THE INTIMACY OF COMMODITIES

THE INTIMACY OF COMMODITIES:

SOCIAL CONTROL, SUBJECTIVITY AND FEMININE HYGIENE

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines one instance of the sexual oppression of women, that which is found in the emergence of the feminine hygiene market. It is demonstrated that certain forms of commodities, with specific application for feminine hygiene, were developed and introduced at times when women entered the paid labour force in large numbers. It is argued, however, that the correspondence between these two parallel phenomena is more than temporal.

Social control in the culture of the office is disciplinary in mode, sexist in orientation. The manipulation of the "cosmetic self" implies a regulation of socially constructed femininity; this discipline is internalized, and thus successful, as women purchase products which regulate sexuality and femaleness. A semiological analysis of advertisements for feminine hygiene products demonstrates that the "problem that women bleed" has remained constant but has assumed varying forms. The content analysis of ads lends access to speculation about why women consume redundant products and how, ideologically, they come to understand and organize their work force experiences. The mythicizing effects of advertising involves the construction of the subject in terms of a reconciliation of what she knows and how she acts in a social totality. The gender relations of dominance require that women appropriate what it means to be a woman, to be feminine.

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Introductory Chapter

This thesis looks at one instance of the sexual oppression of women. It focuses on that oppression within the context of the labour force participation of women, particularly their experience as a body of disciplined workers with a specific relationship to the capitalist mode of production and consumption. It is argued that certain indices of the improved status of women, such as their increasing visibility in the social sphere, do not necessarily point to an alleviation of male dominance and social control of women. It appears that other forms of oppression, those that rely on the self control of women, or self motivation as social control displaced onto the subject, contradict the seeming "liberation" of women. The emergence of the feminine hygiene market is the subject of this study of a newer, more covert, form of sexual oppression. Its products and their intended uses modify definitions of women's sexualness as new forms of consciousness, fashion consciousness and images of women are offered up by the marketing of new commodities.

Kuhn and Wolpe argue that the feminist problematic involves a materialist conception of the position of women, i.e. the locus of investigation must be the implications of the sexual division of labour in terms of the power relations between men and women at different conjunctures.[1] Feminist inquiry is infused by two different types of analyses. On the one hand, theoretical developments have encompassed the class location

of women and their ensuing economic exploitation in terms of the relations of production; on the other, analyses have investigated the specificity of women's sexual oppression, caused by their biology and created by socially determined sex-gender systems. It must now account for instances of the "meeting" of a materialist analysis of the oppression of women, one which situates that oppression in terms of the relations of production and an analysis of sexism which examines the disproportionate exercise of power of men over women.

The sexual oppression of women, the male control over women's reproductive capacities and bodies, exists now and has existed in historically specific and varying forms. Easton argues that increased political and legal rights for women and their growing labour force participation have resulted in a weakening of "patriarchy" and therefore the evolution of new forms of male dominance and social control.[2] Similarly, Smart and Smart point out that women's discontents may no longer fall under the rubric of the "problem that has no name" but the problem still remains of revealing the manifest yet covert forms of oppression and control.[3] This thesis will examine one instance of the control of female sexualness, or images of women as sexual beings, that which is found in the emergence and development of the feminine hygiene market.

Various feminist themes emphasize differing aspects of females oppression and consequent strategies for struggle and

change. Some alleviation of that oppression has occurred, for example, the participation of women in wage work, the creation of the women's self-help movement, day care centres, college and university women's studies programmes, the trend in women retaining their own names after marriage. However, oppression still exists in forms which appear trivial but which are actually deeply embedded in the everyday lives of women. As part of the women's movement's struggle for women's liberation, the task has been to uncover the myriad of ways in which women's oppression occurs. As feminists struggle to (a) problematize the issues, and (b) fight to change them, they have begun to realize that even seemingly trivial matters indicate the depth of women's oppression.

What is the oppression of women? Three classic streams of thought within feminist literature have posed and attempted to answer this question. Liberal feminism gathers its historical antecedents from the suffrage movement. It now organizes chiefly under the National Action Council for the Status of Women in Canada and the National Organization for Women in the United States and advocates the participation of women in the social sphere, e.g. the job market, the political arena, education, in the media, on equal terms with men. This encompasses the belief that women should determine their own social role and engage in practical tasks in the struggle for equal status in education, hiring and the law.[4] Liberal feminists premise

their arguments on the assumption of the "absolute equality of men and women notwithstanding biological differences."[5] The liberal social critique is policy oriented: liberal feminists are concerned with equal rights and representation under the constitution. They attempt to alter the sex-role structure by working within the system. Their concerns are those of participatory democracy and in trying to change public policy; they are relatively uninterested in the origins of women's oppression. They seek equality within marriage, job sharing, free sexual access to men, the elimination of sexist language and the rectification of sex-role stereotyping in child-care, education, the professions, the church, the public image and the media.

The second current, radical feminism, sees the oppression of women as emerging from the pervasive control of men. The universal subordination of women has resulted from the biological imperative of child-bearing, according to radical feminists, and thus arrangements which structure society are founded on a male-female polarity. Marriage and the nuclear family are emphasized as the centre of oppression and the assumption of universal sex oppression posits a similarity of women's experience.[6] An outgrowth of the radical feminist orientation is the articulation of considerations specific to women's status and sexuality vis à vis men, and, paradoxically, of a reformist nature (as opposed to 'radical': they do little to alter the social nature of power relationships between men and women), for example, the

creation of rape crisis centres, homes for battered women and the lesbian separatist faction which "practices" radical feminism by isolating its prøponents from the society of men.[7] Radical feminists assert that "the body is the role" in emphasizing socialization as the key to developing relations of dependence/independence, dominance/subordination and seek a reversal of interpersonal relationships or "sexual politics." The radical feminist perspective is ahistorical, deterministic and falls short of a comprehensive theory of how men and women are made in social terms.[8]

Marxist feminists, finally, situate the oppression of women in an historical perspective and relate it to the institution of private property and the relations of production. Acknowledging that capitalism has created a split between the home, family and personal life on the one hand, and the workplace on the other (and hence the exclusion of women from wage work), marxist feminists have designated the analysis of domestic labour and its relation to capital as a major concern.[9] Part of the attempt at a synthesis between feminism and classical marxism involves a denunciation of sex-blind marxist categories and an integration of the insights of psychoanalysis into an understanding of the creation of the sexed subject (the iniation of the child into culture and the acquisition of "appropriate" forms of masculinity and femininity); or the mapping of social relations onto psychic relations or relations of

subjectivity.[10] This understanding extends the search for historical causation beyond the limits of an analysis of the mode of production or, in some cases, challenges conventional notions of production.[11] Because of the historical antecedents rooted in interpretations and reinterpretations of the marxist position, attempts at a rigorous synthesis of marxism and feminism have been restricted by the former problem and are oftentimes left at the theoretical level. However, concern for the proletariat has lead some marxist-feminists to take up the plights of wage-earning women or women who support their wage-earning husbands in trade union and strike activities.[12]

Each of the three perspectives offers something conducive to a useful theory of oppression for this thesis. The liberal feminist emphasis on the media as a reflector, reinforcer and possibly creator of "unfair and distorted" images of women underpins a critique of institutionalized sexism that is powerful both in its scope and intensity. Liberal feminists support the notion that advertising creates "false representations" of women through the perpetuation of the "feminine mystique." In arguing for a rejection of female socialization into consumption roles and that the power of women is only realized at the point of purchase, liberal feminists paint a picture of "woman as victim" thereby begging the question of why women want to consume, want to look sexy.[13] The analysis is linear, not dialectical, as women are rendered "passive ob-

jects," imprisoned in sexist stereotypes; the notion of women as "subjects," the receivers as well as creators of meaning is elided.

The radical focus on the "tyranny of biology" has generated a substantial body of literature, albeit descriptive, which elucidates the ways in which the sexes are socialized according to sex-ascribed behaviour, characteristics and roles.[14] The very essential differences between men and women are highlighted as radical feminists give full weight to the objective physiological sexual differences which have created a "natural" division of the sexes. Bodily functions, namely menstruation and childbirth, are brought "out of the closet" and designated subjects in their own right. Menstruation is given its due importance in a woman's life and characterized as a "celebration of a child's entry into womanhood."[15] The cultural manipulation of the biological is given analytic priority. Greer discusses some personal and social perceptions of menstrual phenomena and concludes, given the internalization of fears and taboos surrounding the monthly shedding of blood, "If you think you are emancipated, you might consider the idea of tasting your menstrual blood- if it makes you sick, you've a long way to go, baby."[16] Similarly, on the jacket of Sisterhood is Powerful the hypothetical suggestion is put forth: "Discuss the variations in tone when asking a male druggist: Have you Tampax Super?"[17] All polemics aside, the radical feminist analysis provides useful

speculation on the source of female subordination, that which is rooted in biology. It falls short, however, of comprehending how modes of socially constructed femininity are manipulated, differ between groups of women, and how they change and vary. In positing the universal (and accepted) dominance of men and the universal acceptance of the subordination of women, by women, the implication is that women have been duped by forces beyond their control. Thus, not only is the "order of things" given an obdurate status, the radical feminist perspective fails to address how individuals are subjected to dominance and control in its specificity, and how, as subjects, they confront that subordination and "learn" to co-operate in creating a culture of femininity or how biology is socialized.

The study of the intersection of patriarchal relations and social modes of production characterizes the strengths of the marxist feminist analysis of the subordination of women.[18] The recent concern of the study of the subconscious, through psychoanalysis, as "the site of interaction between the body, history and psychic representations" represents a new field of inquiry in feminist scholarship.[19] While this is relatively untravelled and contested terrain, attempts are being made at developing a theory of how the subject locates herself within a particular ideological configuration.[20] These two concepts, subjectivity and ideology, are crucial to understanding how individuals are subjected to, for example, certain forms of

wage labour and sexism, and how they are then active, or subjective, agents in creating meaning out of their daily lives and experiences. Individual lives are produced and reproduced by the individuals themselves.

Kuhn and Wolpe's initial postulation that to confront the specificity of women's oppression we must locate the intersecting "moments" of women's relation to production, their subjection to capital, and women's relation to power, their subjection to male dominance, is the starting point of this thesis. The entrance of women into wage work is a key determinant of other changes in the situation of women. The social control of the body takes on a peculiarly feminine hue as management confronts the wage-earning consumer. The internalization of social control is the method by which oppression is able to work.

In looking at one instance of the oppression of women, in its seemingly trivial but persistent form, I hypothesize that there is a correspondence between the participation of women in wage work and the emergence of the feminine hygiene market. My initial concern with this topic arose out of a fascination with not only the recent creation of new and varied products designed to aid women in their menstrual cycles but also the connotative messages contained within the advertisements for those products. The prevalent assumptions in these ads are about the offensiveness and potentially polluting effects of women and their bodies. The questions I asked, and am asking in this

thesis, then, are: why have these products emerged now and at what body of consumers are they aimed? In order to periodize these questions I was able to determine that the first feminine hygiene product successfully entered the market just after World War 1, a time when women were called upon to satisfy the needs of war created industries. The second significant product, tampons, was developed in 1936, just prior to women's participation in wage work during the second world war. And, finally, at the time of the massive influx of women into the labour force in the 1960's, feminine hygiene deodorants appeared. Subsequent varieties of feminine hygiene products, deodorant tampons, maxi-pads, mini-pads, panti-shields, to name a few, have emerged at a time when there is a marked and particular movement of women out of the home and into the labour force. These facts confirmed my suspicions that there is a correspondence between the participation of women in wage labour and the emergence of certainly commodity forms. Given the rather recent composition of a female labour force situated in clerical and white collar occupations, it is apparent that these women represent not only a body of consumers but a body of wage-worker consumers. I then postulated that there may be not just a correspondence but a relationship between the parallel phenomena of the emergence of the feminine hygiene market and the entry of women into the labour force.

Further questions emerged which I attempt to answer.

Why is it important to look at the participation of women in the labour force? What is significant about the creation of women, not just as consumers, but wage-worker consumers? Why is the emergence of the feminine hygiene market of historical and sexual significance? If feminine hygiene products are used as a form of social control, how do we account for their phenomenal sales and the fact that women want to, and do, buy them, use them? Finally, advertising assumes an important function, mediating between production and consumption.[21] Advertising is related to commodity production as it itself becomes a commodity that is produced and consumed. We, as readers, consume the meaning of an ad "the purpose of which, economically speaking, is that we shall consume properly."[22] Advertisements contain "information...a means by which the consumer may communicate to others his relationship to a complex set of abstract social attributes- it identifies him or her within social structure."[23] In this sense, as Winship argues, modes and "idealized values" of femininity are achieved through consumption.[24] What, then, does advertising tell us about the "real world," i.e. the way the female subject is contructed?

The approach I take to address these questions begins in Chapter 1 with a discussion of an historical overview of women's labour force participation and the specific nature of "women's work," the availability of women to consume feminine hygiene products, and a temporal statement of the emergence of

the feminine hygiene market.

Chapter 11 outlines the role of management and discipline in bureaucratic institutions in the construction of individual, docile bodies as objects of discipline and the control and cultivation of the female body. Following this, an account is provided of the culture of the office, the objective realities of women's work and the way in which women organize their labour force experiences on the ideological or subjective level as a means of compensating for the increasingly alienating effects of clerical work.

Chapter 111 offers a semiological analysis of advertising and establishes advertising as "data" which conveys and shapes operative definitions of ideology and power between men and women. The findings of this analysis are presented within the context of themes of continuity and change.

A thesis concerning the emergence of the feminine hygiene market is offered for the insights it will generate about the regulation of sexualness and the dominant definitions and representations of sexuality as they are defined through power relations.[25]

NOTES TO INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER:

[1]Annette Kuhn and AnnMarie Wolpe, "Feminism and Materialism," in Feminism and Materialism: Women and Modes of Production, edited by Annette Kuhn and AnnMarie Wolpe, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978, 7.

[2]Her definition of patriarchy is "male dominance and female dependence, based on men's ownership of property, ability to earn money, and legal rights over women." Barbara Easton, "Feminism and the Contemporary Family," Socialist Review, 1978, 12. Other not mutually exclusive definitions are offered by Millett as the universal rule of men, Kate Millett, Sexual Politics, New York: Avon Books, 1969; Mitchell as the law of the father, Juliet Mitchell, Psychoanalysis and Feminism, New York: Vintage Books, 1975; Hartmann: "...partiarchy (is) a set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men, and solidarity among them, which enable them to control women. Patriarchy is thus the system of male oppression of women." Heidi Hartmann, "Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation by Sex," in Women and the Workplace, edited by Martha Blaxall and Barbara Reagan, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976: 138; Beechy who argues for a theory of patriarchy which includes the processes of production and reproduction and the relationship between the organization of class structure and socially created gender differences, Veronica Beechy, "On Patriarchy," Feminist Review, 1979, 3; Rowbotham as the male control over women's productive capacity and over her person, Sheila Rowbotham, Woman's Consciousness, Man's World, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973; Young and Harris as the physical, ideological, economic, political and institutional subordination of women, Kate Young and Olivia Harris, "The Subordination of Women in Cross Cultural Perspective," in Papers on Patriarchy, Brighton: Women's Publishing Collective, 1976; see also Roisin McDonough and Rachel Harrison, "Patriarchy and Relations of Production," in Feminism and Materialism: Women and Modes of Production, edited by Annette Kuhn and AnnMarie Wolpe, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978; Annette Kuhn, "Women, the Family and Capitalism," paper presented at the Sexual Division of Society Group, British Sociological Association, December 1975; Annette Kuhn, "Structures of Patriarchy and Capital in the Family," in Feminism and Materialism: Women and Modes of Production, edited by Annette Kuhn and AnnMarie Wolpe, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978; Amy B. Bridges and Heidi I. Hartmann, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union," unpublished paper, 1977; Felicity Edholm, Olivia Harris and Kate Young, "Conceptualizing Women," Crit-

ique of Anthropology, 1979, 3:9/10; Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the Political Economy of Sex," in Toward an Anthropology of Women, edited by Rayna R. Reiter, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975; Christine Delphy, The Main Enemy: A Materialist Analysis of Women's Oppression, London: WRRC Publications, Explorations in Feminism #3, 1977; Zillah Eisenstein, "Developing a Theory of Capitalist Patriarchy and Socialist Feminism," and "Some Notes on the Relations of Capitalist Patriarchy," in Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism, edited by Zillah R. Eisenstein, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979; and Michele Barrett and Mary McIntosh, "Christine Delphy: Towards a Materialist Feminism?" Feminist Review, 1979, 1, for further analyses of the "patriarchy debate." With all its varieties and contradictions, the term "patriarchy" refers, in the final instance, to institutionalized sexual hierarchy with men at the top and women at the bottom. For our purposes, it is sufficient to say that as certain forms of women's oppression have been defeated, other forms have emerged.

3 Carol Smart and Barry Smart, Women, Sexuality and Social Control, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978, 2. This formulation of women's oppression was used by Betty Friedan to signify the inability of women to identify the sources of their discontent when they conformed to traditional femininity and role expectations.

4 Judith Hole and Ellen Levine, Rebirth of Feminism, New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971.

5 Hole and Levine, 171.

6 Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex, New York: Bantam Books, 1970; Kate Millett, Sexual Politics, New York: Avon Books, 1969.

7 Nancy Myron and Charlotte Bunch, eds., Lesbianism and the Women's Movement, Baltimore: Diana Press, 1975; Helen Diner, Mothers and Amazons: The First Feminine History of Culture, New York: Julian Press, 1965.

8 Roberta Hamilton, The Liberation of Women: A Study of Patriarchy and Capitalism, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1978, 85.

[9] Eli Zaretsky, Capitalism, the Family and Personal Life, New York: Harper and Row, 1976.

[10] Veronica Beechey, "On Patriarchy," Feminist Review, 1979, 3, 72; Annette Kuhn, 1978, 44.

[11] Mitchell, 1975; McDonough and Harrison, 1978; Richard Wollheim, "Psychoanalysis and Feminism," New Left Review, 1975, 93.

[12] Meg Luxton, More Than a Labour of Love: Three Generations of Women's Work in the Home, Toronto: The Women's Press, 1980.

[13] Alice Embree, "Media Images 1: Madison Avenue Brainwashing- The Facts," Sisterhood is Powerful, edited by Robin Morgan, New York: Vintage Books, 1970; Lucy Komisar, "The Image of Women in Advertising," Woman in Sexist Society, edited by Viviam Gornick and Barbara K. Moran, New York: Basic Books, 1971; Carolyn Faulder, "Advertising," Is This Your Life? Images of Women in the Media, edited by Josephine King and Mary Stott, London: Virago Ltd., 1977.

[14] Firestone, 193.

[15] Germaine Greer, The Female Eunuch, Great Britain: Paladin, 1971, 52.

[16] Greer, 51.

[17] Sisterhood is Powerful, op cit.

[18] Kuhn and Wolpe, 1978; Women's Publishing Collective, Papers on Patriarchy, Brighton: Women's Publishing Collective, 1976.

[19] Ros Coward, et al, "Psychoanalysis and Patriarchal Structures," Papers on Patriarchy, op cit., 6.

[20] op cit.

[21] Stephen Kline and William Leiss, "Advertising, Needs and Commodity Fetishism," Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory, Winter, 1978, 2:1.

[22] Janice Winship, "Handling Sex," Media, Culture and Society, 1981, 3, 27.

[23] Kline and Leiss, 19.

[24] Winship, 31.

[25] Frank Mort, "The Domain of the Sexual," Screen Education, Autumn, 1980, 36.

Chapter 1

Trends in women's labour force participation and the creation of the feminine hygiene market

Women bleed and women work. While these two phenomena have been historically persistent, their expression in consciousness and in practice have varied. In this chapter I will demonstrate the temporal correspondence between the emergence of the feminine hygiene market and the participation of women in specific forms of wage labour.

Women have always worked in the labour force although they were significantly underrepresented in comparison with their male counterparts.[1] The first notable increase in the number of women into more visible forms of wage labour occurred during World War 1. This growth represented an acceleration of a trend begun in the late nineteenth century and was related to a number of factors. The development of a market economy meant that production in the home steadily decreased and single women were thus available for work outside the home.[2] Families of two wage earners were essential to purchase those products which were formerly made domestically. And, with the population shift from rural to industrial centres, labour intensive industries created new female markets.[3] During the pre-war and war periods the majority of women performed clerical work (which had recently acquired a "feminine" label), domestic, teaching and nursing jobs.[4] The overall participation rate of women was, however, low and the duration of their stay not so lengthy

in comparison with World War 11.[5] The majority of women employed during World War 1 were single. That supply was exhausted during the second world war and married women were called upon to fill employment needs.[6] Hence, for example, in some places day care centres and nurseries were established facilitating women's stay in war created and vacated jobs.[7]

The second major influence which stimulated an increase in women's labour force participation was the second world war. Between 1941-1951 women's participation in service industries dropped dramatically by 13.1% while at the same time there was a corresponding increase in the percentage of women in white collar jobs- from 44.6% to 55.4%.[8] The overall participation rate rose from 24.4% in 1939 to 33.2% in 1945.[9] In addition to the large numbers of women employed in service and clerical occupations, a significant proportion were quickly moving into occupations created by the war industries.[10]

Many women retreated from the ranks of the labour force to make way for the men who were to return from war. Pre-war and war-time propaganda emphasized "patriotic service to the war effort" as its main recruitment tack.[11] That ended after the war as did the "war measure" day care programme.[12]

While women were obviously not invisible nor inactive in the 15 or so years following the end of the second world war, their labour force participation varied by class. Working class women continued in wage labour while middle class women concentrated on

attending to the domestic sphere and the private service of household management, the dimensions of which are captured in The Feminine Mystique.[13] The participation of women in the labour force and entrance once again into the public sphere paralleled its 1940's proportions only in the early 1960's.

The reasons for the rise in women's labour force participation in the 1960's is related to the larger economic context within which industrial and occupational trends and changes were taking place. The emergence of the multi-national corporation and the concentration of productivity among a few firms is characterized by a high capital investment per worker and "growing control over a complex production and marketing process."[14] Jobs in this, the monopoly sector of the economy, are where women are most often found. The growth of the state sector as well has contributed to the creation of jobs in public administration, health and education.[15] As labour productivity increases more goods are transformed into commodities necessitates the development of new needs, consumption and new markets: "...marketing techniques... advertising, transportation and selling of products...the need for financing and recording these transactions also increases."[16] There has been a trend in the post-war period, with the concentration of production, towards emphasis on "producing services."[17] A quote from a Canadian labour department monograph addresses this development with particular observation of its effects on the conditions of women's work:

> Economic, social, and technological changes in the past half century have played a part in the growth in number of women workers. The increasing mechanization of production processes with consequent dilution of skills, has resulted in the replacement, in some industries of craftsmen by operatives, many of whom have been women. But the largest area of new demand for women has been in the clerical and service occupations, resulting from the growth of large business organizations and improved general prosperity. 18

In their analysis of the Canadian situation, Armstrong and Armstrong point out that between 1951-1961 the net number of women entering the labour force was, for the first time, larger than that of men. For the intercensal period, 1960-1971, women made up 55% of the labour force growth.[19] The contemporary sex map of the work world illustrates that women occupy a majority of office, clerical, white collar and service jobs. Connelly provides a breakdown of those occupational categories in which women constitute 70% or more of the workers. They are: office occupations, nursing and therapy, teaching, personal service and a miscellaneous category.[21] In 1979 61% of the female population in the labour force was employed in the three female occupations: clerical (34%), service (17%) and sales (19%).[22]

Table 1

Female Labour Force Participation, Census Years 1931-71 and 1979[1]

	Participation Rate			
Year	Married	Single	Other	Total
1931	3.5%	43.8%	21.3%	19.3%
1941	4.5	47.2	17.3	20.3
1951	11.2	58.3	19.3	24.1
1961	22.0	54.1	22.9	29.5
1971	37.0	53.5	26.5	39.9
1979	47.4	61.8	54.1	48.9

1. Statistics from the 1931 census are for the age group 10 and over. Statistics from the 1931-51 census are for the age group 14 and over. Statistics from the 1961 and 1971 census are for the age group 15 and over. Figures exclude those on active military service; Newfoundland is included from 1951 on; the Yukon and Northwest Territories are not included.
Sources: Patricia Connelly, Last Hired, First Fired, Toronto: The Women's Press, 1978, table 1.1, 84; Women's Bureau, Labour Canada, "Women in the Labour Force," 1980.

Table 11

Percentage of the Female Labour Force in Major Occupational Groups, 1901-77

Occupation	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1977
white collar	23.6	29.9	47.9	45.4	44.6	55.4	57.4	59.8	69.7
manual	30.6	28.0	21.1	16.9	18.5	19.4	13.3	10.1	9.1
service	42.0	37.6	27.0	34.0	34.4	21.3	22.5	15.2	17.3
primary	3.8	4.5	3.7	3.7	2.3	2.8	4.3	3.7	3.1
not stated	-	-	0.3	-	0.2	1.1	2.5	10.8	-
not elsewhere classified	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.4	-
all occupations, percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
all occupations, number (thousands)	237.9	364.8	489.1	665.3	832.8	1163.9	1760.5	2961.2	-

Sources: Patricia Connelly, Last Hired, First Fired, Toronto: The Women's Press, 1978, table 7.2a, 100-101; Women in the Labour Force: Facts and Figures, Labour Canada, Women's Bureau, 1977.

Table 111

Females as a Percentage of the Total Labour Force in Each Major Occupational Group, 1901-79

Occupation	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1979
white collar	20.6	23.8	29.5	31.5	35.1	38.1	41.3	48.5	68.6
manual	12.6	10.4	10.4	8.5	11.0	11.5	10.6	12.0	10.4
service	68.7	65.3	58.9	63.0	65.1	55.4	57.8	46.2	17.9
primary	1.1	1.5	1.6	1.9	1.5	3.1	9.2	16.4	2.9
not stated	-	-	23.0	18.0	15.1	20.5	25.8	43.3	-
not elsewhere classified	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13.6	-
all occupations	13.3	13.4	15.5	17.0	19.8	22.3	27.8	34.3	-

Sources: Patricia Connelly, Last Hired, First Fired, Toronto: The Women's Press, 1978, table 7.3, 103-4; Women's Bureau, Labour Canada, "Women in the Labour Force," 1980.

As is evident from Tables 1, 11 and 111 there has been an increase in the employment of women, their participation in wage labour that is white collar and clerical. As well, women dominate the white collar occupations. This trend is accompanied by a decline in the participation rate of women in manual, service and primary occupational categories. The most dramatic changes in the labour force composition of women have occurred during those times when women were called upon, in massive numbers, to satisfy employment needs. As is indicated in Table 1, an increase in the saturation of women in white collar labour of almost 20%, between 1911-21, 10.8% between 1941-51, and the most recent progression from 55.4% to 69.7% testify to the pronounced demand for women workers, workers who occupy specific clerical categories.

Gradually, then, there has been an increase (with some fluctuations) in women's labour force participation due to some of the reasons outlined: the demand of the war economies and most recently the need for a family of two wage earners. Other "supply" factors have contributed to the availability of women for wage work and activated their reserve army potential and "pulled" them into the work force. Changes in household and contraceptive technology served to "push" women out of the home as has the necessity to compete with an increased standard of living.[23] Occupations and job categories were created during the wars and with the growth of the multi-national corporation and filled by women. Certain "demand" factors ensure that women are housed in these white collar

clerical jobs, jobs which are identified with women. Oppenheimer argues that there is a demand for female workers in that "a fairly high proportion of all female workers is concentrated in occupations which are predominantly female."[24] This conglomeration of women into particular forms of work is associated with the sex-labelling of jobs and sex-linked characteristics supposedly specific to the job. Tradition has slotted women into "female" occupations and helps make a particular sex label stick.[25] Women constitute a "reserve army" of labour which satisfies the criteria of availability, cheapness and competitiveness.[26] The largest increase in female labour force participation has occurred amongst married women.[27] Their availability, cheapness and ability to compete with other women for jobs is structurally arranged by the greater flexibility of married women (as opposed to single women who must work to support themselves) to rely on their husbands' income and part-time work, and the lack of adequate, cheap day care facilities.[28] This is particularly apparent when one looks at the situation of married women with young children, mnay of whom do not seek outside employment.[29] Time budget studies have shown that married women perform the bulk of domestic labour, even among families of two wage earners, and popular assumption has it that most women really "belong" at home but can be called upon to fill employment needs.[30] While these phenomena appear to resemble "supply" factors they lend support to sexual oppression in its ideological form as they feed into the institutionalized demand for female labour in specific sectors-

clerical, white collar and service. It might be more appropriate to say that supply and demand factors intersect. It is also appropriate to say that structural changes overcome certain persistent beliefs ("women's place is in the home") while sexism is embedded in other areas. The location of women in specific forms of wage labour implies a "meeting" of discrimination or oppression that is structural and sexual in effect. Although women are seeking and attaining wage labour in unprecedented numbers they are housed in sex-typed jobs which are of low skill, low prestige, low pay and involve little control over their work situations or the machines.[31] As the white collar and clerical sectors have grown and become feminized, they have also become increasingly "proletarianized" with regard to income, type of work performed, benefits, security, for example. Although many male workers are subjected to the same effects of proletarianization in the work place, women's experiences differ comparatively. This is demonstrated in Chapter 11, in the section on the "culture of the office," where, it is argued, women experience managerial control that is sexist and involves the cultivation of femininity.

Various aspects of women's wage work are relevant to their participation in the public sphere. Women have usually been identified as consumers. Women who earn wages are women with money to spend, Women who earn wages are also women who spend less time in domestic settings and more time interacting in social situations. Although often anonymous in character, these "social situations"

demnad the "art of impression management," the regulation of public appearances which imply a controlled access to demeanor, emotions and deportment codes.[32] The phenomenon of the engagement of women in wage work raises the possibility of the creation of consumer markets, aimed not just at women but wage earning women. For example, the fashion, fast food and automotive industries are gearing towards women with money to spend and less time in which to spend it.[33] Fashion in particular has isolated that segment of the female population who appear to be transient and mobile, wage earners in the "new" women's jobs, as a target for the consumption of specific commodities.

Certainly, it must be emphasized that commodity-producing corporations are profit-maximizing enterprises. The modern corporation is driven by the need to expand its markets and in so doing, it attempts to "reduce costs, find superior methods, choose the most profitable alternatives, and uncover new profit opportunities."[34] In short, commodities are increasingly produced and "improved upon" in the name of creating profits. This thrust towards profit maximization does not correspond to human needs.[35] Braverman refers to the creation of the "universal market," the transformation of society, by capitalism, into a gigantic marketplace. The corporate need to expand, create markets and build profits results in the conception of social needs, the subordination of those needs to the market and reshaping them to "serve the needs of capital."[36] While this points to the objective characteristics of commodity

production, it says nothing of commodity consumption. The creation of new commodities and markets cannot explain why individuals consume what and the way they do. It also cannot explain the success of some products and markets over others. For example, I have come across two references to male genital deodorants or "crotch sprays." In 1972, according to Consumer Reports, Revlon introduced "Pub Below the Belt."[37] In 1973, Nora Ephron, in one of her essays in Crazy Salad, wrote of two other products manufactured by Revlon: "Braggi's Private Deodorant Spray" and "Bill Blass' Man's Other Deodorant."[38] Male genital doedorants were never advertised on television and sales only reached $2 million- less than 5% of the feminine hygiene market. These products did not survive the market and are no longer available.

It takes more than the existence of a product to induce social demand or need. Individuals must want to buy a specific product and be convinced of its usefulness and role. If the demise of "masculine hygiene products" is an indication of the lack of perceived need, the success of the feminine hygiene market clearly identifies the opposite, i.e. there is a demand for "feminine hygiene." Increased marketing and sales of products cannot account for public taste. Women are participatory agents in their own socialization and, it will be argued, consume feminine hygiene products as a means of deferring to the demands of discipline, regimentation and control in the workplace. The demands are internalized, however, as women consume freely and without reflection. That there

is a need for certain feminine hygiene products, necessary to cope with the menstrual cycle, is not denied; certain redundant products, however, are designed to control women's sexualness. Commodities are marketed in the hopes that they will sell. Why specific needs are perceived and how they operate is the topic of this thesis.

Certain markets have been developed in correspondence with the participation of women in the labour force. One of these consists of menstrual and genital care products and falls under the rubric of "feminine hygiene." The very first feminine hygiene product appeared in 1896 when Johnson and Johnson manufactured "Lister's Towels," a commercial disposable menstrual pad. Because morality prevented advertising these "unmentionables" and possibly because there wasn't consumer demand, they were eventually withdrawn from the market.[39]

Sixty years ago the first commercially successful feminine hygiene product, sanitary napkins, were offered for sale. The initial growth of the market was slow but steady; in recent years expansion has been dramatic with increased products, sales and market capacity. The feminine hygiene market developed with the appearance of Kotex, manufactured by Kimberely-Clark, in 1921. Sanitary napkins were conceived from and based upon bandage techniques used to treat wounds during World War 1. The technical development of the product is specific to the war; it social appearance corresponds, temporally, to the increased participation of women in the labour force (see Table 11). In 1928 Beltex introduced the sanitary nap-

kin belt; by 1929 the price of napkins dropped and by the 1930's sanitary napkins were of common use. Until the mid-fifties there were two brands on the market; in 1964 the choice had expanded to five.[40] Between 1970-1978 sales in sanitary napkins went from $185 million yo $250 million.[41] About one-third of all women use sanitary napkins which account for 60% of the total menstrual care sales.[42]

More significant, in terms of later sales and expansion, was the introduction of the first tampon, by Tampax, in 1936.[43] The creation of tampons is allied with the "creation" of jobs for women just prior to the second world war. This was a time when many married women were active in the labour force, thus the popular fear of the threat to one's virginity through the use of tampons were quickly allayed.[44] Within the first year of its availability, Tampax began to make a profit. The Tampax Corporation had a monopoly on the tampon market until 1965, drawing $25 million annually.[45] Despite Tampax's drop from almost total to 55% share of the market due to the entrance of the deodorant tampon by Playtex in 1972, sales in the tampon market soared from $30 million in 1958 to $155 million in 1973.[46] As of 1978, sales in tampons had hit the $250 million mark, yearly, with an expected estimate of $600 million by 1985.[47] In the 1950's there were four brands of tampons available and in 1964 there were six.[48] In 1976 estimates put the number at over fifty brands of napkins, tampons and "feminine products."[49]

Women's labour force participation dropped slightly after World War 11 but began to pick up in the fifties and has continued to grow, especially in the clerical sector (see Tables 1 and 11).[50] This corresponds with the remarkable growth in the creation and consumption of "new" forms of feminine hygiene commodities.

The growth or spurt of a market is often generated by the introduction of a new product. As manufacturers approach advertising for the new product the consequent result seems to be a general increase in sales for the whole market. For example, in the last five years two products have helped boost the tampon and sanitary napkin sales. Publicity and consumer acceptance was generated by the challenge of Playtex's deodorant tampon.[51] It has usurped much of the tampon market, with an increase, between 1975 and 1978, of 44% in consumer sales.[52] The other product which has quickly absorbed a significant corner of the sanitary napkin market is the variation of that product: disposable, adhesive, tabless items, i.e. "panti-shields" or sanitary napkins for "light days," which "literally overwhelmed the one time leaders."[53] "Panti-liners" and super absorbent napkins generated an 80% increase in retail sales in the last five years (1975-80). Panti-liners are the fastest sellers with sales increasing 30% in the last two years.[54] Since 1970, sales of tampons and sanitary napkins (panti-liners, shields, mini and maxi pads) have risen 130%.[55]

As an illustration of the type of phenomenal growth experienced by such products, Proctor and Gamble, a major American man-

ufacturer of household products, introduced a tampon, Rely, into the feminine hygiene market in 1979. According to the estimates of industry sources, P&G spent $800 million for promotion and advertising.[56] Although Rely was quickly withdrawn from production because of the publicity surrounding the possible connections between incidences of toxic shock syndrome and the use of Rely tampons, after only one year and despite the adverse publicity, the brand accounted for 15% of the market share.[57] P&G has not abondoned plans to capture a corner of the feminine hygiene market and is planning the development of a sanitary napkin.[58] These phenomena are testimony to the enormity of the feminine hygiene market and its potential for future growth.

Another type of feminine hygiene product, vaginal deodorants, first appeared in the United States in 1966, and on the Canadian market in 1967.[59] By 1972, however, sales dropped because of public controversy. While ostensibly promising to enhance a woman's sexuality, femininity and desireability and to keep her from offending others, manufacturers have received complaints of burning, inflamation and other adverse reactions.[60] The Federal Drug Administration recommended that vaginal sprays be classified as drugs so as to be subjected to controlled tests. Hexachlorophine, one of the chemical ingredients of vaginal sprays, was banned from use. And, consumer groups lodged complaints obout the offensiveness of advertisements.[61]

As a response, disposable, liquid douche sales grew enor-

mously, increasing by 50% in the first half of 1975.[62] In the six year period between 1971 and 1977, liquid douche sales expanded by 300%.[63] Disposable douches bring in 40% profit margins in most American drug stores.[64] One suspects that liquid douche manufacturers will be susceptible to a similar barrage of complaints directed against the makers and marketers of sprays. A package marketer describes the liquid in douches with respect to an appropriate container:

> The corrosive liquid is able to permeate the inner... layer if the primer used does not function properly... A suitable primer system must be able to stop the product from attacking the aluminum foil and thus causing both delamination and foil corrosion. 65

The potency of and problems with such chemicals notwithstanding, the author continues:

> Whether a woman actually needs to or benefits from using a douche is the subject of considerable debate but it appears that douches are a part of the modern woman's hygienic essentials. 66

Indeed, American Druggist called feminine hygiene sprays the "success story of the decade."[67] But, now, liquid and disposable douches "have become part and parcel of a woman's hygienic needs" with sales approaching $100 million annually.[68]

Who are these products aimed at? All women menstruate. From the time a woman is twelve to age fifty (approximately) she will shed menstrual blood for the equivalent of almost 6½ years of her life. All woman are thus potential customers. However, contemporary advertisers have selected a specific type of woman

on which to concentrate. They focus, almost exclusively, on women between the ages of 18-34 who are working outside the home. In 1975 Advertising Age carried a full page ad for Woman's Day magazine which noted that women will increasingly have more money to spend and less time in which to spend it and that the heaviest concentration of ads should reach women within the 25-34 age bracket.[69] Proctor and Gamble's initial target group for the marketing of Rely was women between the ages of 18 and 34.[70] The target audience for Carefree Panti-Shields is the "upscale career woman, highly educated and on the go, with an unstated characteristic of sexual activity..."[71] A vice president and merchandise manager for an American drug store chain says that more feminine hygiene products are needed in a time of increased sexual freedom for women.[72] While this statement, at first glance, appears to be obscure, it does point to an emphasis on sexuality as an area of investigation and thus a possible object of control. Kimberely-Clark plans ads for Anyday PantiLiners to appear in Cosmopolitan, Vogue, Glamour, Better Homes and Garden Good Housekeeping and People. The content and advertising of such magazines is directed towards aspirants of middle class consumption patterns and lifestyle. Marketing speaks of the working woman as the best educated buyer with a greater sense of "quality awareness."[73]

The question still remains why these women are a target group for the potential consumption of feminine hygiene products. A discussion of the location of wage earning women in specific jobs

and the characteristics of their work, which help define the demand for feminine hygiene products and certain consumption patterns, is offered in the following chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1:

1 For examples of women's participation in wage and domestic labour prior to WW1, cf. Jean Thomson Scott, The Conditions of Female Labour in Ontario, Toronto: Warwick and Sons, 1892; National Council of Women of Canada, Women of Canada: Their Life and Work, n.p., 1975; Gabrielle Carriere, Careers for Women in Canada: A Practical Guide, Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1946; The Corrective Collective, Never Done: Three Centuries of Women's Work in Canada, Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974; Leo Johnson, "The Political Economy of Ontario Women in the Nineteenth Century," in Women at Work: 1850-1930, edited by Janice Acton, et al, Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974; Genevieve Leslie, "Domestic Service in Canada, 1880-1920," in Women at Work: 1850-1930, edited by Janice Acton, et al, Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974; Judi Coburn, "I See and Am Silent': A Short History of Nursing in Ontario," in Women at Work: 1850-1930, edited by Janice Acton, et al, Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974; Elizabeth Graham, "Schoolmarms and Early Teaching in Ontario," in Women at Work: 1850-1930, edited by Janice Acton, et al, Toronto: Canadian Women's ducational Press, 1974; Alice Klein and Wayne Roberts, "Beseiged Innocence: The 'Problem' and Problems of Working Women- Toronto, 1898-1914," in Women at Work: 1850-1930, edited by Janice Acton, et al, Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974; Wayne Roberts, Honest Womanhood: Feminism, Femininity and Class Consciousness Among Toronto Working Women, 1893-1914, Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1976; Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching," in The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History, edited by Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.

2 Ceta Ramkhalawansingh, "Women During the Great War," in Women at Work: 1850-1930, edited by Janice Acton, et al, Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974, 261.

3 Ramkhalawansingh, 261.

4 For discussions of the "feminization" of clerical labour, cf. Roberts (1976) and for the American situation, Margery Davies, "Women's Place is at the Typewriter: The Feminization of the Clerical Labour Force," Radical America, July/August, 1974, 8:4. See also M.C. Urquhart and K.A.H. Buckley, Historical Statistics of Canada, Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1965. Series C8-35, 59, for the sex composition of the clerical labour force since 1891. For example, in 1891 men numbered 21,029 and women 3,092; Ramkhalawansingh, 296-7.

[5] Women's influx into the work force "was less than in World War 11 because the Canadian economy was not mobilized for the war effort until fairly late in World War 1, and conscription did not begin until the year before the war ended," Ramkhalawansingh, 262.

[6] Ruth Pierson, "Women's Emancipation and the Recruitment of Women into the Labour Force in World War 11," in The Neglected Majority, op cit, 128.

[7] Ramkhalawansingh, 290.

[8] Patricia Connelly, Last Hired, First Fired, Toronto: The Women's Press, 1978, table 7.2a, 100.

[9] Pierson has documented how the government agencies attempted, successfully, to attract and repel the female labour pool in and out of specific industries and occupations, op cit.

[10] Pierson, 135.

[11] Pierson, 142-3; Ruth Pierson, "'Home Aide': A Solution to Women's Unemployment After the Second World War," Atlantis, Spring 1977, 2:2.

[12] Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1974. cf. Dorothy Smith, "Women, the Family and Corporate Capitalism," in Women in Canada, edited by Marylee Stephenson, Toronto: New Press, 1973, for a contemporary, theoretical discussion of the same phenomenon.

[13] Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, The Double Ghetto, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978, 21.

[14] Armstrong and Armstrong, 22; Kathleen Archibald, Sex and the Public Service, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970.

[15] Connelly, 55.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Armstrong and Armstrong, 18.

[19] Armstrong and Armstrong.

[20] Rothschild provides figures for new industries and occupations to which Americans are running for employment. In 1979 women accounted for 41% of all employment, 31% of all manufacturing employment, 56% of those employed in eating and drinking establishments, 43% of employment in business services and 81% of employment in health services. Emma Rothschild, "Reagan and the Real America," The New York Review of Books, February 5, 1981, 28:1, 12.

[21] Supervisors- stenographers and typing occupations, secretaries and stenographers, typists and clerk-typists, tellers and cashiers, insurance, bank and other finance clerks, office machine operators, electronic data processing equipment operators, library and file clerks, receptionists and information clerks; Supervisors- nursing occupations, graduate nurses, nurses in training, nursing assistants, nursing aids and orderlies, nursing therapy and related occupations, physiotherapists, occupational and other therapies; Elementary school teachers, secondary school teachers, teachers of exceptional students; Chambermaids and housemen, baby-sitters, personal service occupations; Librarians and archivists, nuns and brothers, dietitions and nutritionists, radiological technologists and technicians, medical laboratory technicians, dental hygienists, assistants and technicians, telephone operators, other sales occupations not elsewhere classified, waiters, hostesses and stewards, food and beverage, food and beverage preparation, supervisors- occupations in lodging, apparel and furnishing, service occupations, winding and reeling occupations, electronic equipment fabricating and assembling, tailor and dressmakers, sewing machine operators, textile and similar materials, inspecting, testing, grading occupations, fabricating, assembling and repairing occupations, textile, fur and leather products, not elsewhere classified.

[22] Women's Bureau, Labour Canada, 1980. cf. Gerry Finn, "Female Labour Force Growing Rapidly," Financial Times, April 7, 1980, 22. Ninety seven percent of stenographers and typists are women; and Liam Lacey, "The Trouble with Women's Work," The Globe and Mail, June 27, 1981, for an overview of women's depleted employment opportunities and inferior salaries.

[23] Connelly, 17-20.

[24] Valerie Kincade Oppenheimer, The Female Labour Force in the United States, University of California, Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, 1970, 65.

[25] For example, Roberts (1976) shows that in the late nineteenth century most often women (young and single) were employed in settings such as factories which maximized their "domestic" abilities, e.g. nimbleness and the facility for fragmented work patterns.

[26] Connelly.

[27] Hugh Armstrong and Pat Armstrong, "Women in the Canadian Labour Force, 1941-71," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 1975 (Autumn), 12:4.

[28] op cit., 378-9.

[29] Armstrong and Armstrong, 1975.

[30] Martin Meissner, et al, "No Exist for Wives: Sexual Division of Labour," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 1975 (Autumn), 12:4; Susan Clark and Andrew Harvey, "The Sexual Division of Labour: The Use of Time," Atlantis, 1976 (Fall), 2:1.

[31] Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978, 44.

[32] Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1959.

[33] cf. Mark Muro, "Detroit Gears up to Woo Women," The Hamilton Spectator, 1981 (August 4); "Working Women: Beauty Products Aid Confidence," Product Marketing, 1980 (Winter), 9.

[34] James S. Earley in Paul A. Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, Monopoly Capital, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1966, 25.

[35] Baran and Sweezy, 139.

[36] Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974, 271.

[37] "Should Genital Deodorants be Used?" Consumer Reports, 1972 (January), 37.

[38] Nora Ephron, "Dealing with the, uh, Problem," Crazy Salad: Some Things About Women, New York: Bantam Books, 1976.

[39] Janice Delaney, Mary Jane Lupton and Emily Toth, The Curse, New York: E.P. Dutton, 1976, 116.

[40] "The Old Taboos are Gone," American Druggist, 1969 (June 2), 159, 81.

[41] "Tampax Faces Life," Forbes, 1978 (May 29), 121, 61. These figures are American as are the parent corporations whose sales they represent. However, they refer to corporate sales and thus most likely reflect the total North American market. While the high figures might have something to do with inflation, American Druggist reports that there is a trend developing: increasing numbers of women are purchasing more products to use during different days of their menstrual cycles. "Feminine Hygiene Buying Habits Change," 1980 (August), 182, 77.

[42] American Druggist, ibid; Jean A. Briggs, "The Paper Chase," Forbes, 1980 (November 10), 126, 40.

[43] "Sitting Duck? That's the Impression You Get of Tampax Inc. These Days. It Could be the Wrong Impression," Forbes, 1974, (March 1), 133; American Druggist, 1969 (June 2), 159, 81.

[44] "How to Build Brand Loyalty," Printer's Ink, 1964 (July 24).

[45] Forbes, 133, 54.

[46] "Tampons Increase Market Share in 1975," Advertising Age, 1975 (September 29), 46; Forbes, 133, 54.

[47] Forbes, 121, 61.

[48] American Druggist, 159, 81.

[49] Delaney, et al, 115.

[50] This is cited in Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978. It is not reflected in Connelly's tables for, as she points out, the problem with using census data is that changes between decades do not appear. Connelly, 77.

[51] The reason for this I believe was due to the appeal of the deorant in the tampon- "reduce doubt about intimate odour"- which generated acceptance of the concept of "internal protection."

[52] "Feminine Hygiene Market Soars 135 Percent in Ten Years," Product Marketing, 1979 (August), 8, 11.

[53] Ibid.

[54] American Druggist, 182.

[55] Ibid.

[56] "P & G Ads Say Don't Use Rely," Chemical Week, 1980 (October 15).

[57] cf. "Tampons Called Factor in Illness," The Toronto Globe and Mail, 1980 (June 28); "Maker of Rely Sets Campaign to Warn Women," The New York Times, 1980 (Sunday, September 28); "Risk High of Second Bout of Toxic Shock Syndrome," The Toronto Globe and Mail, 1980 (December 18); "Find Brings Diagnosis of Toxic Shock Closer," The Hamilton Spectator, 1981 (May 5); "No Drop in Disease Since Rely Withdrawn," The Hamilton Spectator, 1981 (March 7); "Tampons Under Regulations," The Toronto Globe and Mail, 1981 (May 16); "Decline Seen in Toxic Shock," The Hamilton Spectator, 1981 (May 16); "Cause of Toxic Shock Syndrome Still Unknown," The Toronto Globe and Mail, 1981 (June 25); "Cases of Toxic Shock are Down but Cause Still Mystery," The Hamilton Spectator, 1981 (June 27); "Rely Tampon Could Cost P & G Over $75 million," Chemical Week, 1980 (October 1); "P & G Ads Say Don't Use Rely," Chemical Week, 1980 (October 15); "P & G Hasn't Given up on Tampon Market," Advertising Age, 1980 (October 20), 51); Nancy Friedman, Everything You Must Know About Tampons, New York: Berkley Books, 1981.

[58] Advertising Age, 51.

[59] American Druggist, 1969 (June 2), 159, 81; "A Shaky Market that's Feeling the Weight of its Opposition," Marketing, 1975 (June 9), 8, 12.

[60] "Genital Deodorants: The Bureaucrats Bicker," Consumer Reports, 1973 (May), 38, 303.

[61] Marketing, 8, ibid; Joseph A. Page, "What the FDA Won't Tell You About FDS," The Washington Monthly, 1973 (March), 5:1.

[62] Advertising Age, 1975 (September 29), 46.

[63] Robert Glaxton, "Feminine Hygiene Packages," Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1978 (January), 122.

[64] American Druggist, 182, 77.

[65] Glaxton, ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Consumer Reports, 37, 39.

[68] American Druggist, 182, 78.

[69] Advertising Age, 1975 (June 30).

[70] Chemical Week, 1980 (October 15).

[71] Jennifer Alter, "Kimberly-Clark Picks 'Anyday' to Fight Johnson and Johnson Lead," Advertising Age, 1980 (August 11), 51. It is interesting to note that the project of developing the target audience in this article is called "Development Score." The sexual connotations are unambiguous.

[72] American Druggist, 182.

[73] "Working Women are the Best Educated Buyers," Marketing, 1979, (January 8), 84.

Chapter 11

Discipline and the management of female sexuality

The growth of the feminine hygiene market and the participation of women in wage labour correspond temporally. The size of the market and the availability of women wage-worker consumers also appear to be related. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the nature of women's waged work and the role of discipline and control in shaping the labour force experiences of women and their "labour related" consumption habits. That overview will lead to a discussion of subjectivity or self-control of women, i.e. the likeliness that they will "consume without worry in their leisure time."[1] Many feminine hygiene products are useful but the ways of marketing and the imagery in advertising are suggestive of the creation of a market of specific consumers. This chapter addresses the question why women consume feminine hygiene products by looking at authority, discipline and management in industry and the participation of workers in their own subordination to those practices. The internalization of discipline and control, the conversion of "good" workers into "good" consumers, exists as a bridge between commodity production and commodity appropriation. Thus it might be appropriate to speak of a relationship, not just a correspondence, between the emergence of the feminine hygiene market and women's labour force participation.

As was stated earlier, increased marketing and sales

cannot account, totally, for public taste. The fact that women have more money to spend does not explain why they buy specific commodities. While there has always been a fascination with the body and menstrual and genital taboos have always existed, their particular expression, here and now, warrants attention.[2] The "sanitary protection product market" (as commonly referred to in trade journals) is just one manifestation of the current preoccupation with lifestyle, "the studied, almost purposive attempt to live in a particular style or fashion," and presentation of self.[3] It can be argued that this preoccupation is a generalized one; it assumes a particular form, however, with female office workers. Feminine hygiene products have reached the status of fashion, and, as such, represent one of the essential differences between the internalization of control in men and women, an internalization promoted by the historical patterns of capitalist managerial need for control.[4]

Although the mass production of commodities and the strength and import of advertising induce uncritical desires and help set consumption standards, individuals are not merely acted upon but are participatory agents in their own stylization.[5]

This chapter rests on the assumption that a disciplined labour force is needed to correspond with a highly fragmented, atomized labour process. The new group of female wage workers has been, and is, a force to be managed and disciplined, as office workers, and as women, by men. Although there has always

been the need for disciplined workers, the need now is particularly apparent for a controlled female labour force. The exploitative nature of wage labour requires, by definition, discipline. The work process of the office gives a particular form to that discipline: the specific character of office discipline is applied to women, not men. The female labour force is continually growing and due to the nature of the work most women do, the interaction with machines and its low skill criterion, workers are replaceable and transient. As workers are easily replaced by others, uniformity is imposed through discipline. Hence, the need for a disciplined body of workers that will, upon arrival, be informed by the expected standards of uniformity. In the case of women, management dictates the mode of discipline, sexism the content.

Management as discipline

In a liberal democratic society, economic exploitation is rendered opaque through the existence of the wage form. To ensure an informal "indentured servitude," the dependence of workers on the wages of the job and the dependence of bosses on the right kind of worker, management operates to effect the translation of labour process regimentation into the personal rhythm of each individual.[6] The modern labour process offers few "ladders to success." Occupational mobility is increasingly illusory. The potential to change thus lies beyond the purview of any partic-

ular individual. What individuals can, seemingly, control and manipulate is personality, presentation of self, lifestyle. As social limits are felt in areas regarding career expansion and job satisfaction, individuals can attempt to develop "professional" skills and expertise in a realizable realm, i.e. regarding the self.[7] Therefore, social status becomes a matter of the correct manipulation of style.[8] In this way "selfism" evolves with the studied determination that used to accompany career aspirations.[9] Part of this selfism, the commitment to self, involves the development of new forms of expertise with respect to the body and its potential expression of uniqueness.

The quintessential realization of externally ordered management is self management, self discipline. This fosters an emphasis on individual self expression as socially desireable behaviour is reproduced voluntarily by the individual herself.[10] The paradox is, of course, that as individuals internalize norms of "good" behaviour and set about to make independent choices, they become part of a mass who, in one instance, purchase commodities to establish an individual identity. The identity is lost however when it is shared by many others.

Just as management controls activities through the use of discipline and correspondingly investigates the "natural machinery of the body," individuals police themselves.[11] As Durkheim has pointed out, social labour involves individuals engaging in contractual relationships.[12] But he notes that

"everything in the contract is not contractual."[13] Durkheim writes of contracts which are conceived of on a pre-contractual basis. Contractual engagements are:

> those which have been desired by the individuals and which have no other origin except in this manifestation of free will. Inversely, every obligation which has not been mutually consented to has nothing contractual about it. 14

Contractual relationships imply a sense of mutual need and mutual obligation; thus, external regulation informs the first contractual act (the entering into of a contract). But circumstances which modify the contract, stemming from "society and tradition," force:

> us to assume obligations that we have not contracted for, in the exact sense of the word, since we have not deliberated upon them, nor even, occasionally, had any knowledge about them in advance...there are consequences, sometimes immediate, which run over the limits of the contract. We co-operate because we wish to, but our voluntary co-operation creates duties for us that we did not desire. 15

Thus, individuals are subject to managerial control, which takes many forms. They however, engage in perpetuating control by internalizing it and controlling themselves. This is done voluntarily and pre-contractually. In the case of women and white collar work, the "engineering of the self" is a means of personal identification in a work situation not conducive to autonomous, creative performance. Control is exacted in an exploitative and oppressive, i.e. sexist, way but responded to in ways deemed appropriate to the situation.

Marglin identifies two steps which have historically robbed workers of control over the work process and their products: the development of a minute division of labour under the putting out system and centralized organization of production in the factory system. These took place to ensure capitalist control and greater access to the accumulation of capital. The capitalist division of labour guarantees the entrepreneur an "essential role in the production process, as integrator of the separate efforts of his workers into a marketable product."[16]

Discipline and the body

Hierarchical work organizations demand forms of discipline and control. Foucault puts the subject of discipline and punishment into historical perspective. For our purposes his treatment of the use of the body as a disciplinary object and the development of a "political anatomy" are of particular interest.

Discipline organizes analytical space, i.e. it creates "functional sites" which are areas or places "defined to correspond to the need to supervise, break dangerous communication and create useful space."[17] Foucault describes the physical set of an eighteenth century manufactory designed so that workers could be observed and supervised. Supervision was both general and individual as workers could be classified according to skill, speed and comparison with other workers. The labour process was serialized and articulated according to its con-

stituent operations and according to the individual bodies which performed it. Thus, given the physical spread of the work place, the work force could be analyzed in individual units:

> At the emergence of large-scale industry, one finds, beneath the division of the production process, the individualizing fragmentation of labour power; the distribution of disciplinary space often assured both. 18

With the discovery of the body as an "object and target of power," it was seen as a means of production: capable of being, and ultimately to be, shaped, manipulated, dominated, and controlled to meet designed ends. The body was viewed as having infinitismal power. The object of controlling was an economy and efficiency of movements. Discipline as the "constant subjection of the body's forces" became formulae of domination.[19] The birth of the "art of the human body" elevated its conception as a "machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it."[20] The docile body was a force, capable of executing others' wishes and operating as others wished with the "techniques, speed and efficiency that one determines."[21] Thus, discipline subjects the forces of the body to the terms of economic utility and at the same time, in political terms of obedience, lessens these forces. Disciplinary compulsions establish an increased proficiency of the body as well as its increased domination.[22]

With respect to the work place, control typifies enclosure, "the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and

closed in upon itself. It is the protected place of disciplinary monotony."[23] In this sense discipline becomes a concomitant facet of the labour process. It helps partition and locate individuals to ensure that each has his place and each place its individual.[24] Imprecision is eliminated and individual conduct is subject to scrutiny, assessment, calculation and mastery.

Another aspect of discipline involves the coordination of the body to specific operational and functional gestures. The control and detailed governance of activities requires the adjustment of the body to "temporal imperatives." "Time penetrates the body and with it all the meticulous controls of power."[25] Discipline equals efficiency and provides a "clean," "unhampered" relationship between the body and the objects that it manipulates. As an extension, the body itself becomes the object of manipulation. The modulation of the body to strict, institutionalized parameters of the work situation (and not just the work situation: Foucault also speaks of the demands placed on the body in schools, the military, mental institutionas) takes on the appearance of synthesis, not deduction, "not so much of exploitation of the product as of the coercive link with the appartus of porduction."[26] The body manipulated by authority is dominated by requirements which replace the simple physics of movement, and rob the body of its potential to be "imbued with animal spirits." According to Elias, seeing things with differentiation leads to restraint of emotions.[27]

Discipline then has its correlative in individualization that is analytical, natural and organic. The correct use of the body implies an assigned efficiency that corresponds to the production process. It is "machinery for adding up and capitalizing time."[28] Disciplinary power separates, analyzes and differentiates procedures and activities into sufficient single units.[29] Discipline leads to individualization. It is the result of the application of functional and anonymous power: those on whom it is exercised tend to be more strongly individualized.[30] Disciplinary practices replace regimented ceremonies: it functions through surveillance. Foucault uses the conception of the individualized child versus the adult who is part of a collectivity.[31] This is also the beginning of bourgeois empiricism-discipline through observation:

> ...disciplines are techniques for assuring the ordering of human multiplicities...they define in relation to the multiplicities a tactics of power that fulfills three criteria: (1) to obtain exercise of power at low cost economically; by low expenditure; politically: by discretion, little resistance...: (2) to bring effects of social power to maximum intensity and to extend them without interval or failure...: (3) to link 'economic" growth of power with the output of apparatuses within which it is exercised...to increase both the docility and the utility of all the elements of the system. 32

The identification of subjectivity is registered through the transformation of punishment. The realm of punishment has moved from physical torture to mental and moral discipline. The criminal was once subjected to the public display of punishment and torture. The "modern" criminal is viewed as a "soul"

in need of domination and correction contained within a body:

> as a force of production...invested with relations of power and domination...its (the body's) constitution as labour power is possible only if it is caught up in a system of subjection (in which need is also a political instrument meticulously prepared, calculated and used); the body becomes a useful force only if it is both a productive body and a subjected body. 33

Bodies, thus, receive a political investment and are subjugated as power relations turn them into "objects of knowledge."[34] The disciplined body is seen as the obedient subject which is dominated by external authority but which he "must allow to function automatically in him."[35] The subjection of the body to discrete tactics, techniques and functionings, while involving its increased utility, submission and obedience to others, also lends to an "increase of the mastery of each individual over his own body."[36]

The emergence of subjectivity in the workplace also has a double edge. Within the marketplace the subject is an equal among equals with the freedom to act and choose as she wishes, possess commodities and engage in contractual relationships. There is no formal coercion compelling her to make obligations: she is, in that sense, the subject or agent of her own actions. In the workplace, however, the individual worker is subjectivized and is the recipient of the disciplinary exercises of management and bosses. Thus subjectivity implies both freedom and constraint. It also implies coercion and consent. As Durkheim pointed out, once the individual is contracted she is subjected

to a regulative force which "determines what (she) ought to do and what (she) can require."[37] And, as Foucault notes, "...discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, 'docile' bodies."[38]

The atomized work process fosters the creation of differentiated individuals performing discrete functions. The ideological experience of this phenomenon is the development of individualization and subjectivity. Empirical justification lends credence to Foucault's theoretical constructions.

Modern management

The contemporary counter-part to control and supervision is found in the role of management. Managerial functions in white collar, clerical occupations- those where women are most often found- correspond increasingly to the processing of information as opposed to products. In these jobs individuals interact primarily with machines, deal with a "paper shuffle" and are engaged in a highly routinized labour process in which skills are becoming increasingly redundant. Workers, like machines, are highly replaceable. Stream-lined work processes demand stream-lined workers. The calibration of individuals on the job is matched by their standardization off the job. Each minute function of labour has its corresponding faction in management. Management fulfills the functions of ensuring the specialization of worker to tasks, of disciplining workers. Management also shapes the "corporate image." Women workers adopt the female counter-part

to the corporate image, in part, as a way of retaining their positions but also as a way of compensating for a work situation in which personal skills don't matter. Barker and Downing argue that women's waged work is boring and alienating.[39] It is not seen as central to women's lives: they thus bring their domestic lives to work with them and the stereotypes of wife and mother are perpetuated.[40] Edwards writes of a workers' culture, a series of tactics and activities, by which workers are distinguished and through which they distinguish themselves from bosses.[41] With increasing unemployment, and competition for jobs high, this culture takes the form of worker self-discipline off the job as recruitment of the "right image" figures in the selection process.[42]

According to Nichols and Beynon:

> The 'system' is a bureaucratic system- a system of control. It programmes, monitors, processes the 'performance' of labour, including that of the labour of superintendence, which itself is concerned with programming, monitoring, and processing in order to control. 43

Modern management, an initial response to the "gathering together of producers to labour cooperatively," is modelled along the parameters of scientific management.[44] Scientific management is the implementation of the rationalization of the work role. Frederick W. Taylor, its major proponent, used the metaphor of the machine and applied it to the work process. The breakdown of components, so that they may be put back together rationally, facilitated control and efficient production. The

office is the centre of control over the enterprise; the purpose of office management is control over the office. Office management implies the subdivision of office tasks among many detail workers, those individuals who in an "increasingly variegated society" perform individual tasks which correspond to the detailed breakdown of the labour process.[45] The rational application of scientific techniques to the work process, the "control and dictation of each step of the process including its mode of performance," ultimately means control over work through control over decisions made in the course of work.[46]

Corporate organization has a direct bearing on the occupational structure and in this case has specific relevance for the creation of "female" job categories and the sex-labelling of jobs. The modern corporation is driven by the command to control markets, increase profits and accumulate capital. It is characterized by highly concentrated, centralized and bureaucratized operations. Braverman states that the corporation has a tendency to integrate, vertically as well as horizontally:

> Thus by growth and by combination, the manufacturing corporation acquires facilities for the production of raw materials, for transportation, semi-banking institutions, for the raising of capital or extending credit, etc. At the same time, horizontal integration brings together a variety of products under the aegis of a single aggregate of capital, sometimes assembling one overall financial control products and services bearing no discernible relation to each other except in their function as sources of profit. Each of these massive sub-corporations requires a complete management structure, with all of its divisions and subdivisions. [47]

Due to its vast complexity the modern corporation must pay increasing amounts of attention to social co-ordination and control. Thus, according to Braverman, three features of corporate organization have direct bearing on the occupational structure and are pertinent to a discussion of women's waged work: they point to the creation of new, previously sex-neutral jobs which women have filled.

(1) Marketing, as a form of administrative control, is designed to eliminate uncertainty and "reduce the autonomous character of the demand for its products and to increase its induced character."[48] The marketing division of the modern corporation gives rise to a number of subdivisions each generating a series of job categories and new occupations, e.g. sales and advertising. There has been a burgeoning of clerical and service occupations due to these demands. Clerical labour answers the needs of "commercial concerns which deal with the purchase and resale of commodities..."[49] Braverman continues:

> The function of the capitalist is to represent capital and to enlarge it. This is done by either controlling the production of surplus value in the productive enterprise and activities, or by appropriating it from outside those industries and activities. [50]

These tendencies have led to the development and necessity of such unproductive institutions as banking, credit houses and the like. The corresponding occupations exist in effect to service capital.

(2) The second characteristic of the corporation which influences its occupational make-up is the structure of management. Management functions have become increasingly specialized, evolving from "line organizations," a "direct chain of command over operations," to "staff organizations," suited to a subdivision of authority by various specialized functions.[51] Corresponding to each managerial function is a parallel department with its own staff- managers, assistant managers, supervisors, etc. In effect, management is operative administration acting to co-ordinate the corporation. The consequences for the labour process, and women's work, are apparent. As the structure of management has itself developed into a labour process, the constant flow of work involving money and the processing of commercial transactions and value accounting (following value in its social form as commodities pass through the various stages of production to consumption) have generated an enormous amount of "paper work" and a resultant amount of occupational categories as its spin-off. This has created a new "class" of workers characterized by, among other things, its sex- overwhelmingly female.[52]

(3) The third mechanism which has consequences for the occupational structure of the corporation is social co-ordination.[53] This aspect of corporate life involves control and co-ordination of the internal workings of the corporation. While this appears to be a form of internal planning it has the effect of social planning and routinizes not only corporate procedures but also

the conditions within which they take place. People, the relationships between people and the labour process become routinized as well.

The social organization of the labour process and the social relations of the work place structure the role of technology, efficiency and hierarchies.[54] Bureaucratic control standardizes the functions of management and hierarchical control in the way that technical control routinized the physical aspects of the plant. The corporation exacts institutionalized, bureaucratic power through the organization of "routine, normal efforts of workers."[55] Bureaucratic control operates through the institutionalization of power, the extension of which is the establishment of work rules and the encouragement of an emphasis on dependable workers. This leads to "habits of predictability and dependability" on the part of those workers.[56]

One of the characteristic features of the capitalist productive process is the serial organization of production, the experience of work as devoid of "any content of either skill or scientific knowledge," or the separation of the conception and execution of work.[57] This process isolates workers as they rarely converge on the same material. The de-collectivization of labour is also built into the productive technology.[58] The Ehrenreichs describe the capitalist as "innocently disguised as management."[59] But, according to Mills, management has moved from authority to manipulation.[60] Workers are, it is true, free

to sell their labour power, but are housed in jobs which exist to prop up the corporation amd therefore function as "para-commodities" of the corporation.[61] Management of the biological metabolism, individual bodies, is surrendered in accordance with management of the social metabolism. Hence, the emphasis on manipulation.[62]

The essence of "management as manipulation" is demonstrated by its aim to transform the structure of external authority into internal authority. As individual workers (along a historical continuum) no longer feel a sense of loyalty to the company, they can still be "counted on" because of their self-policing. As Mills points out:

> In the movement from authority to manipulation, power shifts from the visible to the invisible, from the known to the anonymous. Authority involves, the more or less voluntary obedience of the less powerful... [63]

Bureaucratic control is dependent on the self control and self direction of the individual. This self control represents the internalization of work demands such that there exists, in bureaucracies, not just a hierarchy of persons but a hierarchy of "good" character traits.[64]

Women, management and the office

Clerical workers interact more often with machines than with people.[65] The detail division of labour subdivides humans. It is a "workshop" division imposed by planning and control.

This separation of work into its constituent elements leads to the creation of the detail worker. The work process is subject to scrutiny, the elimination of uncertainty and personal ingenuity. In this sense, "one's personality and personal traits become part of the means of production."[66] Work and work techniques are duplicated as employees become "machine attendants" and are interchangeable in a work place that is increasingly automated.[67]

Barker and Downing reflect on the increasing number of people involved in the acquisition, storage, transformation and presentation of information for capital. Most of these people are women and few are actually involved in the production of such information.[68] Office work is fragmented and de-skilled. Machinery replaces human motions. The subordination of the manufacturing process to machinery and the introduction of word processing contribute to a detailed study of productivity rates and this means control over typists will be incorporated into the machinery that is owned by capital. However, as workers who operate machines are highly replaceable, i.e. no skills are involved, discipline and uniformity are demanded in other spheres. While the vagaries of the market are elusive people and personality can be subjected to control. If individuals do not feel any loyalty to the corporation or their jobs they can at least feel some sort of loyalty to the correct "image" and hence be ready and available for recruitment. As well, if workers are highly

replaceable they can distance themselves and develop skills and expertise in the area of personal recruitment: lifestyle, appearance, hygiene, etc.

This distancing of workers contains the seeds of what Barker and Downing call the "culture of resistance" or what might be better referred to as "compensatory measures." For women this compensation is invisible. It is initially imposed by the dominant uses of patriarchy over other strictly capitalist forms of control, but is perpetuated by women wage workers themselves. Secretarial skills are often ill-defined but are requisite with those of learned femininity; therefore the status of a secretary is dependent on the manipulation of modes of femininity.[69] Thus women compensate in areas that cannot be subjected to male work standards and control, areas that are peculiarly feminine. Langer describes the fascination of her colleagues at a telephone company with consuming things which would transform their bodies, e.g. wigs.[70]

Sennett comments on how the personality of the worker in the modern bureaucracy is shaped in part by the institutional parameters of the labour process.[71] He refers to a "class of arrivals," individuals who perform "quasi-technical," "quasi-routine" work, who are enlisted to participate in institutional definitions of their owrk which are institutional definitions of their personality:

...these arrivals...accept the institutional definitions

> of themselves as valid, and seek to work out patterns of defense and meaning within a situation in which class boundaries between self and world are erased because that position at work seems a mirror of personal power. 72

Mills states that "...the requirement of the personality market have diffused as a style of life..." with hoards of self-help literature and new books focussing on every aspect of the physical and psychological self.[73] In this process individuals seek to emulate the prevalent notions of lifestyle. Generalized public traits are transformed into personal ones. The emphasis on the conversion of a "great mass of workers into more or less helpless attendants" of the mechanical movement of the detail worker is reflected in "office advice" manuals.[74] The advice manuals are intended for an audience of secretaries. Given that there are few personal secretaries left, the books speak to the general female office worker, a woman whose work is of the "personal service" nature, and, as such, reflect the demands of white collar, clerical work: demands which imply new forms of domination and control based on the sexual division of labour.[75] It is in these more subtle ways that discipline is demanded and experienced. The Ehrenreichs write about the:

> more or less arbitrary, day-to-day intervention of management: harassment of individual workers who 'step out of line' or 'think they're smart'; rules against any kinds of innovation on the part of the workers, even when these do not interfere with the speed of the work...explicit prohibitions against conversation among employees. 76

Discipline is exercised by management over workers in work situations which are highly bureaucratic. One way in which women experience this discipline is through compensatory measures which presuppose a capacity of self control on the part of individual workers. It is far more efficient and manageable for management to deal with compensation which takes the form of consumption habits or deportment codes than with sabotage or "white collar crime." The internalization of discipline in the office is manifest in specific ways. The consumption of feminine hygiene products, it is argued, represents one instance of the self control of women waged workers, and at the same time their compensation for alienating work situations.

Closely associated with the manufacture and expression of discipline are historically specific and empirically grounded notions of "good behaviour." Appropriate behaviour, in this sense, is a form of social control. The consideration of offending others is a historical development.[77] The incredibly subtle perception of giving offense, as a mechanism of social control, is an extremely effective form of self-correction, much more effective, enduring and easily transmitted across generations than any form of external threat or command.[78]

One of the most compelling manifestations of self control is the studied emphasis on lifestyle and concern with

impression management. As Lasch rightly points out: "New social forms require new forms of personality, new modes of socialization, new ways of organizing experience."[79] Discipline in the work place corresponds to a fragmented labour process. This gives rise to a regimented body code. The emergence of body esthetics as commodity forms is seen historically as part of the "civilizing process." There is a similarity between morality and hygiene as conditioning to a social standard. The aim of creating the two dispositions is to make socially desireable behaviour automatic. The result is the appearance of free will. Modern theories of the "mind" deal with the conflict between socially acceptable behaviour and "socially inadmissable impulses." Hence, "neuroses" need "psychogenic" and "sociogenic" elucidation.[80]

Compulsions of interdependence, the division of labour, the market and competition impose restraint and control impulses and emotions. The ideal outcome is:

> that socially desireable behaviour is voluntarily produced by the individual himself, on his own initiative. This applies to the regulation and restraint of drives necessary for 'work'; it also applies to the whole pattern according to which drives are modelled in bourgeois, industrial society. 81

Modesty, fear, shame, embarrassment and guilt are socially instilled feelings which correspond to desired behaviour patterns and conform to the social standard. This consolidation of the super-ego involves the primacy of self control. Certain

freedoms of movement, expression, dress and behaviours operate within the "framework of a particular 'civilized' standard of behaviour involving a very high degree of automatic constraint and affective transformation, conditioned to become a habit."[82] Social relations demand adjustment so that social compulsions are transformed into self compulsions. Self compulsions are that sector of the individual which represent the social code.

The engineering of the self assumes the status of achievement in a 'world' in which change and control can only be exercised on superficial levels, e.g. those involving fashion and appearance. The past-time of consumption becomes increasingly important as advertising manufactures a product of its own, the consumer, and alienation itself becomes a commodity.[83] The only "freedoms" one experiences are those within the realm of consumption, and are exercised in areas where gratification, or its promise, are immediate, for example the body. The freedom to consume is disguised as autonomy. The consumption of certain images and beliefs about hygiene reflect the effects of the usurption of heretofore assumed "natural" functions, or standards of those functions, by bureaucracies and the state.[84] According to Morgenthau and Person:

> This decline of self-sufficiency co-exists with an exalted notion of the self and leads to an inherent contradiction. It is this inherent contradiction which has been instrumental in the retreat from preoccupation with political freedom which we cannot

> effectively control to a pre-occupation with personal freedom over which there is at least the illusion of control. 85

The consequence is a "bureaucratization of the spirit" so that individuals "can be relied upon to give a perfectly homogeneous performance at every appointed time."[86]

The elimination of skills, not only in the work place but in other sectors of personal life, creates the conditions in which labour power "takes the form of personality rather than strength or intelligence. Men and women alike have to project an attractive image and to become simultaneously role players and connoisseurs of their own performance."[87] The cultivation of lifestyle creates the illusion of freedom but takes place within the framework of an already established social standard.

Gender specific subjectivity

Management structures the mode of discipline in the work place; sexism supplies the content. The internalization of discipline, self control, implies a subjectivity, the creation of an acting subject. This subject emerges, in one instance, as a means of compensating for alienating work situations.

There are differences, however, in the complexion of subjectivity in men and women. The recent development of a line of cosmetics for men is most likely a result of the

felt effect of occupational immobility.[88] The experiences of men are tied into this process and men are beginning to compete with women for what have been previously "women's" jobs. The "feminization" of men's fashion is probably a reflection of the need to concentrate on represenation of the self as the only means by which one can distinguish himself.

With women the cultivation of the body takes on a different hue. The strictures against deviation from the established norm do not appear to be as great for men as they are for women. The predominant emphasis in women's fashion and fashion consciousness is on sexualness. This is apparent in contemporary feminine styles which, as well as making freedom of movement difficult, connote images of seductiveness and fragility.[89]

The emergence of the feminine hygiene market is, perhaps, what best separates the women from the men in their respective subjection to oppression and their role as subjects of that oppression. Feminine hygiene products were introduced at times when jobs were created specifically for women. The first sanitary napkin was developed in 1921, tampons in 1936 and vaginal sprays entered the market in 1966. Their appearance at these times is not fortuitous. There is a correspondence between the participation of women in wage work and the creation of the feminine hygiene market. It is argued that the notoriety and success of the products have

been strengthened by the demands of the regimented labour process. This operates dialectically. Discipline is demanded in ways that ensure worker uniformity. Office workers comply with these demands as they compete with each other to obtain and retain jobs which require personality and appearance, not skill of workers, and as they internalize forms of social control. This self control is also a form of compensation, which is peculiarly feminine, for alienating work. The use of feminine hygiene products represents one of the quintessential mechanisms of control. The control is internalized both literally and figuratively. While a boss may not know if his worker uses deodorant tampons, the worker does; she is thus the arbiter of her own discipline.

Hygiene and hygienic bodily practices are a mode of social control and one of the ways through which individuals invest in the creation of the self and lifestyle. The use of feminine hygiene products differentiates women from men and standardizes notions of women, their bodies, their sexuality. By consuming feminine hygiene products women collude in adopting prevalent feminine "habits." In coping with the alienating effects of their work situations through the use of redundant products (which control their sexualness) women participate in their own stylization.[90]

The culture of the office

This section discusses the culture of the office as it concerns wage earning female clerical workers. The majority of women wage workers are employed in white collar, clerical occupations.[91] The objective characteristics of office work as a labour process were outlined. A closer look at women's work, in an analysis of the culture of the office, shall document some of the "peculiarly feminine" modes of discipline and their internalization as women are enlisted in the participation of the creation of the culture of the office.

It has been argued that with the rise in the importance and pervasiveness of technology in the work place, skills are no longer necessary to ensure "success" on the job. The selling of the self has replaced the marketing of skills and this has meant a new "social self" for women has emerged. This social self is realized in the consumption of commodities and also the appropriation of a certain lifestyle or presentation of self. Fashion as a form of social control is discussed in terms of the dialectic between the demands of the work place and the response of women as a way of organizing their labour force experiences.

A work culture is defined as:

> ...the ideology and practice with which workers stake out a relatively autonomous sphere of action on the job, a realm of informal, customary values and rules which mediates the formal authority structure of the workplace and distances workers from its impact. 92

Some work has been done on forms of male resistance in the work place; my aim is to illuminate the objective realities of women's work and the way women experience and live those realities on the ideological or subjective level to arrive at an analysis of the culture of the office.[93]

According to Braverman, the managerial functions of control and appropriation have become themselves a labour process. Wage labour is purchased and organized. People and paper are organized into a continuous flow like products in a cannery.[94] The purpose of the office is control over the enterprise; the purpose of office management is control over the office. Following the techniques of scientific management all forms of labour can be routinized and standardized or rationalized. Clerical labour is really manual labour: thought processes are rendered obsolete as speed and dexterity in manipulating machines dominates the labour process. The purpose of office machinery is not just to control motions but also to control information. Machines, not humans, seize and manipulate it. The simplification and routinization of office tasks make them more amenable to objective count and measurement. Office workers through their labour process are subjected to the same demands. Strictures against certain forms of behaviour are enforced: talking, for example, is not permitted.[95]

Mills writes about the creation of a "personality market":

> In a society of employees, dominated by the marketing mentality, it is inevitable that a personality market should arise. For in the great shift, from manual skills to the art of 'handling', selling and servicing people, personal or even intimate traits of the employee are drawn into the sphere of exchange and become of commercial relevance, become commodities in the labour market. Whenever there is a transfer of control over one individual's personal traits which affect one's impression upon others, a personality market arises. 96

Mills has aptly captured one essence of the labour process that is most pronounced in the clerical and service occupations. In the personality market one's personality, disposition, behaviour and presentation of self is dependent to a large extent not just on the type of work performed but on the demands which regulate it.[97] Office workers do not manufacture commodities but sell services. The personality market is perhaps most clearly realized as a function of sales occupations. However, these highly standardized, highly routinized (Mills calls them insincere, self-controlled and obsequious) behaviours and personalities pertain to most kinds of office and clerical jobs.[98]

The leading female occupations, stenography, typing, nursing, sales and telephone operating, are often anonymous in character.[99] A secretary in a typing pool can hardly be said to have a personal relationship with either an executive boss or her colleagues. The same is true of a bank teller whom we know and judge by her smile, dress. Ditto for a

telephone operator whom we know as a voice. Thus, as activities and office functions are mass produced, by extension, individual behaviour and appearance are also mass produced and assume the façade of the office norm. Braverman points out that the rationalization of office work and the creation of the detail worker is related to the nature of the labour process itself. Clerical operations are easy to rearrange as they involve dealing with paper. Because much of clerical work is numerical in form it can be structured according to the rules of mathematics.[100]

Office advice manuals contain examples of the "raw data" by which office workers are informed of work and disposition-related aspects of the personality market. Benet refers to a secretarial manual:

> Its description of the office is resolutely complacent and makes a virtue of the conformity and mediocrity that often characterizes office style. 'Our speech is neither the slang of the factory nor the vocabulary of the college professor. It is straightforward and to the point- the language of business.' 101

The Woman's Dress for Success Book, while clearly designed to promote corporate stereotypes ("always wear upper middle class clothing"), is a bestselling book in which the essential parameters of women's aspired-for acceptance in a male work world involve traditional femininity, conservativeness and a look "tailored" for the office.[102]

Some general and recurring attributes deemed necessary

by office advice manuals for secretarial success are: self control, tactfulness, patience, flexibility, the ability to be a good listener and to have a "telephone personality." The emphasis is on the "complete secretary." Counsel seeks to integrate the secretary's business, personal and social life with tips on diet and grooming.[103] In some handbooks, instruction extends beyond applied office procedures. Clerical workers are advised to "wear fresh lingerie always," bathe or shower daily (twice daily in the summer), use a deodorant or antiperspirant and remove superfluous leg and underarm hair routinely.[104] Ion reminds her readers that "breath must be above reproach."[105] One book admonishes against chewing gum, dangling cigarettes, dirty ashtrays, and smoking in someone else's office, elevators, in office corridors and on the street.[106] Personal grooming tips include having nail polish handy to repair chipped nails and keeping spare nylon stockings in one's desk in case of "emergencies" (runs).[107]

Impression management is important. According to the Complete Secretary's Handbook, some of the key elements of secretarial savoir faire revolve around refinement, poise, posture, personal appearance and "voice."[108] In another book, women are advised to pitch lower their often too shrill voices.[109] Suggestions for personality improvement are not too subtle. Secretaries must "never show anger" and should avoid the "cold personality."[110] Hanna, et al state that

a "good secretary is a public realtions expert."[111] She must set standards for careful grooming, acceptable dress and approved behaviour. Attributes considered of importance are the maintenance of good posture, a pleasant voice, manicured nails, a daily deodorant, oral hygiene "for pleasant breath," and tidy, attractively styled hair.[112] Potential secretaries are advised to "stand and sit tall; never slump. Walk with a smooth motion, with head balanced and chin parallel to the floor."[113] The secretarial "code" of "courtesy, co-operativeness, cheerfulness" disallows any sort of independent, autonomous action on the part of the workers. The authors of Secretarial Procedures and Administration promote the false ideological belief that clerical workers are professionals in their jobs by stating: "...the secretarial position in the 1970's requires more basic intelligence, more formal education, more initiative and better appearance..."[114]

There appears to be a surface contradiction here. What is typically women's work concerns interaction with machines. Yet the work is social in the sense that these women are involved in selling services, are, in effect, "para-commodities" of the corporation. The modern corporation can capitalize on the physical and personal appeal of its employees especially when the image is public, for example with bank tellers. However, "office advice" is directed at those who work in offices and often don't interact directly with the public. The apparent

contradiction might be resolved by looking at fashion and fasion consciousness as a means of social control through the practice of sexism. If women are often appendages to machines why is there an emphasis on an emerging cosmetic self?

Using labour force participation as an indicator of how women fit into the social structure, it is apparent women have attained some measure of potential freedom in the sense that they are not essentially dependent on one man for their survival. Women, as well, can exercise more control over their bodies and sexuality. Birth control information and abortions are becoming easier to abtain making sex accessible and discreet. Following the work of Masters and Johnson (and others) which dispelled the myth of the vaginal orgasm, women can achieve a greater amount of sexual liberation by demanding sexual pleasure which renders the male sex organ redundant. These phenomena redefine the amount of control men can exercise over women's sexuality.[115]

Mary Douglas notes that cross-culturally, sex-pollution beliefs are stronger when sex roles are loosley defined.[116] I suspect a similar sort of thing is operating here. Men have seen women gain control over certain dimensions of their lives and sexuality and therefore attempt to control women's sexualness, the image as opposed to the state of sexuality, by standardizing definitions of femininity and beauty. Women may be "kept in line" through the enforcement of rigid stereo-

types of femininity and fashion.[117] This is apparent not only with the limited amount of choices available to women but also what those choices represent. It can be argued that the recent return to restrictive undergarments, narrow cut skirts and stiletto-heeled shoes which make movement almost impossible, have been in response to the public appearance of women and their perceived autonomy. One way in which men have ensured women will remain accountable to their femininity and its companions: docility, passivity, fragility, without blemish, has been to literally create those kinds of appearances or commodities which make assertive, freer behaviour difficult. Women's sexualness is regulated in this instance.[118]

Sennett refers to the personal display of status through carefully manufactured lifestyle: "...the new ideas of immanent personality mesh with the mass production of appearance in public."[119] I earlier wrote of the characteristics of mass production in the office and the corresponding "assembly line" personality and image. It is in this instance that women collude, in a sense, with men and the dictates of fashion by participating in the development of the culture of the office. In a situation where individual mobility is increasingly illusory, where clerical workers are not promoted from the ranks of the secretarial pool, women will compensate for their alienating work by helping to shape their "stylization." In an

office with highly regimented routines and procedures, women in white collar jobs have little input into, or control over, the work process. The only decisions one can make which affect one's immediate daily activities are those dealing with personal appearance or deportment. This emphasis on the body is a reflection, it can be argued, of a surface assertion of selfhood and style. Yet the illusion of personal choice gives way to a standardized image and presention of self.

The stereotype of the total, fashionable, visually appealing, sweet-smelling office worker operates dialectically. The culture of the office requires the presentation of the cosmetic self. This is obvious in jobs which involve close interaction with the public. However, the same standards and norms of refinement and decorum are required of those women who work in smaller, not so visible offices.[120] Although most clerical jobs are highly mechanized, demands are still made which regulate the appearance and hence activities of the female white collar worker. Feminine hygiene "fashions" are used as a form of social control. Not only is having to frequently change a deodorant "panti-shield" restricting, but the connotative images of sexualness are apparent: it is to be constant and controlled. Because men no longer control women's sexuality (to the extent they used to) they attempt to manage female sexualness in its more covert and suggestive forms. There is a men's clothing standard. Molloy's first

"dress for success" book was for men. The differences are that there are fewer strictures against deviation as there are for women and male office dress codes lack an emphasis on sexualness.[121]

The social control of fashion and fashion consciousness is internalized through the use of feminine hygiene products. Through the consumption and use of these products women discipline themselves: their appropriate use is only detected by the wearer. She is the final arbiter or judge of her discipline.

Women's work is mechanized, routine, "dead end" and competitive. Office technology has eliminated many jobs.[122] Women know that their physical appeal is important and hence will exploit that as insurance against their redundancy in jobs where they, like the machinery, are replaceable. As well, in this time of high unemployment, men are moving into jobs which were previously the domain of women.[123] White collar women also feel the deadening and alienating experiences of modern office work and, it is argued, exert control over those areas of their personal lives where the result is immediate.[124] Thus decisions regarding deportment and dress assume importance- they are often the only decisions one can make- and contribute to a cultivated identity. In this way, women compensate by focussing on their physical selves and by purchasing commodities designed to alter and manipulate.

Personal recruitment has replaced skills recruitment for the female office worker. Devoid of any claims to professional status in her job, the clerical worker manipulates and appropriates symbols of professionalism through the creation of her own individual lifestyle.[125] A spokesperson for the National Secretaries Association writes: "'professional' is an outlook...on your job and on yourself."[126] The clerical worker can, seemingly, manage her own "entrepreneurial" style, become a "star," an individual through the consumption of certain products, habits or behaviours.[127] In this way fashion is used as a form of social control but clerical workers also desire to participate in their own stylization as a means of compensating for the alienating affects of their labour and as a way of ensuring success on the job.

Summary

The foregoing analysis has situated the parallel phenomena of the emergence of the feminine hygiene market and the participation of women in specific forms of wage labour within a theoretical framework which looks at the role of discipline in the work place. The location of women in clerical and white collar wage labour generates a strain in the managerial functions of discipline and control that is sexist in orientation. The social control of the body, its subjection to discipline, was seen in historical perspective and receives particular attent-

ion in a work place where machinery replaces human motions. In this sense, the machine is used as a mataphor for the bosy. The body as a means of production becomes increasingly subjected to power and from it is exacted aptitudinal power.[128]

Discipline is articulated differently for men and women. This phenomenon is empirically grounded in the discussion of the culture of the office. It is argued that discipline and control in the work place is demanded in spheres which involve the cultivation of personality, lifestyle and deportment. The white collar labour process, through the widespread use of office technology, has almost eliminated the need for skill in the workplace. Thus personal recruitment has replaced skills recruitment. The traditional focus on developing professional career status is eclipsed by the movement towards the development of "professional" status within the area of personal style. If individuals have little control over job mobility they can still exercise control over the personal domain and refine the "self" according to occupational and sexual criteria. With respect to women, these criteria specify an emphasis on the culture of femininity with attention paid to physical grooming, a polished appearance.

As discipline and control are exerted on labour process activities, personal and individual regimentation accompany a fragmented and regimented labour code. Forms of social control are imposed externally; they are reproduced, however,

when that authprity is internalized and self discipline is automatic. The marketing of feminine hygiene products represents one example of the regulation and discipline of women's sexualness. Feminine hygiene products inhibit movement: the necessity of changing a "panti shield" a few times a day or using sanitary napkins for varying days of the menstrual cycle creates a certain dependency on the products. They limit bodily freedom but, for women in the office, they signify a form of "convenient freedom." The products offer a quick, convenient way to sanitation, a way for women to control themselves.

Social control is such that it can only work if the subjects on whom it is exercised discipline themselves. Menstrual taboos have been socially constructed and dealt with in particular ways in the office. If to be female is to bleed, to be feminine is to be without blemish, without blood. The fact that all women bleed, every month, presents a specific problem for male management. It is impossible to know when women workers are bleeding; thus, the natural state of femaleness can be obliterated through the marketing of "everyday" panti-liners. Femininity is then exalted as "natural" and desireable. But that state of femininity is also desired by women and realized in the purchase and use of feminine hygiene products. Women discipline themselves in tandem with the social construction of taboos. The social control

of the female body, or sexual oppression in a deeply embedded form, is able to work only if it is internalized and perpetuated by acting subjects. The notion of subjectivity is crucial to an understanding of the dynamics of oppression, the interplay between relations of dominance and subordination.

The subject is constituted through a variety of institutions, which often overlap, for example the family and language.[129] Subjectivity implies the existence of a meaning-producing subject from a position in an on-going "discursive reality."[130] One of the ways we can see how the subject is constructed is through analyzing the medium of advertising. This is so for a number of reasons. Firstly, advertisements in all the media are ubiquitous and tenacious. Magazine advertisements for feminine hygiene products are, as well, one of the few ways, given its tabooed nature, that women learn about menstruation, menstrual phenomena and its associated products. Secondly, in "advertising work" ads do not claim to speak for themselves: we, the receivers, are drawn to fill the gap where the speaker should be, so we become both listener and speaker, object and subject.[131] Thus advertising needs a subject and pre-supposes a consistent subject who thinks and feels itself to be free, the point of origin of ideas and actions.[132] Advertisements impart meaning and are given meaning in terms of how the subject already knows the world. Finally, what appears as obvious in ads also appears

as obvious in the real world as subjects know it. Ads help support the ideology of "naturalistic causation" (i.e., to be feminine is to be without blood is to be natural). How the subject comes to know this, "naturally," is the focus of the next chapter which contains the theoretical formulations necessary to an understanding of "how" ads "say" to us, not just what they say, and a de-coding of feminine hygiene advertisements.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 11:

1 Sheila Rowbotham, Woman's Consciousness, Man's World, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973, 105.

2 cf. Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger, New York: Frederick A. Praegar, 1966; Judith Okely, "Gypsy Women: Models in Conflict," in Perceiving Women, edited by Shirley Ardener, New York: Halsted Press, 1975; Elizabeth Faithorn, "The Concept of Pollution Among the Kafe of the Papua New Guinea Highlands," in Toward an Anthropology of Women, edited by Rayna R. Reiter, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975; Paula Weideger, Menstruation and Menopause: The Psychology, Physiology, the Myth and the Reality, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976; J.B. Loudon, "On Body Products," in The Anthropology of the Body, edited by John Blacking, London: Academic Press, 1977; Penelope Shuttle and Peter Redgrove, The Wise Wound, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1978; Mary Douglas, Natural Symbols, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1978; Janice Delaney, Mary Jane Lupton and Emily Toth, The Curse, New York: E.P. Dutton, 1976. One manifestation of the phenomenon of menstrual taboos is the recent campaign to purge television advertising of its feminine hygiene ads. Although the protesters have, as of yet, been unable to move the CRTC, the potency of their feelings cannot be underestimated. Two newspaper "coupon campaigns" in Vancouver produced, independently, 33,000 and 39,000 objections to ads which were "embarrassing," "offensive" and unsuitable for TV. cf. "The Promo that Launched a Thousand Protests," Maclean's, 1979, (January), 92.

3 Helen Douglas, "The Society of Self: An Analysis of Contemporary, Popular, Inspirational Self-help Literature in a Socio-historical Perspective," M.A. Thesis, McMaster University, 1979.

4 Care-free panti-shields are currently advertised for the "fresh-dressed woman."

5 cf. Stuart Ewen, Captains of Consciousness, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976.

6 Stephen Marglin, "What do Bosses do?" in The Division of Labour, edited by Andre Gorz, England: The Harvester Press, 1978, 26.

[7] Helen Douglas, 162.

[8] This is used in the Weberian Sense: "every slowing down of the shifting of economic stratification leads, in due course, to the growth of status structures and makes for a resuscitation of the important role of social honour." Max Weber, From Max Weber, edited by C.W. Mills and Hans Gerth, New York: Oxford University Press, 1976, 193.

[9] Helen Douglas.

[10] Norbert Elias, The Civilizing Process, New York: Urizen Books, 1978, 152.

[11] Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, London: Allen Lane, 1977, 156.

[12] Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labour in Society, translated by George Simpson, New York: The Free Press, 1964.

[13] Durkheim, 211.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Durkheim, 214.

[16] Marglin, 15.

[17] Foucault, 143.

[18] Foucault, 145.

[19] Foucault, 137-8.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Foucault, 138.

[23] Foucault, 143.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Foucault, 152.

[26] Foucault, 152-3.

[27] Elias, 71.

[28] Foucault, 156.

[29] Foucault, 170.

[30] Foucault, 193.

[31] "In a system of discipline, the child is more individualized than the adult, the patient more than the healthy man, the madman and the delinquent more than the normal and the non-delinquent. In each case it is towards the first of these pairs that all the individualizing mechanisms are turned in our civilization; and when one wishes to individualize the healthy, normal and law-abiding adult, it is always by asking him how much of the child he has in him, what fundamental crime he has dreamt of commiting. All the sciences, analyses or practices employing the root 'psycho-' have their origin in this historical reversal of the procedures of individualization. The moment that saw the transition from historico-ritual mechanisms for the formation of individuality to the scientifico-disciplinary mechanisms, when the normal took over from the ancestral, and measurement from status, thus substituting for the individuality of the memorable man that of the calculable man, that moment when the sciences of man became possible is the moment when a new technology of power and a new political anatomy of the body were implemented." Foucault, 193.

[32] Foucault, 218.

[33] Foucault, 26.

[34] Foucault, 28.

[35] Foucault, 129.

[36] Foucault, 137.

[37] Durkheim, 215.

[38] Foucault, 138.

[39] Jane Barker and Hazel Downing, "Word Processing and the Transformation of the Patriarchal Relations of Control in the Office," Capital and Class, 1980, (Spring), 10, 82.

[40] Barker and Downing, 82.

[41] Richard Edwards, Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century, New York: Basic Books, 1979, 148.

[42] The phenomenon of the generalization of the wage form in contemporary capitalist society is apparent. The distinguishing characteristic of capitalist commodity production is the purchase and sale of labour power. As Marx argued, the production of surplus labour, the labour the worker expends over and above "that portion of his day's labour in which he produces the value of his labour power," creates surplus value for the capitalist and ensures him a greater share of profits. The labour process is dominated by this accumulation of capital. The worker is paid a wage for his necessary labour time, that portion of the working day during which he reproduces the value of his labour power. The wage form renders opaque the economic exploitation of the worker, i.e. the extraction of surplus value. Management is the personification of capital. It dominates, controls, organizes. cf. Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974, 52; Karl Marx, Capital, Volume 1, New York: International Publishers, 1967, 216.

[43] Theo Nichols and Huw Beynon, Living with Capitalism, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977, 38.

[44] Braverman, 59.

[45] Stanley Aronowitz, False Promises, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973, 9.

[46] Braverman, 100. 107.

[47] Braverman, 264.

[48] Braverman, 265.

[49] Braverman, 300.

[50] Braverman, 301.

[51] Braverman, 267.

[52] Braverman, 296.

[53] Braverman, 268-9.

[54] Edwards.

[55] Edwards, 146.

[56] Edwards, 149.

[57] Barbara Ehrenreich and John Ehrenreich, "Work and Consciousness," Monthly Review, 1976, (July/August), 13.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] C. Wright Mills, White Collar, New York: Oxford University Press, 1951, chapter 5.

[61] I am referring to women in white collar, clerical occupations.

[62] This is apparent upon examination of the "social selves" of bank tellers as an example. However, this phenomenon has an empirical foundation with secretaries, typists, key-punchers, etc.

[63] Mills, 110, 109.

[64] Edwards, 249.

[65] Mills, 196.

[66] Mills, 225.

[67] Mills, 209; Mary Kathleen Benet, The Secretarial Ghetto, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972, 148.

[68] Jane Barker and Hazel Downing, "Office Automation: Word Processing and the Transformation of Patriarchal Relations," paper presented for the Conference for Socialist Economics, University of Leeds, April 1979, 17.

[69] Barker and Downing, 1980, 75-77.

[70] Elinor Langer, Women at Work: Inside the New York Telephone Company, edited and with an introduction by William L. O'Neill, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1972, 337.

[71] Richard Sennett, The Fall of Public Man, New York: Vintage Books, 1978, 327ff.

[72] Sennett, 328.

[73] Mills, 187; The personality market is characterized by the selling and servicing of people, in a society of employees dominated by the marketing mentality. Personal traits become of commercial relevance. "Whenever there is a transfer of control over one's personal traits which affect one's impression upon others, a personality market arises." Mills, 182.

[74] Braverman, 347.

[75] Barker and Downing, 1980, 66; "Office Work Made Easier, But Some Bosses Worry," The Globe and Mail, 1980 (July 17): "I don't see being a secretary for 30 or 40 years, because the job won't be there. You don't get a one-to-one relationship with a boss anymore."

[76] Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 13-14; With respect to supervision, it is interesting to note the way some offices organize their

physical layout. The use of partitions and screens is becoming prevalent in newer office buildings. This affords management the opportunity to know and hear what is going on at all times. cf. Edwards for a discussion of supervision and strictures against non-work related activities, i.e. talking. In one of my work situations which involved alot of photo-copying, I was reminded I was talking too much and felt the subtle threat of losing my job despite the fact I had been told I was doing the "best" job.

77 Elias, 81.

78 Ibid.

79 Christopher Lasch, The Culture of Narcissism, New York: Warner Books, 1979, 101. Taken lightly, Lasch's book is a study of the decay of cultural values; taken seriously is represents an impassioned concern for a return to ritual, status structures, patriarchal figures and an end to normlessness. As he relies on case histories of psychiatric patients to develop and elucidate some of his points about the narcissistic personality, his world is a sick one. "Like the schizophrenic who touches on reality only to enlarge or distort its implications, the world Lasch describes is not the world most of us live in." Douglas, 131.

80 Elias, 150.

81 Elias, 152.

82 Elias, 187.

83 Lasch, 131, 138.

84 Even standards of child rearing and household labour have become professionalized; many functions have been usurped by the state or commodities market. What once fell into a personal realm now involves reflective behaviour.

85 Hans Morgenthau and Ethel Person, "The Roots of Narcissism," Partisan Review, 1978, XLV:3, 344-5.

86 Goffman in Lasch, 165.

87 Lasch, 168.

88 cf. "Men's Faces Getting Help," The Globe and Mail, 1980 (September 16); "Fragrance (for men) Becomes Part of Fashion Look," The Globe and Mail, 1980 (December 2); "More Men Wear Cologne," The Globe and Mail, 1981 (July 21); "Now Men are Looking for Makeup," The Globe and Mail, 1981 (August 11).

89 It should be noted that corporate women are exempt from the same expectations/restrictions. Molloy advises women to "dress for the boardroom not the bedroom." Burger writes that executive women cannot be sexy. Although these women are still subjected to female dress and deportment codes, they are, because of the status of their jobs and the inherent autonomy of the jobs' functions, not subjected to the demands of discipline that women in routine jobs are. John T. Molloy, The Women's Dress for Success Book, New York: Warner Books, 1977; Chester Burger, Executives Under Fire: Personal Case Histories from the Executive Jungle, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968.

90 Simple, effective menstrual products are no longer sufficient. We now have sanitary napkins in different sizes and shapes, some disposable, some for varying days of the menstrual cycle, and "light" napkins for everyday use. There are tampons with different capacities for absorbency and with redundant deodorants. Most recently there has been a barrage of vaginal deodorants and cleansing agents. Most of the products are unnecessary and satisfy an induced psychological need and/or fear.

91 Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, The Double Ghetto, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978, 43.

92 Susan Porter Benson, "The Clerking Sisterhood: Rationalization and the Work Culture of Sales Women in American Department Stores, 1890-1960," Radical America, 1978 (April), 12:2, 41.

93 Donald Roy, "Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop," American Journal of Sociology, 1952 (March), 57:5; Donald F. Roy, "Banana Time: Job Satisfaction and Informal Interaction," People and Organizations, edited by Graeme Salaman and Kenneth Thompson, The Open University: Longman, 1973; Paul Willis, Learning to Labour, England: Saxon House, 1977.

94 Braverman, 301.

95 Braverman, 301-56.

[96] Mills, 182.

[97] Mills, 182-8.

[98] Mills, 183-4.

[99] Armstrong and Armstrong, 33.

[100] Braverman, 315.

[101] Benet, 102.

[102] Molloy.

[103] Jean Vermes, The Secretary's Guide to Dealing With People, West Nyack, New York: Parker Publishing Co., 1964, 127ff.

[104] Albert C. Fries, et al, Applied Secretarial Procedures, New Yrok: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974, 23, 18; Lucy Graves Mayo, You Can be an Executive Secretary, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965, 130ff.

[105] Sam Ion, Dear Sam: Advice to the Working Woman, Toronto: Personal Library Publishers, 1980, 65.

[106] Patricia Ingoldsby Focarino, The Executive Secretary: Handbook to Success, Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1969.

[107] Patricia Flynn, The Complete Secretary, New York: Pitman Publishing Co., 1975; Lillian Doris and Besse May Miller, Complete Secretary's Handbook, revised edition, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1960; Fries et al; Ingoldsby and Focarino.

[108] Doris and Miller.

[109] Vermes, 127ff.

[110] Doris and Miller, 5; Vermes.

[111] J. Marshall Hanna, Secretarial Procedures and Administration, Cincinnati, Ohio: South Western Publishing Co., 1973, 3.

[112] Hanna et al, 11.

[113] Hanna et al, 12.

[114] Hanna et al, 2.

[115] A recent newspaper article reports the findings of a study which indicate the extent to which men are threatened by changing patterns and expectations of women's sexuality. The interesting point is that men extend their threatened feelings generated by increased awareness of women's sexuality to areas outside sexual discourse. The men in this study try to control their wives through physical force or by refusing to allow them to enter the work force. cf. "Women's New Roles Affecting Males," The Hamilton Spectator, 1981 (June 11). As well, the editors of Advertising Age believe that women want to flaunt their sexuality and thus need commodities to reflect this. The growing concern with "tapping" female sexuality is apparent. Advertising Age, 1979, 50:5.

[116] Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966, 140ff.

[117] Ion suggests that "business" attire makes women look attractive and sexy. Women can, thus, manipulate men sexually in order to succeed in a "non-sexual" way, something she approves of. Ion, 59.

[118] It is a well known maxim that increased exercise reduces tha amount of monthly menstrual flow and symptoms of pain and/or discomfort a woman may experience. Office workers involved in sedentary occupations may well be ideal candidates for a variety of menstrual products because of instances of heavy bleeding. cf. Paula Weideger, Menstruation and Menopause: The Psychology, Physiology, the Myth and the Reality, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976, 51; Hilary C. Maddux, Menstruation, Wayne, Pennsylvania: Tobey Publishing Co., 1981, 149. While there is a correlation between the use of birth control pills and a light menstrual flow, more women are apparently going off the pill and choosing alternate methods of birth control. cf. Weideger, 37.

[119] Sennett, 164.

[120] Unger reports an instance of a man who was refused a gov-

ernment job because the administration did not want a man answering the phone. Harlow G. Unger, "50,000 Secretaries are Male," The Canadian Secretary, 1981 (May), 6:2. Presentation of self and the emergent personality are recognized as important attributes of the successful worker and the appropriate images and lifestyle are touted by the fashion industry. cf. "The Before and After Biz," The Globe and Mail, 1980 (June 28): "Listen, this is the eighties; things are tight. It's the looks that will give you the edge when you're looking for a job...Businesswise it's becoming more and more the norm, you have to compete"; "A Surge of Interest in Suits," The Globe and Mail, 1981 (March 10): "...there has been a resurgence of interest in suits, especially among the young and upwardly mobile...the suit (separates) the ambitious executive from lower echelon workers." It can be argued that with the rapid movement of women into the labour force there is the illusion of mobility. What is important here is appearances. "Styled for Business," The Globe and Mail, 1981 (March 10): "Working women have never been more aware of the importance of how they look on the job...Women can be dressed appropriately for business in attractive feminine colours and prints"; "Dressing Right for Interview Leads to Winning Right Job," The Toronto Star, 1981 (April 30).

121 Two newspaper accounts provide support for this. A bank teller in the United States was suspended for wearing her hair in a popular braided style; and earlier, female sales clerks at a large Canadian department store were forbidden from wearing pants. cf. "Bo Hairstyle Makes Teller Quit Bank," The Globe and Mail, 1980 (May 8); "Pants Back in Style at Eaton's Store," The Globe and Mail, 1980 (May 16). In these types of jobs women function as "para-commodities" of the corporation, i.e. they are in the public eye and are expected to present the correct image to customers. Thus, personal appearances and deportment are emphasized. However, women in clerical and office jobs are expected to conform, as well, to the stereotype of the costumed identity. In this way fashion is used as a form of social control. Connotations of sexualness are regulated as women assume more control over their sexuality. The Globe and Mail reports that a male grocery store employee was fired for wearing a beard but was later reinstated. This phenomenon may indicate a trend in men's fashion. cf. "Safeway Dismisses Store Employee Who Wore Beard," The Globe and Mail, 1981 (February 17); "Fired Over Beard, Worker Reinstated," The Globe and Mail, 1981 (February 19).

122 cf. "Technology Will Hurt Women's Jobs," The Hamilton Spec-

tator, 1981 (March 11); "Micro-processing Seen Taking Jobs From Women," The Globe and Mail, 1981 (March 31); "Workers Need Time for Adjusting to New Technology," The Globe and Mail, 1981 (May 4): "There are estimates that 50 to 90 percent of all jobs could be automated which can only mean a gradually rising level of unemployment or a great deal more part-time work."

123 Unger.

124 cf. Judith Ann, "The Secretarial Proletariat," in Sisterhood is Powerful, edited by Robin Morgan, New York: Vintage Books, 1970, for examples of resistance and a personal account of a woman who sought refuge from the effects of her job in dating, marriage, make-up and pretty clothes.

125 It is interesting to note that the Canadian Secretaries Association has elected to change the name of its organization to denote the image of secretaries as professionals. The chosen name is "Professional Secretaries International." "We want to maintain the group as a professional organization... Our aim is to elevate the standards and status of secretaries..." cf. "Keep Calm, Secretary," The Globe and Mail, 1981 (April 8). It could be argued that this represents an attempt by the NSA to appropriate professional status in the face of skills erosion-word processors- and image erosion.

126 Mary Beth Wallace, "Secretaries Know They're Professional, Now They Want the World to Know," Canadian Secretary, 1980 (November), 5:4, 7.

127 Tuthill reports on the feasibility and success of "personal image makers" in helping individuals attain occupational credibility and promotion. The Directory of Image Consultants first appeared in 1978 citing the name of such centres as the "Identity Research Institute." She states: "It's not who you know or what you know but who knows what you know. That's image." If you are in control of your image you come across as being in control of the situation. Mary Tuthill, "A Change of Image Can Change Your Future," Nation's Business, 1980 (November), 69:68, 75-6.

128 Foucault, 135ff.

129 cf. Annette Kuhn, "Structures of Patriarchy and Capital in the Family," in Feminism and Materialism: Women and Modes of Production, edited by Annette Kuhn and AnnMarie Wolpe,

London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978; and Rosalind Coward and John Ellis, Language and Materialism: Developments in Semiology and the Theory of the Subject, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977.

130 Coward and Ellis, 154.

131 Judith Williamson, Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising, London: Marion Boyars, 1978.

132 Coward and Ellis, 68, 77.

Chapter 111

Content analysis of feminine hygiene product magazine advertisements

The preceding has isolated some of the objective characteristics of women's waged work, primarily the role of management and discipline as a form of social control in the office. It was argued that women are objects of discipline; their subjectivity emerges, however, as they manage themselves through regulating their activities, appearance deportment and bodies. The consumption and use of feminine hygiene products is one example of the internalization of social control as women participate in creating their own stylization. The manipulation of modes of femininity is part of that stylization.

The marketing and advertising of feminine hygiene products is suggestive of the development of a specific kind of wage worker consumer. In the culture of the office, sexuality is subjected to empirical control and images of sexualness are manipulated and regulated. The female subject is enlisted in the creation of the culture of the office as a means of coping with alienating work situations.

Advertising presupposes the availability of a consumer and subject who will consume appropriately. Ads identify a subject, a possessor of certain attributes and qualities. Feminine hygiene ads define some of the prevalent characterizations of femaleness, femininity and sexuality. These characterizations vary according to the changing roles of women. In this chapter

some of the operative notions of women and their bodies are illustrated through a content analysis of magazine advertisements for feminine hygiene products.

Content analysis is a methodological device which relates to everyday understanding of linguistic and non-linguistic phenomena and hence enables one to draw conclusions from the printed media.[1] It identifies the content or meaning of configurations of words and images. Content analysis, of texts, photographs, studies "what is there."[2] It is the non-selective monitoring of objective data.[3] Content analysis establishes the manifest content of a survey of, in this case, advertising. "It is not concerned with questions of quality, of response or of interpretation..."[4] It uncovers what is there and what we know.

Semiology, a type of content analysis, attempts to uncover "how" we know through looking at not just what is represented in advertising but how we verify what is represented. Semiology poses the question: what images do ads create and how do they manage to do this? Semiology engages in an understanding of how the subject, the reader of ads, is created and at the same time how the subject appropriates, reinforces and modifies the dominant meaning of an ad. A semiological (and feminist) understanding of representation in ads has "to engage with the social reader, as well as the social text."[5] It must not examine what is represented at the expense of how it is represented.

For example, we can note that women in feminine hygiene ads of the last decade are most often depicted as young and single- how do we know this?[6]

Advertising is one way of symbolically organizing society. It reflects, symbolically, "the structure of values and relationships beneath the surface...(of) the manifest actuality of society."[7] It is a form of social communication: "...it draws upon an existing stock of images and knowledge and speaks to the consumer about the product by way of social messages which will be readily understood."[8] Goffman argues that advertisements "display ritualized expression." They communicate a common-sense ordering of the world and as such represent sign systems which are mythologized and naturalized.[9] Messages implicitly contained in feminine hygiene ads are of interest because of the historically and culturally informed taboos which surround the menstrual cycle and femininity and female sexuality. Ideology involves the construction of the subject in terms of a reconciliation of what she knows and how she acts in a social totality and how she represents herself in language.[10] Ideology's relationship to advertising is integral to the mythicizing effects of advertising and how they are experienced.

In an attempt to further strengthen the argument that there is a relationship between the participation of women in wage work and the emergence of certain feminine hygiene products and ultimately the feminine hygiene "market," I have chosen

to examine magazine advertisements from the time frames previously outlined: the 1920's, 1930's, 1940's, 1950's, 1960's and conclude with a discussion of the more contemporary themes present in the ads of the late 1970's and early 80's. A decoding of these final ads (i.e. of the 70's and 80's) will contribute to the development of a dialectical understanding of one manifestation of the social/sexual control of women and the ways in which women appropriate symbols of an emerging subjectivity. They appear as the possessors of certain attributes with the "freedom" to manipulate them.

Methodology

In this chapter six decades of advertisements for feminine hygiene products are under study. Nineteen twenty one was chosen as the year of departure as it was during that year that the first product, sanitary napkins, was introduced. The advertising of specific commodities is obviously directed at an identifiable population: therefore ads for feminine hygiene products were, and are, to be found in women's magazines or magazines with a female readership.

Good Housekeeping and Ladies Home Journal, in the twenties, thirties and forties, were the most accessible and clearly popular women's magazines. They represented a good barometer of changes in women's status.[11] The ads contained within them should reflect this. In the last three decades, however, there

has been a greater selection of women's magazines. Again my selection represents magazines directed at women or mirror the changing roles women play. Advertisements from the last decade were chosen from Chatelaine, Cosmopolitan, Vogue, Self, People, Ms., Homemakers Magazine, Glamour and one from The New YorK Times Magazine. Not all issues of the early magazines were available; years were chosen based on their proximity to the times when women's involvement in wage work was prominent and the introduction of products (subject to the availability of magazines), e.g. 1921, 1936, 1939, 1966.[12] For every decade and year of study I looked at every ad in the magazine. In the twenties, thirties, forties and fifties there was often only one ad per issue, sometimes none. This has changed in the last two decades. Lately issues carry as many as 8 ads for feminine hygiene products, for example the May 1981 issue of Glamour. Chatelaine's August 1981 issue carries five ads. Hence the larger selection for the 1971-81 decade.

It is interesting to note that, although ads for feminine hygiene products were proliferating by the 1940's, Vogue magazine did not carry any. As this magazine is devoted solely to fashion and hence women who have some disposable income with which to cultivate a rather expensive sense of fashion consciousness, the lack

of ads supports my claim that feminine hygiene products are designed not for the trendy but for women who have a definite role in the social work world.

Ads from the fifties were selected to gauge the designed use of feminine hygiene products based on the assumption that product images would be altered with the ideological shift towards the "feminine mystique." Ads representing this decade were chosen from 1953, 1955 and 1958, from Chatelaine, to reflect Canadian content and a rounded picture of the decade.

Themes of continuity and change are presented to provide, as well as textual unity, an overview of the salient representations of women. Thus ads from each decade beginning with the 1920's are included. It is noted that ads do not differ greatly from magazine to magazine and appear to change, slightly, about every 2-3 years.

The questions I posed in looking at the ads are related to an understanding of the totality of women's oppression. They are thus situated within a larger whole, i.e. sexual oppression is integral to, perhaps the starting point of, the domination of women by men. The specific questions which emerged, then, are: what do the ads reveal about the social construction of taboos and of the social nature of the female body? What images

of women are resurrected, promoted and regulated in these advertisements? How do women (in the ads) appear to approach the topic of menstruation? Are they fearful, shy and ashamed or are they depicted as "having it under control," i.e. have they internalized social/sexual control: do they appear to have the "freedom" to manipulate and control their fears and needs? Finally, the question how do ads manage to tell us what we know they are telling us is constructed within the theoretical framework of semiology.

Semiology

The analysis of myth is the beginning of semiology.[13] A myth is a system of signification, a type of speech.[14] It is a form of representation which "naturalize(s) certain meanings, externalize(s) the present state of the world."[15] Mythological representations of the world come to be seen as universal and natural. Myths represent a "taken-for-granted" sense of the world and recreate the world as it is "already" known. The mechanism of myth communicates and carries messages and as such, myth is not an idea or set of ideas but a form or mode of signification.[16] It communicates ideas which are self-evident; it imparts a view of the world which is without contradiction and which contains an eternal

essence of everyday reality. The real world is immediately visible and accessible and, as myth, functions to enshroud complex social relations and contradictions. Semiology then concentrates on the mechanisms by which these views or ideas come to be represented and how certain social practices are essentialized or naturalized.[17] Semiology is not concerned with facts but how facts are endowed with significance. It is a science dealing with values, a science of forms. It studies signification apart from its content. Semiology is composed of the relationship between two terms: the signifier and the signified which combine to form the sign. This is the generic language of myth. A signifier is a mental image we have of a material object. The signified is a concept or the meaning of the signifier. The meaning we get from the signified stems from its referent system. Williamson uses the example of a horse as a signifier. What a horse means for us is culled from the referent of "what kicks you."

> Thus the referent always means the actual thing in the real world, to which a word or concept points. The referent is external to the sign (which consists of the signifier, the material object, and the signified which is its meaning), whereas the signified is part of the sign. (However, the external "reality" referred to by the collection of signs in an advertisement is itself a mythological system, another set of signs.) 18

The object or object-language (a picture or text) is endowed with two systems of meaning. The denotative meaning refers to the objective conception of an object or sign. There are three types of denotation: symbolic, which is non-descriptive (e.g. a shrinking dollar sign- $ - for inflation); iconic, which is descriptive (e.g. a photograph in agreement with the signifier); and indexical, which is partially descriptive and operates within a prior framework of understanding (e.g. a sundial to represent the sun).[19] Most of the advertisements in this study rely on indexical denotation. The connotative meaning expresses the subjective values which adhere to the sign. Connotative meanings are the myths which attach themselves to the denotative meaning: they represent the intended sense of denotation.[20] Connotation draws upon denotation but it is done in such a way that there appears to be a natural unity between the two. Connotation is successful when it represents a conception of the world that "goes without saying." "...it universalizes history by saying 'that's the way it must be'."[21] A uniform denotes rank and function; "it connotes the prestige and authority attached to rank and function."[22]

The de-coding of advertisements via a semiological analysis proceeds through the dissection of con-

notative images and messages which depend on the interaction of the photograph and the text in advertisements. The connoted message is "the manner in which the society to a certain extent communicates what it thinks of it."[23] Advertising functions to sell things, but, in replacing art, tradition or religion, it also creates "structures of meaning."[24] Selling itself involves a meaning process. Not only must the products possess certain qualities, but those qualities must mean something to us. "...advertisements have to translate statements from the world of things...into a form that means something in terms of people."[25] It is the task of semiology to understand and interpret the objective ideological representations contained in advertisements and, as well, the consturction of the viewing or buying subject whose role it is to identify with ads in an effortless yet meaningful way.

According to Pateman, advertising is the communication of individuals by means of signs.[26] This is done through the imparting and receiving of speech acts: assertions, orders, promises, etc. The receiver of a speech act "makes use of pragmatic knowledge; that is, knowledge about the relations which standardly exist between 'signs and their users', 'utterances and utterers'."[27] There are six rules according to

which advertising as a speech act adheres: (1) the advertiser/speaker is somehow connected with the manufacturer of the product; (2) the receiver of the advertising message must be in a position to "hear" it and therefore perform the action of buying- what she is instructed to do; (3) a product must exist for purchase; (4) the advertiser/speaker sets up the condition of consumption: it doesn't play on the obvious, i.e. that the buyer was going to buy the product anyway; (5) the ad must be intelligible as an ad: the hearer must assume someone is selling and desires a buyer; and (6) the utterance, by the speaker, to get one to perform an action (buy the product) must "count as" an appropriate ad. According to Pateman, "...there are quite clear standards for 'counting as' and...these standards are to a large extent mutual knowledge between advertisers and consumers."[28] Although advertising messages are removed from the rational domain but assume the implications or characteristics of "rational persuasion," it is what the consumer sees/hears/understands in the first half second of looking at an ad which is important. At the same time, a correct reading of an ad is not always a complete reading, "just as a convincing argument is not always a complete argument."[29]

Product as Currency

Advertising establishes a connection between people and things. Diamonds are advertised as the expression of eternal love which creates a symbolism whereby the diamond means something to us. Once we receive the connection (i.e. diamond equals love), the translation eludes us and we take the sign for what it signifies, the thing for the feeling.[30] Through the imputation of personal attributes to consumer items, individuals see themselves as interchangeable within a structure in which goods are interchangeable. Individuals are thus sold themselves. Class distinctions are blurred as individuals are identified by what they consume not what they produce.

Understanding what advertisements mean can be effected by dissecting the process, i.e. "how" they mean and analyzing the way in which they work. At the level of the "obvious," what an advertising message "says" is merely what it claims to say, it is not simply a vehicle for a message. "The signifier of the overt meaning in an advertisement has a function of its own, a place in the process of creating another, less obvious meaning."[31] There are three points of interest here: (1) the meaning of the signifier consists of a correlation of two things: the significance

of one (for example, make-up cleansers and astringents in a currently running ad for "panti-liners") is transferred to another ("pant-liners"). This process is non-sequential but involves the formal structure of the picture; (2) the transference requires active participation on the part of the reader. It does not exist as complete in the ad; and (3) the first object (fashion accoutrements) must have a significance to be transferred. The advertisement does not create meaning in a vacuum but invites the reader to make the transferrence whereby the meaning is passed from one thing to another. The historically created system of meaning must exist and is referred to as a "carrier of value," i.e. make-up: physical transformation, purification. This is a form of currency.[32]

"Advertising work" then refers to a system of creating meaning. Objects in advertising pictures represent values which adhere to the products. The intermediary object is thus a sort of currency. "Currency is something which gives a value and in its interchangeability with other things, gives them their 'value' too."[33] Currency provides a useful metaphor for the transference of meaning, especially as this transaction is so closely tied in with money transactions. People are interchangeable with products

in ads as the product creates its own world as opposed to answering a need in the world. The advertising language and world are created which is itself a myth. Things are selected from the real world and loaned to myth creation. Connections are made, according to Williamson, between objects (products) and values via the signifiers.[34] These connections are made in two ways. The first is through differentiation. Since products vary very little when compared, they are, in advertisements, differentiated by "images." The image will only succeed if it is part of a system of differences. There are often no natural distinctions between products, therefore products are distinguished from each other by the recognition of what they are not rather than what they are. With respect to perfumes, for example, how do you describe a smell or what information can be given about it? The creation of images sells the product.

Advertising is the translation between systems of meaning, the interchangeability of values. The photo of Brenda Vaccaro (movie actress) in a Playtex tampon ad signifies success and individuality which then speaks to the product in terms of the same relationship. The face of Brenda Vaccaro belongs to a sign system. An image of Playtex tampons is created

via this pre-existing sign system. Her face is linguistic currency. This is the familiarity of the unknown, a kind of anonymous intimacy, a feature of the "star" system. We know Brenda Vaccaro as a T.V. celebrity; she knows us as one of her fans and potential buyers of her displaced credibility. If we believe in her, why not believe in Playtex too? The picture (her face) refers back to a referent system, an ideological system which exists outside of the arena of advertising. Williamson argues that these referent systems are systems of differences, devoid of content in themselves. Brenda Vaccaro, for example, has no meaning: she is not, however, someone else. The distinguishing feature of referent systems is the distinction between their parts rather than the parts themselves. As two (or more) images are pitted against each other (e.g. Brenda Vaccaro and Cathy Rigby, olympic gymnist, in a contemporary Stayfree Maxi-pad ad) it is values which derive from the system, not ideas. The values correspond to concepts which are differential. Advertisements appropriate pre-existing differences; differences existing in social mythologies are used to create differences between porducts.

The second way in which connections are made between products and values is through what Williamson

calls the "finished connection." A connection is made between products which appear to exist independently of referent systems. The connection is not temporal but begins to take on a logic and "naturalness" of its own, e.g. soon the connection between Brenda Vaccaro and Playtex assumes an inevitability. Thus the connection is made but the process is not understood. The "form" of advertising is a part of ideology and involves the assumption that things are as they are, natural and make sense simply because they exist. The image of the actress in this example, rather than originating in the product, is transferred onto the image of the product. While we rarely notice that the "correlating object and the product have no inherent similarity," the link is made between things, moods, personalities, that are unattainable with products that are attainable thus giving the illusion that the former are within reach.[35] Advertisements evoke emotion by promising to evoke pleasure in a way that is "already known." The reaction (the connection between feelings and things) is based on differentiations and is interpreted individually, not as part of a system. The connections are perceived as "fact," "natural," "objective." The ad evokes the idea of a feeling not the feeling itself.[36] But the emotion

is promised upon purchase of the product; thus the emotion and the product are linked.

In the case of the Playtex tampon ad, Brenda Vaccaro, the personality, gives the product meaning. Her personality is the signified. The consumption of products is done to create a lifestyle, not simply reflect it. A product, then, merges with the sign and becomes the sign itself. A product is always a sign within the ad and can be a potential referent. It can "mean" 'New Freedom': buying it can realize the referent emotion. In this process we are promised that the product can "create" the feeling it "represents." Through consumption of 'New Freedom' beltless sanitary napkins, the implication is that one not only discovers the product but also the mood or state of being, i.e. new freedom. The product acts as currency, then, or access to the state of new freedom. It acts as intermediary currency between money and emotion. The objects ultimately replaces the person: they do for us things which we cannot presumably do ourselves.

The Photographic Message

Photographs represent a form of discourse. They are one discourse among many and are situated in an interaction of other, previous texts. They sig-

nify a "taken for granted" sense of the world at a particular cultural and historical conjuncture.[37] An advertising photograph is a "frozen moment" in a narrative, i.e. the order of events implied by the photograph.[38] The photo generates questions concerning what transpired before it was taken and what is going to happen next. The photographic narrative is fictional and denies its own production. It creates a world that is "enclosed and without contradiction."[39]

Photographs are signified by codes. The denotative code points to its literal, unambiguous meaning. Codes of connotation resort to a configuration of meanings, institutionalized and diffused, by which we come to "know" the society and order our experiences within it. Connotative codes uncover implies meanings, beliefs and legitimations in photographs.[40] Photographs are de-coded with reference to a "social stock of knowledge," a "lexicon of expressive features distributed throughout the culture of which the reader is a member."[41] The reader of photographs translates signifiers (non-linguistic features) into signifieds (a specific configuration). The reader is assumed competent to do this, a cultural translation. Photgraphs impart a system of values and add to what we already know of the world; as such they contribute to

a "consensus knowledge."[42] According to Hall:

> 'what is already known' is not a set of neutral facts. It is a set of common-sense constructions and ideological interpretations about the world, which holds the society together at the level of everyday belief. 43

The institution of photography contributes to the symbolic order. It is not just an artefact of it. The theory of photographic representation implies the interaction between ideology inherent in the "uttered" in photographs plus the "ideological implications inscribed within the performance of the utterance."[44] The photo constitutes a sign, via its connoted meanings, and thus represents an ideological thesis. In this way the photo becomes an ideological sign.[45] Photographic representation is linked with the reproduction of ideology.[46] Burgin states that:

> more than any other textual system, the photograph represents 'an offer you can't refuse'. The characteristics of the photographic apparatus position the subject in such a way that the object photographed serves to conceal the textuality of the photograph itself- substituting passive receptivity for active (critical) reading. 47

The photograph is a "place of work," a determined and determining space "within which the reader deploys and, is deployed by, what codes he or she is familiar with in order to make sense."[48] Photography is a signifying system among many which communicates and through

which ideological subjects communicate their "ostensible content."[49] Photographs (and texts) then reproduce not new knowledge of the world but "recognition of the world as we have already learned to appropriate it..."[50]

The Textual Message

The structure of the photograph interacts with the text- title, caption or article.[51] The caption of a picture requests that we focus not just our attention or gaze but also our understanding so that our interpretation, not just identification, is guided.[52] Captions of photos appeal to a sense of how the photographic expression "ought to be read."[53] This "preferred," rather than random, reading of the photo anchors interpretations of its message. Some readings are invited rather than others.[54]

Not all ads contain pictures. Some rely on linguistic, narrative texts with which to relay information and invite preferred readings. Ads require some dissection and in this sense we are "free" to interpret them. But, this interpretation is done within a limited range of options set forth in the ad itself and historically created meanings and images. Jokes, puzzles and puns, for example, must be understood. Through the process of deciphering advertisements our

understanding of the ad is deferred. For example, an ad with an absent person or subject allows us to "self-create" and fill in the space. We then become active participants in deciphering ads. The meaning we create is of a concealed nature, however, the illusion being that we discover the meaning "already" there.[55] In the "absent person" ad, objects which constitute the whole picture figure as sign-posts in our construction of the person who is conspicuously absent. Williamson points out:

> For their very ability to point to their 'owner', the objects depend on us: we unconsciously assume their primary meaning, as signs...Our knowledge of sign systems outside the ad is called upon; and we are called into it by them. 56

The absent person ad conveys a narrative of which we, the subjects, are invited to "star." The narrative is closed but is revealed and thus appears to be open. We are then available to be enclosed within. This last notion is apparent in ads which portray accessories and a caption but no subject. In this case accessories point to the delineation of a lifestyle.

Pictures and texts in ads are exchanged for each other. One gives the other meaning. Verbal sections in advertisments are then signs. As signs, they can exist to be deciphered or if they are absent they can be filled by the reader. Language in the form

used in ads can closely approximate speech. We relate to the style in which it is used and the way it is written. Puns (the "Make mine a double!" command in a Playtex tampon ad which refers to a "double" drink, the "double" exposure of the television screen superimposed on the page and the "double layered protection" of the tampon), for example, provide a simultaneous and clearly understood "meeting" of a product and its referent system. The two meanings of the signified and signifier are posed symmetrically. "The symmetry is rendered "obvious": it is disguised by the condensation which creates an 'Imaginary' unity of two meanings into one symbol."[57] Puns beg to be deciphered. The deciphering involves not understanding a meaning but finding the connection between the denoted and connoted meanings, the link between the two. Williamson also points out that consumption is used in ads to conceal production, either of words or material goods: the words go out, the product goes in.

Ideology and the Construction of the Subject

The transactions discussed earlier, the process whereby objective images are "created" to replace personal attributes and in which values are equated with products, take place both within ads and outside of them.

Transactions occur between the product and referent system (that "whole area for ideas" which is connoted) in the ad and between the ad and the act of consumption. This latter idea is also represented within the ad and takes the form of a narrative as the ads address somebody. Signs replace something for someone. To do this a sign has meaning only if it has someone to mean to. Signs must have addressees and receivers.

Products in ads appropriate meaning or feeling, an emotion. That emotion, however, depends on us for interaction: it must mean something to us and depends on our co-operation. The subject or conscious self receives and interprets meaning in a continuous, apparently autonomous transference and flow. An analysis of sign systems, thus, involves an uncovering of the transaction between signifiers and signified (what means and what it means). The "space" between these two is occupied by the subject (the individual as subject), the subject as creator of meaning. Williamson notes that the individual is creator of meaning "only because he/she <u>has been called upon to do so</u>. As an advertisement speaks to us, we simultaneously create that speech (it means <u>to us</u>). Thus we are constituted as 'active receivers' by the ad."[58]

Ideology eludes a beginning and sense of his-

torical specificity otherwise it would lose its sense of inevitability. The subject who reads ads must be the "one who knows." One's anterior knowledge supplies the "truth" in the ad itself. This is an integral part and function of ideology. The constant reproduction of ideas which are denied historical location assume a continued existence simply because they are referred to and used. They are then taken "out of history" and are inferred as a timeless, synchronic structure.[59] Ideology works invisibly and subtly because we participate in its creation. We are active in it; we do not receive it from above: we recreate it in accordance with its "already started" position. Ideology works through us, not at us. It is based on uncritical assumptions. It asserts that the truth of something need not be questioned: it admits nothing and claims nothing. Ideological assumptions are seen by us as already true. Time is a crucial element. Assumptions are presented such that we "already" know certain things. An "alreadyness of facts" is presented, i.e. we are consumers, we have certain values. The illusion of freedom of choice operates here: we are invited to "freely" choose from products in competition while at the same time we create ourselves in tandem with the way ads have already "created" us.[60]

The meaning we give to ads and the meaning ads give to us constitutes a "moment" in the dialectical process but is dissected, for the sake of clarification, into linear stages: (a) how we create meaning of a product in an ad; (b) how we take meaning from the product; (c) how individuals are created by the advertisement; and (d) how we create ourselves in the advertisement.

(a) Value is not static but is created in exchange. Value is determined in comparison with other products. Just as currency is a system of value emanating from exchange relations and just as a commodity receives its value in exchange with other commodities (i.e. given its meaning through a transference from one system to another) "so signs are given their value currency through use by us in our 'recognition' of what they stand for/(replace)."[61] Signifiers derive from referent "myth" systems: we give pictures in ads meaning but they already have meaning for us outside the terms of reference of the ad.

How do we come to know the meaning of the picture in an ad? We don't know of it until we see it in the ad. Hence, values exist not in things but in their transference. An ideology is a system of values. The values of an ideology are renewed through their transference

and the replacement of meaning where values are ideas. They are perpetuated by the de-coding and deciphering by subjects of signs. In advertisements meanings are de-coded and transferred to create other meanings. Two meaning systems are involved, the referent system and the product's system (e.g. the world of hygiene and the world of menstrual products). These two worlds exist in relationship to each other but are devoid of meaning in and of themselves. The form of knowing is emptied of content except in so far as its "meaning is constantly assumed through the form of its perpetual translation."[62]

(b) The relationship between product and subject is such that we are exchanged for the product, i.e. the products are a stand-in for us. If we buy it/them, we will become what the product promises. The product has a replacement value: it signifies us, or potential "us"- the promise is only realized through active purchase and use.

We are created as not just subjects but specific kinds of subjects (e.g. "natural" women). Subjects are thus differentiated from each other by what they buy, the extreme expression of this being individualism. We are made to create differences between products which then differentiate us. Williamson borrows Levi-

Strauss' concept of "totemism" to describe what happens in this instance in advertisements. Totemism refers to the phenomenon whereby natural objects are used to differentiate between humans. While Levi-Strauss implies the operation of two systems, one natural and the other cultural, in advertisements the objects that differentiate us are not natural but given natural status. They are given meaning by the people who use them. False differences are thus created: between products and between people. Williamson argues that advertisements operate within the area of consumption but obscure the social relations that underlie the falsely created differences which ads portray. Social differences really mask existing class and gender differences. Apparent connotations in ads imply that certain "things" or images or lifestyles can be bought, ought to be bought, but these things, we are told, can be achieved through the consumption of products, not with money. Advertising:

> emphasizes what you buy, which in fact means you have to work harder to earn the money to buy. The basic issues in the present state of society, which do concern money and how it is earned, are sublimated into 'meanings', 'images', 'lifestyles'... 63

In this sense we allow products to speak for us. We allow what reflects us to create us as well.

As feelings are then potentially so closely tied in with products, it is argued that objects "buy" or produce these feelings. At the same time, however, the "alreadyness" of ideology is at work: individuals do not simply buy products to achieve the status of a member of a group which they represent; one must feel that one is already, naturally part of that group and will therefore naturally buy that product. The choice to buy a given product is thus made before the actual moment of purchase. The identification with a group necessitates the denial of individual differences. The way this happens is through the symbolic separation of groups (a Tampax user from a Playtex user) in advertising. We become members of certain groups through the purchase of its products. But we become "different" in the same way. The contradiction is such that we are appealed to as individuals, in order to be created as individuals, but our sameness is realized upon identification with different groups. Ads appeal to our specialness and uniqueness yet depend on our sense of similarity with people or images portrayed in ads. The essence of our individualism is the ability to choose to relinquish it.

(c) Ideology addresses individuals as subjects. Although advertisements segregate us into groups we

are none the less addressed as individuals (e.g. "Your beltless pad has just gotten better"). An exchange takes place: we take the place of the person "spoken to" in the ad.

> The 'you' in the ads is always transmitted plural, but we receive it as singular. Although the aim is to connect a mass of people with a product, to identify them all with it as a group, this can only be achieved by connecting them with the product as individuals, one by one. 64

This presupposes that we are "already" conceived of as an addressee and receiver of the ad: we are already connected with the product. We become the person in the ad and identify with part of a group, the rest of which does not exist. The ad creates this group and its constituent individuals. It tells is what you are like and in the case of such "secret" products as tampons, we will likely never know who the other members are.

In being appellated as subjects then we must already exist as the ad wants us to for us to receive its message. We are addressed "en masse" but as subjects. Products are named for us, i.e. after us. We are not named by them. We must already be "natural" or "fresh" for the ad to take hold. Thus the product is named for us: we are already it. Products then symbolize our uniqueness. Our individuality will

then be realized in and through the product.[65]

Advertisements speak to an imaginary individual which then becomes us. We are addressed as individuals who become part of a group united through the ad. Individuals are thus kept ideologically separate and fragmented. We are, at the same time, assured that we are individuals with free choice. However, ads imply a taken-for-grantedness that we have style and uniqueness and hence will act accordingly and buy the designated product. One paradox is that if all the readers of a specific ad did buy a product we would all then cease to be unique. The product identifies and separates individuals so each, from the point of departure of individualism, arrive at the same outcome, the purchase of product "x." The product "is the pivot around which the meanings of the ad, and our identity, are exchanged."[66]

One aspect of the ideology of individualism is the inherent component of a "consistent identity" and "coherent personality." This is reflected in ads in which the element of choice is illusory. We are given the "choice" to purchase different types of products but all of the same brand, e.g. regular or deodorant tampons. The individualistic principle is thus given flexibility. We are given the freedom to choose

but within specific parameters. We are not allowed not to choose. The dialectic is such that we give the ad significance by appearing before it. We are active receivers. On the other hand, in our reading of the ad, it signifies us, "makes us into its 'you'."[67]

(d) Ads differentiate within the context of sameness, they create divisions. Ads appeal to the many aspects of one's character. How and in what form is there an individual subject to be appellated, differentiated, addressed? The subject is often presented with a "gestalt" of different subjective possibilities to be realized through consumption of the product (and united through the product) but this presupposes either a coherent self or subject or the desire for such a self. The self is produced and reproduced in advertising. Advertisements alienate us (or our identity) by posing us as one of the objects in exchange and then promising that we can retreive that socially created identity through the purchase of the product. We act in the initial exchange and thus the image is appropriated. By receiving it the image gives us back our value (e.g. "Your beltless pad has just gotten better"). The suggestion is always there that you can become the person before you.

Finally there are two referents which figure

repeatedly in advertising and are of significance to ideology because they involve relations of transformation: from science to culture and from nature to culture. Ideology misplaces us in each of these transformations by referring to them as inevitable and natural.

Science

Science orders and classifies nature. In advertisements nature is seen in terms of those classifications, not just a representation of reality but a replacement for it. Science becomes a symbol that connotes seriousness but is empty of meaning itself. Forms of knowledge are appropriated by the ad: knowledge is culturally ordered such that the subject feels she is knowing but is deprived of knowledge.[68] Science plays a role in the ideological depiction of the "natural" and the "obvious" in ads. What is revealed masks what is concealed, is considered to be more basic, "implies proof simply by showing...everything is revealed, and nothing explained."[69]

Supposed objectivity or the presentation of "objective facts" (e.g. statistics) is offered to make the information appear genuine. It implies proof of the natural superiority of a product and is held

out as something to be understood rather than the means by which to understand something. "17% more absorbency" means little to most of us. But again, we are given this "bit" of information but no sense of what it means or how we come to know that. We decipher facts, not what they represent.

Nature

Williamson states that nature is the primary referent of culture.[70] Culture refers to itself by its transformation of nature, by what has changed. How do cultural objects then assume a "natural" status in ads? Images of nature are appropriated by culture as part of its symbolic system. Cultural metaphors are often used in describing the function of nature. Ads juxtapose things which are in opposition, for example, the "natural order" of freshness- deodorant panti shields- and the masking effects of same. Culture gives nature a significance and then points us back to it denying that the "natural" is culturally defined and historically varied.

Williamson notes that increased emphasis on the "natural" is in direct correlation to, with the rise of technology, our distancing from it. "...once nature is set up as a symbol of what is good, every-

thing undesireable in society can be called 'unnatural'."[71] Nature is thus invested with a moral value- the natural and the good- such that an imaginary unity exists: "natural culture" is sought after but unattainable. The emphasis on "natural" in ads works another way. What is natural is also meant to imply "obvious," the inevitable. There is an element of determinism here as power is removed from our hands. Nature is also presented as something ethereal and decorative, not cruel and potentially destructive. It is vested with extraordinary "promise" and takes on magical as opposed to material qualities. It has the capacity to transcend itself.[72]

Mass produced, ready made products render us ineffectual as creators. We are perpetual consumers, not active in the creation process either of commodities or of meaning. Hence, ads attempt to restore a sense of activity: excitement and adventure are emphasized. Then what we do is buy the product or incant its name. This is our action.[73] We produce meanings but consume solutions. This misrecognition of consumption and production is of ideological import. We seem to be able to produce meaning as well as material goods but we produce by proxy. We buy the product and it will then produce the promised result, e.g. confidence, sureness,

security.

As objects assume a fetishized character, a life and qualities of their own, quite out of proportion to their actual capacities, it is images in ads which endow products with significance. Images are the currency in ads and obscure the actual way ads work, denying at the same time an ideological framework.

Discussion

There are two levels of significance in advertisements which interplay with each other: the visual and the linguistic. Photography does not liberate perception but, along with the textual message, anchors preferred or dominant readings of an ad. Advertising is a form of social control. Themes promoted within advertisements contain messages of specific kinds of control. One of these involves gender relations of dominance. The "male" and masculine values in our society represent the norm. "Female," and things feminine, typify the abnormal or a departure from the norm. Berger argues that the social status of people is reflected in visual images. The male presence implies power, that which he can appropriate and exercise on others. The female presence reflects her attitude towards herself, what can/cannot be done <u>to</u> her.

Women are the surveyed and the surveyor: they watch themselves being looked at. As the surveyors, women internalize the male in themselves and become an object.[74] Thus, dominance and control works in a dialectical fashion. With the notion of the internalization of dominance (or specific forms of discipline) our understanding of "images of women" moves beyond the concept of objectification. Women are not just subjected to control but emerge as subjects of their actions. This is reflected in advertising representations of women. These representations are not distorted male views but are based on a shared understanding of what the representations mean. The category of the female subject appropriates familiar recognitions. Metaphorically, if men are the voyeurs of female activity, women pimp for themselves.[75]

It was argued that in the female work place fashion is a form of social control. It was also stated that the body is identified and utilized as part of the means of production. Its regulation, or political anatomy, corresponds with the standardization and regulation of the labour process. As a way of adapting to work that is fragmented and alienating, women adopt compensatory measures that are peculiarly feminine. This involves the manipulation of modes of

femininity according to the socialization of the biological. Oppression in its ideological form is successful when the subjects on whom it is exercised participate in its reproduction.

Beyond the way a particular ad is constructed lie ideological themes of society or what passes as information or meaning. Ads impart information and representations, about products and people, that we come to accept as "obvious." That is the way in which ads work. Advertising relies on the shared understanding of meaning between producer and consumer. Upon de-coding, however, this sense of the obvious points to certain salient images which are tied to larger cultural meanings.[76] The dominant representation of women are uncovered in the following summary statement of ads from each decade, beginning with 1921 and ending with the present. One of the ways in which ads work is through according the social order a natural status. What appears "natural" is really culturally informed, e.g. femininity. Thus, in the case of feminine hygiene products, the artificial is necessary to the maintenance of the natural.

Empirical discussion

Pollock suggests that women are signifiers in

ideological discourse, women as "both subject to bodily processes and also the field of action for various products which will act on the body."[77] The referent systems from which dominant images of women are drawn, generate myths about women, and gender relations, which frame the questions designed to uncover the salient representations of women in feminine hygiene advertisement. Again, they are: what "facts" about women and their bodies are endowed with significance? How are women instructed to control their bodies and images of their bodies and how do they appropriate this control? And, finally, how do we "know" what we know we are being told in advertising?

1920's

Advertisements for feminine hygiene products of this decade contain much product information based on the products' physical characteristics and utility. This is no doubt related to their newness and the need to educate women as to their function and use. The products, sanitary napkins and powder napkin deodorant, are part of the "sanitary protection" market. They are designed to aid women with their hygienic and health handicap. The boxes are plain, dark and inconspicuous and come in "plain brown wrappers." Nupak's napkins

contain "snowy-white sterilized gauze" (Good Housekeeping, April 1927). The phrase is reminiscent of medical terminology and bandages used to treat wounds. It is also set up in juxtaposition to the redness of blood: whiteness symbolizes purity, virginity and cleanliness, i.e. the good. Blood is thus bad, unclean and impure. The names of the products connote scientificity, ending in "x" (Kotex), the concern with social embarrassment (Modess: modesty?), or contain within them the implicit reference to the body's danger zone (Zonite). Nupak stands alone in its rather innocuous name, a reflection of its newness and perhaps the assumption that it would be just another trendy product. It has not endured.

The props in these ads are elaborate: home interiors, doctor's offices, lawn and garden tables. Women are presented as part of a social network, seldom alone, and as emergent social characters with consequent social responsibilities. They appear to be women of the leisure class, symbolic of the "roaring twenties," almost bored, with time on their hands and concern for not offending others. They have the time and social "wherewithall" to be concerned with fastidiousness and to know what this entails (Ladies Home Journal, October 1928). The women are other-directed and advised to guard against embarrassment, worry, fear and self-

consciousness. They must, most importantly, not offend their husbands either through bodily odours or during the menstrual cycle. Although the ads reveal factual information about specific products, what they are actually for is not mentioned. The omnipotence of science is brought in to support the claims of exclusivity and improved nature of Kotex (LHJ, July 1928) and we see young women being educated as to the necessity of sanitary napkins (LHJ, November and December 1928; January and Fenruary 1929; frequently young women are presented as being "in the know" and are instructing their "old fashioned" mothers as to the uses of sanitary napkins: GH, March 1929; LHJ, May 1929). But the mention of fictitious odours is not questioned and the possible sources of embarrassment (regarding menstruation) are not delineated. Women and the products signify the problematic nature of menstruation and its recurring monthly handicap (the signified). The women have this knowledge but without a prior sense of knowing where it comes from. Few of the subjects (notably those educating their mothers) are clearly grateful for the physical liberation sanitary npakins have afforded them: they are smiling, dancing, skiing. Most often. however, the women are fearful, shy, as though even loathe to approach the topic, or appear relieved at this new route to immaculacy.

Certain euphemisms are used and have relevance for the social construction of the problem "that women bleed." Menstruation in the twenties was heralded as "women's most distressing hygienic problem" (GH, March 1927) and a "delicate subject" (LHJ, November 1928). Sanitary napkins were advertised for use for "health's sake

and immaculacy" (GH, March 1927), to give women "peace of mind" (GH, August 1928), "freedom from those important fears" (LHJ, October 1928) and "to end fear of offending" (GH, March 1927) for "at certain times (women) are seriously offensive to others. With realization comes miserable self-consciousness, constant fear and worry" (LHJ, November 1928). The "correct appearance" for women is also used euphemistically and carries a double message (GH, August 1928; LHJ, September 1928). The term implies a notion of "correct" equaling hygienic: a central notion as ads work via the exchange of equivalents. "Incorrect" also refers to the natural order of women's bodily functions before the invention of sanitary napkins. Thus the identification of the problem of being female and the creation of its attendant needs and anxieties is based on the appearance of a specific product. "Appearance" is related to how one looks, one's social presence. Women "appeared," prior to the introduction of sanitary napkins, in factory and munitions work; "correct appearance" may thus refer to a code of hygiene appropriate to the relievement of that work.

1930's

Products in the thirties are advertised as offering "protection." Menstruation has moved from the problem of comfort and hygiene to one of protecting oneself from inadvertant signs of blood. But, as the women are often depicted with friends, the message seems to be that they must also guard against others knowing when

they are bleeding. Thus, they must protect others from their femaleness. The most "intimate feminine matter" is still presented as a distressing problem (Chatelaine, January 1937). Women are again cautioned about the "Unforgivable Offense" and advised to be "above reproach": possible with the use of Quest sanitary napkin deodorant (LHJ, October 1936; GH, June 1937). Tampax (note the ending "x" connoting scientificity), was introduced in 1936. It is heralded as having been invented by a doctor (female) and is the "civilized" amswer to sanitary protection (Chatelaine, May 1939). As Elias points out, civility is equated with restraint of the body and the regulation of individual, social behaviour. Thus internal protection, with Tampax, allows the user to exercise restraint over her own self. The unity between the product and the user is unambiguous: Tampax offers: no belts, no pins, no pads, no odour (Chatelaine, May 1939; Marcy 1939). Tampax, of course, is not a pad, has no belts or pins; women, however, produce odour and thus one meaning is enveloped by the other. And, women literally envelope tampons.

One noticeable departure in the ads of this decade involves the portrayal of the subjects. They appear to be young and single, often alone or with friends but not part of a social network: they are not depicted in social gatherings. They are more stylized and are modelling themselves, not a situation. Images of women are delineated into different aspects of the same self. Different personalities of the same person are presented. Thus, one Kotex ad depicts three pictures of a woman engaged in three different activities:

she is carefree (skipping), adventuresome (piloting a plane) and glamorous (modelling a long gown: GH, July 1936). There is a double message contained within ads of this type. Kotex developed three kinds of sanitary napkins to satisfy the needs of different women and varying days of the menstrual cycle. Hence, the separate images of the individual woman (GH, June 1937; LHJ, November 1936; Chatelaine, February 1937) or three assorted women on the same page (Chatelaine, March 1937). But what this also demonstrates is the emergent individualism in women contained within the discrete personalities. The ethos of individualism says that we can choose whatever personality we want to be: the sport, the worker, the glamour "girl." One Kotex ad claims "There is no average woman...every woman is a law unto herself" (Chatelaine, March 1939). We are appellated as part of a group but as individuals within that group. Our bodies are the same (as are their functions) but the construction of femininity is ostensibly of our individual design. The "laws" of femininity are, however, socially ordered and involve a denial of all that is essentially female. Women are enlisted in participating in that denial by choosing which "woman" she wants to be. The choice is limited however to three different kinds of Kotex (regular, junior or super) just as there are social limits on what we might choose and still remain feminine. We are not allowed not to choose.

A Modess ad (LHJ, April 1939) portrays a young, single newspaper reporter who is "saved" when her roommate suggests she use Modess to help get her through a long and arduous assignment. The ad relies

heavily on the printed text (written catchily in type face) and we, the readers, follow each frame, connect them and give the ad its motion: we create the narrative. We, again, are addressed as part of a group but become involved in the construction of the ad and identify, as individuals, with the individual in the ad. In doing so we also identify with the product. Although the woman is depicted as a wage worker, her job is social in nature (she must report on a debutante ball) and her concern is with not only discomfort but embarrassment. Her concern, rather than that of health or hygiene is one of not commiting a social "faux pas."

1940's

In this decade the ads move away from imparting information about the practical utility of menstrual products to imputing their psychological utility. Thus ads rely on images and less information than was formerly the case. Hence the voice of the ads is stronger, more assertive ("This tampon was really your idea," GH, December 1942) imploring women to buy appropriately and consume the correct images. The images are ones which equate comfort with lightness, softness and confidence (LHJ, May 1941, GH, July 1942). The possibility of being burdened with menstruation and carefree at the same time is mentioned for the first time in a Kotex ad in this decade (GH, July 1942). The acquisition of carefreeness is promised upon purchase of the product.

Women are depicted with men for the first time. They are

instructed to be "in the know" about Kotex (and in fact are portrayed as lacking of pertinent knowledge as they are often guilty of not possessing the rules of social behaviour) and this knowledge is aligned with appropriate rituals of social etiquette (GH, February 1948; LHJ, April 1945; GH, April 1948). These ads are persuasive and contain suggestions about behaviour designed to usher in conceptions of the modern woman. Mothers and duaghters are represented together sharing knowledge about "life as women." Goffman notes that women tend to be pictured more often (than men) akin to their daughters (and themselves in their younger years), implying that there is a cycle of femininity and that it is learned: information is passed on from mother to daughter and femininity is worked at, modified and perfected. One aspect of incipient femininity involves escaping from the private life of physical blemish (bleeding) so that it doesn't interfere with the social life which contains the secrets of femininity. A Kotex ad reminds us that women have "secrets" but also "secret longings" to deny their femaleness and escape from womanhood (LHJ, February 1941). The "safety shield" in Kotex presumably provides a place away from the dangers of being a woman. It is our responsibility to protect others from that impending danger and thus Tampax is useful as "sharp eyes cannot tell" when it is in use: if we are sharp we too will use Tampax (LHJ, August 1941).

Along with the scientific-sounding names of Meds (derivative of "medical"?) and Tampax are the "scientific" illustrations of the

internal workings of tampons (GH, July 1942, August and December 1942). These illustrations correspond with the scientific nature of the waged work the women in the ads are involved in: two are technicians or mechanics and one is an ambulance nurse. These depictions reflect the nature of women's work during the war and the need for convenient menstrual products which are easily disposed of and which offer "invisible protection." But although everything is revealed in the illustrations nothing is explained. A "safety centre" and "300% of their weight in moisture" mean little to us. The natural order of regulating femaleness with the social appearance of women is rendered inevitable and obvious.

1950's

Although women were active in wage work during the fifties oppression was embedded in the "problem that has no name," the loss of an identity for women.[78] If it was women's burden in the forties to engage in supporting the war effort, in the following decade their burden was to be beautiful. This burden involved an obsessive concern with the self, an inner-directedness which, by Friedan's estimation, was unsuccessful. That concern typified the anxiety surrounding what it was to be a woman. The attempt at identifying the sources of women's discontent was undertaken, intensely, by many and corresponded ideologically to the opulence and complacency of the decade. Women could afford to concentrate on their femininity: that was to be their main occupation.

Women's sphere in the fifties, although not solely domestic, pointed to a delineation of private concerns, related, as reflected in the ads of the decade, to an exaltation of femininity. The "Modess...because" ad was first introduced in 1949 and that year won the best national ad of the year award in the United States (Chatelaine, June 1955).[79] The ad claims that Modess contains a "new design" perhaps signifying a "new design" for femininity. This new design points to the domination of nature, the improvement upon nature, which is bad, and the resultant conception of the natural, which is desired and good. The ad is ingenious as it relies totally on the shared understanding between the producer of the ad and the consumer. No information is released in our reading of the ad but the knowledge is there: simply, Modess...because. We are told that Modess sanitary napkins contain "no gauze" but the naked silhouette of the woman in the ad is covered in a sheath of gauze, as though the veil of femininity has descended upon her.

The first mention of fashion and its equation with feminine hygiene occurs in the fifties (LHJ, September 1955). This Kotex ad shows a woman, well groomed, admired from a distance by a man. The ad contains information about the make and design of the woman's clothing and its price. The caption claims, "Not a shadow of a doubt with Kotex." Thus the connection is made between the product, its use and the woman's emotional state. But the caption also puts our fears to rest: there is no doubt about the presence of femininity, hygiene, with the presence of Kotex.

Many of the women in ads of this decade are struck in esthetic, ethereal poses, looking much like figurines in fantasy settings and fantastic clothing (Chatelaine, February 1953, June 1955 and September 1953). They are inactive and appear ineffectual; sanitary napkins offer "ease" and bring "an entirely new experience in lasting comfort" (Chatelaine, February 1953). Similarly, a woman's "monthly time" need not interfere with "theatres, dances, club meetings": with Tampax she may appear "fresh, poised and at ease" at all times (Chatelaine, 1953). Secrets are mentioned ("what is her secret?") but the taboo is resurrected and women are advised not to discuss the secret but just try Tampax for themselves. This implies not only the equation of freshness with femininity but also that femininity is something ethereal, changing, not easily imparted with words: its substance is not known but felt. This also corresponds to the tenet of individualism: it is each woman's responsibility to shape her femininity according to her own mood, desires or inclination. However, this is done within a particular standard. For example, another Tampax ad claims:

> You're always the fair lady. It isn't just the way you dress, the way you wear your hair, the way you talk...and listen. There's a special look about you, a look of confidence, a kind of serenity that people sense...and like. It's always yours, wherever you go, whatever you do. Even on those few days each month, it never leaves you- because you rely on Tampax (Chatelaine, 1958).

With Tampax the essence of femininity receives its fullest expression as something internal, undetected but sensed.

Mothers educate daughters in this decade (Chatelaine, Feb-

ruary 1958; April 1958). This initiation into womanhood involves the relieving of its burden: the burden is "eased" and made more "comfortable" with Kotex. This, we are told, is reassuring.

1960's

The introduction of vaginal deodorant sprays in 1966 gave new meaning to the concept of natural feminine freshness: with their use, women could be fresh all day, every day. The problem of "intimate feminine" odours is now seen as inflicting all women, not just married women, and is a new area of domination. This signifies control of the body, not just its emittance, and thus control is extended from a few days of the month to all month. Demure is advertised as a necessity for women "whose days are filled with people and places and things to be done" (Chatelaine, May 1969). As women made inroads into the work force in the sixties, the challenge of the control of this new "body" of workers became apparent. Control is exercised in the form of discipline which demands that workers focus on the presentation of self. However, most women workers, although employed in the social office, interact not with people but machines. The emergence of the cosmetic self satisfies the demand for the socially pleasing female worker but what we really have is workers engaged in a form of anonymous intimacy: personally grooming themselves (in this case in intimate detail) for a world in which they, as individuals, are highly replaceable or anonymous. These products promote the idea of anonymous intimacy

for the social woman in the social office. As well, hygiene in the office is perceived as a problem for the people women work with, thus the need for a new kind of sanitary protection effective every day. A regimented labour process also requires convenient forms of internalized discipline. Vaginal doedorant sprays are more convenient, quick, to use than vaginal suppositories, perhaps one reason why suppositories are designed and advertised for "marriage problems" while sprays are for women whose days are filled with people, places and things to be done (Chatelaine, February 1965). FDS saw the need for the total sanitation of women, for "total freshness," and asserted that "feminine hygiene sprays" would "become as essential to you as your toothbrush" (LHJ, August 1967).

Douches were also seen as inevitably necessary to a woman's hygienic essentials. V.A. asks, "When should you douche?" (not should you, but when) and quickly answers that the "modern view" says "whenever you personally feel the need for internal cleansing" (LHJ, November 1967). It appears as though we thus have the choice of cleansing internally or not. However, the ad is enshrouded in mystery (like a woman's body) and never states what the product is actually for or why it is needed, only that it is "genuinely feminine." The ad plays on fears and the tabooed nature of vaginal emittances (of substance or odour) and we are left thinking that the manufacturers of V.A. must know something we don't know. But this is done within the context of free choice. Another douche ad is revealing in its assertions about "embarrassing odours" but we

are told "married women are sharing this secret" and thus the secret is shared with us (LHJ, July/August 1963).

The "Modess...because" ads were still appearing in the early part of the decade (LHJ, July/August 1963 and October 1963) as were ads for Fems "feminine napkins" ("So soft you forget them. So safe that you can": LHJ, July/August 1963 and September 1963). But towards the end of the sixties ads began to equate menstrual products with feelings of courage and freedom (Chatelaine, May 1970; LHJ, August 1967 and September 1967). The notion of courage implies a sense of self-motivation which is really social control displaced onto the subject. Similarly, freedom is an attribute acquired by willing subjects. The subjects in the ads, however, are all wearing white and thus the implication is that they have the freedom to control their bodily functions in the correct way: white=the absense of blood.

One ad is interesting in the way it juxtaposes two alien images (LHJ, July 1967). The woman in this ad for Kotex sanitary napkins is in a long, white gown, standing in a garden surrounded by natural foliage. She looks very peaceful and demure. Kotex has "soft impressions," not unlike the woman who leaves us with a "soft impression." However, the text is "hard" in its euphemisms: Kotex "draw(s) moisture down into the napkin" creating imagery of willful force. In response to the social presence of women in the work force and the voice of the women's liberation movement, the woman is held up as an example of natural (good) femininity. It is female-

ness which must be combatted, and, femininity involves not independence or stridnecy, but softness.

Other euphemisms point to the danger of the female body: sprays "eliminate" odour and douches "guard" the body (Chatelaine, May 1969; LHJ, July/August 1963). Tampax releases women from the "harnesses" of sanitary napkins and belts and thus women are "cured." Curing implies the elimination of disease, the righting of a wrong and the treatment of meat. The imagery is suggestive of the treatment necessary so that women may "enjoy being girls" (Chatelaine, May 1969).

Fashion and grooming tips are offered in a Kotex ad, again equating femininity with hygiene (Chatelaine, March 1960).

The women in ads of this decade are depicted alone as emergent individuals. The use of flowers as props both in the ads and on the boxes lends visual support to the social construction of "natural" femininity.

1971-1981

This last decade saw the introduction of new and varied feminine hygiene products such that, "Feminine hygiene is one of the fastest growing departments in both chain and independent drug stores today."[80] Since 1970 sales have reached $600 million annually.[81] Although this is good news for profit-making corporations, the marketing and advertising imagery of "new" feminine hygiene products is suggestive of a specific consumer and a strengthening of the para-

meters of the social control of the female body.

Beginning with the twenties, through till the sixties, the euphemistic signifier for menstrual paraphenalia was "sanitary protection." In the sixties and early seventies the term shifted to plain "protection"; by the late seventies the signifier became "feminine protection" (Chatelaine, 1979 and January 1981). The "problem that women bleed" has thus moved from the signified of menstruation as a health or hygiene problem to the problem of the nature of femininity itself. Feminine hygiene products were once advertised to protect a woman's sanitary state; they are now advertised to protect the state of femininity. Femininity is socially constructed as are conceptions of the body and its processes.

Femininity in our culture is acquired. It involves (among other things) manipulating the body to achieve a streamlined, deodorized "freshness." "Freshness" is perceived as being natural; it is only one side of nature, the cultural side. Culturalized freshness denies the other side of nature, its potential to destroy, decay, rot. Nature is held up as eternal, unchanging and good thus the (culturalized) natural is also. Thus the domination of nature reaches a natural status.

The development of a new line of feminine hygiene products- panti shields or panti liners- represents the natural domination of the body that is total, i.e. it encompasses every day of the month. Perhaps their creation was in response to the demise of vaginal deodorant sprays; the need still existed for constant reg-

ulation of the female body but with the removal of products like FDS from the market, new products were offered to answer the need. Hence, panti shields "for a whole month of little problems" (Glamour, August 1979). Panti shields are presented as another product of women's fashion essentials and as necessary to "total freshness." Frequently the models are shown standing in front of the backdrop of a calendar, the same woman in three different sets of clothing. The calendar signifies the days of the month one should use panti shields (every day) and the resultant freshness (newness) imparted by the product. This freshness is evident from the model's clothing and the fact that she dresses differently every day. Indeed, Carefree Panty Sheilds are advertised for the "fresh-dressed woman every day." The phrase "fresh-dressed" is hyphenated, drawing the two words and concepts together: fresh^{ne}ss=dress=fashion (Cosmopolitan, October 1981; Chatelaine, 1979; Glamour, August 1979). Some ads assert that "fresh^{ne}ss" is the same as "just showered" and panti shields are for that "just showered freshness anytime" (Self, February 1981; Cosmopolitan, October 1981). Again, what is really natural is replaced by the cultural version: the antiseptic body. For example, one ad shows a woman, post-shower, whose face is fully made up, representing the naturalization of the cultural (Chatelaine, June 1981). Ads for deodorant panti shields describe the scent as "fresh" obscuring the fact that anything fabricated is not natural or fresh. But to be fresh is to be feminine:

"you enjoy feeling fresh and feminine" (LHJ, October 1975).

The products are equated with fashion, the make over of the body, linguistically and visually: photographs often show panti shields situated among a display of make-up, face creams and astringents. Given the "whole month of little problems" which confront women every day, it is striking that the women in the ads are smiling, not just contentedly but sometimes joyously. Their pleasure could come from having acquired the desired femininity, individually, ostensibly of their own creation. Cathy Rigby, Brenda Vaccaro and a model, Nancy Toner, are presented in ads for Maxi-Pads, Playtex tampons and Lightdays Pantiliners, respectively, and thus give the products credibility. But they are also representative of individual personalities, stars who have made it. We believe in them, their displaced credibility and the product. Rigby states "Maxi-Pads are everything I want in Feminine Protection...confidence I can count on" (Chatelaine, January 1981). She imparts her individuality to us and we relinquish ours by buying the product.

Pursuant to the ideas of women mastering self control, internalizing social control, are the names of new brands of sanitary napkins: Stayfree, Carefree, New Freedom and Sure & Natural. Part of the culture of femininity involves the illusion that one is the architect of one's own freedom (the freedom to be feminine). A New Freedom ad repeatedly uses the word "discover" ("Discover the stain shield," etc.) which connotes that

the secrets of femininity must be uncovered, discovered, but that we have the freedom to do so. Sure & Natural again resorts to nature as its referent and promises "self-assurance," the assurance that we can cultivate our own sense of self and that it be the right one. Similarly, Kotex provides "insurance" (Chatelaine, January 1965). But self-assurance or personal insurance is really the internalization of social control or control displaced onto the subject. The onus is thus placed on each individual to master her life, her self, her femininity. Thus we are reminded that "accidents" may happen, not that other products fail, but that it is our responsibility to ensure the regulation of femininity. That regulation, however, is tied into forms of social control and manipulation of the body. We endow products with human significance and invite them to give meaning to us. They appear to have a life and qualities of their own: Tampax "self adjusts" (Chatelaine, April 1975).

Situated within the context of women's labour force participation, the products of this decade emerge as satisfying the demands placed on women in white collar labour. It was argued that women respond to discipline in ways that require the cultivation of the body. The culture of the office involves peculiarly feminine modes of compensation (for alienating work) which, given the regimentation and standardization of work and behaviour, are most successful when convenient to appropriate. Restrictions on activity, such as having to ask for a key to

visit the washroom, make certain feminine hygiene products attractive, and convenient, to use. Their insertion must be simple and quick or they must be super-absorbent making frequent changes unnecessary. Thus, maxi-pads are "convenient...so easy to put on and change" (LHJ, November 1975) and panti shields are for "when you can't change as often as you'd like to" (Chatelaine, 1979). Internal devices (tampons) are the less conspicuous form of menstrual product and more convenient for women fearful of fictitious odours. Thus they might be the number one choice of office workers. One ad for Maxishields (sanitary napkins) depicts two women who have just returned from grocery shopping. They are married, sitting in the kitchen, eating pie and drinking coffee. They claim that Maxishields are for "millions of women like us...who've given up tampons." While the ad could be directed at women who <u>have</u> gone back to using napkins (possibly because of the recent publicity surrounding toxic shock syndrome) it could also support the argument that "feminine invisible protection" is essential for women in the office, not so much women in the home. Tampons were invented just prior to women's involvement in the war effort; they are now advertised to give women "confidence" and for women who want to "wear white things...tight things" (Cosmopolitan, June 1981). The visually appealing woman is necessary for the social office.

The visual props in ads of this decade rely on nature, or the culturalized natural, as their referent, e.g. flowers,

clouds, doves, or shower scenes, make-up, jewellry, perfumes. Some ads place the product among an array of "lifestyle" accoutrements: keys, scarves, glasses, lipstick, signifying the importance of menstrual care products to the development of a lifestyle. Playing on the nature theme, one Kotex ad displays the bold caption "Natural" above a picture of a woman in a field. The ad is in black and white with the exception of a small frame containing the product, which is in colour, and surrounded by flowers and grass. Black and white is not natural: what is, is colour and what is highlighted by colour in this ad is the product. It is natural (Chatelaine, May 1981). Hands appear frequently. Goffman notes that women's hands in advertisements depict ritualistic touching as opposed to the more assertive and direct grasping, manipulating and holding, that which manages: "nothing prehensible is involved."[82] Winship also notes that unmarked parts of the body are embued with gender and meaning which we "recognize from what we know outside the ads."[83] The hands in these ads are slender, often with varnished nails, smooth and uncalloused. They are not hands which have known dishes, laundry and washing floors. The femininity they represent is an unhomely one: it is not domestic but social femininity.

The women in these ads are young and most often alone. They frequently appear in white clothing and are blond, connoting purity and wholesomeness. In many ads the women are dressed or seated in such a way that we cannot tell if they are actually

using the given products. We are, of course, not supposed to know if they are. But one ad stands out in the forcefulness of its claim. Cathy Rigby, the gymnist, is in a white leotard atop a balance beam, legs stretched and spread apart (Self, February 1981). As her crotch is in full view, it is immediately apparent that she could not possibly be wearing a maxipad, the product she claims makes her feel "secure and comfortable." But it is precisely what an ad claims that is important and upon which we base our judgement of its product. It claims she is using a maxipad; we have to believe it (and her).

Finally, the euphemisms in the seventies connote images of the female body as a carrier of alien substances and danger. This notion fits under the rubric of the general euphemism "feminine protection." Women, it is clear, must protect their femininity from their femaleness: the domination of nature becomes natural. Tampons and sanitary napkins "pull moisture in," "trap it deep," "hold it," "lock it in," "repel moisture," "direct the flow," "block the flow," and "prevent leakage and bypass." These are all things done to enemies, aliens, things dangerous. Prior to the sixties, women were admonished against offending others and had to protect others from them. Bodily sanitation had to be assured. The advertisements of the last two decades display the notion that femininity must be protected. Thus the progression has been from control by others to self control. This self control is an internalization of female oppression

which is often subtle but forceful as the text indicates. The very name "shield" connotes violent imagery.

Sexual innuendo is rampant (as it is in many ads, specifically those for cars and liquor) but as these products are integral to a woman's life in some form or another (all women bleed) and related to her sexual being, it appears that the emphasis on sexuality implies the crucial role these products play in manipulating and directing images of sexualness and femininity. Allusions to the tampon as phallus refer to the "natural order" of heterosexual coupling. Tampax "slims on withdrawal" (Cosmopolitan, June 1981) and o.b. tampons offer no "hard, straight" applicators but dependable, natural protection, that which we can get, ostensibly, from a man (Chatelaine, November 1980; Vogue, March 1981). Women who are naturally attractive to men are those who are feminine, hence the allusions to the refinement of sexualness (refined sexuality) and femininity. It is noted that tampon ads from the thirties and forties suggest that one of the attractions of Tampax was that one's hands never touched the tampon or the body. o.b. tampons are applicator-free and their ads suggest that a woman's hand is the most natural, correct applicator. The product has assumed an inevitable, natural status.

Summary

Menstruation has been socially constructed as a problem.

Although "menstruation" and "period" are mentioned in ads of the last decade, the essential signifier, blood, is conspicuously absent. Blood is euphemistically referred to in a number of ways: "maxi days," "heavy days," "fluid," "moisture," "accident," "discharge," and "spotting" or "staining." Thus menstruation is a problem of many names.

The problem that women bleed has remained constant throughout the decades under study but is expressed in varying forms. With the public identification of menstruation as an area of investigation, through the marketing of sanitary napkins, women's menstrual process was endowed with mystery, fear, shame and embarrassment. This is related, of course, to the morality of the time: these things were not talked about openly. Advertising revealed the problem but what is left out of the ads is just as important as what they contain. Hidden in the ads is the notion that menstruation is a health handicap. The referent in ads of the 20's, 30's and 40's concerns controlling women's physicalness, ensuring physical comfort, regulating the body itself and denying essential femaleness. The denial of what is female has remained to the present. But, beginning with the fifties, the emphasis in advertising is on the psychological comfort imparted through the products, not just denying femaleness but dominating it and creating the natural order of femininity. Williamson notes that nature is the primary referent of culture, the raw material of our environment. "If a culture is to refer

to itself, therefore, it can only do so by the representation of its transformation of nature- it has meaning in terms of what it has changed."[84] Like frozen orange juice, feminine hygiene products improve on nature. The "natural" is justification for whatever society approves of. Thus, the "problem" moved from one of strictly hygiene to one of protecting femininity. Femininity is socially constructed, however, and involves the cultivation of the body so that it is without blemish, without stain. Blood stains and thus presents a blemish on the face of femininity.

Williamson states that "the importance of 'the natural' increases directly in proportion as society's distance from nature is increased, through technological development."[85] Berger argues a similar thing with respect to the removal of animals from their natural status, with "the disappearance of animals from daily life" and their incarceration in zoos.[86] Like the isolation of animals and their consequent imprisonment and observation, aspects of femininity are isolated as culture dominates nature. Like animals behind bars, what we have, in a sense, is femininity in captivity. With the lessening of control over women's biological functions and sexuality, men have redefined aspects of women's sexualness. Integral to that sexualness is the capturing and regulation of modes of femininity. In this sense, fashion is used as a form of social control. The recent development of a cosmetic line for men offers products

which enhance masculinity; female cosmetics (and feminine hygiene products) are essential to femininity.

Ideology involves the participation of the subject in meaningful, uncritical activity. The subject must feel she is knowing but the knowing is all that need be known. The function of ideology is to deny the material base of society, thus we are knowing but deprived of knowledge. The gender relations of domination require that women appropriate what it means to be a woman, to be femininie. Thus, if women- femininity- are in captivity, they participate in their own spectacle.

What the foregoing tells us about the oppression of women is that it is structural and ideological in its complexity. It can be identified, however, that the control of women by others, and hence the concern with offending others, has been internalized and emerges as self motivation and self assurance on the part of the subject. It is also apparent that the social control of women has roots in biology, but, as radical feminists overlook, the socialization of the biological as well. The media reflect and reinforce the gender relations of domination: the notion that women's bodies are fearful and evil is asserted aggressively. It is safe to assume that if the body is considered loathsome then the person is too. The task remains to uncover the sources of this social intolerance of women, a task that may fall within the domain of the marxist feminist analysis with its emphasis on the psychoanalytic implications of bio-

logical differences and the construction of the subject. We need to understand how biolgocial differences are transformed into social meanings. Chernin provides some provocative insights about the fear of powerful women, how this fear is in response to women's claims for power in a male oriented society and how this shapes our conceptions of women's bodies. Women are, she argues, in a situation of denying the nature in their bodies.[87] The discomfort with women and the discomfort with being female attests to the dialectical nature of oppression, its insidiousness and thus the need for its skillful and careful analysis.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 111:

1 R. Mayntz, et al, "Content Analysis," in Introduction to Empirical Sociology, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976.

2 John Fiske and John Hartley, Reading Television, London: Metheun & Co. Ltd., 1978, 21.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Janice Winship, "Handling Sex," Media, Culture and Society, 1981, 3, 25.

6 Winship, 26.

7 Fiske and Hartley, 24.

8 Trevor Millum, Images of Women: Advertising in Women's Magazines, London: Chatto and Windus, 1975, 11.

9 Erving Goffman, Gender Advertisements, New York: Harper and Row, 1976.

10 Judith Williamson, Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising, London: Marion Boyars, 1978; Rosalind Coward and John Ellis, Language and Materialism: Developments in Semiology and the Theory of the Subject, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977.

11 Lynn Weiner, "The Housewife's Hymnal: A Case Study of the Ladies Home Journal," paper presented at the Second Annual Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, Radcliffe College, October 26, 1974.

12 There is only one ad from the New York Times because it represents the only ad for Rely I found, before it was taken off the market. It is also an ad from a general distribution magazine. I looked at 16 ads from the 20's, 16 from the thirties, 19 from the forties, 11 from the fifties, 26 from the sixties and 42 from the 70's for a total of one hundred and thirty advertisements.

[13] Coward and Ellis, 26.

[14] Coward and Ellis; Roland Barthes, Mythologies, New York: Hill and Wang, 1972.

[15] Coward and Ellis, 26.

[16] Barthes.

[17] Coward and Ellis, 27-8.

[18] Williamson, 20.

[19] Glasgow University Media Group, More Bad News, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980, 415.

[20] Pierre Guiraud, Semiology, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975; Coward and Ellis.

[21] Coward and Ellis, 28.

[22] Guiraud, 28.

[23] Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," in Image-Music-Text, Glasgow: Fontana, 1977, 17.

[24] Williamson, 12.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Trevor Pateman, "How to do Things with Images: An Essay on the Pragmatics of Advertising," Theory and Society, 1980, 9:4 (July), 604.

[27] Pateman, 606.

[28] Pateman, 610.

[29] Pateman, 619.

[30] Williamson, 12.

[31] Williamson, 19.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Williamson, 20.

[34] Williamson, 24.

[35] Williamson.

[36] Williamson; Andrew Wernick, "Ideology and Advertising: An Intrepretive Framework," paper presented at the Canadian Communications meetings, Montreal, Quebec, 1980.

[37] Victor Burgin, "Looking at Photographs," Screen Education, 1977, 24, (Autumn), 18.

[38] Manuel Alvaredo, "Photographs and Narrativity," Screen Education, 1979/80, 32/33, (Autumn/Winter), 12.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Stuart Hall, "The Determination of News Photographs," The Manufacture of News, edited by Stanley Cohen and Jock Young, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1973.

[41] Hall, 177.

[42] Hall.

[43] Hall, 183.

[44] Burgin, 19; Susan Sontag reflects on the uses of photography: "A capitalist society requires a culture based on images... the camera's twin capacities, to subjectivize reality and to objectify it, ideally serve those needs and strengthen them. Cameras define reality in the two ways essential to the workings of an advanced industrial society: as a spectacle (for the masses) and as an object of surveillance (for rulers). The production of images also furnishes a ruling ideology. Social change is replaced by a change in images." Her point is well taken. Why have pictures in advertisements at all? cf. John Berger, About Looking, New York: Pantheon Books, 1980, 55.

[45] Hall, 184.

[46] Burgin.

[47] Burgin, 20.

[48] Burgin, 24.

[49] Burgin.

[50] Hall, 186.

[51] Barthes, "The Photographic Message," 16.

[52] Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in Image-Music-Text, Glasgow: Fontana, 1977, 39.

[53] Hall, 178.

[54] Alvaredo; This can operate in the opposite way, i.e. photographs are sometimes used to support the predominant linguistic narrative, for example with film posters where photographic images reinforce and support the title of the film. cf. Alvaredo, 13.

[55] Williamson, 78.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Williamson, 87.

[58] Williamson, 41.

[59] Williamson, 99.

[60] Williamson.

[61] Williamson, 42.

[62] Williamson, 43.

[63] Williamson, 47.

[64] Williamson, 64.

[65] Williamson.

[66] Williamson, 53.

[67] Williamson, 55.

[68] Williamson, 116.

[69] Williamson, 117.

[70] Williamson, 103.

[71] Williamson, 124.

[72] Williamson, 127.

[73] Williamson, 140.

[74] John Berger, Ways of Seeing, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972.

[75] As an illustration, the reader is directed to the covers of current issues of Cosmopolitan: the models are alluring, sexy and seductive, inviting the reader (female) to partake in a seductive appearance through identification with them. As well, the October 1981 issue (191:4) contains a fashion spread in which the models are posed seductively, often scantily clad and in revealing positions, resembling their sisters in soft-pornography magazines, e.g. Playboy. Cosmopolitan is most definitely a woman's magazine, delivering ostensibly what women want: to look, be and act sexy. The producers of these images, and the consumers, perpetuate and reproduce the culture of femininity.

[76] Winship, 41.

[77] Griselda Pollock, "What's Wrong with Images of Women?" Screen Education, 1977, 24 (Autumn), 27.

[78] Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, New York: Dell Books, 1974.

[79] Janice Delaney, Mary Jane Lupton and Emily Toth, The Curse, New York: E.P. Dutton, 1976, 111.

[80] "Feminine Hygiene Buying Habits Change," American Druggist, 1980, 182 (August), 77.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Goffman, 36.

[83] Winship, 31.

[84] Williamson, 103.

[85] Williamson, 124.

[86] Berger, 1980, 19.

[87] Kim Chernin, "How Women's Diets Reflect Fear of Power," The New York Times Magazine, 1981 (October 11).

Conclusion

The foregoing has isolated one instance of the oppression of women. The denunciation and intolerance for the female body has a long and distinguished history but its expression has varied. Menstruation was once perceived as a physical handicap but the focus of control of the female body now emphasizes the psychologically debilitating nature of the monthly shedding of blood: the major concern for women, then, as opposed to not offending others, lies in the personal responsibility of each individual to control her own body in accordance with the culture of femininity.

It was demonstrated that there is a temporal correspondence between the emergence of the feminine hygiene market and the participation of women in wage labour. The suggestive imagery in advertisements for feminine hygiene products, and marketing techniques, prompted further inquiry into the possibility of their being a relationship, not just a correspondence, between these two parallel phenomena. Thus, the role of management and discipline in white collar worlds which are overwhelmingly female was discussed. The need to control this new body of workers takes the form of the regulation of the public display of the functions of the body and its appearance. While this is true of many forms of discipline which men experience, the content of the managerial discipline of women is sexist in orientation. Thus, the culture of the office encompasses peculiarly feminine modes of control. The argument that there is a relationship between the emergence of the

feminine hygiene market and women's labour force participation is strengthened upon examination of how control through consumption of these products is realized. If the control of women was desired "en masse," because of their participation in the social sphere and the vocalization and challenge of the women's movement, then presumable control might take the form of increased violence against women, for example. While the possibility of the latter needs to be documented, the content analysis of feminine hygiene advertisements demonstrates that certain forms of control are more easily appropriated than others. The regulation of behaviour, and the public "behaviour" of the body are internalized as forms of discipline. New forms of social rely on subjectivity. Thus, the culture of the office also involves peculiarly feminine modes of adapting or coping with a work world in which the presentation of self, not skills, are important. What this analysis demonstrates is that oppression in its specificity must be uncovered and pieced together to form a comprehensive theory of patriarchal relations of dominance and subordination. The theory must also be dialectical and consider the method by which oppression is able to work: the role of subjectivity. The semiological analysis of magazine advertisements was useful as a methodological tool for understanding the way the subject is constituted in the powerful and pervasive medium of advertising; it also uncovered some of the dominant representations of gender constructions. As Winship points out, "Inequality lies in the cultural meanings themselves to which representation only gives a heightened and particular expression."[1]

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

[1] Janice Winship, "Handling Sex," Media, Culture and Society, 3 (1981), 41.

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----------, "The Old Taboos are Gone," 159 (June 2, 1969).

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