructed, distinguishing it from the inherent, anatomical aspects of sex.

Beauvoir's differentiation between sex and gender is crucial. Sex refers to the unchanging, anatomically distinct features of the female body, while gender encompasses the cultural meaning and form acquired by that body, representing the various modes of its acculturation. With this distinction, attributing societal values or functions to women based on biological necessity becomes untenable, and the concept of natural or unnatural gendered behavior loses meaning: all gender is, by definition, unnatural (Butler 1986:35-49). Beauvoir proposes that gender is a form of choice, but it is a choice made without full awareness, as women only realize the implications of their choices later on. She argues that women never experience their bodies directly; instead, it is through the lens of gender that they perceive and live their bodies.

According to Beauvoir, the gender women acquire is a male formulation, and in making this pre-reflective choice, women become the 'other' to men. Beauvoir's project offers limited choices for women: either to adopt a male persona, which is frustrating, or to embrace a female identity, which she sees as illusory. To Beauvoir, being a woman means being a subject, and the true challenge for women lies in rejecting these evasions from reality and seeking self-fulfillment through transcendence.

The term "transcendence" in Beauvoir's discourse implies a gender-free model of freedom as the normative ideal for women's aspirations. While advocating for overcoming gender entirely, especially for women who, by embracing their gender, sacrifice autonomy and the capacity for transcendence, Beauvoir's prescription may seem to encourage women to adopt the model of freedom currently embodied by the masculine gender.

Recognizing that the only available pathway to transcendence was defined by male norms, second wave feminists engaged in a concerted effort to participate in male-dominated spaces, departing from traditional domestic roles and entering professional and business realms. This perspective also classified women as possessing a unitary identity, positioned as the 'other' in relation to men. While second wave feminists were diligently working to foster awareness of shared commonalities among women, other intellectual movements, predominantly observable in the realms of philosophy and cultural theory rather than in the political arena, were challenging the notion of a stable and fixed identity.

The increasing urgency to acknowledge and incorporate these ideas into feminism became apparent as the feminist movement evolved from a primarily political movement to a fully developed cultural theory or a set of interconnected theories. This shift marked a transition from the discourse of equality to the exploration of Difference. The advent of post-modernism and post-structuralism vehemently dismantled any semblance of a fixed and stable identity, questioning binaries such as man/woman, male/female, masculine/feminine, and subject/object, all of which were subjected to erasure.

The emergence of new feminist trends was notably influenced by French difference theorists like Luce Irigaray and Helene Cixous. They asserted the existence of an essential difference between male and female bodies, rejecting the notion of considering the female as merely a negative image of the male—a phallogocentric construction. Luce Irigaray's critique targeted philosophy and psychoanalysis for their inherent masculinism, highlighting the presentation of man as the universal norm, with sexual difference either overlooked or conceptualized as the 'maternal-feminine,' left behind in the transition to abstract thought.

Irigaray's sustained critique extended to both philosophy and psychoanalysis, emphasizing that man is portrayed as the universal norm, neglecting the recognition of sexual difference. She argued that the principles shaping Western rationality, such as identity, non-contradiction, binarism, atomism, and determinate individuation, reflect a masculine perspective. In contrast, she posited that the contact of at least two lips, representing woman, introduces an ambiguity of individuation, fluidity, mobility, and a rejection of stable forms (Porter 1997:79). Irigaray contended that the feminine is inevitably formulated through male standards since only one universal subject exists, which happens to be man. She called for a 'double universal,' advocating for the full positive affirmation of both sexes.

Helene Cixous's concept of "Ecriture Feminine" represents a profound affirmation of the inherent differences in female identity as distinct from male identity. She issues a call for the act of writing to become a means of inventing an impregnable language capable of dismantling partitions, classes, rhetoric's, regulations, and codes. This call urges the abandonment of the syntactical structures that traditionally function as an umbilical cord for men. According to Cixous, "Write yourself, your body must be heard, only then will the immense resource of the unconscious spring forth" (Barry 2004:158). Cixous contends that the phallocentric tradition has largely succeeded in suppressing the voice of women. To counteract this, she advocates for women to uncensored themselves, reclaim their extensive bodily territories that have been kept under seal, and cast away feelings of guilt (Seldon 2007:145).

Rej<mark>ecting the binary opposition o</mark>f masculine/feminine, Cixous aligns <mark>with Derrida's principl</mark>e of 'difference.' She opposes Virginia Woolf's notion of neutral bisexuality and, instead, champions what she terms "the other bisexuality," a stance that refuses to negate differences but rather stirs them up. Cixous emphasizes the richness of a woman's body, with its myriad thresholds of ardor, asserting that it has the potential to make the old mother tongue resonate with more than one language (Sellers 1996:68). Third wave feminists actively engage with this perspective on identity and gender, welcoming bisexual women into their fold and eschewing distinctions based on color or race. This inclusive view is a key aspect of the third wave, addressing the needs of marginalized and colonized women, recognizing intersections within the female realm, and embracing the diversity inherent in all of them.

The postfeminist perspective on identity and gender draws inspiration from Julia Kristeva's utilization of the semiotic and symbolic levels to distinguish between the unrestrained female level and the repressive male level, associating homosexuality/lesbianism with psychological frustration. Kristeva builds upon Jacques Lacan's work, which posits a paternal Symbolic order and the repression of the 'feminine' essential for language and culture. In response, Kristeva reintegrates women into the narrative by asserting that poetic language—the 'semiotic'—represents the emergence of the maternal body in writing, free from the constraints of the paternal logos. This semiotic state is present in male poets as well, where poetry resonates with the repression of the symbolic order, leading to a radical dispersal of "identity" and a loss of coherence.

The 'drives' experienced by a child in the pre-oedipal phase are likened to a language but lack a coherent order. To transition from the 'semiotic' to the 'symbolic,' stabilization is necessary, involving the repression of flowing and rhythmic drives. The symbolic is associated with the father's law, censoring and repressing to facilitate the emergence of discourse. Woman, according to Kristeva, embodies the silence or incoherence of the pre-discursive, representing the free-floating sea of the womb and standing as the "Other" threatening to disrupt the conscious (rational) order of speech. Kristeva suggests that women should reclaim the womb—the semiotic chora—to resist oppression. For her, poetic writing and maternity are the culturally permissible avenues for women to reconnect with the maternal body, with female homosexuality considered an impossibility, almost a psychosis (Seldan 2004:143).

Postfeminist identity claims a return to femininity and heterosexuality to reinvent the lost maternal identity. However, this return is viewed as an individual journey, embracing the psychosomatic flow of difference and rejecting the 'violent hierarchy' of binary oppositions, seeking to revive the death of meaning.

In contrast, third wave feminism critiques post feminism's heteronormative stance, return to femininity, and essentialism as a regression to 'phallogocentric.' The heterosexuality advocated by postfeminists is deemed repressive of alternative gender possibilities and criticized for privileging one gender category, primarily white female concerns. Third wave feminists argue that such an identity eschews collective action, making invisible the various challenges women face, from fear and violence to political and economic underprivilege. Judith Butler contends that gender identity is an illusion, existing only within the acts that express it. The assumption of a semiotic level, housing the womb and the maternal, suggests a pre-existing self, a notion Butler rejects. For Butler, the body is a factual entity devoid of value before signification, with all gender being scripted, rehearsed, and performed (Butler 1990: 63).

Third wave feminists embrace a broader notion of female identity, encompassing women of all colors, races, and ethnicities. Gender fixity is dismantled, and multiple gender categories are considered the norm. Drawing from Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault, third wave feminists view gender and identity as constantly evolving, much like historical and social power structures. They reject clear boundaries and binary oppositions, advocating for a fluid continuum where identities are not constrained by fixed categories.

While attempting to represent diverse women identities across class, race, gender, and ethnicities, third wave feminism risks falling into the trap of essentialism—a contradiction to its purported resolution. This confirmation implies the existence of a universal ontological being prior to culturally assumed identities or repeated stylization of the body, identifiable as 'woman.' Third wave feminism, in its quest to represent various groups, fails to recognize the idiosyncrasies and contradictory interests among women of different races, colors, genders, and ethnicities. This oversight destabilizes the movement and challenges its overall viability.

Both postfeminist thinkers and third wave feminists converge in their perspective on pornography, viewing it as a manifestation of female empowerment, challenging the historical portrayal of women as passive objects for male pleasure found in European nude paintings and early pornographic films. The evolution of contemporary pornography portrays women as active participants in sexual engagements, occasionally even more assertive and dominant than their male counterparts. Feminists argue that this shift marks a significant transformation where women are now positioned as subjects rather than objects.

This argument gains additional traction through the recognition of strong and inspirational women within the porn industry. However, this assertion clashes with the nuanced views held by both postfeminists and third wave feminists regarding the complexity of female identity. Embracing pornography as an unequivocal form of empowerment oversimplifies women's identities, categorizing them as either subjects or objects. Such an endorsement of pornography overlooks the intricate workings of the self, which is characterized by contradictions, encompassing roles as both the subject and the object, the surveyor and the surveyed.

In this intricate dance of identity, to claim the position of the subject, a woman must scrutinize herself as an object, ensuring she doesn't conform to objectification. Paradoxically, this can lead to a situation where a woman becomes confined by the very standards she seeks to defy, navigating the complexities of self-perception in a world that often oversimplifies the intricacies of female identity.

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