

The Social Construction
of the
Menstruating Woman

by
La Dawn Block Coutts

A Thesis
submitted in Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Science
in the Department of Family Studies

University of Manitoba
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MENSTRUATING WOMAN

BY

LA DAWN BLOCK COUTTS

A thesis 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

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Abstract

Based on the notion that menstrual product advertisements act as mediators of a subset of femininity meanings linked to the phenomenon of menstruation, an adapted grounded theory methodology was used to generate a theory explaining the socially constructed experiential realities of contemporary women. Specifically, this theory aims to explain the manner in which women define menstruation and their status as 'menstruating woman'. The initial data were drawn from an opportunistic sample of Chatelaine, Flare, and Cosmopolitan magazine issues from July 1989, to July 1990. From these 36 issues, a sub-sample of 54 nonredundant advertisements were analyzed. A second source of data, comprised of 24 advertisements, were obtained from a selective sample of Chatelaine, Mademoiselle, Glamour, and Vogue magazine issues dating from the 1930's through to the 1980's. As the conceptual categories and themes became apparent in the contemporary advertisements, they were compared conceptually with the data generated from the historical advertisements. Comparative conceptual analyses led the researcher to conclude that women, in an attempt to avoid menstrual discovery, employ a complex menstrual management system, which often includes feminized menstrual products, to effectively serve as an antidote for a tainted state of femininity.

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The Social Construction of the Menstruating Woman

Human beings experience themselves as body and as **possessor** of body (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). However, in Western culture, humans have been socialized about "the indecency of the human body and its natural functions" (Thompson, 1983). They have defined themselves by emphasizing themselves as the possessor of body (the socialized identity) and devaluing the self as body (as animal). This has been problematic as human's "animality is transformed in socialization, but it is not abolished" (Berger & Luckmann, p. 180). Therefore, regardless of how advanced one's culture has become, one's stomach still growls when one is hungry (Berger & Luckmann).

Denial or avoidance of self as body is more difficult for females than it is for males, as women have more intimate contact with the parts of the body that have socially defined negative connotations. As a result, women's body consciousness is more intense than that of men (Fisher, 1973). Women are more aware of their physiological functions and bodily changes than are men. These bodily changes include menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, nursing, and menopause (Fisher, 1973). Menstruation in particular forces women to adapt to the "recurrent uncontrollable escape of blood from a body opening", and to "assimilate this repeated experience into her body concept" (Fisher, p.47).

The Politics of the Female Body

The bodily functions of women have effectively been used as a classification tool to determine the roles available to them in North American culture. Traditionally it has been assumed that the physiological nature of women determined the role of a woman as a wife, a childbearer, and a homemaker, rather than as an active contributor to society's economic well-being (Mager Stellman, 1977). Traditional beliefs dictated that women's primary roles and social relations were clearly "circumscribed by her childbearing function" (O'Brien, 1981, p.

20). The notion that "biology is destiny" prevailed and effectively restricted women from "participating in social life on equal terms with men" (p. 20). However, with the advent of the Second World War, women were temporarily encouraged to enter the work force, although it was generally believed that they would willingly resume the primary roles of mother and housekeeper upon return of the war veterans (Honey, 1984).

In the last half century, an increasing number of women have gained access to, and established credibility in, the paid labour force. From 1960 to 1980, the number of women in the work force virtually doubled, rising from 23 million to nearly 45 million. By 1980, more than half the adult female population was in the paid labour force (Tschirhart Sanford & Donovan, 1985). Today, the proportion of American women who hold management, executive or administrative positions in organizations is estimated to be 38% (Powell, 1988).

The increase in women's labour force participation has been reflected through mass media propaganda filled with images of successful executive women (Tschirhart Sanford & Donovan, 1985). However, the work reality of women in the white-collar work force appears to be more problematic than the media depictions suggest. Women who have successfully gained access to traditionally male-dominated professions are confronted with numerous social problems on the job. These problems include sex-role stereotypes (Bhatnagar, 1988; Colwill, 1982, 1985; Dipboyle, 1985; Freeman, 1988, & Powell, 1988) and sex discrimination (Bhatnagar, 1988; Blau & Ferber, 1985; Blum & Smith, 1988; Colwill, 1982, 1985; Katz, 1987).

Terborg (1977) stated that women who wish to achieve professional success are expected to substitute male sex-role characteristics for traditional female sex-role characteristics. In order to evade feminine sex-role stereotypes, many women have attempted to deny or conceal prominent personality and physical characteristics that may accentuate their femininity (Heilman & Sarawatari, 1979). Thus, many women who

have attained professional status play down their femininity by donning male-tailored suits, managing assertively, and behaving like males, in an attempt to avoid the nurturant, passive, or caring character attributes associated with femininity (Dipboyle, 1985).

Likewise, as women have gained access into the labour force, they have increasingly had to manage, control or deny their sex-specific physiological functions. The concealment of bodily functions from men may occur in various forms, such as concealing one's pregnancy (Morrison, White & Velsor, 1987) or denying one's menstrual cycle in order to avoid recognition and public discovery of one's biological femininity. This concealment also serves to evade the potential risk of having one's performance attributed to one's biological femininity. To date, women's increased equality in terms of labour participation, has coincided with a decreased recognition and decreased acceptance of a woman's physiological functions.

The Politics of Menstruation

This paper addresses the problems of biology relative to women's current political status. The sex-specific physiological functions of women have long been viewed as a deterrent to women's successful integration into the professional work force. North American society appears to be instilled with a fear that attention paid to bodily functions and bodily changes, menstruation in particular, will in some way affect economic productivity and efficiency (Delaney, Lupton & Toth, 1988).

The results stemming from this problematic view of biology are as follows: First, women remain susceptible to accusations of incompetence within the work place. Second, a woman's biology continues to be perceived as a possible deterrent to not only the successful competition of women with men but also to the successful competition of the organization.

Although the number of women entering the professional work force is increasing, the corporate or organizational culture remains male-like. Women continue to be pressured into abandoning, or at very least, bridling their femaleness. Wax (1957) suggested that women who associate frequently with men at work may need to neutralize their biological attributes, to ensure that they are perceived to be at work in a nonsexual capacity. Today, women in the business world are cautioned to avoid emphasising frivolity or breasts, the most visible sign of femininity, in the work place (Molloy, 1977). Rather, women are encouraged to dress in a manner that emphasises vertical, angular lines and a straight silhouette (Powell, 1988), a shape more easily recognizable as masculine.

Women must attend to more bodily concerns than men. The monthly menstrual cycle in particular represents a repetitive validation of a woman's femininity (Fisher, 1973), an asset not valued in today's work world. Thus, it appears that women are encouraged by the media to choose an alternative method of menstrual management, which is denial of its existence.

The present study was modelled after Chernin's (1981) theory that cultural definitions of the ideal female body type changes due to political reasons. Likewise, one may postulate that the current socially constructed meanings and definitions of menstruation and, the menstruating woman, as depicted in the mass media, reflect the political status of women today.

Phenomenology

The research for this paper was conducted within a phenomenological theoretical framework. Phenomenology is an approach committed to the analysis of the subjective reality of the taken-for-granted nature of everyday life (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Chapman & Maclean, 1990). The primary concern is directed towards an

understanding of human behaviour and meanings that are uncovered by studying human beings' inner world of experiences (Tiryakian, 1965).

Phenomenology embodies three primary propositions: (a) society is a human construct, (b) society is an objective reality, and (c) people are a social product. The most critical underlying assumption in this perspective is that people "together produce a human environment, with the totality of its socio-cultural and psychological formations" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 51). The formulations that produce social order exist as a product of human activity, rather than simply as a by-product of the human biological constitution. Explicitly, society and the institutions that comprise it are constructed by humans and are the by-products of human interaction. The meanings, values, norms and beliefs attached to the various institutions of school, work, family, and religion are created through (a) shared typifications of habitualized actions, and (b) human interaction (Berger & Luckmann).

The process of habitualization necessarily precedes the creation of institutions, as actions frequently performed must become integrated into a recognizable pattern that will enable proficient future performances. It is through the habitualization of actions that meanings become attached to one's activity. Human interaction enables shared meanings to develop, and consequently, generates rules of conduct and routines to which the members of society abide.

The Dominant Culture and Subuniverses of Meaning

Over time, the shared constructed meanings associated with the institution crystallize, and "act back" on the members of the society. Specifically, these created meanings become an objectified reality, and are perceived by individuals as truths (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Finally, just as human interaction created the shared meanings that come to constitute the culture of the society or organization, human interaction also ensures that the socially constructed meanings will be passed from generation to generation.

The rules for conduct are "apprehended routinely" into the reality of everyday life (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p.24). Thus, the fact that "I know" that menstruation is a recurring illness that renders women debilitated becomes a self-evident truth that "does not require additional verification" (p. 23). Likewise, social encounters with a menstruating woman in everyday life will become typical, in the sense that one will not expect a menstruating woman to engage in dancing, horseback riding, or swimming.

The values, norms and shared beliefs that make up a society's culture are embodied in, and protected by, social institutions, which serve to control human conduct by establishing predefined acceptable patterns of conduct. Sanctions are developed when the institutional processes of control are less than adequate. For example, to ensure that males did not have sexual relations with a menstruating woman, the Judean-Christian scriptures ruled that, "If a man lies with a woman during her monthly period and has sexual relations with her...both of them must be cut off from their people" (Leviticus 15:19). The controlling efficacy of such sanctions was of a secondary nature. Breaking the menstrual taboo would not likely occur, as it was outside the boundary of behavioral alternatives afforded to individual members of that dominant culture (Delaney et al., 1988).

A culture may be defined as "the social and religious structures and intellectual and artistic manifestations etc. that characterize a society" (The New Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language, 1988, p. 235). In essence, culture includes all the constructed beliefs, truths, and typifications that occur in a common objectified "stock of knowledge" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). In addition, the dominant culture plays host to numerous subuniverses of meaning, which "may be socially structured by various criteria--sex, age, occupation, religious inclination, aesthetic taste, and so on" (p. 85).

These subuniverses of meanings are created and maintained by a particular group of individuals to whom the created meanings have become objectified truths. Conflict may occur if the truths of a particular subuniverse do not coincide with the truths of either another subuniverse or with the dominant culture.

Menstruation and Subuniverses of Meanings

Presently, there are various conflicting menstrual subuniverses of meanings in North American culture. To illustrate, the subuniverse of psychology may believe that the true cause of menstrual pain is rooted in psychological pathology, whereas members of the medicine subuniverse may believe that physiological pathology is the root of menstrual pain. Each subuniverse will not only attempt to discredit the other, but also will present their specific treatment of menstrual pain as the true treatment.

Likewise, women in our society who view menstrual pain from a medical perspective will likely treat the symptoms with medicinal remedies, while those women who elect to view menstrual pain from a psychological perspective may seek counselling or therapy to alleviate menstrual pain. Thus, it becomes apparent that with the establishment of different subuniverses of meanings, "a variety of perspectives on the total society emerges, each viewing the latter from the angle of one subuniverse" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 86).

As the subuniverses develop, they become increasingly esoteric and inaccessible in nature. Unless one is "properly initiated into their mysteries" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 87) one will remain an outsider. This shroud of secrecy enables the subuniverse to preserve its legitimacy. The meanings of the subuniverse must be protected from outsiders desiring to become insiders, and, simultaneously, keep insiders from wishing to become outsiders.

Similarly, the socially constructed nature of the menstrual cycle and the many menstrual-related behaviours, such as absenteeism, sanitary

protection, and mood swings, are strongly influenced by social institutions, beliefs, or contextual/environmental influences (Dan & Leppa, 1988). Menstruation conjures different social meanings and a different language for each of the sex-linked subuniverses. Although women's attitudes and beliefs with regard to menstruation change in response to the sociocultural climate, they also reflect their experiences of menstrual symptoms (Woods, Kramer, Dery, & Most, 1982).

The female menstrual subuniverse. For women, the experience of menstruation is highly variable (Sloane, 1980). For some women menstruation is positively associated with increased energy (Alagna & Hamilton, 1986; Parlee, 1982) and/or increased sexuality (Warner & Bancroft, 1988) and it may be referred to as "my friend" or "my favourite aunt" (Hays, 1987). For others, menstruation is negatively associated with painful abdominal cramps (Abplanalp, Donnelly, & Rose, 1979; Alagna & Hamilton, 1980; Brooks, Ruble, & Clark, 1977; Busch, Costa, Whitehead, & Heller, 1988) or severe mood swings (Altemus, Wexler, & Boulis, 1989; Bains & Slade, 1988; Collins, Eneroth, & Landgren, 1985; Reynolds, 1969) and it may be referred to by women as "the curse" (Hays, 1987).

The male menstrual subuniverse. For men, however, the meanings and language associated with menstruation are not so variable. In general, men attribute negative meanings to menstruation. A woman becomes irrational, irritable, and dirty, because it is defined by men as due to her being "on the rag" (Hays, 1987). Conversely, other men may simply avoid acknowledging a woman's menstrual status. Some men may believe that menstruation is a women's issue that does not concern them, preferring to maintain a general ignorance of menstrual processes, management, and possible effects.

Changing Subuniverses of Meaning

It is important to note that the socially constructed meanings inherent to our cultural construction of reality, "depends upon the

embodiment of minds in physical forms, and those forms must have something to do with the conceptual worlds that are (relatively) arbitrarily constructed..." (Buckley & Gottlieb, 1988, p.47). Moreover, the meanings that are culturally attributed to the human body and its processes, including menstruation, must have something to do with those processes. Buckley and Gottlieb suggested that menstrual symbolism is a mental product of social requisites. Thus, the meanings associated with various functions of the human body are not static but are changed by people's culturally shaped conceptions of it.

To illustrate, Delaney et al. (1988) stated that the advertising image of the menstruating woman has changed in the past 70 years in response to national needs and ideology. For example, "according to whether women are wanted in the home or in the war plant," menstruating women's image differed (Delaney et al., p. 129). However, the underlying messages have been consistent, playing on both hopes and fears: "hopes that the woman will not have to change her ordinary life too much during 'that time of the month'; fears of betrayal by dripping blood, revealing outlines, or odors." (Delaney et al., p. 129)

The phenomenological process of re-socialization, known as alternation (Berger & Luckmann, 1967), is responsible for the process enabling meanings to change. The process of alternation resembles primary socialization in that person's experience a type of conversion, whereby the "then I thought..." becomes "now I know" (p. 160). What is necessary for alternation to occur is a "radical reinterpretation of the meaning" (p.160) of past events.

In order for alternation to be successful, the individual must replicate strong affective identification with a new socializing agent. This socializing agent is responsible for promoting the subuniverse of meanings associated with the new reality, with the "now I know".

The process of alternation is different from primary socialization. Through alternation, persons must cope with dismantling

the preceding structures of their subjective reality. According to Berger and Luckmann (1967), the critical condition for the achievement of alternation is the availability of an effective plausibility structure, which embodies the new, dominant socializing agent.

A new plausibility structure serves as a mediator of transformation by consistently depicting persons with whom one can establish an affective identification. Thus, the truths of the new reality are maintained, internalized, and objectified.

The pertinent issue related to phenomenological theory and to this research was the portrayal of the media's (the socializing agent) constructed meanings of menstruation and the menstruating woman within the dominant culture. In particular, this investigation addressed the manner in which the media presents menstruation as a "hygienic crisis" that can only be managed effectively with the use of specialized products.

More importantly, as medicine has paid increasing attention to the facts of the menstrual cycle, the medical excuses for the exclusion or isolation of women from public life has waned (Delaney et al., 1988). However, the notion that "menstruation was bad for business gained in popularity." (Delaney et al., p. 55) The media has benefitted from the basic tenet that, "the menstrual cycle threatens the health of American capitalism" (p. 55). Magazine advertisements in particular have intensified their presentations of menstruation as a bothersome event that can be made invisible, so as not to interfere in any way with the activities of one's everyday life. As such, menstruation continues to be depicted as a potentially discrediting physiological function that must be hidden and ostensibly denied in order for women to participate fully in regular living, and ultimately to become more male-like.

Literature Review

The Socially Constructed Definitions of Men and Women

Sex differences (1920's to 1930's). Traditional beliefs in masculine superiority have rested upon the notion that only men had the natural aptitude to perform the more prestigious societal tasks. Women's inferior role was made viable by recognizing that women had aptitude for certain tasks that men could not perform. These beliefs became self-fulfilling rather than rigidly imposed (Turner, 1970). The different socializing experiences of males and females (Bernard, 1985) rendered institutionally by sex-segregated schools and special curricula helped keep these sex-specific truths alive (Turner, 1970).

It was self-evident that males and females should not be judged by the same rules, as a male was considered "a creature of interest and ambition...he seeks for fame, for fortune, for space in the world's thoughts, and dominion over his fellow man" (Brain, 1979, p. 40). The "fact" that males embodied qualities of rationality, nonconformity, strength, ambition, motivation, and aggressiveness (Turner, 1970) naturally placed them in a role of dominance.

In contrast to the animality of women, as evidenced in their reliance on intuitive knowledge, their inability to restrain emotions, their irrationality, and their proneness to weep or scream (Brain, 1979) restricted them from positions of power or authority. Rather, "woman's whole life is a history of affections" (Brain, p.40), centered around ministering to the needs of those at home, "in soothing caresses over the cradle, and the death-bed of the household" (p.40). The female's sympathetic nature, purity of mind (Jefferis, Nichols, Ozorg, & Drake, 1928), emotionality, concern with social accommodation, receptiveness, and acquiescence, seemed naturally better adapted to the sensitive and patient care and cultivation of children and homelife (Turner, 1970).

In order to satisfy a compelling need to love, and to be loved, a woman of the 1920's and 1930's needed to "cultivate her intellectual

gifts, be interesting and entertaining in society, and practical and helpful in the home" (Jefferis et al., 1928, p. 51). To ensure the on going success of family life, women were obliged to shower their husband's with attention, cultivate personal attractiveness, study their husband's character, and practice economy (Jefferis et al., 1928, p. 77-78). It was crucial that the husband not be distracted with the annoyances of home "To toil hard for bread, to fight the wolf from the door, to resist impatient creditors, to struggle against complaining pride at home, is too much to ask from a man" (p. 80).

Restricted to activities in the home and community, however, was not considered by women to be their "oppressive lot in life". Women accepted the philosophy that they did not possess the intellectual and rational qualities necessary to compete with, or understand, the work world of men. Likewise, both men and women knew, that only women were capable of ensuring the healthy growth and maintenance of family and community life (Turner, 1970).

Differences in sexual behaviour. Not only were women and men defined differently in terms of behaviour, role and aptitude but also in terms of sexual behaviour. Unlike women, men lived a daily struggle to control sexual desires, urges, and power (Brain, 1979). The suppression of a man's sexual appetite was never complete. Men were cautioned to avoid tempting situations by "never walking into the fire when you know it's burning" (Jefferis, et al., 1928). Translated, this meant that men were to avoid being alone with women, as they could not trust themselves to restrain their sexual urges.

Conversely, women were regarded as pure and virginal, engaging in sexual relations not for personal pleasure but for the purpose of procreation or out of a sense of duty to their husbands (Turner, 1970). It was believed that women were more dependent upon actual experience or social teaching to seek sexual stimulation and release. The awareness

and desire for female sexual release was not considered to be constitutionally driven as it was for males (Turner, 1970).

Women, aware of their power to ignite male sexual urges, avoided situations wherein they might inadvertently lead a male into sexual temptation. Each gender adhered to the rules governing their sex-linked life space.

Upon marriage, men were cautioned not to forget "the years of sheltered innocence and the generations of modesty and seclusion which lie behind his bride" (Jefferis et al., 1928, p. 74). Likewise, women were reminded of their duty to satisfy their husband's sexual needs and to avoid withholding sexual favours in order to attain bargaining power over the decision making process (Turner, 1970).

Just as males were considered the aggressor and females the passive in the public world, males were seen as offensive and females defensive in the realm of sexuality. Women were only assured the protection of their femininity by "extracting the protective rather than the exploitive" (Turner, 1970, p. 330) sexual attitudes from males.

Changing Definitions of Women

1940's. With the advent of the Second World War women were actively recruited to the male world of office, factory, trade and business. Women traded in their skirts and aprons for slacks and male uniforms. Government propaganda urged women to enter the workforce and support their men at the front (Honey, 1984). Women were portrayed as hardworking, loyal, competent, and feminine.

The girls in the WAVE are real American girls--the kind who love parties and pretty clothes, and who are good at cooking and sewing too. They're real feminine, and proud of it (Honey, 1984, p. 114).

Nearing the end of the War, however, women were encouraged to refocus their energy to their instinctual orientation to child-bearing

and child care. Women were expected to give back their war time careers to the returning war veterans.

1950's to 1960's. Just as women were portrayed as a convenient symbol of collective strength during the War, the 1950's redefined the woman as the "embodiment of peace: a tender, nurturant family woman" (Honey, 1984, p. 99). Fashion reinforced this image of woman as motherly and nurturant, and the breast, "the pure fountain of maternal bosom" (Dingwall, 1957, p. 185), remained women's key fashion tool.

Although women of the 1950's and early 1960's were generally subordinate to men and were not in a position to challenge their authority (Tshirhart Sanford & Donovan, 1985), women did possess a potentially powerful resource, their femininity (Turner, 1970). Women who sought to define the feminine ideal of the era, that of a voluptuous, sexy woman, were afforded the opportunity to dominate and manipulate men through their feminine prowess.

The art of moulding a man into a figure who looks and thinks of himself as the epitome of power and dependence, whose every word and action can be controlled by his wife, receives much attention (Turner, 1970, p. 309).

The healthy economic climate of the post-war period allowed many women to pursue what Talcott Parsons labelled "the glamour role" (Parsons, 1954). Similar to turn of the century women, wives cultivated social graces, personal attractiveness, and personal and sexual responsiveness, in order to act as a good hostess to guests, and a refreshing, stimulating companion to one's husband (Turner, 1970).

1970's. Between 1966 and 1982, the Canadian female labour force grew by 119.4% (Lips & Colwill, 1988). The most pertinent factor in this decades growth was the increase in labour force participation by married women 25 years of age and over (Lips & Colwill, p. 57). Moreover, attitudes towards women in the workforce were changing. For example, between 1970 and 1982 Census data showed that the number of

respondents who approved of working mothers rose from 13% to 38% (Lips & Colwill).

The ideal female look was reminiscent of the 1920's, with thin, boyish figures replacing the curvaceous "sweater-girl" silhouette of the forties and fifties (Tschirhart Sanford & Donovan, 1985). However, although women were gaining increased access and credibility in the work world, they were still viewed as being first and foremost intrinsically committed to family. It was this male-perceived limited commitment, a natural byproduct of women's reproductive potential, that hindered their direct and successful competition with men (Turner, 1970).

1980's. By 1980, more than half the adult female population in the United States was in the work force (Tschirhart Sanford & Donovan, 1985). Most importantly, the proportion of women gaining access to managerial positions was increasing. In 1970, the proportion of American female managers was 16%, or one in every six. By 1980, it was 26%, and by 1987, it had increased to 38% (Powell, 1988). However, the proportion of American women in top management positions today is estimated to be only 2% (Powell). Among the 4,012 highest-paid people on Fortune Magazine's 1990 list of the largest publicly held American service and industrial companies, only 19 are women (Wente, 1990).

By 1982, 86.2% of single Canadian women between the ages of 25 to 34, and 61% of their married counterparts, were employed. By 1988, women represented 41% of the labour force; most importantly, almost half of all women with children under the age of three were employed (Lips & Colwill, 1988). In Canada today only nine major Canadian companies are headed by women (Wente, 1990), and the percentage of female directors on Canadian corporate boards is only 5.8% (Wente, 1990).

Although women have increased their involvement in traditionally male-dominated professions, they do not generally enjoy the career mobility that men do (Blum & Smith, 1988; Katz, 1987; Powell, 1988, Terborg, 1977). One reason cited for this disparity in career access

and mobility is that few women are qualified for top management positions (Terborg, 1977). Lack of qualification does not stem from lack of potential for the job, but rather from the cumulative effects of past sex discrimination and sex stereotypes that have prevented women from cultivating the necessary skills and job experience (Terborg, 1977).

The "Otherness" of Women

In examining recent North American cultural history, it becomes evident that males have predominately occupied the public sphere and females predominately occupied the private sphere. In particular, the corporate subuniverse or culture, defined as " a set of commonly held attitudes, values and beliefs that guide the behaviour of an organizations members" (Martin, 1985, p. 148) has been created and perpetuated by men (Forish & Goldman, 1981).

From a phenomenological perspective, women are outsiders to the male corporate subuniverse. Forish and Goldman (1981) suggested that outsiders suffer from their otherness; insiders are unsure of how to categorize outsiders, apart from prevalent stereotypes, and as a result, outsiders are frequently misjudged. Likewise, the outsider, frustrated by a world which does not receive him/her, intensely seeks to become an insider.

There are numerous barriers constructed to keep women from becoming insiders of the corporate subuniverse. In addition to sex discrimination and sex stereotypes, Bhnatnagar (1988) stated that unavailability of mentors, tokenism, and social isolation, consisting of loneliness, lack of contact with influential others, and unavailability of "soft information", can impede a woman's effectiveness once a position has been secured.

In order to become an insider, one must become insider-like. Women attempting to enter the corporate subuniverse must become male-like by adopting stereotypic masculine power strategies (Colwill, 1987;

Gruber & White, 1986), the male vernacular (Colwill & Sztaba, 1986), and by attempting to mask their feminine identity (Solomon & Douglas, 1985).

Problematic power strategies. In order to achieve power in the organization, women are encouraged to exert power directly and aggressively; bargain with concrete resources, such as time, money, knowledge or physical strength; and to stress their competence when trying to influence others (Colwill, 1987; 1985). Likewise, they are cautioned to avoid using feminine power techniques, such as compromising, pleading or begging; using flattery, deceit, or lies; or feigning helplessness (Gruber & White, 1986).

Actual adoption of masculine strategies may be problematic, as constructed barriers including social isolation, tokenism, and stereotypes keep women outside of the organization. These barriers effectively impede women's power to secure and mobilize resources, use them effectively as bargaining tools, and thus prove themselves competent in influencing others (Colwill, 1987).

Problematic vernacular. The cultural history of sex differences has also been manifested in the development of two sex-distinct languages. Women, who have historically been placed in subordinate positions to men, have learned to use the "language of the powerless--hesitant, apologetic speech designed not to offend or threaten their superiors" (Colwill & Sztaba, 1986, p. 64). This "female language" is often characterized by polite forms of speech, tag questions, qualifying statements, and self-depreciation. Colwill and Sztaba (1986) suggest that women who wish to succeed in today's business world ought to adopt a more direct, less emotional, more succinct "male language".

Problematic physical attributes. Finally, women are encouraged to play down their feminine identity (Solomon & Douglas, 1985), and as a result, they are increasingly being typecast as sexless (Tschirhart Sanford & Donovan, 1985). The view of the successful career woman as asexual may be aided by the manner in which females in the corporate

world attempt to exert control over the guise in which they appear before others.

Goffman (1965) suggested that people attempt to exert control over their personal front through the use of a conceptual "identity kit". One's identity kit typically includes special garments, cosmetics, hairstyles and accessories.

To illustrate, one might envision a male corporate banker to be dressed in a navy blue suit, white shirt, and black shoes; sporting a short haircut; round, gold-framed glasses; and carrying a black leather briefcase. In North American culture, this uniform symbolizes stereotypic attributes associated with bankers, attributes such as conservatism, competitiveness, power and masculinity.

The female banker, striving to embody the stereotypic attributes associated with male corporate bankers, may dress in a dark tailored suit, white blouse, and dark conservative shoes; sport a short haircut; wear gold-rimmed glasses; and carry a black leather briefcase. In essence, the female's identity kit will attempt to ensure that physical attributes associated with femininity are concealed and controlled in the workplace.

Wax (1957) suggested that a working woman must try to "minimize her natural shape, smell, color, texture, and movement" (p. 592) and emphasize impersonality and neutrality. Wax stated that employed women must use cosmetic and grooming tools "vigorously for the purposes of restraint and control" (p. 592) to avoid exposure of one's femininity.

Williams (1977) stated that a woman in business is judged by appearance and "should attempt to convey a conservative image" (P. 170). Likewise, Sweat and Zentner (1985) suggested that women refrain from dramatic or romantic modes of dress and substitute a more classic or androgenous image with respect to apparel.

Cash (1985) stated that certain physical appearance cues, such as "shorter, simpler hairstyles" (p. 345) were reportedly associated with

women of perceived managerial status. "Longer hair,...and extreme or unnatural looking colors", were reportedly physical appearance cues associated with women of nonmanagerial status. Similarly, Blaisdell and Coutts (1990) found that subjects reportedly perceived stimulus women with short hair as possessing more expert, legitimate and coercive power, which are defined by French and Ravens (1959) as social bases of power.

Finally, Cash, Gillian and Burns (1977) stated that unlike male job candidates, being physically attractive does not necessarily aid female job candidates. Cash et al. found that physical attractiveness affects recruitment decisions to the advantage of good-looking candidates, "unless they seek jobs considered inappropriate for their sex" (p. 309).

To conclude, this literature suggests that as women continue to enter traditionally male-dominated sectors of the labour force, they are increasingly encouraged to deny or conceal any visible signs of their femininity. The sexist rules governing impression management illustrate the convoluted nature of attractiveness. Explicitly, men are rewarded for conforming to the cultural ideals of attractiveness in both a social and work milieu, whereas women are rewarded for conforming to the cultural ideals of attractiveness only in the social milieu and are pressured to reject these standards within a work milieu.

It would appear that women choosing to enter traditionally male-dominated careers and vocations are encouraged to adopt a more masculine identity. Just as women employ identity kits to manage their outward appearance, women incorporate menstrual-related products into their kits to manage the stigma of menstruation, the most significant reminder of their femininity (Fisher, 1973).

The Menstruating Woman

Many career-committed women attempt to avoid emphasising any personal attributes that might remind the corporate world of their

otherness. Those who do elect to combine both career and family must work to ensure that their personal lives are disguised and kept secret (Morrison et al., 1987). Morrison et al. stated that the pursuit of personal or family oriented goals may be riskier for women, as women are "scrutinized more closely than men, and they are judged on their personal life as well as their job performance" (p. 113). These authors suggested that if women indicate that their personal life is important, senior executives may become suspicious that family may take precedence over career and consequently career advancement may be restrained.

Pregnancy, however, is inevitably not disguisable, and it can result in a devastating regression in perceived authority. "It's the most female thing you can do" (Morrison et al., 1987, p.114). A woman's monthly period may also act as a reminder of the female reproductive potential, and the discovery of a woman's menstrual status may serve as a potential risk for disqualification.

Powell (1988) noted that women in management tended not to report incidences of physical or stress-related illnesses, as they believe they cannot afford to be ill. One suspects that if attempts are made to conceal migraine headaches, a condition that can plague both males and females, for fear of being labelled weak or incompetent, any possible physical or psychological effects of menstruation would require stringent concealment.

The menstrual stigma. Because the male subuniverse has been successful at imposing its meanings of menstruation onto the work subuniverse, menstruation has become a sort of social stigma for women. Stigma refers to "an attribute that is deeply discrediting" (Goffman, 1986, p.3).

The central feature of the stigmatized individual's situation in everyday life deals with the issue of acceptance (Goffman, 1986). To reveal that one is menstruating within a work or public setting may make one potentially discreditable. Stereotypic beliefs about the affects of

menstruation on one's performance may make women fear that the respect and regard normally extended to them will be denied (Goffman, 1986).

Furthermore, women may echo this denial by believing that it is warranted to some extent, and hence, react defensively (Goffman, 1986). Males may perceive the defensive response as a direct expression of the defect and interpret both the defect and the response as a justification for the manner in which menstruating women should be regarded (Goffman, 1986).

Similarly, the menstruating woman "may sensitively seek to detect if others perceive her body as being as 'dirty' as it 'feels' to her" (Fisher, 1973, p. 10). Moreover, the menstruating woman may fear or avoid involvement in a "sharp interchange with spouse or employer, because of what a show of emotion might be taken as a sign of" (Fisher, p. 10).

Finally, the stigmatized person may also attempt to indirectly correct the condition by expending extra effort on the mastery of tasks or activities "ordinarily felt to be closed on incidental and physical grounds to one with his shortcomings" (Goffman, 1986, p. 10). For example, Dalton (1969) warned that during employment there would be days in which women are at the mercy of premenstrual symptoms, such as forgetfulness, clumsiness, inattentiveness, and mental dullness. Dalton stated,

Finally she may lose her job because of a sudden fit of premenstrual irritability, the irrationality of her forewoman, her own in punctuality or her regular once-a-month absences. Analysis of her time sheet or piecework earnings may reveal her menstrual pattern (p. 123).

To ensure that one's menstrual pattern is not revealed, the menstruating woman may go to great lengths to guarantee that the performance of everyday work tasks and activities is up-to-par, or above, during the menstrual period.

The menstruating woman master status. Hughes (1945) introduced and explained the concept of a master status as a determining trait that tends to overpower most other characteristics that may run counter to it. Hughes illustrated the concept of master status offered by the black, professional American. Hughes stated that membership in the black race may be called a master status. However, professional standing is also a powerful characteristic. In the person of the professionally qualified black, these two powerful characteristics may clash. "The dilemma, for those whites who meet such a person, is that of having to choose whether to treat him as a Negro or as a member of his profession" (p. 357).

In the same vein, an analogy can be made between the masculine corporation and the professional woman. Femaleness, as defined by the determining trait of menstruation (a reminder of the female reproductive potential) may be called a master status. Males dealing professionally with a woman will have to choose whether to treat the individual as a woman who menstruates or as an executive.

Hughes (1945) suggested that people possess a set of expectations with regard to "the auxiliary traits properly associated with many of the specific positions available in our society." (p. 354) These expectations may appear as advantages or disadvantages to persons who "aspire to positions new to persons of their kind." (p. 355)

The expected auxiliary characteristics are frequently embodied in stereotypes (Hughes, 1945). For example, the overpowering determining trait of a successful executive may be masculinity. Female executives may be disadvantaged because (a) they do not embody the stereotypic dominant trait of an executive and (b) they menstruate, a trait that stereotypically hinders them from behaving like a competent executive.

Males interacting with women on a professional basis may directly or indirectly respond to the female as a menstruating woman as opposed

to an executive. Hence, the menstruating woman master status overshadows the female's executive status.

In addition, North American society tends to perceive women who are professionally successful as an exception, and there may be a tendency for professional women to foster the ideal that they are unlike other females. To ensure that the menstrual status is not discovered, women may incorporate numerous menstrual management products into their identity kits. Sanitary napkins, tampons, mini pads (scented or unscented and decoratively concealed in special pouches or sacs), vaginal perfumed sprays and medicinal products promising to relieve all the symptoms of menstruation, may be employed to ensure that the menstrual status will not be publicly discovered.

The fear of public menstrual status discovery is heightened by the media's portrayal of menstruation as a dirty, messy, bothersome problem that can result in potentially embarrassing situations if revealed. Advertising campaigns stress the need to be prepared in advance for the onset of menses. Mini pads and panty shields are promoted as a "just in case" protective device. Moreover, advertisements advise women to wear panty shields when not menstruating to prevent non-menstrual related vaginal discharge from soiling undergarments, and in order to feel "just showered fresh" all day. Thus, women's potentially dirty and polluted stage is extended from seven to 28 days of every cycle.

The Media's Subuniversal Meanings of the Menstruating Woman

Historical Perspective. Kotex sanitary napkins were invented at the end of World War One, and appeared on the market in 1921 (Delaney et al., 1988). Wealthy women immediately substituted the disposable napkins for the traditional wash and reuse diapers. However, due to discretionary reasons, women's magazines were slow to advertise the new menstrual product. One magazine, Good Housekeeping, did promote Lysol for "everyday purpose of personal hygiene" (Delaney et al., p. 130).

By the 1930's, women's magazines were beginning to include menstrual advertisements in their issues. The advertisement language stressed the secretive nature of menstruation, and sanitary napkins were lauded for not revealing any outside lines, lines which could reveal "the woman's guilty secret" (Delaney et al., 1988, p. 130).

In the 1940's, menstrual advertisement campaigns participated in the World War Two effort. Women were suddenly taken more seriously, as their participation in the work force was crucial to the success of the war effort. The term girl was replaced with the term women in menstrual advertisements (Delaney et al., 1988). Advertisements glorified females for their competence, responsibility, and ability; the utility and practicality of menstrual products was advanced.

According to Delaney et al. (1988), Meds advertised an absorbent tampon that was specifically perfected by a female doctor. San-Nap-Pak advertisements extolled their product for saving money and time. The product promised to give "hours of extra service...without extra bulk!" (Delaney et al., p. 130). Likewise, Tampax advertisements stressed that their tampons were "not limited to 'special' users" (p. 130), but could be used effectively by the housewife as well as the working woman.

The Modess advertisements of the 1950's, depicting elegant women draped in glamorous, feminine, flowing evening gowns, heightened the female's burden to be beautiful (Delaney et al., 1988). Menstrual product advertisements emphasised women's aspirations to become "individual and inner-directed (sleek, beauty) rather than collective and outer-directed (the war effort)." (Delaney et al., p. 132)

In the 1960's and the 1970's, menstrual advertisements continued to endorse products with euphemisms: "those special days" and those "difficult days". Women were not to directly discuss their menstrual periods. Advertisements advanced women's fear of being placed in an embarrassing situation where menstrual excuses would be required. Tampax tampons promised that the menstrual status would remain a secret

and that there would be no need to make excuses (Delaney et al., 1988). Neat and discreet disposable bags were introduced so as to avoid the embarrassing disposal of menstrual products.

Current Perspective. In the 1980's advertisements stressed products for the active women, with active generally referring to athletic activities (Delaney et al., 1988). The language used reflected societal concerns for naturalness, and terms like "confident", "free", "soft", and "natural" were employed: "o.b. is inserted naturally...you insert o.b. naturally, with your finger...".

The more recent emphasis on the active eighties woman illustrates the process of truth turned myth, as it is no longer believed that a menstruating woman should be home bound seven days of the month, incapacitated from enjoying an active normal life. However, current advertisements fail to acknowledge the numerous other myths uncovered by increased medical and social science inquiry.

To date, consumers of mass media are subjected to the perpetuation of truths that are known by science to be myths. One such myth is the relationship between menstruation and sickness, dirtiness, and secretiveness (Berg, Coutts, & Kliewer, 1989). These truths appear to be productive from a manufacturing/advertising perspective; they allow for the introduction of specialty products, such as Slender tampons for virgins. The creation of Slender tampons for beginners and virgins perpetuates the myth that tampon use may threaten one's virginity.

Havens and Swenson (1988) analyzed 135 advertisements for sanitary products of Seventeen magazine issues from 1976 to 1986. The researchers suggested that advertisements depict menstruation as a "hygienic crisis" that is best controlled by a "security system", the product brand advertised, which will ensure "peace of mind".

The view of menstruation as a hygienic crisis is reinforced through educational material presented to young adolescents within the school curriculum. Havens and Swenson (1989) stated that in 1975 over

77% of the educational tools used were produced by specific sanitary product manufacturers. One suspects that from a business perspective, profit goals are best met through the perpetuation of menstruation as a highly secretive and potentially shameful event. An event that requires specialized products in an assortment of scents, colors and sizes.

Advertisements imply that failure to protect oneself from the potential risks of menses will make women susceptible to leakage, soiling, and odour (Havens and Swenson, 1988). Moreover, the researchers noted that women in advertisements are portrayed as dynamic and at their optimal energy level. Haven and Swenson postulated that the imagery connected to menstrual product advertisements, "may encourage guilt and diminished self-esteem in the adolescent who experiences discomfort." (p. 89) The propagation of this imagery for all menstruating women may make adult women susceptible to similar feelings of inadequacy.

Advertisements in general are geared towards breeding feelings of consumer inadequacy. Tschirhart Sanford and Donovan (1985) stated that advertisements for clothes, jewellery, personal-care products, feminine hygiene products and weight-loss programs (all of which are used to manage one's personal front), are designed to raise questions in women, such as "Is my skin clear enough?", "Does my body smell?", and "Will my tampon leak?". Advertisements for laundry detergent, vitamins, food products, and home furnishings are also designed to cause women to ask themselves, "Am I taking care of my family enough?", and "Is my home clean enough?"

In each case advertisements are preying on women's self-doubts that they are not doing enough, will feel guilty or incompetent, and will attempt to thwart this guilt by buying the appropriate product. The woman who rejects these advertised ideals, the woman who does not believe a perfumed vaginal spray will instill more confidence is

considered strange by other consumer's standards (Tshirhart Sanford & Donovan, 1985).

While more current advertisements have attempted to portray a more assertive, less home bound female image (Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988), advertisements continue to emphasize petty issues that supposedly dominate women's concerns. To illustrate, a shoe advertisement reads,

And Freud thought he knew what women really wanted. What do women want? Really comfortable shoes, that's what...Call 1-800-468-4684 for a retailer near you. And tell him [emphasis added] what you really want. (Family Circle, 1990, p. 48)

Mass media advertising, particularly that of women's magazines, acts as a "moulder of female outlook and does serve as a legitimation of those roles in which so many women find themselves in" (Millum, 1975, p. 179). Succinctly put, advertisements act as social regulators to preserve the status quo.

The Removal of Body from Nature

The basic tenet of the advertising industry is to create a dissatisfaction with what one possesses or owns. Since the early 1920's, the advertising industry has focused its efforts on breeding dissatisfaction in women, "not just dissatisfaction with what we have, but more fundamentally, dissatisfaction with who we are, and what we look like" (Tschirhart Sanford & Donovan, 1985, p. 237). In short, the media attempts to generate a general dissatisfaction and lack of acceptance of the physiological processes that differentiate females from males.

Thus, the advertisers of menstrual products attempt to manipulate and distort the self-image of the menstruating woman. Advertisers must convince women that they need a specific brand product to survive in today's competitive world. Most importantly however, advertisements continue to perpetuate the belief that negative results will follow

one's failure to adequately "cover-up" the physiological process of menstruation. Delaney et al. (1988) concluded that,

As long as the sanitary napkin is applied like a bandage to a wound, the woman cannot forget the cover-up approach to menstruation. (p. 58)

North American society is characterized by an era of cultural life in which everyone is preoccupied with a woman's body, "but few women...feel comfortable living inside the body they possess" (Chernin, 1981, p. 35). This consuming dislike for the body is not a biological fact of a female's human condition. "We do not come upon it by nature, we are not born to it, it does not arise for us because of anything predetermined in our sex." (p. 22). Rather, dislike for the animalistic functions of one's body are culturally determined. In order to tame the natural functions of one's body, functions that remind persons of their animalness, many women attempt to "reduce the body, to limit the urges and desires it feels, to remove the body from nature" (Chernin, 1981, p. 23).

In particular, when women enter a masculine culture, such as the labour force, women are expected to act non-emotional, objective and subdued, rather than expressive or intuitive. In short, women are asked to model themselves after the ideal man in the way that they appear and behave (Chernin, 1981).

Women attempt to model this male ideal by changing the way the female body looks, changing its shape, its smell, and its natural urges. Women attempt to conquer physiological functions, such as menstruation, "maybe even eliminate them. In this way, too, the mind can prove its command over existence, over material reality, over the nature that lives in the body." (Chernin, 1981, p. 151)

In the end, if a woman's destiny is to avoid the shame felt with regard to one's body, by achieving control over bodily demands, "she may behold the essential paradox of her own condition, for her pride in the

body's conquest is built upon a feeling of profound humiliation that the body exists at all" (Chernin, 1981, p. 118). Conversely, in order for true equality of the sexes to be realized, women should not be required to sacrifice their physiological nature "for the privilege of entering culture" (Chernin, 1981, p. 119), but rather "women must be permitted to carry a developed mind within a fully developed, female body" (Chernin, p. 119)

General Research Issues

Martin (1989) argued that the metaphorical visions of the human body in the field of medical science can "profoundly impact the influence and manner in which physiological beliefs and ideologies are perpetuated" (p. 152). Likewise, it was expected that the media's portrayal and metaphorical account of the experiences of menstruation through advertisements would act to perpetuate menstrual ideologies. Specifically, the media, like medical science, can influence societal members to believe that certain notions or truths concerning the human body "that are actually social or cultural are grounded in natural fact" (Martin, 1989, p. 152).

In addition, Martin (1989) argued that past and present social and scientific fascination with the female body is an outcome of the "historical processes by which gender hierarchy and nation states arose in conjunction with one another." (p. 152). Based on this argument, it would seem logical that the constructed meanings and social significance of menstruation as perpetuated by the media today would be related to the political and social realities of contemporary women.

Similarly, the proliferation of new menstrual management products designed to improve the menstrual experience, would appear to be based upon a set of socially constructed underlying assumptions or notions about what the menstruating woman ought to be experiencing. These underlying beliefs may be obscured by the constant and ever changing introduction of new menstrual products that successfully "blind us to

the impoverishment of our ability to see" (Martin, 1988, p.156) hidden political or social agendas. Moreover, Williams (1981) stated that,

Significant innovations may not only be compatible with a received social and cultural order; they may, in the very process of modifying it, be the necessary condition of its re-production. (1981, p.210)

Based on these contentions and the proposition that, "advertisements are reflections of reality, or more accurately reflections of desired reality." (Apple, 1988, p. 71), this study addressed menstrual product advertisements as mediators of a subset of femininity meanings linked to the phenomenon of menstruation. An adapted grounded theory methodology was used to generate theory explaining the socially constructed experiential realities of contemporary women. Specifically, this theory strives to explain the manner in which women define menstruation, and their status as menstruating woman.

It is worthwhile to note that one of the distinguishing features of a grounded theory methodology is the repetition of the analytic processes of observing, coding, and interpreting (Shelly & Sibert, 1986). It is this characteristic process that enables the researcher to discover the basic social psychological processes, the core variable(s), that are a response to the research problem, menstruation. The core variables represents that main theme discovered in the observed setting. Core variables must reoccur "frequently in the data, link the various data together, and explain much of the data." (Chenitz & Swanson, 1986, p. 193). Most importantly, all developed codes, categories, and constructs have an analogous relationship with the core variable.

Research Rationale

To date, research literature in the area of menstruation and the mass media is sparse. Researchers who have examined menstrual-related media have generally focused upon the educational merits of menstrual

advertisements as it relates to adolescent developmental issues and traditional female roles (Berg, Coutts & Kliwer, 1989; Clarke & Ruble, 1978; Havens & Swenson, 1988; Koff, Rierdan & Jacobson, 1981; Parlee, 1974).

The qualitative research approach assumes that there are various layers of truths or realities (Chapman & Maclean, 1990). The present research investigated the different layers of truths to uncover other relevant dimensions of constructed meanings related to the social and political realities of contemporary women and the manner in which women react to, and experience menstruation, within a predominately male-oriented workplace.

The focus of this research was, first, to use a qualitative research approach, to further explore and understand the portrayal of the menstruating woman in the media. A second focus was the development of a theory accounting for the various socially constructed meanings of menstruation.

The Nature, Value, and Logic of Qualitative Analysis

Nature. Drawing from Chapman and Maclean (1990), the nature of qualitative research may be described by the following tenets:

...human behavior can only be understood in relation to the subjective meanings individuals construct around phenomena; that those meanings are multiple, socially constructed, and context dependent; and that the researcher, as a part of the human world, is not and never can be an objective observer.

(p. 131)

The data generated from a qualitative approach are generally characterized by narrative as opposed to numeric data. Furthermore, because the analyses evolve out of the data, specific research questions or hypotheses are not generally developed prior to data collection (Chapman & Maclean, 1990; Lofland & Lofland, 1984). Rather, a research problem area was identified (see general research issues) and analytic

inferences were developed simultaneously with data collection (Chapman & Maclean; Charmaz, 1983).

Value. The major contribution of qualitative research is to provide an accurate description and understanding of a research problem or issue from the point of view of the participant (Chapman & Maclean, 1990; Knafl & Howard, 1984; Marshall & Rossman, 1989). It is through explanation, discovery and in depth understanding of meanings that social scientists can better grasp a "natural way of looking at the world" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 8). Accordingly, in the present process of document analysis, each advertisement was examined within its physical, social and cultural environmental setting. Specifically, contextual memos were written by the researcher that outlined pertinent information, including physical descriptions of the women portrayed, descriptions of what the women were doing and/or desired to be doing, and descriptions of their depicted concerns and aspirations.

Logic and the criteria of soundness. The research criteria of credibility entails demonstrating that the study was conducted in a manner that the subject was accurately and fully described. This criteria can be assessed by ensuring that in depth descriptions of the interacting variables, "will be so embedded with data derived from the setting that it cannot help but be valid" (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 145) within the stated research parameters.

The transferability criteria of the research findings may be assessed by (a) referring to the original theoretical framework (Chapman & Maclean, 1990) which clearly illustrates the data collection procedures and analysis methodology and (b) adhering to the theoretical parameters (the general research issues) to guide the analysis. Conceptual comparative analysis was enhanced through the selective sampling of historical menstrual advertisements dating from the 1930's through to the 1980's.

A third qualitative research criteria, dependability, accounts for changing conditions in either the phenomena under study and/or the methodological design (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). This criteria was addressed by keeping and showing written memos illuminating the developing ideas about the data, and ensuing coded categories and themes. By keeping memos systematically throughout the analysis, the researcher can report the process of developing codes, categories, and conceptual constructs, design changes and the rationale behind the changes.

Finally, in order to address the criteria of confirmability the following controls for researcher bias in interpretation, as recommended by Marshall and Rossman (1989), were done:

1. Two volunteer graduate student coders critically questioned the analyses.
2. Each stage of analysis was accompanied by memo excerpts, located in the appendix, that consist of incorporations and elaborations of the coding sessions, and the researcher's notes (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Strauss, 1987). Conceptual and theoretical memos are not included in appendix form, as these memos were sorted and integrated in such a manner that the "writing of the manuscript becomes a 'write-up' of memos" (Stern, 1980, p.23).
3. A repetitive application of guiding questions, modeled after the theoretical parameters was applied to the data (see appendix A for guiding questions).
4. Negative instances or contradictory findings were displayed and discussed.
5. An audit of the data collection techniques and analytic strategies was conducted.

Methodology

Content Analysis

Chapman and Maclean (1990) stated that qualitative analysis is "associated with the coding of themes, which emerge from the data, into categories which reflect key issues, events, and types of data." (p. 132) Content analysis may be conducted on two different levels, the manifest and the latent (Fox, 1969). Analysis at the manifest level is "bound by the response, with nothing read into it and assumed about it" (Fox, 1969, p. 647). Manifest analysis is characterized by classic, frequency-counts of straightforward, surface meanings (Carney, 1972).

Latent analysis "goes beyond transcription of what was said directly and seeks to infer what was implied or meant" (Fox, 1969, p. 647). The present study was conducted at the latter level of analysis. In attempting to understand others' points of view, the researcher continually strived to understand what was important to the women portrayed, how the portrayed women related to the research problem, and how the depicted individual's action either supported or restricted by the powerful structures inherent to their world (Chapman & Maclean, 1990).

Data Collection

Data collection methods included both opportunistic and selective document sampling techniques. Opportunistic sampling techniques allowed the researcher to select data sources, "because of their availability to the researcher, and their ability to articulate and explain the phenomena under study" (Chapman & Maclean, 1990, p.132). The selective sampling technique involved the decision to sample a specific document according to a preconceived, rational set of dimensions (Strauss, 1987). In the present study, the collection of a secondary sample source served to enhance the conceptual, as opposed to historical, comparative analyses process.

The initial data were drawn from an opportunistic sample of two Canadian magazines, Chatelaine and Flare, and one American magazine, Cosmopolitan. All three magazines contained menstrual related advertisements directed to both adolescent and adult women.

To ensure that the generated findings reflected current socially constructed meanings, the issues analyzed covered the period July, 1989 to July, 1990. From these 36 issues, 141 advertisements were collected. A sub-sample of unique advertisements were analyzed. This sub-sample consisted of 54 advertisements. Duplicate advertisements were not counted (see appendix B for sample reference; see appendix C for individual advertisement product/code breakdowns).

Additional historical data were selected from a sample of American magazines, Glamour, Mademoiselle, and Vogue, and one Canadian magazine, Chatelaine. All selected menstrual-related advertisements were geared to either adolescent females, adult females, or both. Advertisements gleaned from the American magazines were accessible in their original form from a private collection. The Chatelaine advertisements were available in microfiche form at the Centennial Public Library in Winnipeg.

This second selective sample source of data consisted of four advertisements from each decade, starting in 1930 and ending in 1980. The 1960's were over-represented in order to include the popular "Modess...because" advertisement, which was rich in imagery but lacking in written content. This second data sample consisted of 24 unique advertisements (see appendix D for sample reference; see appendix E for individual advertisement product/code breakdowns).

Code Development

Coding Process

Discovery process. Prior to the substantive coding process, the researcher and three assistants, all possessing previous coding experience, took part in the discovery phase. This process involved

reading the advertisement texts and noting personal reactions to each advertisement. Single words or phrases were recorded on an index card for each advertisement, making no reference to specific lines or paragraphs (see appendix F). This discovery process, similar in manner to a word association exercise, was an individual effort conducted to ensure unbiased reactions from each coder. According to Charmaz (1983) this process is essential in order to understand what can be defined and discovered in the data and to enable the researcher to more accurately identify "leads, ideas, and issues in the data themselves." (p. 113)

Upon completion of this exercise, the researcher and coders discussed the written reactions to each advertisement. Reactions were recorded by the researcher, and potential code words were identified based on agreement among the assistants. For example, when the words "dirty", "unclean", and "messy" were associated with a particular advertisement, the word "dirty" was chosen as the enveloping word. The potential code word was further refined by noting that it was a person, rather than an object that was dirty, and thus it was transformed into the potential code "dirty person". Where disagreement occurred, no code word was developed. Rather, the researcher recorded the discussion surrounding the debated issue for future reference.

Following this phase of data orientation, the researcher sifted through the discovery memos (see appendix G) in an attempt to develop and refine useable guiding substantive code words. This process yielded 42 potential code words (see appendix H).

Initial coding. Guided by the 42 potential code words, the researcher and assistants coded each of the 54 advertisements from the current advertisements line by line. During this coding process, code words were refined, dropped and added. For example, the code words "physical" and "sick" were collapsed when it became evident that they were redundant in the advertisements. Thus the code "sick" came to represent text which suggested that menstruation was a physical illness,

a sickness, or ailment frequently accompanied by physical symptoms such as cramps, backaches, and headaches. Moreover, the code word obscure was added to the list of guiding codes to identify text which was unclear, not fully explained, or required prior knowledge to comprehend.

Notes taken during the group coding sessions enabled the researcher to keep track of coding concerns and developments (see appendix I). The notes also were used to record coder comments and group discussions which had potential bearing on future theoretical developments.

It is important to reiterate that the 42 guiding code words generated during the initial coding process came directly from the data; that is, they were embedded in the data. They were not words that were developed outside of the analytic process and then applied.

At the second stage of analysis, the previously developed code words were applied to the sample of historical advertisements. Although the majority of code words could be applied to the text, numerous code words were not self-evident in the data. For example, the previously established code "dirty person" could not be applied to any of the text found in historical advertisements. However, lack of support for a particular code does not imply that the code need be discarded (Stern, 1980). Rather, in the latter stages of analyses, it enables the researcher to more succinctly identify properties of the category subsuming the code word "dirty person".

Imagery coding. Finally, the researcher and coders evaluated selected advertisements for imagery. This additional sub-sample consisted of those advertisements that featured photographs of females. Advertisements that were accessible by microfiche were pre-selected according to visual clarity by the researcher. Pre-viewing and selection was necessary as some of the historical advertisements could not be reproduced without distortion. The sub-sample consisted of 23 current advertisements and 11 historical advertisements, giving a total

sub-sample of 34 advertisements. These advertisements were coded according to Millum's (1975) categories concerning an actor's manner and appearance, imparted through actor expression, pose, and clothing (see appendix J).

Analysis

Upon completion of the substantive coding process, the advertisement texts were transferred into the Ethnograph Program (Seidel, 1988) designed for personal computers. The Ethnograph program enables text to be coded using line numbers for future review, sorting and grouping. It also eases the processes involved in editing or changing code words and classification schemes. Furthermore, the program permits the nesting of code words which enhances the complexity and richness of the analysis. It is from the substantive codes, the objective observations, that memos, categories, and ultimately conceptual and theoretical constructs are derived.

Once coded, the data were catalogued according to the nature of the product being advertised. This resulted in the development of eight categories: tampons old, tampons new, pads old, pads new, liners old, liners new, medicine old, and medicine new.

Having retrieved and studied the data by code, it became apparent that the original code words "patronizing" and "sexist feminist statement" were too broad and required further refinement before data interpretation could proceed. Hence, text previously coded "patronizing" was recoded to better differentiate between text that was condescending in nature or tone and text that was demeaning. This resulted in the new code "consumer demeaning" and the re-defined code "patronizing". Second, text initially coded "sexist feminist statement" was scrutinized and recoded according to five precise characteristics: "feminine stereotype", "feminine product", "feminine enhancing", "fresh product", and "fresh enhancing". (see appendix H for definitions).

The scrutiny of the coded text tried to ensure that each sentence or incident was coded accurately and into as many precise codes as possible to advance "full theoretical coverage". (Chenitz & Swanson, 1986, p.193). Following the scrutiny of the coded text, the data were examined for clusters, patterns, or text that explicitly or implicitly identified the same conceptual issue. With time, and increasing understanding and familiarity with the data, the substantive codes were successfully grouped into potential categories. Coded text not subsumed by a category were filed separately, for easy retrieval at a later date.

The codes and ensuing categories were repeatedly compared to each other in an attempt to uncover all mutually exclusive properties and to increase awareness of contradictions or enigmatic relationships. Simultaneously, memos that outlined and explained the theoretical rationale for the developing categories were recorded.

Contextual memos were also created to take into account broader contextual variables not easily coded from the advertisements. Memos are best described as "small pieces of analysis" (Lofland & Lofland, 1984, p.135). Memos may be abstract or specific statements on topics that are likely to be included in the final report as only a few pages of text. Moreover, they are derived from the interaction between the researcher's creative and scientific perceptions and the raw data.

In the present study, contextual memos contained the researcher's responses to the tentative research guiding questions (see appendix K for contextual memos). The use of contextual memos greatly enhances the analytic process, as well as the reliability of the study. The researcher is frequently forced to return to the raw data in order to uncover or identify conceptual links between the developing categories. It is these links which are responsible for the eventual clustering of categories into the larger theoretical constructs that become core variables.

It was through the development of contextual memos that the researcher became increasingly aware that text coded "patronizing" and "consumer demeaning" required further explanatory refinement. Specifically, the researcher questioned whether most women would agree with the code word labels. Perhaps many female readers would not perceive the text to be patronizing or demeaning. This motivated the researcher to search for additional conceptualization tools. The end result of re-examining the contextual memos was the development of Weberian "ideal types" (Gerth & Mills, 1946).

Prior to the development of ideal types, however, it was imperative that the researcher attempt to better understand how advertisers of menstrual products characterized their target audience. This entailed a thorough examination and audit of the contextual variables inherent in each advertisement.

Development of Weberian Ideal Types

Ideal types, as conceived by Max Weber, are comprised of hypothetical individuals that consist of certain elements or items which could appear in reality, created for analytical purposes by the researcher (Weber, 1958, Martindale, 1960). The Dictionary of sociology (Moore, 1955) defined an ideal type as follows:

A configuration or gestalt of characteristics constructed by bringing together those most often observed in specimens of the category under consideration...It is assumed that an absolutely 'pure' example of the category would display all such elements: hence the ideal type may be used to identify members of a class and also measure the extent of typicality. It must be observed that 'ideal' as here used carries no connotation of 'better' or 'poorer', ie., is non-normative. (p. 147)

The use of ideal types implies that "two constellations are comparable in terms of some feature common to them both" (Weber, 1958,

p. 60). In the present study, menstruation and the need to secure menstrual products represented the common features of the two ideal types of females. By stating the common and the idiosyncratic features, the researcher is better equipped to deal with descriptive material for the purposes of comparative analyses and conceptualization (Weber).

It became apparent that the advertisers were primarily appealing to what they perceived to be the menstruating female's idealized or fantasy problems, rather than to more realistic, everyday concerns. Women in current advertisements were portrayed as being primarily focused on enhancing their personal appearance and concealing their menstrual status. The depicted women were typically not concerned with household, child and family, or career related issues. To speculate about the derivation of these idealized (fantasy) preoccupations, whether media or consumer produced, is precarious. Likely, the implied preoccupations represent marketers created embellishments of the idealized concerns of females.

The development of ideal types was further motivated by the need to better understand the conditions that gave rise to the developed conceptual categories, as "representativeness of concepts, not of persons, is crucial" (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 9). Moreover, ideal types aid in theoretical explanation,

by specifying phenomena in terms of conditions that gave rise to them, how they are expressed through action/interaction, the consequences that result from them, and variations of these qualifiers. (Corbin & Strauss, p. 9)

In order to best understand the circumstances that gave rise to the media constructed meanings of menstruation and the menstrual experience, one must gain understanding of the perceived non-menstrual related concerns and values of the portrayed menstruating women (Chapman & Maclean, 1990). This is essential, as the constructed meanings of

menstruation are not created in isolation but are influenced by the socially created idealized identity of the contemporary woman.

Preliminary Findings

It was evident that the agenda of menstrual product advertisers could be realized through the creation and perpetuation of concerns or notions of what the menstruating woman ought to be experiencing. To this end, the data analyzed supported the proposition that advertisements are a reflection of a desired reality (Apple, 1988).

Advertisements are designed to capture the attention and desires of the product's intended audience and encourage and facilitate consumer behavior that will result in "consummation of a desired exchange transaction" (Lovelock & Weinberg, 1984, p.16). One important guiding concept is that of product value (Kotler & Turner, 1985).

Marketing researchers attempt to understand the value of products in satisfying consumer goals, by asking consumers to describe the ideal product. The closer an existing product is to the consumer's ideal, the greater its consumer value (or utility) becomes (Kotler & Turner, 1985).

Another core concept of marketing is related to human wants. "Human wants are desires for specific satisfiers" (Kotler & Turner, 1985, p.5) of deeper human needs. Marketers suggest to consumers that a particular product will help satisfy a person's needs. For example, they may suggest that a Chanel suit may satisfy a woman's need for social status. Likewise, menstrual advertisements may suggest that an invisible tampon may satisfy a woman's need for social acceptance.

Because human wants are shaped and re-shaped by institutions and social forces (Kotler & Turner, 1985), marketers must continually seek to understand the changing wants and underlying needs of their target market. In order to understand the created reality of the menstruating woman in media, the researcher developed ideal types in an effort to clarify and understand advertisers' perceptions of menstruating women.

Ideal Types

The ideal types, labelled FEMME and WOMAN, were developed to aid the researcher in identifying the advertisers' intended audiences. FEMME represents both the female portrayed in the menstrual advertisements and the intended female audience.¹ It was the idealized concerns of FEMME that menstrual product advertisers typically address. WOMAN represents FEMME's counterpart and typically did not represent the females portrayed and addressed in contemporary advertising. The menstrual concerns and experiences of WOMAN tended to be ignored, or at best de-emphasized in the advertisements.

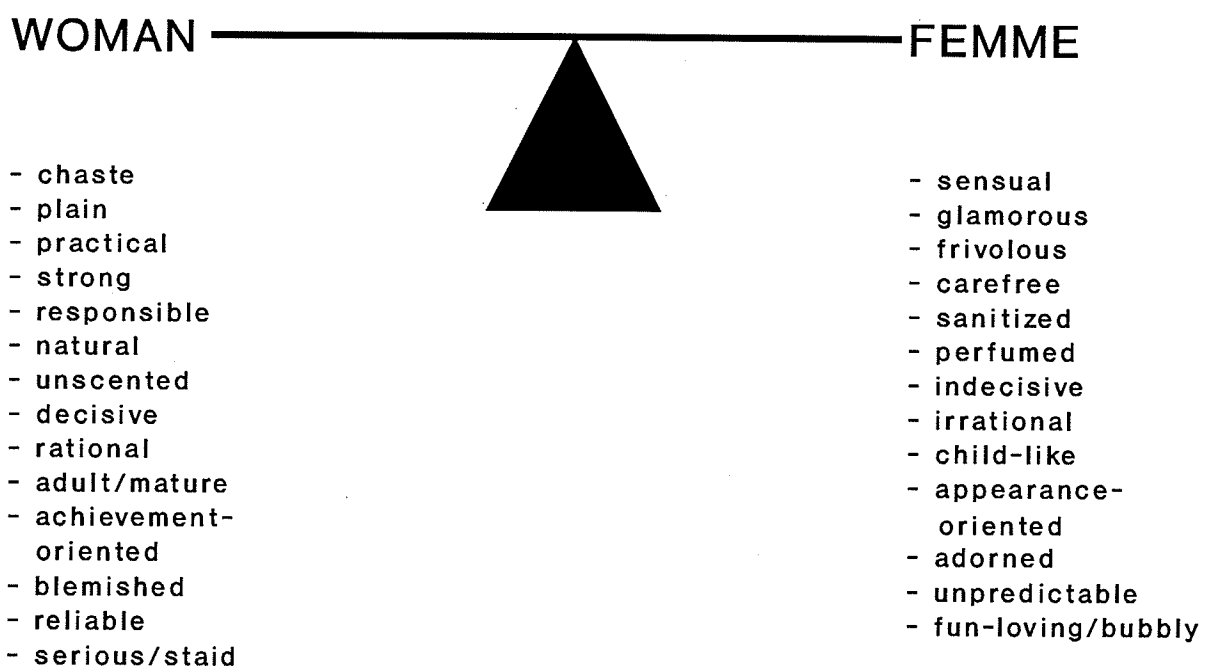
Since ideal types are imaginary individuals, they must not be compared to actual persons for the purpose of assessing how much one deviates from the ideal (Martindale, 1960). "For actual individuals ought to deviate from the ideal type just as much as one made them deviate in the first place" (Martindale, p. 382). Thus, it is imperative that the reader understand that the ideal type FEMME, is an unattainable state to which the depicted females and the intended audience are assumed to aspire (see Table 1 for ideal type continuum).

Elements of FEMME. The FEMME symbolizes the aspirations and values of a consumer society. FEMME, like Cox's (1962) "Girl", is a kind of "anti-madonna", as FEMME primarily represents values that are selfishly motivated by the desire to secure sexual successes, mechanical comforts, and unencumbered leisure (Cox).

The devilish social insecurities from which she promises to deliver us are, alas, still there, even after we have purified our breaths, our skins and our armpits by applying her sacred oils..As the Queen of commodities in an expanding economy, the fulfilment she promises must always remain just beyond the tips of our fingers. (Cox, 1962, p. 5)

¹ The word female, rather than the word woman, is frequently used in order to avoid confusion with the ideal type, labelled WOMAN.

Table 1

Ideal Type ContinuumIdeal Types Continuum

FEMME is best represented by the "Cosmo Girl". She is, "sexually free, uninhibited, fun-loving, and most desirable" (Moore, 1967, p. 82). The goal of FEMME is to capture the attention of a man who will commit to marriage. The FEMME likes stylish, glamorous, expensive clothing, particularly leather goods and silks. FEMME habitually wears expensive lingerie, likes gourmet food, wine, perfume, and flowers ("Your wife", 1990). FEMME likely carries a small handbag that contains: a lipstick, compact, housekey, folded hankie ("Your wife"), and a tampon.

FEMME contrives to create and maintain the appropriate sized and shaped bosom, legs, and hips. A process which need not be perceived by FEMME as negative, as FEMME is obsessed with reflecting the cultural beauty ideal. Moreover, the moulding of FEMME's figure can be accomplished with relative success if FEMME applies a considerable amount of time and money to this task. Most importantly, FEMME's physique is likely to experience perpetual transformation in accordance to the changing cultural ideals (Chernin, 1981).

While popular fashion magazines, such as, Cosmopolitan, Glamour, Mademoiselle and Vogue are not empirically-based sources of information, they do provide an idealized model of femininity to which FEMME aspires. One need only thumb through popular fashion magazines to get a fairly accurate physical, psychological and cognitive description of FEMME.

For example, a May issue of Cosmopolitan (1990) suggested that the following illnesses and diseases were considered "chic" or "upscale". Women suffering from some maladies will be rendered with "sympathy and status as one who is oh-so-modishly indisposed." (Adams, p.354). The FEMME-type illnesses included Lyme disease, "you'll not only rank high in pathology glamour but will be assured of almost no competition in your social circle" (p, 354); mononucleosis which is "restful, nonfatal, 'ladylike', yet with the drama of potentially serious complications"

(p.354); and fainting, "you might think fainting a sign of weakness, but there's nothing like it for making you a centre of attention and sympathy." (p.354). Adams further suggested that menstrual-related discomforts are not recommended, as they are "boring and repetitive" (p.354).

An intense dislike for menstruation is likely associated with FEMME's need to detach or separate self from internal bodily experiences. Detachment from these experiences is manifested in an unawareness and disrespect for what internal processes and changes symbolize. Detachment inadvertently ensures that bodily changes and processes, "remain merely bodily ones, and may even force them to express themselves in the body-language of illness" (Shuttle & Redgrove, 1990, p. 21). As a result, FEMME is likely to perceive the process of menstruation as pathological, rather than as an indicator of a healthy functioning female body.

FEMME is not unique in regarding her period as a sickness. Shuttle and Redgrove (1990) stated that doctors, physiologists, and many feminists continue to perceive menstruation as a "sickness, a blank spot, a non-event that the woman must endure and would be better without, an evil time." (p. 22)

Since the notion that menstruation equals sickness received support from mythology, folklore, and at times, even science, it becomes increasingly understandable why menstruation continues to be defined as such a negative event. Moreover, the perpetuation of menstruation as sickness will ensure the perpetuation of products aiming to cure menstruation.

Elements of WOMAN. The ideal type WOMAN embodies attributes or attitudes which are diametrically opposite to FEMME. WOMAN is a grown-up, mature adult human being, with adult responsibilities and obligations who lives in the "real" world.

WOMAN's main concerns revolve around career or vocation issues, family and child-care issues, and/or economic issues, as opposed to impression-formation and appearance-related issues. WOMAN is not always the fun, carefree, sexually stimulating companion that is FEMME. Unlike FEMME, WOMAN likely carries a large handbag that contains a wallet, personal checkbook, pen and address book ("Your wife", 1990). WOMAN tends to appreciate practical, functional, time-saving products as opposed to frivolous, highly decorative, less-functional ones.

The ideal type WOMAN is not concerned with embracing the current beauty standards or ideals. Thus, WOMAN will spend negligible time and money on products and practices that are appearance-related. Finally, unlike FEMME, WOMAN is more likely to suffer (or admit to suffering) from perimenstrual discomforts. WOMAN is less likely to perceive menstruation and other physiological processes as intensely negative, dirty or embarrassing. This accepting attitude is fostered by personal awareness of one's body and its functions (Shuttle & Redgrove, 1990).

Advertisement Imagery

The FEMME ideal is most frequently portrayed by women in current menstrual advertisements. The results of the imagery analysis showed that 63.5% of the sample advertisements depicted females with non-active facial expressions. Seventy-three percent of the women were depicted in non-active poses and 72.7% of the sample were wearing non-active clothing (see appendix L).

Typically, the portrayed female's facial expression was characterized by eyes that are half-closed or shut, a pouting, rarely smiling mouth, and an inward-looking trance-like "look" that is removed from earthly things. The female typically portrayed an attitude of comfort, rest, ease and recuperation; limbs were drooping or supported; and/or the model was usually sitting, leaning or lying. The depicted female was most likely to wear informal, casual clothing, such as

comfortable slacks, shirts, or skirts, clothing which is most suited to casual walks, picnics, around the house, or informal entertaining.

Equally important was the finding that only two advertisements in the sample portrayed women in office clothing (ad26 & ad41), and not one advertisement portrayed a woman in any type of vocational or professional uniform. This finding raises the following questions: Do advertisers not know that over half the women in North America are employed? Do employed women have menstrual concerns that cannot be addressed through the media? Do employed women not have menstrual-related concerns? Do only FEMME's buy Cosmopolitan, Flare or Chatelaine magazines? Do advertisers purposely reflect an idealized person with idealized concerns, as opposed to a realistic portrayal of the menstruating female's appearance and concerns?

One suspects that the last question more accurately reflects the rationale of advertisers and manufacturers. FEMME can be likened to an "Ikon [sic] of consumer society." (Cox, 1962). Moreover, the FEMME "personifies the stunted aspirations and ambivalent fears of her culture. 'There she goes, your ideal'" (Cox, p.3).

Burchill (cited in Dunphy, 1991) suggested that "the more women get ahead in the real world, the more they fall behind in the movies." (p. F1). One suspects that a similar phenomenon is occurring in the menstrual advertising industry.

Of the 11 historical advertisements analyzed for imagery, eight advertisements portrayed women in "active" poses, nine portrayed women with "active" facial expressions, and seven of the 11 advertisements portrayed women in "non-active" clothing (see appendix M). Thus, women portrayed in the historical advertisements tended to possess a more serious, self sufficient, confident and extroverted nature, qualities associated with WOMAN as opposed to FEMME.

Results

According to Knafl and Howard (1984), when the primary research purpose is that of conceptualization (theory building), the results section ought to consist of the translation of raw data into conceptual formulations that are illustrated by the data. This discussion section, therefore, includes a summary of the major concepts and the identification of practice and/or research implications.

In this section referenced excerpts of the coded raw data are presented and integrated with theory. Code words, categories, and subcategories are presented and discussed in relationship to the key categories and the core variable. The key categories generated from the analyzed menstrual advertisements were **Fear of Menstrual Discovery**, **Tainted Femininity**, and **Complex Menstrual Management System**. These three categories explicate, at a high level of abstraction, the underlying processes subsumed under the sub-categories and sub-subcategories at a lower level of abstraction (Charmaz, 1983).

As the main abstracted concepts became apparent in the current advertisements, they were compared conceptually with the data generated from the historical advertisements to determine the conditions under which the main processes were likely to occur (Stern, 1980). Data generated from this supplementary sample source functioned not only to "prove or disprove the importance of the variables but also to identify and elaborate the properties of the variables" (Stern, p. 22).

The material that follows illustrates and explains the portrayed experience of menstruation, its socially constructed meanings and the portrayed reactions to menstruation. In essence, this section explains the following process: In order to avoid **Menstrual Discovery**, the menstruating female employs a **Complex Menstrual Management System** designed to be an antidote for **Tainted Femininity** (see appendix N for conceptual model of categories, sub-categories, sub-subcategories, and codes).

The category FEMME

Femininity is a "romantic sentiment, a nostalgic tradition of imposed limitations" (Brownmiller, 1984, p.14). In contemporary North America, "femininity operates as a value system of niceness, a code of thoughtfulness and sensitivity." (p. 17)

Socially constructed meanings determine what is appropriate feminine and masculine behavior. Acceptable sex-role behavior is not channelled in a specific direction biologically but socially (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). It is the social channelling of acceptable behavior and activity "that is the essence of institutionalization, which is the foundation for the social construction of reality" (Berger & Luckmann, p. 181-182).

Appropriate feminine mannerisms, gestures, and means of self-expression are all socially structured (Berger & Luckmann, 1967) to give "the masculine principle its validity and admiring applause" (Brownmiller, 1984, p. 16). Moreover, femininity is something that females experience less in the present and more in the past, in their personal history (Brownmiller, 1984).

According to Brownmiller, females experience a gradual loss of femininity with age. This process of loss develops as virginal innocence and ignorance are replaced with worldly knowledge, as her youthful, rosy complexion is coarsened, and as she increasingly, casually and forgetfully steps beyond the boundaries that define femininity, and thus, lose forever its "inherent nature".

Femininity has virtually nothing to do with biological femaleness (Brownmiller, 1984). For example, the effects of pregnancy and childbirth on the female body are considered socially adverse. FEMME takes no pride in stretch marks or the darkening of the nipples or areolae. According to Brownmiller, these changes represent a "feminine misfortune" (p. 142), as they symbolize a used, blemished, no longer youthful body.

Failure to concern oneself with femininity "is to appear not to care about men" (Brownmiller, 1984, p.15), and potentially run the risk of losing the admiration, regard and approval of men. To be inadequately feminine is regarded as a "failure in core sexual identity, or as a failure to care enough about oneself" (p.15). As a result, women who are not concerned with presenting self as feminine face the risk of being incorrectly labelled lesbian. Inadvertently, femininity serves to reassure males that females still need them and possess a strong, caring devotion towards them (Brownmiller).

One's state of femininity is constantly threatened by one's biological femaleness. Females are encouraged to protect their femininity by exerting control over their physiological, animal-like bodily functions. FEMME typically attempts to mask natural female body scents through the use of deodorants, perfumes, talc powders, body sprays and douches, in order to increase sexual confidence (Brownmiller, 1984). In addition, FEMME removes a great deal of natural body hair through the process of shaving and waxing, and finally, FEMME diligently tries to avoid "hands-on" contact with bodily fluids or discharge. These everyday femininity maintenance procedures are all directed toward keeping the female feminine. Specifically, they ensure that females feel soft, delicate and dainty, and that they appear pure, and uncontaminated by their biological body.

Femininity, it appeared, was the overriding concern of women depicted in menstrual advertisements. The written dialogue that accompanied these portrayals suggested that being feminine in the late 1980's and early 1990's required that females aspire to be FEMME, to possess a particular set of qualities. These FEMME qualities included freshness, cleanliness, dryness, odorlessness, and a pervasive sense of glamour. The category FEMME has been divided into the following two sub-categories: Everyday Femininity and Femme Mentality.

Everyday Femininity

The codes, "habitual hygiene", "feminine stereotype", "physical comfort", "physical fear", "product dysfunction", "smell", and "exposure" were subsumed into the sub-category, Everyday femininity. Everyday Femininity describes the concerns, likes, and dislikes of the intended audience, of females aspiring to be FEMME. FEMME possesses an intense concern with feeling, looking, and being fresh and clean. In order to feel fresh, clean, dry, and odorless, the women depicted in the menstrual advertisements have incorporated certain menstrual products into their everyday beauty and hygiene routines.

If you're like most women, everyday freshness is important. A good reason to consider using Kotex Lightdays panty liners every day. The thing that makes Lightdays perfect for light menstrual days makes them perfect for other days too. Days when you have discharge or when you just want to feel fresh...You can use them everyday. As often as you brush your teeth and wash your face. (ad7, 6-15, 21-23)

Fresh dressed everyday because you're a woman everyday. Carefree. (ad29, 3-4)

Fresh, clean, dry. That's the way I want to feel every day...No matter what day of the month it is...Always a clean dry feeling (ad49, 15-17; 34-35; 42)

Whenever Thin Maxi Pads and Panty Shields...keep you dry, comfortable and secure...Whenever. (ad55; 9-10; 27-29)

Feeling fresh, clean, dry, and smelling sweet is important if one is to dress and behave in a FEMME manner. According to menstrual advertisements, the feminine woman was concerned with looking and behaving glamorously. An Advil advertisement suggested that "girls" have two best friends, diamonds and Advil.

You've probably heard that diamonds are a girl's best friend...diamonds may be pretty. But when it comes to menstrual pain, Advil really is a girl's best friend. (ad12, 6-8, 29-31)

Furthermore, FEMME can,

Slip into your silkiest bikinis without a care...(ad48, 3-4),

because Stayfree promised to keep one clean and fresh. Moreover, Diurex water pills enabled FEMME to,

feel slim and comfortable all month
long...(ad30, 6-7), [so that] all you need to
worry about is making a splash. (ad52, 37-38).

Similarly, many historical advertisements suggested that projecting a glamorous, stylish, and charming appearance was important if one wished to successfully secure the attention of males,

Breaking dates is a rating-buster...Tell him
your sentiments tactfully. Then no-one's bitter
and your rating's still tops.(1950's, oad12, 3-
4, 31-33)

Women depicted in the historical advertisements did not explicitly or implicitly associate femininity with personal cleanliness or freshness. The female's image was not threatened by menstruation itself but rather by cumbersome and inefficient menstrual products that caused chafing (oad1, oad3, oad5, oad6, oad8, oad10, oad11, & oad15), developed an odor (oad5, oad8, oad10, oad15), or created "revealing outlines" (oad1, oad3, oad5, oad6, oad8, oad10, oad12, oad15).

WOMAN, who more closely resembles the females depicted in historical advertisements, does not perceive natural biological functions to be inherently dirty, and therefore, does not require products which claim to be cleansing, or freshness enhancing. Vaginal discharge, while recognized, is not likely considered dirty, unclean, or as a detractor of personal cleanliness and freshness. Rather, WOMAN may perceive vaginal discharge as a positive indicator of ovulation and more importantly, fertility.

WOMAN will perceive the incorporation of menstrual-related products into everyday hygiene routines, as a unnecessary and unwarranted economic expense. Whereas FEMME, whose main concern is control over bodily functions, is unlikely to seriously consider the cost-factor involved in adopting the use of menstrual paraphernalia for 28 days of the cycle, 365 days of the year.

Finally, while FEMME is attempting to embody a cover-girl image, WOMAN is concerned with cultivating real-life companions, purchasing "underwear" as opposed to sexy lingerie, and fulfilling career and/or family obligations. These everyday concerns provide a stark contrast to the appearance related and impression formation concerns of FEMME, whose behaviour is oriented towards pleasing men.

Securing the attention of men is an integral part of FEMME's raison d'être. Femininity pleases men, first, because it enables men to appear more masculine in contrast and second, it suggests a general concern for frivolous, small matters, as opposed to a concern in matters of a more serious or cerebral nature (Brownmiller, 1984). Femininity enhances the male's desire to appear more rational and intellectually superior in comparison to females. Unpredictability, whimsicalness, and patterns of behaviour and thought that are dominated by emotion, such as weepy expressions of sentiment, overwhelming frustration or confusion, and fear, are thought to be feminine, "precisely because they lie outside the established route to success" (Brownmiller, p.17; Morgan, 1973).

FEMME Mentality

FEMME Mentality, a sub-category of the category FEMME, subsumed and explained the numerous citations of the codes "patronizing" and "consumer demeaning" found in the advertisement texts. The belief that feminine women are overwhelmed and avoid serious, intellectually-testing matters may explain why some advertisers deliberately used marketing strategies that addressed aspiring FEMMES and their menstrual concerns in a condescending manner.

While simplistic, child-like explanations and selling tactics are appropriate to a FEMME audience, they are likely to be perceived as intellectually demeaning, degrading or sexist to the unintended audience, WOMAN. For example, the suggestion that a menstrual medicine, like a diamond, is a girl's valuable companion is not likely to be

perceived as condescending or sexist to FEMME. It is however, likely to be perceived as a patronizing, stereotypic, sexist comment by WOMAN. WOMAN, unlike FEMME, does not aspire to be draped in diamonds or addressed as girl. The term girl more closely resembles what FEMME is about.

A Midol advertisement stated,

From the company that understands women. (ad38,
21-22)

The preceding lines in this advertisement were,

Premenstrual Syndrome isn't something to get
upset about. (18-19)

Just as a child is reminded that a small scratch is nothing to get upset about, so is FEMME reminded that perimenstrual symptoms are minor and not worth serious attention or concern.

FEMME, typically preoccupied with controlling and concealing the effects of physiological functions, particularly menstruation, will avoid acknowledging any serious menstrual discomforts. It is in FEMME's best interest that menstrual discomforts remain "nagging" as opposed to seriously interfering.

To suggest that sufferers of perimenstrual discomforts and pains not get upset discredits rather than credits the advertisers' claim of understanding women. The advertiser understands FEMME, not WOMAN, when it suggested that perimenstrual discomforts are minor, and solvable with the ingestion of an aspirin-like pill.

Most importantly, it may be perceived by WOMAN as demeaning because it fails to acknowledge the high variability of experienced menstrual pain and discomfort (Sloane, 1980). Rather, such advertising categorizes all discomforts as minor, mild, and easily rectified.

A more covert degradation of women occurred in o.b. and Always advertisements.

Three different ways to sense just what your
body needs...o.b. body sense not nonsense (ad36,
34-35, 42).

If one looks beyond the obscurity of this statement, one becomes aware of the suggestion that FEMME may not be capable of sensing her own body needs, but, FEMME should leave her personal body awareness to her tampon. This advertisement not only suggested that tampons are cognitively complex in contrast to females, but it also demeaned the complexity of the human female body.

Always comfortable with yourself (ad37, 3), reflected the belief that FEMME has a reason to be uncomfortable with herself during menstruation. This statement acts to perpetuate the socially constructed negative association between menstruation, social embarrassment and social discomfort. FEMME finds most physiological functions/effects mentally uncomfortable, because they are uncontrollable and animalistic. Comfort, in this context, is related to social, emotional, and mental comfort rather than physical comfort.

WOMAN is more likely to link menstruation with physical discomfort rather than emotional, mental or social discomfort, as menstruation itself is not perceived to be negative or inherently embarrassing. For example, a 1930's advertisement acknowledged that women were engaged not only in frivolous activities but also had adult, serious obligations and responsibilities. Commercial, disposable products were extolled for responding to the practical, physical concerns of women.

A milliner, who sits at her work all day, writes to tell me that Wondersoft Kotex has relieved her entirely of the chafing that used to make her 'perfectly miserable' (oad3, 19-23)...A housewife, on her feet from morning till night, says pads always used to rope and pull and twist, but 'Wondersoft seems to adjust itself perfectly.' (31-35)

Similarly, WOMAN will devote less time to taming, controlling, and concealing indicators of menstruation because menstruation is viewed as being a natural extension of WOMAN as body (Shuttle & Redgrove, 1990) and hence, a powerful, positive, mentally comfortable process. Unlike FEMME, WOMAN does not interpret menstruation as a process that discredits femininity.

The use of patronizing language and child-like, mindless illustrations and analogies within advertisements further perpetuated the notion of a simple-minded FEMME Mentality.

Do your maxis let you down on heavy days or overnight? (ad27, 16-17),

Can you find the new Carefree Vanity Pak in this picture? Discreet, isn't it? (ad10, 3-6)

Guess which panty liner is specially designed to be more absorbent to help prevent leakage! That's right. Stayfree Panty Liners. (ad5, 5-8).

These advertisements illustrated an overly simplistic, belittling manner of asking whether one is obtaining adequate protection from menstrual blood leakage and staining.

While both of these advertisements are appropriate to a FEMME mental modality, they patronize WOMAN by using condescending questions and exercises that are analogous to finding all the happy faces in a busy page of a children's book. The latter illustration also implied that FEMME possesses a heightened preoccupation and concern with products that are camouflaged by their attractive, feminine appearance. This is directly related to the need for FEMME to secure feminized menstrual-products, an issue that will be discussed in a subsequent section of this paper.

Another characteristic of FEMME mentality, is a preoccupation and concern over small, trivial matters (Browmiller, 1984).

Announcing the biggest, little breakthrough in tampon history...It's a breakthrough of truly small proportions... (ad36, 3-4, 8-9).

Based on this assumption advertiser's successfully convince FEMME that a new packaging idea is indeed a technological breakthrough. While the invention of tampons and sanitary napkins was likely considered a breakthrough by both FEMME and WOMAN, as it freed them both from physically uncomfortable and cumbersome rags, a newly designed tampon box is not likely to be considered a breakthrough by WOMAN.

Finally, ad16, typifies the triteness of the FEMME's general concerns,

So in your world of decisions, Playtex Slender Tampons just made one a lot more comfortable. (ad16, 27-29)

The advertisers' suggest that menstrual product purchasing decisions are major. Choosing the right menstrual product is a difficult, multifaceted, complex decision for the easily overwhelmed and confused FEMME.

A 1960's Modess advertisement blatantly illustrated this manner of attack directed towards the intelligence of the female consumer.

You buy a grapefruit more intelligently than you buy a sanitary napkin. Think about it. When you buy a grapefruit, you look for differences. You compare one grapefruit with another. To make sure you've got the best one around. You don't do the same when you buy a sanitary napkin, do you? You buy one particular brand because you're in the habit of buying it. If there were no differences between sanitary napkins, it would be all right to buy a sanitary napkin that way. But there are differences. And big ones...Think over these differences. So you can buy a sanitary napkin as intelligently as you buy a grapefruit. (oad17, 3-21, 57-59)

Another Modess advertisement from the sixties featured a large, full-page picture of an infant's face. The introductory text read,

She knows as much as you do about sanitary napkins. That's not very flattering. But we're afraid it's true. You know very little about sanitary napkins. (oad16, 3-8)

It appeared that while menstrual products became increasingly specialized, the tone of menstrual advertisements became increasingly disparaging. Women were explicitly, and later were implicitly scolded by advertisers for their inability to adequately recognized and appreciate product advances and differences.

Adopting comparative menstrual product shopping techniques is crucial in addressing FEMME, particularly as the wrong product, the generic product, may not effectively be an antidote for the temporary but reoccurring state of Tainted Femininity. Again, WOMAN may take

offense at the suggestion that menstrual product purchasing decisions are major, or parallel in importance to the other decisions in WOMAN's life. Rather, WOMAN is likely to purchase a particular brand of menstrual product because it offers the best protection from leaks and stains at the most affordable price.

Fear of Menstrual Discovery

The reactions to menstruation implied in the advertisements appeared to confirm the notion that menstruation, like other uncontrollable physiological functions, was stigmatized. The females portrayed in the advertisements appeared to be ashamed of their menstrual status. Menstruation was perceived as a personal and social stigma, "an attribute that is deeply discrediting" (Goffman, 1986, p.3).

Drawing on Goffman's (1986) discussion of stigma management, the main concern of menstruating women is not that of "managing tension generated during social contacts" (p.42) but rather that of managing information about one's menstrual status. "To display or not display; to tell or not to tell; to let on or not to let on; to lie or not to lie; and in each case, to whom, how, when, and where." (Goffman, p.42). Advertisers of menstrual products suggested that menstruating women will choose to evade or deny their menstrual status both personally (sub-category, Pseudo Denial), and publicly (sub-category, Public Denial).

In general, current advertising campaigns insinuated that women will not display menstrual products and that women will not reveal to anyone that they are menstruating for fear of menstrual status discovery. Failure to effectively conceal the menstrual status may result in social discreditation of FEMME's state of femininity and of WOMAN's competence. While the rationale underlying menstrual status concealment differs for FEMME and WOMAN, failure to conceal the status results in the same consequence, discreditation.

Pseudo Denial

Pseudo Denial subsumed the codes "shame" and "status". This subcategory accounted for the personal feelings, and personal reactions of the depicted contemporary woman, FEMME, to menstruation.

When I got my period on the day we went to the lake, I just about died. (ad19, 5-7),

I was always worried that people would know I have my period. (ad13, 7-9), [Why?]

Because your period is nobody's business but your own. (ad36, 38-40).

These excerpts illustrated a consuming fear and intolerance of menstruation. They suggest that menstruation, in and of itself, is a humiliating, shameful physiological process that must be concealed.

A crucial element involved in Pseudo Denial, involves the securing of products that can enable FEMME to forget that she is indeed menstruating. While the physical reality of menses blood cannot be denied, cognitive awareness of one's menstrual experience can purportedly be evaded.

Best of all, I never feel like I have my period. And that's a great feeling. (ad8, 33-35),

Remember Diurex, and you'll almost forget you've got your period...it's so effective, you'll almost forget you've got your period. (ad30, 3-4, 28-29).

These lines implicitly suggested that cognitive awareness of one's period is associated with negative feelings and that positive feelings are associated with the ability to restrict personal awareness of self as menstruating.

Theoretically, the need to deny one's menstrual status may be related to the concept of "deviance disavowal" (Davis, 1964), wherein FEMME experiences self as deviating from femininity during menses. FEMME's personal state of freshness, cleanliness, dryness, and pleasantness is perceived to be temporarily soured by menstruation; thus, FEMME feels insecure about the state of her femininity regardless of public exposure (Davis, 1964).

Because FEMME strives to avoid recognition and awareness of the internal body and its physiological functions, FEMME's body awareness is purposefully restricted to external rather than internal processes. Menstruation, however, forces some degree of internal body awareness onto FEMME, and FEMME perceives physiological processes (with the probable exception of orgasm) as shameful and humiliating. This strong dislike and negative reaction to physiology is not restricted to FEMME. Menstruation, flatulence, bowel movements and burping are just a few uncontrollable biological processes that continue to be a source of embarrassment for North Americans.

Moreover FEMME, feeling shameful about the menstrual process, will likely feel less sexually alluring, less physically attractive, and less carefree during her period. Specifically, the menstruating FEMME will not be purposefully sexually available to men, because FEMME feels that the normal state of femininity is tarnished. In contrast, WOMAN may associate the menstrual process with positive things like fertility; a healthy, functioning body; or a heightened sexual appetite and sensitivity (Shuttle & Redgrove, 1990).

The conceptual process of Pseudo Denial was not evident in the historical advertisements. The women in them were not portrayed as having any personal contempt for menstruation. Menstruation was not presented as an event having negative repercussions on womens' self-concept. Menstruation was considered a potential source of embarrassment only because it could result in "unthinkable accidents" not because it rendered the woman less feminine, fresh or clean. A 1930's advertisement stated,

Here's new comfort...New freedom from embarrassment for your daughter...the special center ensures even greater protection, means even greater security from unthinkable accidents.(oad1, 29-30, 52-55)

Similarly, Kotex advertisements stated,

Why be self-conscious! With Kotex your secret is safe! (1940, oad6, 21-22)

Beware of making enemies...and on 'those' days
 be wary of that foe of poise:
 embarrassment..you're right (protection wise)
 with any of the Kotex 'family'. You see, those
 flat pressed ends prevent revealing
 outlines.(1950's oad12, 34-36, 52-56)

Self-consciousness was neither a consequence of the process of menstruation nor of a perceived tainted state of femininity but a consequence of the "revealing outlines" that accompanied bulky sanitary napkins. In current advertisements, Pseudo Denial was a direct consequence of the need to protect one's self-conception from the FEMME tarnishing "evils" of menstruation, an issue discussed further in a subsequent section of this paper.

Public Denial

This sub-category subsumed the codes "secret", "packaging", "exposure" and "shame". Public Denial embodied the notion that the use of certain menstrual products would enable the menstruating woman to publicly conceal and ultimately deny the menstrual status and avoid menstrual discovery.

Public Denial of menstruation is aided by the use of small, compact, concealable products:

And the really neat thing is that they fit into
 the smallest pocket of my jeans (ad19, 38-40)

Was it ever small! About the size of a
 lipstick... (ad21, 13-14)

More discreet than ever before...On your
 dressing table. In your purse. Or anywhere.
 Because only you'll know what's inside. They're
 so tiny, you can take them anywhere. (ad36, 11,
 21-25)

Individually wrapped pads in a convenient
 drawstring bag. (ad50, 9-10)

Only carefree has this convenient, elegant box
 to blend in beautifully on your vanity or
 dresser. (ad10, 8-10).

In the historical advertisements, fear of public exposure was also related to the need to specially wrap menstrual product boxes in plain

paper, which would ensure that one's menstrual status would not be revealed vicariously through the possession of menstrual products.

Remember, even the box doesn't look like an ordinary sanitary napkin package (1930, oad1, 75-77)

Please send me in plain wrapper the new trial package of Tampax (1940, oad5, 45-46)

Free--personal sample in plain envelope (1950, oad9, 42-43)

Pursettes tampons in plain wrapper. (1960, oad15, 42)

Package concealability was, however, only important while travelling from point A (the store) to point B (home). Once home, the wrapper could be removed and the product/brand name exposed. While the package itself was hidden in a closet or cupboard, the actual contents of the package did not yet require decorative, individual wrapping. Private menstrual management was not yet a stigmatized process; hence, menstrual paraphernalia required only public concealment.

According to current advertising, menstrual status concealability is further enhanced by the use of tampons as opposed to sanitary napkins. Sanitary napkins were disfavoured because they were "messy and bulky" (ad8, 7-8; ad11, 11-12; ad47, 28-29) and cumbersome to carry. Panty liners, however, were thin enough that they were "undetectable" (ad7, 18-19).

Tampons were extolled for being invisible because they are worn,

inside of you. So you never feel it or see it
(ad13, 17-18),

I couldn't feel it and no one else could see
it.(ad47, 27-28).

Females could evade seeing soiled napkins or being "given away" by bulky garment outlines.

Perhaps more importantly, tampons, as opposed to pads, can be completely discarded. There is no incriminating evidence of one's menstrual status discarded in the restroom wastepaper basket.

Even the applicator just flushes away. So no one ever knows I have my period. (ad8, 28-30)

what's neat is that everything, even the applicator, just flushes away! (ad9, 28-29)

From the viewpoint of FEMME, it would appear that the critical feature of a menstrual product is its ability to become invisible or at least adequately camouflaged. Product invisibility assures FEMME that evidence of menstrual paraphernalia will not expose her stigmatized status, specifically, the tarnished state of femininity. Thus, Public Denial is, in part, a consequence of the need to protect one's self-image from the socially created negative effects of menstruation and menstrual products.

Tainted Femininity

The physical reality of menstruation is not considered to be an attribute of femininity, but rather a "fall from feminine grace" (Brownmiller, 1984, p.194). Despite menstruation's pledge to female sex and fertility, "It runs diametrically counter to the prized feminine virtues of neatness, order and a dainty, sweet and clean appearance." (p.194) More precisely, Beauvior (1952) stated that,

It is not easy to play the idol, the fairy, the faraway princess, when one feels a bloody cloth between one's legs; and more generally, when one is conscious of the primitive misery of being a body. (p. 400)

Brownmiller (1984) and Beauvoir (1952) eloquently describe the plight of the FEMME and enable the researcher to better understand why advertisers suggested that the menstruating woman ought to be concerned with concealing and inevitably denying her menstrual status. To reiterate, FEMME is an ideal state to which the depicted women and the intended audience are assumed to aspire; however, like all ideal states, FEMME is never completely attained. FEMME is an elusive state that is perpetually obstructed by at least one impediment, menstruation. The category, Tainted Femininity, was divided into sub-categories and

sub-subcategories. The sub-category Spoiled Femininity, subsumed the sub-subcategory Spoiled Disposition. Similarly, the sub-category, Spoiled Lifestyle, subsumed the sub-subcategory Illegitimized Disruption.

Spoiled Femininity

Spoiled Femininity subsumed the codes "dirty person" and "smell". The menstruating female depicted in current magazine advertisements is in a state of uncleanliness. Although advertisements do not explicitly state that menstruating females are dirty or unclean, they implicitly indicate that they are. A covert message is put forth by continual reference to the need to feel clean, fresh, dry and feminine,

Women who use Always know there's a way for you to feel comfortable during your period...so you feel clean, dry...comfortable with yourself(ad37, 13-15, 20-21),

To make a long story short, you'll feel a lot neater and fresher wearing Tampax tampons. (ad39, 3-5).

Furthermore, New Freedom panty shields promise to enable women to feel naturally clean, feminine and fresher than before. (ad45, 7-8)

The word "before" implies that women are not in a constant state of cleanliness or freshness. Menstrual advertisements suggest that in order to be fresh and clean, to be FEMME, one must actively take steps to sanitize the menstrual state through the use of products that are promoted as having a cleansing, feminizing function.

Women depicted in the historical advertisements did not appear to perceive menstruation itself as a threat to their personal state of femininity, cleanliness, freshness, confidence, or security. Rather, the portrayed women were concerned and self-conscious about "revealing outlines" caused by bulky menstrual products.

This was a legitimate impression management-related concern, as the thick, bulky reusable rags and disposable sanitary napkins characteristic of the day, were difficult to conceal under clinging

evening gowns and party dresses. Many of the menstrual advertisements representative of the thirties, forties and fifties, addressed this exposure issue.

Haven't you longed for just such a sanitary napkin as this? A Wondersoft pad? One that fits so snug that there are not telltale outlines under your clinging gowns? (1930's, oad1, 59-63)

One can wear any sort of dress, and not feel a trace of self-consciousness (1930's, oad3, 42-44)

Dress in any costume you like--if you use Tampax no bulk will show (1940's, oad8, 15-17)

No chafing, no odor, and no bulges, bumps or ridges under a dress or skirt. (1950's, oad10, 18-19)

The key code "dirty person", a conditional property of the category Tainted Femininity, did not appear in any historical advertisements.

What exactly is it that makes the contemporary woman unclean while menstruating? Menstrual blood. It continues to be portrayed as both dirty and smelly, something that must not be contacted. Always sanitary napkins offer a pad with a special "Dri-weave" topsheet:

...the surface of which is covered with thousands of tiny holes. These little holes first draw moisture through, into the pad. Then, they trap the moisture there and help keep it trapped. Far away from the surface of the pad. And far away from you. (ad49, 22-30).

To be fully protected from the polluting aspects of menstrual blood, women are encouraged to use scented or deodorant menstrual products,

Recapture the fresh, clean feeling of baby powder with the tampon more women trust...New Baby Powder Deodorant Tampax tampons. Extra fresh, extra secure. (ad2, 12-14, 16-17)

And, for extra freshness, Playtex has deodorant tampons so you always feel fresh and confident. (ad33, 18-20)

Like the women portrayed in the current advertisements, the women depicted in the historical advertisements worried about menstrual-related odor. However, in the historical advertisements, the

menstruating woman did not smell; the blood soaked sanitary napkin did.

Let your friends in on the Tampax secret. No belts, no pins, no pads, no odor. (1940's, oad5, 3-5)

This tampon does away with tell-tale belts, pins and pads...chafing, binding and odor problems. (1960's, 7-9)

According to these advertisements, menstrual odor could be avoided or eliminated entirely if one switched from using sanitary napkins to tampons. To this end, menstruation was portrayed as an event that could potentially spoil or taint the social presentation of self as FEMME, only insofar as menstrual products themselves hindered socially expected feminine demeanor.

The need to mask the menstrual status with scented menstrual products coincided with a heightened concern over personal freshness during menstruation. A panty liner advertisement from the mid-eighties illustrated this newly created concern.

What's the secret of the fresh-dressed woman?
Fresh panties all the time...At the end of your period or to back up your tampon...Deodorant Carefree Panty Shields are for extra freshness. (1980's, oad23, 3-6, 42-43, 49-50)

The newly created concern with habitual cleanliness and freshness appeared to coincide with the re-classification of menstrual products. The traditional primary function of menstrual products was transformed from that of providing "sanitary protection" to that of providing "feminine protection". A label that inherently represents the quintessential process observed in recent advertisements.

Most importantly, the notion that menstruation renders the female unclean adversely affects the self concept of the menstruating woman. Self conception refers to the image that correlates with what the individual truly regards as "oneself" (Turner, 1970). One's self conception, unlike one's idealized self, is securely attached to one's actual behavior. Moreover, one's self concept is the, "standard or

criterion for determining satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the self-image" (Turner, 1970, p. 30).

For example, Beauvoir (1952) claimed that menstruation frequently ignites feelings of shame and abhorrence in women.

The event always seems to her repugnant and humiliating (p. 349)...the girl feels ashamed, soiled; and she hastens to the washstand, she tries to cleanse or conceal her dirty linen. (p. 351)

While contemporary women are freed from the chore of handwashing soiled menstrual diapers, the women portrayed in current advertisements still abhor the menstrual experience. In particular, FEMME must "pretend" to be physically fascinating, an alluring source of pleasure to men, "when she senses herself as an uncertain, disassociated being, well aware of her blemish." (Beauvoir, 1952, p. 400). So long as FEMME's self image appears to be superior to FEMME's self concept during social interaction, "the experience may be called self-enhancing. The opposite experience is self-disparaging" (Turner, 1970, p. 31).

The markedly different consequences of menses blood on FEMME versus WOMAN's self concept can best be illustrated through an analogy. Browmiller (1984) stated that some women (WOMAN), unlike others (FEMME), do not require cosmetics to camouflage their faces. While cosmetics have traditionally been seen as proof of 'feminine vanity', Browmiller suggested that they are rather proof of 'feminine insecurity', "an abiding belief that the face underneath is insufficient unto itself." (p. 159)

WOMAN, unlike FEMME, does not feel shame resulting from her period because she does not feel that her state of femininity is threatened by menses blood; conversely, FEMME, who associates menstruation with humiliation and shame, requires feminized menstrual "cosmetics". These feminized menstrual products (discussed in a subsequent section of this

paper), may take the form of scented, pastel-colored, elegantly packaged menstrual aids, that serve as proof of FEMME's insecurity.

Spoiled Disposition. In addition to the tarnishing effects of menstruation on femininity, menstruation appears to infringe upon FEMME's pleasant disposition; codes "emotion" and "negative". FEMME is a carefree, fun, jovial, impulsive, and slightly irrational female. However, women portrayed in historical advertisements, like those portrayed in current advertising, perceived menstruation to be a menace to socially expected feminine conduct. Negative menstrual emotional symptoms were perceived to interfere with poise, charm and grace. Early Midol advertisements, however, reassured women that negative menstrual-related emotional afflictions could be eased.

The mild stimulant in Midol helps lift her out of the depression and 'blues' which often attend the menstrual process. So see that your daughter takes Midol and takes it in time. She'll be her charming self even on the days she used to suffer most. (1950's, oad9, 34-40)

In addition, according to current menstrual advertisements, menstruation not only interfered with a woman's charming social feminine conduct but also with her personal mental state of mind.

Up and down? When I have my period, life's a roller coaster and I'm just along for the ride. It's crazy. Emotional. Completely unpredictable. Did you ever laugh and cry at the same time? (ad37, 5-10)

Sometimes my mind says one thing and my body says another especially when I have my period. My mind says 'workout'. My body says 'chocolate'. My mind thinks 'dancing'. My body goes to bed. But feeling comfortable helps balance things out and that's good...for body and mind. (ad41, 5-12)

It would appear that while historical advertisements emphasized a relationship between menstruation and social tension, current advertisements emphasized an association between menstruation and psychological and/or mental tension.

Clearly there are some confusing dimensions at work here, as FEMME is normally mentally irrational. Perhaps a fine line exists

distinguishing between acceptable and unacceptable levels of FEMME irrationality. It would appear that irrationality associated with the Everyday Femininity characteristics of impulsiveness and nonchalance is acceptable and integral to being FEMME.

So long as irrationality is paired with pleasantness, FEMME's less-than-stable disposition is acceptable, if not ultimately desired. Menstrual-related ill-effects, such as emotional tension and irritability, are problematic for FEMME only insofar as they alter FEMME's conception of self as pleasant. Once the female is rendered irritable, the self-image of FEMME has been betrayed. Moreover, once irrationality has been paired with irritability, the menstruating female is transformed from FEMME to "bitch".

In contrast, the potential emotional ill-effects may be more problematic for WOMAN, as WOMAN has no acceptable irrationality baseline. WOMAN is adult, with responsibilities and obligations. Irritable and irrational behaviour is unacceptable, as it is closely associated with being either FEMME or "bitch". Identification with either may result in discreditation, particularly if WOMAN's tasks and responsibilities take place within a competitive, male-dominated workplace.

What enables these menstruating females to regain mental balance and normalcy in their lives? The use of an Always sanitary napkin (ad37 & ad41). In essence, these advertisements confirmed stereotypic beliefs espousing that the menstruating female is irrational and irritable. Inadvertently, these advertisements suggested that emotional symptoms are merely a mind game and that responsibility for alleviation rests in the ability of females to secure the right menstrual pad. Many advertisements failed to acknowledge that potential changes in a woman's emotional state are related to hormonal changes as opposed to a genre of sanitary products. A more factual advertisement was produced by Midol,

Why do I get so emotional?...PMS is not in your head. The tension, anxiety and irritability are

caused by complex hormonal changes...they're biological in nature. (ad38, 3, 8-11).

While this advertisement exhibited some educational merit, it covertly suggested that all menstruating women are inherently irrational. The notion that women are prey to "raging hormones" has traditionally provided the rationale behind the exclusion of women from involvement in various public sectors. Not one menstrual advertisement made mention of the possible positive emotional repercussions of this hormonal change, such as increased energy and creativity (Alagna & Hamilton, 1986; Parlee, 1982; Shuttle & Redgrove, 1990) and/or sex drive (Shuttle & Redgrove, 1990; Warner & Bancroft, 1988).

Spoiled Lifestyle

Spoiled Lifestyle subsumed the codes "disrupt", "physical fear", "physical comfort", and "product dysfunction". This sub-category was similar to the sub-category Spoiled Femininity but dealt with the manner in which menstruation was portrayed as being potentially disruptive to the normal routines, decisions and activities that one performs in everyday life. Equally important, this category reflected the manner in which menstruation was presented as an event that negatively affects the self-image of females.

The Always advertisements in the 1990's (refer back to ad37 and ad41) illustrated how menstruation potentially disrupts the routines of everyday life. These advertisements suggested that normal, everyday activities, consisting of physical workouts and dancing may be agitated by the onset of menstruation. Menstruating females were portrayed as feeling debilitated, experiencing a loss in willpower and rationality. They wished to substitute their normal routine with a day in bed, eating chocolates.

Another example of menstrual precipitated disorder was found in ad19,

When I got my period on the day we went to the lake, I just about died. (5-7)

The strong reaction was needed because menstruation was perceived as completely interfering with her social presentation of self.

"Self-image is something inferred in a situation" (Turner, 1970, p. 29). Self-image may be inferred from the manner in which one sees oneself in a given situation. In ad19, the depicted female "just about died" because her self-image no longer corresponded to the desires and behaviors of her idealized self-image (Turner, 1970).

While females portrayed in current advertisements appeared to dread the menstrual process itself, females portrayed in historical advertisements appeared to dread the potentially disruptive discomfort associated with menstrual products.

Most women think chafing is inescapable. But with this new Wondersoft Kotex you forget about chafing entirely. (1930, oad1, 32-33)

There are so many little difficulties that arise when one uses the wrong pad. Chafing, pulling, roping--to name just a few...Wondersoft Kotex has relieved her entirely of the chafing that used to make her 'perfectly miserable' (1930's, oad3, 14-17, 21-23)

Having to stay at home, break dates, or miss parties was not solely a repercussion of the menstrual process but of physically uncomfortable menstrual products that left "revealing outlines", which represented a tangible threat to the feminine self-image of menstruating women.

Breaking dates is a rating-buster. And 'calendar' time, too, is no excuse, for you know the new Kotex keeps you comfortable, prevents revealing outlines on 'those' days. (1950's oad12, 13-18)

This new Kotex, instead of twisting, roping and pulling, constantly readjusts itself to conform to the body. Activities formerly impossible become pleasant. (1930's, oad1, 47-51)

The above excerpts implicitly recognized that the menstruating woman's performance of tasks or activities may be potentially impaired by not only the adverse effects of the menstrual process but also by menstrual products themselves. This is an important distinction to note, as it acknowledges that levels of functioning may be affected by a

variety of menstrual-related discomforts without questioning the mental competence of the menstruating woman. In the historical advertisements, menstruation was depicted as a negative event potentially affecting females' feminine self-image, but it had yet to be socially constructed as an event that potentially marred females' self conception.

Illegitimized Disruption. Another way in which menstruation can impede a woman's lifestyle is through the host of health hazards that may accompany it. The sub-subcategory, Illegitimized Disruption, subsumed the codes, "sick", "disrupt", "abnormal", "natural" and "responsible". According to a recent Diurex advertisement, the following physical and emotional ill-effects may accompany menstruation: menstrual pain and cramps, spasms, general aches, headache, breast tenderness, tension, related fatigue, irritability, bloating, puffiness, swelling, related discomforts and the "blues" (ad30).

While the women portrayed in 1990's advertising feared menstrual-precipitated disruption, they were not depicted as actually being disrupted. Not one advertisement depicted a woman staying at home, missing work, or cancelling a social engagement because of severe menstrual cramps or other related discomforts.

Although a plethora of menstrual-related physical and emotional ill-effects were presented in the current advertisements, the effect of various symptoms on task performance or functioning levels was not legitimized. Rather, women were encouraged to take responsibility for menstrual discomforts and their alleviation,

I never let my period stop me. (ad19, 12-14).

So why suffer from cramps when you can take Maximum Cramp Relief Formula Pamprin...and get out there. Your period doesn't have to get you down anymore. Period. (1980's, oad24, 12-17)

Menstruation was presented as an event that may negatively affect women's self concept. Rather than legitimizing the various effects that menstruation may have on one's physical and emotional self, advertisements suggested that,

You can count on Midol to help you feel more like yourself again. (1970's, oad21, 19-21).

Implicitly, advertisements appeared to encourage women to ignore or devalue the effects that menstruation may have on their personal psyche. Failure to acknowledge the manner in which menstrual symptoms may affect functioning levels acts to undermine the legitimacy of many women's menstrual experiences.

In addition, ignoring or devaluing menstrual symptoms may, in fact, lead to behaviors which will cause the symptoms to be defined as even more bothersome. To this extent, devaluation may manifest itself in a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy, whereby women aspiring to be FEMME cannot possibly feel "like themselves" (Goffman, 1959), because FEMME's self assessment has been vicariously devalued by bodily processes, processes most commonly associated with WOMAN.

Following Shuttle and Redgrove (1990) a healthier advertising approach would encourage women to relate these physical and emotional menstrual symptoms to their physical nature, as,

Doing so not only honors it [menstruation] as it should be honored but the power of the symbols initiates a healing process in which the despised feminine functions are recovered. (p. 123)

The illegitimation of menstrual-related discomforts appears to be a relatively new phenomenon in menstrual advertising. Midol advertisements representing the thirties and fifties, acknowledged the legitimacy of menstrual pain. Although the physical and emotional effects of menstruation presented in the advertisements were restricted to menstrual cramps, headaches, backaches, "blues", and irritability, the effect of these symptoms on activities or performance levels was acknowledged and addressed without disapproval.

Is your daughter a stay-at-home because of periodic pain? (Have you told her about Midol?)...Midol is the thing to take for functional periodic pain. (1950's, ad9, 3-5, 47-48)

Moreover, rather than suggesting that all menstrual symptoms are minor and easily rectified, another Midol advertisement stated,

'but my suffering is so severe, and I've tried so many things that didn't help! Midol may not end all the pain for me.'...there are women who are not relieved of every trace of pain when they take these tablets. But they get such a large measure of relief that they are quite comfortable in comparison. (1930's, 20-23, 25-30)

The entire genre of menstrual symptomatology is becoming increasingly convoluted. As the number and variety of recognized menstrual-related symptoms continues to increase and expand, the real effects of these symptoms on women's everyday lives is increasingly illegitimized. While the inclusion of a variety of possible menstrual symptoms is commendable from an educational perspective, readers of current advertisements might get the false impression that all menstruating women experience all of the presented illegitimate symptoms. Current medicine advertisements failed to acknowledge the variability of reported physical and emotional ill-effects experienced by menstruating women (Sloane, 1980). For example, a female who experiences no menstrual symptoms is unlikely to perceive menstruation to be as disruptive as the female who reports moderate to severe menstrual discomforts. Particularly as the mildly afflicted female will have fewer persistent bodily indicators of the menstrual process.

In addition, one may assume that a woman who reports light menstrual flow will not experience the same disruption incurred by repeated trips to the restroom to manage a heavy menstrual flow. Furthermore, one suspects that women who experience severe menstrual-related symptoms and/or heavy flow would be more fearful of menstrual discovery, as they run the risk of exhibiting a greater number of menstrual status indicators.

Brooks-Gunn (1985) stated that women with intense menstrual flow "may perceive menstruation as more salient, thereby linking other events (symptoms, performance decrements) to it" (p. 370). Failure to

acknowledge the highly variable experience of menstruation enabled advertisers to perpetuate the notion that all women, regardless of their menstrual experience, share the same intense fear of menstrual discovery.

It appears that the relationship between the potentially disruptive aspects of menstruation and menstrual discovery differ markedly for FEMME and WOMAN. Menstrual-related physical discomforts may be obstructive to WOMAN because they are perceived by self, and/or by others as potentially interfering with concentration levels and/or task performance levels.

Conversely, menstrual discomforts are obstructive to FEMME, because they are perceived by FEMME and by others as detracting from the ideal feminine state and appearance, by paling FEMME's complexion, causing dark circles to appear around FEMME's eyes, by making FEMME's long, shiny hair appear dull and limp, and by causing FEMME to experience temporary water-weight gain. To reiterate Beauvoir (1952), how can one portray the glamorous FEMME ideal when one feels peccant, stale and heavy?

Complex Menstrual Management System

Manufacturers and advertisers of menstrual products have developed highly specialized and complex menstrual management systems. The key issues related to the development of these management systems are Fear of Menstrual Discovery and a Tainted Femininity. By perpetuating these fears and concerns through the media, manufacturers are able to capitalize on FEMME's dire need to secure products which will enable FEMME to conceal or eliminate all indicators of her menstrual status, and thereby serve as an antidote to her state of tainted femininity. The abstract key category Complex Menstrual Management System, subsumed the following sub-categories and sub-subcategories: Feminization Techniques (Feminine Fallacy and Freshness Fallacy); Emancipation

Techniques (Reassurance and Medicinal Cures); and, Stylized Products (Specialized Tampons, Specialized Pads, and Specialized Liners).

Feminization Techniques

In order to make up for the loss in femininity incurred through menstruation, menstrual product advertisers have created feminized menstrual products. Just as femininity is often incorporated into decorative, frivolous definitions of style (Brownmiller, 1984), femininity is incorporated into menstrual products themselves. This quality of product femininity is attractive to FEMME, because it promises to enhance FEMME's blemished state of femininity. The feminization of menstrual products, functions as an effective antidote to the unfeminizing function of menstruation. The sub-category Feminization Techniques was divided into sub-subcategories that deal with feminizing products (Feminine Fallacy) and freshening products (Freshness Fallacy). It is noteworthy to mention that women portrayed in the early historical advertisements exhibited no need for feminized or freshened menstrual products, as they apparently did not experience menstruation as an unfeminizing process.

Feminine Fallacy. This sub-subcategory accounted for the notion that menstruation acts as a detractor from femininity, which explained the increased need to use feminized products in an effort to enhance one's state of femininity during menstruation. This sub-subcategory subsumed the codes "feminine products" and "feminine enhancing". Feminized products are used to be an antidote to the temporary loss of femininity, cleanliness, and dryness.

But the New Freedom maxi pad has a special peach strip...It's fresh. Pretty. Absolutely absorbent...(ad34, 6-7, 14-15)

Two separate little o.b. boxes. Two of the cutest little boxes you've ever seen...In fact, they're so pretty and feminine, you won't care who sees them.(ad36, 15-17,19-21)

...only Carefree Panty Shields give you such a soft, pretty way to stay fresh all day.

Altogether, it's the most feminine panty shield you can buy. (ad10, 11-15)

So you can feel naturally clean, feminine, and fresher than before (ad45, 7-8; ad51, 7-8)

The need for FEMME to secure feminized menstrual products is a direct consequence of FEMME's desperate obsession with attaining a perfect appearance. "Appearance, not accomplishment, is the feminine demonstration of desirability and worth" (Brownmiller, 1984, p. 50). Moreover, Brownmiller claimed that this obsession with appearance, "is the ultimate restriction on 'freedom of mind'" (p.51). Because the menstruating FEMME is never secure or feminine enough, never satisfied with her state of femininity during menses, FEMME is "never free of self-consciousness" (Brownmiller, p. 51).

Finally, while products which are promoted for their attractive packaging, feminine qualities, and concealability are sought by FEMME, they are not a stringent requirement for the female not aspiring to be FEMME. Instead, a generic, non-decorative product will suffice as the crucial concern of WOMAN is the protective function of the menstrual product. For example, a sixties Modess advertisement suggested that the feminization of certain menstrual products actually jeopardized the protective function of the product.

Does your napkin have embossed impressions on top? Oh, they're pretty. But they leave uncomfortable wetness near you. And that's not pretty. The top layer of Modess doesn't have impressions. So the napkin absorbs faster. And you stay drier. (1960's, oad16, 47-54)

Unless manufacturers are successful at convincing WOMAN that pastel-colored strips and embossed designs serve a practical function, WOMAN is likely to perceive the colored strip as a sales gimmick.

Freshness Fallacy. This sub-subcategory embodied the idea that personal freshness is threatened by menstruation, but can be reclaimed by using products that are inherently "fresh", or which function to "freshen". This sub-subcategory subsumed the codes "fresh products", "fresh enhancing", and "smell". Freshness was strategically linked to

femininity and was the most frequently cited concern of the females depicted in the current advertisements. For example, New Freedom was,

Fresh. Pretty. Absolutely absorbent. (ad34, 14-15; ad43, 14-15).

Stayfree Pantiliners bring you the freshness of baking soda. (ad51, 4-5) [How?]

They're made fresh every day with Baking Soda (ad42, 4-5).

Amazing. It doesn't mask odors like perfumes do. Instead it actually absorbs them. Pure, natural baking soda. (ad54, 7-10)

Other products were extolled for being intrinsically fresh because they are scented or deodorized, such as Lightdays Liners (ad44), Tampax Tampons (ad2), and Playtex (ad33). The freshness feature promises to hinder the development of menstrual odor (ad8, 27), an odor that is no longer simply associated with used menstrual products but also with the menstruating woman. The underlying assumption was that the use of a scented or freshened menstrual products will to some degree promote personal freshness and confidence (ad33).

My fresh look does wonders (ad20, 3)

Fresh, clean, dry. That's the way I want to feel every day... (ad49, 15-17).

If you're like most women, everyday freshness is important. A good reason to consider using Kotex Lightdays panty liners every day. (ad7, 6-9)

Plus, just-showered freshness all day long. Try Lightdays... (ad44, 11-12)

WOMAN will have little use for freshening or scented products. Women depicted in historical advertisements, like the ideal type WOMAN, did not believe that personal freshness was at stake during menstruation. WOMAN is more tolerant of natural body odors and less likely to associate unpleasant odors with menstruation.

It is noteworthy to mention that the entire genre of scented and deodorant menstrual products is unwarranted, as menstrual blood is odorless until it is contacted by air (Delaney et al., 1988), which

"makes the deodorized tampon a useless innovation--and an example of just how gullible the public can be." (Delaney et al., p. 141). Moreover, the range of suspected negative side-effects of using scented menstrual products has yet to be fully examined or made public to the consumers. Until scientific studies can substantiate potential ill-effects, the deodorized menstrual market will be likely to continue to expand, particularly as scented menstrual products may act as a substitute for banned feminine hygiene sprays.

Emancipation Techniques

In order to remedy the disruptive aspect of menstruation, advertisers have developed and marketed products which claim to restore and enhance personal freedom. This need to be freed from menstrual ill-effects or inconveniences was explicit in many of the actual product brand names, such as Stayfree, Carefree, New Freedom Anyday, and Sure & Natural.

Many of these freeing products take the form of panty liners, panty shields, and mini pads, products promoted for their ability to free women from worry over menstrual and non-menstrual-related vaginal discharges. According to the advertising freedom and "peace of mind" were only guaranteed so long as females incorporated these speciality products into their everyday hygiene routines.

The second manner of menstrual emancipation occurred through the use of new and improved menstrual medicines, such as Diurex, which claimed to be so effective,

you'll almost forget you've got your
period. (ad30, 3-4)

If these two menstrual-emancipation strategies are combined (sub-subcategories Reassurance and Medicinal cures) the menstruating FEMME needed not experience any sort of menstrual-related disruption whatsoever.

Reassurance. The sub-subcategory Reassurance subsumed the codes "mental comfort", "freedom", and "physical comfort". Reassurance

embodied what emancipating menstrual products claim to offer: "peace of mind" (ad17, 10), because one will be

comfortable and secure...Whenever (ad55, 28-29),
and the freedom to do and wear whatever one feels like doing or wearing.

You're active. On the go. And you need feminine protection that keeps pace with you. (ad55, 6-8)

Now when I get my period, I feel clean and comfortable and free to do whatever I want. (ad19, 51-54)

And I really like being free to do and wear whatever I want. (ad13, 45-46)

Only one pair of jeans has ever fit you so well. And one thin pad lets you feel confident enough to wear them. Thin maxis from Kotex. (ad50, 3-7)

Comfort and security are the reasons most women give for using tampons instead of pads. (ad15, 6-8)

Personal freedom and "peace of mind" were also important issues to the women portrayed in historical advertising.

The special center ensures even greater protection, means extra security. (1930's, oad1, 52-55)

You need the assurance that your sanitary napkin will let you carry on confidently. That's why you can rely on the security of Confidets. (1970's, oad20, 9-12)

In the past, commercial products offered freedom from worry over accidents, bulges, and tell-tale outlines, rather than freedom from worry over personal freshness, dirtiness or marred femininity. Tampons in particular, were associated with greater freedom as they put an end to chafing, rubbing, twisting, roping, odor and embarrassing outlines. Activities formerly restricted by bulky, uncomfortable sanitary napkins, like dancing, where the likelihood of chafing was intensified, were possible if wearing a tampons or Wondersoft Kotex.

Grace going to a party tonight? Yes, thanks to your advice about Kotex...Activities formerly impossible become pleasant. (1930's, oad1, 20-21)

Tampax lets you dance without care and travel with a light head (1940's, oad5, 27-28)

Tampax may even be worn in swimming. (1940's,
oad8, 17-18)

Tampons were extolled for being easy to carry in purses (oad1, oad8, oad10), easy to change in restrooms (oad8, oad10), and easy to dispose (oad5, oad8, oad10), which enabled menstruating women to extend their social involvements.

Finally, products that purport to enhance personal freedom and security are apt to be employed by both FEMME and WOMAN. FEMME can rest assured that her physical appearance will not be marred by bulky, dirty menstrual products and WOMAN is reassured that menstrual products will keep pace with her hectic lifestyle.

Medicinal Cures. A second sub-category of Emancipation Techniques, Medicinal Cures, subsumed the codes "treat", "recommend", and "responsible". The main theme of current menstrual medicine advertisements is that all menstrual-related physical and/or emotional discomforts can be treated and alleviated with the right medicine.

We are so confident of its effectiveness we guarantee Relief. (ad31, 29-30)

Pamprin's special formula acts right away to provide fast, reliable relief (ad28, 7-8)

Advil is so effective, one is often enough (ad12, 23-24)

It's so effective, you'll almost forget you've got your period. (ad30, 28-29).

The credibility of these nonprescription menstrual medicines was enhanced by the medical recommendations that frequently accompanied the advertisements, such as

Doctors have recommended Advil millions of times for menstrual pain. (ad12, 20-21)...Advanced Medicine for Pain, from Whitehall Laboratories.(38-39), and

trust Pamprin--the clinically-proven, effective medicine. (ad3, 17-18).

Midol also claimed to be a "Menstrual Specialist" and Releaf's professional recommendation came from its developers at the Women's Health Institute, for whom the product is manufactured.

While the ongoing development of more advanced and effective menstrual discomfort relief products is positive and long overdue, it is nonetheless built upon the notion that menstruation is an illness that can be treated if one secures the proper medicine. The maker's of Releaf suggested that their

all-natural alternative to current chemical drug therapies...works by encouraging your body's system to re-establish its own natural balance. (ad31, 10-12, 20-22).

While a 1950's advertisement referred to menstruation as a natural process (oad9), the makers of Trendar, in a 1980's advertising campaign, suggested that a diuretic was now required to balance your system (oad22); hence, menstruation continued to be presented as a process that falls short of normality.

The assumption that menstruation may somehow interfere with the natural balance of one's body may explain why menstrual symptoms are so frequently treated with medicines. Although the primary function of menstrual medicines, a partial list of which is included in Table 2, was the relief of menstrual cramps (dysmenorrhea), special formulas and ingredients were presumably added to combat a host of related menstrual discomforts.

To ensure optimal relief from discomfort, the consumer was responsible for the incorporation of a systematic medicinal approach to menstruation. For instance, the makers of Midol suggested that premenstrual symptoms can be effectively relieved with Midol PMS, that regular menstrual discomforts be relieved with Midol, and that more severe menstrual symptoms be relieved with Multi-symptom Extra Strength Midol.

Table 2

Specialized Medicines

Various Brands	Features	Symptoms Relieved
Pamprin Pamprin Extra Strength Capsules Pamprin Extra Strength Caplets	special formula	cramps irritability "other pains" *reduces bloating
Midol Multi-Symptom Midol	specific muscle relaxant maximum strength formula	cramps, headache, backache, sore muscles, tension, irritability, anxiety, emotionality, and *reduces bloating
Diurex water pills Diurex-2 with Iron Diurex Long Lasting 12 hour capsules 1,000mg. Extra Strength Diurex	potassium salicylate	cramps, weight gain, spasms, aches, breast tenderness, irritability, tension, fatigue, "blues", swelling, puffiness, "related discomforts", and *reduces bloating
Advil	ibuprofen	cramps, headache, backache, and other pains
Releaf	no synthetic chemicals or preservatives	re-establishes body's natural system of balance

Likewise, the makers of Diurex have developed the following special formulas to deal with a variety of specific menstrual discomforts,

Choose Diurex water pills, Diurex-2 with Iron or Diurex Long-Acting 12 hour water capsules...Now for stronger than usual menstrual pain and discomforts, which regular strength products may not help, try New 1000 mg. per dose Extra Strength Diurex MPR Menstrual Pain Relief tablets.(ad30, 21-23, 35-38)

Ensuring that one secures the right menstrual medicine for the corresponding symptom may require a considerable amount of time and money on the part of the consumer. Moreover, this purchasing exercise may be in vain for many women: To date, no medicine has been scientifically demonstrated to relieve all menstrual discomforts (Delaney et al., 1988; Hatcher, Josephs, Stewart, Guest, Stewart, & Kowal, 1982).

Finally, females who do not experience the "normal" number or intensity of menstrual discomforts depicted in the advertisements, and women who are unable to tolerate menstrual medicine ingredients, may be prone to feelings of guilt or low self-esteem (Havens & Swenson, 1988), as their menstrual experience may differ greatly from that being portrayed. As a result, some females may incorrectly perceive their menstrual experiences to be abnormal, particularly if they feel that their optimal performance or functioning levels are affected by menstruation. Procuring professional medical advice may be delayed due to the search for some "miracle" over-the-counter menstrual medicine.

Stylized Products

It would appear that menstrual management itself is a more serious, complicated procedure for women aspiring to be FEMME than it is for those not aspiring to a FEMME ideal, because FEMME's femininity is "at stake" during menstruation. The consequences associated with using the wrong menstrual product are more severe for FEMME than they are for WOMAN.

The development of a Complex Menstrual Management System must also be examined in relation to the basic, original function of menstrual products. Apart from the development of special product features that are directed toward increasing femininity and decreasing the chance of menstrual discovery, the basic feature of menstrual products (exempting medicines) is the ability of the product to absorb menstrual blood and prevent menstrual blood leakage and staining. To this end, all

advertised tampon and sanitary napkin products fulfilled this function. The basic, practical function of menstrual products has been 'technicalized', making the purchasing of menstrual products an increasingly complex procedure for not only FEMME but for WOMAN as well. The following sub-subcategories (Specialized Tampons and Specialized Pads, each subsumed the codes "hi-tech", "function", and "obscure". The sub-subcategory, Specialized Liners, subsumed codes "hi-tech" and "function".

Specialized Tampons. As already noted, the most basic function of tampons and sanitary napkins, is the absorption of menstrual blood. Tampons in particular promise to prevent menstrual blood leakage and staining (ad8, ad9, ad13, ad19, & ad21) or "flow escaping" (ad15, ad20). The manner in which this protective function is fulfilled has become increasingly portrayed as a highly technical, stylized procedure (see Table 3).

Table 3

Specialized Tampons

Various Brands	Various Features
Tampax Regular	deodorant/nondeodorant
Baby Powder Deodorant	rounded tips
Tampax	flushable applicator
Tampax Compak	flushable tampon
Tampax Slender	applicator-less tampons
Tampax Slender Regular	slim/slender applicators
Tampax Plastic	slim/slender tampons
Applicator	personal fit
Playtex Gentle Glide	double layer
Playtex Slender	criss-cross designs
o.b. Slender	silk-like coverings
o.b. Regular	lip-stick sized tampons
o.b. Super	Handy Packs
Kotex Slender Regular	
Kotex Regular	
Kotex Super	
Kotex Super Plus	

Even WOMAN, whose primary concern is the practical, protective function of the product, is confronted with the task of deciding which particular tampon best performs this basic function. Is one better protected by a tampon with a

double layer criss-cross design (ad16, 23-24)?

or by a tampon with

a new smooth-as-silk covering (ad36, 31) [that comes] in three different absorbencies (ad36, 33)?

While the development of highly specialized tampons is in part fuelled by economic agendas, it is also motivated by the perpetuation of scientifically unsubstantiated, socially constructed beliefs. For example, scented menstrual products were a response to the belief that the menstruating woman is dirty and offensively "smelly",

Recapture the fresh, clean feeling of baby powder with the tampon more women trust. New Baby Powder Deodorant Tampax tampons. Extra fresh, extra secure. (ad2, 9-14)

Plastic applicators were a response to the belief that cardboard applicators are difficult and painful to insert.

The Gentle Glide applicator is made of smooth plastic with a soft rounded tip, so it's much easier to insert than a blunt cardboard applicator. (ad16, 18-22)

Special beginner tampons, such as Tampax Slender, Playtex Slender, o.b. Slender, and Kotex Slender, were a response to the belief that regular tampons may inadvertently tear a woman's hymen, thereby threatening her virginity (Delaney et al., 1988). For example,

First time tampon users should start with a size designed for beginners, like new o.b. Slender. (ad22, 12-14)

You can be a virgin and still use **Slender** [emphasis added]. (ad8, 21-22)

The underlying assumption being that use of a nonbeginner tampon may result in negative consequences. The promotion of beginner products as the preferred menstrual product for the young adolescent is essentially a marketing and sales strategy. Having experienced menarche and now biologically capable of bearing a child, the adolescent girl does not physiologically require a smaller, slender tampon.

One suspects that beginner products are the "preferred" product, because of what their smallness, smoothness, and delicacy symbolize.

The pre-pubescent female most closely embodies those qualities inherent to the FEMME ideal.

The little girl, not yet in puberty, carries no menace, she is under no taboo and has no sacred character...her very sex seems innocent. But on the day she can reproduce, woman becomes impure. (Beauvoir, 1952, p. 167)

Specialized Pads. While a crucial feature of a tampon appeared to be its ability to prevent leakage and staining, the most crucial features of sanitary napkins appeared to be their ability to direct and retain menstrual blood. Specifically, sanitary napkins function to "draw moisture away from the sides" (ad17, ad32, ad34, & ad43) and keep wetness from resurfacing (ad4, ad37, ad41, ad49, & ad55). However, this basic function has also been technologically advanced by the claimed development of specialized sanitary napkin features.

The consumer must choose whether or not protection is best facilitated by obscure features, such as Always' patented Dri-Weave (ad4) and "wings" (ad27, ad32), or New Freedom's "Extra Absorbency Zone". The various brands and features of the analyzed sanitary napkin advertisements are presented in Table 4.

Table 4

Specialized Pads

Various Brands	Various Features
Vania Thin maxi	pouch-packs
Vania Thin Super maxi	Extra Absorbency Zones
Vania maxi	wings
Always Thin maxi	width-wise protection
Always Night maxi	tapered ends
Always Double Plus maxi	longer length
Always Plus maxi	peach strips
New Freedom Thin	extra strips
New Freedom Regular	Dri-Weave
New Freedom Thin Super	Top-Sheets
New Freedom Super maxi	Unique layers of Super
Sure & Natural Thin maxi	Absorbents
Whenever Thin Maxi	Stay-Dri System
	Silki-soft covers

Specialized Liners. The development of panty liners and panty shields is the best example of a response to the socially constructed Fear of Menstrual Discovery. The function of these products was to supplement the primary protective function of tampons, and to undermine the claims of tampon manufacturers to effectively prevent menstrual leaks and stains.

Regardless of whether a woman uses a tampon featuring a double layer criss-cross design, she was still encouraged to "back-up" her menstrual protection with a panty protector. Moreover, she was encouraged to not isolate the use of a panty protector to menstruation but to incorporate it's use into her daily hygiene routines.

One suspects that the development of special panty protectors is directly related to the notion that women are continually threatened by physiologically produced dirtiness. This dirtiness is no longer simply a result of menstruation but of all vaginally secreted fluids or discharges. Insofar as females perceive these non-menstrual fluids as dirty, they will be motivated to secure the extra protection of panty protectors. Table 5 shows the various panty protector brands included in this analysis. The unique features were vague and frequently associated with the length of the panty protector.

Table 5

Specialized Liners

Various Brands	Various Features
Stayfree liners	specially contoured
Stayfree Minis	extra thin
New Stayfree liners	extra long
Lightdays liners	made with baking
Lightdays Long liners	soda
Whenever panty shields	individually wrapped
New Freedom Anyday liners	drawstring bags
Vania liners	Vanity Paks
Carefree Shields	feminine
	fresh
	pretty

Conclusion

Through the processes of reduction and comparison, the core variable, Tainted Femininity, emerged. Specifically, a state of tainted femininity seemed to best explain most of the variation in the social psychological problem of this research. It was found that the conceptualized process of Pseudo Denial co-existed only in the presence of a perceived state of Tainted Femininity. Similarly, the need or desire to secure feminizing and/or freshening menstrual products appeared to co-exist only in the presence of a perceived state of tainted femininity.

In contrast to current advertisements the historical advertisements suggested that Fear of Menstrual Discovery was the consequence of a negative association between menstrual products and both physical comfort and product visibility. The socially constructed negative association between menstruation and a woman's state of femininity was not observed in any advertisements prior to the 1980's. As a result, numerous codes and conceptualized categories which emerged from contemporary advertisements were not applicable to the historical texts. These categories were Pseudo Denial, Spoiled Femininity, and Feminization Techniques.

It is noteworthy to recognize, however, that many conceptual themes present in the historical texts had not been discarded in current advertisements but were rather expanded. For example, according to historical advertisements, Fear of Menstrual Discovery was manifest only in Public Denial of menstruation, while in current advertisements, Fear of Menstrual Discovery was manifested in both Public and Pseudo menstrual status denial. Pseudo Denial was a consequence of the socially created negative association between menstruation and femininity.

Finally, unlike the specialized menstrual products promoted in current advertisements, technical developments in the historical

advertisements were geared towards increased product absorbency and physical comfort, rather than to enhanced product feminization and packaging. For example, Kotex's pressed-ends,

never make embarrassing, tell-tale outlines...the way napkins with thick, stubby ends so often do! (1940's, oad6, 23-24)

And Tassaway's menstrual cup promised to hold,

4 times as much as any tampon or napkin--with no odor, no chafing, no bulk...you'll never have to change more than twice in 24 hours...(1970's, oad18)

Compared to the obscure descriptions accompanying many of the products in the recent advertisements sample, such as

It expands to fit your body's natural contours and prevent any flow escaping...You simply place the tampon where it's most comfortable.(ad15, 18-20, 22-23)

many of the historical advertisements offered substantially more practical information to make better consumer purchasing decisions based on a product's protective capability. The process of purchasing menstrual products has become considerably more problematic, as the consumer is apt to be distracted by highly technical, often superfluous, product innovations.

Such innovations are not only congruous with an accepted social and cultural order, but also appear to "be the necessary condition of its re-production" (Williams, 1981, p. 210). To this end, recent menstrual product innovations both responded to and perpetuated the created notion that menstruation's most negative repercussion is manifest in a tainted state of femininity.

Discussion

The main purpose of this research was to address the role of menstrual product advertisements as mediators of a subset of femininity meanings linked to the phenomenon of menstruation. Menstrual product advertisements were analyzed in order to better understand and conceptualize the socially constructed experiential realities of

contemporary women, as they define menstruation and their status as menstruating woman.

The results section illustrated and explained the experience of menstruation as portrayed by advertisements, its socially constructed meanings and reactions to menstruation. Comparative conceptual analyses led the researcher to conclude that women, in an attempt to avoid menstrual discovery, employ a complex menstrual management system, which often includes feminized menstrual products, to effectively act as an antidote to a tainted state of femininity (see Table 6 for conceptual/theoretical process diagram).

The Menstrual Stigma

In the present research menstruation was portrayed as a stigma, "an attribute that is deeply discrediting" (Goffman, 1986, p.3). Menstrual advertising suggested that menstruating females felt that their feminine status, their feminine identity, was discredited by menstruation, regardless of whether others were aware of their menstrual condition. Specifically, menstruating women were portrayed as being both personally discredited and socially discreditable.

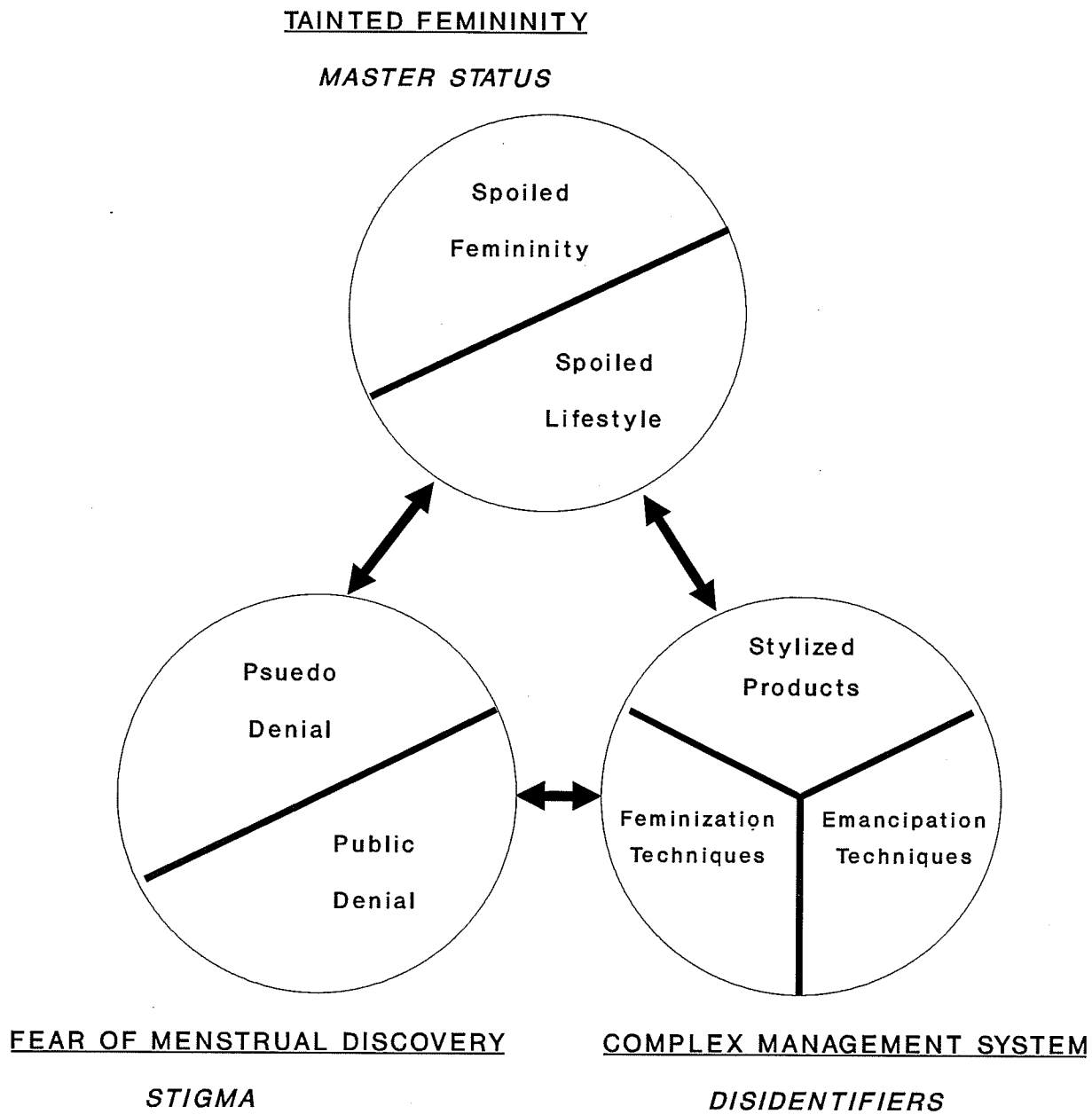
According to Goffman (1986) stigmatized individuals tend to hold similar beliefs, norms, and stereotypes concerning what a "normal" identity, in this case a feminine identity, constitutes. Socially constructed standards for feminine conduct, behavior, appearance and attitude, which females incorporate into their reality, cause women aspiring to the FEMME ideal to agree with or recognize that they themselves fall short of what is socially expected (Goffman, 1986).

Shame becomes a central possibility, arising from the individual's perception of one of his [sic] own attributes as being a defiling thing to possess. (p. 7)

Hence, as females perpetuate this denial by sensing that some personal attribute or behavior warrants it, self-derogation may occur. For example, menstruating women have traditionally and stereotypically

Table 6

Theoretical/Conceptual Model



been characterized as "bitchy". Women who experience increased feelings of anxiety, tension, or irritability during menstruation may label or define their own behavior or disposition as "irritable". In so doing, females validate others' claims that women are inherently "bitchy" while menstruating.

The menstruating women depicted in the current advertisements typically responded to the stigma, menstruation, by attempting to correct their tainted condition. Antidotal management required the expenditure of much private time and effort to the mastery of appearance, behaviors, and activities ordinarily believed to be negatively affected by the stigmatized condition (Goffman, 1986), menstruation. As such, menstruating females, as evidenced in advertising, take extra care to ensure that they appear neat, clean, fresh, stylishly dressed, and brimming with self-confidence and energy.

During social interaction, menstruating females are likely to feel that they are "on stage" (Goffman, 1986). Women are likely to feel self-conscious about the impression they are making, as they are uncertain as to whether the individuals with whom they are interacting, "know" of their stigma. If the stigma is revealed during interaction her master status, Tainted Feminine Woman, will be revealed.

To avoid social discovery of the master status, Tainted Femininity, the female will attempt to conceal stigma symbols, "signs which are especially effective in drawing attention to a debasing identity discrepancy" (Goffman, 1986, p. 43-44). In the present study, stigma symbols included recognizable menstrual products, non-flushable applicators, revealing outlines caused by bulky sanitary napkins and menstrual odors.

According to advertising, menstruating women could incorporate "disidentifiers" (Goffman, 1986) into their menstrual management practices or routines. Disidentifiers refer to signs that are used by

the stigmatized individual to shed doubt onto the validity of their stigmatized condition (Goffman).

In the present study, disidentifiers included tight fitting jeans, tight mini dresses/skirts, skimpy bathing suits, silky lingerie, and athletic leotards; clothing typically perceived as less physically and/or mentally comfortable to wear during menstruation. These disidentifiers counter social expectations that menstruating women will avoid tight-fitting, revealing clothes due to either fear of menstrual leakage or staining, product visibility, or discomfort caused by water-retention, cramping, or breast tenderness.

As suggested by the advertisements, discreet disidentifiers take the form of feminized menstrual products, which claim to possess feminizing and freshening qualities and/or functions. From the perspective of females aspiring to a FEMME ideal, these feminized menstrual products appear to ensure concealment of the Tainted Femininity master status.

Women are encouraged by the media to incorporate these discreet disidentifiers into their identity kits (Goffman, 1986). Advertising encouraged the use of mini pads, panty liners and panty shields not only as an antidote to a tarnished femininity during menstruation, but also to counteract any potential mid-cycle femininity detractors such an ovulatory discharge.

Finally, in conceptualizing menstruation as a stigma, it is essential to understand that Goffman's (1986) concept of stigma involves a two-role social process. Each female participates in both roles. "The stigmatized and the normal are part of each other" (Goffman, p. 135); therefore, females experience themselves as normal during the follicular, ovulatory, and luteal phases of their cycle and as stigmatized during the menstrual phase of their cycle. Likewise, women's master status is transformed from feminine woman, to that of Tainted Femininity at the onset of menstruation.

The main theme embodied in the panty liner and panty shields advertisements was everyday freshness, which suggested that woman's state of femininity was constantly threatened. Her stigmatized role was extended throughout her entire 28 day cycle.

Goffman (1986) explained that the painfulness involved in perpetually returning to a stigmatized state is intensified by the individual's knowledge and familiarity with what they are about to become. In the present study it was found that women aspiring to a FEMME ideal experienced increased anguish in the stigmatized state, as they were required to re-identify themselves as tainted.

The Portrayed Menstrual Experience as it relates to the Social and Political Realities of Women

The existence of both a gender ideology and gender norms in North America helps to create stereotyped expectations with regard to competencies and traits deemed appropriate for each gender (Chafetz, 1988). According to Chafetz,

such stereotypes reinforce employer's and other societal gatekeepers' tendency to assign work roles according to gender thereby supporting the gender division of labor. (p. 119)

Moreover, Chafetz (1988) stated that gender norms, ideologies and stereotypes are the result of male macro power and that it is these social definitions created by men that support the gender division of labor and reinforce male superiority, power and privilege. Women are confronted with male-constructed social definitions that typically devalue them both as people, and as body. These definitions subtly encourage female traits and behaviors that inevitably disadvantage and/or discredit women in terms of their ability to successfully compete with men for power and resources (Chafetz).

While Chafetz's (1988) conception of male-dominated power suggests that males have purposely placed, and continue to place, constraints on

women. Chafetz also recognized that many women "choose that which they would probably be constrained to do anyway." (p. 122)

Socialization. Through childhood socialization, males and females learn appropriate gender attitudes, behaviors and gestures, as well as the appropriate attributes associated with the opposite gender (Chafetz, 1988). Socialization functions to crystallize socially constructed, pre-determined, gender-appropriate behaviors, attitudes and self concepts.

In seeking social acceptance and confirmation of one's gendered identity, individuals tend to repress those behaviors or attributes considered to be deviant from their own gender. Consequently, "the potential behavior repertoire of adults is much broader than the actual behavior of most people most of the time" (Chafetz, 1988, p. 124).

The roles in which women and men typically find themselves, roles that produce their gender appropriate attitudes and behaviors, are set within the boundaries emanating from primary socialization (Chafetz, 1988). In North America, socialization and the division of labor are apt to reflect and be "mutually reinforcing of one another in the production of gender differentiation." (p.124)

Many women perceive menstruation as a negative, shameful, and femininity detracting event because they personally define menstruation as an uncontrollable, untameable natural function. Few women perceive the negative valuation of menstruation as being related to or resulting from socially constructed meanings developed within a male economically-dominated society that devalues the menstrual process.

Women voluntarily seek menstrual products that enable the devalued process of menstruation to be effectively concealed. In doing so, women unwittingly accept male interpretations of their own biological limitations as the interpretation. Male definitional power need not be executed, as females reinforce and perpetuate menstrual devaluation

themselves (Chafetz, 1986), by self-defining themselves as hostages to their own biology (Kingston, 1990).

In order for the ideology of equal rights to transcend into the achievement of pragmatic women's rights (Kingston, 1990), women as individuals, socializing agents, and institutions must redefine menstruation as a legitimate, non-threatening event. Pragmatic women's rights would require that special considerations would be unequivocally given to women experiencing impairing menstrual discomforts such as severe dysmenorrhea and that menstruation no longer be perceived as a tarnishing and polluting event. There would be no negative association between femininity and menstruation, or femininity and any other female-specific physiological functions.

The contemporary woman. To a certain degree, women working in traditionally male-dominated work places have, by virtue of their physical presence, induced others (males) into responding to them as potential equals, at least during face-to-face interactions. The primary dilemma of these women is maintenance of their equal status in the face of any minor amendments and/or special considerations that may be associated with their femaleness (Davis, 1964).

Any required amendments or considerations are likely to be underplayed by females, as they have yet to be granted, "an irreducibly equal normal status" (Davis, 1964, p. 132). Only within the safe confines of an equal status will women feel at liberty to "admit to certain incidental incapacities, limitations and needs." (Davis, p.132). Special considerations may take the form of child-care services, extended maternity leaves, flexible hours, and/or the freedom to take time-off from work if physically debilitated by severe menstrual discomforts.

None of the advertisements included in the primary sample addressed menstrual concerns or issues as they might relate to a work or family setting. As such, menstrual advertisements provided little

information with regard to how the working female can manage menstruation in a male-dominated work place, where it is problematic. It is in these work places, where females sustain their precarious equal status by closely monitoring, managing, and concealing those attributes that remind males of their "otherness" (Wax, 1957).

Menstrual stigma symbols need to be concealed, as their presence may undermine women's professional master status. The menstrual disidentifiers alluded to in menstrual advertisements, are unlikely to be deemed appropriate to women working in male-dominated professions. Specifically, women trying to establish a credible, professional status are encouraged to down play those attributes that emphasize or draw attention to their femaleness (Wax, 1957).

Unlike women who aspire to a FEMME ideal, many professional women cannot simply apply an extra "coat" of femininity in order to counteract a supposedly tarnished image; they cannot simply don a white, tight-fitting mini-dress in an attempt to invalidate their discreditable condition. One suspects that many women secure menstrual products that claim to be concealable and unrecognizable if seen by a male audience. Working women may use FEMME's protective back-up products such as mini pads, panty liners and panty shields to ensure adequate long-term protection from accidental leakage during long uninterrupted meetings or hectic work schedules. To this extent, the seemingly superfluous panty-protectors appear to serve a practical function.

Finally, while women continue to gain access to male dominated work sectors, the media continues to confront women with devaluing socially constructed definitions and portrayals. Media created social definitions and depictions of menstruation's negative affect on femininity and on self concept may act to foster female traits and behaviors that if adopted, would only act to further cripple women's success in competing with men for power and resources.

While advertising may not accurately reflect the actual menstrual experiences of women, social institutions, beliefs and contextual/environmental influences, such as advertising, are believed to account for more variance in women's menstrual experiences than actual individual menstrual characteristics (Dan & Leppa, 1988). McKinnon Doan and Morse (1985) stated that current societal attitudes towards menstruation include denial, rejection and embarrassment, attitudes that closely resemble the key conceptual processes presented in this paper. In a similar vein Paige (1973) claimed that, "It is no mere coincidence that women get the blue meanies along with an event they consider embarrassing, unclean--and a curse." (p. 45)

As young girls females learn that they possess the ability to reproduce. It is not until menarche, however, that young females experientially learn of the socially stigmatized component of this reproductive ability, menstruation.

From menarche onward, young females are typically socialized into their stigmatized situation, while simultaneously, "they are learning and incorporating the standards against which they fall short" (Goffman, 1986, p. 32). Clearly, menstrual advertisements perpetuated the notion that menstruation necessarily impairs a female's abilities to maintain socially expected feminine standards.

To the extent that adolescent and adult women concede to these socially-constructed definitions, women's self conceptions may be adversely affected. It is unlikely that women will successfully assert themselves in social, school, work or family situations if they feel personally discredited or potentially discreditable. Insofar as women accept the distorted images of women presented in menstrual advertising, women's self-confidence and self conceptions as competent individuals is weakened (Toeplitz, 1983). Television, radio and print advertising surreptitiously obstruct "the removal of traditional barriers that

prevent women from achieving equality and full participation in leadership and decision-making" (Toeplitz, 1983, p. 61).

To conclude, it appeared that menstrual advertisements do indeed reflect a desired reality. From a feminist phenomenological perspective, however, this desired reality appeared to reflect the idealized desires of men. Glamour (May, 1989) ran a four page menstrual advertisement featuring 20 different snapshots of women engaged in daily activities, such as going for walks, strolling the beach, and having coffee with girl friends. Not one photograph depicted a female engaged in either work or family-related activities. The following Always sanitary napkin advertisement, represents menstrual product advertisements' quintessential statement of women, menstruation, and femininity.

'How do I want to feel? Fabulous. 365 days a year...'...You forgot you were supposed to feel terrific everyday, didn't you? Lots of us do. From the time we're teenagers, we're conditioned to forget. We resign ourselves to the fact that for a couple of days every month we're going to feel awkward...a little self-conscious...a little uncomfortable. And decidedly un-terrific...The amazing Dri-Weave topsheet...Dry, healthy protection that keeps you feeling fresh, clean, and comfortable. Which, in case you've forgotten again, is the way you're supposed to feel every day. No matter what day of the month it is.

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Appendix A

Guiding Research Questions

Who are the women in the advertisements?

Are they young? Mature? Considered attractive? Are they at work?
Home? "hanging-out"?, etc.

What are their concerns? Aspirations? Goals?

Are concerns/aspirations menstrual-related? Social-related?

What is the woman doing?

Is there evidence of a reaction to menstruation?

Is it positive? Negative? Neutral? Why?

Does the woman experience any physical or emotional ill-effects
from menstruation? If yes, what?

How does the woman manage ill-effects?

Is the woman successful at either dealing with the ill-effects or
eliminating them?

Is the menstrual status legitimated? Under what circumstances?

Is the menstrual status considered to be illegitimate? Under
what circumstances?

Is full and equal participation in activities/tasks related to the
woman's menstrual status? If yes, under what circumstances?

Appendix B

Cross-Reference for all Current MenstrualMagazine AdvertisementsTable Key:

- first two digits represent month of issue
- third and fourth digits represent year
- fifth digit and beyond represent page number
- Example: 07/89 p.143 represents 07(month) 89(year) 143(page)

AD#/BRAND	CHATELAINE	FLARE	COSMOPOLITAN
AD1/NewFreedom	07/89 p.143 08/89 p.76	07/89 p.35 08/89 p.102	
AD2/Tampax	07/89 p.72 08/89 p.37	07/89 p.41 08/89 p.104	
AD3/Pamprin	06/90 p.86 10/89 p.212	07/89 p.44 08/89 p.96	
AD4/Always	07/89 p.103 08/89 p.64 09/89 p.60 11/89 p.151 12/89 p.195 10/89 p.158 01/90 p.10 02/90 p.79 03/90 p.47 04/90 p.211 05/90 p.125 06/90 p.85 07/90 p.414	07/89 p.47 09/89 p.249 12/89 p.123 01/90 p.19 02/90 p.80 03/90 p.181 06/90 p.89 07/90 p.81	
AD5/Stayfree	09/89 p.40	07/89 p.87 09/89 p.243	
AD6/Midol	08/89 p.90	07/89 p.90	
AD7/Lightdays	01/90 p.114(5) 02/90 p.79(80) 04/90 p.122(3)	07/89 p.92(3) 01/90 p.76(7) 02/90 p.92(3) 04/90 p.173(4) 07/90 p.92(3)	
AD8/Tampax	08/89 p.71	08/89 p.89	

Table continued next page

Appendix B continued

AD#/BRAND	CHATELAINÉ	FLARE	COSMOPOLITAN
AD41/Always			05/90 p.98(9)
AD42/Stayfree			05/90 p.164 07/90 p.29
AD43/NewFree.			05/90 p.387 03/90 p.271
AD44/Lightdays			05/90 p.398(9) 03/90 p.262(3)
AD45/NewFree.			06/90 p.249
AD46/Sure&Nat.			01/90 p.53 09/89 p.289
AD47/Tampax			11/89 p.333 07/89 p.59
AD48/Kotex			07/90 p.213
AD49/Always			07/90 p.40(1)
AD50/Kotex			07/90 p.215
AD51/NewFree.			07/90 p.225
AD52/o.b.			07/89 p.35
AD53/Midol			02/90 p.217
AD54/New StayFree			02/90 p.72(3)
AD55/Whenever			03/90 p.46
Total advertisements: N=141			
Total Nonredundant Advertisements: 55 less 1 (AD35), N=54			

*Note: AD35 was deemed inappropriate by the coders, as it promoted Nuprin, first and foremost, as a headache medicine, rather than as a menstrual-related medicine.

Appendix C

Frequency of Codes in Current Advertisements

TAMPONS

	AD2	AD8	AD9	AD11	AD13	AD15	AD16	AD19	AD21	AD22	AD33	AD36	AD39	AD47	AD48	AD52	TOTAL
CODES																	
Begn		4	3	1	2	1	3	1	2					2			19
Tech	2	2	2	1	2		2	2	1		3	4		1	1		23
Comf		1	1	1	2	1		2	1	1	2					1	13
Use			4		3	2	1		2					1		1	14
Func		2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1							11
Fact				1	1		1	1	2	2						2	10
Obsc					1	1		1	1			2			1	3	10
D.Ps	2		1		1			1	1				1				7
MCom	2		1			1		2					1		1		8
Fear		2	1		2		1							2			8
Ref		1	1	1	1			1	1	1							7
Fit		1	1		1	1		1	1						1	1	8
Tact		1		1		1			1		1		1	2		1	9
Resp					1			2	1		1	1		1			7
Expo		2	1	1	1									1			6
Size		1	2	1			1			1							6
Use		1		1				1		1		1					5
Free			1		1			2	1								5
Smell	2	1							1			2					5
Fem																2	2
Cloth		1	1		1			1									4
Patr							1				2	2				1	6
CD													2				2
Pkg												1					1
Secr								1	1				2				4
Virg		1								1							2
FP													3				3
Natu				1		1											2
Disr								2									2
Risk							1				1						2
Shame								1				1					2
FreshE										1							1
Dysf								1									1
Stat		1															1
Rec																	0
FE													1				1
Fresh																	0
	8	22	21	11	21	10	12	24	18	8	13	19	4	10	4	12	217

Appendix C continued

Frequency of Codes in Current Advertisements

PADS

	AD1	AD4	AD17	AD20	AD25	AD26	AD27	AD32	AD34	AD37	AD41	AD43	AD46	AD49	AD50	AD55	TOT
CODES																	
Func	1	3	2		1			1	3	1	1	4	1	2			20
Tech		1		1	1	1	3	2	2	1	1	2	1	4		1	21
Patr				1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1		1			13
Obsc							3	1	3			2		1			10
FP				1	1	1			4			4					13
FreshE				1													2
HHyg										1	1			1			2
MCom	2		1													2	7
Pac				1	1	1										1	6
D.Ps															1		4
Resp		1								1	1			2		1	6
Free	1								1			1					4
CD																1	0
Cloth							2	1									3
Dysf							1	1				1					3
Neg											1	1					2
Tact								1									2
Disr										1	1			1			2
Fem																	2
Expo															1	1	2
Emot															1		1
Comf								1									0
Fresh									1			1					1
Secr															2		2
Natu																	0
Fear																	0
Fact																	0
FE																	0
Risk																	0
Fit																	0
Size																	0
Begn																	0
Smell																	0
Stat																	0
Virg																	0
Ref																	0
Rec																	0
Use																	0
Shame																	0
	4	5	3	5	6	4	10	9	15	9	8	16	2	15	7	9	127

Appendix C continued

Frequency of Codes in Current Advertisements

MEDICINE

CODES	AD3	AD6	AD12	AD18	AD24	AD28	AD30	AD31	AD38	AD40	AD53	TOT
Sick	2	3	1	2		2	3		2	4	3	22
Tech	2	3	1	2	1	2	3	2	1	2	3	22
Treat	2	4	3	2		1	3	3	2	2	2	24
Neg									2			2
Rec	1		1	1		1	1	1		4		10
Ernot	1			1		1	2		3		2	10
Tact								1	1	1	2	6
CD			2						2			4
Dier							1	1				2
Fem			3				1					4
Patr		2	3						1		1	7
Fact		2										2
Ref		1			1			1				3
Resp										1		1
Stat							2					2
Ab								1				1
Obsc												0
Natu									1			1
Risk										1		1
Smell												0
Pac												0
FP												0
Fresh												0
FreshE												0
Comf												0
MCom												0
Free												0
Func												0
HHyg												0
Fit												0
Cloth												0
Secr												0
Shame												0
Virg												0
FE												0
Use												0
Size												0
Dysf												0
Begn												0
Fear												0
D.Ps												0
Expo												0
	8	15	14	8	2	7	16	10	15	15	13	123

Appendix C continued

Frequency of Codes in Current Advertisements

LINERS

	AD5	AD7	AD10	AD23	AD29	AD42	AD44	AD46	AD51	AD54	TOT
CODES											
FreshE	1	2	1	1		1	1				7
HHyg		2	1			1		1	2		7
Free	1		1		1	1		1	1		6
Func	1						2			2	6
Fem											0
D.Ps								1	1		2
Tech		1		1		2	2			1	7
MCom											0
CD		1									1
Tact	1									1	2
Smell							1			1	2
Pac			1								1
Expo		1									1
Patr	1		1								2
FP			2								2
Comf											0
Secr			1								1
Cloth											0
Fresh						1			1		2
Fear											0
Rec											0
Begn											0
Disr											0
Fit											0
Natu											0
Ref											0
Obsc											0
Use											0
Virg											0
Shame											0
FE								1	1		2
Risk											0
Emot											0
Fact											0
Dysf											0
Size											0
Stat											0
Resp											0
	4	6	9	2	2	5	6	5	6	5	60

Appendix D

References for Historical AdvertisementsTable Key:

-Example: 03/35 p.37 represents 03(month) 35(year) 37(page)

OAD#/BRAND	SOURCE	REFERENCE
OAD1/Kotex	Chatelaine	03/35 p.37
OAD2/Delongs	Chatelaine	02/35 p.46
OAD3/Kotex	Chatelaine	02/35 p.49
OAD4/Midol	Chatelaine	03/35 p.46
OAD5/Tampax	Chatelaine	03/40 p.30
OAD6/Kotex	Chatelaine	02/40 p.17
*OAD7/Dettol	Chatelaine	03/40 p.43
OAD8/Tampax	Chatelaine	03/40 p.30
OAD9/Midol	Chatelaine	05/50 p.79
OAD10/Tampax	Chatelaine	02/50 p.58
OAD11/Kotex	Chatelaine	03/55 p.08
OAD12/Kotex	Chatelaine	05/50 p.79
OAD13/Midol	Chatelaine	03/60 p.142
OAD14/Modess	Chatelaine	04/60 p.105
OAD15/Pursettes	Mademoiselle	05/66 p.69
OAD16/Modess	Mademoiselle	11/69 p.-
OAD17/Modess	Glamour	10/69 p.87
OAD18/Tassaway	Glamour	03/72 p.139
OAD19/Pursettes	Glamour	04/71 p.17
OAD20/Confidets	Chatelaine	01/70 p.09
OAD21/Midol	Chatelaine	01/70 p.10
OAD22/Trendar	Chatelaine	05/80 p.146
OAD23/Carefree	Vogue	04/85 p.399
OAD24/Pamprin	Vogue	04/85 p.402(3)
OAD25/o.b.	Vogue	04/86 p.249
Total N=24 * - OAD7 rejected, coders deemed it unsuitable		

Appendix E

Frequency of Codes in Historical Advertisements

TAMPONS

	OA5	OA8	OA10	OA15	OA18	OA19	OA25	TOT
CODES								
Tech	3	3	3	3	2	4	1	19
Comf	1	2	2	2		1		8
Tact	2		1	2	1	1	2	9
Free	1	1		3			2	7
Expo	1	1	1	2	1			6
Obsc	1	1		1			1	4
Rec	1	1	1	1	1		1	6
Smell	2	1	1		2			6
Fact		1	1	1				3
Secr	1		1	1	1			4
Func		1		1	3	1		6
Fem				2				2
FP	1		1					2
Fear				1		1		2
Use				1		1		2
Resp			1					1
CD			1					1
Size				1				1
Patr	1							1
Use							1	1
MCom							1	1
Disr								0
Fit					1			1
Risk								0
FE								0
D,Ps								0
Ref								0
Shame								0
Natu								0
Virg				1				1
Pac								0
Fresh								0
FreshE								0
Stat								0
Cloth								0
Dysf								0
Begn								0
	15	12	14	23	12	9	9	94

Appendix E continued

Frequency of Codes in Historical Advertisements

PADS

	OA1	OA2	OA3	OA6	OA11	OA12	OA14	OA16	OA17	OA20	TOT
CODES											
Tech	5	2	3	6	3	2		2	2	1	26
Func	2		1	2	4			2	2		13
Comf	2		2	2	4	1		1	1		13
Patr			2					3	3		8
Shame	2		1	1		4					8
Expo	1	1	1	2		2					7
MCom	2		1	1		1				2	7
Disr	2					2				2	6
Dysf								3	3		6
Fem			1			5					6
CD								2	2		4
Obsc					1	5					6
Fear	2		2								4
FE											0
FP	1				1			1	1		4
Tact	1							1	1		3
Free	3										3
Sick	1					1					2
Stat	2										2
Resp						1				1	2
Pac	1	1									2
Ref			1								1
Cloth			1								1
AB	1										1
Secr	1										1
Natu											0
Size											0
FreshE											0
Begn											0
Use											0
Fresh											0
Smell											0
Rec											0
Risk											0
Fit											0
Virg											0
D.Ps											0
Fact											0
	29	4	16	14	13	24	0	15	15	6	136

Appendix E continued

Frequency of Codes in Historical Advertisements

MEDICINE

	OA4	OA9	OA13	OA21	OA22	OA24	TOT
CODES							
Treat	3	6	2	2	3	5	21
Sick	4	6	1	2	1	6	20
Tech		2		1	1		4
Emot		2	1	2		1	6
Disr	1	2	1	1			5
Resp	2					2	4
Patr			2	2			4
Fact	3						3
Free						2	2
Neg		1					1
Obsc	1						1
Ab					2		2
Rec		1					1
Fem		1					1
Secr		1					1
Natu		1					1
MCom							0
Pac							0
HHyg							0
Smell							0
CD							0
Fresh							0
FreshE							0
FP							0
Func							0
Fear							0
Expo							0
Ref							0
D.Ps							0
Risk							0
Shame							0
Comf							0
Dysf							0
FE							0
Cloth							0
Size							0
Stat							0
Tact						2	2
Fit							0
Use							0
Virg							0
Begn							0
	14	23	7	10	7	18	79

Appendix E continued

Frequency of Codes in Historical Advertisements

LINERS

CODES	OA23
Fresh	5
Cloth	4
Fem	3
HHyg	3
Fact	3
Free	1
Smell	1
Patr	1
Natu	1
Comf	1
MCom	1
Tact	1
Resp	1
D,Ps	0
Expo	0
Pac	0
Func	0
Risk	0
Use	0
Size	0
Virg	0
Shame	0
Secr	0
Emot	0
Stat	0
Fit	0
FE	0
FreshE	0
FP	0
Dysf	0
Begn	0
Fear	0
Rec	0
Tech	0
Ref	0
Obsc	0
Disr	0

Appendix F

Excerpts taken from Coder's First Reactions Memo:
Discovery Phase

ad1: worry about exposure, peace of mind, protection from wetness and staining, dirty, degrading.

ad2: smell, fear of odor, feeling dirty, need to feel fresh and clean, degrading.

ad3: sickness, medical problem, treatment of illness, pain associated with menstruation, products provide cure/relief and comfort.

ad4: hygiene, unique, clean to wearer, non-physical related product, cleanliness, protection from wetness and flow, provides comfort, gross-feeling can be avoided.

ad5: leakage=exposure, years of problems, diaper-like, bladder-problem-like, old-age-like, protection from staining, security, dumb.

ad6: medical problem, specialized medicines, sickness, menstruation=pain, curable, menstruation=bothersome, requires special treatment.

ad7: vaginal area is dirty, always feeling fresh, hygiene, product habitually used, freshness=comfort, need to be continually protected, protection from product being seen, degrading.

Appendix G

Discovery Process MemosMemo1:

1. Gave each coder a copy of each ad
2. Supplied coders with small index cards
3. Coders instructed to read through each ad and note reactions to ad (in it's entirety) on index cards. Single words or phrases, making no reference to lines, paragraphs, etc. Similar in manner to a word association exercise. This was an individual effort conducted to ensure unbiased reactions from coders.
4. Met together. Discussed each ad separately according to the reactions/associations on reported on cards. This enabled each coder to present objective reactions/observations on each advertisement.
5. Reactions were written down and potential code words were gleaned. ie. person A reported the word dirty; person B, the word messy, person C the word unclean. The coders then developed an enveloping word, ie. Dirty, that could contain all the observed properties/meanings and the excluded properties/meanings.
6. Where disagreement occurred, no code word was developed at this time. Rather, notes were taken on what constituted disagreement.
7. Meeting was adjourned, and I began sifting through the memos in an attempt to develop useable code words, refined from the potential code words fostered through this discovery stage.

Memo2: Excerpts taken from rough-notes taken during Initial Discovery Process

AD1: peace of mind; worry about exposure; degrading--(as if women spend all their time worrying about menstrual concerns)
Protective function: concern/fear that product will protect from stains and leakage.

-Mental comfort: "peace of mind"

-Social Protection: protection from other's knowing one's menstrual status (direct reference to other's not knowing).

AD2: Dirty Person: "you're dirty", and require a product that can cover/mask your dirtiness. Product offers deodorant, freshness, cleanliness.

Appendix G continued

-Dirty: person, odor, clothes--general state of dirtiness.
 -Patronizing: insults the intelligence of women, emphasizes a preoccupation with menstrual concerns.

Ad7: habitual hygiene: concern with always feeling/being dirty; concern over constant hygiene.

-Physical comfort: the product feels physically comfortable
 -Sexist Femininity: the meaning of what it means to be female (sexist meaning). ie. to be female you need to be fresh, clean, soft, etc., gentle, use peach products, decorative products.

Need to be young; petite, small, use or appeal to cutesy language.

*Note: Need to avoid weight gain/bloating may be related to messages about women's need to be slim, these messages have contributed to the increasing practices of bulimia and anorexia nervosa.

Ad37: see line 3--for "Bitch/Fem" association.

*Note: Made the entire menstrual management process so complex.

Technicalization of menstruation: same thing happened to child birth; sexual techniques, etc. Women now have to learn the "right" technique of management, any old way won't do it.

Has overcomplicated something that is normal and natural.

Reconstruction of menstruation into something highly technical; can no longer use an ordinary, "generic" product.

*There appear to be numerous variables that one needs to deal with during menstruation. ie. deciding which product to use for each day (different sizes, absorbencies, applicators, designed for different days of one's 28 day cycle) Special products for during menstruation, and special products for days when one is not menstruating. In other words, women constantly require protection.

-Products are Hi-Tech, because Menstruation is Hi-Tech!

Ad41: emphasis on feeling uncomfortable with yourself--with the hormonal thing.

*Note: Re-creation of the menstruating woman into something more complex....menstruation is a bigger problem now than it was 30 years ago, it now requires more technologically advanced products.

-Disruptive: effects of menstruation on mood, state of mind, activities, and desires is all-consuming. Menstruation changes the balance/regularity of regular lifestyle---period disrupts life.

Appendix H

Potential Code Words

Abnormal:

references to the menstrual process being "imbalanced", or in a state of abnormality.

Begin:

implies that beginners (1st-time or recent tampon users) require a "specially" designed tampon; may suggest an association between tampon use and age.

Clothes:

heightened concern over keeping clothes and/or underclothes clean and fresh during menstruation; may also refer to the need to protect clothing from "feminine" soiling through-out the 28 day cycle.

Consumer Demeaning:

comments/analogies that are insulting or degrading to consumer intelligence.

Dirty Person:

statements/messages that the menstruating woman is dirty or tainted as an individual; reference made to products that will cover-up, mask or cleanse the female, as she is in an unclean state; underlying assumption is that women are somehow intrinsically dirty while menstruating.

Disrupt:

suggestions that the effects of menstruation are all consuming; ad may imply that menstruation somehow changes the balance, regularity, and/or normality of everyday life.

Dysfunction:

fear about not being protected enough by the product; fear of product dysfunction.

Emotional:

refers to emotional ill-effects/symptoms of menstruation, ie. tension, depression, "the blues", etc.

Expert Recommend:

reference to the product being developed and/or approved by specialists/medical professionals, ie. product is "clinically proven".

Expert Reference:

reference/implication that one ought to consult with an expert/professional to gain information about menstrual products and/or menstruation; ad might give name, address and/or telephone number of place/person to whom one can contact with any questions.

Appendix H continued

Exposure:

product aids in concealing menstrual condition; product claims to ensure that know one else will 'know' that she is menstruating; underlying assumption is that special products are necessary to conceal menstruation, ie. product xxx is "undetectable", "invisible", etc.

Fact:

provision of factual information related to menstruation, ie. suggests or acknowledges that cramps are a physiological reaction to changes in one's hormonal chemistry; ad offers useful information to the reader, ie. definitions, explanations, illustrations, or examples.

Feminine enhancing:

reference to personal femininity being enhanced by using particular menstrual product.

Feminine product:

reference to products that claim to "inherently" possess feminine qualities, ie. "it's the most feminine tampon you can buy".

Feminine stereotypes:

reference to what women are or ought to be concerned with; references to stereotypic likes, dislikes, and/or concerns of women, ie. "making a splash", "diamonds are a girl's best friend", etc.

Free:

reference to freedom from menstrual status reminders; ie. ability to do "whatever I want, whenever I want to"; freedom may be linked product name, ie. Carefree, Stayfree, etc.

FreshE:

reference to personal freshness having been, or being, enhanced by using a particular menstrual product.

Fresh:

refers to products that claim to possess a quality of freshness, ie. "it's the freshest pantiliner you can buy."

Function:

reference to the protective function of the product, usually worded in a positive manner, ie. absorption, cleansing, etc.

Appendix H continued

Habitual Hygiene:

heightened concern with continually feeling fresh/clean; suggestion that certain menstrual products be incorporated into everyday hygiene routines/habits; may be implicit in the actual product name, ie Anyday; idea that women are intrinsically dirty even when not menstruating.

Hi-Tech:

refers to the need to use specially created/designed products for special/specific menstrual problems, ad may personify the product, use metaphorical descriptions, and/or vivo codes.

Mental comfort:

product offers/enables consumer "peace of mind"; consumer need not worry about product dysfunction.

Natural:

reference to menstruation being a natural process; ad may explain or mention that experiencing some symptoms is natural, etc.

Negative:

reference/implications that menstruating women are "bitchy", less stable, indecisive, etc.,: Association made with the effect of this "dark side" on everyday activities/decision-making, etc.

Obscure:

refers to words or phrases that are unclear or uncertain; meaning of idea or statement not presented clearly or plainly; may require prior knowledge of menstruation to understand.

Packaging:

refers to specially packaged products; emphasis on the convenience of particular product packaging.

Patronizing:

comments/analogies that treat the issue of menstruation and/or women in an offensively superior or condescending manner.

Personal fit:

refers to personal fit of the product; implied that the product will mould/shape uniquely to one's vaginal canal.

Physical comfort:

stresses that product is physically comfortable (product quality), ie. product will not be felt, "I don't even know it's there".

Appendix H continued

Physical Fear:

related to fear of feeling pain, discomfort, or being hurt; state may be caused by fear of products being hurtful, or the procedure being painful or uncomfortable; fear advanced by prospective consumer/user not advertisers.

Responsible:

reference made that implies that women are responsible for the alleviation of menstrual-related problems and/or symptoms.

Risks:

reference to potential risks or concerns to keep in mind if using product, ie. link between tampon use and Toxic Shock Syndrome.

Secret:

related to shame, but directed at the menstrual product; may refer to the concealable size of the product. May use words like thin, compact, small, etc.

Shame:

implied that menstruation is something to be embarrassed about; implications that public discovery of menstrual condition might be potentially discrediting; refers more to a "state of mind"; reference or reactions to menstruation

Sick:

suggestions that menstruation is a debilitating sickness, ailment or illness; may refer to physical symptoms of menstruation, ie. cramps, backache, etc.
itself as a negative, embarrassing, discrediting process.

Size:

refers to the notion that a smaller tampon will be more comfortable, less painful, and/or easier to use than a regular size or super size tampon.

Smell:

concern over menstrual odor/smell; may refer to the need for special menstrual deodorant or scented products; underlying assumption may be that menstruating women smell bad, and that they need to ensure that others will not detect a menstrual odor.

Status:

product somehow enables women to "forget" that they are menstruating, ie. "I don't even feel like I have my period".

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Appendix H continued

Tactic:

techniques/words used by advertisers to convince or persuade reader into using product; ie. may suggest product xxx better than product yyy, because...

Treat:

purports to cure or successfully treat ill-effects/symptoms of menstruation.

Use:

refers to ease of product use, ie. insertion, "goes in easy", "is simple", "takes a little practice".

Virgin:

words/statements that refer to the issue of virginity; may make associations/links between tampon use and sexuality.

Appendix I

Excerpts taken from Researcher's Coding Session Memos

-look for links between who speaker is for hi-tech: is it the advertiser? the consumer? does it matter?

-combine HH and SFS when it is implied that women are always concerned with freshness/cleanliness even when not menstruating.

-Only SFS if reference implies that cleanliness/freshness is only a special concern or of special importance during menstruation.

-Note the systematic approach of advertisements in creating products--may be future category.

-clarify difference between shame and exposure.

Shame: refers more to a "state of mind"; a general concern with having one's period. Reactions to menstruation itself are negative; resulting in potential embarrassment, discreditation.

Expose: underlying concern is that special products are nec. to conceal menstrual status; fear that product may in some way "give away" menstrual status. Thus product is extolled for being undetectable to others, ie. not bulky, flushable, undetectable...

-combine all sexist related codes, try to break them down into more workable, precise codes.

-Physical Fear: related to fear of feeling pain, discomfort, being hurt is from the standpoint of the consumer.
*it differs from physical comfort code word because the person has not yet tried the product. Person is nervous, worrisome, fearful of how the product works, how it will feel, how it is inserted etc.

Appendix J

Millum's Imagery Codes and CategoriesActive/Expressions

Cool/level:

indifferent, self-sufficient, arrogant, confident, haughty, aloof; wide eyes, full lips straight or slightly parted, obtrusive hair. The eyes usually look the reader in the eye, similar to the way a person might look into a mirror.

Carefree:

nymphlike, active, healthy, vibrant, "outdoorsy"; unrestrained or tousled hair, outward-going or extroverted, often smiling or grinning.

Practical:

concentrating, engaging on the business at hand, a bit serious looking; eyes object-directed, hair often short or pulled back.

Active/Poses

Composed/controlled:

and impression of balance and potential force; "controlled relaxation; legs may be slightly apart, hands together, and head level or raised.

Active:

engaged in some physical activity or movement, arms and legs leading outwards, head may be tipped back.

Functional:

the body is object-directed, limbs are arranged to expedite the business at hand, engaging to set out on a specific mission/purpose.

Active/Clothing

Office-wear:

white-collar wear, neat, fashionable, minimal jewellery, non-figure accenting, ie., suit, skirt, jacket, dress slacks.

Dirty-wear:

clothes worn for doing messy jobs, protective clothing...overalls, jeans, old clothes.

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Appendix J continued

Athletic:

athletic wear, ie. sweats, leotards, headband, shorts/t-shirt and runners, aerobics outfit.

Uniform:

defined vocational garb, ie. nurses uniform, lab coat, flight attendant outfit.

Non-active/Expressions**Soft/Introverted:**

eyes shut or half-closed, mouth slightly open/pouting, rarely smiling; inward-looking trance-like "look", removed from earthly things.

Kittenlike:

coy, naive (perhaps deliberately), friendly and "girlish".

Maternal:

motherly, mature, wise and experienced; "kind" authority, shorter hair, slight smile and gentle eyes/mouth.

Catalogue:

a neutral look as of a mannequin, artificial; features may be in any position, eyes are likely wide open and mouth is smiling, but look is likely vacant and empty (no personality).

Non-active/Poses**Narcissistic:**

self-caressing, limbs leading back to the body, sitting, or in couched position, head tilted downward.

Relaxed/leisurely:

attitude of comfort, rest, ease and recuperation; limbs drooping or supported; usually sitting, leaning or lying.

Seductive:

come-hither pose, sitting or lying, legs curled up or stretched out together; arms away from body, one shoulder may be pushed forward, head erect.

Dummy:

neutral and wax-like, life-less, mannequin pose.

Appendix J continued next page

Appendix J continued

Non-active/Clothing

Exotic:

the unusual, very glamorous, party dresses, fancy dresses, foreign costumes.

Snazzy:

smart and very fashionable in a conservative/expensive way, suits are well-cut and feminine/elegant, expensive looking, might be accessorised with hats/gloves.

Informal:

worn around the house, in the garden, going for causal walks, comfortable....slacks/shirt/casual skirt.

Appendix K

Excerpts taken from General Contextual Memos

Numbered answers represent responses to the Tentative Guiding Research Questions (see appendix A). Responses were written immediately following the initial group coding process.

Memos₂, represents expounded answers written approximately 2 weeks after group coding sessions.

1. Who are these women?

They are dumb, not well-educated, and paranoid. They are embarrassed about their bodies. They are young, self-consumed, weak and sickly, obsessive compulsive, and possess a general ignorance concerning the internal processes of their body.

Memo₂: They are young adolescents/women. Generally students, athletes or party girls; they are not particularly bright; preoccupied with personal appearance and other's opinions of them; they are not very self-confident. They tend not to be mothers or professionals, they are concerned with how menstruation detracts from their personal appearance, and their state of femininity.

2. Concerns?

Smelling bad, menstrual leaking, keeping menstruation a secret, tampon insertion procedures, concealed menstrual products, looking nice/neat/clean and feminine, aging, fear of anything painful or uncomfortable, getting exercise, eating too much chocolate, virginity, gaining self-confidence and security.

Memo₂: Keeping menstruation concealed and controlled to the point where they can "forget" it. They are concerned with concealing menstruation from others, and losing their personal awareness of it. Concerned about not receiving adequate protection from stains, leakage and odor; concerned that their daily activities may be agitated by their menstrual status; concerned that they will not choose the "right" menstrual product; concerned that tampon use might affect one's innocence/purity/virginity. Aspirations? To be young, clean, pretty, worry-free, comfortable, confident, noticed, and feminine. To make a "splash" and be regarded by men, to snag a diamond, to wear sexy, tight, silky clothes and be notice.

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Appendix K continued

Excerpts of Individual Advertisement Contextual Variables

- ad8: Concerns: being old enough to use a tampon, fear of painful and difficult insertion; getting enough protection, Virginity, leaking and staining, discarding the applicator, keeping menstrual status a secret, odor. Aspirations: feeling like you never have your period. Remedy: Tampax Slender Tampons, Why? disposable applicator, rounded tip, slimmest applicator, cleaner and easier than pads.
- ad13: Concerns: that tampons are difficult to use for beginners; pads are bulky and messy, feeling or seeing the tampon; convenience, painful insertion, personal fit; leaks and stains; feeling comfortable and clean. Aspirations: being free to do whatever I want, wear what ever I want; to feel better about my period. Remedy: Tampax Compak Tampons.

Appendix L

Imagery Analysis of Current Advertisements

CATEGORY	Advertisement Identification Number																						N	
	2	8	9	11	13	15	16	18	19	25	26	27	28	29	32	37	39	40	41	46	49	52		55
Expression																								
Soft & introvert		X	X	X		X	X					X	X					X						X
Cool/level	X									X				X					X					
Kittenlike																X					X	X		
Carefree								X			X							X						
Maternal															X									
Practical									X															
Catalogue																				X				
Poses																								
Narcissist		X					X									X		X						
Composed/ Controlled				X							X													
Relaxed/ Leisurely	X		X			X			X				X		X				X		X		X	
Active				X				X																
Seductive										X		X								X		X		
Functional														X			X							
Dummy																								
Clothing																								
Office wear											X								X					
Exotic												X								X				
Dirty wear																								
Snazzy		X								X				X			X				X	X		
Athletic				X				X					X											X
Informal			X		X	X	X		X						X	X		X						
Uniform																								

Note: ad2 could not be coded for clothing
ad13 could not be coded for expression

Appendix L continued

Category Classification PercentagesExpression

	<u>%</u>
Cool/level	18.2
Carefree	13.6
Practical	<u>4.5</u>
Active	36.3%
(N = 8)	
Soft/Introverted	40.9
Kittenlike	13.6
Maternal	4.5
Catalogue	<u>4.5</u>
Non-Active	63.5%
(N = 14)	

Poses

	<u>%</u>
Composed/Controlled	8.7
Active	8.7
Functional	<u>8.7</u>
Active	26.1%
(N = 6)	
Narcissist	<u>17.4</u>
Relaxed/leisurely	39.1
Seductive	<u>17.4</u>
Non-Active	73.9%
(N = 17)	

Clothing

	<u>%</u>
Office-wear	9.1
Athletic	<u>18.2</u>
Active	27.3%
(N = 6)	
Exotic	9.1
Snazzy	22.7
Informal	<u>40.9</u>
Non-Active	72.7%
(N = 16)	

Appendix M

Imagery Results for Historical Advertisements

	Identifying Advertisement Number											
	3	6	14	15	17	19	21	23	24	24	25	N
Clothing												
Office wear	X					X			X			3
Exotic			X					X				2
Dirty wear												0
Snazzy							X				X	2
Athletic				X								1
Informal		X				X				X		3
Uniform												0
Expressions												
Soft & introverted						X						1
Cool/level			X									1
Kittenlike												0
Carefree								X	X	X	X	4
Maternal												0
Practical	X	X			X		X					4
Catalogue												0
Poses												
Narcissist												0
Composed/ Controlled	X						X					2
Relaxed/ leisurely						X						1
Active										X	X	2
Seductive				X								1
Functional		X			X			X	X			4
Dummy			X									1

Note: oad15 could not be coded for expression.

Appendix M continued

Category Classification PercentagesExpressions

Cool/level	<u>10.0</u>
Carefree	40.0
Practical	<u>40.0</u>
Active	90.0%
(N = 9)	
Soft/Introverted	<u>10.0</u>
Non-Active	10.0%
(N = 1)	

Poses

Composed/Controlled	<u>18.2</u>
Active	18.2
Functional	<u>36.4</u>
Active	72.8%
(N = 8)	
Relaxed/Leisurely	9.1
Seductive	9.1
Dummy	<u>9.1</u>
Non-Active	27.3%
(N = 3)	

Clothing

Office-wear	<u>27.3</u>
Athletic	<u>9.0</u>
Active	36.3%
(N = 4)	
Exotic	18.2
Snazzy	18.2
Informal	<u>27.3</u>
Non-Active	63.7%
(N = 7)	

Appendix N

Conceptual Categories of Advertisements

CATEGORY	SUB-CATEGORY	SUB-SUBCATEGORY	CODE WORDS
FEMME	Everyday Femininity		*habitual hygiene, *feminine stereotype, physical comfort, physical fear, product dysfunction, smell, expose
	FEMME Mentality		*patronize, *consumer demeaning
Fear of Menstrual Discovery	Pseudo Denial		*status, *shame
	Public Denial		*secret, *expose, *packagine, shame
Tainted Femininity	Spoiled Femininity		*dirty person, *smell,
		Spoiled disposition	*emotion, *negative
	Spoiled Lifestyle		*disrupt, physical fear, physical comfort, expose
		Illegitimized disruption	*sick, disrupt, abnormal, natural, responsible

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Appendix N continued

Conceptual Categories of Advertisements

CATEGORY	SUB-CATEGORY	SUB-SUB CATEGORY	CODE WORDS
Complex Menstrual Management System	Feminization Techniques	Feminine Fallacy	*feminine products. *feminine enhancing
		Freshness Fallacy	*fresh products, *fresh enhancing *smell
	Emancipation Techniques	Reassurance	*mental comfort, *freedom, physical comfort
		Medicinal Cures	*treat, *recommend, *responsible
	Stylized Products	Specialized tampons	*hi-tech, *function, obscure
		Specialized pads	*hi-tech, *function, obscure
		Specialized liners	*hi-tech, *function

Note: asterisked codes represent conditional properties of the category. Non-asterisked codes represent contingent properties of the category.