

NOTE TO USERS

The original manuscript received by UMI contains pages with slanted print. Pages were microfilmed as received.

This reproduction is the best copy available

UMI

**THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MENSTRUATION: A HISTORICAL STUDY
OF MENSTRUAL PRODUCT ADVERTISING**

BY

NATASHA S. CARVALHO

**A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of**

Master of Science

**Department of Family Studies
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba**

(c) September, 1997.



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-32071-5

**THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

COPYRIGHT PERMISSION PAGE**

**THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MENSTRUATION:
A HISTORICAL STUDY OF MENSTRUAL PRODUCT ADVERTISING**

BY

NATASHA S. CARVALHO

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
of
MASTER OF SCIENCE**

Natasha S. Carvalho 1997 (c)

**Permission has been granted to the Library of The University of Manitoba to lend or sell
copies of this thesis/practicum, to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis
and to lend or sell copies of the film, and to Dissertations Abstracts International to publish
an abstract of this thesis/practicum.**

**The author reserves other publication rights, and neither this thesis/practicum nor
extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's
written permission.**

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis

I authorize the University of Manitoba to lend this thesis to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research

I further authorize the University of Manitoba to reproduce this thesis by photocopying or by means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research

Natasha S. Carvalho

The University of Manitoba requires the signatures of all persons using or photocopying this thesis. Please sign below, and give address and date.

Abstract

The research focused on the social construction of menstruation as portrayed in menstrual product advertisements since the beginning of the twentieth century. Using a sample of North American advertisements dating back to 1914, depictions of menstruation and menstruating women were analyzed as mediators of socially constructed realities. This work builds upon previous work into the social construction of menstruation in menstrual product advertisements.

Over seven hundred menstrual product advertisements from *Good Housekeeping* and *Chatelaine* were systematically sampled beginning in 1914. The advertisements were transcribed into text format to facilitate constant comparative analysis.

Menstrual product advertisements provided a means to document societal attitudes and beliefs of the time towards menstruating women. It was found that early advertisements clearly treated menstruation as women's problem that required pragmatic attention in contrast to contemporary portrayals of menstruation in advertisements which were found to be more confining and less liberating than might be expected according to our modern sensibility. Contemporary advertisements portrayed menstruation as something which must be virtually denied.

A number of themes were identified through the use of constant comparative analysis. These themes, while virtually ever present, varied over time in content and expression. Three key themes were *Menstrual Management Kit*, *Sanitary Protection: Feminine Hygiene*, and the *"Time of the Month"*. The variation evidenced in the themes

revealed much about the social construction of menstruating women in our society over time. The concepts identified in the study led to a definition of the social process as 'expansion'. As well a core variable of *Always Menstruator* was identified.

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge and thank various people for their contribution to this thesis. To my advisor Dr. Dale Berg, for his relentless enthusiasm and endless encouragement over the years. To all our great brainstorming sessions and discussions over “#10”. Thanks for your patience, your teaching and friendship

To my committee Dr. Janice Ristock and Dr. Ruth Berry. For your insightful comments and corrections.

To my support team, Jodi and Mika, thanks for all the support, editing help and brainstorming this past year. Thanks for putting up with all my rantings!!

To Sheona, who always had confidence in me and reassured me when I worried.

To my sister, who is always there for me with her love and faith and support.

And as always, to Mike...for everything.

This thesis is dedicated to my parents

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures.....	8
Chapter 1: Review of Literature.....	9
Introduction.....	9
Power and menstruation.....	9
Stereotypes and Euphemisms.....	11
Menstruation and Mental Health.....	14
Menstrual Products advertisements and the social construction of menstruation.....	16
Purpose of Present Study.....	21
Chapter 2: Methods.....	25
Introduction.....	25
Data Collection.....	25
Data Analysis.....	26
What is going on here.....	26
Preliminary coding.....	28
Conceptual Categories.....	29
Chapter 3: Results.....	32
Introduction.....	32
What is Woman?.....	32

Twenties- Nineties

Management.....	48
------------------------	-----------

Twenties-Nineties

Names of Products.....	99
-------------------------------	-----------

Twenties- Nineties

Chapter 4: Analysis.....	109
---------------------------------	------------

Introduction.....	109
--------------------------	------------

Menstrual management kit.....	111
--------------------------------------	------------

 Simple/Complex.....	113
--------------------------------	------------

 Hiddenness.....	118
----------------------------	------------

 Names of Products.....	122
-----------------------------------	------------

 Systems.....	124
-----------------------------	------------

 Private/Public: Public/Private.....	127
--	------------

 Private Product/Public Event: Past.....	128
--	------------

 Public Product/Private Event: Present.....	129
---	------------

Sanitary Protection: Feminine Hygiene.....	132
---	------------

 Dirtiness of Menstruation.....	132
---	------------

The “Time of the Month”.....	135
-------------------------------------	------------

 During Menses.....	135
-------------------------------	------------

 Activity Level.....	136
--------------------------------	------------

 Credit/Discredit.....	138
----------------------------------	------------

Real Issues vs. Created Fears.....	141
Chapter 5: Conclusion.....	150
Introduction.....	150
Social Process.....	151
Core Variable.....	152
Implications.....	153
Future Research.....	155
Marketing.....	155
Media.....	156
Reclaiming Menstruation.....	157
Conclusions.....	158
References.....	160

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1	Menstrual Management Kit (1920's).....	114
Figure 2	Menstrual Management Kit (1990's).....	117
Figure 3	Systems.....	126
Table 1	Private/Public Continuum.....	127

Chapter 1: Review of Literature

Introduction

Taboos play a critical role in the function and operation of societies. They serve as mechanisms for social control, directing the lives of individuals by dictating 'acceptable' action and behavior within socially approved guidelines whose origins reside in patriarchal world views. Menstruation, a biological reality, has had numerous taboos associated with it over the years. These taboos vary in intensity and degree and range from tabooed *acts*, such as intercourse with menstruating women or eating food prepared by them; tabooed *persons*, the menstruating women; to tabooed *objects*, such as the menstrual blood and the menstrual products associated with it. Unfortunately, variations of these taboos continue to exist today and are a critical factor in determining the social construction of menstruation.

Power and Menstruation

Golub (1992) states that, historically, the evolution of menstrual taboos can be traced to a superstitious fear of menstruating women as a threat and danger to the community. These superstitions and taboos which surrounded menstruation continue to be perpetuated even in contemporary Western societies; for example, Hyde (1985) reports that couples abstain from sexual intercourse during women's periods. According to Frazer (1922), traditional superstitions held that the touch of menstruating women could turn wine to vinegar, blight crops, kill seedlings, blast gardens, bring fruit down from trees, dim mirrors, blunt razors, rust iron and brass, kill bees and cause miscarriages. From a phenomenological approach, one could propose that the fear of the unknown was

instrumental in the creation of taboos against menstruating women. Patriarchal definitions of the world are often premised on the perception of women as a threat. Weideger (1978, as cited in Laws, 1990) states that the menstrual taboo is in fact a “means of keeping the fear of menstruating women under control” (p. 67). The fact that they menstruate reinforces the fact that women possess the power of creation which men lack. One can speculate that a male dominated society, biologically isolated from these alien, mystical processes, would create taboos to rationalize its fears (Hyde, 1985).

Menstruation and its associated taboos effectively exhibit the pervasiveness of male power. Kopinak (1983, as cited in Mackie, 1985) defines power as the capacity of an individual or group to control, influence or manipulate other's behavior whether these others wish to cooperate or not. The issue of power is the crux of ideology and false consciousness according to Mackie (1985). False consciousness occurs when "the subordinate group accepts as valid and authoritative the ideology of the dominant group" (Mackie, 1985, p. 35). In fact, male power is evidenced in institutions that develop ideologies to rationalize and support the status quo of male dominance.

Modern taboos surrounding menstruation continue to exist as a facet of our contemporary society. The combination of advertisement and folk wisdom has perpetuated the myth that “menstruating women feel restive, embarrassed and unclean” (Paige, 1973 as cited in McKeever, 1984, p. 33). Furthermore the consensus is that most adults prefer that menstruation not be discussed in the office, socially, nor within the family (Milow, 1983 as cited in McKeever, 1984). Brumberg (1993) sums it up quite succinctly in that she feels that even though we “do not isolate, segregate or formally

restrict our girls at menarche, we do have a set of socially shared beliefs and practices about menstruation...resembling a 'menstrual taboo'" (p. 103).

Stereotypes and Euphemisms

Menstruation has become a phenomenon shrouded in euphemisms, used by men and women alike, to refer to a simple biological process. These euphemisms permeate our language and reflect society's attitudes and biases. Ernster (1975) discusses how, while women tend to use these terms as a sort of 'secret' language when in the company of males, men's terms tend to contain sexual and derogatory connotations. For example, women's terms tend to be more cryptic and secretive, '*Aunt Sylvia is visiting me*', while men tend to connect menstruation to sex. Their terms are a mechanism for implying menstrual taboos on intercourse; '*being on the rag*'. Moreover, from a feminist perspective, Ernster (1975) explains how the "continued use of certain euphemisms perpetuates the view of the menstruating woman as polluting and dangerous, with implied justification for social inferiority" (p. 3-4). In fact, this has serious mental health implications for women, in that, *how* women speak of their periods will in turn reflect their attitudes toward themselves and in turn their self esteem. Referring back to Kopinak's (1983, as cited in Mackie, 1985) definition of power, these women are in turn accepting male definitions of what menstruation is all about and the implied social consequences. Menstruating women continue to be held back in the workplace and kept in a discredited state. In Japan where menstrual leave has been implemented in many workplaces what has resulted is that "menstruation is grounds for seclusion...from a group where the norm is non-menstruators (men)" (Miller, 1995, p. 7). Women refer to

their periods as 'It's that time' or 'I have the curse'. By using such euphemistic and derogatory phrases, they exhibit the effects of a socialization process in which women conform to the belief that having their period is wrong, negative, dirty, or a curse. These words and phrases are examples of patriarchal power in defining menstruation as an affliction that renders women helpless or at the very least, sick.

In Victorian times, upper class women retired to their beds when they had their periods, to be cared for as if they had an illness. This correlation between 'sickness' and menstruation remains manifest in today's workplace. In the past, young girls were automatically excused from physical education classes at that *time of the month*. It was an automatic assumption that they should/would be incapable of participating in exercise while having their periods. What of the girls who wanted to join the class, did this not place insurmountable pressure on them to conform and withdraw from class because it was expected normative behavior? Today's women often encounter discrimination, either when applying for a job or when being considered for a promotion or advancement. This can be attributed to the long standing myth that women are incapacitated at that 'time of the month' (Hunter College Women's Studies Collective, 1983). Women themselves are taught to abhor their 'feminine burden' with a repulsion that reflects the ancient mystical fears of male superstition. False consciousness is clearly manifested in menstrual attitudes: women internalizing male perspectives when defining their menstrual periods. Mothers then pass these beliefs on to their daughters and perpetuate these myths from generation to generation (de Beauvoir, 1953).

The definition of menstruating women as 'unclean' is rooted in patriarchal attitudes, aimed at keeping women 'in their place'. Historically, the issue of menstruation was seen as merely a biological, physiological fact that had to be dealt with: nothing more, nothing less. Typically, women were not taught about the function of menstruation, that is, why they menstruated; just that it had to be dealt with. Strong-Boag (1988), in her book, The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada: 1919-1939 quotes a young girl (a doctor's daughter) who was told by her mother: "that once a month there would be 'bleeding'I don't think she mentioned what purpose it served, but just that it was the lot of all women and we had to accept it" (p. 15).

This orientation has important implications for self esteem and raises several mental health issues. What message does this convey to women, particularly young women, who are not taught about what is happening to their own bodies? If women are taught they are dirty and unpure at those times, this in turn affects how they view themselves. Keeping women defined, misinformed, and ignorant of what is happening to their own bodies once a month serves to perpetuate the myth of women being second class citizens, of being helpless and 'ill' at the time of their menses. Simone de Beauvoir (1953) expressed the role of definition well, "... living in a world where men compel her to assume the status of the Other" (p. xxviii). This serves to reinforce male power. In The Kitchen God's Wife, a young girl was told by her aunt that

The bleeding is a sign. When a girl starts having unclean thoughts, her body must purge itself. That is why so much blood is coming out. Later, if a girl marries into the proper family chosen for her, if she

becomes a good wife and loves her husband, this will stop'...just as she predicted, once I became a good wife, the bleeding stopped (Tan, 1991, p. 227-8).

In this case, the young girl was pregnant, however she had no idea, and simply assumed she had become a good wife to her husband. We must ask did the aunt really believe this story? Was that what she was told by her mother? If this is true then we must recognize this is another example of false consciousness.

Menstruation and Mental Health

In the later 19th century and early 20th century, menstruation was viewed primarily as that which “rendered (women) incapacitated by menstrual difficulties” (Cayleff, 1992, p. 229). It seems that the taboos associated with menstruation, the beliefs and superstitions for that time-continue to affect women’s definitions of themselves as well as society’s perception of menstruating women (Cayleff, 1992). Berg (1996) elaborates the point that because menstruation has been patriarchally defined, women are caught in a double bind situation; discredited if they menstruate or not and ‘dammed if they do’. He reiterated that these definitions do not emanate from the women themselves, rather they are “widely accepted as the way things are by women” (Berg, 1996, p. 7) in yet another instance of false consciousness. He further emphasizes the point by claiming that women who accept the norm as being a non-menstruator, have indeed “succumbed to this fallacious definition by continuing their denial of their own menstruation” (Berg, 1996, p. 10). Indeed as Nicolson (1995) states it seems that “women’s beliefs have been penetrated by powerful patriarchal images of the female body and mind” (p. 779). As a result men and women alike, disregarding evidence to the

contrary, have come to believe in the negative effect of the menstrual cycle on the biological and psychological functioning of women.

The question for modern day women is how to deal with the realities of their menstruation. By admitting they are menstruating and saying they are different from men, what messages are they conveying? Men are seen as the norm, women as the 'Other', but do they want special treatment, do they want to appear as different? Is it more beneficial to deny the effects, ignore the symptoms of menstruation and carry on; in other words, mask the fact that they are menstruating? (Golub, 1992). Mackie's (1985) notion of false consciousness supports the notion that women begin to think of themselves as unclean and taboo and believe they must hide the fact they are menstruating for fear of discreditation. This is a serious issue in terms of women's mental health. Golub (1992) advocates banishing the idea of women as other, males as normative. When women are no longer defined as other, she believes periods will be correctly understood as a normal part of womanhood, and women will abandon the self-imposed anxieties and limitation presently incurred while attending to our menstrual needs.

Delaney, Lupton & Toth (1988) discuss the image of menstruating women in 'popular imagination'. Their discussion strengthens our position on the covertness of menstruation. They state that instead of celebrating one of life's 'coming of age' events, it is repressed in the same way "we are advised to deodorize, sanitize and remove the evidence" (Delaney et al., 1988, p. 107). By denying public acceptance of this threshold into womanhood, is this yet not another reflection of patriarchal power and false consciousness? Golub (1992) discusses how advertisers play into women's anxieties as

well as creating new ones. The message conveyed to women, is "Beware of the Blood" (Golub, 1992, p. xi). These modern day taboos create anxiety and distress for today's women. The question Golub (1992) raises is pertinent to our discussion; are these taboos arising from the attitude that menstruating women are unclean and worse yet, do women interpret their sense of self in the same way? She claims that in the past, menstruation, a major difference between the sexes, was used by men in maintaining control over women; justifying male superiority. As previously mentioned, the very fact that women were menstruating was used to keep them 'in their place'. Today, being discovered still has the potential of maintaining the definition of women as 'Other', the inferior other.

Menstrual Product Advertisements and the Social Construction of Menstruation

Menstrual product advertisements provide means through which one can document historical shifts in changing societal attitudes toward menstruation and menstruating women. As mentioned previously, in the past it was assumed that the attitude towards menstruation was simply 'deal with it', now it has evolved into one of 'hide it' or perhaps more accurately 'pretend you don't have it'. My study focuses on the examination and documentation of when and how this and other defining shifts occurred historically and their impact on women in North American society.

According to Delaney et al. (1988), the first menstrual advertisement was printed in Good Housekeeping in 1930 (note that, the first advertisement found in this research was in 1914). At this time, the language of the advertisements reflected a secretive air, one that implied a hidden and protective nature towards menstruating women.

Historically, although everyone knew about women's periods, menstruation was rarely

discussed. Women withdrew from the community, menstrual products were wrapped in concealing blue paper, however, everyone knew what was going on...women had their periods.

This is similar to what we find today, the difference being, previously it simply was not talked about, now women run the risk of discreditation, some might say emasculation, if their menstrual status becomes apparent or they act in such a way as to make discovery possible. The use of the term 'discovery' itself infers the implication of 'getting caught'. This, according to advertisers, would lead to women being embarrassed as well as having the potential for discreditation. Since society now demands ignorance as to the act of menstruation, women must now endure elaborate rituals to ensure the fact that menstruation remains hidden. Menstrual products which have "the potential for being stigma symbols are kept under various forms of cover in public contexts" (Patterson & Hale, 1985, p. 27). According to these authors, the biological fact of menstruation is now about the process of integrating menstrual care practices into activities of daily living...making sure.

Delaney et al. (1988) raises the issue of how the image of menstruating women in advertising shifted, in response to changing national needs and ideologies especially during World War II. The war created a new non-traditional reliance of women in the workforce, and the language of advertisements changed in accordance with the new status of women in society. The subjugation references of women as 'girls' were abandoned in favor of the image of 'responsible women working for the good of the country'. After the war ended, the advertisements shifted their focus to reestablish the traditional portrayal of women in

the home. Women were once again reminded of their primary duties as wives and mothers. The language became almost patronizing, "when women are less needed in the work force, their IQ automatically decreases..." (Delaney et al., 1988, p. 131).

Throughout the 1940's the message seemed to be, deal with periods efficiently and quickly, in order to help with the war effort. The 'attending to' mentality emerged at this time. By the 1960-1970's, the focus again changed dramatically, women did not talk about their periods. It was, as it is today, discussed using euphemisms. Much of the language reflects the 'making sure' mentality using words like secure, confident and free. *Making sure* refers to the process that "enables menstruating women to continue their daily activities knowing that the current menstrual care practice is effective" (Patterson & Hale, 1985, p. 24). The idea of *making sure*, as mentioned previously, was to prevent revelation of the menstruating state (Patterson and Hale, 1985). There are various components of the making sure process which focus concern on knowing the day of flow, ensuring one has back up mechanisms, allowing for accidents that might occur, as well as the different behaviors surrounding public and private contexts. This notion of making sure has serious implications in the fact that not only do women participate in this making sure process, but have become programmed to rely on this process in order to compete in today's society.

Contemporary women are caught in a double bind situation. While being encouraged to participate in society, in the workforce, in the public eye, they are also counseled to be discrete and not reveal their state of menstruation. Menstruation has inherited a discrediting potential. The need to conceal, to make sure, implies that

menstruation is dirty and taboo. Fear of menstrual discovery is a consistent image found in the advertisements, according to Berg and Coutts (1993). The women in the advertisements appear ashamed, as menstruation is viewed as being discrediting and therefore, casts doubts on women's competence.

Tainted femininity, seen as the physical reality of menstruation, is a fall from grace (Berg and Coutts, 1993). Because menstruating women are seen as unclean and polluting, the goal, achieved through menstrual products, is to be clean, dry, and always fresh. This contradicts the very idea that when women are menstruating, it means they are women in the biological sense of the word: being able to bear children. How then, does having one's period affect the notion of femininity, does it not, in fact, reinforce the idea? Although women are no longer confined to their homes due to menstrual taboos, they face taboos of another kind: an environment where menstruation is seen not only as unclean, but needs to be hidden as well. In society where everything is seen as sterile and professional, the myth of the menstruating women as dirty, polluting and somehow unable to function remains in place.

Berg and Coutts (1993) have done extensive research into the issue of menstruating women as portrayed in advertising. Their concern, as is mine, is with the meanings that are subsequently conveyed to women in these advertisements. What are the consequences for women's self image? By denying the fact that women menstruate, is this not a denial of self as human, as 'animal'? Coutts and Berg (1993) state that in Western culture in particular, people are brought up to believe that the human body and its natural functions (e.g. menstruation) are indecent and in turn attempt to deny such

physiological events. While society/advertisers would counsel otherwise, it is obviously difficult for women to ignore menstruation as they cannot ignore the "recurrent uncontrollable escape of blood from a body opening" (Fisher, 1973, p. 47 as cited in Coutts and Berg, 1993, p. 180).

According to Berg and Coutts (1993), the media created ideals that women are expected to attain. Often these are unattainable goals, and leave women feeling frustrated and inadequate, that they are not equal to the women in the advertisements who are always happy, carefree and fresh. The language of advertisements contains words such as clean, fresh and comfortable, implying the converse: menstruation is dirty, uncomfortable, and smelly (Berg & Coutts, 1993). While there is no denying the fact that menstruation can be quite messy at times, there is no reason to imply that it is something unnatural, that must be banished from the body, as well as one's mind. Yet according to the advertisers, one is supposed to forget that one has periods and should be able to feel clean and carefree.

Menstrual product advertisements advise women how they should feel about their periods and how they should act in response to their periods. What seems to be odd is, although one would assume that one's period would be seen as a validation of womanhood, this is not so. In fact, women are forced to downplay their role as women, in order to continue their involvement in society. The media constructs meanings and images which in turn affect the status of women in society "The only 'acceptable' action a woman can take is unconditional and immediate surrender to society's expectations" (Delaney et al., 1988, p. 79).

Purpose of Present Study

This study undertook an inquiry into the social construction of menstruation as historically portrayed in North American menstrual product advertisements. Through advertisements, I examined what messages were conveyed to women of each era as well as demonstrate the societal attitudes of the time. My interest also lay in understanding how these messages (which may at times be conflicting) became a mental health issue for women, with respect to what these messages said to women in terms of their attitudes and behaviors about menstruation “The danger of such menstrual beliefs is that they bias a woman's knowledge of her own body, and give a negative impression to adolescent girls developing their identities as women and sexual beings” (Miller, 1995, p. 2).

The socially constructed meanings of menstruation in Western society have been quite variable. The shifting definitions are linked to the fluid character of social construction. The goal of this research was to document and elucidate various meanings of menstruation embodied in advertisements of menstrual products over the past century.

Historically, menstruation was viewed as a biological event, over which women had no control. It was a fact of life to be dealt with and attended to. An important research focus was built upon the suspicion that the event of one's menstrual period was not always defined as something to be absolutely hidden, in the sense that it is virtually denied. As suggested in the preceding introductory material, it was 'understood' (in the sense of being part of the socially constructed knowledge) in the past, that during certain times of the month, women could understandably withdraw from activities. In the sense that women were permitted to withdraw, the event was a public one. Although menstrual

products were hidden and concealed, the event itself was certainly known by the fact that women were permitted to 'drop out' of active society. The advent of menstrual products developed for commercial distribution, likely contributed to developing the notion of hiddenness. The products, as well as the event were hidden and kept private. The packaging was discrete: blue paper with a cross on it, women hid them in their purses when out or in their dressers at home. The 'way of women' was known and accepted because women were historically treated as 'Other', inferior, the potential of their periods discrediting them as equals ('like male'), simply did not exist.

Over time a shift in attitude took place. The entire process of menstruation became an event to be hidden. It was considered dirty and polluting and women were ashamed to be having their periods and did not want anyone to know about it. One can surmise that this shift reflects societal attitudes of the time. A physiological event that used to be considered a sign of womanhood, had become one of "tainted femininity" (Berg and Coutts, 1993, p. 182). The concept was shrouded in an aura of fear. Women could not withdraw as this would run the risk of discovery and subsequent discreditation. If their co-workers (male) found out they were menstruating, they would run the risk of what they said being dismissed to 'its that time of the month' slurs, or worse yet linked to pre-menstrual syndrome (PMS) jokes and the like. The event must be hidden, and it was not socially acceptable to withdraw for those days. Today's women must carry on without complaint of cramps or bloating, they must go about their work as usual. Although the products are not hidden and publicly seen in stores, displays and in the media, women now have to engage in *making sure* processes. Berg and Coutts (1993)

recently found in their analysis of menstrual product advertisements that the 'fear of discovery' is quite problematic. This is related to the fact that having one's period, and being discovered, is now seen as a discrediting event. The current messages are that periods, must be hidden at all costs, even to the point that the advertisers suggest that using the right paraphernalia will make it 'go way' for the women themselves.

Contemporary women are now subjected to the extra pressure of not being classified as 'Other', rather as 'non-menstruators'.

The goal of this research was to document historical shifts in the definition of 'being' menstruating women. The paradigm being assessed was that menstruation is more personally problematic for women today that it was in the past. Also to be investigated was the research suspicion that the fundamental shift in social construction surrounding menstruation has to do with what I called the private/public continuum. Historically, menstrual products were subjected to great privacy, while the fact that women had their periods was essentially 'known' through their permitted behavior. Today, menstrual products are very public (being photographed in advertisements and seen on television), but the fact of being menstruating women is subject to extreme privacy, even to the point that women ought not to be seen in public in possession of menstrual products, lest they be exposed. Mere possession has the potential to reveal their secrets and thereby discredit them.

The hope is that by documenting the historical social construction of menstruation, an environment may develop that aids in fostering future feminist social change. If we try to reconstruct and reclaim meanings and definitions of menstruation,

this may eliminate the perpetuation of negative societal attitudes and myths that serve only to reinforce the modern menstrual taboo.

Chapter 2: Methods

Introduction

This study is an inquiry into the social construction of menstruation as historically portrayed in menstrual product advertisements. Advertisements were examined as to what messages were conveyed to women of each era as well as their portrayal of the societal attitudes of the time. Using historical advertisements for menstrual products in two popular North American magazines, targeted at women, one from the USA; Good Housekeeping and one from Canada; Chatelaine, a constant comparative method of analysis was invoked. Many of the advertisements in the last two decades came in fact, from a variety of other women's magazines. The goal was to identify the conceptual shifts in definitions of what it means to be menstruating women as well as the shifting definitions with respect to the social construction of menstruation. As Patterson and Hale (1985) state "because menstruation is an all-encompassing social, emotional, and biological event, it needs to be investigated as it is grounded in the everyday lives of healthy women." (p. 20).

Data Collection

The advertisements which make up the data set were systematically gathered. Beginning at 1914, where the first advertisement for a menstrual product was found, the advertisements were sampled every 3 years, every 3 months. Beginning with the next month every three years, for example; January, April, July, October; the next cycle began at February, then May, August and November and so on. A data set was assembled of

photocopies of the actual advertisements, these were then transcribed using a system which indicated for each advertisement the type of product; e.g. pad, tampon, medicine, or liner, the decade it was from, followed by the number of the actual advertisement e.g. p2020., t9022. The advertisements were also labeled with page number and name of each magazine. A set of 4 categories was then developed which were labeled pads, tampons, medicine, and liners. For the purpose of this particular study, the categories of pads and tampons were primarily analyzed, as well, the category of liners was used for support data as concepts emerged.

Data Analysis

The first step in coding was to read through all the 700 advertisements to get a general feeling of “what is going on here?” (Glaser, 1978, p. 94). Advertisements from each decade were read individually with notes made as to the hunches and trends present for each decade. Global shifts were looked for in the data, in an attempt to set up a guiding ‘hypothesis’ using overarching themes. Several questions were developed to be asked of the actual data, with the intent being to go back into the advertisements to find the evidence necessary to support the initial hunches.

What is Going On Here?

The method of constant comparative analysis, developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), was deemed appropriate for the research plan of this study. Constant comparative analysis requires the researcher to continually reexamine her data for new ideas and hunches that might arise. According to Hutchinson (1986), this can be regarded

as the fundamental method of data analysis, the aim being to generate theoretical constructs.

Initially, I began by reading through the advertisements to get an overview. In consultation with colleagues working on the larger research project on the portrayal of menstruating women in advertising, I developed a series of key questions to help guide the analysis: Who are the women in the advertisements; are they, for example homemakers or professionals? What are their menstrual issues? What are the answers to their problems (e.g. solved by the product) as such, what are their needs related to this, that is, what does the product tell them they need? Finally, who are the menstruating women of this decade, adapting Berg & Coultts (1994) ideal types of FEM and WOMAN. The premise here was that by coding conceptually and developing a shorthand system, certain themes as well as shifting images in the data would begin to surface.

After conducting this preliminary analysis, certain ideas emerged as to specific trends and themes in the data. The data were examined throughout the years to investigate the language of the advertisements. How the definition of menstruation has changed over the years was also examined.

To begin the constant comparative analysis process, the researcher simultaneously collects, codes and analyzes the data. This process begins with the onset of the first data collection. It is intended to be continuous so as to allow for a change in focus or the ability to pursue tangential themes that may arise from the data analysis. Although the coding process is far from linear, it will be presented in that format in order to create a more

detailed and straightforward understanding of the process that occurs, and the three 'levels' of coding that the data set must pass through.

The first step is to examine the data and code using actual words from the text. Charmaz (1983) refers to this step as the categorizing and sorting of the data. The objective nature of this step limits the influences of the researcher's preconceived ideas when doing this preliminary coding. This initial step provides the preliminary ideas, definitions and discoveries that can be retrieved from the data.

The next step is the interpretation and collapsing of codes into categories. Some codes may be discarded at this point if they no longer relate to the categories. This stage of labeling, sorting, compiling and organization (Charmaz, 1983) is known as the selective conceptual phase of the research whereby a set of categories is developed at an analytical level.

The third level of coding enables the progression from general categories to 'theoretical constructs' or conceptual categories, based on their analytic development. At this point the theory can be generated and the "weaving (of) the fractured data back together again" occurs (Glaser, 1978, p. 116). Charmaz (1983) states that "codes serve to summarize, synthesize and sort many observations made of the data" (p. 112).

Preliminary Coding

Using this method of constant comparative analysis, certain themes were then identified and used to guide subsequent coding.

1. references to/definitions of menstruation; e.g. hygienic distress

2. product problems; e.g. nuisance, hassle
3. technical innovations; e.g. wings, staydri cover
4. definition of women as menstruators;
 e.g. one who withdraws or conversely, carries on
5. fears; created or real; e.g. outlines, accidents
6. names of products; e.g. Modess, Always
7. historical first occurrences; of accidents, of odor, of others knowing.

I went through the data and coded for the above mentioned terms and eventually collapsed these into three catalogues; 1. definition of menstruation, 2. the fears associated with menstruation, 3. names of products.

Then, from these three catalogues, certain conceptual trends/shifts were identified and discussed. In each catalogue, the following 'trends' were coded for; 1. denial; of being feminine...of being menstruator. 2. dirtiness; hygiene. 3. during; response to period e.g. withdrawal or participation. 4a. real issues vs. created fears. b. her problem at the time. 5. maintaining poise...being women.

Conceptual Categories

In needing to manage the identified trends more efficiently, they were collapsed into two concepts under the heading of **Being Woman: Being Menstruator**. The way to arrive at these concepts was to continually compare and contrast the existing trends in an analytic fashion. By doing this the core variable, that which links data together, will emerge. The two original conceptual categories were as follows;

I] woman's responses to her period;

a} denial of being a menstruator, b} being dirty, c} behavior during her period,

II] her concerns about periods;

a} real issues, b} created fears.

Throughout the coding procedure, the researcher must memo her findings and these notations will in turn become part of the data to be coded. Memos help define ideas or hunches that are revealed to the researcher while coding. Recorded 'quickly and spontaneously', they are the 'written elaboration's of ideas' (Charmaz, 1983) which help to connect the analysis to the ideas. The focus here is on the conceptualization process. One is required to learn to think both inductively and deductively so that the 'social process' will emerge (Hutchinson, 1986 also Charmaz, 1983). Memos help the researcher to localize/isolate further ideas for research, helping to derive early assessments as well as helping to "foster a theoretical rendering of the data" (Charmaz, 1983, p. 121). Memos helped in this research process to narrow down the codes and concepts in order to unearth the shifts and trends identified in the data. I constantly memoed my thoughts and hunches as I went through the data coding. These memos proved to be invaluable when it came to the sorting and resorting of the codes into concepts and the eventual identification of the social process and core variable.

Eventually the concepts were finalized as;

1] menstrual management kit

2] concerns surrounding the time

3] cleanliness/hygiene

4] being women; being menstruators.

However in consultation with colleagues once again they were eventually reworked by collapsing categories and codes in the method of constant comparative analysis, into the concepts of

1] menstrual management kit;

a} simple/complex

b} hiddenness

c} names of products

d} private/public continuum,

2] sanitary protection/feminine hygiene;

a} dirtiness of menstruation

3] the time of the month

a} during menses

b} activity level

c} credit/discredit.

After coding and when concepts have been developed, informal sorting can be conducted to refine data. The eventual purpose is to decide upon a core variable and social process. These were used to document the shifting definitions surrounding the social construction of menstruation.

Chapter 3: Results

Introduction

This chapter will present the findings that were gathered in this study. For ease of understanding, the analysis of the data is included in Chapter Four following the description of the findings. By separating the description of the data from the analysis, it is hoped the reader is presented with the descriptive evidence before the ‘what does it mean?’ question is addressed. The goal in this chapter is to offer what was gathered and to present to the reader the discoveries from the historical data. While the use of decades in the presentation is admittedly contrived, it has been invoked to facilitate easier delivery of themes and shifts identified in the data.

This chapter will discuss how women are portrayed in menstrual product advertisements. The data has been subdivided into three sections for clarity of understanding. The objective in presenting the data in this manner is to facilitate comprehension and interpretation of the findings. The first section describes the message advertisers have used regarding the expected behavior of women: What is woman? The second section, Management, describes how women should respond to and manage their periods according to these advertisements. Finally, the Names of menstrual products over the century are considered.

What Is Woman?

This first section will address the issue of how women have been portrayed in menstrual product advertisements since the early 1920’s. What kind of women are seen

in the advertisements? How are they portrayed? What do the advertisements tell them they should be and how should they act? As advertisements are created through the years this message changes. The women of the 1920's are much different in demeanor than women in the later years of this analysis. As might be expected many of the changes evidenced in the advertisements reflect changes in the status of women over the same time frame.

Twenties

According to the advertisements of the 1920's , women were depicted as delicate, dainty, frail and demure. These were 'women', they were expected to, and did, act in a certain way. Women at this time were characterized by their weakness; they were known to blush and faint quite easily. They were considered 'young ladies' and as such, having periods affirmed their weakness. As Brownmiller (1984) states, "in the obsessive Victorian preoccupation with the 'feminine sphere' partial invalidism and bodily frailty were assumed to be the female's natural state" (p. 191). The medical profession supported this perspective, advocating for women staying at home and conserving their energies. (Cayleff, 1992). Hall discussed the dangers of too much education for young menarcheal girls. He suggested that these girls be "put into special classes by themselves since intimacy with boys destroyed their bloom and delicacy.... free to take off a catamenial week every month...could recoup and readjust their bodies to the increased demands of womanhood" (Hall, 1904 as cited in Bullough, 1980, p. 69). In the late 1800's, women took to their beds when they were menstruating, they were 'sick', "menstruation was viewed as a chronic sickness that could be best treated by inactivity

and bed rest” (Brownmiller, 1984, p. 191). They accepted the definitions that considered them incapacitated by their periods and withdrew from society. This was the prevailing attitude at this time. By the arrival of the 20th century, the advertisements suggested that women, while remaining ladylike, wanted to be able to do more during their menses, to be more ‘active’. Activity at this time meant that women wanted to be able to go out;

dancing, dining or motoring [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].

social demands are met in confidence [Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].

long summer days by the seashore, lake or river [Chatelaine Aug. 1929, p. 43].

The advertisements of the 1920’s stated that women did not want to ‘miss out’ on certain events and activities by having to withdraw during their periods. Bullough (1980) stated that “the major problems that women ...had with menstruation was dealing with the discharge” (p. 67). The predominant concern of women at this time was, simply, how to deal with the flow. The goal of the advertisers was to convert women from traditional homemade methods to a new method of sanitary protection; the disposable pad. From a marketing stand point, it was something quite revolutionary. Up until this point the methods women had been using were quite cumbersome and trying. Women had been making absorbent ‘homemade’ pads , using cotton, chambray or even gauze and cheesecloth (Brumberg, 1993).

The advertisements gave the impression that by using the new, disposable, store bought pads, women would be elevated to the status of upper society. The message presented by the advertisements claimed the conventional method of responding and managing one’s menstruation; making, soaking, washing, and reusing the pads was not

something women in the better classes should do. The impression given was that it was neither ladylike nor elegant to have to handle one's menses in that way. The pads were also approved and used by the medical profession, a criteria that appeared important to the women of the advertisements. Marketing of the new pads was difficult due to the simple fact that the word menstruation and its associated meanings were still quite taboo at this time (Bullough, 1980). Another factor that must be accounted for was the cost of the pads. Previously women had fashioned pads out of cloths and rags and as such the cost was negligible.

The new disposable pads were advertised as the modern, more efficient and easier means of managing one's menstruation, but advertisements continued to use euphemisms rather than the actual word 'menstruation'. This was the "new hygienic sensibility" (Brumberg, 1993, p. 114). The new pad's claim to fame, according to the advertisements, was that it allowed women more time to have fun and 'be active',

days are too precious, too full, to be lost or interfered with by even
 natural complications [Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].
 dance, dine motor for hours...unhandicapped without doubt or fear
 [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].

The advertisements also suggested that women could wear their "exquisite things... sheerest frocks and gowns without a second's thought" (Good Housekeeping Aug. 1926, p. 146) if they used the new disposable pads. This focus on grooming and elegance continued well into the 1930's. Women were still portrayed as being poised and demure, in that decade.

this is the recently expressed opinion of one fastidious woman ' I use Kotex for the same reason that I wear silk lingerie. I want to be well dressed to the minutest detail' [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1929, p. 140].

the first scientific napkin, it is constantly being perfected in details which make for added comfort, finer grooming, better health! [Chatelaine May 1929, p. 69].

Thirties

The advertisements of the 1930's continued to portray women as the weak, frail, elegant and demure creatures of the 1920's. Women's concerns, according to the advertisements focused on being poised and ladylike, especially when dealing with their periods. The advertisements implied that most women found it difficult to face menstruation and its management.

one of they most trying situations in all the years of young womanhood
[Good Housekeeping Apr. 1932, p. 184].

Now there is a simple way to carefree poise on the days its hardest to attain.
Kotex has removed all annoyance from woman's most perplexing problem
[Good Housekeeping Aug. 1935, p. 157].

The women of the 1930's were concerned with being able to purchase a pad that did not show or fail them. Finer grooming became associated with not having menstrual 'equipment' showing:

corners of each pad have been rounded and tapered so as to leave no evidence of sanitary protection [Chatelaine May 1929, p. 69].
ends all fear of revealing outlines no matter how close-fitting your gown

[Good Housekeeping July 1932, p. 113].

not the slightest bulk even under the filmiest summer silk

[Good Housekeeping July 1932, p. 113].

absolute invisibility always. No 'give away' lines or wrinkles or 'bunches'

[Good Housekeeping May 1935, p. 188].

the kind of frock she wouldn't have dared to wear yesterday, so sheer, so light in color...and not a single tell tale line shows [Chatelaine Nov. 1934, p. 35].

According to the advertisements, women were still concerned with being able to do more and be more active than the women in the 1920's. Women of the 1930's were portrayed as being more involved with outdoor activities and some advertisements even mentioned women at work.

during busy hours at work, during crowded hours of play

[Chatelaine Jan. 1931, p. 27].

She has no time for the discomfort and worries associated with her menstrual protection and wants to feel secure while pursuing other activities

what a peace of mind that moisture proof backing brings-especially when you're traveling [Chatelaine Mar. 1937, p. 34].

healthy freedom is secured by all women who overcome the limitations put upon their activities by adopting the modern method of personal hygiene

[Chatelaine Aug. 1934, p. 30].

gives women freedom never before dreamed of...ice skating is vigorous

[Chatelaine Nov. 1934, p. 35].

Forties

Women in the 1930's were assumed to be mostly involved in those activities that were ladylike and demure such as dancing or dining. It will be seen in the later years how this definition of activity changed by the 1990's. In response to the advent of W.W.II, the language and assumptions of menstrual product advertisements in the 1940's changed dramatically. The advertisements now told women they were expected to be active, strong, and involved in helping the war effort. Women were now placed in jobs vacated by men in service. The advertisements urged women to do their duty for their country and for their men and were now portrayed as being stronger and more active than they had been in the past. "The ads glorify bravery and competence, the qualities needed by women on the home front" (Delaney et al., 1988, p. 131).

girls in the great, humming industrial plants of the land

[Good Housekeeping Sept. 1947, p. 79].

the 'slacks brigade' deals in facts no fancies

[Good Housekeeping Sept. 1947, p. 79].

That's why I'm working in an aircraft factory. that's why doing my job well is the most important thing in my life these days. And naturally 'time-off' is something I try to do without. On those days when I feel more like weeping than working I've learned to depend on Modess to help me keep going...helps me stay on the job-doing my part to 'keep'em flying' [Chatelaine May 1943, p. 68].

who would have thought you'd be a deserter from a dustmop when Mom's counting on you? When your country's counting on you?

[Chatelaine May 1943, p. 43].

So now you know how to join the Keep Going Corps [Chatelaine May 1943, p. 43].

The language of the advertisements conveyed a message of participation. It was now inappropriate for women to simply withdraw from society because of their periods. Politics and economics demanded their participation in the war effort and counted on them to do their duty. What developed was a new class of women, no longer tied to domestic life, but now helping with the war while still going out and having fun after work. The idea of helping their country and their perseverance no matter what was reinforced throughout the advertisements. The advertisements stated that not only should women be able to help with the war they should be able to go out on a date after work.

popular girls know how to keep going and keep smiling regardless
of what day of the month it is...know how to take 'difficult days'
in their stride [Good Housekeeping Apr. 1941, p. 71].

they found time in their hurrying war-busy lives to write why they're
glad they switched to Modess [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1944, p. 101].
are you 'on your toes'- like 8 out of 10? If you've been wishing you
could breeze through these busier rush-rush days. no matter what time of the
month, listen to this... [Good Housekeeping May 1944, p. 73].

"and now you're telling yourself that girls are different and that one little
layoff day won't matter. When you know that if it weren't for stay-at-homes
scores more ships, tanks, bombers would reach our boys
[Chatelaine Aug. 1943, p. 31].

Because if they can whisk through dusting and dishes...then dash out for a late
'skate date' so can you! Keep your promises and your dates!
[Chatelaine May 1943, p. 43].

The women of the 1940's portrayed in the menstrual product advertisements were far more active than those of previous decades. Not only did their level of activity increase, they were also different in nature to those of the demure, restrained women of the 1920's and 1930's. The definition of activity had changed, becoming more 'physical' in nature, perhaps due to the effects the war had and the requirements that women work outside of the home.

What a glorious weekend I had! I danced, I played tennis, I went sailing- so comfortable and carefree- I practically forgot the time of the month
[Chatelaine Oct. 1940, p. 30].

She sprinkled a little water on it and not a drop passed through Well... Thanks to her tip, I went out before that crowd as self-possessed as you please and sang and danced my best [Chatelaine Apr. 1940, p. 36].

Fifties

During the 1950's the messages promoted by the advertisers of menstrual care products changed again. Many advertisements now advocated that women leave their factory jobs to the men returning from the war and once again adopt a more sedentary, domestic way of life (Delaney et al., 1988). The advertisements portrayed women as being busy with their homes, socializing with their friends and attending parties. A new focus in the 1950's, introduced by Kotex, was to be 'in the know', that is, to know about the social etiquette as well as using the proper sanitary protection.

Are you in the know? How to decide about a spring suit. ..budget wise
bunnies shun suits too large or small. Be perfectly suited too as to sanitary

protection needs [Good Housekeeping Apr. 1950, p. 128].

Are you in the know? Which neckline's best for your figure...and for solving 'certain' problems why not let Kotex be your choice?

[Good Housekeeping July 1950, p. 30].

Are you in the know? If you were stepping into this taxi should you sit-....And when you step out to dance or wherever cancel calendar 'woes' for Kotex is made to stay soft while you wear it. [Good Housekeeping Apr. 1950, p. 128].

Are you in the know? Should you talk to a house-party guest you haven't met?

You can talk back to your calendar too (when it taunts you with 'outline' qualms)

For Kotex has flat pressed ends that prevent revealing outlines

[Good Housekeeping July 1950, p. 30]

The messages given by the advertisements was that women need not to let their periods hamper their fun and all that they wanted to do. According to the advertisements, however, women also wanted to keep their menstruation hidden so that they could be

confident...carefree...ready for after theater fun

[Good Housekeeping Oct. 1959, p. 59]

shop, work, play as you please [Good Housekeeping Apr. 1959, p. 137].

you're free, easy, happily active [Good Housekeeping June 1959, p. 109].

dance the hours away...you can walk freely.. you can rise from a chair

without self consciousness concern [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1959, p. 101].

move freely throughout the day...take the kids to school...go

anywhere...without self consciousness concern

[Good Housekeeping Apr. 1959, p. 137].

Sixties

By the 1960's women's activities were still much the same as their sisters in the 1950's, yet the advertisements now emphasized the need for awareness of various product associated issues such as a pad failing and having an accident as a result. Protection was the strong overriding theme in the 1960's. Who and what were being protected was not directly specified in the advertisements. The advertisements did not suggest that women be poised and demure as in the 1920's and 1930's, but rather that they should be actively having fun, and should be fresh and carefree. They implied that women could achieve this by using the proper menstrual protection. The advertisements suggested that women wanted to be fresh and clean all the time and a focus on being feminine and dressing feminine was evident. According to these advertisements women wanted to be

so cool, so clean, so fresh ...white dress fresh and sea cool! You feel immaculate [Chatelaine Aug. 1961, p. 65].

if you seem fresher, more poised, more relaxed its because you are [Chatelaine Apr. 1967, p. 98].

The most feminine way to be free. stay in the swim, every day. Do everything you want to do [Mademoiselle. May 1967].

The advertisements of the 1960's encouraged women to be alluring and sexy and focused on their concerns regarding their attractiveness to men.

Be soft. Be silky. Be someone's love. But be sure [Good Housekeeping Oct. 1968, p. 75].

Be believing. Be Belonging. Be a bundle of love... But be sure

[Chatelaine Feb. 1970, p. 45].

Be honey. Be Heady. Be here and now.... But be sure

[Chatelaine Nov. 1970, p. 2].

Be new. Be natural. be now and forever.. But be sure

[Good Housekeeping Apr. 1970].

Seventies

The theme of being attractive during, and in spite of, menstruation developed in the late 1960's and into the 1970's. Menstrual product advertisements of this decade told women how they should feel and act at all times and encouraged women to have fun and be carefree at all times of their cycle. The message was that menstruation did not need to hamper the pursuit of good times and that women of the 1970's had the ability to surmount all obstacles, including their periods. The advertisements encouraged women to wear whatever they wanted without worrying, but only if they had the right menstrual products.

In fact, I felt so comfortable and secure with them I even wore my new skating skirt. For active women like you [Good Housekeeping Jan. 1977, p. 55].

enough protection to take you through the day with a smile

[Mademoiselle, Apr. 1971, p. 149].

The tell tale bumps and bulges are gone which is great with the fashions you are wearing these days. To feel safe, protected and comfortable

[Chatelaine Feb. 1973, p. 27].

The advertisements assured women that they could be free and secure because the new pads and tampons would take care of their worries. In contrast to the early years, where

women withdrew during their periods, the women of the 1970's refused to allow their periods to interrupt the pace of their lives. Women of the 1970's could be free of concerns because of their sanitary protection.

in 1881, your doctor would have sent you to bed for

'those days'. Times change [Chatelaine Feb. 1970, p. 11].

you get a certain courage from Kotex plus napkins

[Good Housekeeping Feb. 1971, p. 50].

The women in the 1970's were physically active in a totally different sense than those of the 1920's. The advertisements implied that women accomplished more, were stronger, active not passive, and far from demure. They are portrayed in the advertisements as participating in activities that their sisters from the earlier years would not have done. According to the advertisements, women of this time now demanded the right to actively participate in society even during their menses.

Today's women are demanding their part of the action. Sitting by even during monthly periods is just so much lost time

[Good Housekeeping Feb. 1971, p. 12].

to move with dancer's grace takes hours of practice-stretching, bending, twisting. Even during those few days each month when you may not feel like exercising [Good Housekeeping May. 1971, p. 42].

Because its silly to miss a day like this. The snow is a freshly washed sheet pulled over the hills. All hers. All day. And she's not going to let a minute get away [Good Housekeeping Nov. 1971, p. 207].

Every day is a new adventure. Here you are tackling something new. Testing your strengthened endurance. Realizing you have the confidence to play the big one with rod and reel. [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1974, p. 54].

She's a professional model and her day could begin at dawn and end long after sunset. She's got to sparkle every minute. And look fabulous in a thousand different poses and situations [Chatelaine Feb. 1970, p. 58].

Eighties

Based on menstrual product advertisements of the 1980's, women had more to worry about with respect to sanitary protection than ever before. According to the advertisements women were career women and also fun loving 'girls'. These women can be labeled as 'Fem' according to Berg & Coutts (1994). The Fem classification, according to these researchers, is an idealized type of women, portrayed in the advertisements to which all women are expected to aspire. These women are carefree, fun loving and, above all, clean and fresh. In fact, they are portrayed as those who do not ever menstruate!

The advertisements suggested that women should always be concerned about their periods. Women should want to feel 'great' all the time and should forget about their periods. In fact, they should feel like they are not even menstruating. To achieve this freedom, women were now told to use products designed for specific phases of their cycles

An extra peace of mind...redesigned to offer you a special kind of freedom from worry [Chatelaine July 1988, p. 46].

How do I want to feel? fabulous. 365 days a year You don't have to be a genius to

know that feeling clean and dry is better. This is the way you're supposed to feel all the time. I didn't know you could feel this good every day
[Glamour May 1989].

Stay active with a shaped pad that's thicker in the middle to really protect your shortest shorts, latest leotards and active afternoons. You can count on KOTEX
[Good Housekeeping Mar. 1989, p. 95].

The advertisements acknowledged that women were busy and offered several suggestions as to how they should be acting and feeling at all times. In particular, women could with the right products, achieve confidence and feel terrific.

Women in the 1980 were primarily concerned with the idea of discreteness, that menstruation and especially their menstrual equipment must remain hidden. Tampon advertisements capitalized on this attitude and suggested that by using tampons, this discretion could be easily achieved. According to the advertisements the tampon was a marvelous invention which, because it was inserted internally, had no danger of lines, bulges or even leakage. It was above all, discreet to wear, to carry and fit even into the smallest purse, or jeans.

fits discreetly in your purse [Flare May 1988, p. 58].

even more discreet than ever before [Cosmopolitan Nov. 1989, p. 293].

so discreet it fits in your tiniest pocket or purse, even in the palm
of your hand [Seventeen Nov. 1988, p. 91].

so discreet you can carry 2 or 3 in a change purse [Flare June 1984, p. 23].

like the discreteness...with no bulky applicator to throw away
[Flare Nov. 1987, p. 111].

so you can fit all you need in your tiniest purse [Self Oct. 1986, p. 219].

Nineties

That women of the 1990's are no longer as incapacitated by their periods as those of the 1920's is clearly evidenced in the advertisements. Women of the 1990's are portrayed as quite active, much more so than women of the first half of the century. As well, the definitions of active women are quite different from what formerly constituted being active. What women did, with respect to what they 'missed out' on during their periods also changed dramatically over the years. Whereas former concerns centered on dancing and motoring during one's period, contemporary women of the 1990 worry more about their careers and the need for discretion at all times.

The portrayal of women of the nineties heralds their potential to conquer the world, now that most of their problems vis a vis menstruation have been solved. They had come a long way from their sisters of the 1920's who were forced to be inactive during periods, due to societal attitudes and also inefficient menstrual products.

They are not totally absolved from all worry however, and as will be illustrated more clearly in the analysis chapter, their reasons for concern are quite different. Discovery of ones' menstrual status is no longer merely equated with being lady like or well groomed. As will be evidenced menstrual status has totally different implications associated with it in the 1990's.

It's important to know that life can go on as usual even when I'm having my period. I carry a whole day's protection around (and nobody knows)
[Chatelaine Jan. 1991, p. 119].

A clean dry feeling. Which is the way you want to feel every day. No matter what day of the month is. [Cosmopolitan July 1990, p. 40]

Management

Menstrual product advertisements contain a great deal of advice for women, specifically educating with regards to their response and management of their periods. They also speculate on what the concerns of women might be with respect to this management and the existing 'solutions' promised by the new and improved products for menstrual care.

This section illustrates how women responded to and managed their periods historically and records their associated concerns based on information contained in advertisements. It will be noted that the management process has not in actual fact been simplified over the years as one would expect, rather it has become a more "complex management system" (Berg and Coutts, 1994, p. 13).

Twenties

Based on the sample of advertisements from the 1920's, one can conclude that menstrual protection was cumbersome for women. Menstruation itself was not an issue, rather the means by which women dealt with the situation had become problematic. As mentioned in the previous section, the existing solution required women to make, wash, and reuse their menstrual rags. Homemade pads of rags or gauze had to be washed in order to be reused and this method of managing one's period was eventually deemed unhygienic by doctors of the era (Brumberg, 1993). The soiled napkins were left soaking for a few hours before washing and this habit had come to be viewed as a "dangerous, if not offensive practice" (Brumberg, 1993, p. 113). A reexamination of feminine hygiene took place in the late 19th century and as a result, "feminine washing and menstrual

discharge were subjected to more intense hygienic standards” (Brumberg, 1993, p. 113).

The management of menstruation at this time had become quite cumbersome, but the invention of the new, disposable pad permitted a new freedom from tedious storing, washing and hiding for those women who could afford it. Brumberg (1993) stated that “commercially made napkins could revolutionize the menstrual experience”(p. 115).

Advertisements validated this statement by claiming the new pads freed women from the hassle of laundry. The message from the advertisements stressed to women that existing methods of managing their periods were a handicap and the new disposable pads would solve all problems previously faced by women bound to traditional homemade methods.

Above all things. This Brings You Peace-of-Mind

under the most trying of hygienic handicaps. This new way solves woman’s oldest hygienic problem [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].

days are too precious, too full, to be lost or interfered with by even natural complications. For that reason you will find much more than simply a mere convenience in this new way. It will make a great difference in your life [Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].

You live every day, meet every day, unhandicapped...it converts the most trying situation of yesterday into mere incidents of today.

[Good Housekeeping Aug. 1926, p. 146].

For Kotex is the scientific method that permits women greater freedom in time of hygienic distress. It removes all worry [Chatelaine Mar. 1928, p. 65].

The first homemade pads led to chafing and irritation, if worn for too long. This was an important issue to women in that it restricted the activity of women during their

menses. The advertisements also implied that women who maintained the old methods lacked the confidence achieved by the use of the new disposable pads. Predominant concerns lay with fear of pad slipping or not absorbing, or the risk of irritation as mentioned earlier. Brumberg (1993) offers the following description of the 'best' napkins women could make and use before the advent of the new disposal pad; "they were made of linen (as opposed to cotton), at least one-half yard square, folded, secured to the clothing at the front and back, and 'worn between the limbs'" (p. 113). Advertisers claimed the new pad solved the problems associated with conventional methods and could now offer women

freedom, comfort, standards of health never before possible

[Good Housekeeping June 1929, p. 168].

worn longer without irritation...downy super soft

[Good Housekeeping Aug. 1926, p. 146].

downy, super soft...marvelously soft and comfortableBecause it is more comfortable, it may be worn longer without irritation

[Good Housekeeping Nov. 1926, p. 157].

For Modess is infinitely finer. The softness, pliancy and gracious ease will delight you. This filler is as fluffy and downy as cotton, amazingly absorbent and instantly disposable. There are no square edges to irritate-the sides are smoothly rounded, And for still greater comfort the gauze is cushioned with a film of cotton [Chatelaine Aug. 1929, p. 43].

The advertisements counseled women that the old ways of using homemade pads were restrictive and hampered their lives. They implied that women could no longer

depend on the old pads; that they made women feel insecure. According to Brumberg (1993) “It was certainly apparent to these women that the new “antiseptic” napkins promised a number of real benefits: less work, improved comfort, greater mobility and a germ-free environment” (p. 116). The advertisers of this decade sought to impress upon women that while the management of menstruation had been cumbersome and a bother, the new pad enabled women to be less restricted and capable of more activity than they had been in the past. The advertisements conveyed to women the promise of less laundry and an end to their withdrawal from social interaction during their periods. Where previously, women were considered sick during their menses and were not expected to be able to do anything at that time of the month the new pad gave them a new freedom of activity. The new pads were advertised as the modern way. They were promoted as being easy to buy, as they were discrete in their availability. Convenience and disposability had become important concerns.

easy disposal and...no laundry...utter protection and easy to buy anywhere
[Good Housekeeping Aug. 1926, p. 146].

easy to dispose of...and cheap enough to throw away
[Good Housekeeping Oct. 1923, p. 123].

no laundry. as easy to dispose of as a piece of tissue-thus ending the trying
problem of disposal [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].

Nupak is easy to buy. The name is easy to say, easy to remember.
[Good Housekeeping Nov. 1926, p. 157].

Kotex the only sanitary pads made of Celluclotton are easy to dispose of by
following simple directions found in each box, and cheap enough to throw
away. [Good Housekeeping Oct. 1923, p. 123].

There is no bother, no expense of laundry. Simply discard Kotex as you would wastepaper-without embarrassment....No laundry. As easy to dispose of as a piece of tissue-thus ending the trying problem of disposal

[Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].

Kotex meets the most exacting needs. Insures comfort and poise. solves a difficult laundry problem [Good Housekeeping Apr. 1923, p. 125].

solves woman's oldest hygienic problem

[Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].

this new way solves women's oldest hygienic problems it should be solved.

..by ending the uncertainty of makeshift ways and warranting immaculacy under ALL conditions [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].

the uncertainty of the old-time sanitary pad has been supplanted with protection both absolute and scientific [Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].

the world is having a hard time to keep up with this daughter of today. She wants the best, usually gets it and then wants something better. She will not tolerate the traditions and drudgeries which held her mother in bondage

[Good Housekeeping Mar. 1929, p. 279].

What did the advertisements tell the women of the 1920's with respect to responding to and managing their periods? Judging from the advertisements women had quite a few concerns with respect to their periods. From the data it was apparent that their concerns were very different than those facing women in the latter part of the century. At this point in time the concerns were quite straightforward and dealt primarily with period management and until the advent of the first disposable pad, women had few alternatives in this respect. By the 1920's advertisements now recommended that women adopt the new hygienic standards and use the disposable pad now available to them.

60% of many ills according to many leading medical authorities are traced to the use of unsafe and unsanitary makeshift methods

[Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].

today on eminent medical advice, millions are turning to this new way

[Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].

highest hygienic authorities advise it. Virtually every great hospital in America employs it [Good Housekeeping Aug. 1926, p. 146].

your doctor says Kotex guards Health [Chatelaine Feb. 1929, p. 47].

All doctors agree on Kotex. Doctors recommend to all women the use of Kotex Sanitary Napkins instead of home-made pads that are unsanitary and so often dangerous to health. [Chatelaine Mar. 1928, p. 65].

Only 2 women in 10 today still employ the hazardous hygienic methods of yesterday [Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].

8 in 10 women in the better walks of life have adopted this new way which solves woman's oldest hygienic problem

[Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].

Doctors recommend to all women the use of Kotex sanitary napkins instead of home-made pads that are so unsanitary and so often dangerous to health.

[Chatelaine Mar. 1928, p. 65].

The menstrual product advertisements of the 1920's told women that the new pad was the answer to all their problems (associated with using the old management methods). The advertisements claimed that by using Kotex; the first "scientific" pad, it would offer them a previously unknown freedom and comfort during their periods. Women who used this new pad were told of the great benefit healthwise as the new pad offered deodorancy as well as being more absorbent than the old homemade methods.

These two factors were important selling points to women unaccustomed to these qualities in their old rags, and medical authorities of the time advocated that women be concerned about these issues as absorption of the menstrual blood was not wholesome and soiled napkins generated unpleasant odors (Brumberg, 1993). The question arises here as to whether this was a legitimate safety concern for women or purely an aesthetic one. It may be that the advertisers merely created this concern as a means of promoting their new disposable pads.

Kotex is scientifically treated to deodorize completely and safely.

[Chatelaine May 1929, p. 69].

Cellucotton absorbent wadding -the super absorbent filler, takes up 5 times more moisture than cotton [Chatelaine May 1929, p. 69].

The conventional way of treating menstruation, before the disposable pad, was considered both a hardship and a handicap, not to mention unscientific. Advertisers promoted the new pad technology by relying on health and safety issues as selling points. According to the advertisements the new techniques were infinitely more hygienic and scientific.

On the score of health alone, Kotex would be worth many times its cost.

Doctors and nurses unanimously recommend it over the unscientific methods of grand-mothers day [Chatelaine Feb. 1929, p. 47].

How Science Ends the Uncertainty of Old -Time Hygienic Methods. And gives women freedom, comfort, standards of health never before possible

[Good Housekeeping June 1929, p. 168].

this new way which solves women's oldest hygienic problem. .by ending the

insecurity and uncertainty of old ways...

[Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].

The uncertainty of the old tie sanitary pad has been supplanted with a protection both absolute and scientific

[Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].

Another issue the advertisers felt might be a concern to women of this era was the cost associated with having to buy the pads. With the old homemade methods, cost was negligible. Pads could be fashioned from rags, cheesecloth, linen, or even old flour sacks (Brumberg, 1993). It would have been difficult for women to justify spending part of the household budget on something that had to do with 'woman's way'.

Kotex- Telephone- you can ask by name for Kotex. This is one of the conveniences of Kotex-they are so easy to buy

[Good Housekeeping Apr. 1923, p. 125].

Easy to buy anywhere. Many stores keep them in ready-wrapped in plain paper-simply help yourself, pay the clerk, that is all

[Good Housekeeping Aug. 1926, p. 146].

Try Modess. We are positive its gracious ease will convince you it costs no more than you usually pay [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1929, p. 160].

cheese cloth and cotton substitutes are actually more expensive, since the price of Kotex has been so radically reduced

[Good Housekeeping Sept. 1929, p. 140].

According to Brumberg (1993), only middle and upper class women could take advantage of luxuries offered by this new 'hygienic sensibility'. To the women of the

lower class, this modern convenience was beyond their means and they continued to use homemade pads until well after W.W.II. Buying a pad was seen as a convenience, perhaps even a luxury and certainly not a necessity or a priority for many working class women. "Sanitary protection had become an article of middle class faith because, in addition to everything else, it was an important means of class differentiation" (Brumberg, 1993, p. 117). Advertisers, in an attempt to rectify this and promote the new pad, claimed that women should use the new pads because women in the better classes were using them, and it was considered simply old fashioned to use the old pads. Unfortunately for the manufacturers, the economic realities of the era were such that only "middle and upper class American women...began to cope with menstrual blood in a new way" (Brumberg, 1993, p. 114 also Bullough, 1980) and employ the new 'sanitary science'. Working class women still could not "adopt commercially made, easily disposable 'sanitary napkins'" (Brumberg, 1993, p. 117).

only 2 women in 10 today still employ the hazardous hygienic methods of yesterday. 8 in every 10 women in the better walks of life have adopted this new way [Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].

Today begin the Kotex habit. Note the improvements, mental and physical that it brings. write today for 'personal hygiene' booklet [Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].

Unqualified comfort Inimitable daintiness Would you be interested in a new sanitary convenience that offers unequaled daintiness and comfort with complete protection? [Good Housekeeping Nov. 1926, p. 157].

learn for yourself why 8 in 10 better class women employ Kotex and will accept nothing else [Chatelaine Mar. 1928, p. 65].

Today start the Kotex habit to health. Learn for yourself why 8 in 10 better classes women employ Kotex and will accept nothing else
[Chatelaine Mar. 1928, p. 65].

Both Brumberg (1993) and Bullough (1980) relate how a disposable sanitary napkin was first introduced in the 1890's, but subsequently withdrawn as the idea was not received as well as it had been expected. Brumberg (1993) explained that initially this may have been due to the cost of the pads. Eventually, when the pad was reintroduced, Bullough (1980) observed how the pad caught on "rapidly despite its cost of 10c a pad" (p 68). This quote implies that even that price was costly to women at the time. Advertisements continued to advance the idea to women as to how low priced the new pads were to buy and use. In due time, with this push from the advertisers, an abandonment of the old ways came about and there was an introduction (or reintroduction) of the first new disposable napkin. This time the idea caught on, the advertisements lauding Kimberly Clark for discovering that the nurses in the wars had been using "cellulose wadding material" (Bullough, 1980, p. 67) as homemade menstrual pads, and deciding to manufacture pads using that same material.

nurses in war-time France first discovered it...made of the super-absorbent Cellucotton covered with specially processed, soft finished gauze
[Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].

and they are also inexpensive [Good Housekeeping Apr. 1923, p. 125].

cheap enough to throw away [Good Housekeeping Oct. 1923, p. 123].

Another concern for women, according to the advertisements, was the ability to meet their social demands even while menstruating. Advertisements advised women on how to dress, what to do and where to go in what seemed to be an important preoccupation to women of the 1920's. The pad guaranteed women the opportunity to fulfill these roles more easily than in the past, when they relied on conventional homemade methods.

Golf, tennis all the delightful outdoor activities are possible now at any time
[Good Housekeeping Sept. 1929, p. 140].

Gayest, filmiest frocks may now be worn without a moments thought. Social demands are met in confidence. One lives every day...unhandicapped.

[Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].

Another new innovation was the use of a belt rather than pins to hold the pad in place. A breakthrough in convenience to women, although one which would eventually become obsolete! By the 1920's, the manufacturers had introduced a new belt that "came in colors to match your lingerie" ([Good Housekeeping Sept. 1929, p. 262]). The belt, although used before, was now a new improved version just like the new pad;

Beltx banishes forever the bothersome safety pin instead, the pad is gripped with a tiny immaculately clean bit of celluloid especially designed for absolute security...A charming and acceptable 'little gift'

[Good Housekeeping Sept. 1929, p. 262].

Towards the end of the 1920 and into the 1930 's a new concern arose; women were being pressured to hide their menses and pads.

corners of each pad have been rounded and tapered so as to leave no evidence of sanitary protection [Good Housekeeping June 1929, p. 168]. You may send me a sample of Kotex and book 'Personal Hygiene' in plain envelope [Chatelaine Sept. 1928, p. 55].

This concern may relate to the embarrassment associated with purchasing the pads or perhaps the idea of remaining well groomed and ladylike during their menses. This was presumably a pressing issue to women of this era. The manufacturers addressed this concern by wrapping the product in blue paper. But concealing the contents did not eliminate the fact that everyone 'knew' what was in the blue box. Women and men alike were perfectly aware of its contents, but maintained a 'mutual denial of the known'. As Laws (1990) states " ...it was obviously a conspiracy of silence...it was totally....it was unmentioned, it was deliberately unmentioned at any time" (p. 37).

According to the advertisements, the new pad virtually eliminated all problems associated with using the old pad. In the past women were considered sick and simply withdrew from activities and society while menstruating. This was partly due to the fact that the old methods were cumbersome and did not facilitate activity. Another factor which limited women was having to make, launder and deal with the makeshift methods of management. The advertisements claimed that, women would be able to do more with the new disposal pad and manage their periods more efficiently than in the previous years.

Thirties

The conventional methods by which women responded to and managed their periods continued to be criticized through advertisements as problematic. By the 1930's,

menstruation continued to be viewed as something with the potential to handicap and limit women's activities. The advertisements of the 1930's encouraged women to remain poised, well groomed and ladylike during their periods, yet the messages taken from the advertisements infer that women feared embarrassment while menstruating especially on the occasions when their pads 'failed', 'showed', or worse yet, if they had an accident. Women of the 1930 no longer wished to withdraw during their menses and wanted a pad that enabled them to be active.

Daintiness assured in any costume. Practical even during dancing, sport activities, taking a bath [Good Housekeeping Mar. 1938, p. 201].

Can't chafe...Can't fail... Can't show [Good Housekeeping May 1935, p. 188].

No danger of embarrassment, no fear of inadequate protection [Chatelaine Apr. 1931, p. 35].

The focus of women's management issues in the 1930's seem to focus on issues of prevention, avoiding the outlines or bulges which could reveal their 'secret'. The way to avoid this, the advertisements claimed, was to use the new disposable pad which was flat, thin and left no revealing outlines. In the advertisements, these characteristics were equated with being proper and ladylike. In fact, Brumberg (1993) states how mothers told their daughters, in an effort to keep them well groomed, about ways to "fix themselves in order to prevent displays of menstrual blood and soiled clothes" (p. 112).

it is so flattened and tapered that it leaves no outlines even under the closest fitting of evening gowns. Not the slightest bulk even under the filmiest summer silk [Good Housekeeping July. 1932, p. 113].

Maybe you weren't always aware of it. Maybe it was others who noticed that revealing outline...that telltale bulkiness
 [Good Housekeeping Oct. 1932, p. 140].

The advertisements suggested that women wanted to protect their clothing, from stains and leaks during their periods. In a similar view the advertisements stated that if women used these new disposable pads, they were guaranteed security and confidence because no one would know they were menstruating. Advertisements at this time introduced a new name for the already in use Kotex; Phantom Kotex. The use of this term reinforces the idea that women were encouraged to keep menstruation and its related equipment hidden.

Completely protects your clothing. Gives you absolute confidence because you know presence of belt and pin cannot be detected
 [Good Housekeeping Apr. 1932, p. 210].

Phantom Kotex ...so flattened and tapered it leaves no outlines even under the closest fitting of evening gowns. Not the slightest bulk even under the filmiest summer silk. [Good Housekeeping July 1932, p. 113].

What you really want in sanitary protection-more than any other one thing-is a feeling of perfect safety and security [Chatelaine Apr. 1931, p. 35].

Forties

The tampon was first advertised in 1938 and with it, the advertisements claimed, came a new and improved way to manage one's menstruation. Tampons were the innovative, more modern response to menstruation and promised to eliminate the

concerns associated with having a period and wearing a pad. In the 1940's women were working outside of the home; in factories, in the war plants, and required an easier, more efficient means of managing their periods. The tampon could provide women with this convenience.

...but when it comes to sanitary protection, I'm all for the modern internal way.

[Good Housekeeping Apr. 1941, p. 190]

But now Tampax really offers modern protection because it is worn internally. It does away with all bulges, lines and wrinkles of old methods. There is no chafing, you actually cannot feel Tampax. No odor produced, no deodorants needed. No disposal problems [Good Housekeeping July 1941, p. 128]

No belts or pins, no odor, no revealing bulges or ridges under the clothing.

Don't even bother to remove it in tub or shower! Easy disposal

[Good Housekeeping Mar. 1947, p. 174].

Fibs are quilted...for more comfort, greater safety in internal protection-that's why ..there's no danger of cotton particles clinging to delicate membranes. And quilting controls expansion...so Fibs don't fluff up to an uncomfortable size which might cause pressure, irritation, difficult removal

[Good Housekeeping Feb. 1944, p. 97].

Calling all War Workers Other advantages of Tampax appeal especially to war workers...freedom from the pin-belt-and pad harness-freedom from the bulging and bunching beneath the slacks. Tampax is quick to change and easy to dispose of, either at home or in public restrooms [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1944, p. 202].

Tampax helps the war worker, office worker, or home worker to be up and doing either daytime or evening [Chatelaine Nov. 1943, p. 26].

However, while tampons solved the problems associated with wearing a pad; bulges, outlines, odor, they also brought forth new concerns surrounding the idea of internal protection. Women were initially reluctant to try tampons and advertisements addressed the fears these women had with respect to the insertion and removal of tampons.

with Fibs, there's no danger of cotton particles clinging to delicate membranes. And quilting controls expansion...so Fibs don't fluff up to an uncomfortable size which might cause pressure, irritation, difficult removal
[Good Housekeeping Feb. 1944, p. 97].

It is the only tampon spun from uncut surgical cotton-then compressed in a manner to control expansion and prevent cotton fibers from coming loose. Needs no applicator [Good Housekeeping May 1944, p. 183].

In contrast to how the women in the advertisements of the 1890's dealt with their periods, by withdrawing from certain social activities, the women of the 1940's needed to find new ways to manage their menstruation. The shortage of manpower during W.W.II. provided women with their first opportunity to enter the workforce en masse. Advertisements encouraged women to step in and fill these positions as part of the war effort. To consider oneself 'sick' and withdraw during menses was no longer an acceptable attitude. In fact, the belief projected by the advertisements seemed to be that women should overcome their periods, persevere and help the war effort "Fibs ads from 1943 show women doing secretarial work, getting dressed for work, and wearing slacks, carrying a lunchbox, and punching a time card" (Delaney et al., 1988, p. 131).

Advertisements changed the way they addressed women of the 1940's. As Delaney et al, (1988) stated, "Because women's labor was needed, women were taken more seriously than they would be in later advertising. Advertisements called them women (e.g. adults), rather than girls; the language stressed utility and purpose and the ability of women to assume responsible and competent positions" (p. 130). The advertisements, in fact, placed a lot of pressure on women to help and do their part.

When a girl takes over a man's work, it's up to her to see it through!

[Chatelaine Aug. 1943, p. 31].

The pressure to keep their periods hidden and out of sight persisted throughout this decade.

And to keep your secret strictly private...to give you confidence and poise

...Kotex has flat pressed ends that don't show, because they're not stubby

[Chatelaine Aug. 1943, p. 31].

And what a relief to know that with Kotex there can never be any bumps and

bulges to give your secret away. Honestly! Kotex has flat, pressed ends that

Can't show even when you don't wear a girdle

[Good Housekeeping Oct. 1941, p. 71].

I'm streamlined and secure!...No revealing outlines or hard end tabs

[Good Housekeeping Aug. 1944, p. 71].

The advertisements advised women to avoid being entirely consumed with war work and encouraged them to go out and have fun as well. In fact, the advertisements encouraged women to try to forget all about their periods. Menstruation was portrayed differently in the advertisements than in the 1920's and 1930's. Where previously it was

viewed simply a hardship or a handicap, by the 1940's menstruation began to take on negative connotations. One can assume this was because it could now interfere in a different, more noticeable way than it had in the past. The impact of a women's normal daily life had moved beyond the domestic and had begun to effect political and economic aspects of society.

The day that suits everybody else doesn't suit you one bit! For its the wrong time of the month for you. If only you could smile and laugh and be gay...be the life of the party! You wish it with all your heart Well other girls manage it, and so can you! But they don't' get rid of the grouches merely by wishing. They've learned the secret of lasting comfort. Kotex Sanitary napkins [Good Housekeeping Oct. 1941, p. 71].

More than a fashion, more than a method Tampax really offers a new way of life on those 'difficult' days of the month. [Chatelaine Nov. 1943, p. 26].

How free Tampax lets you feel- and how much cooler on "those troublesome days' in summer months [Chatelaine July 1949, p. 58].

Specifically, the advertisements encouraged women to do their duty with respect to the war effort but to still have fun with their friends at parties. The advertisements encouraged these women to carry on by not letting their periods interfere or hamper their work or fun. It is interesting to note the investment of propaganda language used into the advertisements at this time. Such language combined to elevate the function of women in society, increase participation in the war effort and abolish the biological liability of menstruation.

And naturally time off is something I try to do without. On those difficult days days when I feel more like weeping than working...helps me stay on the job

doing my part [Chatelaine May 1943, p. 68].

Who would have thought you'd be a deserter from a dustmop. .. when your country's counting on you [Chatelaine May 1943, p. 43].

Keep you promises and your dates [Chatelaine May 1943, p. 43].

So now you know how to join the Keep-going Corps
[Chatelaine May 1943, p. 43].

You'll deserve an "E" of your own...for being an "Everyday" "
[Chatelaine Aug. 1943, p. 31].

You can always be sure of a pleasant evening when you're poised-free of
'problem time' worries [Chatelaine Oct. 1949, p. 71].

It's the answer to your problems when you want to feel gay and happy and
carefree [Good Housekeeping Oct. 1941, p. 71].

Break a date or two and the next thing you know you're sitting home twiddling
your thumbs! Popular girls know-how to keep going and keep smiling
regardless of what day of the month it is
[Good Housekeeping Apr. 1941, p. 71].

Fifties

Throughout the 1950's, the language of advertising shifted once again. The tone in which it spoke to women became condescending and suggested women should once again return to their domestic lives and abandon jobs and skills to the men returning from the war. Delaney et al. (1988), stated that "the postwar idea that a woman's primary and only fulfilling roles were those of wife and mother, her place in the home" (p. 131). The advertisements were no longer concerned with women's abilities to operate drill presses, rather they suggested that their attention focus again on social etiquette, and being 'in the

know'. As Delaney et al. (1988) puts it, "When women are less needed in the work force, their IQ automatically decreases, if we are to judge by advertisers' practices" (p. 131). Women's sole concerns were reduced to fulfilling their roles as wife and mother while menstruating. The advertisements suggested that women of the 1950's had their hands full; busy and active, fulfilling their duties at home.

The 1950's advertisements continued to refer to menstruation only through the use of euphemisms. The idea of menstruation still carried the negative connotations of the previous decade as it interfered with women's busy lives. Women desired elegance and glamour "The hardworking woman of the 1940's was not worried about daintiness and ingenuity; she sought a useful product enabling her to carry on needed chores" (Delaney et al., 1988, p. 131).

And when you step out- to dance or wherever, cancel calendar 'woes'
for Kotex is made to stay soft while you wear it.

[Good Housekeeping Apr. 1950, p. 128].

Beware of making enemies...and on those days be wary of that foe of poise:
embarrassment. Kotex defends you. [Good Housekeeping Apr. 1950, p. 128].

GET the SLIP-PROOF UNBREAKABLE GRIPS that HIDE your
personal problem! [Good Housekeeping Apr. 1950, p. 347].

The neatness and daintiness of Tampax appeal to most women, reducing
the tenseness and self-consciousness common at such times...

[Good Housekeeping Apr. 1950, p. 186].

No odor- and no bulges under clothing to make you unsure of yourself on
those particular days of the month [Chatelaine May 1952, p. 88].

Tampax takes care of vacations and week-ends...She can also picnic in a brief

playsuit on those particular days in question or go jaunting here and there in clinging slacks [Chatelaine Aug. 1952, p. 38].

Women and girls galore are now going in swimming any time they want to with their sanitary protection need on the 'off days' cared for very discretely by Tampax. Nobody can ever suspect the situation-not by any chance with Tampax! [Good Housekeeping Jul. 1950, p. 128].

The advertisements strongly suggested that women keep their periods a secret. Perhaps it was for the same reasons as in the 1920's and 1930's; appearance and grooming. This idea noticeably resurfaced with the 'Modess because' advertisements of the 1950's. These advertisements depicted "ladies in lovely ethereal dresses advertising sanitary napkins" (Delaney et al, 1988, p. 132) the only written commentary stating 'Modess because'. The premise for these advertisements began with a contest in which women wrote in explaining why they switched to Modess (Delaney et al, 1988). This again exemplifies and demonstrates the perceived need for privacy and discretion in association with menstrual products. The text of the advertisements implied that you had to 'know' what was being sold for the advertisement to have any relevance. Fortunately, for the manufacturers, this was not a problem. Once again, women were encouraged to appear poised and demure and only by keeping their periods a secret could they maintain this image. Concealment was all important. Advertising stressed the negative social impact of discovery due to outlines or bulges from the pads.

Get the Slip-Proof Unbreakable Grips that HIDE your personal problem!
[Good Housekeeping Apr. 1950, p. 347].

The new-shape Modess box, too, carries out a clever plan...so discreetly!
 Because its the keep-a-secret box! Wrapped it resembles a box of stationary...or
 facial tissues...so many thins! No one will guess you're carrying Modess!

[Good Housekeeping Jul. 1950, p. 100].

More than ever You'll be Glad those flat pressed ends prevent revealing outlines!

[Good Housekeeping Apr. 1950, p. 128]

No 'outline' anxiety follows you as you stroll among the crowd

[Good Housekeeping Jul. 1950, p. 117].

The portrayal of women existing in a hectic domestic environment, caring for their homes and children yet having fun at the same time, was a recurrent theme. The advertisements seemed to suggest that women were more active in this decade than in the earlier years, therefore their response to and management of their periods was very different. Women also wanted to have fun and be 'in the know'. The message to women was to enjoy life and refuse to allow menstruation to limit where they went or what they could wear.

You're confident...carefree...ready for after-theater fun

[Good Housekeeping Oct. 1959, p. 59].

You're confident...carefree....ready for all outdoors

[Good Housekeeping Oct. 1959, p. 139].

I can go in swimming any day of the month I want to. She can also picnic in a brief playsuit-on those particular days in question-or go jaunting here an there in clinging slacks [Chatelaine Aug. 1952, p. 38].

You can wear the sleekest swimsuit, play beauty on the beach or in the sea and no one can know your secret [Chatelaine July 1958, p. 36].

Another concern created by advertisements was the possibility of pads 'failing'. According to the advertisements, women using these products had become concerned with the idea of having accidents or mishaps during menstruation. The advertisements strongly advised women to make sure, which presumably placed an increasing amount of pressure on women.

Now you can dance the hours away...walk freely...rise from a chair without self conscious concern... there's no fear of failure

[Good Housekeeping Jan. 1959, p. 108].

Not a shadow of a doubt ...Not a shadow of a revealing outline

[Good Housekeeping Feb. 1952, p. 52].

Personal belts...have exclusive, slip proof, unbreakable grips

[Good Housekeeping Apr. 1950, p. 347].

Shop, work, play as you please. Forget about stains! wear your best party dress...prevent accidents, whether you're seated or moving about

[Good Housekeeping May 1959, p. 15].

As mentioned previously, the advertisements stressed that women would no longer be limited or curtailed in what they wanted to do; be it dancing, shopping, working, or playing. According to Delaney et al, (1988) "The underlying message has been fairly consistent, playing on both hopes and fears that the woman will not have to change her ordinary life too much during that 'time on the month'; fears of betrayal by dripping blood, revealing outlines, or odors" (p. 129). The advertisements sought to placate women concerned about having their periods. Women could, and should, always be free, confident and secure if they used the new pads and tampons available to them.

The tampon advertisements of the 1950's suggested that with correct product usage, women could feel fresh and free during their periods. The hidden implication being that women would feel dirty and unclean without using these products. The advertisements also educated women on how much more active they could be by using a tampon rather than a pad, for example for swimming, as well as eliminating concerns associated with using a pad.

simple natural way to solve the year round problem of monthly sanitary protection for women and girls [Good Housekeeping Apr. 1950, p. 186].
 does away with all bulges, lines and wrinkles. .no chafing...no odor produced, no deodorant needed, no disposal problems
 [Good Housekeeping July 1941, p. 128].

Although by the 1950's, tampons had been used for over a decade, the focus of advertisements was still to encourage the transition from pad to tampon. This suggests that the idea of internal protection was not received as well as hoped for by the product manufacturers. Advertisements encouraged women to use tampons as this method of menstrual management was deemed a 'better', more 'modern' way compared to using pads.

Tampax is the nicer way, the more modern way, the most desirable way
 [Good Housekeeping Mar. 1956, p. 20].

Tampax is dainty, hygienic comfortable [Chatelaine Feb. 1952, p. 62].
 In fact it makes you forget there's any difference whatsoever in days of the month [Good Housekeeping June 1956, p. 20].

And so it is that as the news spreads, more and more of today's women enjoy a

far better method of coping [Good Housekeeping June 1959, p. 163].

On 'certain' days you'd be hiding away with your monthly problems, chafed and irritated by these horrid pads and belts.. all over and past

[Chatelaine July 1958, p. 36].

A great concern for women, was the potential loss of their virginity that became associated with tampon use. This made women quite hesitant to adopt this supposed new and better way of managing their periods although advertisements guaranteed women that tampons were in no way associated with the loss of virginity. Berg and Coutts (1993) in their article "Virginity and tampons: The beginner myth as a case of alteration" point out that a myth continues to exist that tampons threaten virginity. Their study discovered, that while advertisements address the myth and claim to dispel it, they only perpetuate it by offering specialized tampons for young girls. In the 1950's, however, the distinction between married and single women was made based on an assumption of virginity. Young single women of this time were influenced by that fear and reluctant to test this improved method of care. Acceptance was poor even though this method further separated women from the complications of period management. The assumption of the advertisements was that unmarried girls were virgins, but they could use tampons as easily as married women, without risking a loss of virginity. Advertisers acknowledge women's uncertainty, but sought to reassure them that this was common with many women (being perplexed).

Millions of women have used billions of Tampax with complete satisfaction.

It was invented by a doctor for the benefit of all women, married or unmarried,

active or not [Good Housekeeping June 1956, p. 20].

are you still undecided about Tampax? Do you still have lingering, wavering doubts concerning this modern internal form of monthly sanitary protection? If so remember you are not the first woman to be perplexed by unfamiliar ideas [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1950, p. 32].

Sixties

The concerns of women in the 1960's were noticeably different from women in the earlier part of the century. Women of the 1920's and 1930's faced different issues related to the management of their menstruation. Although the fear of outlines and bulges had become an issue by the 1930's, the basis for their fear was tangible. By the 1940's advertisers had created a temporal anxiety; women must now be able to deal with their menstruation quickly and efficiently, in order to maximize their participation in the war effort. In the 1960's, menstruation has become something which, according to the advertisements, created many problems for women with respect to how they should handle or respond to their periods.

The advertisements in the 1960's encouraged women to maintain a certain appearance; they should feel fresh, clean, cool, comfortable, relaxed and secure during their periods. As Delaney et al, (1988) put it "In menstrual product advertisements the woman's aspirations became individual and inner-directed (sleekness, beauty) rather than collective and outer directed (the war effort)" (p. 132). According to the advertisements, pads and tampons would help them achieve this. The message of the advertisements was

that women were self-conscious and insecure during their periods, implying that they had in fact internalized the negative social connotation of menstruation.

Lets you relax... you know you're secure. Naturally. You're more comfortable
[Miss Chatelaine. May 1968, p. 80].

Perfect for carrying a single napkin. Perfect for napkin disposal . So convenient you never feel embarrassed [Miss Chatelaine. May 1968, p. 80].

You sense the new gentleness, the feeling of more security and comfort
[Chatelaine Apr. 1967, p. 98].

that's because you're never conscious of Tampax or self conscious when your wearing it. Tampax lets you do anything you would normally do with complete comfort It's the modern way...so much a part of your busy life
[Good Housekeeping Aug. 1962, p. 145].

Expands in width (not in length) to fit itself to you.. protect against 'sudden' accidents [Good Housekeeping Jul. 1968, p. 172].

It's just that it was my time of the month and what other choice did I have but to stay at home [Chatelaine May 1961, p. 80].

Advertising served to increase the restrictive pressure surrounding society's expectations of a woman's actions, appearance and feelings. Previous physical concerns regarding outlines and bulges were now compounded by new concerns surrounding women's demeanor and behavior.

You feel so cool, so clean, so fresh with Tampax
[Chatelaine Aug. 1961, p. 65].

Go Girl Go. Be active! Nothing hampers you, nothing holds you back.
[Chatelaine Mar. 1964, p. 84].

Lead the soft life... Any place-any day, new Modess makes sure that being a

woman is wonderful.. [Chatelaine July 1967, backcover].

It had become obvious from the data that the language of the advertisements had changed its tone once again. The subject of menstruation in the early half of the century was associated with a negative social undertone and discussed using euphemisms. By the 1960's, this attitude toward menstruation had changed. The actual words 'menstruation' and 'periods' had begun to be used in the advertisements and now projected a more relaxed and open attitude toward menstruation. Of course, advertisements still advised women to keep their periods secret and hidden from others. The advertisements implied to women that it was a normal reaction to feel embarrassed about having their periods, but these products could help women cope with the situation, "so you can run, and skip and jump and love to be a girl" (Good Housekeeping, Jan. 1968, p. 31).

The advertisements of the 1960's introduced many new concerns for women. One of the main concerns seemed to be with maintaining poise and remaining well groomed at all times, especially during menstruation. The advertisers message to women was that using their products, would allow them to feel secure during their periods. The main idea conveyed to women in the advertisements was that they must ensure they did not reveal they were menstruating. In a situation analogous to that of women in the 1920's and 1930's, women of the 1960's were still concerned with revealing outlines and bulges. Advertisers stressed the idea of secrecy over protection as the best means to feel secure.

All of this helps you feel perfectly groomed, perfectly at ease, perfectly sure of

yourself [Good Housekeeping May 1962, p. 177].

beautiful new way to keep a secret (Remove the protective wrapper...no clues remain!) [Mademoiselle June 1964, p. 30].

They can't be seen under the sleekest wool dress, the sleekest ski pants
[Good Housekeeping Jan 1968, p. 27].

Always Free to be your Loveliest Wear anything from a sleek swim suit, net
culottes or even a lace mini dress with confidence. Internally worn Tampax
tampons let you be your loveliest, active or not, even on difficult days
[Miss Chatelaine. May 1968, p. 7].

Pursettes lets you wear little bathing suits. With nonchalance
[Mademoiselle May 1966, p. 69].

You can wear the briefest bikini or shortest shorts. Nothing shows
[Mademoiselle May 1966, p. 69].

Tampax positively prevents any outward indication that its that time of the
month for you [Chatelaine May 1961, p. 80].

No cause for embarrassment [Chatelaine Mar. 1964, p. 84].

No one will be able to tell your secret [Mademoiselle June 1964, p. 30].

this tampon does away with tell tale belts, pins and pads
[Mademoiselle May 1966, p. 69].

Alongside this concern with being ladylike and poised, came a concern for fashion during menstruation. The advertisements suggested that women wanted the freedom to wear whatever clothes they wanted, whenever they wanted, without worrying about accidents and outlines. Specifically, it seemed that women wanted to be able to wear 'sleek clothing'. At this point in the data, the shift is quite apparent with respect to this idea. Bullough (1980) suggested that in the early part of the century "at least one of the

reasons women wore so many clothes was to cover up any signs of this feminine 'weakness'" (p. 67). In the 1960's the idea seemed to be that women should be able to wear less clothing,

They can't be seen under the sleekest wool dress, the sleekest ski pants
[Good Housekeeping Jan. 1968, p. 27].

You can wear the briefest bikini or shortest shorts . Nothing shows
[Mademoiselle May 1966, p. 69].

Pursettes lets you wear little bathing suits. With nonchalance
[Mademoiselle May 1966, p. 69].

The concerns surrounding leaks, mishaps and accidents during menstruation seemed to be an ongoing issue over the years. Women were continually reassured that these worries could be eliminated by using the proper products, that there would be no danger of being embarrassed as they would be well protected.

Whenever you flow the heaviest, you need the greatest protection. Particularly when you're on the go and can't change as often as you'd like. That's when mishaps most often happen [Mademoiselle Aug. 1969, p. 218].

So the chance of a mishap is almost zero. Try it fast. Why live in the past?
[Mademoiselle Jan. 1969, p. 30].

So now you don't have to worry about mishaps anymore
[Mademoiselle Aug. 1969, p. 218].

Do you know if the plastic lining of your sanitary napkin covers all of the bottom to protect you against accidents [Glamour Oct. 1969, p. 87].

So the napkin absorbs better. And you're protected from one spot soak through
[Glamour Oct. 1969, p. 87]

Confidets alone have an accident proof inner shield bonded into position so it

can't slip [Chatelaine Mar. 1964, p. 57].

And the polyethylene shield that prevents embarrassing accidents. This Kotex patented design gives you comfortable fail proof protection

[Good Housekeeping Mar. 1965, p. 207].

New centers of softness in Kotex napkins absorb faster, protect better

[Good Housekeeping Oct. 1968, p. 75].

It was not enough that women suffered the anxiety of accidents and outlines, advertisers also began to promote a new concern regarding the disposal of their sanitary protection. Historically, women had washed or burned the rags they used and with the advent of the disposable pad these concerns were thought to have been eliminated. However in the 1960's , this issue resurfaced as an additional concern for women and women were told to use disposal bags when discarding their pads. These were provided 'free' with the pads.

Tampax is even easy to dispose of (convenient when you're away from home)
[Chatelaine Mar. 1964, p. 84].

New FREE Purse Pack envelopes...Perfect for napkin disposal. So convenient...and You'll never feel embarrassed

[Miss Chatelaine. May 1968, p. 80].

Now one more thing not to worry about that little discussed disposal problem.

Now neat discreet disposal bags [Mademoiselle June 1967, p. 50].

Seventies

During the 1970's, advertisers continued to invent new concerns for women.

According to the advertisements, not only must women be concerned about the

management of their periods during menses, but now they recommended that women continue to use these products even while not menstruating. Although the advertisements implied that women might experience some 'off days', the implication almost seemed to be that now everyday was an 'off day'. Originally the advertisers introduced Kotex Lightdays as a product to use on 'light days' of the period cycle. Eventually this same pantiliner developed into a product to be used everyday. Women should now use and wear some form of sanitary protection at all times.

Up until this point, the advertisements' concerns had been directed entirely toward menstruating women and the awareness of outlines, bulges, leaks, mishaps, odor, and absorbency. The message was clear; women needed to respond to and manage menstruation...while menstruating. But in the 1970's, the advertisements recommended to women that they employ the "management system" everyday (Berg and Coutts, 1994, p. 13). What exactly were women being protected from that they needed to wear sanitary protection everyday? The advertisements suggested that it;

worked wonders protecting good girdles and panties from everyday feminine discharges. The kind that's almost invisible but not quite [Good Housekeeping May 1971, p. 212].

This was a marketing revolution! The advertisements implied that women not only experienced menstrual discharge, they also experienced everyday 'feminine' discharge that should not be allowed to come in contact with their clothes or panties. It is at this point in history that another shift occurs. To practical

women of the early 1920's /1930's underwear was another garment to be washed, but the 1970's seemed to be an era with a grandiose fear of ruining one's underwear. The fashion shift from underwear to lingerie now required that it be protected from staining not only by menstrual discharge but everyday discharge as well.

When we tested it with 577 different women, more than 50% of them wore Stayfree even when they weren't menstruating

[Good Housekeeping May 1971, p. 212].

In between periods the Stayfree Mini-Pad will protect your underwear from everyday feminine discharge [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1974, p. 30].

The assertion of the advertisements was that everyday of women's lives had the potential to be difficult and needed to be managed, not just during their cycles. This tied into another concern raised by the advertisers, based on the unpredictability of one's period. Advertisements implied that women could not accurately predict what would happen and recommended they use 'mini pads' everyday to be 'sure'.

New freedom mini napkins for light period days. for any day in between [Chatelaine Nov. 1973, p. 40].

most women experience vaginal discharge and need a little soothing [Good Housekeeping Oct. 1977, p. 223].

Protection Without it you can't relax. Protection means comfort. Its security. Confidence [Good Housekeeping Oct. 1977, p. 223].

The feeling you get when you're with a man you can really count on

[Chatelaine Dec. 1973, p. 2].

The Stayfree Mini Pad will comfortably help you through the days when you don't know what's going to happen [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1974, p. 30].

The advertisements suggested that these products solved women's worries regarding accidents and mishaps. Everyday use of sanitary protection would give women the security and confidence they required. The products at this point in time had many new features which supposedly contributed to women's feelings of security. They had shields and panels to prevent stains and eliminate accidents. They were much thinner and softer than earlier pads. These innovations contributed, the advertisements stated, to women's confidence and security because it negated the need to wear bulky clothing, make excuses, or avoid participation in physical activities like swimming.

And with Confidets you hardly need to worry [Chatelaine Oct. 1976, p. 75].

With Tassaway there's no more worrying about getting to the ladies room before there's an accident [Mademoiselle Jul. 1971 p. 40].

There's less chance of accidents. Carefree Tampons are the most protective you can buy [Miss Chatelaine. Apr. 1974 p. 24].

The shield covers the bottom and sides of the napkin so it repels moisture and prevents staining [Good Housekeeping Jan. 1977, p. 55].

They've got a moisture proof shield with extended side panels that makes the pad more absorbent and helps to eliminate stains

[Chatelaine Nov. 1979, p. 215].

Their soft, rounded edges make them a really comfortable full-size napkin. Their neat shape means you can wear them under anything [Redbook Sept. 1975].

Just think what it can mean to be rid of bothersome belts, pins and hot, bulky

pads. No more excuses when you are asked to go swimming. No more embarrassment about wearing clingy ski pants

[Mademoiselle Apr. 1971, p. 149].

The tell tale bumps and bulges are gone which is great with the fashions you're wearing these days [Chatelaine Feb. 1973, p. 27].

The underlying implication of the advertisements was that if women used these new pads and tampons, they would feel more confident and secure about menstruation. The products promised them freedom and freshness.

For courage plus when you need it most

[Good Housekeeping Feb. 1971, p. 50].

To bolster your courage that much more

[Good Housekeeping Feb. 1971, p. 50].

Its the moisture proof shield that keeps you secure and confident

[Good Housekeeping Apr. 1977, p. 50].

Your world is the beach, bounded only by the sea and the sky. And the only thing you really want is to live free every day of the month

[Chatelaine June 1973 p. 23].

It's the kind of protection that lets you feel as fresh and clean as a new blade of grass [Chatelaine Aug. 1973 p. 28].

The advertisements advised women to deny the fact that they were menstruating, and to forget about their periods altogether. The pretext was that women would only be able to continue their daily activities if they could ignore the 'symptoms' of menstruation.

The new Stay-Dry cover is softer and much more comfortable...so you can forget all about it [Chatelaine May 1979 p. 154].

it's so thin You'll hardly know you're wearing it

[Good Housekeeping Oct. 1977, p. 223].

Don't be surprised if it makes you forget you're having a period

[Good Housekeeping May 1971, p. 212].

As mentioned previously, there were many more choices available to women with respect to the type of sanitary protection available. But above all, the advertisements encouraged them to have fun and refuse to allow their periods to stop them from what they really wanted to be doing. Emphasis was placed on being active and being an 'on the go girl'. Gone were the demure passive 'Modess because' women of the 1950's. The advertisements no longer portrayed the demure aristocrat type, rather women of the 1970's were fresh, carefree and active at all times.

you're always a part of it...they make even difficult days of summer a time to soak up a golden tan in skinny bikinis, to romp and leap and splash with all your energy. .gives you all this freedom and confidence as well

[Chatelaine July 1973 p. 32]

Eighties

In the 1980's, the image of women emerged as one burdened by their response and management of their bodies not only during their menses, but also while not menstruating. Advertisers reaffirmed that in order to remain clean and fresh, they must be protected at all times. It seemed that not only did the manufacturers create new concerns every

decade, according to the advertisements the old concerns were never adequately solved or eliminated by the invention of the new products. As an outcome of advertising campaigns it seems that menstrual anxiety continued to grow as the years progressed, so much so that by the 1980's, women had become constantly obsessed with menstrual hygiene. In the 1980's, there were many new ways of responding and managing to the ever growing variety of new concerns. The key concern the advertisements seemed to emphasize was to remain constantly fresh. The implication being that women should strive to feel and be this way all of the time.

Added security and freshness. For women who want to feel especially fresh, feminine and secure [Flare Jun. 1984 p. 11].

I feel fresh, secure and confident [Chatelaine Dec. 1985, p. 111].

Because now I feel clean, comfortable and free to do whatever I please [Flare Sept. 1988, p. 237].

A cleaner, drier feeling... draw wetness away from you [Chatelaine Dec. 1985 p. 169].

Now you can feel this fresh all through your period...have a light, delicate fragrance that helps keep you feeling fresh and confident [Woman's Day Dec. 1981 back cover].

Women of the 1980's had many more products to choose from than in earlier years and choosing the right product thus became another of their concerns. With such a vast array of product choices, a potential new fear for women would be not having the right product at the right time, or not knowing when to use which product. The advertisements now advised women that it was necessary, for their comfort and security,

to use an entire 'system'. At this point, many of the products had developed 'systems'; which demanded different products for different days of the cycle, depending on the flow.

The New Freedom System

A full line of products for your needs

<u>Product Type</u>	<u>Length</u>	<u>Width</u>	<u>Thickness</u>	<u>Suggested Use</u>
PantiLiners	6"	2"	1/8"	With Tampon For added Confidence anytime Between periods.
Mini Pads	7"	2"	3/8"	Light flow days
Thin Maxi pads	8 5/8"	2 1/2"	2/8"	Medium Flow /active days
Regular Maxi Pads	8 3/4"	2 3/8"	5/8"	Medium to heavy flow
Thin Super Maxi	9 2/8"	2 4/8"	3/8"	Medium to heavy flow/active
Super Maxi Pads	9 3/4"	2 3/8"	6/8"	Heavy flow days and overnight

Measurements are averages and may vary slightly from one pad to the next.

[Woman's Day Oct. 1984 p. 175].

It is interesting to note that by the 1980's, women were not only encouraged to change their pads several times a day, but also to use different products on different days. Historically this practice had been very different. Greer wrote that women were advised that "the napkins should be changed at least every morning upon dressing and at night upon retiring" (Greer, 1902 p. 172 as cited in Brumberg, 1993, p. 114), twice a day and

only during their menses. In the 1980's, with the proliferation of so many 'innovative and effective' products on the market, not only were women repeatedly changing their pads throughout the day, they were advised by advertisers that they should also use protection on the days they were not even menstruating!

Another related message from the 1980's advertisers was that women should still be concerned with protecting their clothing. Women were still concerned with an accident occurring, but where, once this anxiety was attributed to women's clothing becoming subsequently stained, the primary fear was now aligned with a fear of discovery. As Coutts and Berg (1993) attest, fear of discovery is a prominent image found consistently throughout menstrual product advertising .

STAY ACTIVE...protect your shortest shorts, latest leotards and active afternoons [Good Housekeeping Mar. 1989, p. 95].

Unsurpassed protection and greater comfort [Woman's Day Dec. 1981 p. 71].

New Freedom research has shown that women want protection and assurance from a PAD [Woman's Day Oct. 1984 p. 175].

Now there's a feminine pad that can help you get a good night's sleep. ...for unbeatable protection overnight [Vogue Aug. 1983, p. 369].

Stayfree Maxi-Pads give me the protection I can trust and comfort too [Self Feb. 1980, p. 45].

So naturally I too need inconspicuous protection [Self Feb. 1980, p. 45].

All New Freedom pads are now designed to give you what you want-protection that helps keep you feeling dry [Self Nov. 1984, p. 99].

This fear of discovery has become the predominant issue that has permeated menstrual product advertisements over the years. The reasons, however, have changed over time. In the 1920's and 1930's, the fear was equated with being well groomed and ladylike. By the 1980's, the rationale seems different; the fear of discovery had become, for these women, a much greater concern.

I love wearing clingy clothes but I'm afraid my belt will show through?

[Self Feb. 1980, p. 45].

We asked girls what bothered them about maxis, and they told us they didn't like big bulky pads that bulged and were uncomfortable to wear

[Flare Mar. 1988, p. 130].

The concerns about stained underwear do not necessarily follow from this fear of discovery. Since one could assume that only the women would see the stains, the fear of discovery was slim. Rather, the advertisements suggested that extra protection was necessary to protect underwear from 'everyday feminine discharge'. The advertisers addressed this new concern with the invention of 'wings' or more specifically 'panty protectors', which further reduced the risk of leaks and the subsequent fear of discovery.

to protect your new nighties, your baby blue sheets and your beauty sleep

[Good Housekeeping Mar. 1989, p. 97].

not only are always plus night maxis extra long and absorbent, but they have wraparound wings that protect panties (and bedclothes)

[Chatelaine Jul. 1988, p. 19].

Wings. Wrap-around flaps that protect your panties...What clean dry protection is made of [Glamour Nov. 1989, p. 13].

Dream the night way knowing your favorite gown is protected with the best nighttime pad ever...Slip into your silkiest bikinis without a care...put on your best suit and take on the town [Ladies Home Journal Jul. 1989, p. 41].

A wrap around overflow/stain shield and a super hold adhesive strip give you the self assurance you want. [Ladies Home Journal Jul. 1989, p. 41].

panty protectors protect you better where you've always wanted better protection [Vogue, Oct. 1986, back cover].

Another concern associated with keeping menstruation a secret, was the idea of the boxes of pads and tampons being disguised as well. This notion had come full circle as it was also present in the early part of the century when women were able to buy boxes wrapped discreetly in blue paper. Interestingly, the idea of a disguised box re-emerged sixty years later. Concurrent with the changing rationale behind appearance and grooming, the reasons behind a secret box were different as well. In the 1920's and 1930's, women who had become accustomed to contending with 'women's way' in the privacy of their homes were now confronted with the embarrassing prospect (according to the advertisements) of having to purchase their pads in public. This fear was addressed by wrapping the boxes, as mentioned earlier, or reassuring women that by simply mentioning the ambiguous name of the product to the clerk they did not actually reveal what they were buying. This fear and mode of marketing continued into the 1980's. However the feeling of embarrassment was no longer the sole reason for the secret box. Now it seemed associated with the fear of discovery; if women were seen in possession of a box, there were no fears as the box was disguised.

uniquely disguised, cleverly disguised to look exactly like what it isn't

[Chatelaine Dec. 1985, p. 103].

fits so good nobody knows but me! you can't see a thing

[Glamour, Aug. 1987, p. 229].

even more discreet than ever before...two of the cutest little boxes you've ever seen they're so pretty and feminine, you won't care who sees them...because only you'll know what's inside [Cosmopolitan Nov. 1989, p. 293].

and I was grossed out to think everyone knew I had my period

[Flare Dec. 1987, p. 68].

Related to this secret box concept is the fear involved in transporting the actual pad around in a purse. Previously, carrying was not a concern as women were primarily at home, especially during their periods when they often retired to their beds. The pads did not have to be carried anywhere and could be washed or burned after use preventing disposal from becoming an issue. As women were exclusively in the private sphere, these concerns of disposal and carrying were virtually non-existent. It is only with the movement of women into the public sphere that this has become, according to the advertisements, another concern for women. Advertisements convinced women that they should be cautious when carrying the pads around and also with their disposal once used. Hence, came the idea that each pad be individually wrapped for secrecy and carrying convenience. The manufacturers developed little 'saks'(sic) for easy disposal. Gone were the days of wrapping the used pad in toilet paper, now there were pretty, spotted, colored 'paks'(sic) for women to use for disposal. These apparently were of great convenience to women of the 1980's. Advertisements depicted women as busy and on

the go; at work or at play, and they needed this extra convenience when managing their menstruation.

This terrific funnel-Dot protection of New Freedom is easier to carry, easier to toss [Good Housekeeping July 1987, p. 62].

And they come folded, wrapped and tossed into an easy to stash sac [Young Miss, Dec. 1988, p. 28].

discreet way to carry and dispose of...tiny little paks for discreet carrying and disposal of your maxi...use'em and lose'em, pack'm and scrap'em. take'em a and leave'em [Vogue, Apr. 1985, p. 159].

A persistent concern for women of the 1980's was the issue of being able to wear what they wanted; more specifically, what the advertisers advocated they should be able to wear. This theme was quite common in the tampon advertisements.

without belts, pins or telltale bulges...so go ahead and wear your clingy clothes [Self Feb. 1980, p. 45].

I really hated pads. They felt messy and bulky [Flare Dec. 1987, p. 68].

tampons can't be seen or felt. You'll feel comfortable and secure even in mini skirts, bikinis or tight jeans [Flare June 1988, p. 59].

I used to use pads but they felt so gross and messy. And I was always worried they might slip or show. So I practically lived in baggy clothes five days a month [Seventeen Aug. 1988, p. 29].

even wear white without that uneasy feeling with.. WHEN YOU'RE STEPPING OUT IN THAT SNAZZY WHITE KNOCKOUT...tampons will take terrific care of you [Good Housekeeping Nov. 1980, p. 97].

when I finally tried a tampon...I actually felt cleaner [Glamour, Jan. 1985, p. 96].

The tampons still generated some concerns with women who used them. Women did not want accidents with their tampons because, like pad accidents, tampon accidents also had the potential for discovery.

As you insert Rely, your body moisture makes the sponges expand till Rely billows out to fit you softly virtually wall to wall so there's less chance for tampon by-pass...It even absorbs the worry

[Good Housekeeping Aug. 1980, p. 206].

So as your vaginal muscles move or contract, Rely can move with them, without slipping out of position [Good Housekeeping Nov. 1980, p. 19].

Women of the 1980's were still concerned with managing their periods efficiently, and the unpredictability of menstrual flow remained an issue. The advertisements suggested that in terms of correct response and management, flow levels must be accounted for. Specifically, women had to know what type of flow day to expect in order to know which product of the 'system' to use. Examples of this were evidenced in the 1980's and into the 1990's.

every day, light days, medium flow days [Chatelaine Dec. 1985, p. 38-39].

light flow, heaviest flow [Seventeen Sept. 1988, p. 165].

extra heavy flow, heavy flow, average flow

[Good Housekeeping Aug. 1980, p. 17].

different levels of flow [Chatelaine Sept. 1985, p. 105].

heaviest days, lightest days everyday [Flare Apr. 1991, p. 68].

light medium or heavy flow [Flare Mar. 1991, p. 123].

Women of the 1980's continued to be portrayed as active and on the go, but now advertisements promoted them as career women, busy with work and play who had absolutely no time to deal with the concerns associated with having a period. These women demanded comfort and protection. The advertisements told them that proper protection would relieve their tensions and their fears of an accident occurring during their periods. Marketing had created a need by convincing women they required an everyday menstrual management system. An idea which began in the 1970's continued through the 1980's, and well into the 1990's.

They also give you an extra feeling of sureness if you wear them with a tampon on a heavy flow day [Chatelaine Nov. 1973, p. 40].

And of course there are different kinds of Kotex napkins. for all kinds of women. For you. And your changes [Chatelaine Mar. 1973, p. 32].

If you've been wearing two pads together, it's time to rethink your pad. New Always Double Plus gives you more protection in the middle [Cosmopolitan Oct. 1989, p. 189].

A pad designed specifically for overnight protection for those nights when even super maxi pads won't do. Perfect after childbirth as well [Canadian Living, Mar. 1987, p. 130].

Nineties

Although women had a spectrum of new products available to them, the concerns women faced, with respect to responding and managing their periods remained unchanged. In fact, many of their concerns did not even exist in the earlier part of the century, when disposable sanitary protection was first invented. The concerns raised by the

advertisements seemed to build as the years progressed. The advertisements responded to particular fears associated with having one's period by the invention of some new version of a product e.g. wings. But with the arrival of each new decade came new concerns. By the 1990's, there were a multitude of menstrual anxieties created by the advertisers and women had to cope with all of them in relation to their bodies.

Advertisements went so far as to tell women to disregard the signs of menstruation and feel like they wanted regardless of their period. The advertisements suggested that the pads and tampons of the 1990's could help women forget all about their periods.

Coping with my period seemed complicated at first... now I hardly notice... I don't even feel I'm wearing it [Chatelaine Oct. 1990, p. 28].

Its important to know that life can go on as usual even when I'm having my period [Chatelaine Jan. 1991, p. 119].

I don't worry about leakage, o.b. is so comfortable, I don't even feel I'm wearing it [Chatelaine Oct. 1990, p. 28].

I never let my period stop me [Chatelaine Jul. 1990, p. 56].

I'd go crazy if I let my period interfere with my normal routine [Young Miss Oct. 1991, p. 10].

It sure is swell being a gal isn't it? Oh joy. It's that time of the month again You don't know what you want. Yes you do. You want a super maxi that doesn't feel like one...New Freedom. As good as it gets until its gone [Elle Mar. 1994, p. 257].

The advertisements implied that women's menstrual flow was still unpredictable, a concern that originally arose in the 1970's. The solution was still for women to use the 'system' created by their favorite product. Regardless of whether women were actually

menstruating or not, the system idea ensured that women continued to use some form of protection daily (not everyday of their periods, but *everyday*).

Your flow is unpredictable and in a matter of minutes it can suddenly go from light to heavy to anywhere in between. So you get flow responsive protection [Glamour, Oct. 1991, p. 70].

when your maxi doesn't fit that's disaster who needs disaster. Always has a fitting solution [Mademoiselle Mar. 1992, p. 73].

stuck on this bus for 2 hours...no rest stops...absorb your worries...don't worry about accidents [Young Miss Mar. 1992, p. 120-121].

The problem is I never seem to know exactly when I'm going to get it [Young Miss Mar. 1992, p. 113].

And for those times when you may be caught off guard. Keep a small box of tampons in your locker. It always worked for me.

[Young Miss Mar. 1992, p. 113].

The advertisements in the 1990's suggested that women use a new product entitled 'Always Alldays'. The name of this product suggested that women needed to use this product alldays-everyday. In fact another manufacturer suggested using its products "Daily, except periods" (Homemaker, April 1997, p. 105). This seemed contrary to what the notion of sanitary protection used to be. According to the advertisements, now women require protection all of the time .

Introducing Always Alldays odor-absorbing PantiLiners. Now you can hold onto that clean morning feeling longer...To help you keep that clean feeling longer. Keep that clean feeling longer. [Canadian Living Nov. 1996, p. 201].

Another message from the advertisers concerned the need to remain dry and clean at all times. Cleanliness is an important concern in the 1990's, women are told they must maintain this feeling all the time, and especially during their periods. The implication seems to be that women are always dirty, and only if they use these products can they be clean and confident.

Feel better about your period... from the very first time

[Chatelaine June 1990, p. 79].

For the way you live today...new Tampax Satin Touch Tampons to give you the confidence and protection you want, anytime you need it.

[Canadian Living Aug. 1993, p. 101].

Freedom, It's so good being able to do what I want whenever I want

[Elle July 1993, p. 36].

Only one pair of jeans has ever fit you so well. And one thin pad lets you feel confident enough to wear them [Cosmopolitan Jul. 1990, p. 215].

That's why we offer you a full range of Kotex PantiLiners, tampons, and maxis.

So you can chose what meets your needs best. For protection. Comfort. And security. So you can get on with one of the most important things in life. Being yourself [Cosmopolitan Dec. 1990, p. 250].

Advertisements tell women of the 1990's, that although they should always be aware of the potential of staining their clothes and ruining their underwear due to accidents, leaks or mishaps during menstruation, they must not blame themselves if this happens. As Treneman (1989), stated "the belief-incessantly pushed by the myths of menstrual product advertising-that menstruation is only 'dirty' if it is not concealed through use of the correct products" (p. 162).

Stains that sometimes result from having your period can ruin a delicate pair of underwear [Flare, Jun. 1993, p. 79].

Quit blaming yourself. Blame your pad. 2/3 women experience occasionally panty staining. Yet most don't think of blaming their pads that leave the sides of their panties unprotected. Or simply don't stay firmly in place. Well there's hope. It's called Always Plus and it has wraparound 'wings' that fold around the sides of your panties and fasten underneath. So not only do they provide coverage where no other maxi can, but they anchor the maxi securely in place. So isn't it time you stopped blaming yourself and got yourself a good set of wings? [Chatelaine Nov. 1990, p. 104].

Our core is so absorbent, it actually locks moisture inside. Away from you. Making Always Ultra Plus less likely to leak [Glamour Apr. 1991, p. 85].

In fact, it seems that manufacturers are quite preoccupied with the dangers of accidents and have, according to their advertisements, created new and improved pads to help eliminate this risk.

help prevent leakage. .security tabs and horizontal adhesive strips to reduce shifting or bunching [Flare Apr. 1991, p. 68].

protect you front to back, edge to edge. ingenious attachment wings [Mademoiselle Mar. 1992, p. 102].

anchor the pad securely [Flare Feb. 1991, p. 71].

Many of the concerns that had arisen over the years were short lived in duration. One of these was the concern with the environment. After trying many methods of selling tampons; that they were more modern, easier, more efficient, and women could do

more when using them, another selling point that arose in the 1990's was that they were more friendly to the environment. This, as mentioned, was a short-lived concern!

And here's another comfort: they're as kind to the earth as they are to your body. That's because they're totally flushable and biodegradable
[Young Miss Oct. 1991, p. 7].

It's a new well rounded tampon Easy on you and the environment
[Flare Jun. 1992, p. 95].

leaving you with fewer worries about the environment
[Flare Jun. 1992, p. 95].

However women still had the same concerns they had always had when using internal protection. During the 1990's the tampon advertisements continue to address the fears faced by young girls using tampons for the first time.

But a friend told me that the string could break and then I wouldn't be able to get the tampon out easily. Is that true? [Young Miss Aug. 1991, p. 131].
you could be worried that it might hurt to put one
[Young Miss Oct. 1991, p. 7].

It's knowing Tampax Tampons aren't hard to use. Promise. Doing anything for the first time can be a little tricky [Young Miss Apr. 1992, p. 105].

If you insert the tampon properly there should be no irritation to the vagina?
[Young Miss Feb. 1992, p. 21].

And there's no embarrassing disposal either all you have to do flush the tampon away. [Young Miss Mar. 1992, p. 113].

The safety issue with inserting the tampons was also addressed in the advertisements. Women were concerned that the tampons were too small to adequately

'protect' which created once more the fear of accidents. The difficulty associated with inserting and removing the tampons was an important issue. Another related concern was the possibility of the tampons shredding and leaving fibers in women. There was also the fear associated with Toxic Shock Syndrome and manufacturers now began running disclaimers in their advertisements. The first one found in the data was in October 1989, and was perhaps not a contrived concern, but rather, one that advertisers were 'forced' to include.

but when she showed me a Tampax Compak tampon, I couldn't believe it was about the size of a lipstick! SO how is this little thing going to protect me?
[Chatelaine July. 1990, p. 56].

And with a little practice, I could put them in and take them out very easily and they didn't hurt! [Chatelaine June 1990, p. 79].

Don't worry its impossible to push too far. [Flare June 1993, p. 61].

There is one fact about tampons you may not be aware of. They can actually shred fibres inside of you. [Elle July 1993, p. 154].

Advertisers portrayal of the women of the 1990's is one of constant response and management of their cycles. Especially after the 1970's when advertisements began to suggest women adopt this practice at all times, not only when menstruating. This created a whole new definition to the term 'sanitary protection', in terms of having to respond and manage at all times and to be concerned as well. It seemed that women had an easier time in the earlier part of the century prior to the 'invention' of the everyday menstrual management system.

How the advertisements suggested women respond to and manage their periods in the earlier part of the century had changed dramatically over the years. A method that used to be portrayed as cumbersome and a handicap to women's lives was replaced with the new convenient disposable pad. However, with every new decade, new concerns and new techniques of responding and managing arose for women to contend with. Instead of simplifying menstruation for women, manufacturers and advertisers transformed it into a more convoluted event for menstruating women.

Names of Products

The names of products as discovered in the advertisements. Only the new products for each decade will be mentioned.

Twenties

In the 1920's there are few choices for women with respect to the new disposable pad

Pads

- Kotex [Good Housekeeping Apr. 1923, p. 125].
- Kotex Regular [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].
- Kotex Super [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].
- Nupak [Good Housekeeping Nov. 1926, p. 157].
- Modess [Good Housekeeping Mar. 1929, p. 279].
- Super-size Kotex [Good Housekeeping June 1929, p. 168].
- Beltx [Good Housekeeping [Sept. 1929, p. 262].

Tampons

The commercial tampon was not invented until the late 1930's

not applicable

Thirties

Pads

The names remain quite consistent in the 1920's and 1930's with a few new additions such as belts and deodorant powders

- X-Otic Belt [Good Housekeeping Apr. 1932, p. 210].
- Phantom Kotex Sanitary Napkin [Good Housekeeping Oct. 1932, p. 140].
- Quest (new deodorant powder) [Good Housekeeping May 1935, p. 188].
- Kotex Sanitary Belt [Good Housekeeping Aug. 1935, p. 157].
- Wondersoft Kotex [Good Housekeeping May 1935, p. 188].
- Kotex wonderform belt [Chatelaine Sept. 1937, p. 31].
- delong delnaps [Chatelaine Feb. 1934, p. 38].
- Hoszene sanitary Towels [Chatelaine Aug. 1934, p. 30].

Tampons

- Tampax [Good Housekeeping Mar. 1938, p. 201].

Forties

Pads

By this time there are a few new products for women to choose from, as well more varieties of the same product were developed for differing women's needs.

- Sanapak (san-nap-pak) [Good Housekeeping Aug. 1944, p. 136].

- Free-Stride Modess [Good Housekeeping Mar. 1947, p. 103].
- Deluxe Sanitary Belt [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1947, p. 250].
- Miracle Modess [Chatelaine Apr. 1940, p. 36].
- Kotex. regular, junior, super [Chatelaine Apr. 1949, p. 63].

Tampons

Internal protection was a quite a revolutionary idea at this time, but apparently it caught on

- Meds [Good Housekeeping July 1941, p. 128].
- Holly-Pak Modern Internal Tampons [Good Housekeeping July 1941, p. 157].
- Tampax, regular, super, junior [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1944, p. 202].
- Fibs (Kotex) [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1944, p. 97].

Fifties

Pads

- Regular, super and Junior Modess [Good Housekeeping July 1950, p. 30].
- New Design Modess [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1956, p. 70-71].
- New Kotex with Wondersoft Covering [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1956, p. 70-71].
- Fems [Good Housekeeping Jan. 1959, p. 108].
- Kotex with kimlon center [Good Housekeeping May 1959, p. 135].

Tampons

- Pursettes (Kotex) [Good Housekeeping June. 1959, p. 163].

Sixties

Pads

Now the same products from the earlier years are being revamped, now they are 'new'

-New Kotex napkins with soft impressions [Miss Chatelaine. May 1968, p. 23].

-New Modess soft-form (with purse pack envelopes)

[Miss Chatelaine. May 1968, p. 80].

-Scott Confidets [Mademoiselle May 1965, p. 67].

Miss Deb. (Kotex) [Mademoiselle Sept. 1964, p. 56].

-Vee-Form (Modess) [Good Housekeeping May 1962, p. 185].

-Slenderline (Kotex) [Good Housekeeping May 1962, p. 134].

-Kotams (Kotex tampons) [Good Housekeeping Dec. 1965, p. 45].

-New Kotex Plus [Good Housekeeping July 1968, p. 141].

-Modess...regular, super, Vee-form, teenage [Good Housekeeping Oct. 1968, p. 256].

-Kotex...regular, new super, Slenderline, maternity [Chatelaine Mar. 1964, p. 73].

Tampons

-Carefree Tampons [Glamour, Sept. 1969, p. 140].

-Playtex [Mademoiselle Aug. 1969, p. 218].

-K.T.'s [Good Housekeeping Jan. 1968, p. 31].

Seventies

Pads

A whole host of products are available now for women to choose from

-Kotex New Freedom Super [Chatelaine May 1979, p. 83].

-New Playtex Deodorant Maxi/Mini pads [Chatelaine May 1979, p. 99].

- Stayfree Maxi/Mini Pads [Chatelaine May 1979, p. 29 + 154].
- New freedom beltless napkins [Mademoiselle Aug. 1972, p. 109].
- New freedom mini pad [Cosmopolitan Oct. 1974, p. 117].
- Kotex Plus napkins [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1971, p. 50].
- Modess Soft Pack [Good Housekeeping July 1977, p. 57].
- Kotex Lightdays oval pads [Good Housekeeping Oct. 1977, p. 223].
- New freedom Maxi napkins [Chatelaine Apr. 1976, p. 79].
- New Super Stayfree Maxi-pads [Chatelaine Nov. 1979, p. 215].
- Lightdays Feminine Pads [Chatelaine Nov. 1979, p. 200].

Tampons

- Carefree o.b. Tampons [Chatelaine May 1979, p. 134].
- Tassaway (menstrual cup) [Glamour Mar. 1972, p. 139].
- Modess tampon [Good Housekeeping May 1971, p. 170-171].
- Playtex's gentle glide [Good Housekeeping July 1977, p. 82].
- Kotex stick tampon [Good Housekeeping July 1977, p. 211].
- Playtex Deodorant tampons [Chatelaine Mar. 1973, p. 55].
- Super plus Tampax tampons [Chatelaine Nov. 1979, p. 97].

Eighties

Pads

Now there are a vast array, as products have developed their own 'systems' for women to use; one thing for everyday of their periods and even 'in between' periods.

- Always with Dry weave [Chatelaine July 1989, p. 103].
- Vania [Chatelaine July 1989, p. 4].

- Maxithins [Flare Nov. 1987, p. 159].
- Always Plus [Flare Aug. 1989, p. 94].
- Always Double Plus [Cosmopolitan Oct. 1989, p. 189].
- Maxithins Ultrafit [Chatelaine Sept. 1989, p. 47].
- deodorant Maxithins [Flare Jun. 1984 p. 11].
- New freedom (thin) maxi pads [Chatelaine July 1988, p. 46].
- New freedom Overnight maxi-pads [Canadian Living Mar. 1987, p. 39].
- New freedom slim [Good Housekeeping June 1984, p. 92].
- Overnites (Kotex) [Good Housekeeping Mar. 1989, p. 97].
- Profile (Kotex) [Good Housekeeping Mar. 1989, p. 95].
- Always Plus Night Maxis [Chatelaine Jul. 1988, p. 19].
- Always with wings [Glamour Nov. 1989, p. 13].
- Vania maxinight [Canadian Living, Mar. 1987, p. 130].
- Always Slender for teens [Young Miss Dec. 1988, p. 28].
- Always plus wings [Flare Oct. 1987, p. 195].
- Sure and Natural [Glamour May 1985].
- Stayfree Silhouettes body Shape Maxi's [Glamour May 1985, p. 319].
- New Sure and Natural maxishields [Vogue Mar. 1987, p. 285].
- Sure and Natural (with tiny totes) [Vogue, Apr. 1985, p. 159].
- New Sure & natural Super [Vogue Aug. 1983, p. 207].
- New Super Maxithins [Vogue Aug. 1988, p. 215].
- Stayfree super maxi pads [Vogue Aug. 1983, p. 369].
- New freedom super [New Woman June 1983, p. 83].
- New Freedom (with carry & toss bags) [Glamour Sept. 1985, p. 292].
- New freedom maxi-pads thins [Glamour Aug. 1985, p. 293].
- New Always plus with panty protectors [Vogue Aug. 1986, p. 365].
- Always plus super, thin super, maxi pads [Vogue Aug. 1986, p. 365].
- New freedom *system* [Woman's Day Oct. 1984 p. 175].

- New freedom slim maxi [Chatelaine Nov. 1985, p. 215].
- Stayfree thins [Chatelaine Dec. 1985, p. 126].
- Sure & Natural, regular, super, new [Chatelaine Dec. 1985, p. 179].
- Always, thin maxi, mini, maxi, PantiLiners [Chatelaine Dec. 1985 p. 169].
- Stayfree Silhouettes Thin maxipads [Glamour, Aug. 1987, p. 229].
- New Confidets [Chatelaine Feb. 1981, p. 29].
- Stayfree super maxipads [Good Housekeeping May 1980, p. 34].
- New Super Maxithins [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1983, p. 123].
- Vania *system* [Chatelaine Dec. 1985, p. 38-39].

Tampons

- Tampax slender tampons [Chatelaine Aug. 1989, p. 71].
- new o.b. slender [Chatelaine July 1989, p. 39].
- petal soft plastic applicator tampons [Seventeen Dec. 1988, p. 70].
- new o.b. handy packs [Cosmopolitan Nov. 1989, p. 293].
- new Tampax Compak [Chatelaine Apr. 1989, p. 155].
- Kotex security tampons [Good Housekeeping Mar. 1989, p. 99].
- Playtex slender regular tampons [Seventeen July 1988, p. 30].
- new Playtex portables [Seventeen Nov. 1988, p. 91].
- o.b....regular, super, and super plus [Flare June. 1988, p. 59].
- new Playtex (deodorant/slender regular) tampons [Glamour Dec. 1985, p. 149].

Nineties

Pads

The nineties contain all those previously mentioned with few modifications and additions

- Whenever [Cosmopolitan Mar. 1990, p. 46].

- New freedom Kotex (maxi/maxi super) Natural curved pads [Chatelaine Nov. 1990, p. 43].
- Kotex *system* [Cosmopolitan Dec. 1990, p. 250].
- Always ultra Plus [Glamour Apr. 1991, p. 85].
- New Stayfree super Long Pad [Good Housekeeping Nov. 1990, p. 157].
- new Sure & Natural Ultra thins [Glamour, Oct. 1991, p. 70].
- sure and natural ultra thins [Glamour, Oct. 1991, p. 70].
- Sure and natural prima [Flare Apr. 1991, p. 68].
- Kotex Thin/super [Redbook Mar. 1990, p. 22].
- New Stayfree Ultra Plus [Mademoiselle Mar. 1992, p. 102].
- Always *system* [Mademoiselle, Mar. 1992, p. 73].
- Kotex Curved Maxis/long [Flare Mar. 1992, p. 125].
- Kotex secure hold maxi/long [Flare Aug. 1994, p. 25].
- Kotex Ultra thins maxis [Flare Aug. 1992, p. 22-23].
- Always ultra Maxis [Flare Aug. 1992, p. 65].
- Always Ultra Plus long Maxis with wings [Flare Nov. 1992, p. 117].
- Always PantiLiners [Flare Jan. 1993, p. 21-22].
- Always Plus Maxis with wings [Flare Jan. 1993, p. 21-22].
- Ultra thin always ultra maxis [Flare Jan. 1993, p. 21-22].
- always ultra plus long maxi with wings [Flare Jan. 1993, p. 21-22].
- Incognito (Vania) Twin groove, plus, cotton [Flare Sept. 1993, p. 65].
- Always Ultra plus slender [Young Miss Apr. 1992].
- new freedom maximums [Elle Mar. 1994, p. 257].
- new freedom ultra thin maxis with stayput tabs [Glamour May 1994, p. 297].
- Kotex ultra thin maxis [Flare Aug. 1992, p. 22-23].
- New quick wraps (always) [Chatelaine July 1994, p. 98-99].
- Stayfree Prima Ultra thin Maxi [Chatelaine July 1994, Health Supplement].
- Stayfree Ultra plus [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1992, p. 65].

- new Always curves [Canadian Living Mar. 1994, p. 104].
- Stayfree *system* [Good Housekeeping Aug. 1993, p. 26].

Tampons

- Tampax Compak tampons [Glamour Nov. 1990, p. 273].
- New o.b. slender [Chatelaine Jan. 1990, p. 15].
- Playtex slender tampons [Chatelaine June 1990, p. 91].
- new Tampax comfort shaped tampons [Young Miss Oct. 1991, p. 7].
- Tampax *system* [Flare Mar. 1991, p. 123].
- New Playtex Ultimates [Cosmopolitan Apr. 1992, p. 280].
- new Tampax comfort shaped flushable applicator tampon [Flare Jun. 1992, p. 95].
- new satin touch tampons (Tampax) [Flare Oct. 1993, p. 111].
- confident tampons [Elle July 1993, p. 154].

Chapter 4: Analysis

Introduction

Patriarchy as a world view, is a dominating system that reinforces the relegation of women to a second class status. Feminists agree that it is this patriarchal system in society that disempowers' women and reinforces their Otherness. de Beauvoir (1953) agrees, "Now, what peculiarly signalizes the situation of women is that she—a free and autonomous being like all human creatures, nevertheless finds herself living in a world where men compel her to assume the status of the Other" (p. xxviii).

Many may believe that the days when women were labeled as ill or sick during their menses have passed, but as Cayleff (1992) points out "we are witnessing resurgent belief in the incapacitating effects of menstruation" (p. 233). She goes further to explain how "this illness labeling serves to reinforce perceived disparities between the normative/unimpaired 'rational' male physiology and its erratic/uncontrollable female counterpart" (Cayleff, 1992, p. 233). What this serves to do is to cast women as the 'social opposite' or as de Beauvoir (1953) refers to it, as 'Other'. Indeed it appears that Culpepper (1979) agrees with her as she states that women are seen as different and alien; the inferior Other.

One way of examining the impact of patriarchal definitions and rules on a society, in particular on women, is to look at a specific aspect of the culture affecting women; menstrual product advertisements. Miller (1995) states in her paper "Wrapping and

Unwrapping”, how advertising affects change in cultural ideas and the practices surrounding menstruation, which is in effect, the social construction of menstruation.

The texts of advertisements are rich with underlying assumptions and attitudes that impart to women popular wisdom and advice as to how they should manage their periods. In this study, menstrual product advertisements were examined in an attempt to identify messages that counseled women to behave in a certain way. The goal of this research was to identify the historical shifts in the definition of 'being' a menstruating woman. This particular chapter explores what it means to be a menstruating woman according to menstrual product advertisements through the last century. These advertisements specify for women how the event of menstruation should be properly managed and handled. Specifically, the impression given is that menstruation can not be managed effectively without a wide range of these products and this contributes to negative definitions of menstruation for women.

According to Berger and Luckmann (1966), “The sociology of knowledge is concerned with the analysis of the social construction of reality” (p. 15). This chapter will address the changes and shifts in the social construction of menstruation over the last century and how these changes defined femininity and womanhood. The social construction perspective accounts for how a biological event, such as menstruation, is subject to cultural values and constraints (Brumberg, 1993).

Mackie (1985), adapting a Marxian idea, defines false consciousness as occurring when those in the lower classes [women] accept as authoritative, the definitions of the ruling group [men]. Patriarchy creates a form of false consciousness whereby women are

told, by advertisements in this case, to act and behave in a certain way. The fear for many feminist writers, such as myself, is that women come to internalize these patriarchally based beliefs. These perspectives have important implications for women's mental health, in particular self esteem and self image.

This research builds upon previous work done by Berg and Coutts (1993, 1994, 1995). In their groundbreaking work on the social construction of menstruation and what it means to be menstruating women in today's society, they developed several key concepts. Two of the main ones; *fear of menstrual discovery* and *complex menstrual management system* have been incorporated into this work.

This chapter presents an analysis of themes and the shifts in these themes, over the past ninety years. It seems that as women's lifestyles and activities changed, so did their concerns and ways of managing their periods. In the analysis of the data, three main shifts were identified that changed over the decades not necessarily in linear fashion, but more as waves, which ebbed and flowed as historical events took place. These shifts were discovered, as discussed in the methodology section, through constant comparative analysis of the data. Categories were initially developed: definition of women, management and response, and names of products. From these, several concepts were proposed which facilitated the analysis. The three main conceptual shifts occur in relation to the menstrual management kit, feminine hygiene, and 'the time of the month'.

Menstrual Management Kit

The concept of the menstrual management kit was derived from Goffman's (1961) concept of *identity kit*. Goffman constructed this concept to describe the few

possessions held by people in asylums; possessions which functioned to distinguish them from other patients. In more normal contexts, clothing constitutes an important part of the identity kit. Women's menstrual management kits are, according to the advertisements, made up of the products they need to manage their periods.

Unfortunately, it seems that the current plethora of feminine protection products, rather than freeing women, have had the very opposite effect (Treneman 1989, also Berg & Coutts 1994). Specifically, what these writers seem to be saying is that menstruation has become a very complex event. Treneman (1989) states that "periods have become a complex series of monthly problems requiring a massive undercover effort" (p. 161).

Berg and Coutts (1993) discuss how this 'proliferation phenomenon' has created a highly specialized and complex menstrual management system; which aptly describes current menstrual management kits.

Brumberg (1993) presents an interesting look at how the industry's "elaboration of even more exacting standards of feminine hygiene translated... into more and varied purchases" (p. 126). In other words, need creation from the manufacturers has extended the curse for menstruating women. Commenting on this expansion of the 'time of the month', Brumberg (1993) states how menstruating women "routinely select from at least three generic types of protection (napkins, tampons, panty liners), each with different absorbent capacities. And some use tampons and napkins simultaneously and panty liners almost continuously throughout their cycle" (p. 126). Brownmiller (1984) also presents an interesting look at the menstrual cycle

A healthy system must be monitored and managed, and the concentration on details cannot be avoided or put off for another hour, for the consequences will be public embarrassment, a telltale odor, and a pile of soiled clothes (p. 194).

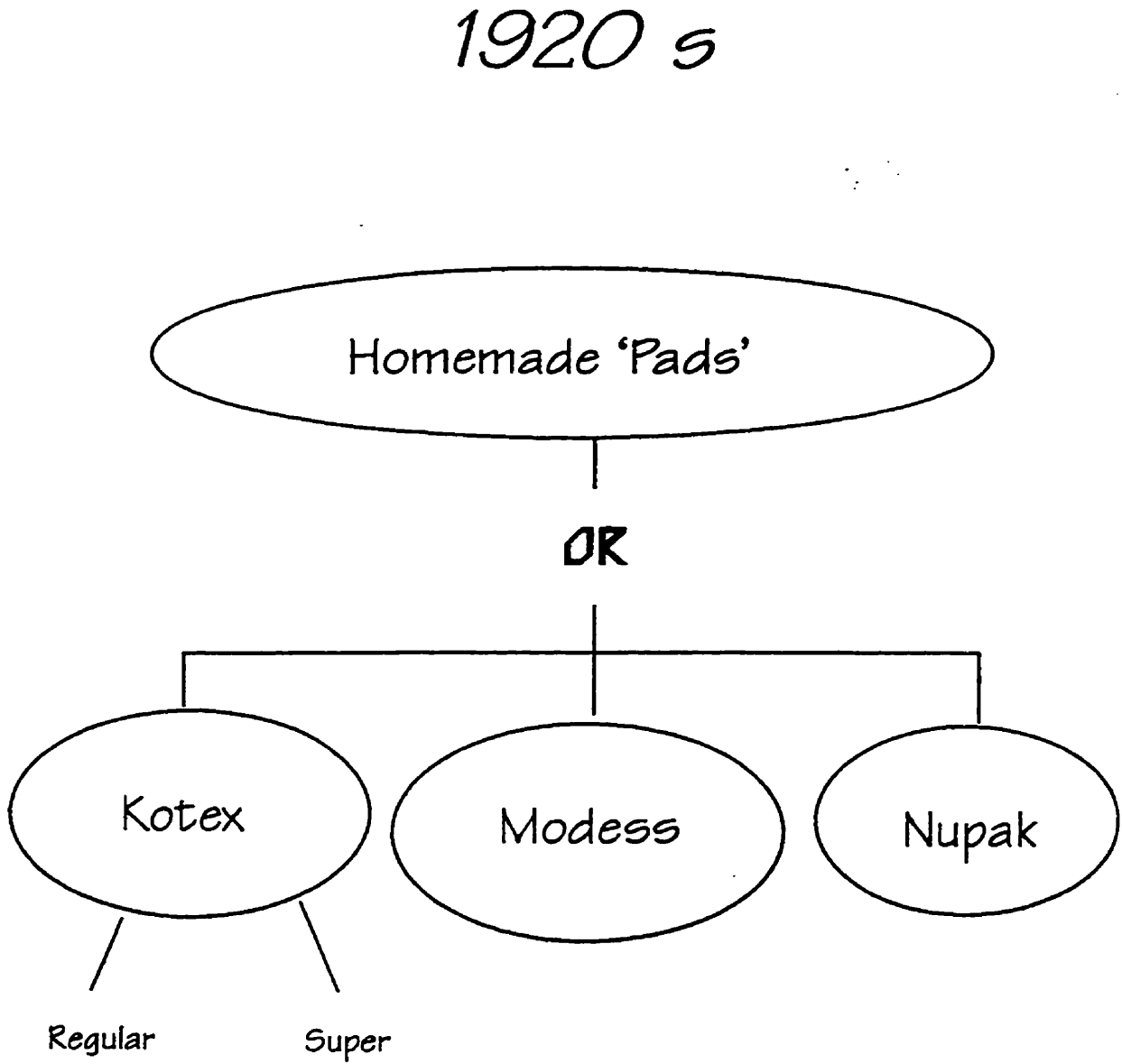
Simple/Complex

In the early part of the century, women's menstrual management kits were made up of homemade pads fashioned from cotton, chambray, linen, or cheesecloth. Women typically made and washed the rags at home or burned them and the event was not one that was talked about primarily because women were typically contained in the domestic sphere, especially while menstruating, so it was merely considered 'women's way'. Although cumbersome in how they were made and washed for reuse, such was the nature of menstrual care.

What is of importance was the fact of the kit's simplicity. The advent of disposable pads presented an alternative to menstrual cloths and rags. As seen in Figure 1, the choices facing women of the 1920's were simple and few. Women had to choose between homemade pads or the new disposable Kotex or Nupak. Having the money to purchase the pads was a primary consideration. However, the reality of entering the public arena was something that had considerable potential for embarrassment. Therefore it is evident how the commercial pads, in a sense, brought menstruation into the public view.

Figure 1

Menstrual Management Kit (1920's)



Initially the choice of products were simple and few. Eventually, with the proliferation of menstrual care products, choosing became much more complex, see Figure 2. As will be evidenced later, the products began to be promoted for use not just during menses, but as advertisements in the 1990 would advise, for use 'alldays, every day'! Traditionally women faced an event that required 'attending to', and they dealt with it simply and to the best of their ability. By the 1990's, women became involved in a complexity of 'making sure' (Patterson & Hale, 1985) in the work place, as well as at home. Menstruation became something that must be hidden at all costs and managed with a virtual plethora of specialized products, to be absolutely sure that discovery was avoided. From a simple basic menstrual management kit, it has evolved into a complex, multi-faceted system. From an event that required products for use while menstruating, it has become one for use at all times, everyday.

To contemporary women this has come to mean that they must always be aware and making sure. In the 1990's there are products for every possible 'need': need as determined and defined by the advertisers. These patriarchal definitions are an economically based means of exploiting and reinforcing an existing patriarchal system of myth and taboo. It could be argued that the needs created by the advertisers is driven by profit making, but regardless of the motivation, the messages still concentrate on need creation. Although artificial needs could be resisted, women need to be aware of and sensitized to such created needs before we can expect such a resistance to occur.

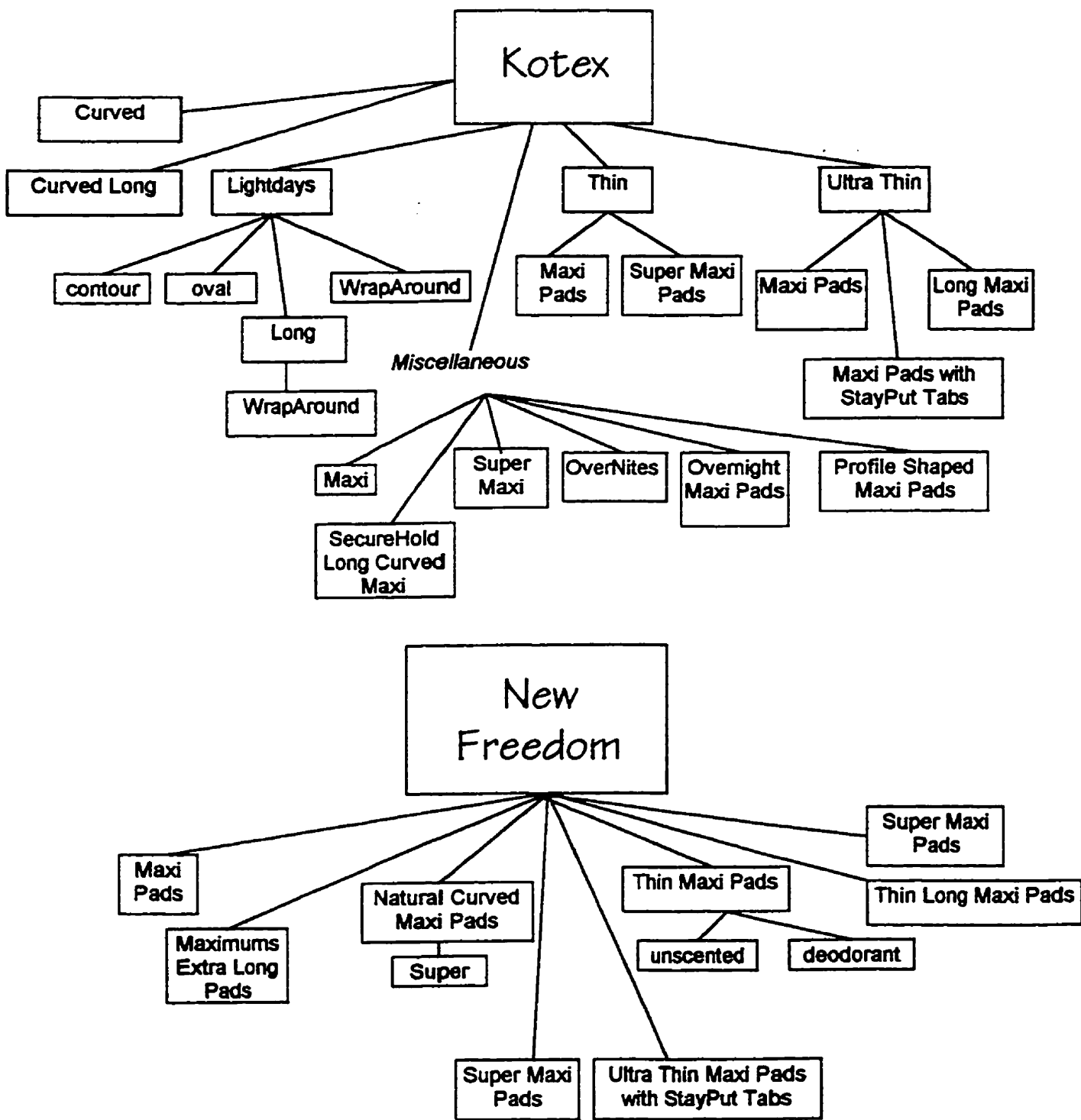
The social construction of menstruation has come to mean something which must be virtually hidden, denied and avoided. The impression is that if women must

menstruate, the idea is to deal with it easily and efficiently with this plethora of products. How women can use these products to their benefit, according to the advertisers is to use the 'systems' put out by the manufacturers.

Figure 2

Menstrual Management Kit (1990's)

Kimberly - Clark



Hiddenness

Laws (1990), in her book Issues of Blood, presents the concept of 'menstruation etiquette'. One of the first rules, is that "sanitary wear must be hidden from men" (Laws, 1990, p. 44), more specifically, "women are expected to buy, store, and use them without men noticing" (Laws, 1990, p. 45). Laws (1990) interviewed men who exhibited shocked reactions upon hearing women discuss their menses or upon seeing the actual products in peoples homes. She notes, tongue in cheek, that women had "done nothing actively in order to cause this reaction... just failing or refusing to take the trouble to observe the etiquette which the males had come to expect" (Laws, 1990, p. 45). This illustrates the public/private dimension associated with having ones period and the hiding associated with it.

In the 1920's the boxes of pads were wrapped in blue paper. Earlier boxes did not even display the product name, but merely a red cross, an indication only to those who 'knew' what was inside. Advertisements advised women to keep their menses hidden and a secret. The event solely experienced by women had no place in a patriarchal society, as menstruation concerned that part of the population that had no voice. However, as Laws (1990) so aptly points out, "advertising...presents a particular problem...for to allow it, is to allow public acknowledgment of the existence of menstruation" (p. 46). It is interesting, that although women were told to keep the products private and hidden, the very fact that young girls were excused from gym classes and women withdrew during their periods, made it a public event. Of course, menstrual

products advertised in the media (at this time in print advertisements), also led to menstruation no longer being viewed as strictly a private event. In early print advertisements only the product boxes were shown, in contrast to the advertisements of today, where the actual product; the pad or tampon is displayed. Although as Bancroft (1995) states, that in England, “maybe we are making progress; sanitary protection is now advertised on TV, but only after 9 p. m. , the blood is only blue and the scenes are breathtakingly coy but its a start” (p. 785).

George & Murcott (1992) examined the issues surrounding ‘going public’ in their article entitled “Monthly strategies for discretion: shopping for sanitary towels and tampons”. What they discovered was that ‘contriving to be discreet’ was quite an involved process in that many individuals were quite concerned that “what they had just bought be concealed and as soon as possible” (George & Murcott, 1992, p. 158). The consensus among those interviewed seemed to be that the products should be wrapped and if not, the consumers would ask for it to be so “They wrap things like that. So it’s alright. So you don’t have to sort of parade around town with them under your arm like” (George & Murcott, 1992, p. 158).

And, as another informant put it, when asked of the importance of wrapping “Yeah I do ask especially, two bags” (George & Murcott, 1992, p. 159). Many informants felt newspaper was the chosen wrapping as it not only hid the product, but disguised it as well. Disguising the product was equally as important to these men and women, even from one’s own family. “I had two bags. So nobody could see what it was. Because I was with my brother as well.” (George & Murcott, 1992, p. 159). Many

comments were primarily from women, but the comments from men revealed not only the hiddenness surrounding menstruation, but the polluting aspects of it as well, as something to be ashamed of “Its pretty personal walking around with a box in your hand. You might see somebody you don’t particularly want to see. Or come across the vicar or something like” (George & Murcott, 1992, p. 160). Or as this man put it “I don’t suppose a lot of women want to go around with a packet of Tampax on the top of their shopping bags. Disgusting” (George & Murcott, 1992, p. 160).

This hiddenness can most obviously be seen in the way menstruation was referred to in the advertisements. Early on, menstruation was referred to quite euphemistically.

- hygienic handicaps [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].
- oldest hygienic problem [Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].
- natural complications [Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].
- trying situations [Good Housekeeping Aug. 1926, p. 146].
- traditions and drudgeries which held her mother in bondage
[Good Housekeeping Mar. 1929, p. 279].
- hygienic distress [Chatelaine Mar. 1928, p. 65].
- one of the most trying situation in all the years of womanhood’
[Good Housekeeping Apr. 1932, p. 184].
- on the days its hardest to attain...carefree poise’
[Good Housekeeping Aug. 1935, p. 157].
- women’s most perplexing problem [Good Housekeeping Aug. 1935, p. 157].
- limitations put upon their activities [Chatelaine Aug. 1934, p. 30].
- women’s normal monthly problem [Good Housekeeping Mar. 1938, p. 201].

As time went on, especially during the 1960's and 1970's, the actual words; 'periods', 'flow' and 'menstruation' came to be used in the advertisements (along with the euphemisms) reinforcing the public/private concept surrounding menstruation.

- waning days [Good Housekeeping Mar. 1965, p. 207].
- Menstruation [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1965, p. 63].
- special needs [Chatelaine Mar. 1964, p. 73].
- your needs [Chatelaine Dec. 1964. p. 63].
- first day [Mademoiselle Aug. 1969, p. 218].
- worst day [Mademoiselle Aug. 1969, p. 218].
- period [Mademoiselle Aug. 1969, p. 218].
- embarrassing time of the month [Good Housekeeping May 1962, p. 177].
- periods [Good Housekeeping May 1971, p. 212].
- Menstruating
- heavy days [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1974, p. 30].
- in between periods [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1974, p. 30].
- light days [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1974, p. 30].
- menstrual needs [Chatelaine Mar. 1973, p. 32].
- heavy flow days [Chatelaine Nov. 1973, p. 40].
- maxi day [Chatelaine Aug. 1979, p. 67].
- menstrual protection [Glamour Mar. 1972, p. 139].
- menstrual product [Glamour Mar. 1972, p. 139].
- menstrual flow [Mademoiselle Jul. 1971 p. 40].

- this month...next month
[Good Housekeeping July 1977, p. 82..
- menstrual age
[Chatelaine Jan. 1973, p. 63].
- any/every day of the month
- 'the wrong day'
[Chatelaine Aug. 1973 p. 28]
- the calendar [Chatelaine Aug. 1973 p. 28]
- wasn't one of your good days
[Chatelaine Sept. 1973, p. 40]
- monthly period
[Chatelaine Dec. 1973, p. 53].
- off day [Chatelaine July 1976, p. 10].
- menstrual bypass/fluid
[Chatelaine Oct. 1976, p. 29].
- heavy flow days
[Chatelaine Nov. 1979, p. 97].

Names of Products

The 'private, yet public' concept is also evidenced by examining the names of the products in the advertisements. In the early 1920's product names had no hidden meanings, and as such, did not promote a feeling or a behavior that advertisers felt women should exhibit as would be seen in the 1980's and 1990's.

In the 1920 the names of products were as follows;

- Kotex [Good Housekeeping Apr. 1923, p. 125].
- Kotex Regular [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].
- Kotex Super [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].
- Nupak [Good Housekeeping Nov. 1926, p. 157].
- Modess [Good Housekeeping Mar. 1929, p. 279].
- Super-size Kotex [Good Housekeeping June 1929, p. 168].
- Beltx [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1929, p. 262].

By the later 1980's and 1990's, not only had the quantity of products increased significantly, their names reflected a strong behavioral message for women using the products. Manufacturers, through the names of the products, seemed to be telling women how they should behave and feel while menstruating.

- **Always with Dry weave**
[Chatelaine July 1989, p. 103].
- **Always Plus**
[Flare Aug. 1989, p. 94].
- **Always Double Plus**
[Cosmopolitan Oct. 1989, p. 189].
- **New freedom (thin) maxi pads**
[Chatelaine July 1988, p. 46].
- **New freedom Overnight maxi-pads**
[Canadian Living Mar. 1987, p. 39].
- **New freedom slim**
[Good Housekeeping June 1984, p. 92].
- **Profile (Kotex)**
[Good Housekeeping Mar. 1989, p. 95].
- **Always Slender for teens**
[Young Miss Dec. 1988, p. 28]
- **Sure and Natural**
[Glamour May 1985]
- **Stayfree Silhouettes body Shape Maxi's**
[Glamour May 1985, p. 319].
- **New freedom *system***
[Woman's Day Oct. 1984 p. 175].
- **Vania *system***
[Chatelaine Dec. 1985, p. 38-39].
- **petal soft plastic applicator tampons**
[Seventeen Dec. 1988, p. 70].
- **Kotex security tampons**
[Good Housekeeping Mar. 1989, p. 99].
- **Playtex slender regular tampons**
[Seventeen July 1988, p. 30].
- **new Playtex portables**
[Seventeen Nov. 1988, p. 91].
- **new Playtex (deodorant/slender regular) tampons**
[Glamour Dec. 1985, p. 149].

With the proliferation of products on the market, and the fact that they are advertised openly in print advertisements, on TV, in the media, as well as in the stores; menstruation has become something quite public, overt and exposed. This is in opposition to its earlier state that was private, covert and hidden.

Systems

Systems were introduced by the manufacturers in the 1980's. What this entailed was, as mentioned earlier, an expansion to women's menstrual management kits. Figure 3 demonstrates the system of one particular manufacturer. With a system women could be prepared and confident, because they had products for everyday of the cycle; litedays (sic), in between days, maxi days, heavy flow days. They could be secure as they had 'made sure'.

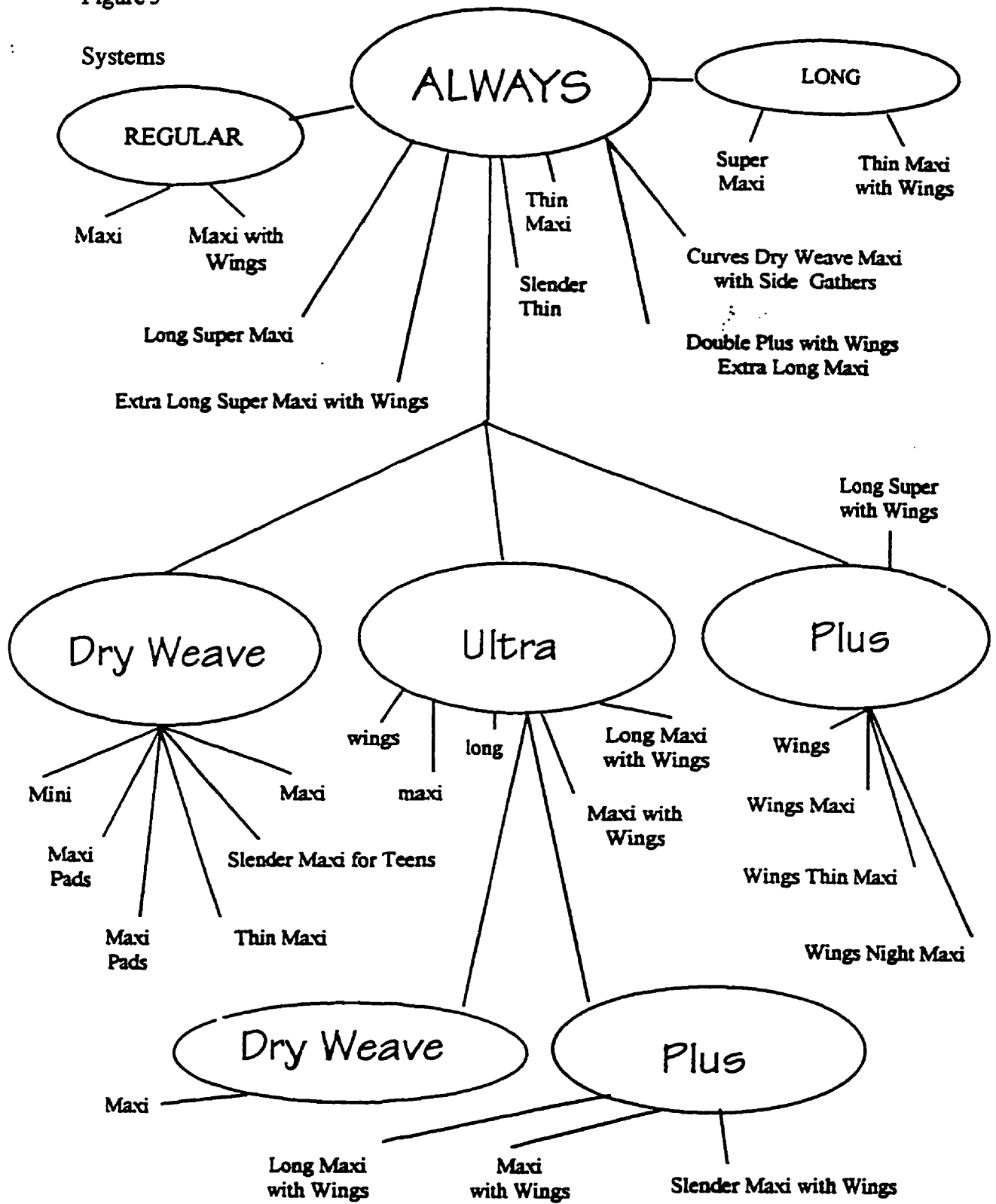
These systems offered a way according to the advertisements, for women to manage their periods efficiently and effectively. Women could obtain the various products they required from one company. This was indeed a very effective marketing strategy, as women became convinced they must have they entire system in order to manage properly. Advertisers sent out pamphlets advertising the new systems with suggestions as to what to use on what day.

In the 1920's, women used one product during their time; the homemade pad they had made from rags. This they made, washed and reused. With the invention of sanitary

protection products managing menstruation became a different sort of event, public and more open than before. Eventually sanitary protection becomes feminine hygiene.

What becomes evident by the 1990's is that now women not only have to use a different product on different days of their period, but they also have to use something virtually everyday; according to the advertisers. This allows them to remain clean, fresh and carefree everyday. The message being conveyed to women is they are dirty, not only while menstruating but everyday, thus necessitating the use of this overabundance of specialized products.

Figure 3



Private/Public: Public/Private

Public/Private, was a continuum that was useful in decoding the messages implicit in menstrual product advertisements. See Table 1.

Table 1.

Public/Private Continuum

The Polarities of a Menses Social Construction Continuum	
-a historical continuum-	
Past	Present
A crediting physiological event	A discrediting physiological event
-sign of womanhood	-tainted femininity
-woman, mother roles salient	-'girl' (FEM) & professional roles
Physiological, 'matter of factness'	Physiological, 'additional meanings'
-deal with it	-fears of discovery & discreditation
-Attending to	-Making sure
Secondary Issue: Secretiveness and Discovery	
-a historical continuum-	
Public	Private
Withdrawal possible	Withdrawal not possible
-Absence was a 'public event'	-Event must be hidden
...understood	...not understood ('acceptance')
-Women menstruate	-Fem. professional cannot menstruate
-Themes of sickness	-Themes of healthy
Private	Public
Management kit hidden	Management kit not hidden
-Very private	-Casual privateness
-Products in 'secret' wrap	-Products on display, accessible
-Coded, understood, advertising	-Advertised opening

Private product/public event: past

Historically, menstrual care was private and hidden, menstrual cloths and towels were women's domain. With the advent of commercial menstrual products the continuing need for secretiveness was evidenced in packaging. The menstrual products were sequestered within boxes wrapped discreetly in blue or brown paper and women and girls hid these products at home from their husbands and fathers. It was not seen as discrediting to have one's period but the demands of polite conversation preferred one not to talk about it. Everyone knew what was in the blue box with the cross on it seen at the corner drugstore. As Margaret in Are you there God? It's me Margaret discovers when she and her friend attempt for the first time to buy sanitary napkins: "We walked to the check out counter with our stuff and walked away just as fast when we saw that there was a boy behind the cash register" (Blume, 1970, p. 136). Although they were quite embarrassed at first when they finally mustered up enough courage to return to the counter they completed their purchase by "not looking at his face and not saying anything either" (Blume, 1970, p. 137). What surprised Margaret and her friend is also summarized in the Modess advertisement "when you buy a sanitary napkin, a guy behind the counter is the least of your problems"(Mademoiselle 1970). As Margaret says, "That was all there was to it! You'd think he sold that kind of stuff every day of the week" (Blume, 1970, p. 137).

Miller (1995) notes how advertising, a public form of communication, reveals products hidden by salespeople and the consumers themselves, in this case, menstrual

products. Early advertisements show how the box was wrapped so as to be 'concealed' and how women consumers could help themselves to a box which did not 'declare' its contents. This attempt to avoid embarrassment for women had to do with the fact that it was not considered well-mannered for ladies to reveal their menstrual state, as might be the case when manifestly, publicly, purchasing pads. However, the invention of the disposable, commercial pad made menstruation a more public event. The boxes of pads were public, albeit wrapped in concealing paper yet there existed a sort of 'mutual pretense' at this time, everyone knew what was in the boxes and why women withdrew, but it was not discussed. Although the fact that women were permitted to withdraw from society during their time, that girls were excused from gym classes, that some women took to their bed sick, made periods a public event, the silence nullified acknowledgment. As Berg (1996) states 'the publicness of menstrual products is clearly not an indicator that the secretiveness surrounding menstruation has been lifted" (p. 3). Similarly, Lovering (1995) writes how the silence that surrounds menstruation is paradoxical as it is present in a time when sanitary products are very public.

Public product/private event: present

The passage of time saw a shift in societal attitudes. Previously women with their periods meant withdrawal, but their menstrual status was known and accepted as matter of fact, the 'way of women'! Although in some cultures, the menstruating women were seen as polluting and hence subject to taboo, the fact that they were menstruating was certainly not hidden. The event was surrounded with a matter of fact attitude. Furthermore, the awareness that women was menstruating was not a discrediting event; it

did not affect their reputation or the way that people viewed them. They were women: 'Other'. Actually it was seen as a sign of womanhood; women now had the ability to be wives and mothers (Schroeder, 1976).

In contemporary times, having one's period has the potential to be discrediting, especially to professional women. If discovered, the danger is that their periods can be used against them. Faced with the assumption that they lack the ability to function as men, the 'non-menstruators', menstruation is now seen as a threat to women's productivity. Patriarchal power is distinctly revealed, in that women should mask the symptoms of their periods and society should remain unaware of the fact that women are menstruating. Menstruating women can no longer withdraw from society as this acknowledges the fact that they are menstruating and will thereby discredit and taint their femininity and their ability to perform (the very fact that menstruation is *solely* a female act seems to be lost at this point). The act of menstruation must now be hidden, but withdrawal from contemporary society is no longer the accepted solution as it had been in the past. Menstruation is no longer a taken for granted event, or a simple physiological fact to be dealt with. Women must now conceal their periods; they must not discuss it, nor display the products they use. They cannot admit to experiencing cramps, or headaches, and must go about daily life as usual...as 'men'.

Women now encounter a double bind situation, if they menstruate they are considered undesirable because they are different, i.e. not like men, ironically when menses cease, women are redefined as no longer being women due to the loss of fertility and child producing abilities. It is a situation that has no winning solution.

Today menstrual products are not hidden; they are openly seen in stores, on television and in print advertisements. Although the products are readily seen everywhere the act of menstruation itself continues to remain hidden and not talked about. The idea of women having their periods is not discussed. The women idealized by a consumer society, the ones found in the advertisements, are fun loving and desirable, and that is quite simply what women should strive to be. Advertisers not only aim to convince women that these are the best products for them, but imply through their ads a sense of 'freshness, and cleanliness' that apparently is the opposite of what happens at menstruation, that is, the term unclean arises again. These idealized women "do(es) not, cannot menstruate" (Berg & Coutts, 1994, p. 15). By this, one infers that women viewed as fun loving, clean and pure, and carefree cannot possibly be menstruating (in the patriarchal sense of the word: unclean and dirty). These women have been labeled FEM by these researchers. If FEM are discovered to be menstruating, their menstrual status will discredit them and label them as being 'sick' and marginalized as in the past "...today's woman is determined to prove that she can do her job "like a man" even when she is feeling most like a woman" (Treneman, 1989, p. 157). In a world where they are trying to be normal, *like males*, their periods threaten their quest. They take precautions against being discovered, they 'make sure' (Patterson & Hale, 1985).

Even the expansion of the menstrual management kit displays this private/ public concept quite well. As the kit became potentially larger and larger, a consequence of the proliferation of *needed* products, there was even more need, according to the advertisers, to keep period supplies hidden. Not only were there more products to hide, but the

mind-set suggested to women that they feel shame while menstruating and should in fact keep their menstrual status hidden.

Sanitary Protection: Feminine Hygiene

Dirtiness of Menstruation

Ancient Hebrew traditions viewed menstruation as a sickness. According to their teachings all 'issues' from the body were considered unclean and menstruation was considered such an issue (flow) (Culpepper, 1979). Menstruating women were used for comparison to horrible filth. References to uncleanness can also be found in the Bible (Leviticus 15). Menstruation in this faith was associated with cleanliness, or uncleanness as the case might be. "A woman had to take great care to know when she was menstruating and to observe all the laws about menstruation, lest she transmit her Uncleanness to others, for not only was her menstrual blood Unclean, but *she herself* was Unclean" (Culpepper, 1979, p. 141). The laws were quite strict, dictating that menstruating women be required to examine themselves two times a day (morning and evening) and before intercourse with 'test rags' to be sure they were clean, with no sign of blood (Culpepper, 1979). Menstruating women were referred to as 'niddah' which translated literally, meant to flee, to banish, state of uncleanness, menstrual uncleanness, menstruation, a menstruant (Culpepper, 1979).

Unfortunately these views towards menstruation are not as ancient as one might think. Many of these attitudes continue to be expressed in menstrual product advertisements. Brownmiller (1994) states how it seems that "the menstrual flow,

despite its testament to female fertility and to gender, runs diametrically counter to the prized feminine virtues of neatness, order and a dainty, sweet and clean appearance” (p. 194).

Miller (1995) discusses how, in Japan, when women purchase sanitary protection ‘seiri yohin’ (translation menstrual supplies) they encounter a cultural stigma that sees the pads not only covered in 2-4 layers of paper and plastic wrapping, but then placed in a paper bag which is taped shut and then placed in a plastic shopping bag; a total of 6 layers of wrapping. This practice, Miller (1995) feels, indicates “beliefs about the act of menstruation and the necessity of keeping it ‘protected’ and concealed” (p. 1). Although she provides possible reasons for this practice, the one of interest here is contamination. The idea of contamination suggests that wrapping the pads keeps them separate from other purchases which might in turn become contaminated by contact. This seems to confirm the idea of dirtiness associated with menstruation and the menstruating women which is linked to the idea of hiddenness. According to Treneman (1989) we must, “...look at the referent systems of advertisements... to realize that we do see the menstrual blood as dirty-so much so that not only must it be hidden from view, its presence must not even be suggested” (p. 161-162).

The blood used to be viewed as not only dirty but dangerous as well. This had important implications as to how women were viewed, particularly upon entering menarche. Early scientists’ concerns surrounded the idea that the blood was dangerous to a women’s health and well being. They felt that the old methods of protection were unsafe because the blood could be reabsorbed from the non-absorbent pads. This had

important consequences for safety according to medical authorities of the time (Brumberg, 1993). Laws (1990), when talking to men about menstruation, observed that a good majority of them maintained a pollution belief, in that they viewed the menstrual blood as 'being sort of dirty'. She goes further to state that the "sense that menstruation is dirty is also present in what the men said about the smell of menstrual blood and about their feelings about sanitary wear" (Laws, 1990, p. 34).

At the advent of the twentieth century the thinking changed to considering the blood as not being considered dangerous, but dirty and to be avoided at all costs. As women were being advised by medical authorities to avoid contact with the menstrual blood, the invention of the disposable pad was a blessing to women. The advertisements claimed women were no longer required to remain confined to the home during their periods since they could dispose of the new pads anywhere. As well, they were able to obtain the pads easily, not however, without some embarrassment. Advertisements assured women that using these new pads would solve all their worries. They would no longer have to be concerned with sanitary protection as the new pads would absorb and protect them against all sorts of accidents and mishaps associated with having periods.

However, another shift occurred, with women becoming the focus of the dirtiness. Advertisements in the 1970's suggested to women that they needed to wear some form of sanitary protection every day, regardless of whether they were menstruating or not. They were told that everything needed to be protected; clothes, sheets, even panties. The impression given was that where once only the menstrual blood was once considered dirty discharge, now women themselves were viewed as dirty. What was once considered

sanitary protection, that of managing periods effectively and efficiently, had changed to feminine hygiene where women are constantly responding and managing every day of the menstrual cycle.

The "Time of the Month"

This concept is concerned with demonstrating how the definition of 'the time' has expanded over the past century. Even more fascinating, is how the advertisers have in fact re-constructed the event of menstruation to become one that affects women every day of the month. Women need to *make sure* not just during the menses, but everyday. Berg and Coutts (1994) in discussing their core variable of 'tainted femininity' present the idea that the 'time of the month', the curse, has been greatly expanded "attending to one's period involves decisions concerning a plethora of products, each portending to offer unique attributes designed to minimize the intrusion caused by the menstrual episode" (p. 12).

During Menses

Until the 1970's, advertisements advised women to use sanitary protection during their periods. They advised women how they could feel better, fresher, and more carefree during 'that time' if they used a given brand of product. In due time, a shift occurred and women were now advised to use 'mini pads', not only for backup with their tampons, but for light flow days as well. This created not only another addition to the kit, but eventually redefined and lengthened the menstrual period for women. Further lengthening of the menstrual period flow occurred when advertisements advised women that if they wanted to feel this 'great', this 'free' every day (read *not just during menses*)

they should use the newly invented 'panty liners'. In their provocative look at what it means to be a menstruating woman in today's world, Berg and Coutts (1994) refer to this lengthening of the flow as "extending the need for femininity maintenance" (p. 16). They also discuss how this myth of the 'extended curse' works to make feminine hygiene an everyday concern that requires specialized products.

Extending the menstrual status has several implications for women. Menstrual product advertisements counsel contemporary women to *make sure* constantly. As well, contemporary women always need to wear some form of sanitary protection. Not only are their kits expanded, so are the definitions of themselves as dirty. They are considered dirty because now they have adopted the role of menstruator at all times, not just when they are actually menstruating. A common theme in menstrual product advertisements is that menstruating women are unclean. Thus if the length of the 'period' is expanded, so is the time of women's uncleanliness. In effect, women are always menstruators because they are always potentially unclean.

Activity Level

In the 1800's, women were generally considered incapacitated, frail and weak, especially during menstruation. They were constantly being told to concentrate their energies on the "proper and full development of (her) uterus and ovaries ... curtail all activities outside the home...the only safe tasks were routinely domestic" (Cayleff, 1992, p. 230). The attitudes of the time kept women at home and uneducated. Women apparently faced the risk of "ovarian induced mental incapacitation" (Cayleff, 1992, p. 231) if they dared to undertake other activities, such as education for example. The

literature presents many examples that by pursuing intellectual development, women risked “proper physical development” since it was the “stooping position ...sedentary life” that caused damage to their bodies (Cayleff, 1992, p. 230).

What all these attitudes and authorities served to promote was a “deeply imbedded cultural ambivalence toward women’s intellectual pursuits and activities outside the domestic realm” (Cayleff, 1992, p. 231). In relation to menstruation, it was “proof positive that women’s ties to home and hearth were biologically determined and thus socially justifiable and immutable” (Cayleff, 1992, p. 231). This was largely due to patriarchal definitions of menstruation which reinforced the idea of women as incapacitated and kept them in a second class state. Although they were not in actuality ‘sick’, many came to believe and internalize such definitions. These male definitions, served to reinforce the myth of keeping women in the home and in bed during menses. “forced rest for women during menstruation was a result of custom and men’s wishes-not physiological necessity. (Cayleff, 1992, p. 232).

As mentioned previously, this is a classic example of false consciousness in that women ‘knew’ their incapacitation to be true. They had accepted these definitions and incorporated them into their way of thinking and way of life. By portraying all women as “rendered incapacitated by menstrual difficulties” (Cayleff, 1993, p. 233), the world view was able to systematically keep women in the private sphere of society as wives and mothers.

The expectations surrounding the capabilities of menstruating women has also changed over the years. Women in the later 1800’s were considered sick, frail and

incapacitated, especially during their periods. Because of the incapacitation associated with periods young girls were excused from physical activities. Current research has shown that withdrawal is actually the last thing women should be doing during their periods, since physical activity is essential in relieving cramps and related issues during periods (Nicolson, 1995, also Landsberg 1974). As well, some feminists, argue that withdrawal only serves to segregate women.

Women in today's society avoid being seen as different or requiring special treatment during menstruation. They want to be considered equal players in contemporary society. Anything that would make them appear different or risks defining them as 'Other' is to be avoided at all costs. Researchers have discussed how women and girls live in fear every month that their flow will leak and 'show' on their clothing, reinforcing the myths that they are undisciplined, out of control and not to be trusted: further reason to discredit them (Miller, 1995 also Berg and Coutts 1993). Being seen as menstruating women in today's society continues to be discrediting to women. Thus, as mentioned, women employ elaborate measures to make sure the risk is minimized.

Credit/Discredit

As noted in the introduction, menstruation is a physiological event that has come to be defined as something which needs 'high tech' management and careful planning. Menstrual product advertisements have certainly fostered this shift. Menstruation has become an event eliciting psychological distress for women in regards to the products they choose, how they use them, and when to use them. Because women are advised to use some sort of protection everyday, even when not menstruating, the menstrual

management kit has also greatly expanded. Menstruation in the 1990's is still discrediting to women especially if revealed. Building on the very real fear of discovery, women are advised by advertisers to purchase products that will ensure that there is no threat of anyone discovering their menstrual status. Merely *attending to* is not enough, feminine hygiene must be managed continuously "The fear of discovery is a major concern of women who are menstruating, reinforced by the less than subtle advertisements for menstrual products (Berg, 1996, p. 2). Although it is well known that most adult women (under the age of fifty), menstruate once a month, admitting to this fact is simply not permitted. Furthermore, the embarrassment associated with being discovered links to discreditation. Admitting one is menstruating is tantamount to disaster for 1990's women. This is quite a drastic change from the earlier century, when women were able to 'admit' quite freely in the sense of being able to withdraw.

The reasons for hiding one's period have changed over the years. As Berg and Coutts (1993) pointed out, "women are encouraged to employ a complex management system to avoid menstrual discovery which was a manifestation of tainted femininity" (p. 189). Whereas the fear of discovery had previously been equated with not being ladylike or proper, the fear of discovery in contemporary society is quite different. Being well-groomed, dainty and poised was critical to women of the early years. The women in the advertisements were 'ladies', as seen in the 'Modess because' advertisements. Being known as a menstruator, was not only to be labeled as unclean, but was specifically associated with improper grooming.

Today's reasons for hiding menstrual status are vastly different from the past. As Berg (1996) puts it, "to be caught as a menstruating woman is to be seen as one who cannot be expected to function normally (normally, as a man)" (p. 7). In our patriarchal society, especially in the professional world, women must be seen as the same as men in order to compete with men. This was not an issue in the 1920's as women were not considered equals. Very few women were employed in careers that competed directly with men and the fear of discovery did not involve potential discreditation. Women today must go so far as to avoid being defined as menstruators. The norm is to be a non-menstruator (men) as Miller (1995) mentioned in her article "Wrapping and Unwrapping". Berg (1996) noted that "women portrayed in menstrual product advertisements appear to be obsessed with controlling or denying the effects of their periods" (p. 8).

George & Murcott (1992) offer a commentary on how industrialized societies prescribe that menstruation be concealed, discreet and private. The overriding attitude is that it is a confidential matter, to be discussed behind closed medical doors (reemphasizing its medicalized state). This seems to be the rule; to keep it private, hidden and the fear is that if it does surface in public it will cause a disruption in orderly social affairs. It does seem to be quite pervasive in its own right however as a "socio-medical problem....a defense in a court of law...associated with poor occupational performance....absenteeism in employment...or even fiscal policy" (George & Murcott, 1992, p. 147).

This fear of discovery is all encompassing. In their study George & Murcott (1992) asked, "How does one honor the requirements for discretion at the same time as having to 'go public' when buying the products" (p. 147)? Whose and what requirements these are seems to have been defined and set out by a patriarchal society. The authors admit that a 'tension' exists between the private and the public so much so that in shopping for products, the "presence of others and/or the risk of betraying publicly the precise nature of the purchase are paramount" (George & Murcott, 1992, p. 155).

In the 1990 's, when women are still struggling to be accepted as equals in a male dominated world, anything which serves to make them different, including femininity, it seems, must be hidden. In fact, their differences must not only be hidden, but virtually eliminated. Having one's period has the potential to be discrediting to women. The threat of discovery is very real. Like PMS, periods if discovered, can be used against women. Jokes will arise about women being moody, irrational due to 'being on the rag'. They will be considered unable to function 'as men'.

Real issues vs. created fears

Treneman (1989) claims that the absurd number of menstrual products that are available for women's use, as well as the number of advertisements associated with these products, only serve to heighten menstrual embarrassment, not to eliminate menstrual shame. Real issues are something women experience that really do have implications in terms of managing their periods. In the early 'homemade pad years' these included chafing, irritation and absorbency. Some examples of real issues facing women in the 1920 are as follows;

- solves a difficult laundry problem
[Good Housekeeping Apr. 1923, p. 125].
- pad now available to women everywhere [Good Housekeeping Oct. 1923, p. 123].
- easy to dispose of
[Good Housekeeping Oct. 1923, p. 123].
- oldest hygienic problem
[Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].
- deodorizes with a new secret disinfectant [Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].
- no bother, no expense of laundry. Simply discard...as you would paper without embarrassment
[Good Housekeeping Feb. 1926, p. 146].
gayest, filmiest frocks may now be worn without a moments thought. Social demands are met in confidence. One lives everyday...unhandicapped. protection both absolute and scientific [Good Housekeeping May 1926, p. 191].
- worn longer without irritation...downy super soft....marvelously soft and comfortable [Good Housekeeping Aug. 1926, p. 146].
- gives women freedom, comfort, standards of health never before possible [Good Housekeeping June 1929, p. 168].
- wide enough for security...will not crease or chafe...never pulls or binds [Good Housekeeping Sept. 1929, p. 262].
- that feeling of complete safety and comfort...you are never aware of any self consciousness, any hesitancy...outdoor activities are possible now at any time
[Good Housekeeping Sept. 1929, p. 140].
- added comfort, finer grooming, better health [Chatelaine May 1929, p. 69].
- recommend it over the unscientific methods of grand mothers day
[Chatelaine Feb. 1929, p. 47].
- no evidence of sanitary protection under any gown

[Chatelaine Sept. 1928, p. 55].

- ends an important fear-that of offense to others

[Chatelaine Sept. 1928, p. 55].

- homemade pads that are unsanitary and so often dangerous to health

[Chatelaine Mar. 1928, p. 65].

- better class women employ Kotex and will accept nothing else

[Chatelaine Mar. 1928, p. 65].

However, in the interest of need creation, manufactures continue to add more and more products to the menstrual management kit, so much so that the created fears outnumber the real issues. In fact it seems that advertisers are creating new fears almost every year. Women are warned by advertisers to be concerned with accidents, mishaps, odor, fluid bypass and, now, everyday feminine discharge. Feminine discharge necessitates that clothes, panties and sheets must be protected by the continuous use of liners. The concerns facing women of the 1990's are not the same as the ones the women of the 1920's faced, they have been modified, added to, and expanded;

- extra strip means extra protection...peace of mind [Chatelaine July 1990, p. 115].
- pretty portable little pouch packs [Flare Oct. 1990, p. 66].
- new protection from side accidents...run into trouble...peachy new idea [Cosmopolitan May 1990, p. 387].
- pair of jeans....pad lets you feel confident enough to wear them [Cosmopolitan Jul. 1990, p. 215].
- dry comfortable and secure whenever [Cosmopolitan Mar. 1990, p. 46].
- feeling confident is a big part of feeling good about yourself
- helping to keep you a whole lot cleaner and drier...a very good way to feel [Chatelaine Oct. 1990, p. 134].
- specially proportioned for her discretion and comfort...makes becoming a woman even nicer [Chatelaine Oct. 1990, p. 134].
- quit blaming yourself...blame your pad, 2/3 women experience occasionally panty staining . Yet most don't think of blaming their pads...that leave the sides of their panties unprotected. or simply don't stay firmly in place... ..wraparound wings that fold around the sides of your panties and fasten underneath...provide coverage...anchor the maxi securely in place...isn't it time you stopped blaming yourself. . [Chatelaine Nov. 1990, p. 104].

- shape to fit your curves...protect you like no... a more secure fit...better protection , especially the leakage protection ever [Chatelaine Nov. 1990, p. 43].
- help protect you and your undergarment [Flare Nov. 1990, p. 53].
- life doesn't stop for your period [Cosmopolitan Jan. 1990, p. 53].
- protect against side accidents...prevent accidents...protection like this is no accident [Cosmopolitan Dec. 1990, p. 263].
- better nighttime protection...how you feel each day...how well you sleep each night [Cosmopolitan Dec. 1990, p. 250].
- feel secure enough to do anything anytime...personal fit, protection, comfort and security...you can keep doing what you want whenever you want [Cosmopolitan Dec. 1990, p. 250].
- so you can get on with one of the most important things in life, being yourself [Cosmopolitan Dec. 1990, p. 250].
- locks moisture inside away from you
- less likely to leak
- surface of our pad stays clean and dry ...more coverage more protection [Glamour Apr. 1991, p. 85].
- protection like nothing else...no accident [Good Housekeeping Nov. 1990, p. 157].
- flow is unpredictable...can suddenly go from light to heavy to anywhere in between...flow responsive protection [Glamour, Oct. 1991, p. 70].
- protects better ..discreet enough o wear with anything you like [Flare Sept. 1991, p. 79].
- your need to feel secure [Ladies Home Journal May 1991].
- wear a thick maxi, it feels like you're wearing a pillow [Glamour Aug. 1991, p. 77].
- keep the surface cleaner and drier...wrap around you panties for more coverage [Glamour Aug. 1991, p. 77].
- let nothing come b/w you and your day...fit any size undergarment and help prevent leakage...security tabs and horizontal adhesive strips to reduce shifting or 'bunching' [Flare Apr. 1991, p. 68].

- effective protection for your entire month [Flare Apr. 1991, p. 68].
- panty protecting wings...anchor the pad securely...cleaner and drier too [Flare Feb. 1991, p. 71].
- favorite gown is protected...50% more coverage than ordinary maxis for extra protection...so you can put on your best suit and take on the town [Redbook Mar. 1990, p. 22]
- protect you front to back, edge to edge. Ingenious attachment wings help our pad stay securely in place for better protection all around [Mademoiselle Mar. 1992, p. 102].
- pad...as thin as your lingerie....designed to stop accidents before they start [Mademoiselle Mar. 1992, p. 102].
- when your maxi doesn't fit that's disaster
- if your maxi doesn't cover you in all the right places, then accidents are bound to happen...so why let disaster strike [Mademoiselle, Mar. 1992, p. 73].
- all I want to feel is 'morning fresh' every day
- helps hold the pad in place...give me extra protection right where I need it [Flare Jan. 1993, p. 21-22].
- gives you the protection you need with the comfort t you want [Canadian Living, Aug. 1993, p. 120].
- introducing the no worry no show maxi [Young Miss August 1991, p. 71].
- thin as a piece of gum or your favorite CD [Young Miss August 1991, p. 71].
- big protection in skinny pad that doesn't show...under your mini skirt or your tight white jeans [Young Miss August 1991, p. 71].
- 'no show' maxi ..nobody knows when you're wearing a tampon. same with new...
- cut narrow to fit even the teeniest bikini panties [Young Miss Apr. 1992].
- have this annoying habit of shifting and moving and just not protecting like they're supposed to...helps them stay in place better (about time somebody straightened this out)...stays in place and really protects [Flare Mar. 1994, p. 103].
- it sure is swell being a gal isn't it? oh joy its that time...designed to feel thinner and

- fit better...as good as it gets until its gone
[Elle Mar. 1994, p. 257].
- on top of it all...your pad is somewhere between your belly button and your tailbone. womanhood what a concept
ugh! its that time...we'd like to offer you a little more than sympathy
[Glamour May 1994, p. 297].
 - soft stretchy ruffles-full length leak barriers to help protect panties all along the sides...help keep the surface cleaner, drier
[Canadian Living Mar. 1994, p. 104].
 - don't leave feminine protection to chance...panty shaping for extra coverage ...better protection by choice not chance
[Good Housekeeping Aug. 1993, p. 26].
 - my period seemed complicated...now I hardly notice . I don't worry about leakage. .I don't even feel I'm wearing it
[Chatelaine Oct. 1990, p. 28].
 - smallest and most discreet tampon...I can carry a whole day's protection in my pocket and no one knows
[Chatelaine Oct. 1990, p. 28].
 - never really liked that bulky feeling...was always worried that people would know I had my period...so you never feel it or see it...could put them in and take them out very easily and they didn't hurt...don't have to worry about leaks and stains. So now when I get my period, I feel clean and totally comfortable. And I really like being free to do and wear whatever I want...Feel better about your period...from the he very first time [Chatelaine June 1990, p. 79].
 - when I got my period on the day we went to the lake, I just about died...I never let my period stop me....so you never see them or feel them.
[Chatelaine Jul. 1990, p. 56].
 - size of a lipstick...so how is this little thing going to protect me?
[Chatelaine Jul. 1990, p. 56].
 - makes me more comfortable...might hurt to put one in..[Young Miss Oct. 1991, p. 7].
 - evaluate your menstrual flow and refer to our chart. ..best to use the minimum absorbency for your personal comfort and protection needs
[Flare Mar. 1991, p. 123].

- important to know that life can go on as usual even when I'm having my period [Chatelaine Jan. 1991, p. 119].
- you've got two cute little boxes that don't say a word
- you can do whatever you like, with no worries [Flare Apr. 1992, p. 150].
- dependable protection...easy to dispose off
- its not your mothers tampon [Cosmopolitan Apr. 1992, p. 280].
- Tampax had you covered ...protection you need without pads or shields as backup on heavy days...effective protection every day of your period [Chatelaine Apr. 1993, p. 9 Health Supplement]
- stains that sometimes result from having your period can ruin a delicate pair of underwear [Flare, Jun. 1993, p. 79].
- don't worry...its impossible to push too far...perfect fit and reliable protection [Flare Jun. 1993, p. 61].
- full size protection in a discreet little applicator...small enough to tuck into your hand, your pocket even your tiniest bag [Shape May 1992, p. 67].
- easily...protection of a pad without the bulkiness that's so totally embarrassing and uncomfortable [Young Miss Apr. 1992, p. 105].
- which means no one will ever know you've got your you-know-what [Young Miss Apr. 1992, p. 105].
- there's no odor or tell tale bulges to worry about...easy to insert [Young Miss May 1992, p. 93].
- absolutely nothing anyone can notice, No one will ever know I'm having my period so I feel free to wear whatever I want every day of the month [Elle July 1993, p. 36].
- uncomfortable feeling...feel dry, fresh and clean [Elle July 1993, p. 36].
- unlike pads which can bunch and shift...stay securely in place for maximum protection...sleep comfortably and wake up feeling clean and fresh [People May 3, 1993].
- I'd go crazy if I let my period interfere with my normal routine...especially important when you have your period because you'll feel freshest [Young Miss Oct. 1991, p. 10].

- it will irritate my vagina, because I will be jumping around and doing splits...is this true? [Young Miss Feb. 1992, p. 21].
- if you insert the tampon properly...can't feel it...and that's really important when you're active [Young Miss Feb. 1992, p. 21].
- been using pads...but they're so messy [Young Miss Mar. 1992, p. 113].
- since...worn inside your body, it is a lot neater...and there's no embarrassing disposal either...all you have to do is flush the tampon away [Young Miss Mar. 1992, p. 113].
- overnight nothing protects better...pads that shift and bunch while I sleep ...now I can sleep more comfortably [Flare July 1994, p. 59].
- security tampons...for protection that lets you enjoy each day [Good Housekeeping Aug. 1993, p. 71].

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Introduction

This research examined menstrual product advertisements from 1914 to the present time in two popular women's magazines. The goal was to discover what it meant historically, according to these advertisements, to be menstruating women. In particular, how they managed and responded to their periods and what were their related concerns. The specific purpose was to uncover, document, and report on the trends and shifts occurring in the data historically in relation to the social construction of menstruation.

Menstrual product advertisements proved to be an invaluable source in revealing societal attitudes towards menstruation. Modern day taboos can be seen in menstrual product advertisements suggesting that women sanitize, deodorize, deny, hide and banish their periods. The advertisements suggest how women should behave, not just during their menses, but at all times. These are powerful messages for women as they stress how being clean, carefree and fresh can be only be achieved by using sanitary protection. How does failing to achieve this ideal affect women's self esteem and self image. How do women feel when they do not live up to the glamorous clean carefree women portrayed in the advertisements?

After identifying 'what is the woman' portrayed in the menstrual product advertisements, the next step was to document how the advertisements suggested women respond to and manage menstruation. In addition, the names of the products were examined to determine if attitudes and behaviors were implicit in the names which were then conveyed to consumers of the product.

Social Process

While looking at the continuum of time like this it is difficult to identify a basic social process, as that implies an answer to the question of ‘what is going on here’ at one particular moment in time. This is difficult to do over a seventy year time frame. Therefore, a slight variation would be to answer the question as ‘what happened here’ or in this case, what has happened to the definition of menstruation, in particular, with respect to when the advertisements reach the 1990’s.

Using constant comparative analysis, the research concluded that according to advertisements, menstruation is a complex event requiring an extensive menstrual management kit to guard against discovery of menstrual status. Women are barraged with a multitude of recommendations on what to use and when to use it to remain clean, carefree and confident. The advertisements are always advising women to protect, make sure, deny, hide and banish their periods. More specifically, women are told that they must use some form of sanitary protection every day, reinforcing again the uncleanliness associated with not just being a menstruator, but being women. They are *always menstruators*. Their two phases [pre- 1970’s] of having and not having periods have merged by the 1990 into one state. What it means to be menstruating women in today’s society is that being women is equal to being menstruators. As Berg (1996) states “Today’s women are in effect confined to their menstrual huts every day not just during their menses” (p. 8)

Several trends and shifts emerged through constant comparative analysis of the data. As a consequence of the proliferation of products on the market, the social process identified in this longitudinal study is ‘expansion’. Building on the three main concepts discovered in the data;

1) menstrual management kit, 2) hygiene and 3) the time, the subsequent expansion of each of these was examined. As discussed, women's menstrual management kit expanded to such an extent that women are told to use sanitary protection on the days that they are not menstruating as well. This is because, according to the advertisements, women need protection from every day feminine discharge. Related to this is the idea that women's period of uncleanness had also been extended. If women need to use protection every day then this implies an everyday dirtiness. The final idea 'time' summarizes the expansion of all three. If she uses products all the time, because she is always dirty, this can only mean the time of the month has extended to mean every day as well. As a result, the consciousness of herself as menstruator expands as well. Thus, she is always making sure, not just during menses but always, due to a fear of discovery and the potential of subsequent discreditation.

Core Variable

The core variable is that women are ALWAYS MENSTRUATORS. Not because they are menstruators, but because they menstruate, or have the ability to do so. This defines women's Otherness and continues to segregate them. Building on the core variable of Patterson & Hale (1985), that of 'making sure', I surmise that today's women in the advertisements are always making sure, due to them being always menstruators. Treneman (1989) believes that the very products that supposedly liberate us have in fact, only confined us more. Because there are now more products to use, there are more products to worry about. What is needed is more awareness and education so that the covert messages conveyed from the advertisers can be ignored.

A key finding in this research was that of 'the system.' As defined in the previous chapter, it is an entire system of products, from one company such as Vania or Always that meets all of women's supposed menstrual requirements. Contained in a system are different products for all occasions; litedays (sic), heavy flow days, in between days, tampon backup, Overmites, and products for everyday use. This is quite the change from the 1920's where one pad was used, washed and reused, as it 'fit' all occasions. The truth, however, is that in the past there were only two occasions, having periods and not having periods. Women used pads only while menstruating. What these systems have done is create an every day menstrual management system that women are told is essential for managing femaleness efficiently, without the threat of discovery.

Implications

What does being 'always menstruator' mean to women? Firstly, that they need to be purchasing and using systems to make up their menstrual management kit. Secondly that they are always dirty and must take care not to let their discharge, blood or everyday, touch anything, even sheets or panties. Finally, that the time of the month has increased to one of everyday surveillance and making sure so there is no chance of discovery and as mentioned previously, potential discreditation.

An important consequence of the advertisements was how women view themselves and how they, in turn, act. If women accept these male definitions and internalize them, the risk that actions will soon follow is present. This will only serve to perpetuate ignorance and fears about menstruation. As Landsberg (1974) reiterates "women internalized the disgust, dutifully

isolating themselves...the myths have not all died” (p. 36). These pervasive attitudes displayed in the advertisements towards menstruation only serve to promote negative ideas about women and menstruation. As well, many women in turn, accept as valid the messages from these advertisements and come to act in ways that reflect menstruation as something dirty and shameful. What is needed is more education and awareness of these covert messages in order for women to be able to resist them. In fact, what Berg & Coutts (1994) presented in their article “The Extended Curse: Being A Woman Everyday ” was that “many women perceive menstruation as a negative, shameful and femininity-detracting event because they personally define menstruation as an uncontrollable, untamable, natural function” (p. 19-20).

Of great concern is that women may define themselves the way the advertisement's do, and then strive to achieve the ideal portrayed in those advertisements. This, as evidenced, is an unattainable goal (Berg and Coutts, 1993). The concern is that women do not see that these negative definitions of menstruation stem from a patriarchal perspective. The women portrayed in the advertisements are fresh and carefree. They are active, dressed ‘prettily’ and are confident and secure. The underlying message is that they are this way because they are safe from discovery because they are using the right product from their system. They are FEM, (Berg and Coutts, 1994), the image of women who do not menstruate. They are the ‘girls’ who, according to the advertisements are fresh, clean, carefree and fun at all times. This is the ideal women must aspire to and more importantly, that most men want!

Future Research

It seems reasonable to suggest that research be carried out to take the ideas discovered in this research further. Indeed, at the present time, other researchers are looking at the impact of these menstrual product advertisements on 'The Emerging Female Identity,' in particular on young girls entering menarche (M. Simes, 1996).

Menstrual product advertisements are a rich source of information in which to examine a whole host of issues relating to women's health and for example, marketing strategies. In this study, a dataset was compiled of over 700 advertisements from which four categories were formed. The one set not examined in the particular study is that of MEDS (medicines etc. related to menstruation). Examining this dataset, would provide a fascinating insight into the medicalization of menstruation.

Marketing

It will be of interest to see what new products emerge in the menstrual product market as the invention of the 'systems' seems to have captured most of women's needs (needs contrived by the manufacturers). A new product recently introduced was "Personals". These were actually plastic 'panties'; to be worn as backup overnight or even during the day. Of interest to the reader will be the fact that many of these 'new and improved' products are merely older products that have been merely modified and reintroduced by the manufacturers. In this case, the sanitary panty originated in the latter part of the century, but only recently reemerged.

Media

What is the role of the media in forming attitudes about women? This is a question that must be asked when undertaking such a study “The mass media impacts us on a daily basis. This impact is all the more significant because most of it occurs without our conscious awareness” (Lindsey, 1997, p. 310). This is an age old question similar to the one that suggests advertisements are merely reflecting what society’s values are, and not creating them. It cannot be disputed however that the media only reinforces existing stereotypes. Lindsey (1997), in discussing the role of media, states “we form relatively rigid beliefs about what is considered ‘appropriate’ behavior for both boys and girls, women and men”(p. 310).

Coutts and Berg (1994), proposed that the media’s constructed meanings of menstruation and menstruating women would reflect and influence women’s social and political status. This is seen in the workplace when menstruation is used against women. Women’s credibility is diminished when jokes about ‘being on the rag’ are made. As a result women employ elaborate hiding and making sure rituals which can have implications for women’s mental health.

It might be argued that not all women fall prey to advertisers messages. However Berg and Coutts (1994) claim that the very fact that menstrual product advertisements exist is insulting to feminists and to women as a whole as the advertisements only tend to ‘further denigrate(s) women as persons’ (p. 20). Miller (1995) also agrees with this viewpoint stating, that it is not “the act of menstruation that marginalizes women...but rather the treatments of it as an act and a state to be hidden, which stems from deeply rooted social and ideological structures (p. 8).

Reclaiming Menstruation

What can be seen as emerging in today's feminist culture is a new attitude about menstruation. It states we must reclaim menstruation from its patriarchal definitions. A group of women in Chicago are working towards this new attitude by holding workshops entitled 'The Empress has Red Clothes: Reconstructing the Menstruation Paradigm'. In their workshops, the group read poems, sing songs and tell stories associated with menstruation. They then invite women to raise their hands to indicate if they are 'bleeding' at that moment and these women are then rewarded with pink stones. The purpose of their symposiums is " 'deconstructing' negative societal views of menstruation and using the arts to construct a culture of menstruation affirmation with its own language, rituals and stories". They believe that "women's need to be reconnected to menstruation is vital to women's health and well being". (Powell, S.P. & Guard, G.C., 1997). It is the emergence of attitudes and works like this that will be critical and necessary in helping to change and recreate the definitions and social construction of menstruation in our society.

What has occurred with respect to menstruation is that "once again women are the victims of male propaganda and faulty socialization" (Landsberg, 1974, p. 63) especially when it comes to attitudes towards menstruating women. As stated, many feminists believe that menstruation should be reclaimed from patriarchal definitions. They prefer ancient tales where menstruation was seen as powerful, magical and almost mystical. Reclaiming one's menstruation is being advocated by some feminists writers as it is apparent that many women are beginning to internalize these negative definitions and are viewing themselves as dirty, soiled or tainted. An

ideal place according to Culpepper (1979) is where menstruation has a “high social value as a special form of consciousness and in which there are celebrations surrounding menstruation and menopause” (p. 137).

This positive way of thinking about menstruation, is necessary to transform how menstruation is viewed by society. As Berg (1996) states, attesting to being a menstruator is the first step in “definitively rejecting patriarchal inspired definitions of periods and how they disqualify women from ‘being like men’”(p. 10).

Golub (1992), as mentioned, claims that what is needed in society is for women to acknowledge the sometimes debilitating effects of menstruation, then perhaps, menstruation would be less stigmatized and more accepted. She wants periods to be seen as normative, as well as anything associated with having a period; the cramps, bloating, etc. In fact, Berg (1996) advocates the possibility of altered work patterns; such as working at reduced capacity or not at all during menses if required. This, he feels should be possible without the risk of it being used to discredit women, by being exclusionary or discriminating.

Conclusions

How menstruation is viewed and portrayed in advertisements will probably never change, therefore it is up to feminist writers and researchers to reclaim and redefine the reality of menstruation. It would be an unattainable utopian ideal to believe that if women wrote the advertisements the language would be different, because as we all know well, patriarchy lives on and continues to influence daily lives. It would be wonderful if menstruation was portrayed in the advertisements as something not dirty albeit messy, but as essential and primary to our roles as women. Then and only then, would we be able to reclaim, recreate and free women from

feeling the need to use their menstrual management kits daily, be considered perpetually dirty, and most importantly, be banished to their mental menstrual huts as a result of society and their own expectations. It is this fear of discovery, and subsequent discreditation, that must be banished from the mind set of society. To avoid, feeling as if, as Weideger (1978, p. 12 as cited in Treneman, 1989) states "... we have constructed menstrual huts around our hearts and minds and the building blocks of these huts are shame and guilt" (p. 162).

Berg (1996) summarizes the core variable of 'always menstruator' by stating how "any menstrual huts that exist today exist because we create them by subscription to secrecy at all costs" (p. 11). Although women are no longer banished to menstrual huts, they are still unable to affirm the biological reality of menstruation. They must be ever vigilant in denying that they menstruate due to fears of being ostracized and discredited. Such are the mental menstrual huts which influence and affect many contemporary women.

This research's aim was to document and report on the shifts and trends occurring historically with the goal to define what it means to be a menstruating women as well as documenting the social construction of the menses over the years. The irony evidenced here is that the product name 'Always' seems to epitomize what seems to be occurring in menstrual product advertisements; women are *Always Menstruators*.

REFERENCES

- Bancroft, J. (1995). The menstrual cycle and the well being of women. Social Science Medicine, 41, (6), 785-791.
- Berg, D. H. (1996). Reflections on being a menstruator. Unpublished manuscript. University of Manitoba.
- Berg, D. H. & Coutts, L. B. (1993). Virginitiy and tampons: The beginner myth as a case of alteration. Health Care for Women International, 14, 27-38.
- Berg, D. H. & Coutts, L. B. (1994). The extended curse: Being a woman every day. Health Care for Women International, 15, 11-22.
- Berger, P. & Luckmann, T. (1966). The social construction of reality. USA: Anchor books.
- Blume, J. (1970). Are you there God? It's me Margaret. New York: Bradbury Press.
- Brownmiller, S. (1984). Femininity. New York: Fawcett Columbine.
- Brumberg, J. J. (1993). "Something happens to girls": Menarche and the emergence of the modern American hygienic imperative. Journal of the History of Sexuality, 4, (1), 99-127.
- Bullough, V. L. (1980). Technology and female sexuality and physiology: Some implications. The Journal of Sex Research, 16, (1), 59-71.
- Carefree Ad. Homemaker Magazine April 1997. p. 65
- Cayleff, S. E. (1992). She was rendered incapacitated by menstrual difficulties: Historical perspectives on perceived intellectual and physiological impairment among

menstruating women. In A. J. Dan & L.L. Lewis (Eds.) (1992). Menstrual health in women's lives. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Charmaz, K. (1983). The grounded theory method: An explication and interpretation. In R. Emerson (Ed.) Contemporary field research. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

Coutts, L. B. & Berg, D. H. (1993). The portrayal of the menstruating woman in menstrual product advertisements. Health Care for Women International, 14, 179-191.

Culpepper, E. E. (1979). Exploring menstrual attitudes. In R. Hubbard, M. S. Henefin, & B. Fried (eds.), Women looking at biology looking at women. Mass.: Shenckman Publishing Co.

de Beauvoir, S. (1952). The second sex. New York: Vintage Books.

Delaney, J., Lupton, M. J., & Toth, E. (1988). The curse: A cultural history of menstruation. (Revised ed.). Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Ernster, V.L. (1975). American menstrual expressions. Sex Roles, 1 (1) pp. 3-13.

Frazer, J. G. (1922). The golden bough: A study in magic and religion. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

George, A., & Murcott, A. (1992). Research note: Monthly strategies for discretion: Shopping for sanitary towels and tampons. The Sociological Review. 146-162.

Glaser, B. G. (1978). Theoretical sensitivity. Mill Valley, Calif.: Sociology Press.

Glaser, B. G. & Strauss, A. L. (1967). The discovery of grounded theory. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Goffman, E. (1961). Asylums. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Golub, S. (1992). Periods: From menarche to menopause. California: Sage Publications.

Hunter College Women's Collective (1983). Women's realities, women's choices. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hutchinson, S. (1986). Grounded theory: The method. In P. L. Munhall & C. J. Oiler, (Eds.). Nursing research : A qualitative perspective. Norwalk, CN: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Hyde, J. S. (1985). Half the human experience: The psychology of women. Toronto: D.C. Heath and Co.

Landsberg, M. (1974). Unmasking "the curse": Or, how did such a perfectly (and, in fact, beneficial) function get to be such a terrible shame? Chatelaine. February, 36-37, 63-64.

Laws, S. (1990). Issues of blood: The politics of menstruation. Great Britain: Macmillan.

Lindsey, L. L. (1997). Gender roles: A sociological perspective. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Lovering, K.M. (1995). The bleeding body: Adolescents talk about menstruation. In S. Wilkinson & C. Kitzinger Feminism and discourse: Psychological perspectives. London: Sage.

Mackie, M. (1985). Constructing women and men: Gender socialization. Toronto: Holt Rinehart and Winston Ltd.

McKeever, P. (1984). The perception of menstrual shame: Implications and directions. Women and Health, 9, 33-47.

Miller, M. (1995). Wrapping and unwrapping feminine protection in Japan. Paper presented at the International Conference of Eastern Studies. Tokyo. Japan.

Modest Advertisement. Mademoiselle. August 1970. P. 105.

Nicolson, P. (1995). The menstrual cycle, science and femininity: Assumptions underlying menstrual cycle research. Social Science Medicine, 41, (6), 779-784.

Patterson, E. T., & Hale, E. S. (1985). Making sure: Integrating menstrual care practices into daily living. Advances in Nursing Science, 7,(3), 18-31.

Powell, S.P. & Guard, G.C. (1997). The empress has red clothes: Reconstructing the menstruation paradigm. Conference Proceedings. Society for Menstrual Cycle Research. Chicago.

Schroeder, F. E. H. (1976). Feminine hygiene, fashion and the emancipation of American women. Journal of American Studies, 17, 101-110.

Simes, M. R. (1997). Menarche and the emerging female identity. Unpublished thesis. University of Manitoba.

Strong-Boag, V. (1988). The new day recalled: Lives of girls and women in English Canada: 1919-1939. Canada: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd.

Tan, A. (1991). The kitchen god's wife. New York: Ivy Books.

Treneman, A. (1989). Cashing in on the curse: Advertising and the menstrual taboo. In L. Gamman & M. Marshment (Eds.). The female gaze. London: Woman's Press.