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## The Body in Revolt: The Impact and Legacy of Second Wave Corporeal Embodiment

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*Tensions between second and third wave understandings of the body and embodiment have led to disagreements about whether to situate the body as corporeal and concrete or theoretical, diverse, and complex. Drawing from key tactics of the second wave women's health movement, including cervical viewing, menstrual extraction, genital diversity work, orgasm training, and self-defense classes, I first trace the political framing of the body in second wave feminism, followed by a consideration of third wave pedagogies transmitted through teaching the psychology of women. After analyzing the five most popular textbooks and ten syllabi for the psychology of women, I trace the stories about embodiment that have continued across waves and the stories that have shifted over time. I ultimately argue for a renewed consideration of how to merge the priorities of each wave into a new policy-driven and activist-centered understanding of corporeal embodiment both within and outside of the university.*

Social movement goals and tactics constantly change and shift over time. Tensions between second (1960s–1970s) and third wave (1990s–present) feminisms have typically centered on disagreements about how to incorporate *difference*, particularly how to meaningfully incorporate intersectional analyses into feminist politics, struggles around the previously understudied “middlespaces” of feminist politics (e.g., trans bodies, biracial identities), and strategies for framing feminism as both inclusive and cohesive (Bailey, 2002; Henry, 2004; Heywood & Drake, 1997; Snyder-Hall, 2010). While these tensions have served as meaningful third wave criticisms of the second wave's neglect of racial and queer politics, the overwhelming dismissal of second wave feminist politics as “outdated” has also allowed third wave scholars and activists to ignore many of the second wave's

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substantial contributions to feminism. In particular, second wave ideas about embodiment, agency, and consciousness-raising—terms so often (mis)used and debated within current feminist politics—saw the female body as a corporeal and tangible symbol of revolt, the ultimate manifestation of the “personal as political” (Echols, 1989; Nicholson, 1997).

This article focused on the social transmission of history to analyze why contemporary feminist classrooms most often ignore the corporeal aspects of the body. The central argument of this article posits that the pedagogical attention to the oppressiveness of some body-related practices—and the value of self-empowerment for overcoming that oppression—got stripped away by the third wave, resulting in less emphasis today on altering the power relations inscribed onto women’s bodies than during the second wave. While the body may exist as a subject of analysis or theory in today’s third wave classrooms, the tangible qualities of the body embraced so valiantly in the second wave (especially in the early 1970s) have fallen to the background of feminist pedagogies, replaced instead by theoretical plurality and abstraction (Probyn, 2004). Perhaps resulting from the advent of academic feminism—together with a new shared language about feminist political priorities and a broadening away from the link between feminism and activism—third wave embodiment transformed the body from corporeal to abstract. This article addresses historical shifts in how feminists have conceptualized and taught about embodiment within the feminist classroom, particularly how stories have shifted over time. In particular, how the feminist “canon” purged tangible bodily revolt, and the shift from activists to academics, showcased the transition from the body as corporeal to more postmodern and abstract.

More specifically, this article traces second wave pedagogical tactics of conceptualizing embodiment—particularly consciousness-raising techniques that emphasized a personal relationship to one’s body and body parts—as they contrasted with third wave understandings of embodiment as more abstract, amorphous, less corporeal, and more theoretical. While the second wave constructed the female body as a site for direct personal consciousness-raising, particularly around issues like women’s health and sexuality, the third wave more often frames the body as a site of *theoretical* interest in the feminist classroom, losing many of the dimensions of “personal empowerment” so directly embraced by feminist classrooms in the early 1970s (Davis, 2007; Harding, 1992; Kinser, 2004; Tuana, 2006).

### Second Wave Stories of Embodiment

By examining the history of the women’s health movement, particularly the disjuncture between the second and third wave, clear differences emerge around the body and its role in consciousness-raising. In 1976, Adrienne Rich wrote, “There is for the first time today a possibility of converting our physicality into both knowledge and power” (p. 290). By this, she suggested that the body could inspire

feminist resistances and that women could use their bodies to understand meanings around women's bodies and what they could do (Kline, 2010). Tracing these historical shifts, the overt politicization of women's bodies during the second wave has been supplanted by a far more abstract and theoretical third wave understanding of the body that prioritizes pluralities of experience (Kinser, 2004) and a reframing of the nature/culture duality in favor of a complex deconstruction of identities (Mack-Canty, 2004). In this section, I focus on five commonly-used tactics of the second wave to situate women's bodies as political entities, each governed by notions of a shared language around the body as a site of rebellion: cervical viewing; menstrual extraction techniques; genital diversity work; orgasm training; and self-defense classes. Notably, these tactics are rarely used by third wave scholars and activists.

### *Cervical Viewing*

The insistence that women view their own vulvas, vaginas, and cervixes, often in communal settings using mirrors and individual speculums, played a prominent role in second wave consciousness-raising tactics around the body (Bernhard, 2003; Murphy, 2004; Pearson, 1999). Because women had little understanding of their own bodies (particularly the genitals), this created a social context among second wave feminists where *knowledge of the body* and even mere familiarity with what the body looked like became political goals (Kline, 2010). If women learned about their own anatomy, they could better understand their own health needs, sexual desires, and physical changes, and could also develop more positive and informed feelings about their bodies (Bobel, 2006; Morgen, 2002; Ruzek, 1979; Weisman, 1998). These priorities gave birth to the Our Bodies, Ourselves collective designed to provide women with a more overtly feminist framework around women's health and sexuality (Boston Women's Health Collective, 2011; Kline, 2010).

Many second wave activists believed that viewing one's own genitals, for women, could lead to solidarity between women and thus had political relevance (Howson, 2001; Kline, 2010). By recognizing the ways that patriarchy demonized women's genitals and stripped women of their own self-understanding around their bodies, the act of viewing the vulva and the vagina could return power to women by helping them to self-define their own beauty and better understand their bodies (Tuana, 2004, 2006). This led to the creation of several workshops and classes (both within and outside of university settings) that collapsed the "patient" and "instructor" hierarchy by asking women to understand their own anatomy by serving both roles; many of these, including the Pelvic Teaching Program at the Boston Women's Community Health Center in 1976, had a successful influx of women yearning to know more about their genitals (Kline, 2010).

Early second wave activists also framed the viewing of the cervix (via one's own personal speculum) in relation to the emerging and ever-intensifying abortion politics of the time (Murphy, 2004). While Annie Sprinkle later made famous the viewing of the cervix in her "A Public Cervix Announcement" where she invited audience members to view her cervix (Shrage, 2002), second wave feminists like Carol Downer and Lorraine Rothman had been encouraging women to see and interact with their cervixes long before feminist performance art took it up (Ehrenreich, 2002; Howson, 2001). Conversations about the cervix moved in this period from a relatively apolitical, invisible, highly medicalized, and largely concealed entity to instead serving as a major role (a literal gatekeeper perhaps) in the debates about women's right to privacy and, ultimately, the right to abortion (Murphy, 2004; Kline, 2010). As part of the feminist backlash from the 1980s and 1990s, cervical viewing subsequently returned to a highly medicalized, often uncomfortable, and sometimes traumatic experience for women, couched largely in discourses of disease, cancer, and danger (Bush, 2000; Howson, 1998).

### *Menstrual Extraction*

Not surprisingly, the focus on teaching women to view their own vulvas, vaginas, and cervixes also led to other techniques that encouraged women to take control of their reproductive health. Menstrual extraction, a process of personally manually extracting the contents of one's own uterus around the time of expected menses, was developed by Lorraine Rothman, based around her interest in women's health and empowerment (Ehrenreich, 2002; Federation of Feminist Women's Health Centers, 1995). Rothman developed her patented "Del Em" device, notably using it on herself before she recommended it to other women, telling women that they could remove their menstrual tissue up to 8 weeks in advance (Bobel, 2006). The device effectively eliminated long menstrual cycles and helped women to control when and how they menstruated (Chalker & Downer, 1992; Mamo & Fosket, 2009).

Rothman's menstrual extraction device also served a more overtly political role as well. The device was designed both to help women manage their own menstrual cycles, but also to help women perform self-induced abortions for women who wanted to perform the procedure themselves and who lacked access to an abortion provider (Bell, 1994; Bobel, 2006; Chalker, 1993; Copelton, 2004; Morgen, 2002). Given that abortion had only recently become legal in New York and Hawaii in 1970 (by request of the woman instead of in cases of rape), most women lacked access to abortion providers prior to the 1973 landmark *Roe v. Wade* case. Menstrual extraction techniques using the Del Em allowed women to remove the tissue in their own uteruses to induce early-stage abortions (Copelton, 2004). By subverting the medical system and performing their own abortions,

they also avoided the legal risks and financial burdens of paying for “back-alley” abortions (Bernhard, 2003).

### *Genital Diversity Work*

To situate women’s bodies and embodiment as political, second wave feminists like Betty Dodson (2006, 2007) also promoted ideas of genital diversity among women. Dodson published and publicly displayed several series of slides of diverse vulvas depicted in their natural states, almost all of which had pubic hair (Dodson, 1996). She showed these hand-drawn slides in a variety of contexts, often meeting with much controversy. At a June 1973 meeting of the national chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW), she showed her slides; some accounts of this speech held that many of the NOW members walked out in protest (Queen & Comella, 2008; Tickner, 1978), while another account suggested that women in the audience greeted Dodson with “cheers, bravas, and thunderous applause” (Williams, 1990, p. 463). Despite this controversy, Dodson saw the drawings and her sexual openness as revolutionary, saying, “I want to be a pervert” (Ross, 2012).

Dodson designed these slide shows as a pedagogical and political tool as she wanted women to know their own bodies and to imagine their potential for sexual pleasure (Dodson, 1996). She also wanted to confront and challenge the commonly-heard patriarchal claims that women’s genitals were dirty, ugly, or shameful, a political claim that would go on to fuel much activism around female genital surgeries (Lane & Rubinstein, 1996). While feminists now have situated Dodson as clearly opposed to antipornography feminists (Queen & Comella, 2008), Dodson herself identified as a sex educator and masturbation expert, not as a key player in the sex wars (Ross, 2012). She felt that understanding genital diversity would lead to more potential for sexual pleasure, orgasm, and enjoyable experiences with masturbation (Dodson, 1996). Dodson later called herself the “guru of female sexual liberation,” citing the profound influence of merely showing women the potential diversity of their vulvas (Dodson, 1997). Her work had given voice and imagery to the collective silences around women’s sexuality in the early 1970s.

### *Orgasm Training*

Building on the work around viewing genitals, menstrual extraction, and valuing genital diversity, second wave feminists also wanted to situate orgasm as a priority for women. Long relegated to obscurity and silence, women mostly did not expect to orgasm until the sexual revolution made it a priority (Fahs, 2011). The sexual revolution, improved birth control, and the emphasis on pleasure rather than traditional kinship allowed women’s orgasms to emerge as both a pleasurable

personal experience and as a political occurrence (Gerhard, 2001; Kline, 2010). If women learned to have clitoral orgasms, they could decenter the penis as necessary to sexual pleasure while also depathologizing oral sex, manual stimulation, and other avenues to orgasm (Gerhard, 2000, 2001).

Teaching women to orgasm built upon the work of cervical viewing, menstrual extraction, and genital diversity by telling women that their sexual pleasure mattered and that they could take responsibility for it (Kline, 2010). By reframing women's sexuality away from Freudian notions of penis envy and instead valuing clitoral stimulation, teachings about orgasm served an overtly political self-empowering purpose as well (Gerhard, 2000). Ultimately, this valuing of clitoral orgasm also led to less pathologization of lesbian and bisexual sexual experiences (Gerhard, 2000). Removed from a phallic, heterosexist, and patriarchal framework, emphasis on learning to orgasm through masturbation also became a tenet of early feminist sex therapies, alongside sex education, body image work, and assertiveness training (Tiefer, 1996).

### *Self-Defense Classes*

Armed with the tools to orgasm, second wave feminists also turned their attention toward other skills they would need for empowerment and embodiment. As a consequence of near "frenzy" around orgasms during this period, some of the more radical wings of the women's liberation movement started to question the emphasis on sexual liberation as having such paramount importance (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014). Rather, they argued, women needed to fight back against *violence* and the terrorism of battering, stalking, and intimidation that so many women faced at that time (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Hollander, 2010; McCaughey, 1997, 1998). Reconfiguring space and safety, often by advocating for women-only spaces free of abuse and hierarchy, constituted a major goal of second wave feminism, especially in radical circles (Enke, 2003).

In the late 1960s, Cell 16, a radical feminist group based in Boston, MA, decided that the best way to combat women's experiences with sexual and physical violence was to literally fight back. The group began teaching themselves and other women in the Boston community how to engage in self-defense through karate and Tae Kwon Do (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Echols, 1989). Radical feminist Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz described making this decision in response to an incident where she confronted a group of men who pulled up in a car, yelled obscenities, and threatened her physically; in response, Abby Rockefeller, another member of Cell 16, used her Tae Kwon Do moves to defend Dunbar-Ortiz, prompting the group to form a women's martial arts class and to promote self-defense for women. "I began thinking of Tae Kwon Do as a metaphor for revolution. The philosophy behind the practice was beautiful: self-defense to win . . . If women gained consciousness of their own oppression and learned the techniques of self-defense, revolution would

follow” (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014, p. 149). During this time, the group also set out to escort women factory workers home at night in order to ensure their safety (they left work at night in the dark) and to show visibility in numbers (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014). These self-defense classes and the evening safety escorts functioned both as communal and individual resistances against violence against women, working to situate women’s bodies squarely within the social and political landscape of the time (Pearson, 1999). It also allowed women to exist without the paternalistic physical “protection” of men (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014).

Collectively, second wave feminists created a vision for feminist embodiment that had clear political priorities and a shared sense of the body as corporeally connected to gender and power: (1) Help women to know more about their bodies, appreciate their bodies, and understand their reproductive health; (2) Situate their bodies in relation to the political climate of the day and understand the damage done to women’s bodies by patriarchy; and (3) Give women the tools to act, fight back, and respond to intrusions, impositions, and limitations placed upon their bodies (e.g., lack of abortion access, sexual violence).

### Third Wave Stories of Embodiment

#### *Academic Feminism and Its Costs*

Paradoxically, one of the most celebrated accomplishments and one of the most controversial results of the second wave women’s liberation movement was the development of academic women’s studies programs (Boxer, 1982; Messer-Davidow, 2002). With some calling these the ultimate recognition of the value of feminist thought (Tobias, 1978) and others arguing that academic feminism marginalized women of color and distanced people from the activists roots of second wave activism (Cancian, 1993; Messer-Davidow, 2002), controversies erupted over the potential blowback of “making feminism institutional” (Pryse, 1998). By most accounts, feminism is by definition a *political movement* with a political agenda; it serves as a lens through which to view and change the world. By this definition, women’s studies set out to “infect” other disciplines like psychology and sociology with a clearly feminist/critical lens.

As a consequence of building an academic wing of feminism (women’s studies), priorities around feminist embodiment continued to shift. While some of the stories of second wave embodiment maintained continuity between the second and third waves—including battles over contraception and abortion rights, concern about violence, and an interest in global activism around Female Genital Mutilation and *sati*—many others fell out of focus (Bobel, 2006; Gillis, Howie, & Munford, 2004; Henry, 2004). As feminist discussions of the body transitioned from consciousness-raising groups (where women might discuss their own personal outrage, learn about their bodies, and strategize about how to collectively

fight back) to academic classrooms (where feminism developed a canon of feminist thought, various disciplinary and interdisciplinary curricula, and programs of study), some of the original goals of second wave feminist embodiment got lost in translation (Echols, 1989; Kline, 2010). Further, few second wave activists secured teaching jobs in psychology or women's studies (or they have since retired), leaving feminist pedagogies to third wave scholars. These shifts also suggest that the academy can have different priorities than feminist political organizing, ensuring that feminists feel torn between their political priorities and their academic ones (Tobach, 1994).

### *Making the Body Abstract and Postmodern*

The body as conceptualized in today's (largely third wave) classroom has shifted away from consciousness-raising as a tactic for personal empowerment and political organizing. Instead, the body in the third wave has become abstracted, discussed most often through a postmodernist lens (Haraway, 1999; Probyn, 2004) and with the internet and new modes of technologies shaping understandings of the feminist body (Wajcman, 2010). The third wave focus on difference, deconstruction, poststructuralism, virtual realities, postcolonial theory, and the agenda of young feminists has radically altered the pedagogies of the body (Mann & Huffman, 2005). Feminism inherited a new "home" and new voices in the making of feminist history. In particular, feminist pedagogies rarely focus on direct connections between the body and political organizing and instead focus on theoretical foundations of feminist thought and corporeality (Bray & Colebrook, 1998; Grosz, 1994; Probyn, 2004).

Further, in the quest to theorize the body more fully, nuances of how race and sexuality also inform tangible and corporeal bodily oppression have also fallen away in lieu of treating social identities more as abstract realities (Budgeon, 2001). The relevance of body-related practices like self-defense, cervical viewing, and menstrual extraction has fallen away in the third wave, creating notable tensions both generationally and ideologically (Bailey, 2002). For example, women's solidarity has been recently theorized more as an affective state or a theory rather than an embodied basis for political organizing; for example, feminists theorized empathy and its affective roots rather than encouraged women to enact solidarity on the street (Cornwall, 2007; Hemmings, 2012). Even fields that should deal tangibly with the body (e.g., medical sociology, public health) have often left the corporeal body out of the picture (Zola, 1991), largely ignoring these "situated knowledges" of the body and their radical potential (Bell, 1994). Helen Marshall (1996) has argued that this loss of corporeality in contemporary understandings of the body has translated into the relative failure to understand the body as operating in time and space and has moved people away from imagining their own bodies as real entities.



*Third-Wave Feminist Pedagogy: Lessons from Textbooks and Course Syllabi*

To illustrate these tensions about the body, a look at the most-used psychology of women textbooks and an examination of ten psychology of women course syllabi provide more detail about body narratives that were lost and retained during the transition from second wave to third wave feminism. I draw from psychology of women/gender texts and syllabi to illustrate how feminism was able to “infect” psychology as a discipline; further, because so many introductory women’s studies readers have a social science angle (e.g., the widely used Patricia Hill Collins text), this analysis also reflects trends occurring in the social science wing of academic feminism.

Currently, the most well used psychology of women textbooks include: Margaret Matlin’s *The Psychology of Women* (2013), Mary Crawford’s *Transformations* (2011), Janet Hyde’s *Half the Human Experience* (2006), Hilary M. Lips’ *A New Psychology of Women* (2010), and Joan Chrisler, Carla Golden, and Patricia D. Rozee’s *Lectures on the Psychology of Women* (2012). Looking at all of the topics related to the body in these textbooks, six major areas emerged: (1) pathology, deviance, and disease (substance abuse, HIV/AIDS, depression, eating disorders); (2) motherhood (contraception, pregnancy, childbirth); (3) other reproductive health (PMS, menstruation, menopause); (4) body image as an individual problem (attractiveness, self-image, puberty); (5) sexuality (identity, relationships, orientation, desire); and 6) violence (rape, sexual harassment, abuse).

Largely absent from these textbooks are: techniques for doing anything *to* or *with* the body (e.g., having an orgasm, menstrual extraction, self-induced abortion, body modification, etc.); political content about the body (e.g., political organizing; resisting patriarchy; lesbian relationships as a political choice; how to engage in activism); alternative narratives about the body (e.g., combatting menstrual shame; embodied resistance; descriptions of progressive sex education and its teachings); explicit discussions of feminist interventions (e.g., feminist therapies; consciousness-raising groups; getting information about doulas and midwives; combatting depression without medication), and anything about solidarity between women (women’s groups, online communities, women’s collectives).

A review of 10 psychology of women syllabi (convenience sample online, leaving out community colleges and online only universities; universities selected if they were research university or liberal arts college and had a syllabus posted online when searching for “psychology of women” or “psychology of gender” courses) from the University of Maryland, Cornell College, the University of Florida, San Diego State University, Cal State Fullerton, University of Minnesota, Pennsylvania State University, the University of Michigan, Texas Woman’s University, and Rutgers University also yielded some important insights about current pedagogies of third wave embodiment. While the syllabi replicated many of the same patterns as the textbooks, they also showed important pedagogical choices

about how professors *teach* the psychology of women. Some notable patterns included: (1) highlighted the examination and challenge of women's biological differences from men (6 of 10); (2) strong emphasis on identity-based assignments, particularly assignments that asked students to consider intersections between gender and other social identities (4 of 10); (3) clear syllabus statements about feminism as inclusive and nonthreatening to men (7 of 10); (4) group projects as a required component of the course (3 of 10); and (5) term papers as primary mode of evaluation (4 of 10).

Perhaps more interestingly, these syllabi largely left out some other components. First, none of these syllabi included any assignments that addressed activism and only one syllabus assigned a reading about activism. While two syllabi asked students to critique media depictions of women's bodies, and one syllabus required students to attend and write about a campus event, collective organizing, collective action, or teaching about individual resistance were largely absent on these syllabi. Second, none of the syllabi included anything that would resemble "consciousness-raising" in terms of assignments or readings. Only one assigned any readings from the second wave of the women's movement (Naomi Weisstein's critiques of psychology) and none of the courses included content about CR or its purpose. Third, none of the syllabi included anything that directly addressed the history of psychology, particularly its history with women. These syllabi largely stressed contemporary issues, largely neglecting the history of feminism and its emphasis on corporeal embodiment. Fourth, when embodiment was discussed, it was framed most often within contemporary discourses of violence, sexual identity (particularly sexual orientation), and disorders (especially eating disorders and depression). Two courses included bell hooks readings on empowerment and feminist inclusiveness, but none of these related directly to the body. Together, these omissions provide a vivid window into the social representations of second wave embodiment in today's psychology of women classrooms.

### Looking to the Future

#### *Reframing Pedagogical Priorities*

By looking at aspects of social representation like shared communication, shared histories, and political priorities that occurred between each wave, the story of feminist embodiment becomes richer and more textured. Integrating second and third wave understandings of embodiment in research, teaching, and policy can have positive outcomes for students, scholars, and activists alike, particularly if the notion of "academic feminism" and its shared assumptions are challenged more often. If psychology of women courses today better incorporated some of the more radical and activist histories of feminist embodiment, particularly representing the body as something students should understand both corporeally

and theoretically, feminist psychologists could better harness the political energies that underlie our history. The second wave saw the body as something women felt largely alienated from, in part because they did not know its potential (for sexual pleasure, for aggression, for self-defense, and so on). Second wave embodiment strategies focused on the body as a source of personal and collective power and a symbol of revolt; they were not yet immersed in theoretical discussions of agency/choice (largely within a neoliberal framework) that third wave feminists grapple with today (Gillis et al., 2004; Nicholson, 1997).

Ultimately, because the second and third wave each had/have such strengths—for example, the second wave’s notion of the body as corporeal and the third wave’s sophisticated ways of thinking about difference and intersectionality—working to better integrate second and third wave embodiment has many benefits. I posit a number of tactics that feminist psychologists could use to better integrate second and third wave embodiment: First, reintroducing readings, research, and course projects into the classroom that target menstrual shame and secrecy, women’s relationship to their genitals and reproductive health, and communal resistance to gendered problems like sexual violence can prove immensely useful in re-establishing the connection between second and third wave notions of agency and embodiment. For example, rather than asking students to write term papers, which largely have little impact politically or within the public sphere, professors could instead prioritize activism (perhaps in tandem with writing) when designing assignments. Group projects designed around lessening social inequalities may give students a much-needed and highly impactful introduction to activism that could sustain future activist work beyond the university (Fahs, 2013). In my own classes, I have asked students to grow out their body hair and write about it, engage in collective menstrual activism, work to redistribute resources away from those who have too much, and carry around their own trash publicly for a period of 48 hours. These exercises also help students to see not only their privilege and oppression as theoretical, but as material and lived realities, especially along gender, race, class, and sexuality lines.

How individuals see and experience their bodies—particularly the corporeal, physical, tangible aspects of gender—can serve as a site for knowledge-making and consciousness-raising. Psychology of women courses *should* prioritize consciousness-raising for all students, using the body as a canvas upon which gender and power relations are written and deconstructed. For example, women’s imagined experiences of their bodies (e.g., classroom discussions *about* body hair in theory) differed drastically from women’s lived experiences of their bodies (e.g., growing out their body hair and gauging others’ reactions), suggesting that merely talking about the body does not sufficiently address embodiment (Fahs, 2014). Further, because of the tools we have been given from the third wave to more meaningfully theorize and understand intersecting identities and intersecting oppressions, we are now in a position to *better* address the body as corporeal

while also thinking deeply about intersectionality and social identities. This is an exciting challenge.

### *Policy Implications*

By drawing from both the powerful intersectional critiques of the third wave and the second wave's notion that the actual female body can serve as a critical site of rebellion, organizing for social and reproductive justice at the policy level (especially as targeted toward women's health) can become more effective, personal, multigenerational, and visible (Munch, 2006). Feminist psychologists should train students in women's studies and psychology courses to see the body both abstractly/theoretically and literally; students must understand gender both as a social construction and as something around which people can organize and enact social policies. Teaching students about the history of feminist psychology, the importance of activism (especially how to engage in activism or how others have engaged in it), and the centrality of knowing themselves and their bodies and using them physically (e.g., marching in protests, feeling sexual pleasure, fighting back against violence, etc.) will ultimately benefit the project of gender justice. Feminist psychologists should work to *make* political students' personal lives, thus engendering a new generation of potential events or experiences that influence self-understanding (Stewart, Winter, Henderson-King, & Henderson-King, 2015).

Using one's own body as inspiration for reproductive justice and social change can also create more concrete alliances between women across social identities. For example, the Society for Menstrual Cycle Research prioritizes not only the academic study of women's reproductive health (including a new journal, *Women's Reproductive Health*, sponsored by the organization), but it also emphasizes activism, public health campaigns, connections with other advocacy groups, recruitment of young activists and scholars, and multigenerational and multiracial understandings of embodiment. Its conferences include keynotes as diverse as a zine creator Chella Quint, media maven and activist Gloria Steinem, and longtime established feminist psychologist Jane Ussher. The organization also appoints a Board of Directors position that chairs activism, and panels and workshops include those doing work on menstrual education and menstrual products. The group works with global organizations seeking to help women and girls throughout the developing world to use reusable menstrual pads (largely so that girls can continue to go to school), and it works together with policy makers to sponsor bills in Washington (most recently, a bill to ban chemical bleach and dioxins in tampons). This is but one example of the possibilities of uniting second and third wave notions of embodiment. Ultimately, if the second wave has taught us anything, it is that we must work to reinvigorate politics with *actual bodies* rather than merely *ideas about* bodies. This lesson, one that could make an impact on policy,

activism, and pedagogy, is a powerful reminder of the necessity of understanding and honoring our rich feminist histories.

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