Contemporary Feminism: A new Wave of Feminism

Devyanshi Singh¹ and Dr Reshma Umair²

¹(Student) ²(Professor)

Course: BA LLB (HON.) Amity University Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh

Abstract: This manuscript here strive here to study the reasons on how feminism emerged and grew from first wave feminism to modern day feminism which has been shaping our society through its feminist movements to uplift women all around the globe from any discrimination. Contemporary Feminism also known widely as the fourth wave feminism is characterized by digital activism, intersectionality and an inclusive approach to gender justice. This paper covers the growth of feminism from the 19th century to the modern day it examines the key features of modern feminist movements, including the influence of social media, the role of marginalized voices, and the global fight for gender equity. It explores how feminism has evolved beyond Western - centric frameworks to address broader socio - political issues such as racial injustice, LGBTQ+ Rights and economic inequality. It also examines the movement's internal debates-such as trans-inclusivity and critiques of neoliberal feminism and its response to backlash from conservative and anti-feminist forces. Ultimately, this study underscores how feminism today operates as a dynamic and multifaceted force striving for equity interconnected social systems.

Keywords: Contemporary feminism, fourth wave feminism, intersectionality, digital activism, marginalized voices, socio – political issues , trans – inclusivity

INTRODUCTION

Feminism has undergone significant transformation since its emergence as a social and political movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Originally rooted in the struggle for women's suffrage and legal recognition, early feminist activism—commonly referred to as the first wave—focused primarily on formal equality within a patriarchal legal framework. (Siegel, 2002) Over the decades, feminism has expanded in both scope and methodology, responding to changing societal norms and the evolving needs of women and other marginalized groups. What we now identify as contemporary feminism—often aligned with the fourth wave—builds upon the legacies of earlier waves while embracing new tools, voices, and

theoretical frameworks to combat systemic inequality.

Central to contemporary feminism is the principle of intersectionality, a concept first articulated by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw. Intersectionality recognizes that individuals experience oppression in varied configurations and degrees of intensity based on multiple aspects of identity, including gender, race, class, sexual orientation, ability, and immigration status. This theoretical shift marks a departure from the earlier feminist tendency to universalize women's experiences, often ignoring or minimizing the particular struggles faced by women of color, queer individuals, and other marginalized populations. Intersectional feminism has thus become a hallmark of contemporary feminist thought and activism, fostering more inclusive representative movements.

Another defining feature of modern feminism is its relationship with digital media. The rise of social media platforms has revolutionized feminist activism, democratizing access to discourse and enabling grassroots campaigns to achieve global visibility. Movements such as #MeToo, #TimesUp, and #SayHerName have exposed systemic abuse and institutional failures while also providing platforms for survivors to share their stories. (Burke, 2017) While these digital movements have facilitated new forms of solidarity and collective action, they also raise complex questions about performative allyship, digital surveillance, and the limitations of online activism.

Contemporary feminism also faces internal tensions and external criticisms. Within the movement, debates persist over issues such as sex work, the inclusion of transgender women, and the boundaries of feminist discourse. Externally, feminist ideals are frequently co-opted by corporate and political interests, leading to what some scholars term "neoliberal feminism"—a form of feminism that emphasizes individual empowerment and consumer

choice over collective liberation and structural change. These tensions highlight the challenges of sustaining a unified feminist movement in an increasingly fragmented and globalized world.

In light of these developments, this paper seeks to explore the current state of feminism in the 21st century, analyzing its theoretical foundations, practical applications, and the broader societal impact of feminist thought today. It will examine how contemporary feminism navigates issues of inclusivity, representation, and activism, while also addressing the critiques and contradictions that arise within a rapidly changing cultural and political landscape.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To understand contemporary feminism, it's important to consider the historical evolution of the feminist movement. Feminism has often been described in terms of "waves," each reflecting the dominant issues and approaches of the time. Although this model has its limitations, it offers a useful way to trace how feminist thought and activism have changed over the decades.

The first wave of feminism began in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, focusing primarily on legal and political rights for women—especially the right to vote. This wave was driven by campaigns for suffrage, property rights, and access to education and employment. While it achieved several legal victories, it often overlooked the experiences and voices of women of color, working-class women, and non-Western women.

The second wave, emerging in the 1960s and continuing through the 1980s, broadened the feminist agenda to include issues like reproductive rights, workplace discrimination, domestic violence, and sexuality. It aimed to address not only public inequality but also private, personal experiences of oppression. However, this wave was also criticized for primarily reflecting the concerns of white, middle-class women and not fully including more diverse perspectives.

The third wave began in the 1990s as a response to these exclusions. It emphasized diversity, individual identity, and the rejection of universal definitions of womanhood. Third-wave feminists focused on the intersections of gender with race, class, sexuality, and culture. They embraced pop culture, challenged gender norms, and emphasized the personal as political in new, more inclusive ways.

Building on all of these movements, contemporary feminism—often referred to as the fourth wave—emerged around the 2010s. It is defined by its use of digital technology and social media, its commitment to intersectionality, and its focus on a global perspective. Contemporary feminists tackle a wide range of issues including sexual harassment, gender-based violence, body autonomy, and representation in media and politics. This modern form of feminism is more inclusive and adaptive, shaped by diverse experiences and voices, and more aware of the complexities of identity in a globalized world.

Core Themes of Contemporary Feminism

Contemporary feminism is characterized by its expansion beyond traditional gender issues to address intersecting forms of oppression, harness new technologies for activism, and engage with broader sociopolitical dynamics. The following are central themes that define modern feminist thought and practice:

1. Intersectionality: Race, Class, Gender Identity, Sexuality

A cornerstone of contemporary feminist theory is intersectionality—the idea that various forms of oppression interlock and cannot be examined in isolation. Coined by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw, intersectionality critiques earlier feminist frameworks that centered primarily on the experiences of white, middle-class women, while ignoring how race, class, and sexuality shape gender-based oppression. (Crenshaw, 1991) Today's feminism acknowledges that a Black trans woman, for example, may experience discrimination differently from a white cisgender woman, due to overlapping systemic barriers. This framework has expanded feminist discourse to be more inclusive and attentive to structural inequalities.

2. Digital Activism: Social Media's Role

The rise of digital technology has transformed feminist activism. Social media platforms like Twitter, Instagram, and TikTok have become vital tools for mobilization, awareness, and resistance. Campaigns such as #MeToo and #TimesUp have enabled survivors of sexual violence to share their

stories, challenge powerful institutions, and demand systemic change. (Burke, 2017)While online activism increases visibility and participation, critics caution against "hashtag feminism" becoming performative or lacking offline follow-through. Nonetheless, the internet has undeniably expanded access to feminist discourse and democratized advocacy.

3. Body Autonomy & Reproductive Rights

The fight for control over one's body remains central to feminist movements. Contemporary feminism continues advocate for comprehensive to reproductive rights, including access to abortion, contraception, maternal healthcare, and protections against forced sterilization. This theme has become even more urgent in response to legislative rollbacks and judicial decisions restricting bodily autonomy, particularly in the United States and other conservative-leaning countries. Feminists also address body politics more broadly, including fat acceptance, anti-shaming movements, and resistance to oppressive beauty standards.

4. Representation in Media & Politics

Another core focus of contemporary feminism is achieving fair and accurate representation in media and political institutions. Feminist critique now includes analysis of how women and gender-diverse people are portrayed in film, television, and advertising, with calls for more inclusive narratives and creators. In politics, while female representation has increased globally, structural barriers and misogyny persist. Contemporary feminism also challenges tokenism and advocates for intersectional representation that reflects diverse lived experiences, not just numerical inclusion.

5. Feminism and the LGBTQ+ Movement

Contemporary feminism is deeply intertwined with LGBTQ+ advocacy. Modern feminists recognize that the struggle for gender equality must include people across the spectrum of gender identity and sexual orientation. This includes fighting for transgender rights, confronting gender-based violence against queer individuals, and redefining traditional concepts of family, gender roles, and sexuality. However, tensions persist within the feminist movement over trans inclusion, revealing ongoing debates about the boundaries of feminist identity and activism. Overall, the movement increasingly embraces a coalition-based approach that affirms gender diversity.

Global Perspectives in Contemporary Feminism Contemporary feminism cannot be fully understood without a global lens. While many feminist theories and movements originated in the West, the scope of feminism today is truly international, encompassing a wide range of experiences, priorities, and cultural contexts. This broader perspective challenges the idea that feminism follows a single narrative and highlights the importance of including voices from the Global South, engaging with cultural differences, and addressing the long-standing dominance of Western-centric frameworks.

1. Feminism in the Global South

In the Global South—regions that include Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East—feminism often arises from deeply rooted struggles against colonialism, poverty, authoritarianism, and systemic violence. Feminist movements in these areas have grown organically in response to local needs and injustices, and they often prioritize issues that are distinct from those in the Global North. For example, while Western feminists might focus on gender parity in corporate leadership or reproductive rights in highly developed healthcare systems, women in the Global South may be fighting for access to basic education, clean water, protection from sexual violence, or the right to own land.

These feminist movements are typically shaped by the cultural, political, and religious traditions of their societies. In many cases, they are led by women who do not identify with mainstream Western feminism but instead build their own theories and strategies for resistance. Their activism is often rooted in community organizing, solidarity with other social justice movements, and a deep understanding of intersectional oppression. Feminism in the Global South is not a replication of Western models, but a rich, dynamic force that challenges global inequalities and redefines what feminism means in different parts of the world.

2. Cultural Relativism and Feminist Theory

One of the key dilemmas facing global feminism is the balance between promoting universal principles of gender equality and respecting cultural differences. Cultural relativism is the idea that beliefs, customs, and moral frameworks should be understood in their cultural contexts. This becomes particularly complex when feminist critiques are directed at practices that may be seen by outsiders as oppressive, such as arranged marriage, female genital cutting, or restrictions on women's dress. While feminists may advocate against these practices, doing so without cultural understanding can lead to accusations of ethnocentrism or neocolonialism.

Global feminism today often seeks to work through this tension by promoting dialogue rather than imposition. Feminist activists aim to collaborate with local communities, amplify indigenous voices, and support change from within rather than dictating from outside. The goal is not to excuse human rights violations in the name of culture but to understand the context in which these practices exist and to work toward change in ways that are empowering, respectful, and locally relevant.

3. Issues of Western-Centric Feminism

A major criticism of contemporary feminism is its historical and ongoing tendency to be dominated by Western perspectives. Feminist thought, media, and policy debates are often shaped by the experiences and priorities of white, middle-class women in countries like the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and parts of Europe. This dominance has contributed to a narrow definition of feminism that does not fully account for the lived realities of women outside these regions or from marginalized backgrounds.

Western-centric feminism has often overlooked or misunderstood the experiences of women in postcolonial nations, Indigenous communities, and marginalized racial or religious groups. It has sometimes assumed that the path to liberation for all women should mirror the trajectory taken in Western societies, without acknowledging the vastly different social, historical, and political landscapes elsewhere. This has led to forms of feminist imperialism, where Western feminist agendas are imposed on other cultures under the guise of progress.

In response, feminist thinkers and activists from the Global South have emphasized the need for more inclusive, diverse, and respectful approaches. They argue that feminism must be a space for listening, learning, and solidarity across borders. Rather than exporting solutions, global feminism should focus on building partnerships based on mutual respect, shared goals, and an understanding that no one perspective has all the answers.

Case Studies of Global Feminist Mobilization

1. #MeToo Across Cultures

The #MeToo movement, initiated in the U.S. by Tarana Burke and later amplified by celebrities, inspired a global wave of testimonies and activism against sexual violence. However, its transnational diffusion revealed deep cultural and structural divergences. In countries like South Korea, #MeToo led to resignations of public officials and sparked national conversations about workplace harassment. Yet in China, activists using the hashtag faced online censorship and state repression, highlighting the constraints on feminist expression in authoritarian contexts. Meanwhile, in India, #MeToo found resonance among upper-caste, English-speaking women, but was critiqued for sidelining Dalit and working-class voices, pointing to the need for intersectional sensitivity in feminist mobilizations.

1. Iranian Feminist Movements

Feminist activism in Iran presents a compelling case of resistance under authoritarian and theocratic rule. Movements such as "White Wednesdays" and "My Stealthy Freedom" campaign against compulsory hijab laws and broader gender-based repression. These initiatives are often led by young women using digital platforms to subvert state control. However, they also face imprisonment, exile, and surveillance. Iranian feminists balance their critique of the Islamic Republic with a careful negotiation of Western interference, often rejecting both state patriarchy and orientalist portrayals of Muslim women as passive victims.

2. Dalit Feminism in India

Dalit feminism emerges from the intersection of caste and gender oppression, challenging the dominance of upper-caste narratives in Indian feminist discourse. Dalit women face systemic violence not only from patriarchal norms but also from caste-based hierarchies that determine their access to education, employment, and legal justice. Dalit feminists advocate for land rights, protection from caste-based violence, and political representation. Their work underscores that caste, like race in Western contexts, is foundational to understanding gender inequality in India and must be foregrounded in any feminist analysis.

Criticisms and Debates

1. Internal Debates Within Feminism

Feminism is not a singular, unified ideology; rather, it is a constellation of theories and practices that frequently engage in internal dialogue and contestation. Among the most longstanding and significant divisions within the movement are those between liberal, radical, socialist/Marxist, and intersectional feminisms.

Liberal feminism, rooted in Enlightenment ideals of individual rights and equality, focuses primarily on legal and institutional reforms. It seeks to ensure equal access to education, employment, political representation, and personal autonomy for women within existing societal structures. Liberal feminists advocate for policies such as equal pay, anti-discrimination laws, and reproductive rights. While this approach has achieved significant gains, it is often criticized for assuming that the state and the market are neutral institutions rather than sites of deeply embedded patriarchal power.

In contrast, radical feminism argues that patriarchy is a fundamental and pervasive system of oppression that cannot be reformed but must be dismantled. Radical feminists emphasize the role of male power in structuring society and highlight issues such as sexual violence, reproductive coercion, and the objectification of women. Notable theorists like Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon have critiqued pornography and prostitution as inherently exploitative, sparking intense debates over the nature of sexual agency and freedom. Critics of radical feminism argue that it can adopt essentialist views of gender, overlook differences in race and class, and at times marginalize the voices of trans and sex worker communities.

Socialist and Marxist feminisms contribute another dimension by locating women's oppression within the capitalist system. These theories explore how unpaid labor in the home, gendered labor markets, and class-based inequality intersect with patriarchy. Socialist feminists argue that gender liberation cannot be achieved without addressing economic exploitation, making their framework particularly relevant to discussions of globalization, austerity, and care work. Intersectional feminism, introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw, challenges the tendency of earlier feminist theories to treat gender as an isolated category of analysis. Intersectionality emphasizes that race, class, sexuality, disability, and other identities interact to

shape lived experiences of oppression. This framework has become central to contemporary feminist thought, particularly among younger activists and scholars, though debates persist over how intersectionality is applied in practice—especially when it is tokenized or stripped of its political urgency.

2. Critiques from Outside the Movement

Feminism has faced persistent and varied criticism from outside its ranks, including from conservative, religious, men's rights, and leftist groups. Many of these critiques focus on perceived excesses or failures of the movement, often rooted in ideological opposition.

Conservative and religious critics argue that feminism undermines traditional family values, gender roles, and religious doctrines. They claim that feminist advocacy for abortion rights, sexual autonomy, and non-binary gender identities erodes social cohesion and moral order. In many regions, this backlash has translated into policy, such as restrictions on reproductive rights, anti-LGBTO+ legislation, or efforts to ban gender studies from academic curricula. These critiques frame feminism as a destabilizing force, often ignoring or misrepresenting its actual goals of equity and justice. Men's rights activists (MRAs) represent another form of backlash, emerging in response to what they perceive as feminist domination of public discourse. MRAs claim that men are now the ones being marginalized—particularly in areas like custody battles, education, and mental health. While some issues raised, such as male suicide rates or toxic masculinity, are valid areas of concern, many MRA forums have devolved into misogynistic rhetoric that frames feminism as inherently anti-male. These groups rarely engage with the feminist critique of rigid gender roles, nor do they support systemic reforms that would benefit people of all genders.

Leftist or anti-liberal critiques of feminism come from those who argue that contemporary feminism has been co-opted by capitalism and reduced to a superficial politics of representation. Corporate feminism, for example, celebrates the success of individual women CEOs or political leaders without addressing the structural inequalities that affect working-class and marginalized women. This critique points to the commodification of feminist language and aesthetics, particularly in branding and

marketing, where slogans like "girl boss" or "empowered women empower women" often serve to obscure exploitative labor conditions or environmental harm.

3. Responses to Perceived Exclusivity or Elitism One of the most enduring and pointed critiques of contemporary feminism is its historical and ongoing exclusion of marginalized voices—particularly women of color, working-class women, disabled women, trans women, and sex workers. This critique emerged most prominently during the second wave, when Black feminists such as bell hooks and the River Collective challenged Combahee movement's white, middle-class bias. They argued that mainstream feminism often universalized the experiences of a narrow demographic while ignoring systemic racism, economic inequality, and colonial histories.

In response, contemporary feminists have made intersectionality a guiding principle, emphasizing inclusive politics and coalition-building. Organizations and academic programs increasingly prioritize anti-racist and anti-colonial perspectives, and there is growing attention to accessibility and language inclusivity. However, implementation is uneven, and the movement still grapples with questions of who gets to speak, who gets platformed, and whose struggles are centered.

There is also growing attention to the critique of performative allyship and virtue signaling, particularly in digital spaces. Hashtag feminism and viral campaigns can raise awareness, but they may also prioritize visibility over sustained engagement or structural change. Critics argue that elite feminists sometimes gain symbolic power or institutional recognition while grassroots activists face repression and burnout.

Efforts to address these critiques include:

- Creating feminist spaces led by and for marginalized communities
- Decentralizing leadership within movements
- Building solidarity across borders with attention to local contexts
- Prioritizing care work, sustainability, and accountability over competition and individual success

Contemporary Feminist Activism

Contemporary feminist activism is characterized by its adaptability, intersectionality, and digital fluency. It operates across a spectrum of formal and informal structures—from street protests and policy advocacy to social media campaigns and decentralized grassroots organizing. While feminist movements of previous decades often centered around print publications, consciousness-raising groups, and institutional lobbying, today's activism harnesses both traditional tools and new technologies to fight gender-based oppression in a rapidly changing global landscape.

1. Role of Online Platforms

One of the most transformative elements of contemporary feminist activism is the use of online platforms to mobilize, educate, and create community. Social media networks such as Twitter, Instagram, TikTok, and Facebook have become critical spaces for feminist dialogue, resistance, and coalition-building. These platforms democratize activism, allowing individuals—especially those from marginalized communities—to bypass traditional gatekeepers in media, academia, and politics.

The #MeToo movement is one of the most emblematic examples of digital feminist activism. Though coined by Tarana Burke in 2006 to highlight the experiences of Black survivors of sexual violence, the hashtag gained global traction in 2017 after high-profile abuse allegations in Hollywood. Millions of women and gender-diverse individuals across the world used the hashtag to share their own experiences, challenging the normalization of sexual harassment and prompting institutional reckoning in industries ranging from entertainment to academia and beyond.

Digital feminism is also evident in campaigns like #SayHerName, which centers the stories of Black women affected by police violence in the United States, or #NiUnaMenos in Latin America, which emerged to combat femicide and gender-based violence. In India, #PinjraTod ("Break the Cage") used Facebook and Twitter to campaign against restrictive hostel rules for female students, linking campus surveillance with patriarchal control.

Online spaces also facilitate educational content creation, with feminist influencers, writers, and educators using platforms to share information on gender theory, consent, body politics, and systemic inequality. TikTok and Instagram, in particular, have enabled the spread of bite-sized feminist content tailored to younger audiences, making activism more accessible—but also vulnerable to oversimplification or misinformation.

However, online feminist activism is not without challenges. Algorithms can suppress radical content, activists face harassment and doxxing, and digital spaces often replicate offline inequalities (such as the silencing of Black, trans, or disabled voices). Moreover, reliance on social media can encourage performative activism—where symbolic gestures are mistaken for substantive change.

2. Influence on Legislation and Public Discourse

Contemporary feminist activism has influenced both policy-making and public discourse, though with uneven outcomes depending on geopolitical and cultural context. In some countries, feminist movements have contributed directly to legal reform:

In Argentina, feminist mobilization under the banner of Ni Una Menos and years of grassroots pressure led to the legalization of abortion in 2020—one of the most significant feminist victories in Latin America in decades.

In South Korea, feminist campaigns led to a crackdown on spy-cam pornography and revisions to sexual violence laws, demonstrating how feminist digital activism can pressure governments even in conservative societies.

In the European Union, ongoing feminist advocacy has contributed to the Istanbul Convention on preventing and combating violence against women, although some member states have resisted ratification, citing "gender ideology" concerns.

Even in countries where legislative change is limited, feminist activism has significantly shifted public discourse. Feminist language around consent, rape culture, emotional labor, mental load, and gender identity has entered mainstream conversations, reshaping how gendered issues are understood and discussed. Terms that once belonged to academic or activist circles now influence how media, corporations, and institutions approach topics like workplace harassment or gender representation.

Nevertheless, this discursive success has prompted backlash. In the U.S., the U.K., and parts of Eastern Europe, feminism is increasingly framed by conservative political actors as a threat to national identity or family values. Anti-feminist rhetoric is being mainstreamed through online influencers, think tanks, and far-right movements, often tied to broader attacks on LGBTQ+ rights and academic freedom.

3. Notable Figures or Movements

Contemporary feminism is not dominated by singular leaders as in past generations, but rather characterized by decentralized, diverse, and collaborative leadership. However, several figures and movements stand out for their influence:

- Tarana Burke, as the founder of the Me Too movement, remains a critical voice advocating for survivor-centered justice and racial equity.
- Angela Davis, though from an earlier generation, continues to shape contemporary discourse through her intersectional analyses of feminism, abolition, and capitalism.
- Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, a Nigerian writer, has played a significant role in mainstreaming feminist thought through accessible literature, such as We Should All Be Feminists.

Grassroots and transnational movements include:

- Black Lives Matter (BLM), co-founded by three Black queer women—Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi—has integrated feminist praxis with anti-racist organizing.
- Young Feminist Europe and FRIDA: The Young Feminist Fund represent transnational networks investing in youth-led, intersectional feminist organizing.
- Indigenous women's movements across Canada, the Amazon, and Australia are advocating for land rights, environmental justice, and protection from gender-based violence, while resisting colonial frameworks.
- In addition, transfeminist movements have gained traction, particularly in regions where gender self-determination is under attack. Trans feminists challenge cisnormative assumptions in mainstream feminism and advocate for inclusive understandings of gender-based oppression.

CONCLUSION

This paper has explored the multidimensional landscape of contemporary feminism, tracing its theoretical developments, internal debates, global perspectives, and activist expressions. A central finding is that feminism today is not a monolith but a diverse, intersectional, and often contested field of thought and practice. It encompasses a wide spectrum of ideologies—from liberal to radical, Marxist to postcolonial—and engages with issues as varied as reproductive rights, gender-based violence, trans inclusion, and economic justice.

Global perspectives reveal that feminist movements are deeply shaped by local histories, colonial legacies, and socio-political realities. While Western feminism has often emphasized legal and cultural reform, feminists in the Global South prioritize survival-based struggles such as access to healthcare, education, and freedom from violence. These differences have highlighted both the potential and the challenges of transnational feminist solidarity, calling for a decolonized and pluralistic approach to activism and scholarship.

The internal critiques within feminism—particularly around race, class, sexuality, and gender identity—have strengthened the movement by pushing it toward greater self-reflexivity and inclusivity. At the same time, feminism continues to face significant resistance from outside, whether in the form of rightwing populism, religious fundamentalism, or neoliberal co-optation.

Digital platforms have transformed feminist activism, making it more accessible and immediate, but also more vulnerable to performativity, misinformation, and backlash. Movements like #MeToo, #NiUnaMenos, and Dalit feminism have shown the power of grassroots mobilization in shaping public discourse and influencing policy. Notable figures and collectives across the globe continue to demonstrate that feminist leadership is increasingly collective, diverse, and transnational.

Looking ahead, the future of feminist research and activism lies in deepening its intersectional frameworks, resisting co-optation, and building sustainable solidarities. Scholars and activists must continue to interrogate the power dynamics within the movement, foster coalitions across marginalized communities, and adapt to new challenges posed by

digital surveillance, climate crisis, and geopolitical instability.

Feminism's greatest strength may be its refusal to remain static—its ability to evolve in response to shifting cultural, political, and historical conditions. As long as systemic inequalities persist, so too will the need for a feminism that is expansive, critical, and radically inclusive.

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