"Be Who You Needed": The Sustainability of Parrying the Menstrual Stereotypes

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Abstract. Embracing the mental health issues as mainstream literature of Sustainable Development Agenda by the United Nations General Assembly, built up the present research to study the attitudes of youngsters toward menstrual cycle and to assess the relationship between the action of 'breaking menstrual taboos' and the 'guilt experience' among women in India. The data collection was done as a semi-structured Interview within the realm of purposive sampling, and Thematic Analysis was used as the core research design. It was found that there are stereotypes associated with menstruation among youngsters which are the overt impediments to confer about the subject. The most common stereotype was, "all women go through mood swings and are grouchy during their periods." There are relatively several proscriptions that the girls are conditioned to practice from the onset of their puberty. The two most commonly practiced taboos include, 'not going to temples' and 'not entering the kitchen'. Failure to follow these, or even the thought of breaking such menstrual taboos, may lead to guilt and vacillation. The present study explored an array of stereotypical beliefs of men and women considering menstruation and discussed the mental health challenges associated with the same. The idea of sustainability is incomplete without achieving overall well-being, and the present study shall create awareness about the ongoing concerns of women in the country.

Keywords: Menstrual Taboos; Mental Health: Sustainability; Stereotypical Beliefs.

I. INTRODUCTION

It is quite noticeable that the term 'taboo' comes into picture when one's culture believes something to be greatly perturbed, hence irreligious and offensive. In a lot of cases, we can connect embarrassment with such cultural ideologies (or taboos). For instance sex-the most controversial topic to be spoken in India. Because society is agitated to talk about it, though most of the people indulge in it! The feeling of embarrassment has a direct relationship with taboos. Higher the level of embarrassment about a subject, the stronger it has the probability to become a taboo. Taboo can manifest into oppression in extreme situations. In the present research, the oppressed is made up by the women and the Despot is the society itself. Sometimes the oppressed might not even be aware of the oppression that is being coerced to. In that cause, the oppressed becomes habitual to the manipulation that internalizes the oppression as a part of a constant routine. Such is the case of despotism that a woman in India and around the world faces, principally with blindly and faithfully practicing menstrual taboos. In many cultures, women do not visit sacred places when they are on their periods. In some, women may not enter the kitchen or not even be allowed to touch or consume food items. If women speak to someone about their periods, society takes them to be agitated. A portion of euphemisms is used to avoid direct terms like 'periods', 'menses', 'bleeding', 'menstrual bleeding', 'chums' etc. Menstrual bleeding can be associated with the term 'vagina,' one of the female reproductive organs, which are considered to be a private part. Men and women most often feel awkward and embarrassed to talk about 'vagina' and issues related to it, openly in public (Tuli et al., 2019).

Historical and Contemporary Menstrual Practices and Beliefs

Vedas, meaning 'knowledge' in Sanskrit are a compilation of diverse chants and hymns. These are of four types: Rigveda, Samaveda, Yajurveda, Atharvaveda. Amongst the four, only Rigveda depicted a mythic tale about the outset of menstruation cycle in women. Indra, the god of thunder, had committed the grave sin of slaying Vritra, a Brahmin (an upper caste in the pecking order) and hence was suggested he should divide the sins amongst four beings. Therefore, according to Rigveda, every month the women carry Indra's sin of Brahma hatya (killing of a Brahmin) as menstrual bleeding (Chawla, 1992). Early researches also claim Vedas have not concealed the rites and actions to be followed by a menstruating woman and never articulated a woman's body to be unclean or impure during her monthly cycle, since it's natural and biological (Kumar & Srivastava, 2011).

Not much textual evidence is found, precisely for menstrual practices followed during the medieval period in India. However, the oppression of women increased during this timeline, which might have strengthened the taboo practices related to the menstrual cycle. In Hinduism, practices like 'sati 'and 'child marriage', drastically increased during the medieval period. Most of the Islamic invaders in India were not accompanied by women and hence they forced the local women to convert to Islam (Hardy, 1977). This might have led to an amalgamation of the two cultures. Practices like 'purdah', 'dowry' and 'harem' were followed in both religions. These facts imply that such impositions on women along with the strengthening of various taboos, including menstrual taboos might have increased in medieval India. Most probably, it was in these two periods of the Indian History, that Indian women went through internalizing and fighting these odds.

The menstrual taboos continued to act as a means of mental oppression for Indian women by the patriarchal mindsets. At present, people in India, especially women are steadily beginning to learn about the menstrual taboos as a means of suffering and have perceived it as a serious social issue. In 2012, Aditi Gupta introduced a comic series known as Menstrupedia for the children of age 9-years and above, to educate them and to spread awareness about menstruation. In 2014, a group called 'Free Thinkers' organized a campaign known as 'Red Alert: You've got a Napkin!' to protest against the 'Forced Strip Search' that happened in a factory at Kochi, Kerala. As per the campaign, people mailed the used and unused sanitary napkins to the Manager of the Asma Rubber Private Limited factory in Kochi, where around 40 female employees were strip-searched to find out the menstruating woman who left a used sanitary pad in the bathroom. Further, there are various NGOs and online/offline campaigns like Breaking the Silence, etc. that have taken up this social issue to fight against various restrictions on women because of their biological cycle. Another prominent movement was #Happy To Bleed Campaign, started by a student Nikita Azad in 2015, who got agitated by a statement given by a Sabarimala priest, that there would be days in the future, when there would be systems to monitor the purity of women entering temples. In 2016, the outlaw of 'women of the menstrual age are barred from going into the temple' reached the Supreme Court, when Sabarimala temple of Kerala came into limelight, for not allowing the female devotees between the age range of 10 to 50 years (Pathak, 2019). The decision of the Sabarimala priests and numerous sectarians was upheld by the Kerala High Court. But the Supreme Court dismissed the idea by quoting it as 'illegitimate' and 'a menace for gender justice. Recently in August 2020, Zomato Founder and CEO Deepinder Goyal called 'Period Leaves' for all the female employees in the company. Women working in Zomato can now voluntarily avail 10 days of period leaves in a year, without any reproach or hesitation. This radical step is undoubtedly taken by Zomato, as they seemingly "consider that men and women are born with different biological realities" and that there should not be any stigma associated with this natural process.

The Rationale of the Study

The significance of this study lies in the statistical data related to Menstrual Health and Hygiene Management in India. According to a UNICEF Report of 2014, around 79% girls and women in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, 66% in Uttar Pradesh, 56% in Rajasthan and 51% in West Bengal are unaware of proper menstrual hygiene practices. Out of the whole population of menstruating women in India (i.e. 355 million), only 42.6 million menstruating women use sanitary napkins during their periods. This implies that only 12% of Indian menstruating women can afford proper sanitary napkins. The rest of the population either cannot afford it or does not find it reasonable to spend their money on something like 'dirty' as periods. Therefore, this research might act as a facilitator to bring the issue to the light of policy-makers and law-enforcers in the country.

According to a report of 2011-12 by the Indian Council for Medical Research, 62% of menstruating girls in India do not speak to their mothers about menstruation. Even many mothers themselves do not know what menstruation is, why it happens, how it should be explained to an adolescent and about the practices to be followed for menstrual hygiene. Some government schools, especially in rural areas, refrain from teaching the students about this particular topic. Hence, the significance of this study lies in the problem of lack of awareness and proper education. Due to improper sanitation and lack of menstrual hygiene management, 23 million (out of total 355 million) menstruating women drop out of schools annually in India. Another major factor for the families in rural areas to force quit their girls' education is menstrual taboos, one of which does not permit them to touch other people because they are believed to be impure. People do not want to talk about this particular topic because it is a taboo topic and the terms 'vagina' and 'dirty' are highly associated with it. So unless we get to the root or the origin of these practices, we would not be able to come up with a proper solution for the same.

Girls mostly rely upon the usage of various euphemisms to refrain from using the word 'periods,' especially in front of males. Until we persuade people to speak about this topic, we would not be able to understand the differences in menstrual attitude between males and females, the attitude towards menstruation, especially of the Indian youth. This particular study on the menstrual attitudes, breaking menstrual taboos and the guilt experience is the need of the hour.

II. METHODS

Participants

The sample population was chosen using the purposive sampling technique. The sample size of this Qualitative research is 20, consisting of ten males and ten females, who were young adults from India, within the age group of 18 to 25 years. Participants in this study are majorly from nine Indian states; which include four states from North India (Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh), three states from South India (Telangana, Karnataka, Kerala), one state from Central India (Madhya Pradesh) and one from East India (Bihar). 15 of the 20 participants were associated with Hinduism, 4 of them were Christians and one female participant believed in Christianity but her family followed Hinduism. Participants reported diverse occupational backgrounds. Most of them were Students and only three of them identified themselves as 'Graphic Designer, Writer'; 'Doctor' and 'UX Researcher.' All the participants had fluency in speaking either one of the languages – Hindi or English.

Procedure

A semi-structured interview protocol was developed to cover a range of topics relevant to young adults (both males and females), including their demographics and religion. Separate interview questions were prepared for male and female participants. There were a total of approximately 11 questions for females and 10 questions for males, excluding all the follow-up questions. The mentor, under whose mentorship the researcher worked, approved the study and questionnaire before any data collection. A Google Form was created and circulated amongst people to inform them about the interview. The people who fulfilled the criteria as well as willingly volunteered to participate in the interview filled the form and electronically gave their consents through it. All the participants provided the researcher with their preferred time-slots for the conduction of the interviews. The participants were individually called for the Telephonic Interview during their preferred time-slots. They were made to feel comfortable and a proper rapport was established with them. The participants were given assurance regarding the maintenance of their confidentiality and anonymity. A proper consent was taken verbally from them, to record their interviews. The semi-structured interview was conducted, and their responses were recorded. The time taken to conduct the interviews varied from approximately 16 minutes to 1 hour. Once the responses were collected from all the twenty participants, they were transcribed, summarized, compiled and later analyzed with the help of thematic analysis.

Data Analysis

Thematic Analysis approach along with inductive coding was used to code and interpret the interview. The interviews were transcribed, summarized and compiled in a single document. Initial codes were identified and labelled manually using software, QDA Miner. Guided by the inductive approach, codes were then sorted and grouped based on similarity, and similar codes were combined to form overarching "themes" or categories. The final themes or categories were named and defined and then the results were evaluated.

III. RESULTS

Participants' responses were coded into two broader categories about understanding the concept of menstruation among males and females. The theme, "understanding the menstrual taboos among females" consisted of four axial codes: (1) Scientific understanding of the menstrual process, (2) The perceived origin of taboo, (3) Menstrual taboo encountered, and (4) The consequence of breaking the taboo. The theme, "understanding the menstrual taboos among males" could be divided into four axial codes: (1) Scientific understanding of menstrual process, (2) Perception on menstruation, where the male participants expressed what they think and how they feel about the menstrual process, (3) Menstruation as a topic of discussion, to understand how the participants felt while they conversed about periods with

other people, (4) Using the words related to menstruation, if the participants relied upon euphemisms instead of directly using the terms 'periods', 'sanitary pads' etc. And how they felt while using these words.

Table 1. Codes as on the inductive thematic analysis

| Stages of | Codes | | | |
|---------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| Coding | Coues | | | |
| Selective Coding | UNDERSTANDING MENSTRUAL TABOOS (FEMALES) | | | |
| Axial Coding | Scientific understanding of the menstrual process | Perceived origin of the taboo | Menstrual taboo encountered | The consequence of breaking the taboo |
| | Adequate | Ancestral | Religious | Feeling of guilt |
| | Partial | Patriachy | Social isolation | The feeling of being sinful |
| Open coding | Minimal | Generation gap | Notion of impurity | The feeling of being judged |
| | Unscientific | Jeopadized education system | The notion of flawed female | Feeling of harassment |
| | | | | Sense of victory |
| | | | | |
| Selective Coding | UNDERSTANDING MENS | TRUAL TABOOS (MA | ALES) | |
| Axial Coding | Scientific understanding of the menstrual process | Perception of menstruation | Menstruation as a topic of discussion | Using the words related to menstruation |
| | Profound | Disgust | Never discussed | Comfortable |
| | Basic | Compassion | Avoiding/Avoided the discussion | Uncomfortable |
| Open Coding | | Orthodox perceptual pattern | Ignorance | |
| | | Non- discriminatory stance | | |
| | | | | |

N=20

Theme 1: Understanding the Menstrual Taboos among Females

Code 1: Scientific Understanding of the Menstrual Process. The female participants discussed the information that they possessed about the menstrual cycle occurring in their bodies. Most of them had adequate scientific knowledge about menstruation. For instance, one of the female participants, age 19 (Hindu) from Delhi, clearly said:

"According to me, it's a biological thing which occurs every month in the bodies of women. every 25-35 days. The egg is not fertilized. walls break down and we start to bleed".

While few female participants had a partially scientific, minimal scientific or completely unscientific notion about menstruation when the participant described the menstrual cycle mostly in terms of philosophy. For example, a female participant, age 20 (Hindu) from Uttar Pradesh, described it to be: "something natural, females are blessed to have it and every month it's painful."

Code 2:Menstrual Taboo Encountered. The common types of menstrual taboos derived from the interviews are (1) Religious taboos, which included practices in which females are not supposed to enter into temples, pray to God (worship) or indulge in anything spiritual or holy, (2) Social isolations, where female menstruators are asked to stay aloof, for example, they are not allowed to cook, touch pickle or other objects, restricted to sit at certain places or even not allowed to go outside due to fear of period stains etc., (3) Impurity, which can directly be associated with Religious taboos and the responses of the participants are on par with previous literature where, menstrual bleeding is considered as depravity on a religious lens [2]. Due to which female menstruators are either forced to commit or deny certain activities, like bathing multiple times in a day even if they are hygienic because they are considered impure, (4) The Notion of flawed females, where females, irrespective of their mood swings, are considered to be flawed by the family members.

Both Religious taboos and taboos related to Social Restrictions/Isolations were commonly found amongst the participants. A female participant, age 20 (Hindu Brahmin) from Madhya Pradesh shared her experience in the context of Social Restriction/Isolations:

"So when you are suffering from periods, there's a very basic thing they do is that they just side cast you from everything normal in your house... Family members make a separate place for the girl when she starts her periods... you are separated from your family for eating, sleeping, playing or what if you get stained... It's a kind of mental harassment... You become a monster for them for a few days."

The concept of Impurity was also frequently brought into the picture by many participants in the interview. However, few participants did not follow any menstrual practices, either due to their cultural and family upbringing or they chose to go against the notion of menstrual taboos.

Code 3: Reasons for the Existence of Menstrual Taboos. Mainly four reasons were derived from the participants' opinions about the existence of menstrual taboos: (1) Ancestral Practice, where most of the participants believed that our ancestors considered these practices to be God-established or the creators simply might have thought that blood flowing out of women's bodies during periods might be dirty and impure; (2) Patriarchy, where some participants believed that long-term inequality between men and women paved the path to such beliefs and hence the older generation tried to create dominance over women by creating such rules [3], (3) Generation Gap, where two kinds of notions came out from the responses given by the interviewees, one set believed that these taboos already existed in the society due to various reasons (one of them being dominance from the upper caste) and descended from generation to generation, another set of beliefs stated that such practices were created for good reasons (for women to take rest during painful periods) but this information about practicality got manipulated in later generations, to form various menstrual taboos; (4) Jeopardized education system, where few participants agreed that that these menstrual taboos originated due to lack of proper knowledge and still exist due to poor education and hence lack of awareness amongst people.

A female participant of age 20 (Hindu) from Uttar Pradesh commented on the role of Patriarchy for the existence of such menstrual taboos:

"It's not exactly the patriarchal society, but females also played a huge role by following and by carrying forward such practices."

A female participant, age 20 (Hindu) from Haryana explained the consequences of improper education when boys are asked not to attend classes when it comes to menstruation:

"Then boys start teasing girls and start questioning them about this topic. So it would become more simplified for future generations if we include these things in education."

Code 4: The Consequence of Breaking the Taboo. This is the major point of discussion in the study where female participants expressed their opinions and experience when they had broken the stereotypic barrier. The commonly found response was the experience of guilt/ shame on breaking the menstrual taboo. Though the women have tried to come out of the restrictions laid upon them, the consequence was not always favourable. There will be a sense of humiliation and mental health turmoil amidst of boldness [4]. One of the participants said (female, Hindu) there is a *'huge difference'* in the attitude of people nowadays because the people are being more aware and have stopped discrimination. And she also

mentions that in her childhood such openness was not present. She has never thought of breaking these practices because of elders, and if unknowingly she breaks these practices, her very first reaction would be "sorry Bhagwan (God)!"

Theme 2: Understanding Menstrual Taboos among Males

Code 1: Scientific Understanding of Menstrual Process. Most of the male participants had a basic understanding of the menstrual process like the age when it starts, the bodily effects (pain and mood swings especially) and the duration of blood flow, while only a few had a clear understanding of exactly what happens in a female's body during menstruation, like the unfertilized egg getting discarded and the hormonal changes.

One of the male participants, age 21 (Christian), from Karnataka, who had only a basic understanding of the process used terms like:

"Happens once a month... the person's in pain... there's blood"

Another male participant, age 20 (Hindu), from Uttar Pradesh, who also had a basic idea said:

"As I'm a male in gender, I know only in brief, from what I've learnt from my parents who have a very liberal mindset. During periods of menstruation, which happens in regular periods, women usually bleed and they have to undergo a lot of mood swings as well as physical pain. So, from what I've observed (since my childhood) from the female members of my family, in that scenario, we must provide extra care to them. It is a time when they need our understanding more than anything instead of us being irritated."

In terms of biology, he said:

"I don't remember much about it as I've last talked about it when I was in eighth grade. The physical cause of menstruation is due to the process of ovulation, in which, every month an egg is released from the ovaries. This is involved in some way with menstruation."

Code 2: Perception of Menstruation. Most of the boys had a feeling of compassion towards girls, especially during their periods, some had Orthodox thinking patterns towards the process, while very few had a Neutral perception towards it. None of the male participants felt disgusted with the menstrual process.

When asked about his knowledge about menstruation, a male participant, age 23 (Hindu) from Uttar Pradesh expressed his feeling of compassion towards a girl, especially when she is on her periods, more than the scientific knowledge:

"Something happens in their ovary and some process happens, hence they go through pain, blood loss, go through mental. umm.. psychological changes when they can get angry at any point, hence those days they should be taken care of. On normal days too, they are supposed to be taken care of, but those days the care should be more. Extra care, extra food chocolates and whatever they feel like eating."

Code 3: Menstruation as a Topic of Discussion. Most of the participants have never discussed menstruation, some did not consider it as a serious subject to be discussed, few participants avoided the discussion, while none felt uncomfortable while discussing the topic.

Code 4: Using the Words Related to Menstruation. Most of the participants were found to be uncomfortable while using the words related to menstruation like 'Periods', 'Sanitary Pads' etc. And preferred using euphemisms instead, while only some were comfortable to use these terms.

For instance, a female participant, age 19 (Christian) from Karnataka is comfortable with using these terms with her parents, cousins and close friends, but uses euphemisms with other friends because according to her:

"They don't think that it's a topic that you can talk about."

IV. DISCUSSION

The purpose of this investigation was to examine the attitudes of youths toward menstrual cycle. Menstrual practices have stood in the Indian subcontinent from time immemorial, but never as prohibitions, not obvious in the early Vedas (Kumar & Srivastava, 2011). The ancient continent which caused emergence to gems like *Kamasutra* that not merely speaks about the eternal sexual energy but also about the corresponding participation of a man and woman to bring about a prosperous marriage instead of sovereignty. The new India still certainly bears on to these skewed menstrual practices, but the conflict to combat these has become comparatively easier because of diverse technological advancements (Yagnik, 2014), slight open-mindedness, communication, the invention of various menstrual products, education and the evolving logical reasoning abilities. Unlike in olden times, menstruation as a process is

not concealed in the Indian society anymore, but modern Indians lack some wreck of interpretative analysis, even though some of them in urban areas have proper access to learning about the subject. Therefore, mere learning about menstruation is not adequate, but one's logical interpretation and hence the perception of the subject is of higher relevance. While a serious decrease has been noticed in the number of taboos as compared to the previous generations in urban and even suburban areas, rural India still upholds extreme menstrual taboos. In extreme cases, school absenteeism, anxiety and many psychosocial repercussions have been noticed among adolescent menstruating girls. (Behera et al., 2015; Bodat et al., 2013).

Earlier literature clarified that a few generations back, adolescent boys who usually had negative views toward menstruation due to paucity of precise knowledge, often teased menstruating girls, thus upsetting their overall well-being (Benshaul-Tolonen et al., 2020). Qualitative research conducted in 2017 brought forth a comparatively optimistic view of a menstrual attitude of boys, as the adolescents were identified to be rather curious about menstruation as a process, were supportive of and indeed preferred to help their menstruating sisters and associates, hence indicating that males could advocate Menstrual health and management in the future (Mason et al., 2017). In the ongoing study, the menstrual attitudes of young adult males show that, although most of them own merely a basic understanding of the menstrual cycle, sufficient to understand what a woman goes through during her bleeding phase, they are ready to accept it as a process. But the legitimate challenge emerges when most of the boys contradicted their remarks during the interview. They showed some expense of discomfort (not disgust) while discussing periods with their female associates, colleagues, sisters, etc. The helping nature of males toward menstruating girls can be split into, where few males appear not willing to help much with the issues related to menstruation. Others would help but would not speak out loud about it. There is a steady yet merely a limited improvement in the menstrual attitude of boys, also considering the differences in their educational backgrounds, various advancements and demographic changes over the years.

The menstrual attitude of girls toward various taboos was radical and non-conventional to some degree, yet endeavours for some wreck of improvement and initiation from their side. Most girls deal with a lot of psychological impediments in breaking menstrual taboos and experience guilt indeed at the thought of breaking the taboos, even though they do not believe in these. The girls who do not follow such practices at present, who have already overcome the barrier, have experienced guilt at least once. Very much, it took them a lot of time, tolerance and maturity to carry out the state where they were wholly non-timid to break these long-curled menstrual taboos.

V. LIMITATIONS

The researcher was not able to travel to witness and explore different practices in different parts of the country due to COVID-19 pandemic. Due to the same reason, conducting face-to-face interviews was difficult. Network issues and lack of proper connectivity also acted as an obstacle for smooth conduction of the telephonic interviews. Research topic acted as a source of discomfort for some of the participants, especially evident during the interview process.

VI. CONCLUSION

To conclude, both men and women experience some degree of discomfort while conversing about menstruation. Hence, the corresponding push is demanded from both the parties to normalize the process of menstruation, but it should begin with women mustering up enough spunk to fight these menstrual taboos, thus bravely dealing with the psychological barriers. They should speak up when they need help with their menstrual issues and the mental barriers to come out of the taboos. Society needs to talk about this social issue and women need to come out of their guilt to break the barriers formed by the society. People need to become aware of how it can affect the mental well-being of its female menstruators, chiefly the youth needs to open up about this. The Indian society needs to sensitize and support its female menstruators during breaking the shackles and hence the silence that has shrouded this natural process for a long time.

Mental health issues are observed from the female participants while breaking the menstrual taboos against the norms set by society. The guilt experienced during the process can manifest into different proportion, subsequently hindering the overall well-being. The support from the male counterparts is evident in the study. However, the help was implicit with a tinge of discomfort. The present study strongly concerns the mental health associated with menstruation and believes it to be a necessary part of sustainability.

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