# **SB 427 - Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products -**Uploaded by: Dove, Tina

Position: FAV



140 Main Street Annapolis, MD 21401 800 448 6782 410 263 6600

marylandeducators.org

# Testimony in Support of Senate Bill 427 Public Schools—Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products—Requirement

# Senate Education, Health, and Environmental Affairs Committee February 11, 2021 11:00 am

Tina N. Dove, M.Ed. Government Relations

The Maryland State Education Association supports Senate Bill 427, requiring county boards of education to ensure that each public school provide menstrual hygiene products—at no charge to students—via dispensers installed in restrooms.

MSEA represents 75,000 educators and school employees who work in Maryland's public schools, teaching and preparing our 896,837 students for careers and jobs of the future. MSEA also represents 39 local affiliates in every county across the state of Maryland, and our parent affiliate is the 3 million-member National Education Association (NEA).

According to a 2016 Reuters Health News article, 86 percent of U.S. women aged 18 to 54 have experienced the unexpected onset of their menstrual cycle in public at a time when they did not have the supplies they needed.<sup>1</sup> According to the Always Confidence & Puberty Survey, "...[N]early one in five American girls...have either left school early or missed school entirely because they did not have access to period products."<sup>2</sup> The average woman spends \$70 per year on menstrual hygiene products<sup>3</sup>. For some, this may not appear to be a consequential amount. But for young people who are from low-income, under-resourced families or for those who are experiencing homelessness, this is a significant financial burden. Sadly, in far too many cases, young people are forced to skip school multiple days a month and, consequently, several weeks out of the school year as a result of the challenges associated with their menstrual cycle. For others, extreme measures—including using unsuitable alternatives (such as newspaper, socks, rags or toilet paper), reusing spent hygiene products, or attempting to prolong the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> <u>https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-menstruation-idUSKCN0WA1RG</u> (Accessed on January 24, 2021)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://always.com/en-us/about-us/end-period-poverty (Accessed on January 24, 2021)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-menstruation-idUSKCN0WA1RG (Accessed on January 24, 2021)



use of menstrual hygiene product past the recommended period of time—could lead to serious infections and/or long-term gynecological complications. This struggle is what is known as Period Poverty and it has significant adverse impacts on a large percentage of our young people. Not to mention, it serves as a critical public health issue for a significant percentage of both the U.S. and Maryland populations.

This legislation would have a tremendous positive impact on the lives of young Marylanders experiencing Period Poverty. It will also serve as welcomed relief for those who have experienced the shame and stigma associated with being caught "unprepared" when their menstrual cycle unexpectantly arrives while they are at school.

Our young people have more than enough to contend with during their adolescence. Far too often, our schools are unable to minimize or prevent the myriad hardships our students face. In this case, however, our schools have the means to provide the resources young people need to manage their menstrual cycles. MSEA supports menstrual equity because it is a social and gender justice issue and because it is the right thing to do. We urge the committee to issue a favorable report on Senate Bill 427.

# **2021 ACNM SB 427 House Side.pdf** Uploaded by: Elliott, Robyn

Position: FAV



Bill:	Senate Bill 427
Title:	Public Schools – Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products
Committee:	Senate Education, Health, and Environmental Affairs Committee
Date:	February 11, 2021
Position:	Support

The Maryland Affiliate of the American College of Nurse Midwives supports *SB* 427 – *Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products.* The bill requires public schools to provide hygiene products at no cost to students in all of their restrooms.

We support this legislation because it:

- Ensures all students have access to menstrual hygiene products. This is particularly important for students whose families have low incomes and no means to purchase these products;
- Reduces the amount of time that students miss school because they do not have access to menstrual hygiene products;
- Protects students' health by giving them the products they need to stay clean and healthy; and
- Destigmatizes menstrual hygiene products. These products are now generally only available in the school nurse's office. Menstruation is not an illness. Students should not have to see a health care provider to obtain menstrual hygiene products.

We urge a favorable report. If we can provide any additional information, please let us know by contacting Robyn Elliott at <u>relliott@policypartners.net</u> or (443) 926-3443.

# 2021 PPM SB 427 Senate Side.pdf Uploaded by: Elliott, Robyn

Position: FAV



Planned Parenthood of Maryland

Committee:	Senate Education, Health, and Environmental Affairs
Bill Number:	Senate Bill 427 – Public Schools – Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products -
	Requirement
Hearing Date:	February 10, 2021
Position:	Support

Planned Parenthood of Maryland supports *Senate Bill 427- Public Schools – Provision of Feminine Hygiene Products*. This bill would require county boards of education to ensure that each school serving students grades 6-12, including students who menstruate, to make available menstrual hygiene products in their restrooms at no cost to the student.

As an established and trusted community reproductive health care provider, serving Marylanders for more than 90 years and counting, we believe that cost and access should be no barrier to students who require menstrual hygiene products.

The average menstruation lasts two to seven days and happens every 21 to 35 days. In pubescent and adolescent students, irregular menstruation is much more common than in adults, meaning even students who are prepared and have access to menstrual hygiene products could find themselves in emergency need of the products. Mayo Clinic guidelines recommend changing pads or tampons every four to eight hours. Students following these guidelines would require at least one change during the school day. Those experiencing heavy menstruation would require more. While menstruation is a normal, healthy part of human development, stigma still exists around it, especially during adolescent years. Without access to menstrual products, students will worry more about cleanliness, comfort, or stigma than their academics. What's more, inadequate access menstrual products can create risk for serious infections like bacterial growth in the vagina or toxic shock syndrome.

For the foregoing reasons, I urge a favorable report on HB 205. Thank you for the opportunity to submit testimony. If you should have any questions, please contact Robyn Elliott, our public policy and governmental affairs consultant, at (443) 923-3443 or relliott@policypartners.net.

# **Testimony in Support of SB0427.pdf** Uploaded by: Evans Letocha, Phoebe

Position: FAV

# Testimony in Support of SB0427/HB0205 Public Schools – Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products – Requirement

Phoebe Evans Letocha 604 Stoneleigh Rd Baltimore MD 21212 PAEL73@yahoo.com

Dear Education, Health and Environmental Affairs Committee Members,

I'm writing as a resident of district 42A, represented by both Delegate Cathi Forbes and Senator Chris West, and as the volunteer Period Project Coordinator for the Student Support Network<sup>i</sup>. Our organization's mission is to improve the lives of Baltimore County students living in poverty by providing food, other basic necessities, and advocacy support. We strongly support SB0427, cross filed as HB0205 the Public Schools – Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products – Requirement.

Student Support Network recognizes the impact that period poverty or the lack of access to menstrual products has on our student's ability to attend school, both remotely and in person. Over 50,000 students (nearly 44% of all students) qualify for Free and Reduced Price Meals in Baltimore County Public Schools. Pre-pandemic we ran comfort closets in 12 Baltimore County Public Schools, where students can come to receive food and essential hygiene items that they can take home, including menstrual products that enable them to attend school by meeting their nutritional and hygienic needs beyond what schools provide. WE recently became allied program in the Alliance for Period Supplies, which has found that nationally about 1 in 4 teens have missed class due to lack of access to period supplies.<sup>ii</sup> In Maryland 37% of female students in public school grades 7 to 12 attend Title 1 eligible schools and 40% of middle and high school students receive free or reduced-price meals. Public benefits programs such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) or Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) benefits do not cover the cost of purchasing period supplies. Since Student Support Network began our weekly food and essential items distributions in March 2020, we have distributed close to half a million individual period products, in the form of pads, tampons and liners packaged into period cycle packs for families in need. We estimate that the value of the period supplies we distributed in 2020 is over \$56,000. Each week at our 3 distribution sites, we serve between 4000-5000 individuals, who line up to 3 hours ahead of the start of distributions in over 500 cars, many picking up for multiple families. Our families greatly appreciate the period supplies and that our organization recognizes and meets this need.

In Baltimore County, several Delegates have actively participated in our distribution sites including district 42 Delegates Cathi Forbes and Michelle Guyton who have led distribution sites as well as District 8 Delegate Harry Bhandari who has volunteered with his high school daughter to distribute our period packs. They were among the 52 cosponsors of this bill last year when it passed the house of Delegates by a vote of 100 to 31. Unfortunately the abbreviated session

meant the bill did not get a chance to make it out of this Senate committee. I am pleased to see that this bill has bipartisan sponsorship in the Senate this year, including from my own Senator Chris West. Baltimore County Councilman David Marks has also recognized the work that my daughter and I have done to address period poverty by naming us 5<sup>th</sup> district citizens of the year in 2020. The bipartisan support we received in Baltimore County mirrors the support for similar legislation that passed in other states, including Virginia, New York, California, Illinois, and New Hampshire, and has been proposed this year in Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Florida.

Our efforts to combat period poverty and promote period equity in Baltimore County during the pandemic have been youth initiated, starting with my daughter Abby's Girl Scout Gold Award project and continued by other Towson High school girls after she left for college in Virginia, a state which last year passed menstrual hygiene product requirement for schools. These students have built a network of over 50 female middle and high school student volunteers who assemble packs of period products that have been donated by community members or purchased with funds donated to our organization. These girls understand the embarrassment of period poverty, the need for period equity, and the impact of this legislation on their ability to attend class. They know what it is like to go to the school bathroom, discover that their period has started and realize they don't have access to period supplies where they need them. They have wadded up toilet paper as a temporary measure, only to worry that they will leak blood on their cloths. They have put their health a risk by keeping a tampon in longer than recommended. They have had to ask peers and teachers for a pad or tampon when they didn't have one. Teachers report that they regularly keep a stash of these products at their desks that they purchase themselves. We don't expect students to have to ask for toilet paper, which is required by government regulation to be stocked in every bathroom. Not providing period products in school bathrooms, puts one sex of students at a disadvantage to the other in meeting their hygienic needs. While schools are required to supply period products in school nurses' offices, this fails to place the products where they are needed and wastes both the student and the nurse's time when a student has to make a separate trip to the nurses office to get a supply that should be stocked in the bathrooms. Placing the products where they are needed will also eliminate the stigma and embarrassment for the student in having to announce to others that they are menstruating and need supplies. In my work addressing period poverty, I've had students and other mothers tell me that students will call their mom to pick them up from school because they aren't feeling well rather than ask someone for a period supply. Students are missing school and denied an education because our schools aren't stocking menstrual products where they are needed. This bill will remedy an impediment to equal access to education. It will benefit every student who has found herself in a school bathroom with out access to a period supply, but especially our students experiencing homelessness or income insecurity.

The fiscal impact for our public school systems for the this bill is low for a high benefit of keeping students in class. This is especially important given the amount of educational loss that students have experienced due to the pandemic school closures this year.

Thank you,

Phoebe Evans Letocha

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>i</sup><u>https://studentsupportnetwork.org/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>ii</sup> <u>https://www.allianceforperiodsupplies.org/index</u> For Maryland State factsheet see <u>https://cdn.b12.io/client\_media/HJ1wIVtI/e5c8dfb4-95f9-11ea-a54f-0242ac110003-</u> <u>Maryland\_APS\_Period\_Poverty\_Fact\_Sheet\_052020.pdf</u>

# **2021 MSPA SB 427 Senate Side.pdf** Uploaded by: Faulkner, Rachael

Position: FAV



Delegate Paul G. Pinsky, Chair Delegate Cheryl C. Kagan, Vice Chair Education, Health, and Environmental Affairs Committee 2 West, Miller Senate Office Building Annapolis, MD 21401

# **Bill: Senate Bill 427 – Public Schools-Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products-Requirement**

# **Position: Support**

Dear Chairman Pinsky, Vice Chair Kagan, and Members of the Committee:

I am writing on behalf of the Maryland School Psychologists' Association (MSPA), a professional organization representing about 500 school psychologists in Maryland. We advocate for the social-emotional, behavioral, and academic wellbeing of students and families across the state.

We are in support of Senate Bill 427, which would require public schools to provide free menstrual hygiene products to students. Statistics indicate that nearly one-in-five American girls have left school early or missed school entirely due to an inability to access menstrual products. Girls also miss instructional time in the classroom when they forget or are unable to bring these products from home and resort to asking the school staff or a friend. Menstrual products are often viewed as luxuries rather than necessities to participate fully in school, and as a result, this missed instructional time makes being successful in school that much more difficult.

MSPA is in strong support of Senate Bill For these reasons, we urge a favorable report on SB 427. If we can provide any additional information or be of any assistance, please contact us at <a href="mailto:legislative@mspaonline.org">legislative@mspaonline.org</a>, or Rachael Faulkner at <a href="mailto:rfaulkner@policypartners.net">rfaulkner@policypartners.net</a> or (410) 693-4000.

Respectfully submitted,

KyL Bitter-

Kyle Potter, Ph.D., NCSP Chair, Legislative Committee Maryland School Psychologists' Association

# MARYLAND SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGISTS' ASSOCIATION

# Samantha Handwerk House Bill 205 Testimony (1).pdf Uploaded by: Handwerk, Samantha

Position: FAV

## Samantha Handwerk Menstrual Equality Bill Testimony

Honorable Paul Pinsky and members of the Education, Health, and Environmental Affairs Committee,

My name is Samantha Handwerk, and I live in Baltimore City. I am asking this committee to support House Bill 208 which will fund basic medical supplies to children across the state of Maryland. I attended a Baltimore City Public School for 5 years, from 4th to 8th grade. I clearly remember the day when I first got my period. I asked permission to go to the bathroom during 6th-grade lunch, and once I got to the bathroom I realized I had blood in my underwear. Not sure what to do, I remembered my mom telling me that when I got my period I should go to the nurse and ask for help. I awkwardly asked my middle school principal if I could go to the nurse's office, and I was allowed to go. Walking up to the nurse's office, I was scared, and when I got there a line of students stood in front of me for various medical needs. Not wanting to ask in front of everyone, I ran back to the bathroom and shoved a pile of balled-up toilet paper in my underwear to hopefully soak up the blood until I got home. Even after my first encounter with my period, the awkwardness didn't stop. When it would surprise me at school or I would forget a tampon, I would have to go around and quietly ask my friends if any of them had a tampon or pad until I got lucky. While periods are not something to be ashamed of, forcing menstruators to go on a wild-goose chase each time they menstruate is not okay. It creates a sense of shame and secrecy around an everyday medical need. Menstrual products are an essential part of human life. Just like food is free in Baltimore Public Schools, period products should be too. Now that I attend a school that provides period products in the restrooms, I don't feel the stress and shame of asking other girls for period products, I don't get distracted from valuable class time to take care of a natural human process. Having period products in public school restrooms not only gives girls comfort and privacy but also will help them stay focused on their academic success, to do what they came to school for. As well, funding this essential aspect of children's lives will help to mitigate the socioeconomic inequity that we see across all generations, even our youngest. Right now I run a group called Happy Period Baltimore. We distribute menstrual products to anyone who menstruates and lives under the poverty line in Baltimore.

Through this work, I have learned that annually, a period will cost a menstruator \$120 minimum (does not include the cost of birth control, heating pad, underwear, etc.). 12% of children in Maryland live below the poverty line. 34% of children in Maryland live in single-parent homes, most of which are headed by women. 10% of women living in Maryland live below the poverty line. These households and families, who most likely attend a Maryland Public School, do not have the money to buy menstrual products, an essential human need. Taking the step to provide students with free menstrual products, could be one step in helping to close the enormous wealth gap present in Maryland. I am asking that you please make menstrual products available in public school restrooms to allow schools to support and educate the whole child, not just part of them.

Thank you for your time. -Samantha Handwerk

# MAP - SB 427 - Menstrual Products - FAVORABLE.pdf

Uploaded by: Jefferson , Stacey Position: FAV



## **Member Agencies:**

Advocates for Children and Youth Baltimore Jewish Council Behavioral Health System Baltimore CASH Campaign of Maryland **Catholic Charities** Episcopal Diocese of Maryland Family League of Baltimore Fuel Fund of Maryland Health Care for the Homeless **Homeless Persons** Representation Project Job Opportunities Task Force League of Women Voters of Maryland Loyola University Maryland Maryland Catholic Conference Maryland Center on Economic Policy Maryland Community Action Partnership Maryland Family Network Maryland Hunger Solutions Paul's Place Public Justice Center St. Vincent de Paul of Baltimore Welfare Advocates **Marylanders Against Poverty** 

Stacey Jefferson, Co-Chair P: 410-637-1900 ext 8578 C: 443-813-9231 E: <u>stacey.jefferson@bhsbaltimore.org</u>

Julia Gross, Co-Chair P: 410-528-0021x6029 E: jgross@mdhungersolutions.org

# **TESTIMONY IN SUPPORT OF SB 427**

## Public Schools – Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products

Senate Education, Health and Environmental Affairs February 11, 2021

Submitted by Stacey Jefferson and Julia Gross, Co-Chairs

**Marylanders Against Poverty (MAP) supports SB 427,** which requires local boards of education to ensure that each public school provide, at no charge to students, menstrual products in the restrooms at the school.

Although Maryland has the highest median income in the country, unconscionable numbers of students in our school are living in or near poverty. Over 43% of students in Maryland – nearly 400,000 – qualify for Free and Reduced Price Meals (FARMs), meaning their families are living in or near poverty.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, over 17,000 of students in our public schools are experiencing homelessness – a number that has been steadily increasing over the past several years.<sup>2</sup>

Young people living in poverty face unique challenges, including the ability to have dignified, healthy menstrual cycles. On average, individuals can spend anywhere between \$5 and \$10 for a box of tampons and pads, or significantly more for durable products such as menstrual cups. Given that menstruating individuals have approximately 12-13 menstrual cycles a year, the cost of menstrual products quickly add up over time. Unfortunately, access to these products are a substantial challenge for families living in or near poverty. Hygiene products are rarely donated to shelters or food banks, and public assistance - such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP, known formally as Food Stamps) and WIC - cannot be used to purchase such products. To save money, individuals living in poverty often rely on make-shift hygiene products such as toilet paper or rags, or use menstrual products for excessive stretches of time, which increases risk for deadly health conditions like toxic shock syndrome. SB 427 will ensure that basic hygiene needs in our schools are covered, and ameliorate situations where low-income families have to make impossible choices on which necessities they can forgo.

A critical component of SB 427 is requiring menstrual products to be available in all schools – including elementary schools. A body of research has demonstrated that – likely due to the daily stresses of living in poverty – low-income children often start puberty earlier than their peers.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, students of color often menstruate earlier than their white peers.<sup>4</sup> Menstrual products are a vital resource, and the equitable availability of these products to menstruating students is imperative.

MAP fully supports efforts to increase the health, safety, and security of people struggling in or near poverty, such as SB 427. MAP appreciates your consideration and urges the committee to issue a favorable report for SB 427.

**Marylanders Against Poverty (MAP)** is a coalition of service providers, faith communities, and advocacy organizations advancing statewide public policies and programs necessary to alleviate the burdens faced by Marylanders living in or near poverty, and to address the underlying systemic causes of poverty.

<sup>2</sup> National Center for Homeless Education. (2018). *Maryland Data*.

<sup>3</sup> Psychological Bulletin. (2004). *Timing of Pubertal Maturation in Girls: An Integrated Life Approach*. <u>https://psycnet.apa.org/record/2004-20177-005</u>

<sup>4</sup> ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Maryland State Department of Education. (2019). Free and Reduced-Price Meal Data

http://profiles.nche.seiservices.com/StateProfile.aspx?StateID=24

# SB0427\_FAV\_MedChi, MDAAP\_Public Schools - Provisio Uploaded by: Kasemeyer, Pam

Position: FAV



On behalf of the Maryland State Medical Society and the Maryland Chapter of the American Academy of Pediatrics, we submit this letter of **support** for Senate Bill 427.

Senate Bill 427 requires public schools to provide hygiene products at no cost to students in their restrooms. Passage of this legislation will ensure that all students have access to menstrual hygiene products, which is particularly important for low-income students who do not have the means to purchase these products. Senate Bill 427 will also help to reduce the amount of time that students miss school because they do not have access to menstrual hygiene products. Providing access to these products in the restrooms destignatizes the products which are now generally only available in the school nurse's office. Menstruation is not an illness. Students should not have to see a health care provider to obtain menstrual hygiene products. For these reasons, a favorable report is requested

For more information call:

Pamela Metz Kasemeyer J. Steven Wise Danna L. Kauffman 410-244-7000

**SB 427 from AAUW MD.pdf** Uploaded by: King, Roxann Position: FAV



# Testimony of American Association of University Women of Maryland

to the

## Maryland General Assembly Senate Education, Health and Environmental Affairs Committee

in support of

## Senate Bill 427: Public Schools - Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products - Requirement

February 11, 2021

Submitted by Roxann King, Vice President for Public Policy

The American Association of University Women of Maryland supports the passage of SB 427 in agreement with Title IX and other civil rights laws related to education. "Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 is the federal law that prohibits sex discrimination in education. It covers women and men, girls and boys, and staff and students in any educational institution or program that receives federal funds." (1)

According to Johnson, M.E. (2019), menstruation is uniquely related to females' biology; schools that do not provide access to feminine hygiene products in the girls' bathrooms deny menstruating girls the educational opportunities on the basis of gender under Title IX. Feminine hygiene products provided free in schools are needed for the health, well-being, and full participation for those who menstruate. Many girls may not be able to afford feminine hygiene products and face lack of autonomy and dignity if they depend on their friends or run to the nurse who may or may not be available. The anxiety, embarrassment, and fear of exposure to taunting classmates can make it difficult for them to focus on schoolwork or even attend school at all. Feminine hygiene products are medical necessities for half of the population and free access can eliminate these repercussions.

The American Association of University Women of Maryland urges passage of SB 427 to comply with Title IX, providing menstruating girls the assurance and security of accessing free pads or tampons.

Footnotes:

- (1) 2019, March. Title IX Quick Facts. <u>https://www.aauw.org/app/uploads/2020/03/quick-facts-title-ix-nsa.pdf AAUW.</u>
- (2) Johnson, M.E. et.al. 2019, March 20.2019) Title IX and Menstruation. Harvard Journal of Law and Gender. <u>https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=3502638</u>

**Alondra's Testimony.pdf** Uploaded by: Labastida Campos, Alondra Position: FAV

## HB005 Public Schools -- Provisions of Menstrual Hygiene Products

Presented to the Honorable Anne Kaiser and Members of the House Ways and Means

Committee

Good Morning to the Members of the House Ways and Means Committee. My name is Alondra Labastida Campos, and I am a senior at La Plata High School in Charles County, Maryland. Today I urge the committee to act against Period Poverty in Maryland.

Period poverty affects a multitude of people in the state, especially men and women of low-income homes. A couple of months ago, I volunteered with a non-profit organization called Stella's Girls at a baseball stadium near me to provide menstrual and personal hygiene products to women in my area. While volunteering, I saw the high demand for menstrual products in my county. Many of these women coming to us were low-income working mothers with children, that would often put their children's needs above their own.

As a High school student, I have experienced first-hand the lack of menstrual products at my school. The only accessible menstrual hygiene products are in a single bathroom is inside the school nurse's office. The problem with this is that our school nurses are not always available to us since some schools must share them. Most school nurses also require a "hall pass" to enter their office, which is not very convenient when you are possibly bleeding through their clothes. Each year, thousands of girls miss class and even full school days due to the lack of accessibility to hygiene products setting them back in their learning in school.

For these reasons, I urge the committee to help the students in Maryland need hygiene products, not to let something so natural as menstruation disrupt the learning environment of boys and girls in Maryland. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Alondra Labastida Campos (She/Her) La Plata, Maryland <u>Alondis.lc@gmail.com</u> (240) 682- 5307

**SB427 - MLAW Testimony.pdf** Uploaded by: Morgan, Jessica Position: FAV



Bill No:	SB427
Title:	Public Schools – Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products - Requirement
Committee:	Education, Health, and Environmental Affairs
Hearing:	February 11, 2021
Position:	SUPPORT

The Maryland Legislative Agenda for Women (MLAW) is a statewide coalition of women's groups and individuals formed to provide a non-partisan, independent voice for Maryland women and families. MLAW's purpose is to advocate for legislation affecting women and families. To accomplish this goal, MLAW creates an annual legislative agenda with issues voted on by MLAW members and endorsed by organizations and individuals from all over Maryland. **SB427 a priority on the** <u>2021 MLAW Agenda</u> **and we urge your support**.

SB427 calls for all public middle and high schools to install menstrual hygiene product dispensers in at least two restrooms in each building, and at least in one restroom in each elementary school by October 2021, and almost all restrooms by August 2025. Public schools will be required to install low cost, quality vending machines to supply maxi pads and tampons, free to students, with size-appropriate products. The legislation seeks to increase school attendance and extracurricular participation among menstruating students who lack access to such products, and decrease peer harassment that contributes to poor school climate.

Period poverty, defined as the inability to access menstrual hygiene products, and the corresponding issue of period stigma are barriers to education for many Maryland students. Recent data has shown that low-income women are likely to be unable to afford menstrual hygiene products in the U.S. A 2019 report in the Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology found that two-thirds of women living in poverty could not afford such products the previous year and one-fifth could not afford them on a monthly basis. The Maryland Department of Education reports that in 2019, 43.2% of Maryland public school students enrolled for free or reduced price meals, indicating that their families struggled to afford basic necessities and many of whom are students of menstruating age. Another recent study commissioned by Thinx and Period (a nonprofit fighting period poverty), found that 1 in 5 U.S. teens have struggled to afford period products or could not afford them at all. The same survey also found that 84% of students have missed class time or skipped school altogether due to a lack of access to menstrual hygiene products. Maryland passed a menstrual equity bill in 2017 for public school students experiencing housing instability, but the products are available only in school nurse offices, where distance and limited hours can create problems, as well as little awareness of the law.

For these reasons, MLAW strongly urges the passage of SB427.

Maryland Legislative Agenda for Women 305 W. Chesapeake Avenue, Suite 201 • Towson, MD 21204 • 443-519-1005 phone/fax <u>mdlegagenda4women@yahoo.com</u> • <u>www.mdlegagendaforwomen.org</u>

## MLAW's 2021 Agenda is supported by the following organizations:

AAUW Anne Arundel County AAUW Easton Branch AAUW Kensington Rockville Branch American Association of University Women (AAUW) Maryland Anne Arundel County NOW Baltimore NOW (National Organization for Women) Bound for Better, Advocates for Domestic Violence Survivors **Business and Professional Women Maryland** Calvert County Commission for Women Cambridge Alumnae Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc. Charles County Commission for Women **Childway Early Learning Center Church Women United** Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Annapolis Alumnae Chapter Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Kappa Phi Chapter Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Baltimore County Alumnae Chapter Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Baltimore Metropolitan Alumnae Chapter Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Fort Washington Alumnae Chapter Delta Sigma Theta Inc., Frederick County Alumnae Chapter Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Harford County Alumnae Chapter Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Kappa Psi Chapter Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Montgomery County MD Alumnae Chapter Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., North Arundel County Alumnae Chapter Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Potomac Valley Alumnae Chapter Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Prince George's County Alumnae Chapter For All Seasons, Inc. Hug Don't Shoot Human Trafficking Prevention Project, University of Baltimore School of Law League of Women Voters of Prince George's County (LWVPGC) Lee Law, LLC Maryland Coalition Against Sexual Assault Maryland Family Network Maryland Justice Project Maryland Network Against Domestic Violence Maryland NOW Maryland Women's Heritage Center Mission 50 MoCoWoMen Montgomery County Commission for Women Montgomery County NOW (National Organization for Women) Montgomery County Women's Democratic Club Montgomery County Young Democrats NARAL Pro-Choice Maryland National Coalition of 100 Black Women., Inc. Anne Arundel County Chapter National Coalition of 100 Black Women, Prince George's County Chapter Planned Parenthood of Maryland Planned Parenthood of Metropolitan Washington DC Prince George's County Drug Policy Coalition, Inc. **Reproductive Justice Inside** Stella's Girls Inc. The Rest Of A Life (TROAL) **Top Ladies of Distinction** Top Ladies of Distinction, Inc., Patuxent River Chapter Top Ladies of Distinction, Prince George's County Chapter UAW Local 1183 WISE Women's Equality Day 2020 Celebration Coalition Women's Law Center of Maryland

**Senate Bill 427 testimony .pdf** Uploaded by: O'Hara, Nell Position: FAV

Honorable Paul Pinsky and members of the Education, Health, and Environmental Affairs Committee,

My name is Nell O'Hara and I am a current junior at the Baltimore School for the Arts and I also work with Bmore Happy Period, an initiative to distribute menstrual product kits and educate about periods and period poverty in Baltimore City. Thank you for reading my testimony in support of the Senate Bill 427 Public Schools – Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products – Requirement.

If you were to enter a public school restroom, would you expect to see paper towels? Soap? Toilet paper? Yes. Would you not, then, expect to see menstrual product dispensers? Menstrual products are a basic hygiene product, and they need to be available the same as any basic hygiene product. Young people who menstruate have no choice but to deal with their periods. Dealing with them should not be something that inhibits them in school.

I remember in my middle school, a school with hundreds of students, there were maybe one or two menstrual product disposal bins in all of the restrooms and there were definitely no product dispensers. The trash can would sometimes be placed in the hallway, and there were multiple instances where I would have to dispose of my period waste in the hallway outside of the restroom. A handful of students brought this issue to the principal, requesting more disposal bins to be placed in the stalls. In the rest of my time at that school, nothing was done about the issue. There needs to be an intentional, concerted effort to make caring for periods easy and with as little discomfort or shame as possible. This bill will ensure that effort is made in public schools.

Periods already carry a lot of shame for students who menstruate. Making them go to the nurse and request pads or tampons or ask another student can be uncomfortable and reinforce that shame that they carry. These students should be able to enter their school's restroom and see a dispenser, as this bill proposes.

Access to period products is not a given for many students. Some students can't afford these products, or they do not have information about periods, or they do not have a Walmart or CVS near them to buy these products. Corner stores and smaller businesses often carry these products at higher prices. The place where these students spend so much of their time, school, should make access to these products very easy. Periods and managing them is challenging. These students are facing countless challenges already, this bill will make sure that one of these challenges is taken care of.

Thank you very much, Nell O'Hara

# SB0427 MD NARAL attachment UB Law article on Title

Uploaded by: Philip, Diana Position: FAV

# Pace University DigitalCommons@Pace

Pace Law Faculty Publications

School of Law

Summer 2020

# **Title IX & Menstruation**

Margaret E. Johnson

**Emily Gold Waldman** 

Bridget J. Crawford

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.pace.edu/lawfaculty

Part of the Civil Rights and Discrimination Commons, Education Law Commons, Health Law and Policy Commons, and the Law and Gender Commons

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the School of Law at DigitalCommons@Pace. It has been accepted for inclusion in Pace Law Faculty Publications by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@Pace. For more information, please contact dheller2@law.pace.edu.

## **TITLE IX & MENSTRUATION**

## Margaret E. Johnson,\* Emily Gold Waldman<sup>†</sup> and Bridget J. Crawford<sup>‡</sup>

"Oh no. Could I borrow a tampon or pad?" These (or similar) words are familiar to almost everyone who has ever had a period. Even for adults, menstruation can at times be a challenge. For some schoolchildren, it can be an insurmountable obstacle to receiving an education. Students are subject to constant observation by classmates and teachers; they may not have autonomous access to a bathroom during the school day; or they may not be able to afford menstrual products. They may experience menstruation-related peer harassment, restrictive school policies, a lack of access to menstrual products, and inadequate menstruation-related education. As a result, a menstruating student may find it difficult to concentrate in school or even attend school at all, depending on the circumstances. This Article explores the intersection of menstruation and education to uncover the related impediments students face. Because menstruation is uniquely associated with female biology, a school's failure to address the needs of menstruating students amounts to a denial of educational opportunities on the basis of sex under Title IX.

In recent years, students themselves have played notable roles in successful efforts to cause schools to provide free pads or tampons to students. Currently most states do not require schools to do so. Even in states where schools have a legal obligation to provide menstrual products to students, availability is only one part of a larger problem. Unless students can access bathroom facilities in response to their biological needs, and do so without shame, stigma or restriction, students may risk bleeding during class, failing to change tampons or pads as medically recommended, or even leaving (or skipping) school. This Article argues that pursuant to Title IX, schools should provide students with an education free of unnecessary anxiety about the biological process of menstruation. This freedom from anxiety is a necessary precondition for having meaningful opportunities to fully participate in school and all aspects of public life. The Article buttresses its analysis by employing multiple theoretical frameworks to examine the intersection of menstruation and education, concluding that menstruation is a foundational issue that the law must take into account so that society can benefit from the full participation of all of its members.

<sup>\*</sup> Professor of Law, Associate Dean of Experiential Education, Co-Director of Center on Applied Feminism, and Director, Bronfein Family Law Clinic, University of Baltimore School of Law.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>†</sup>Professor of Law and Associate Dean for Faculty Development and Operations, Elisabeth Haub School of Law at Pace University.

<sup>‡</sup>Professor of Law, Elisabeth Haub School of Law at Pace University.

The authors thank Deborah Brake, Nancy Cantalupo, Laura Strausfeld, and Jennifer Weiss-Wolf.

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introdi	iction	<i>n</i>	226
Ι.		nstruation: An Overview	231
	Α.	The Biology of Menstruation	232
	В.	Menstrual Stigma	233
	С.	Menstruation at School	234
II.	Me	nstruation's Nexus With Educational Opportunities and	
		le IX	234
	А.	Menstruation-Based Harassment in Schools	235
		1. Impediments Resulting from Harassment	235
		2. Title IX and Menstruation-Based Harassment	237
	В.	Insufficient Menstrual Accommodations	241
		1. Impediments Resulting from Restrictive Policies	241
		2. Title IX and Menstrual Accommodations	244
	С.	Menstrual Products in Schools	250
		1. Impediments Resulting from Lack of Access to	
		Products	250
		2. Action at the State and Federal Legislative Levels.	255
		3. Title IX and Menstrual Products in Schools	257
	D.	Menstrual Education in Schools	258
		1. Impediments Resulting from Inadequate Menstrual	
		Education	258
		2. Title IX and Menstrual Education	261
	Е.	Connecting Doctrine to Theory	263
III. T		eoretical Frameworks for Understanding Title IX and	
		enstruation	264
	А.	Formal Equality	264
	В.	Anti-Essentialism	267
	С.	Anti-Stereotyping	269
	D.	Anti-Subordination	272
	<i>E</i> .	Intersectionality	273
	F.	Third-Wave Feminist Legal Theory	276
Conclu	ision		279

### INTRODUCTION

In 2019, three seventh-grade girls staged a "cookie protest" with tampon-shaped cookies after a school principal denied their request to make free menstrual products available in school bathrooms.<sup>1</sup> Social media brought

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Alexis Morillo, Middle School Students Baked Tampon Cookies to Prove Menstrual Products Should Be Free in Schools, DELISH (Nov. 7, 2019), https://www.delish .com/food-news/a29727313/tampons-shaped-cookies [https://perma.cc/C3UE-HDEM] (detailing cookie protest in light of decision of middle school students to protest princi-

wide attention to the girls' cause (and cookies).<sup>2</sup> The principal was forced to reconsider his argument that students would "abuse the privilege" of freely receiving such products.<sup>3</sup> *Cosmopolitan* magazine even reported the story as an example of young women "taking over the world."<sup>4</sup>

The *Cosmopolitan* story reflects an increasing public awareness of the ways that menstruation affects daily life. In 2015, four years earlier, menstruation had entered the public discourse in a new way: activists created an online petition in opposition to the tampon tax (i.e., the state sales tax on menstrual products).<sup>5</sup> This petition garnered significant attention.<sup>6</sup> It ultimately led to ongoing legislative efforts around the country, along with a parallel litigation campaign, to repeal these state taxes so that menstrual products can receive the same sales tax exemptions afforded to other necessities.<sup>7</sup>

pal's decision not to provide menstrual products in bathrooms and decision of students to remain anonymous but call themselves the Revolutionary Girls Baking Society, "[b]ecause really, we are Every Girl in Every Town across the U.S. and the world who is finding her way in a society that doesn't want to hear us talk about our bodies and something that is perfectly healthy and perfectly normal.").

In this article, we use "menstrual products" to refer primarily to pads and tampons. Although we recognize that "menstrual products" can also more generally include items like heating pads or aspirin that some people use to manage menstrual pain, or even newer items like menstrual underwear or menstrual cups, we prefer this terminology to the "menstrual hygiene products" label, which can imply that menstruation itself is unclean.

<sup>2</sup> See Morillo, supra note 1 (displaying picture of the cookies and describing them as "some sort of sugar cookies sandwiched together with red frosting, dipped in white frosting, and baked with a 'string' coming out.").

<sup>3</sup> See Morillo, supra note 1 (reporting that principal changed his mind about the wisdom of providing free menstrual products in school bathrooms).

<sup>4</sup> Shannon Barbour, *Middle Schoolers Protest After Their Principal Said They'd* "Abuse the Privilege" of Free Tampons, COSMOPOLITAN.COM (Oct. 30, 2019), https:// https://www.cosmopolitan.com/health-fitness/a29640103/middle-school-protest-principal-abuse-privilege-free-tampons-cookies-twitter/ [https://perma.cc/EKQ6-FZG2] (reporting on tampon-shaped cookies prepared as part of "cookie protest" by seventh-grade girls whose school principal refused to make free menstrual products available in bathrooms because students would "abuse the privilege").

<sup>5</sup>See, e.g., Prachi Gupta, Why the Hell Are Tampons Still Taxed? COSMOPOLI-<sup>5</sup>See, e.g., Prachi Gupta, Why the Hell Are Tampons Still Taxed? COSMOPOLI-TAN.COM (Oct. 15, 2015), https://www.cosmopolitan.com/politics/news/a47780/abolishtampon-tax-america [https://perma.cc/KT9L-7UFW]. See Petition, No Tax on Tampons: Stop Taxing Our Periods! Period., CHANGE.ORG (Oct. 10, 2015), https://www. change.org/p/u-s-state-legislators-stop-taxing-our-periods-period [https://perma.cc/ D38W-DR4G]; see also Bridget Crawford, Interview with Jennifer Weiss-Wolf, New York Attorney and Menstrual Equity Advocate, FEMINIST L. PROFESSORS (Nov. 22, 2016), https://www.feministlawprofessors.com/2016/11/interview-jennifer-weiss-wolf-newyork-attorney-menstrual-equity-advocate/ [https://perma.cc/6PCA-6CMU] (describing origins of Weiss-Wolf's menstrual equity activism).

<sup>6</sup> See Petition, No Tax on Tampons: Stop Taxing Our Periods! Period., CHANGE.ORG (Oct. 10, 2015), supra note 5 (showing over 72,000 supporters).

<sup>7</sup> Currently more than 30 states have the tampon tax. Natalie Gontcharova, *Does Your State Have a Period Tax?*, REFINERY29 (Nov. 20, 2019, 11:00 AM), https://www.refinery29.com/en-us/tampon-tax-us-states [https://perma.cc/P2SR-Q73C]; PERIOD EQUITY, https://www.periodequity.org/ [https://perma.cc/EDK9-F25J].

The increased awareness about the existence and unfairness of the tampon tax<sup>8</sup> helped inspire many people to discuss and advocate against other menstrual injustices such as lack of workplace accommodations for menstrual needs and lack of access to affordable products.<sup>9</sup> Menstruation's new salience in public discourse increased the number of charitable organizations and community groups organizing menstrual product drives for those who could not afford them.<sup>10</sup> The dialogue raised awareness about the fact that transgender boys and men, as well as gender non-binary and intersex persons, menstruate as well.<sup>11</sup> It also amplified existing litigation and advocacy.<sup>12</sup> Plaintiffs brought new lawsuits seeking remedies for, among other things, being fired from their jobs for menstruating, or for being left isolated in a cell bleeding with no menstrual products, water, soap, or change of clothes.<sup>13</sup> These efforts, too, inspired change, with some states passing legislation that requires free products in settings like prisons, schools, and shelters.<sup>14</sup>

Activism around menstruation is often referred to as the movement for "menstrual equity," a phrase originally coined by Jennifer Weiss-Wolf, one of the co-founders of Period Equity, which is a non-profit organization "dedicated to ensuring accessible, affordable and safe menstrual products."<sup>15</sup> The term has evolved to include education, health care, and anti-stigma advocacy.<sup>16</sup> Underlying these commitments is the broader goal of "menstrual justice," which involves addressing the stigma and taboo of menstruation, and the resultant discrimination toward and harassment of those who are menstruating.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Id.* at 55–56.

<sup>11</sup> Id. at 26–28.

14 Id. at 47-49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Bridget J. Crawford & Emily Gold Waldman, *The Unconstitutional Tampon Tax*, 53 U. RICH. L. REV. 439, 483–87 (2019) (describing how tax law brings discrimination and unfairness clearly into focus).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See generally Margaret E. Johnson, *Menstrual Justice*, 53 U.C. DAVIS L. REV. 1 (2019) (explaining and analyzing the wide range of menstrual injustices including exclusion and essentializing of menstruators, discrimination, harassment, and constitutional violation against menstruators, insults and indignities towards menstruators, health disadvantages face by menstruators, and economic disadvantages faced by menstruators).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See, e.g., PERIOD, www.period.org (last visited Feb. 29, 2020) (founded in 2014, Period.org "serv[es] menstruators in need by distributing tampons, pads and menstrual cups; running educational workshops to change the way people think, talk, and learn about periods; and fighting for systemic change towards menstrual equity."); Johnson, *supra* note 9 at 28–45 (discussing constitutional and employment discrimination cases focused on menstruation since 1980).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Johnson, *supra* note 9, at 30–33, 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Mission & History, PERIOD EQUITY, https://www.periodequity.org/mission-andhistory [https://perma.cc/2ECD-B77N]. <sup>16</sup> What Does Menstrual Equity Mean to You, WOMEN'S VOICES FOR THE EARTH,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> What Does Menstrual Equity Mean to You, WOMEN'S VOICES FOR THE EARTH, https://www.womensvoices.org/what-does-menstrual-equity-mean-to-you/ [https://per ma.cc/3ASL-WMD3].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> See generally Johnson, supra note 9.

2020]

Students have been on the forefront of efforts to address menstrual stigma and make menstrual products available in their schools. The girls who staged the "cookie protest," as well as other students, are mediasavvv.<sup>18</sup> Students (and their adult allies) have also become increasingly vocal about the ways that menstruation can limit access to educational opportunities. This Article attempts to identify the particular intersections of menstruation with primary and secondary schools (as opposed to the university setting). The onset of menstruation typically ranges from ages eight to fifteen; thus, high schools, middle schools, and even some elementary schools will have menstruating students. These educational settings are particularly fraught: schools exercise tight authority and control over students; students are in close contact with each other; and many students are just beginning to menstruate and adjust to that process. In considering these intersections, this Article examines how Title IX does and should protect against menstruationrelated disruptions in students' school lives.<sup>19</sup> The Article then locates these investigations within the larger intellectual landscape of feminist legal theory. In fact, the argument that Title IX can and does provide a remedy for menstruation-related discrimination does not represent a single feminist theory. Rather, the position builds on and challenges traditional feminist approaches to law, employing multiple feminist theories.

This Article proceeds in three parts. Part I provides a brief overview of menstruation, discussing both the biology of menstruation and the long-held stigmas that surround it. Part II then frames the discussion of menstruation in the school context. It introduces four points of intersection: menstruationrelated peer harassment; the failure of school policies (particularly those surrounding bathroom access) to accommodate the half of the student population that menstruates every month; the inaccessibility of menstrual products in schools; and the insufficient state of menstrual education. Each of these issues, as we show, impedes equal access to education. Accordingly, Title IX-which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in federally-funded schools and programs, and which has the ultimate goal of ensuring equal access to education-should address them. Currently, Title IX provides a starting point for dealing with these sorts of educational barriers, but to fully implement equal opportunity, Title IX regulations and guidance should go even further. Menstruation is a product of female biology and hence is sexspecific, even if not gender- or gender-identity specific.<sup>20</sup> As a result, barri-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> See infra Part II. A. 1. (discussing a menstruation-related podcast created by eighth-grade students at a middle school in the Bronx, New York).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> See Jhumka Gupta et al., *How Do Adolescent Girls and Boys Perceive Symptoms Suggestive of Endometriosis Among Their Peers? Findings From Focus Group Discussions In New York City*, BMJOPEN (June 4, 2018), https://bmjopen.bmj.com/content/bmjopen/8/6/e020657.full.pdf [https://perma.cc/XUS3-5F5X] (citing study of teenage menstrual disorders and referring to "[a]cademic and social disturbances" experienced by students).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> "Female biology" refers to the reproductive health system, which is involved in menstruation. *See infra* note 22. By using this terminology, we do not mean to exclude

ers due to menstruation are barriers due to sex.<sup>21</sup> Thus, just as Title IX regulations (and related guidance) were promulgated to address pregnancy, so too should regulations and guidance be adopted to address menstruation.

Part III explores how arguments about Title IX's application to menstruation-based disturbances in a student's education connect with multiple feminist legal theories, showing how the arguments borrow from, depart from, and intertwine them. Formal equality has a certain cognitive appeal, but it is an incomplete foundation for addressing all of the issues identified above. In particular, although formal equality arguments are relevant to situations involving menstruation-based harassment, they are less applicable to claims about accommodations and access to products. Similarly, anti-essentialist arguments are in tension with Title IX's embedded sex binarism. Anti-stereotyping, anti-subordination, and intersectional arguments, by contrast, are more helpful. They challenge the notion of menstruation as a "private" matter (a characterization that stems from menstruation's association with female bodies), invite consideration of the ways that privacy and stigma around menstruation operate as instruments of control over women and girls. and illuminate the ways in which sex overlaps with poverty and power in the context of schools' policies toward menstruation. This Part further locates activism around menstruation in the context of third-wave feminist legal theory and suggests that menstrual advocacy can be understood as a unique engagement with law and social media in the service of legal and cultural change. Moreover, menstruation-related work has broader implications, demonstrating that laws in a just society must address the biological needs and experiences of half the population.

The Article concludes by emphasizing Title IX's potential role as a tool for addressing educational barriers caused by schools' policies toward menstruation. Until all students can attend school with the confidence that their biology is no obstacle to achievement, there will be continued need for advocacy around menstruation and education. And by taking into account the biological fact of menstruation, lawmakers can help effectuate a society where all people can participate fully in public life.

those who do not identify as "female" and yet menstruate. See infra notes 228–231 and accompanying text (discussing differences between and among "sex," "gender" and "gender-identity").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> While this paper focuses on discrimination on the basis of "sex" as including discrimination on the basis of biological sex, it does not embrace biological sex as the only meaning of "sex" under Title IX. This paper's argument is also consistent with an understanding of "sex" that includes sexual orientation, gender identity, or socio-cultural definitions of sex.
#### Title IX & Menstruation

#### I. MENSTRUATION: AN OVERVIEW

Menstruation is a fact of life for most girls, women, and other individuals who menstruate.<sup>22</sup> The menstrual cycle results from a biological process that is not optional, unless repressed by medications.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, a variety of obstacles can arise for students at the intersection of menstruation and education.<sup>24</sup> After providing a brief overview of both the biology of menstruation and the long-held stigma surrounding it, this Part identifies these obstacles and their potential to impede menstruating students' ability to attend school and fully access educational opportunities.

<sup>22</sup> Many ciswomen and girls menstruate. This is because their anatomy contains the reproductive system of ovaries, fallopian tubes, uteruses, and vaginas that interact with the hormones of estrogen and progesterone that regulate ovulation and the menstrual cycle. If the released mature egg is not fertilized, the uterine lining of blood and tissue that was built up in expectation of nourishing a fertilized egg is shed; this is menstruation, or a period. See Menstruation, PLANNED PARENTHOOD, www.plannedparenthood.org/ learn/health-and-wellness/menstruation [https://perma.cc/5LB8-4Y4G] [hereinafter Menstruation]. Some cis women and girls do not menstruate. Pre-menopause, this condition is called amenorrhea, which can occur for a host of reasons, such as pregnancy, breastfeeding, or hormonal problems. See Menstrual Cycle: Period Problems, U.S. DEP'T OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVS., OFF. ON WOMEN'S HEALTH, https://www.womens health.gov/menstrual-cycle/period-problems [https://perma.cc/LBN2-DEJ3] (explaining that amenorrhea is "[t]he absence of menstrual periods before menopause" for three months in a row or no first period by age fifteen and can be caused by pregnancy, breastfeeding, hormonal problems, eating disorders, weight loss or gain, stress, or other health problems). Mary Cain provides one athlete's narrative regarding amenorrhea. Mary Cain, I Was the Fastest Girl in America, Until I Joined Nike, N.Y. TIMES (Nov. 7, 2019), https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/07/opinion/nike-running-mary-cain.html [https:// perma.cc/EPN4-8ZZV] (elite runner's description of three years of exercise-related amenorrhea, including injury, risk of osteoporosis and infertility, and suicidal thoughts as a result of the severe dieting and exercise regimens required by her elite training team).

Individuals other than women and girls may menstruate. Transgender men and boys, gender nonbinary persons, and intersex persons may also menstruate if they too have the reproductive system to do so and are not on consistent hormonal treatment to suppress their menstrual cycle. See Menstruation, supra. For one transgender man's personal narrative of menstruation, see Kenny Jones, Getting My Period Made Me Feel Like Less of a Man – Even Though I Knew I Was, SELF (May 24, 2018), https://www.self.com/story/male-period-trans-model-kenny-jones [https://perma.cc/Y5PR-LACM] (stating "my period pain and cramps came knocking on my door monthly like a bill collector, and I could not ignore it.").

Where possible, this Article endeavors to be gender-inclusive. To that end, this article uses the term "menstruating students" in multiple locations. Scientific research and media coverage of menstruation is largely focused on "women" and "girls," however. To the extent that this Article relies on that work, references to those gender-specific or gender binary discussions do not intend to imply that harassment, lack of accommodations, lack of menstrual products, or menstrual education are the exclusive domain of "women" and "girls," as opposed to all who menstruate.

<sup>23</sup> For a more extensive discussion of the menstrual cycle, see Johnson, *supra* note 9, at 9–16. See also Your Menstrual Cycle and Your Health, U.S. DEP'T OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVS., OFF. ON WOMEN'S HEALTH, https://www.womenshealth.gov/menstrual-cycle/your-menstrual-cycle-and-your-health [https://perma.cc/XH6Z-NXAJ].

<sup>24</sup> This article focuses mostly on secondary schools, but depending on a school's grade divisions and age cut-offs, the issues discussed herein can arise in primary (elementary) schools as well.

#### Harvard Journal of Law & Gender

## A. The Biology of Menstruation

Typically, menstruation begins at age twelve, but it can begin as early as age eight and as late as age fifteen.<sup>25</sup> Menstruation ordinarily continues until menopause.<sup>26</sup> Young people do not typically know exactly when they will first get their "period" (the common term for the bleeding that occurs as a result of menstruation, usually lasting four to seven days). Menstrual cycles are not always predictable or regular, and lengths of adolescent menstrual cycles are especially variable and irregular, often lasting anywhere between twenty and forty-five days.<sup>27</sup>

During a menstrual cycle, the amount of discharge is usually two to five tablespoons of blood per cycle; the discharge can include large clots.<sup>28</sup> When menstruating, most individuals use products or items to absorb the flow, and these products include tampons, pads, liners, menstrual cups, period underwear, and cloth menstrual pads.<sup>29</sup> These products must be changed often, sometimes as frequently as every two hours, depending on the individual's flow.<sup>30</sup> This is necessary to decrease the risk of disease<sup>31</sup> and to avoid leaking blood onto one's body, clothes, and other items because the product is full and can no longer absorb the menses.<sup>32</sup> Because the timing of the onset of menstruation may vary each month, "menstruators are often caught off guard by . . . their period. One study showed that sixty-one percent of menstruators reported having at least one unexpected period."<sup>33</sup>

In addition, pain from menstrual cramps often accompanies menstruation.<sup>34</sup> Cramps are "usually caused by contractions of the uterus (womb) . . . to help the uterine lining leave the body" during one's period.<sup>35</sup> Adolescents

<sup>26</sup> Id.

<sup>28</sup> Abigail Durkin, Profitable Menstruation: How the Cost of Feminine Hygiene Products is a Battle against Reproductive Justice, 18 GEO. J. GENDER & L. 131, 133 (2017); Menstrual Cycle, supra note 25.

<sup>29</sup> Menstrual Cycle, supra note 25.

<sup>30</sup> Id.

<sup>31</sup> Toxic shock syndrome (TSS) is a possibly fatal condition "caused by bacteria that make toxins or poisons." *Menstrual Cycle, supra* note 25. One can "be at risk for TSS if [they] use more absorbent tampons than [they] need for [thei]r bleeding or if [they] do not change [thei]r tampon often enough (at least every four to eight hours)." *Id.* <sup>32</sup> *Id.* 

<sup>33</sup> Johnson, *supra* note 9, at 10 (2019) (citing ELISSA STEIN & SUSAN KIM, FLOW: THE CULTURAL STORY OF MENSTRUATION 189 (2009)). Others believe the percentage of menstruating individuals experiencing unexpected cycles is much higher. *Id.* at 10, n.51 (citing Elissa Stein and Susan Kim's discussion of the contrasting data on this issue).

<sup>34</sup> Period Problems, U.S. DEP'T OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVS., OFF. ON WOMEN'S HEALTH, https://www.womens health.gov/menstrual-cycle/period-problems [https:// perma.cc/X39B-K5ZF].

<sup>35</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> What Happens During the Typical 28-Day Menstrual Cycle?, U.S. DEP'T OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVS., OFF. ON WOMEN'S HEALTH, https://www.womenshealth.gov/ menstrual-cycle/your-menstrual-cycle [https://perma.cc/H2J3-JGM4] [hereinafter Menstrual Cycle].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Paula J. Adams Hillard, Menstruation in Adolescents: What's Normal?, 10 MED-SCAPE J. MED. 295 (2008).

often experience period pain, called dysmenorrhea, after their first period and the pain may (or may not) lessen gradually with age.<sup>36</sup> For some, extreme menstrual pain is life-long.<sup>37</sup> In particular, endometriosis (an illness characterized by the extra-uterine growth of tissue that the body nevertheless attempts to shed monthly) may cause chronic lower back and pelvic pain and extremely painful menstrual cramps.<sup>38</sup> With no pathway for exiting the body, this shedding causes inflammation and irregular bleeding.<sup>39</sup>

# B. Menstrual Stigma

Historically speaking and across many cultures, menstruation has been (and remains) a taboo topic.<sup>40</sup> Even in the United States, unconscious bias affects interactions with and opinions of those who are menstruating. One recent study called the "Tampon Experiment" demonstrated that the average individual sees menstruating women as "less competent, [and] less likeable" than women who are not menstruating.<sup>41</sup> The study also found that people avoid sitting close to women believed to be menstruating and are more likely to objectify them.<sup>42</sup>

In a culture of discomfort with menstruation, it is not surprising that some people internalize this bias and stigma. A study of 1,000 teenagers who menstruate reveals that eighty percent of respondents "feel there is a negative association with periods, that they are gross or unsanitary" and sixty-nine percent "feel embarrassed when they have to bring period prod-

 <sup>39</sup> Glossary, U.S. DEP'T OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVS., OFF. ON WOMEN'S HEALTH, https://www.womenshealth.gov/glossary/ [https://perma.cc/X72P-83U8].
 <sup>40</sup> For a discussion of negative cultural attitudes toward menstruation, see Johnson,

<sup>40</sup> For a discussion of negative cultural attitudes toward menstruation, see Johnson, supra note 9 at 15–23 (2019) and Bridget J. Crawford & Carla Spivack, *Tampon Taxes*, *Discrimination, and Human Rights*, 2017 WIS. L. REV. 491, 506–12 (exploring cultural roots of misunderstandings of and taboos around menstruation).

<sup>41</sup> See Tomi-Ann Roberts et al., "Feminine Protection": The Effects of Menstruation on Attitudes Towards Women, 26 PSYCHOL. WOMEN Q. 131, 136 (2002); Inga T. Winkler & Virginia Roaf, Taking the Bloody Linen Out of the Closet: Menstrual Hygiene as a Priority for Achieving Gender Equality, 21 CARDOZO J. L. & GENDER 1, 4 (2014). In the "Tampon Experiment," researchers studied participants' evaluations of a woman who seemingly accidentally pulled out from her purse a tampon or a hair clip. Roberts et al., supra, at 134–5.

<sup>42</sup> See Roberts et al., supra note 41, at 131, 136. Chris Bobel, a scholar in the area of menstrual health and stigma, reports that "Stigma compromises healthy engagement with one's body. It undermines self-care, critical thinking and informed decision-making. It also hurts self-esteem and social status." See Malaka Gharib, New Book Busts Myths about Menstruation Spread by Public Health Groups, NPR (Jan. 30, 2019 3:27 PM), https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2019/01/30/689943045/new-book-bustsmyths-about-menstruation-spread-by-public-health-groups [https://perma.cc/7SSZ-PKL3].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Glossary, U.S. DEP'T OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVS., OFF. ON WOMEN'S HEALTH, https://www.womenshealth.gov/glossary/ [https://perma.cc/X72P-83U8]; *Endometriosis*, U.S. DEP'T OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVS., OFF. ON WOMEN'S HEALTH, https://www. womenshealth.gov/a-z-topics/endometriosis [https://perma.cc/67D5-K7VV].

ucts to the bathroom."<sup>43</sup> Fifty-seven percent of respondents report that they "have felt personally affected by the negative association surrounding periods."<sup>44</sup>

### C. Menstruation at School

In the school context, menstruation can pose particular challenges for students. Anyone who has ever been a student at a primary or secondary school knows what a controlling environment a school can be. Students are often told what they can and cannot wear, when they are allowed to go to the bathroom, which bathrooms they can use, and what items they can bring to school and/or borrow from one another.<sup>45</sup> They are subject to observation by their teachers and scrutiny from their peers. Students also receive various messages about menstruation from school officials, from formal health education to informal comments to signage in the bathroom about accessing and disposing of menstrual products.<sup>46</sup> And students engage in constant intercommunication—some supportive, some hostile—with each other.<sup>47</sup> These factors can combine to make school an especially fraught environment for menstruating students.

Part II, to which this Article now turns, groups the challenges faced by menstruating students into four categories: (1) menstruation-based harassment; (2) insufficient menstrual accommodations; (3) insufficient access to menstrual products; and (4) insufficient menstrual education. For each category, the Article outlines the scope of the problem and explores the extent to which Title IX currently serves—and ultimately *should* serve—as a vehicle for addressing it.

# II. MENSTRUATION'S NEXUS WITH EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND TITLE IX

Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 is a federal law that provides that "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance," subject to certain exceptions.<sup>48</sup> The statute's underlying

- <sup>47</sup> See infra notes 53-54 and accompanying text.
- 48 20 U.S.C. §§ 1681–1688 (1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Thinx and PERIOD, *State of the Period: The Widespread Impact of Period Poverty* on U.S. Students, 1, 2, https://cdn.shopify.com/s/files/1/0795/1599/files/State-of-the-Period-white-paper\_Thinx\_PERIOD.pdf?455788 [https://perma.cc/N3CM-UJ3T] [hereinafter *State of the Period*]; Laura Blackburn, *The Hidden Effects of Period Poverty in the* US, Thinx Piece, THINX, https://www.shethinx.com/blogs/thinx-piece/hidden-effects-period-poverty-us [https://perma.cc/FV3J-DXJJ].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> See infra Part II. B. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> See infra Part II. A. 1.

goal, as the United States Department of Justice puts it, is to ensure "equal access to education"-to "ensure that no educational opportunity is denied to women on the basis of sex and that women are granted 'equal opportunity to aspire, achieve, participate in and contribute to society based on their individual talents and capacities." 49

Because menstruation is a biological process linked to female sex, educational deprivations connected with schools' treatment of menstruation should be understood as a violation of Title IX's core proposition.<sup>50</sup> Below, we categorize those deprivations and explain how Title IX should be expanded through interpretation, regulation, and guidance to provide more comprehensive and robust protections for menstruating students.

# A. Menstruation-Based Harassment in Schools

#### 1. Impediments Resulting from Harassment

As one scholar puts it, school is "an environment where girls are constantly watched for signs that they are menstruating and have failed to keep their female bodies secret and under control."<sup>51</sup> Teachers and schools can intentionally or unintentionally play a role in perpetuating menstrual stigmas, and those stigmas help lay the groundwork for harassment. For example, at one school in Virginia, students are instructed to refer to pads as "penguins" and tampons as "turtles."52 Similarly, thirteen-year-old student Caroline Abreu reports that at Bronx Prep Middle School, "[i]f we want a pad and we don't have it, we have to go to the main office and we have to ask for a marshmallow." That student aptly observed: "It shouldn't be like, oh - (whispering) I need a marshmallow or I need a pad. It should just be like, I need a pad. I'm on my period."53 In the same school, the messages literally on the bathroom walls reinforce menstrual stigmas:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> See United States Department of Justice, Equal Access to Education: Forty Years of Title IX (June 23, 2012), 1, https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/crt/legacy/2012/ 06/20/titleixreport.pdf [https://perma.cc/5A6L-B9VN] (quoting US v. Virginia, 518 U.S. 515, 532 (1996)). <sup>50</sup> 20 U.S.C. § 1681(a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> See Katherine R. Allen et al., More Than Just a Punctuation Mark: How Boys and Young Men Learn About Menstruation, 32 J. FAM. ISSUES 129, 152 (2011) (citation omitted). See also Crawford & Spivack, supra note 40, at 510-511 (discussing difference between soldiers' valorized "voluntary bleeding" and menstruating women's disparaged "involuntary bleeding").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> TOJANIQUE EVANS ET AL., BRINGING RESOURCES TO AID WOMEN'S SHELTERS, PERI-ODS, POVERTY, AND THE NEED FOR POLICY: A REPORT ON MENSTRUAL INEQUITY IN THE UNITED STATES (2018), 7 https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.law.udc.edu/resource/resmgr/

LegClinic/2018\_periods\_policy\_report.pdf [https://perma.cc/CBR8-8W3Y]. <sup>53</sup> Elissa Nadworny & Clare Lombardo, Periods! Why These 8th-Graders Aren't Afraid To Talk About Them, NPR MORNING EDITION (May 15, 2019, 5:02 AM), https:// www.npr.org/transcripts/721729850 [https://perma.cc/QGP2-ZFLR] (transcript of conversation with the eighth-grade students and creators of the podcast "Shhh! Periods").

In the second-floor girls' restroom at Bronx Prep Middle School in New York, there's a sign taped to the back of the toilet stall doors. It's a guide on how to "properly dispose feminine products." On the list? "Make sure that no one views or handles product."54

As Kathaleen Restitullo, age thirteen, pointed out about this signage, even in the girls' restroom, the sign does not use the words "pad" or "tampon." She reflected, "It's not even saying the word pad. It just says product . . . Just, like, don't let anyone see that you are on your period."55

By telling students to use code words for menstrual products-or not to mention them at all-school officials are contributing to a culture that treats menstruation as something shameful and something to be hidden.<sup>56</sup> These sorts of messages stigmatize menstruating students and normalize discomfort with menstruation. The stigma influences students' behaviors and perceptions.<sup>57</sup> And menstruating students who do not conform to expectations of secrecy and control can become the targets of harassment. A recent United Kingdom study, for instance, found "[o]ne in five girls and young women in the UK are teased or bullied about their periods, with many suffering in silence."58 Only half of those who were targeted spoke to anyone about the harassment.<sup>59</sup> And "[a]bout 67% said abuse mainly happened at school, and 66% said they had missed classes because of their period."60

In particular, male students are a notable source of menstruation-based harassment.<sup>61</sup> One ongoing research study features girls' self-reports of boys labeling girls as "moody" and concluding that they must be "on [their]

<sup>54</sup> Id.

<sup>55</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Id.; EVANS ET AL., supra note 52, at 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Nadworny & Lombardo, *supra* note 53. Discussing menstruation, another student at Bronx Prep Middle School in New York, Raizel Febles, age fourteen, states, "[y]ou kind of are ashamed for having it, which sucks because it's something so natural and so normal." *Id.* The Bronx Prep Middle School students describe how their shame affects how they behave, such as "trying to hide a tampon in their tight jean pockets." *Id.* They investigated how their peers felt about their periods. The students found that "[s]ixtyseven percent of female students polled at Bronx Prep Middle School said that they feel uncomfortable discussing their periods at school because it's not anybody's business." Id. In the same poll, "[t]hirty-three percent of students said periods were a dirty topic." Id. They found that it is no wonder that "[y]oung girls carry this stigma into adulthood." Id. <sup>58</sup> One in Five Girls and Young Women Bullied about Periods-Study, THE GUARDIAN

<sup>(</sup>May 28, 2019, 2:59 EDT), https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/may/28/one-infive-girls-and-young-women-bullied-about-their-periods-study [https://perma.cc/2LXE-828K]. <sup>59</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Id. In addition, a 2018 study found a link between early menarche and bullying at school. Qiru Su et al., Association Between Early Menarche and School Bullying, 63 J. ADOLESCENT HEALTH 213, 213 (2018); Lisa Rapaport, Early Puberty in Girls Tied to Bullying in Schools, PHYSICIAN'S WEEKLY (May 17, 2018), https://www.physicians weekly.com/early-puberty-in-girls/ [https://perma.cc/BA8C-XWBE] (reporting on the school bullying study).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Nadworny & Lombardo, supra note 53.

Title IX & Menstruation

period."<sup>62</sup> In a 2011 study of college-aged men, the men reflected on their earlier school experiences and recalled "severe incidents of girls being teased, although no boy actually admitted to teasing a girl in this manner."<sup>63</sup> The men also recalled incidents in which it was clear that "for boys . . . being associated with menstruation or even being in the same room when it is being discussed is something shameful or dirty, and some boys hold onto these attitudes into adulthood."<sup>64</sup>

# 2. Title IX and Menstruation-Based Harassment

Under Title IX, menstruation-based harassment can be addressed in a relatively straightforward manner. For egregious menstruation-based harassment, Title IX clearly provides the basis for a legal claim for harassment on the basis of sex, whether the source of the harassment is fellow students, teachers or school administrators. It is true that neither Title IX's text nor its regulations explicitly address sexual harassment. But both the Supreme Court and the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR)—which has primary responsibility for administrative enforcement of Title IX—have long recognized that sexual harassment, including peer-based sexual harassment, is a form of discrimination that can violate Title IX.

In the 1999 case of *Davis v. Monroe County School Board of Education*,<sup>65</sup> the Supreme Court first held that peer sexual harassment, "if sufficiently severe, can. . .rise to the level of discrimination actionable under [Title IX]," giving rise to damages liability.<sup>66</sup> Even prior to 1999, OCR had already concluded that Title IX prohibited peer sexual harassment, issuing detailed guidance in 1997 about schools' responsibility to address such harassment.<sup>67</sup> These conclusions drew on the Supreme Court's earlier recognition that workplace sexual harassment violates Title VII's prohibition on sex discrimination.<sup>68</sup>

Moreover—and notably for menstruation-based harassment—that same 1997 OCR guidance explained that "if a young woman is taunted by one or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Girls recount being upset that boys, who do not have much knowledge of menstruation, could make such a stereotyped comment about them. Informal communications with menstrual health researcher Margaret (Maggie) Schmitt, MPH, Associate Director, Gender, Adolescent Transitions & Environment (GATE) Program, Department of Sociomedical Sciences, Columbia University Mailman School of Public Health (Dec. 5, 2019) (notes on file with co-author Margaret E. Johnson) [hereinafter Schmitt]. Ms. Schmitt is conducting qualitative public health research regarding adolescent girls and menstruation. *Id.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Allen et al., *supra* note 51, at 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Id.

<sup>65</sup> Davis v. Monroe Cty. Sch. Bd. of Educ., 526 U.S. 629 (1999).

<sup>66</sup> Id. at 630.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> See Office for Civil Rights, Department of Education, Sexual Harassment Guidance 1997, 15 n. 3 https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/sexhar01.html [https://perma.cc/CR2J-V4JD)].

more young men about her breasts or *genital area* or both, OCR may find that a hostile environment has been created, particularly if the conduct has gone on for some time, takes place throughout the school, or if the taunts are made by a number of students."<sup>69</sup> Menstruation-based harassment certainly relates to students' genital areas, so it is straightforward to argue that it counts as a form of sexual harassment.

That said, not all sexual harassment rises to the level of being actionable under Title IX. In *Davis*, the Supreme Court held that to recover damages against a school in a Title IX claim, a victim of sexual harassment must show that (1) the sexual harassment was "so severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive that it effectively bars the victim's access to an educational opportunity or benefit," (2) the school exercised "substantial control over both the harasser and the context in which the known harassment occur[red]," (3) the school had "actual notice" of the harassment, and (4) the school's response reflected "deliberate indifference," i.e., that the school's response was "clearly unreasonable."<sup>70</sup> Thus, in a situation where a student is severely and pervasively harassed for menstruating—especially where the student misses school as a result—and a school official is informed about the situation and chooses to do nothing, there would be a good case for holding the school liable for damages under *Davis*.

By contrast, OCR has set the threshold somewhat lower in its administrative enforcement of Title IX (which it accomplishes through reviews, investigations, informal dispute resolution, and, if necessary, suspension or termination of federal funding<sup>71</sup>). In a 2001 guidance letter, OCR made clear that it was retaining the approach that it had outlined in 1997, rather than adopting the *Davis* Court's stringent standard for damages liability in Title IX suits.<sup>72</sup> In particular, when defining harassment, OCR never adopted the "so severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive that it effectively bars the victim's access to an educational opportunity or benefit" test that the *Davis* Court had articulated. Instead, OCR retained its own language: conduct that is "sufficiently serious that it denies or *limits* a student's ability to participate in or benefit from the school's program based on sex."<sup>73</sup> Similarly, OCR made clear that notwithstanding *Davis*, it would continue to hold schools

<sup>69</sup> Id. (emphasis added).

<sup>70</sup> Davis, 526 U.S. at 629-647.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> See Jared P. Cole & Christine J. Beck, Cong. Research Serv., R45685, Title IX and Sexual Harassment: Private Rights of Action, Administrative Enforcement, and Proposed Regulations 19–21 (2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> See U.S. DEP'T OF EDUC., REVISED SEXUAL HARASSMENT GUIDANCE: HARASSMENT OF STUDENTS BY SCHOOL EMPLOYEES, OTHER STUDENTS, OR THIRD PARTIES (2001) ("The revised guidance reaffirms the compliance standards that OCR applies in investigations and administrative enforcement of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (Title IX) regarding sexual harassment. The revised guidance re-grounds these standards in the Title IX regulations, distinguishing them from the standards applicable to private litigation for money damages. . . ."). *Id.* at i. <sup>73</sup> *Id.* at 5 (emphasis added).

2020]

responsible for peer harassment even in the absence of actual notice. The OCR guidance explained:

If a student sexually harasses another student and the harassing conduct is sufficiently serious to deny or limit the student's ability to participate in or benefit from the program, and if the school knows or *reasonably should know* about the harassment, the school is responsible for taking immediate effective action to eliminate the hostile environment and prevent its recurrence.<sup>74</sup>

Likewise, rather than requiring only that a school's response to sexual harassment not be deliberately indifferent, OCR required the school's response to be reasonable.<sup>75</sup> Thus, unlike the *Davis* standard for damages liability, OCR's administrative enforcement standard sweeps in cases where schools have been negligent but not deliberately indifferent, and where harassment has limited a student's ability to benefit from school even if it has not outright barred the student from benefitting.

The Department of Education has never issued actual regulations to codify the approach to harassment contained in the OCR guidance documents, and such guidance documents do not themselves carry the force of law.<sup>76</sup> But because OCR guidance is used for the administrative enforcement of Title IX, it remains important.

Thus, under the OCR guidance for administrative enforcement, and even the *Davis* standard for damages liability, there is a clear, albeit narrow, path to Title IX protection against menstruation-based harassment. In this sense, Title IX already protects against significant menstruation-based harassment, even providing for damages in extreme cases. But under the stringent *Davis* standard and even the broader administrative standard, Title IX does not provide a remedy for lower-grade forms of menstruation-based harassment (or other sexual harassment). This is problematic because even subtle harassment can make menstruating students feel anxious and unwelcome in school, regardless of whether it tangibly and provably limits their opportunities there.

Worse, there is now a real possibility that OCR will be abandoning its broader standard for what constitutes actionable harassment under Title IX. On November 16, 2018, the Department of Education issued a notice of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> *Id.* at 12 (emphasis added). OCR added that, "[A]Ithough a school may in some cases be responsible for harassment caused by an employee that occurred before other responsible employees knew or should have known about it, OCR always provides the school with actual notice and the opportunity to take appropriate corrective action before issuing a finding of violation." *Id.* at iv. <sup>75</sup> *Id.* at vi (explaining that "[e]ffectiveness is measured based on a reasonableness

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> *Id.* at vi (explaining that "[e]ffectiveness is measured based on a reasonableness standard. Schools do not have to know beforehand that their response will be effective. However, if their initial steps are ineffective in stopping the harassment, reasonableness may require a series of escalating steps").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> See, e.g., C.C. v. Paradise High Sch., No. 2:16-cv-02210-KJM-DMC, 2019 WL 6130439, at \*6 (E.D. Cal. Nov. 19, 2019).

proposed rulemaking on various aspects of Title IX, including sexual harassment. The Department's proposed new regulations, which would supersede any previous conflicting OCR guidance, would ratchet up the administrative standard to the damages liability standard articulated in *Davis* so that the new standards are aligned.<sup>77</sup> The proposed regulations adopt the "actual notice" and "deliberate indifference" requirements for liability, as well as the *Davis* definition of actionable peer sexual harassment ("[u]nwelcome conduct on the basis of sex that is so severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive that it effectively denies a person equal access to the recipient's education program or activity").<sup>78</sup> These proposed regulations received over 100,000 comments and generated much critical commentary.<sup>79</sup>

Although OCR's existing 2001 guidance on harassment currently remains in effect with respect to administrative enforcement of Title IX, it is unclear what form the final rulemaking from the Department of Education will take and how it will ultimately fare in court.<sup>80</sup> If the Department of Education's final regulations proceed with ratcheting the OCR standard up to

<sup>78</sup> Background & Summary of the Education Department's Proposed Title IX Regulation, 3 (last visited Feb. 29, 2020), https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/titleix-nprm.pdf [https://perma.cc/5BVL-SZCW]. The Department explained that this definition of harassment "is imported directly from the Supreme Court's Davis decision and promotes protection of free speech and academic freedom in a way that the more expansive and subjective definition of harassment used in Department guidance has not." *Id.* It similarly explained that its "actual... notice" and "deliberate indifference" requirements are drawn directly from Supreme Court precedent. *Id.* at 3–4.

<sup>79</sup> See, e.g., Joanna L. Grossman & Deborah L. Brake, A Sharp Backward Turn: Department of Education Proposes to Undermine Protections for Students Against Sexual Harassment and Assault, VERDICT: LEGAL ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY FROM JUSTICIA, https://verdict.justia.com/2018/11/27/a-sharp-backward-turn-department-of-educationproposes-to-undermine-protections-for-students-against-sexual-harassment-and-assault [https://perma.cc/TFG4-LD4D] (describing the change as "a complete game-changer for the administrative enforcement of Title IX," and "effectively remov[ing] OCR from any meaningful administrative enforcement role in guarding the rights of students who experience sexual harassment"); Jeannie Suk Gersen, Assessing Betsy Devos's Proposed Rules on Title IX and Sexual Assault, THE NEW YORKER (Feb. 1, 2019) https://www.newyorker.com/news/our-columnists/assessing-betsy-devos-proposed-rules-on-title-ix-andsexual-assault [https://perma.cc/4AW5-XBAJ] (noting that "more than a hundred thousand [comments were submitted to the agency] by the close of the comment period," and speculating that "[p]erhaps the comments will result in some amendments to the final regulations. . . This process could take years—and it's all but guaranteed that the moment the final rules are issued, the agency will be sued over them").

<sup>80</sup> See Title IX and Sexual Harassment: Private Rights of Action, Administrative Enforcement, and Proposed Regulations, Congressional Research Service (CRS) Report for Congress (April 12, 2019), https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R45685.pdf [https://perma.cc/ 82C9-GJ6A] (stating that although OCR has withdrawn certain previous guidance documents, "it would continue to rely on the 2001 Guidance" during the process of new rulemaking).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Nondiscrimination on the Basis of Sex in Education Programs or Activities Receiving Federal Financial Assistance, 83 Fed. Reg. 61,462 (Nov. 29, 2018) (to be codified at 34 C.F.R. pt. 106). A summary version is available at https://www2.ed.gov/about/ offices/list/ocr/docs/background-summary-proposed-ttle-ix-regulation.pdf [https:// perma.cc/933E-VBEK]. For a summary of the specific changes related to the aspects of sexual harassment described in this Article, see *id.* at 3–4.

the *Davis* level, then Title IX will provide less protection against menstruation-based harassment than its previous longstanding formulation had offered. Students who become victims of menstruation-based harassment will not have a valid Title IX claim unless they can show that the harassment is severe enough to effectively bar them from educational opportunities. This prospect—whereby OCR would be precluded from taking administrative action in all but the most extreme cases—is worrisome. But even if the OCR standard remains unchanged, it will still not provide comprehensive protection on this issue.

Ideally, Title IX would not only cover menstruation-based harassment that demonstrably limits students' ability to benefit from school, but also call upon schools to respond to all menstruation-based harassment. Indeed, schools should strive to be proactive in addressing *all* levels and variations of sexual harassment, menstruation-based and otherwise. Doing so furthers the fundamental goal of Title IX: that no student is deprived of equal access to education because of sex.

# **B.** Insufficient Menstrual Accommodations

# 1. Impediments Resulting from Restrictive Policies

Because of design and policy choices, schools can be places that are unintentionally inhospitable to students who menstruate. In particular, schools' bathroom break policies, toilet facilities, and dress codes can impose challenges for menstruating students.

### a. Bathroom Access

Schools understandably want to limit students' visits to the bathroom in order to minimize misconduct and dilatory trips from the classroom. Nevertheless, strict limitations on bathroom access may have the unintended consequence of keeping some students from coming to school at all because they fear that they may not be able to access the bathroom while menstruating. Such strict limitations are particularly anxiety-producing for middleand high-school students because pre-adolescents and adolescents have more unpredictable periods than adults, which means that they may need to quickly and unexpectedly access the bathroom. Indeed, even students who already know that they have their periods, and have brought menstrual products to school, may bleed onto their clothes if they cannot access the bathroom in time.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> See Hillard, supra note 27 (noting that menstrual cycles "tend to vary among adolescents," that an adolescent who complains of "irregular periods" may mean "her cycles are not always exactly 28 days[,] that the period does not always come on the same day of the week or date of the month[, or] that the number of bleeding days varies from

An anecdote from student Josephine Kwan illustrates this point: Kwan recounts that in tenth grade during a volleyball game, her coach refused to let her run to the bathroom to attend to a sudden menstrual flow.<sup>82</sup> Knowing her underwear was blood-soaked and feeling confused, anxious, and fearful, Kwan found the entire experience traumatic.<sup>83</sup> She never played volleyball again.<sup>84</sup> Caroline Abreu, a Bronx Prep Middle School student, similarly recounts that she repeatedly finds herself "bleeding out" at school, explaining, "[i]t's not usually my fault; it's because I can't go to the bathroom during class."<sup>85</sup>

In May 2018, National Public Radio reported that a network of Chicago charter schools had such a strict bathroom break policy that menstruating girls were bleeding through their clothes.<sup>86</sup> Former teachers found the bathroom access policy "dehumanizing."<sup>87</sup> A similar story came out in July 2018 about KIPP DC Northeast Academy, a charter school in Washington, D. C.<sup>88</sup> Such policies may cause menstruating students to worry about leaking or bleeding onto their clothes, and can even pose a health risk by leading students to change their tampons or pads later than recommended.<sup>89</sup> In addition

month to month"; and that "adolescents who have recently achieved menarche may have accidents while they are learning how to manage their periods and how frequently they need to change their sanitary protection").

<sup>82</sup> Kristi Pahr, Period Shaming: A Not-So New Type of Bullying Parents Need to Know About, PARENTS (Nov. 4, 2019), https://www.parents.com/kids/problems/bullying/ period-shaming-is-a-kind-of-bullying-parents-need-to-be-aware-of/ [https://perma.cc/ JC9D-Q92G].

<sup>83</sup> Id.

<sup>84</sup> Id.

<sup>85</sup> Nadworny & Lombardo, supra note 53.

<sup>86</sup> Dusty Rhodes, *Feedback: Noble Charter Schools Story Hit a Nerve*, NPR ILLINOIS (April 30, 2018), https://www.nprillinois.org/post/feedback-noble-charter-schools-storyhit-nerve#stream/0 [https://perma.cc/TQQ4-2NYR] (recounting text messages from teachers that described school policy of not letting students go the bathroom without a rarely available escort, forcing students to choose between walking out of class and staining themselves, and quoting teachers as saying that the school had responded by allowing "girls to tie a Noble sweater around their waist, to hide the blood stains").

<sup>87</sup> See Maiysha Kai, Dressed for Success? This Charter School's Policies Are Humiliating Its Female Students, ROOT (May 1, 2018, 4:05 PM), https://theglowup.theroot.com/ dressed-for-success-one-charter-schools-policies-are-h-1825694277 [https://perma.cc/ YHU3-FZX] (explaining "Noble Charter Schools network of Chicago was recently accused of instituting what several former teachers call 'dehumanizing' policies to monitor their high school students. . .most strikingly, there is a bathroom policy that requires that students be escorted to the bathroom rather than go on their own").

<sup>88</sup> Nathan Baca, *What Some Kids Who Get One Bathroom Pass a Week Say They Face Daily at a DC Charter School*, wjla.com (July 19, 2018), https://wjla.com/features/ 7-on-your-side/kipp-dc-northeast-academy-bathroom-lunch-policy-investigation [https:// perma.cc/KM7R-ZZCE] (quoting one parent as reporting that "Young ladies have started their menstrual cycle and there have been several girls [who] have had accidents in their pants"). It is important to note here that charter schools are subject to Title IX. *See* 20 U.S.C. § 1681(a) (1994) (Title IX applies to educational activities or programs receiving federal funds).

<sup>89</sup> Doha Madani, Girls Reportedly Bleeding Through Pants Due to Charter School Bathroom Policy, HUFFPOST (Apr. 30, 2018, 9:44 PM), https://www.huffingtonpost.com/ entry/charter-school-bathroom-policy-periods\_us\_5ae7a19be4b04aa23f26463c [https:// perma.cc/F8LP-5928]. For instance, to avoid toxic shock syndrome, menstruating indi-

to the problems caused by schools' rigid policies about bathroom access. similar challenges can result from teachers' informal rules about bathroom breaks during class.<sup>90</sup> For instance, one news account described a teacher's policy of limiting her students' access to the restroom during class to one visit every two months.<sup>91</sup> A menstruating student who has already used that one visit might choose to skip school rather than risk bleeding through clothes while in class.

# b. Inadequate Toilet Facilities

Even if a well-supplied student is able to leave class to go to the bathroom in time, once the student arrives there, immediate access to a toilet is not guaranteed. There may be fewer bathroom stalls than the number of students needing them.<sup>92</sup> For a transgender boy or a gender nonbinary student, using the boys' restroom may provide less access to privacy for addressing menstrual needs (given that there are fewer stalls and more urinals).93 Public health researchers working in low- and middle-income countries have identified "toilet insecurity" as an obstacle for girls' and women's health.<sup>94</sup> To assist policymakers, these researchers have created a list of the characteristics of what they call "female friendly" sanitation facilities, repurposed for this discussion as "menstruation-friendly" facilities. The key features include:

[a] safe and conveniently located toilet, [individual or] separated by gender (if communal or public), which provides privacy (doors, locks), a culturally appropriate menstrual waste disposal option

<sup>92</sup> See Schmitt, supra note 62.

<sup>93</sup> See Joe Pinsker, The Long Lines for Women's Bathrooms Could Be Eliminated. Why Haven't They Been?, THE ATLANTIC (Jan. 23, 1989), https://www.theatlantic.com/ family/archive/2019/01/women-men-bathroom-lines-wait/580993/ [https://perma.cc/ W4EW-W753] (explaining that since the late 1980s, states have required new buildings to have a greater number of toilets for women's versus men's restrooms due to the increased time it takes women to "enter a stall to pee" and "because they menstruate"). In addition, if menstrual products are placed only in girls' restrooms, transgender boys and gender nonbinary students who may have to use the boys' restrooms are disadvantaged. See infra Part II. C. 1.

<sup>94</sup> Margaret L. Schmitt et al., *Making the Case for a Female-Friendly Toilet*, MDPI: WATER 1-2 (Sept. 5, 2018), https://doi.org/10.3390/w10091193 [https://perma.cc/ DWM2-HQBT]. While the authors use the term "female" in their work, we use the term "menstruation-friendly" in order to be inclusive of transgender male, gender nonbinary, and intersex persons who menstruate.

viduals are advised to change their tampons at least every eight hours. Menstrual Cycle, supra note 25 (discussing "How often should I change my pad, tampon, menstrual cup, sponge, or period panties?"). Pads should be changed before they become "soaked through or full," which most commonly means "every few hours." Id. <sup>90</sup> See, e.g., Alia Wong, When Schools Tell Kids They Can't Use the Bathroom, THE

tyranny-of-school-bathrooms/583660/ [https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2019/02/the-cial policies, parents and doctors tell me, many teachers come up with their own regula-tions, which anecdotes suggest can border on the absurd").

(trash bins, chutes, pits), water and soap is available for washing blood off one's hands (water tap or bucket), suitable drainage and accessibility both during the day and night (area and internal lighting).<sup>95</sup>

Although access to water and soap is not usually a problem in most U.S. schools, students have indeed reported embarrassment when disposing of their used menstrual products in the public space of the bathroom, rather than in a private bin inside the stall.<sup>96</sup> Menstruation-friendly bathrooms would address these concerns.

c. Dress Codes

Finally, schools' dress code and uniform policies can impose impediments to menstruating students. In the United States, approximately twentytwo percent of all public schools and approximately fifty-five percent of all private schools require their students to wear uniforms.<sup>97</sup> Some specifically require all students to wear khaki-colored trousers, disadvantaging students who risk leaking while menstruating.<sup>98</sup> Uniform policies and dress codes that permit all students to wear dark bottoms would help to alleviate this concern.

# 2. Title IX and Menstrual Accommodations

Compared to menstruation-based harassment, issues involving bathroom break policies, toilet facilities, and dress codes raise more complex legal questions under Title IX. As discussed above, menstruation-based harassment fits neatly into existing Title IX doctrine, since the Supreme Court has already recognized sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination. By contrast, issues involving strict bathroom break policies or dress codes do not involve the same sort of blatantly disparate treatment that sexual harassment does. Rather, there are two additional models of discrimination that are more applicable to these issues: (1) disparate impact and (2) the failure to

<sup>98</sup> See Coshandra Dillard, Equity, Period., 61 TEACHING TOLERANCE (Spring 2019), https://www.tolerance.org/magazine/spring-2019/equity-period [https://perma.cc/476A-6KMY].

<sup>95</sup> Id. at 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Schmitt, supra note 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> See Table 233.50, Percentage of Public Schools With Various Safety and Security Measures: Selected Years, 1999-2000 through 2015-16, Nat'l Ctr. for Educ. Stat. 2017, https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d17/tables/dt17\_233.50.asp [https://perma.cc/7UDT-SJ9T] (reporting that twenty-one point five percent of all public schools required students to wear uniforms and that fifty-six point nine percent of all public schools enforced a strict dress code in 2015-2016 academic year); Table 233.50, Percentage of Public and Private Schools With Various Safety and Security Measures, by School Level: 2003-04, 2007-08, and 2011-12, Nat'l Ctr. for Educ. Stat. 2017, https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d13/tables/dt13\_233.50.asp [https://perma.cc/8U5M-2DED] (reporting that 56.9 percent of all private schools at the elementary and secondary level required students to wear uniforms and 71.3 percent of all private schools enforced a strict dress code in the 2011-2012 academic year).

provide reasonable accommodations. However, although these frameworks are well-developed in the employment discrimination arena, they are much murkier in the Title IX context.

It is helpful to begin by reviewing these two antidiscrimination models. Unlike disparate treatment, the disparate impact model covers situations where there is a facially neutral policy that has a disparate impact as to a statutorily protected characteristic.<sup>99</sup> This framework has been incorporated into the statutory text of Title VII,<sup>100</sup> the Age Discrimination in Employment Act,<sup>101</sup> and the Americans with Disabilities Act;<sup>102</sup> it also appears in numerous federal regulations. The reasonable accommodations model, in turn, holds that in certain instances, the failure to provide reasonable accommodations for covered individuals counts as a form of discrimination. This framework is central to the Americans with Disabilities Act and is also incorporated into Title VII's approach to religious discrimination.<sup>103</sup>

Both frameworks provide useful lenses for thinking through what is so problematic about, for example, a strict bathroom break policy that does not take menstruating students' needs into account. Given that menstruation is a process resulting from female biology, and that ninety-eight percent of females are menstruating by age fifteen,<sup>104</sup> such policies clearly have a disproportionate effect on female students, in addition to the harms that they impose on all students. Moreover, refusals to exempt menstruating students from such policies amount to denials of reasonable accommodations. Indeed, the bathroom break situation exemplifies Professor Christine Jolls' argument about the overlapping nature of the disparate impact and reasonable accommodation frameworks.<sup>105</sup> Both frameworks would clearly counsel adjusting strict bathroom break policies so that menstruating students can visit the bathroom as required and still participate fully in school.

The wrinkle, however, is that neither of these frameworks is on entirely solid footing in the Title IX context. Title IX's statutory text says nothing about disparate impact or reasonable accommodations. Additionally, no Supreme Court case has interpreted Title IX's text to incorporate these

<sup>104</sup> American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, Menstruation in Girls and Adolescents: Using the Menstrual Cycle as a Vital Sign, Adolescent Health Care Committee Opinion 651, (2003) https://m.acog.org/Clinical-Guidance-and-Publications/Committee-Opinions/Committee-on-Adolescent-Health-Care/Menstruation-in-Girls-and-Adolescents-Using-the-Menstrual-Cycle-as-a-Vital-Sign [https://perma.cc/MP97-XN

V9]. <sup>105</sup> Christine Jolls, Antidiscrimination and Accommodation, 115 HARV. L. REV. 643, 652-666 (2015).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> See, e.g., George Rutherglen, Disparate Impact Under Title VII: An Objective The-See, e.g., George Ruthergien, Disparate Impact Under Title VII: An Objective Theory of Discrimination, 73 VA. L. REV. 1297, 1297 (1987).
 <sup>100</sup> 42 U.S.C. § 2000e-2(k)(1)(A)(i)-(ii) (2012).
 <sup>101</sup> 29 U.S.C. § 623(f) (2012).
 <sup>102</sup> 42 U.S.C. § 12112(b)(6) (2012).
 <sup>103</sup> Id. § 12112(b)(5)(A) (2012). In the Title VII context, the failure to reasonably

accommodate religion is viewed as a form of disparate treatment. EEOC. v. Abercrombie & Fitch Stores, Inc., 575 U.S. 768, 135 S. Ct. 2028, 2032–33 (2015) (analyzing 42 U.S.C. § 2000e-2(a)(1) and § 2000e(j) (2012)).

frameworks—to the contrary, Supreme Court precedent suggests that there is no private right of action under Title IX for a disparate impact claim.<sup>106</sup> That said, the Department of Education has promulgated numerous Title IX regulations related to both disparate impact and accommodations. These regulations apply for administrative purposes, even if not for damages liability, and they are a useful starting point here.

Title IX's existing disparate impact regulations arise in contexts distinct from menstruation. Rather, they apply to admissions testing,<sup>107</sup> preferential admissions based on having attended single-sex schools,<sup>108</sup> preferential recruiting at single-sex schools,<sup>109</sup> sex-specific scholarships,<sup>110</sup> and various employment and contractual decisions.<sup>111</sup> In all of these arenas, the regula-

<sup>107</sup> 34 C.F.R. § 106.21 (b)(2) (2019) ("A recipient shall not administer or operate any test or other criterion for admission which has a disproportionately adverse effect on persons on the basis of sex unless the use of such test or criterion is shown to predict validly success in the education program or activity in question and alternative tests or criteria which do not have such a disproportionately adverse effect are shown to be unavailable.").

<sup>108</sup> 34 C.F.R. § 106.22 (2019) ("A recipient to which this subpart applies shall not give preference to applicants for admission, on the basis of attendance at any educational institution or other school or entity which admits as students only or predominantly members of one sex, if the giving of such preference has the effect of discriminating on the basis of sex in violation of this subpart.").

<sup>109</sup> 34 C.F.R. § 106.23(b) (2019) ("A recipient to which this subpart applies shall not recruit primarily or exclusively at educational institutions, schools or entities which admit as students only or predominantly members of one sex, if such actions have the effect of discriminating on the basis of sex in violation of this subpart.").

<sup>110</sup> 34 C.F.R. § 106.37(b) (2019) ("A recipient may administer or assist in the administration of scholarships, fellowships, or other forms of financial assistance established pursuant to domestic or foreign wills, trusts, bequests, or similar legal instruments or by acts of a foreign government which requires that awards be made to members of a particular sex specified therein; *Provided*, That the overall effect of the award of such sexrestricted scholarships, fellowships, and other forms of financial assistance does not discriminate on the basis of sex.").

<sup>111</sup> See, e.g., 34 C.F.R. § 106.51(a)(2) (2019) ("A recipient shall make all employment decisions in any education program or activity operated by such recipient in a nondiscriminatory manner and shall not limit, segregate, or classify applicants or employees in any way which could adversely affect any applicant's or employee's employment opportunities or status because of sex."); *id.* § 106.51(a)(3)(2019). ("A recipient shall not enter into any contractual or other relationship which directly or indirectly has the effect of subjecting employees or students to discrimination prohibited by this subpart, including relationships with employment and referral agencies, with labor unions, and with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> In Alexander v. Sandoval, the Supreme Court held that disparate impact claims for damages were not available under Title VI. 532 U.S. 275, 280, 293 (2001). Given the Supreme Court's indications that Title IX and Title VI should be interpreted in the same manner, some courts have reasoned that Sandoval also applies to Title IX. See, e.g., Yu v. Vassar College, 97 F. Supp. 3d 448, 461 n.6 (2015) (citing numerous cases that have reached that conclusion). On the other hand, some scholars have argued that Sandoval does not necessarily foreclose disparate impact damages claims under Title IX. See, e.g., David S. Cohen, Title IX: Beyond Equal Protection, 28 HARV. J.L. & GENDER 217, 276–77 (2005) (pointing out that "although Sandoval forecloses a disparate impact lawsuit based on Title VI, and Title IX and Title VI phrase their prohibitions against discrimination against discrimination with substantially the same language, the Court has stated that the two are to be given independent interpretations when their distinct histories require").

tions counsel that covered entities cannot use practices that have a discriminatory effect based on sex.112

Title IX's accommodation-related regulations likewise arise in contexts distinct from menstruation. The only Title IX regulation that explicitly uses the word "accommodate" appears in the athletic context. This regulation states that in determining whether equal opportunities are available to both sexes, one factor is "[w]hether the selection of sports and levels of competition effectively accommodate the interests and abilities of members of both sexes."113 Here, the very word "accommodate" connotes something quite different than what it typically means in the antidiscrimination context. Accommodation is not about "special" treatment to facilitate individual access to the same program,<sup>114</sup> but instead about a comparative standard for measuring and ensuring overall equity across different programs.<sup>115</sup> This approach has been further articulated in some of OCR's guidance documents about intercollegiate athletics-in particular, in its famous three-part test for intercollegiate athletic programs, which can be satisfied as long as "it can be demonstrated that the interests and abilities of the members of that sex have been fully and effectively accommodated by the present program."116

We move closer to the more standard meaning of accommodationsand to the context of menstruation-by turning to Title IX's treatment of pregnancy. Like menstruation, pregnancy is a biological process linked to female sex. Title IX's pregnancy regulations do not explicitly use the word "accommodate." But they do state that "a recipient shall not discriminate against any student, or exclude any student from its education program or activity. . .on the basis of such student's pregnancy, childbirth, false pregnancy, termination of pregnancy or recovery therefrom."117 Moreover, one of the provisions states that schools

<sup>112</sup> In one area—admissions tests—there is a carve-out: tests with disparate impacts can still be used if they are "shown to predict validly success in the education program or activity in question" and "alternative tests or criteria which do not have such a dispropor-tionately adverse effect are shown to be unavailable." 34 C.F.R. § 106.21 (b)(2) (2019).

<sup>113</sup> 34 C.F.R. § 106.41(c) (2019) (emphasis added).

<sup>114</sup> Examples of this more typical meaning appear in the Americans with Disabilities Act, which lists as examples of reasonable accommodations "the provision of qualified Act, which fists as examples of reasonable accommodations the provision of qualified readers or interpreters" and "acquisition or modification of equipment or devices." 42
 U.S.C. § 12111(9)(b) (2012).
 <sup>115</sup> See Deborah Brake, *The Struggle for Sex Equality in Sport and the Theory Behind Title IX*, 34 U. MICH. J.L. REFORM 13, 48–49 (2000–2001).
 <sup>116</sup> Russlyn Ali, Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep't of Educ., *Dear Colleague Letter:*

Intercollegiate Athletics Policy Clarification: The Three-Part Test-Part 3 (April 20, 2010) 3 (emphasis added).

<sup>117</sup> 34 C.F.R. § 106.40(b)(1) (2019).

organizations providing or administering fringe benefits to employees of the recipient."); id. § 106.51(a)(4) (2019) ("A recipient shall not grant preferences to applicants for employment on the basis of attendance at any educational institution or entity which admits as students only or predominantly members of one sex, if the giving of such preferences has the effect of discriminating on the basis of sex in violation of this part.").

shall treat pregnancy, childbirth, false pregnancy, termination of pregnancy and recovery therefrom *as a justification for a leave of absence* for so long a period of time as is deemed medically necessary by the student's physician, at the conclusion of which the student shall be reinstated to the status which she held when the leave began.<sup>118</sup>

Thus, even without using the word "accommodate," Title IX's regulatory language does prescribe at least one accommodation for pregnant students: leaves of absence, with the opportunity to return to school without punishment or sanction, regardless of whether those leaves are available to other students.<sup>119</sup> In its guidance documents, OCR has gone even further. In 2013, OCR issued a guidance letter and accompanying pamphlet (the former is framed as a "Dear Colleague" letter, while the latter is entitled "Supporting the Academic Success of Pregnant and Parenting Students") that instructs schools about how to deal with pregnant students.<sup>120</sup> Significantly, the pamphlet includes two accommodation-related passages in its "Frequently Asked Questions Pertaining to *Title IX* Requirements Regarding Pregnant and Parenting Students":

Q. What types of assistance must a school provide to a pregnant student at school?

A. To ensure a pregnant student's access to its educational program, when necessary, a school must make adjustments to the regular program that are reasonable and responsive to the student's pregnancy status. For example, a school might be required to provide a larger desk, allow frequent trips to the bathroom, or permit temporary access to elevators.<sup>121</sup>

\*

Q. What if some teachers at a school have their own policies about class attendance and make-up work?

A. Every school that receives federal financial assistance is bound by *Title IX*. Schools must ensure that the policies and practices of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> 34 C.F.R. § 106.40(b)(5) (2019) (emphasis added).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> For further discussion of Title IX's accommodation mandate for pregnancy, see Deborah L. Brake, *The Invisible Pregnant Athlete and The Promise of Title IX*, 31 HARV. J.L. & GENDER 323, 339 (2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> SETH GALANTER, OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, U.S. DEP'T OFF., DEAR COLLEAGUE LETTER: SUPPORTING THE ACADEMIC SUCCESS OF PREGNANT AND PARENTING STU-DENTS, 1–2 (2013), https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-201306title-ix.pdf [https://perma.cc/N5UH-QMWL], with attached pamphlet U.S. DEP'T OF ED-UCATION, OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, SUPPORTING THE ACADEMIC SUCCESS OF PREGNANT AND PARENTING STUDENTS UNDER TITLE IX OF THE EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1972 (2013) [hereinafter "OCR Pregnancy Pamphlet"].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> OCR Pregnancy Pamphlet, supra note 120, at 9.

individual teachers do not discriminate against pregnant students. For example, a teacher may not refuse to allow a student to submit work after a deadline that she missed because of absences due to pregnancy or childbirth.<sup>122</sup>

These two passages suggest that OCR has started interpreting Title IX's pregnancy regulations as requiring a broad array of accommodations, such as larger desks, bathroom breaks, access to elevators, and deadline extensions, even though the actual regulations themselves only mention medical leaves.

It is true that OCR's guidance here is equivocal (in stating that a school "*might* be required" to provide the larger desk, bathroom break, or elevator access).<sup>123</sup> However, a subsequent section of the pamphlet (entitled "Strategies to Assist Educators in Supporting Pregnant and Parenting Students") goes on to provide "examples of possible strategies[ that. . .] are not legally mandated by *Title IX* or its regulations," such as "allowing excused absences for parenting students (both male and female) who need to take their children to doctors' appointments" or "[d]esignat[ing] a private room for young mothers to breastfeed, pump milk, or address other needs related to breastfeeding during the school day."<sup>124</sup> In suggesting that these additional accommodations are *not* legally mandated, OCR implies that the accommodations mentioned earlier in the pamphlet *are* mandated, at least for administrative purposes.

OCR's growing recognition of accommodations as one aspect of Title IX compliance is relevant to the question of whether schools must accommodate students' menstrual needs. Menstruation, unlike pregnancy, is not specifically mentioned in Title IX's regulations. But it is certainly related to the regulatory heading of "pregnancy and related conditions."<sup>125</sup> Both pregnancy and menstruation are biological processes connected to the female sex; indeed, menstruation results from the shedding of the uterine lining when an ovulated egg is not fertilized, while pregnancy results when the ovulated egg has been fertilized. It is difficult to see why Title IX's prohibition of sex discrimination would require schools to give pregnant students frequent bathroom breaks, but impose no comparable requirement to give menstruating students the very same sorts of breaks. The failure to do so means that some students, by reason of their sex, will not have equal access to an education, either because they feel they must stay home from school or because they cannot effectively learn and participate while there.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Id. at 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Id. at 9 (emphasis added).

 $<sup>^{124}</sup>$  Id. at 15–16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Cf. Coleman v. Bobby Dodd Institute, No. 4:17-CV-29, 2017 WL 2486080, at \*4–5 (M.D. Ga. June 8, 2017) (rejecting Title VII plaintiff's argument that menstruation is itself a pregnancy-related condition).

Title IX's pregnancy-specific regulations are the most factually relevant analogue, but all of Title IX's disparate impact and accommodation regulations point toward a larger underlying point: Title IX, as discussed further in Part III, is not just about formal equality. As Professor David Cohen has written, these different provisions suggest that Title IX "looks beyond formal equality and reaches into the realm of substantive equality."<sup>126</sup> Title IX's disparate impact regulations, Cohen writes, are in keeping with "[m]ore substantive conceptions of equality[, which] tend to accept that a showing of disparate impact is enough to prove discrimination," while Title IX's approach toward athletic equity similarly "jettison[s] the simplistic theory of formal equality," with the goal of "equaliz[ing] athletic opportunity."<sup>127</sup> Title IX's treatment of pregnancy likewise results from this broader view: as Cohen explains, "[p]rohibiting discrimination based on pregnancy, a form of discrimination that subordinates women based on a unique biological difference [for which there is no male comparator], naturally follows from this more substantive version of equality."128

In keeping with this underlying approach, and in order to fulfill Title IX's promise of equal access to education, OCR should expand its pregnancy-related guidance to make clear that schools should accommodate menstruating students' needs. Ideally, the Department of Education itself should amend the Title IX regulations about "pregnancy and related conditions" to explicitly cover menstruation. In the meantime, schools themselves should examine their practices, in terms of bathroom facilities, breaks, and dress codes, to ensure that they are not limiting menstruating students' ability to fully participate in school.

#### C. Menstrual Products in Schools

#### 1. Impediments Resulting from Lack of Access to Products

While schools routinely provide students with bathroom necessities like soap and toilet paper, most schools do not provide another necessity: menstrual products.<sup>129</sup> Professor Christopher Cotropia's study of almost 700 fe-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Cohen, *supra* note 106, at 263.

<sup>127</sup> Id. at 265, 277.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Id. at 275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Reports about access to menstrual products for transgender boys or gender nonbinary students in K-12 schools are difficult to find. Some colleges and universities, like Brown University and New York University, have taken steps to ensure that menstrual products are in all restrooms: men's, women's, and gender neutral. Chloe Atkins, *For Transgender Men, Pain of Menstruation is More than Just Physical*, NBC News (Jan. 11, 2020, 4:38 PM) https://www.nbcnews.com/feature/nbc-out/transgender-men-pain-menstruation-more-just-physical-n1113961 [https://perma.cc/A2HE-HDJ8]; Katie Mettler, *Free Tampons for All at Brown University this School Year—Even in the Men's Room*, WASH. POST (Sept. 9, 2016, 4:44 AM), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morningmix/wp/2016/09/09/free-tampons-for-all-at-brown-university-this-school-year-even-inthe-mens-room/ [https://perma.cc/N36N-5TVL]. It is critical that menstrual products be

males ages eighteen to twenty-five, which focused on their access to menstrual products while in high school, found that ninety-two percent had required a new pad or tampon during the school day.<sup>130</sup> Ninety-one study participants stated that they had "trouble affording" menstrual products and that only a quarter of their schools provided products for free.<sup>131</sup> Overall. only forty-two percent of all respondents attended schools where menstrual products were provided.<sup>132</sup> When schools did provide products, the most common place was at the nurse's or front office, and some of those schools also provided menstrual products in the bathrooms, either for free or for purchase.<sup>133</sup> The respondents opined that a school's provision of menstrual products in the restroom, as opposed to the nurse's or front office, would reduce stigma.<sup>134</sup> The failure to provide menstruating students with free and easily accessible tampons and pads thus negatively affects their access to equal educational opportunities.

There are two factors undergirding any discussion of a school's decision to provide (or not) accessible and free menstrual products for students.<sup>135</sup> First, the inability to afford menstrual products causes some students to feel they must stay home and thus miss school. Second, even for those who can afford products, school-provided products are crucial to assist students faced with the reality of an unpredictable period.

<sup>132</sup> Id. at 292.

<sup>133</sup> Id. (reporting that at the schools of eighty percent of respondents, menstrual products were available in the nurse's or front office, with forty percent of those respondents further indicating that menstrual products were also available in school bathrooms; availability was divided approximately evenly between free and for-purchase). <sup>134</sup> Id. at 299.

<sup>135</sup> According to the Simmons National Consumer Survey, over 58.29 million women in the U.S. used menstrual pads and approximately 40 million used tampons in 2019. See U.S. population: Usage of Sanitary Pads and Napkins From 2011 to 2023, STATISTA (Aug. 20 2019), https://www.statista.com/statistics/287048/usage-of-sanitary-pads-andnapkins-in-the-us-trend/ [https://perma.cc/3SQM-5B9J]; U.S. Population: Do You Use Tampons?, STATISTA (Aug. 20, 2019), https://www.statista.com/statistics/278085/us-households-usage-of-tampons/ [https://perma.cc/L4SD-L775]. Pads represent a 55% share of the market for menstrual hygiene products. Breakdown of the Feminine Hygiene Market Worldwide in 2018, by Segment, STATISTA (Nov. 26, 2019), https://www. statista.com/statistics/1075218/market-share-of-feminine-hygiene-worldwide-by-type [https://perma.cc/XG2Y-LLHH]. This in no way suggests that noncommercial items are inappropriate for use. See Gharib, supra note 42 (including explanation by Chris Bobel that there is no research that causally links using an improperly washed or dried cloth to staunch menstrual blood to infections in the individual menstruating).

provided for students who do not identify as girls in order to address their menstrual needs. As activist Kenny Ethan Jones states, having a period contributes to gender dysphoria and if access to menstrual products is only in identified female spaces (like the girl's bathroom) the gender dysphoria is heightened. Atkins, supra note 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Christopher A. Cotropia, Menstruation Management in United States Schools and Implications for Attendance, Academic Performance, and Health, 6 WOMEN'S REPROD. Health 289, 292 (2019).

 $<sup>^{131}</sup>$  Id. at 294–95.

### a. Educational Access Limited by Income

"Period poverty," or the inability to afford menstrual products, is an obstacle to educational attainment by many secondary school students.<sup>136</sup> According to one recent study of 1,000 teenagers ages thirteen to nineteen, approximately twenty percent report that they "have struggled to afford period products or were not able to purchase them at all."<sup>137</sup> The same number "have missed class because of lack of access to period products."<sup>138</sup> Twothirds of the surveyed adolescents report that they "have experienced the stress of inaccessible period products."<sup>139</sup> Students relate that it is difficult to attend school or be productive in school if they do not have the necessary menstrual products.<sup>140</sup> The Cotropia study echoes those results, finding that "[t]he inability to afford [menstrual products] was . . . significant[ly] and positively correlated with missing school, being late, and leaving early."141 Similarly, the Cotropia study demonstrates "statistically significant correlations between not providing [menstrual products] at school and missing school, leaving school early, and negative impacts on learning."142 Separate and apart from other disadvantages that low-income students may face once they are in school,<sup>143</sup> low-income menstruating students encounter the difficulty of not being able to afford the products they need to leave the house and go to school. When they do attend school, worries about access to menstrual products distract low-income menstruating students from their studies.

Poverty is pervasive in public schools. Nation-wide, approximately fifty-one percent of all public students qualify for free or low-cost lunches.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>137</sup> State of the Period, supra note 43, at 2.

<sup>141</sup> Cotropia, supra note 130, at 296.

<sup>142</sup> Id. at 299.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> See State of the Period, supra note 43, at 1; see also Nadya Okamoto & Maria Molland, *The Cost of Tampons is Hurting Low-Income Girls. Let's Fix That*, CNN (Oct. 21, 2019, 3:55 PM), https://www.cnn.com/2019/10/21/perspectives/period-poverty-men-strual-products/index.html [https://perma.cc/65ZX-6T3U] ("Public awareness about period poverty, the inability to access menstrual hygiene products, has ignited a movement calling for free and accessible pads and tampons in restrooms and public spaces around the world. Period poverty impacts millions of people every day and is pervasive in US schools.").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> JENNIFER WEISS-WOLF, PERIODS GONE PUBLIC: TAKING A STAND FOR MENSTRUAL EOUITY 85–86 (2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> See, e.g., Lea Hubbard, College Aspirations Among Low-Income African American High School Students: Gendered Strategies for Success, 30 ANTHROPOLOGY & EDUC. Q. 363, 363 (1999) (discussing gender-specific strategies employed to encourage academic success among studied population).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> See Kelley Taylor, Poverty's Long-Lasting Effects on Students' Education and Success, INSIGHT INTO DIVERSITY (May 30, 2017), https://www.insightintodiversity.com/ povertys-long-lasting-effects-on-students-education-and-success/ [https://perma.cc/ N98C-LLAP] (reporting poverty data based on U.S. Census Bureau Statistics).

In New York City, that number is seventy-four percent.<sup>145</sup> Jennifer Weiss-Wolf, the co-founder of Period Equity, frames it this way:

[A] majority of public school students – 51 percent – come from low-income families. Nearly one in five teenagers age twelve to seventeen live in poverty, which for a family of four, means getting by on \$24,600 each year. After rent, food, and other bills, even with the help of public benefits, that doesn't leave much room for anything else. Not all the things a student needs. Like books. Like shoes. Like maxi pads.<sup>146</sup>

As compared to adults, students are "more prone to be caught off guard by the arrival of their period (which is less likely to be regular), more embarrassed by it, and more likely to be without budgets of their own to buy what they need, when needed,"<sup>147</sup> giving rise to a greater need for them to be able to access menstrual products in schools at little to no cost to students.

# b. Educational Access Limited by Biology

A menstruating pre-teen or teenager is uniquely vulnerable to needing products on unpredictable schedules,<sup>148</sup> further underscoring the importance of providing free menstrual products at school.<sup>149</sup> Placing the products where

<sup>146</sup> WEISS-WOLF, *supra* note 140, at 85–86.

<sup>147</sup> Id. at 86.

<sup>148</sup> See Hillard, supra note 27 (discussing wide variation in length of adolescent's menstrual cycles).

<sup>149</sup> To be sure, the link between access to products and school attendance is not limited to K-12 students alone. For instance, a student at the University of Baltimore School of Law reported, "On more than one occasion, I've either unexpectedly gotten my period or bled through the stash of tampons in my purse. If none of my friends have any products, and because there is nowhere to get any within the school, I will often skip the rest of my classes and head home to get a tampon." University of Baltimore School of Law Students and Faculty Free Menstrual Hygiene Products Proposal, 2, (Jan. 28, 2019), http:// /law.ubalt.edu/centers/caf/pdf/Universal\_Menstrual\_Hygiene\_Product\_Access\_Propo-sal.pdf [https://perma.cc/84GG-5ECE]. In the fall of 2019, responding to student need, the University of Baltimore School of Law installed dispensers and began providing free menstrual products in restrooms, regardless of gender. Correspondence to co-author Margaret E. Johnson (on file with Johnson). In addition, Harvard Law School now provides them to students. See Megan Woolhouse, She's Thawed Harvard Law, BOSTON GLOBE (Jan. 4, 2009), http://archive.boston.com/news/politics/2008/articles/2009/01/04/ shes\_thawed\_harvard\_law/ [https://perma.cc/UR2H-WLAZ] (reporting that former Harvard Law School Dean Elena Kagan required the provision of free tampons to women at Harvard Law School over a decade ago). College campuses throughout the United States are providing access to menstrual products to support and assist their menstruating students and hopefully, more law schools will as well. See Megan Woolhouse, Should Colleges Make Tampons Free on Campus? BU TODAY (Nov. 7, 2018), http://www. bu.edu/today/2018/free-tampons-on-campus/ [https://perma.cc/35E6-7MWQ]; Mettler, supra note 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> BTNY Students Excel, Despite the Devastating Effects Poverty Can Have on Educational Outcomes, BREAKTHROUGH NEW YORK (Dec. 19, 2018), http://www.btny.org/ blog/2018/12/19/btny-students-excel-despite-the-devastating-effects-poverty-can-have-on -educational-out-comes [https://perma.cc/8VLN-EAWD] (reporting seventy-four percent of public school students in New York qualify for free or reduced-priced lunches).

students are most likely to need them—in the bathrooms, as opposed to at a nurse's station—reduces students' barriers to access, whether the barrier is the physical location of a nurse's station or a school administrator's office,<sup>150</sup> the authority of a school administrator, a culture of stigma surrounding menstruation, or the student's own shyness.<sup>151</sup> As the Cotropia study shows, seventy-three percent of those who need menstrual products are embarrassed to ask a school administrator for them.<sup>152</sup>

Having access to menstrual products makes students of all income levels less likely to miss school. Natalie Baumeister, then a twelfth-grade student at a public school in Fairfax County, Virginia, observes:

Students need free and easy access to feminine hygiene products. . .Before providing pads in the school bathrooms, girls would roll toilet paper in their underwear, tie sweaters around their waists, or go home early because they did not have feminine hygiene products. Some girls used to miss entire school days because they did not have a sufficient way to manage their periods. Now that pads are available in the bathrooms, girls are using them more. Not only is this a healthier solution, but it also allows girls to stay in school. Without easy access to menstrual products, girls miss critical instructional time, which can be detrimental to their academic performance.<sup>153</sup>

As Baumeister's description suggests, access to free menstrual products benefits all who menstruate and who might otherwise skip school if they are caught unaware by their period, even if the school is located in one of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Traveling to a nurse's station or a school administrator's office is not always practical in the event of sudden flow. Schmitt, *supra* note 62. In Colorado, students advocated for a bill to provide menstrual products in schools, arguing that "[w]hile students have access to feminine hygiene products in nurses' offices, they're not easily accessible and sometimes students are too embarrassed to ask for them. Some schools . . . have dispensers in bathrooms for the products, but many don't." Saja Hindi, *Student-Advocated Bill Would Help Colorado Public Schools Provide Free Tampons And Other Feminine Hygiene Products*, THE DENVER POST (Nov 27, 2019, 6:13 PM), https://www. denverpost.com/2019/11/27/colorado-schools-tampons-feminine-hygiene-products/ [https://perma.cc/95AE-A47V].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Schmitt, supra note 62; see also Weiss-Wolf, supra note 140, at 87; see also Cotropia, supra note 130, at 293–301. For instance, one respondent in the Cotropia study stated "Periods are a stigmatized topic – asking for assistance made others aware of the situation. Then, if you acted 'off' or 'moody' others could blame that." *Id.* at 294. <sup>152</sup> Cotropia, supra note 130, at 293–94, 299 (for instance, one respondent stated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Cotropia, *supra* note 130, at 293–94, 299 (for instance, one respondent stated "[t]he nurse made it seem like it was bad that I had to ask for a pad").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Press Release, U.S. Rep. Grace Meng, Meng Unveils Bold Proposal to Provide Menstrual Equity to All (Mar. 26, 2019), https://meng.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/meng-unveils-bold-proposal-to-provide-menstrual-equity-to-all [https://perma.cc/ G6PQ-VSEH]. Ms. Baumeister, then a senior at Justice High School, expressed her support for a federal bill that would require free menstrual products in schools. *Id.* The argument that menstrual product availability is tied to school attendance was echoed by Holly Seibold, Founder and Executive Director of Bringing Resources to Aid Women's Shelters (BRAWS) in the same Press Release. *Id.* 

wealthiest counties in the country.<sup>154</sup> By providing accessible products in schools, the school facilitates the education of both those who cannot afford the products at all and those who "may not be prepared for their period to start at school."<sup>155</sup>

A school's decision to provide menstrual products (or not) also has expressive value. Approximately fifty-one percent of surveyed teens "feel like their school does not care about them if they do not provide free period products in their bathrooms."<sup>156</sup> By contrast, when a school places products in the bathrooms, it signals that it supports all students, and cares about them having what they need to thrive at school.<sup>157</sup>

#### 2. Action at the Municipal, State and Federal Legislative Levels

In recent years, state and local governments have begun addressing this issue: New York,<sup>158</sup> New Hampshire,<sup>159</sup> Illinois,<sup>160</sup> California,<sup>161</sup> and Georgia<sup>162</sup> have all taken government action requiring school districts to provide

<sup>155</sup> Society for Women's Health Research, *Survey of School Nurses Reveals Lack of Bathroom Policies and Bladder Health Education* (Nov. 26, 2018), https://swhr.org/survey-of-school-nurses-reveals-lack-of-bathroom-policies-and-bladder-health-education/ [https://perma.cc/4H4F-LNZ4] [hereinafter *Survey of School Nurses*].

<sup>156</sup> State of the Period, supra note 43 at 2.

<sup>157</sup> The podcasting Bronx Prep Middle School girls suggested that their middle school could be made better if schools would "supply girls' restrooms with free pads and tampons." Nadworny & Lombardo, *supra* note 53.

<sup>138</sup> N.Y. PUB. HEALTH L. § 267 (McKinney 2019) (providing, "[a]ll elementary and secondary public schools in the state serving students in any grade from grade six through grade twelve shall provide feminine hygiene products in the restrooms of such school building or buildings. Such products shall be provided at no charge to students."); *see also* Meghan Finnerty, *Free Tampons Available in Schools (Period)*, ROCHESTER DEM. & CHRON., (Sept, 10, 2018, 7:00 AM), https://www.democratandchronicle.com/story/news/ local/communities/2018/09/10/free-feminine-hygiene-products-schools-districts-spendthousands/990572002 [https://perma.cc/SJK2-G6FY] (reporting on cost to local school districts of New York State law requiring free menstrual hygiene products in girls' bathrooms in public schools).

<sup>159</sup> N.H. REV. STAT. ANN. § 189:16-a (2019). Under the New Hampshire law, the law is inclusive of all menstruating students by requiring schools to provide free "menstrual hygiene products" in gender-neutral bathrooms and bathrooms designated for females in all public schools; Alanna Vagianos, *New Hampshire Passes Law Requiring Free Menstrual Products In All Public Schools*, HUFFPost (July 19, 2019, 11:10 AM), https:// www.huffpost.com/entry/new-hampshire-passes-bill-requiring-free-menstrual-productsin-all-public-schools\_n\_5d31bd0de4b0419fd32bd119 [https://perma.cc/XR8L-Q6K3]. <sup>160</sup> 105 Ill. Comp. Stat. Ann. 5/34-18.56 (West 2019); 105 Ill. Comp. Stat. 5/10-20.63

<sup>160</sup> 105 Ill. Comp. Stat. Ann. 5/34-18.56 (West 2019); 105 Ill. Comp. Stat. 5/10-20.63 (West 2019). ("A school district shall make feminine hygiene products available, at no cost to students, in the bathrooms of school buildings.").

<sup>161</sup> CAL. EDUC. CODE § 35292.6 (West 2019).

<sup>162</sup> Maya T. Prabhu, *Georgia OKs Providing Menstrual Products to Low-Income Girls, Women*, ATLANTA J.-CONST. (April 9, 2019), https://www.ajc.com/news/state--re-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> See Carol Morello & Dan Keating, D.C. Region is Nation's Richest, Most Educated, WASH. POST (Dec. 15, 2010), https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/12/14/AR2010121407680.html [https://perma.cc/895D-NSX6] (reporting that Fairfax County, Virginia and neighboring Loudon County, Virginia, "were the only two U.S. counties with median household incomes surpassing \$100,000" in a recent five-year period).
<sup>155</sup> Society for Women's Health Research, Survey of School Nurses Reveals Lack of

free menstrual products in their restrooms. Mayor Martin Walsh and the Boston Public Schools announced in June 2019 that they would similarly provide free menstrual products to students in grades six to twelve<sup>163</sup> (an action also taken by New York City prior to the enactment of legislation by New York State<sup>164</sup>).

Notably, the rhetoric surrounding these developments has specifically emphasized the importance of equal access to education and linked provision of menstrual products to the achievement of that goal. New York Governor Andrew Cuomo, for example, described the legislation as a "critical step forward in ensuring every girl in New York has the same opportunities to grow into a confident, successful woman," emphasizing the importance of "providing all students with equal access to these products."165 New Hampshire Governor Chris Sununu likewise explained that New Hampshire's legislation "will help ensure young women in New Hampshire public schools will have the freedom to learn without disruption-and free of shame, free of stigma,"166 echoing the statement of Representative Polly Campion, a cosponsor of the bill, who described it as a "basic, essential measure for equality."167 Illinois's legislation similarly included the statement that "when students do not have access to affordable feminine hygiene products, they may miss multiple days of school every month,"168 and that access to such products enables them "to continue with their daily lives with minimal interruption."169 This rhetoric also dovetails with other state and federal rules that emphasize the importance of school attendance.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>164</sup> N.Y.C., N.Y., Admin. Code § 21-968.

<sup>166</sup> Nancy West, Sununu Signs Bill Requiring that Menstrual Care Products Be Available in Schools, INDEPTHNH.ORG (July 17, 2019), http://indepthnh.org/2019/07/17/ sununu-signs-bill-requiring-menstrual-care-products-be-available-in-schools/ [https:// perma.cc/KAC7-Y29S].

<sup>167</sup> Id.

<sup>168</sup> Learn with Dignity Act, Pub. Act 100-0163, 2018 Ill. Laws.

<sup>169</sup> Id.

<sup>170</sup> See Evie Blad, Give Students Free Tampons, Pads, Advocates Say. Here's Why Some Schools Already Do, EDUC. Wκ. (Jan. 28, 2019, 4:26 PM), http://blogs.edweek.org/ edweek/rulesforengagement/2019/01/give\_students\_free\_tampons\_pads\_advocates\_

say\_heres\_why\_some\_schools\_already\_do.html?override=web [https://perma.cc/8DLW-LZB5] ("[A]s state and federal education laws put a growing emphasis on school at-

gional-govt—politics/georgia-oks-providing-menstrual-products-low-income-girls-women/8wRDKwffieuHFslCsg0TML/ [https://perma.cc/J2Z5-68NY] (explaining that through the budgeting process, the legislature allocated money to the Department of Education for schools' menstrual product supplies).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Pilot Program Launched To Provide Free Menstrual Supplies To BPS Students, CITY OF BOSTON (JUNE 17, 2019), https://www.boston.gov/news/pilot-program-launchedprovide-free-menstrual-supplies-bps-students [https://perma.cc/4BMZ-NZDB] (Boston Mayor announced pilot program providing free menstrual products to all seventy-seven BPS schools that teach students in grades 6 to 12 beginning Fall 2019 with funding from the FY20 budget).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> Press Release, Governor Andrew Cuomo, Governor Cuomo Reminds Schools of New Law Requiring School Districts to Provide Free Feminine Hygiene Products in Restrooms, Sept. 10, 2018, https://www.governor.ny.gov/news/governor-cuomo-remindsschools-new-law-requiring-school-districts-provide-free-feminine-hygiene [https:// perma.cc/4BWF-TJYB].

2020]

In addition, advocacy surrounding free menstrual products falls under the umbrella of the larger "menstrual equity" movement which-as discussed above—has taken aim at the tampon tax.<sup>171</sup> The focus on menstrual equity has even recently been picked up at the federal legislative level, when Representative Grace Meng of New York introduced a proposed bill-the "Menstrual Equity for All Act of 2019"-that would, among other things, give states the option of using federal grant funds to provide students with free menstrual products in schools, require large employers to provide free menstrual products for their employees in the workplace, and require all public federal buildings to provide free menstrual products in their restrooms.172

#### 3 Title IX and Menstrual Products in Schools

The rhetoric surrounding period poverty and government action to provide free menstrual products resonates with Title IX's emphasis on ensuring equal access to education, regardless of sex. The statute's underlying purpose-to ensure that students' sex does not deprive them of equal access to education—would suggest that schools *should* be required to provide these products. Students who menstruate and cannot afford to bring menstrual products to school-or who are unable to do so for other reasons (such as an unexpected period)-face a significant roadblock to their education that male students do not experience.

And yet, nothing in Title IX's statutory text or regulations, nor in OCR guidance, addresses this issue. Although it is straightforward to extrapolate OCR's guidance about bathroom breaks for pregnant students to bathroom breaks for menstruating students, the link between its pregnancy guidance provisions and the widespread provision of menstrual products in schools is more attenuated.

The omission of any reference to menstrual products means that there is a significant void in the current Title IX regulatory framework. States and individual school districts have begun to close the gap in the past few years, as discussed above. But this piecemeal approach would be much more effective and comprehensive if developed at the federal level. That is particularly true because not all school districts can afford to provide such products on their own, and thus federal financial support-as Representative Meng's proposed bill calls for-may be necessary. As with menstrual accommodations, this is an area where further Title IX regulations and OCR guidance, and perhaps even additional legislation, are needed.

tendance, more schools may consider providing such products in an effort to address every obstacle that may keep students out of the classroom.").

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> See Gontcharova, supra note 7, and accompanying text.
 <sup>172</sup> See Menstrual Equity for All Act of 2019, H.R. 1882, 116th Cong. (2019).

# Harvard Journal of Law & Gender

#### D. Menstrual Education in Schools

# 1. Impediments Resulting from Inadequate Menstrual Education

Menstrual education in the United States is deficient in several respects. First, numerous states do not require schools to offer any instruction in the topic (or, indeed, any sex education at all).<sup>173</sup> Furthermore, even in states that mandate sex education, teachers are not necessarily required to provide accurate information to students.<sup>174</sup> It is not surprising, then, that seventy-nine percent of teens report that they "feel that they need more in-depth education around menstrual health."<sup>175</sup> Girls in particular report that there is not sufficient discussion time in their menstrual education classes, that the content is not taught in a memorable way, and that the courses do not sufficiently take into consideration students' embarrassment about asking questions.<sup>176</sup>

Another key deficiency in existing menstrual education is that it may come too late. Typically, states that provide puberty education do so for students in the fifth or sixth grade;<sup>177</sup> this is after some students have begun menstruating.<sup>178</sup> During the past twenty five years, the age of menarche "has declined steadily," and although the average onset of menstruation is twelve years old (approximately sixth or seventh grade), a not-insubstantial portion of menstruating students begin to menstruate earlier.<sup>179</sup> Specifically, one study of 17,077 girls ages three to twelve found that forty-eight percent of African-American girls and almost fifteen percent of Caucasian girls showed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Guttmacher Institute, *State Laws and Policies: Sex and HIV Education* (Dec. 1, 2019), https://www.guttmacher.org/state-policy/explore/sex-and-hiv-education [https://perma.cc/Y3FG-SJBN].

 $<sup>^{174}</sup>$  In the thirty-nine states that do require some sex education, only seventeen of those states require that the education be medically accurate. *Id.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> State of the Period, supra note 43, at 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> See Ann C. Herbert et al., Puberty Experiences of Low-Income Girls in the United States: A Systematic Review of Qualitative Literature From 2000 to 2014, 60 J. OF ADO-LESCENT HEALTH 363, 376 (2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> In 1999, the Guttmacher Institute reported that "seventy-two percent of fifth- and sixth-grade teachers report that sexuality education is taught in their schools at one or both grades. Fifty-six percent of teachers say that the subject is taught in grade five and 64% in grade six." David J. Landry et al., *Sexuality Education in Fifth and Sixth Grades in U.S. Public Schools*, 32 PERSPECTIVES ON SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH 212, 212 (1999), https://www.guttmacher.org/journals/psrh/2000/09/sexuality-education-fifthand-sixth-grades-us-public-schools-1999 [https://perma.cc/2YUY-SPLJ]. <sup>178</sup> Menstrual Cycle, supra note 25; Table 5.3: Types of State and District Require-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Menstrual Cycle, supra note 25; Table 5.3: Types of State and District Requirements for Kindergarten Entrance and Attendance, Waivers and Exemptions for Kindergarten Entrance, by State: 2018, Nat'l Ctr. for Educ. Stat., https://nces.ed.gov/programs/ statereform/tab5\_3.asp [https://perma.cc/R44F-EX4T] (last visited Dec. 12, 2019) [hereinafter Table 5.3] (showing kindergarten begins at age five).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Herbert et al., *supra* note 176, at 364; see also *Table 5.3, supra* note 178 (showing twelve-year-olds attend sixth or seventh grade).

physical development of puberty as early as eight years of age, or in approximately third grade.180

Timely school-based education may be especially important for those students who are not learning about menstruation at home or elsewhere.<sup>181</sup> As one former student explains, "[s]ome girls find out about their periods when they actually get them. It's just never talked about in schooling."<sup>182</sup> In line with the research on the early onset of menarche, at a minimum, third grade would be the appropriate point to introduce the topic, given the possibility that some third-graders will start menstruating over the course of the school year. Providing earlier menstrual education provides menstruating students necessary information before they get their first period.

Students of all ages benefit from knowing the facts of the reproductive system and puberty, and also about the practicalities and management of menstruation.<sup>183</sup> School-based education that is medically accurate provides information (and therefore some comfort and confidence) to menstruating individuals. One study reports that low-income girls "who felt unknowledgeable or unprepared for menstruation were more likely to report having worse experiences of menarche, negative attitudes about menarche, and more menstrual distress."<sup>184</sup> The study further reports that, unfortunately, those girls viewed the education they received as "inaccurate, negative, and late."185 Exemplifying this point, one lower-income African American girl recounts, "First I had my period, and then they started talking about it. It wasn't helpful; it was a little late."186

Research suggests that inadequate menstrual education disproportionately affects lower-income students, who otherwise may not learn about menarche and menstruation at home or from other sources. In a 2013 study, low-income girls had significantly lower scores on "knowledge, menarche preparedness, and positive attitudes about menstruation"187 compared to

<sup>184</sup> Herbert et al., *supra* note 176, at 364. Specifically, the lower-income girls in the survey population described their experiences with menstruation and menarche as "embarrassing, traumatic, scary, and confusing and associated with feeling gross, dirty, smelly, and disgusting." *Id.* at 366. The students also reported having "felt unprepared and ill equipped for this transition." Id.

185 Id. at 376.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Herbert et al., supra note 176, at 364; see also Ashley Reese, Black Blood, PE-RIOD: TWELVE VOICES TELL THE BLOODY TRUTH, 103, 109-111 (Kate Farrell ed., 2018) (explaining that black American girls start their periods earlier than other girls).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Herbert et al., *supra* note 176, at 376 (stating "[s]chools were more important in situations where mother-daughter conversations were nonexistent.").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Gupta et al., supra note 19, at 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> For instance, during a focus group on menstruation, one student asked into "which hole" a menstrual cup should be inserted because she had never learned this. Schmitt, supra note 62. In addition to a biological understanding, students also need information about menstrual management. As one student explained, "Your period is not really, it's so scientifically talked about in our health classes . . . and some people have questions, but they're too ashamed or scared to ask them, which is terrible." Gupta et al., *supra* note 19, at 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> Id. at 377; see also id. at 366–67, 378.
<sup>187</sup> See id. at 364.

high-income girls, regardless of race. "This suggests that in the United States, there may be disparities by socioeconomic status in relation to preparation for puberty."<sup>188</sup> Schools can help even the information gap among students. Empowering students with knowledge may diminish negative thoughts about menstruation and help students as they go through this transition.<sup>189</sup>

In addition to affecting a student's developing self-identity, insufficient menstrual education may also perpetuate stigmas around menstruation. Participants in one research study "linked lack of menstrual health education with girls' fear of discussing such issues."<sup>190</sup> As one adolescent participant reports:

It's the fact that women don't like to talk about having their period because, alright, because it's gross to men. And men don't like to hear it and men are the more dominant people in society, and if a man doesn't like it being talked about then women are not going to talk about it in front of people in general. And so it's kind of seen as taboo to talk about your period. Something that has to do with your vagina, that's taboo you can't talk about that you know?<sup>191</sup>

The failure of schools to provide accurate information about menstruation thus contributes to a culture of silence and stigma. Such a culture is an incubator for harassment.<sup>192</sup>

Another concern is that when schools do offer puberty-related classes, the classes are often divided into two separate groups based on sex, with different content for each group. Female students learn about menstruation, but boys often do not.<sup>193</sup> Such differential instruction is problematic for two reasons. First, it is based on the premise that there are no transgender boys.<sup>194</sup> By the same token, there may well be transgender girls in the girls' class, underscoring the need for both classes to cover male and female reproductive biology. Second, if boys do not gain an understanding of this basic process of human biology, they not only miss out academically, but also miss the opportunity to develop understanding and empathy. By contrast, providing boys with menstrual education decreases the likelihood of negative atti-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Id.

<sup>189</sup> Id. at 378.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> Gupta et al., supra note 19, at 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Appropriate education offered to all students can address the taboo of menstruation and "help reframe the idea that menstruation is a punishment or a deviant function that makes bodies that menstruate inferior to bodies that don't. Instead, schools can treat menstruation as an important process for everyone to understand—for the sake of body literacy and reproductive and sexual health." Dillard, *supra* note 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> See Allen et al., supra note 51, at 140-42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> See Wiley Reading, My Period and Me: A Trans Guy's Guide to Menstruation, in PERIOD: TWELVE VOICES TELL THE BLOODY TRUTH 91–101 (Feiwel and Friends, 1st ed. 2018); see also Dillard, supra note 98.

2020]

tudes toward those who are menstruating.<sup>195</sup> Bronx Prep Middle School student Litzy Encarnacion frames it simply: "If the boys learned about periods, too, it would be way less awkward."<sup>196</sup>

Finally, to the extent that school personnel are themselves uninformed or untrained on menstruation-related matters, they may be ineffective as educators and support personnel. For example, participants in an endometriosis research study reported their perceptions that school nurses do not have enough knowledge to address endometriosis and tend to be suspicious of a menstruating student who presents with the pain and irregular bleeding symptoms caused by endometriosis.<sup>197</sup> If students fear that they will not be treated with respect, they will be reluctant to seek help with managing endometriosis.<sup>198</sup> Meaningful and scientifically accurate education delivered by trained personnel will make menstruating students more likely to seek any help they need.

# 2. Title IX and Menstrual Education

Menstrual education, like availability of menstrual products, is another area where Title IX interpretation, regulation, and guidance should be expanded. The Title IX regulations regarding access to classes provide that "classes or portions of classes in elementary and secondary schools that deal primarily with human sexuality may be conducted in separate sessions for boys and girls."<sup>199</sup> Outside of that narrow context (and other similarly nar-

<sup>198</sup> Id. at 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> See Allen et al., supra note 51, at 130, 149. One 2011 study stated that "[t]he exemption or omission of boys from sexuality education in general and menstruation education in particular is problematic and may have implications for their attitudes and treatment of women, intimate relationships, and reproductive decision making." Id. at 130. This study showed that without school-based puberty classes, there was no consistent source of knowledge for boys on menstruation. Id. at 138-142. The study also "found that because boys rarely were educated about menstruation, when they grew to be college-aged men, many had internalized the taboo of menstruation and showed a lack of empathy around menstruation, as evidenced by their harassing menstruating girls and policing women's bodies regarding menstrual hygiene." Johnson, *supra* note 9, at 52 (citing Allen, supra note 51). Because they gathered bits and pieces of through a random process, boys had many misunderstandings that precluded comprehension of menstruation until they gathered more information later in life. See Allen, supra note 51, at 151–52. Some misunderstanding led to a distancing by the boys and men from menstruating women because they menstruated. As boys, the study participants admitted they had been ignorant about menstruation in their youth. Id. at 138-40. That ignorance makes boys unlikely to be effective bystander intervenors against menstruation-based harassment. For effective bystander intervention training relating to gender-based harassment in the workplace, see Chai R. Feldblum & Victoria A. Lipnic, EEOC REPORT, SELECT TASK FORCE ON THE STUDY OF HARASSMENT IN THE WORKPLACE (June 2016), https://www. eeoc.gov/eeoc/task\_force/harassment/report.cfm#\_Toc453686311 [https://perma.cc/ 9DZW-DHQV].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Nadworny & Lombardo, *supra* note 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> Gupta et al., *supra* note 19, at 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> 34 C.F.R. § 106.34(a)(3) (2018).

row contexts, such as contact sports and choruses),<sup>200</sup> single-sex classes can be offered only within strict parameters. Specifically, Title IX's regulations state that a school may provide "single classes or extracurricular activities." under these conditions:

(i) Each single-sex class or extracurricular activity is based on the recipient's important objective-

(A) To improve educational achievement of its students, through a recipient's overall established policy to provide diverse educational opportunities. . .; or

(B) To meet the particular, identified educational needs of its students, provided that the single-sex nature of the class or extracurricular activity is substantially related to achieving that objective.201

In such situations, the school must ensure that "[s]tudent enrollment in a single-sex class. . is completely voluntary" and that the school "provides to all other students, including students of the excluded sex, a substantially equal coeducational class."202

Thus, Title IX leaves some space for schools-if they so choose-to provide menstrual education in a single-sex setting. In particular, menstrual education, when provided in the context of a human sexuality class, can occur in a single-sex setting. That said, there is no requirement that human sexuality classes be conducted in separate sessions for boys and girls. Title IX simply allows schools to take this approach. Title IX says nothing about whether, for schools that do take that approach, the substantive content in the boys' and girls' human sexuality classes can entirely diverge. Given Title IX's focus on equal access to educational opportunities regardless of sex, it is much more consistent for such classes to provide a basic understanding of reproductive biology, even if the precise emphases of the classes differ. Doing so means that all students gain the same scientific knowledge, and has the added benefit of creating a climate where menstruation-based harassment is less common. This is an area where more regulation and guidance under Title IX would be helpful in order to promote equal opportunity to gain sufficient understanding of all aspects of reproductive biology.

Additionally, to the extent that menstrual education is provided outside of human sexuality classes-for example, in biology courses-the regulations make clear that both male and female students should receive comparable information. For example, even if a school were to offer a girls-only biology class, to satisfy Title IX requirements, the school would also need to offer a substantially equal coeducational class in biology. As such, it would directly contravene existing Title IX regulations for a girls-only biology

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> *Id.* at § 106.34(a)(1), (4).
<sup>201</sup> *Id.* at § 106.34(b)(1)(i).
<sup>202</sup> *Id.* at § 106.34(b)(1)(iii)-(iv).

class to cover menstruation, while the counterpart co-ed biology class did not.

#### E. Connecting Doctrine to Theory

Harassment, restrictions on student access to bathrooms, non-availability of menstrual products, and the lack of meaningful menstruation-related instruction can prevent students' equal access to education. Because only people with female biology menstruate, the failure to remedy situations where menstruation impedes education can amount to a denial of educational opportunities on the basis of sex.<sup>203</sup> Title IX, with its mandate of ensuring equal access to education without regard to sex, thus serves as an important tool in addressing issues that menstruating students face.<sup>204</sup>

The next Part explores the insights that feminist legal theory adds to the examination of the juncture of Title IX and menstruation. Three preliminary observations frame the discussion. First, there is no single "feminist legal theory," but rather different feminist legal theories, each with unique histories, concerns, and focal points.<sup>205</sup> The application of multiple feminist legal theories to the intersecting issues of Title IX and menstruation reveals the diverse intellectual range of the field. For that reason, the examination of Title IX and menstruation through the lens of multiple feminist legal theories is a useful exercise on its own. Indeed, instructors and students can use the next Part as a stand-alone illustration of the application of various theories to a particular legal problem.

Second, feminist legal theory—or more accurately, feminist legal theories—rarely lead to a single normative legal conclusion. Feminist theorists might agree, for example, that education unimpeded by anxiety about menstruation is a worthy goal. But this does not mean that theorists will necessarily come to consensus on what this means for the law.

Third, and perhaps most important, examining the intersection of Title IX and menstruation reveals the (perhaps counterintuitive) value of maintaining partial and simultaneous commitments to multiple feminist legal theories. A robust legal strategy may need to borrow ideas from different feminist theories. Using feminist legal theory does not require a declaration of allegiance to a particular strand. Advocates, instead, can fashion the best arguments that emerge from the collective body of work. Ultimately, feminist legal theory, as we understand it, provides a broad set of tools—

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> See supra Part II. A. 2, B. 2, C. 3, and D. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> See United States Department of Justice, Equal Access to Education: Forty Years of Title IX (June 23, 2012), supra note 49, at 1 and accompanying text (describing aims of Title IX).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> See infra Part III.

grounded in, but not limited by, their particular intellectual, social, political, and legal histories—to be deployed in service of justice for all people.<sup>206</sup>

# III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS FOR UNDERSTANDING TITLE IX AND MENSTRUATION

This Part considers the needs of menstruating students from the perspective of multiple feminist legal theories. Arguments that Title IX guarantees students the right to be free from menstruation-based harassment, to have access to menstrual accommodations and menstrual products, and to receive adequate and accurate menstrual education in schools do not proceed from a single "feminist" perspective. These arguments are grounded in—but also reveal the limitation of—traditional feminist approaches to law. Understanding the diverse range of feminist legal theoretical frameworks enables scholars and activists to construct more effective legal claims under Title IX, and to advocate for state-specific legislation that could help remove educational obstacles faced by menstruating students.

# A. Formal Equality

The predominant approach to equality in American jurisprudence is formal equality: the idea that the law should make no formal distinction between men and women.<sup>207</sup> This belief fueled the early women's rights movement in the United States.<sup>208</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others who had been active in the abolitionist movement convened the first large public gathering for women's rights in Seneca Falls, New York in 1848.<sup>209</sup> One hundred of the nearly three hundred attendees—including Frederick Douglass—

264

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> In this sense, we share the definition of "feminism" adopted by the conveners of the U.S. Feminist Judgments Project. *See* Kathryn M. Stanchi, Linda L. Berger & Bridget J. Crawford, *Introduction to the U.S. Feminist Judgments Project, in* FEMINIST JUDGMENTS: REWRITTEN OPINIONS OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT 3, 3–23 (Kathryn M. Stanchi, Linda L. Berger & Bridget J. Crawford eds., 2016) ("We recognize 'feminism' as a movement and perspective historically grounded in politics, and one that motivates social, legal, and other battles for women's equality. We also understand it as a movement and mode of inquiry that has grown to endorse justice for all people, particularly those historically oppressed or marginalized by or through law.").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> See, e.g., MARTHA CHAMALLAS, INTRODUCTION TO FEMINIST LEGAL THEORY 19 (3d ed. 2013) ("Liberal feminists share a commitment to individual autonomy and choice and insist that these freedoms be afforded to women as well as men."); see also CYNTHIA GRANT BOWMAN ET AL., FEMINIST JURISPRUDENCE: CASES AND MATERIALS 27 (5th ed. 2018) ("Liberal feminism came to dominate understandings of sexual quality in law and throughout society.").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> See, e.g., JoEllen Lind, The Clinton/Palin Phenomenon and Young Women Voters, 30 HAMLINE J. OF PUB. L. & POL'Y 527 (describing nineteenth century women's rights activism as "focused on securing woman suffrage and represent[ing] an idealistic view of the power of formal equality in political rights to help women").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> See, e.g., TRACY A. THOMAS, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON AND THE FEMINIST FOUNDATIONS OF FAMILY LAW 7 (2016) (describing planning for Seneca Falls gathering).

signed a Declaration of Sentiments that began, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal."210 The Declaration proclaimed, "That woman is man's equal. . .she should be recognized as such," "[t]hat it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise," and "[t]hat the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities."211 Stanton and others sought to remove legal restrictions on women's right to vote, serve as jurors, own property, and receive an education.<sup>212</sup>

In the 1970s, lawyers with a similar conception of women and men as equally capable autonomous actors brought challenges to laws that discriminated on the basis of sex.<sup>213</sup> In 1971 in Reed v. Reed, the Supreme Court found unconstitutional an Idaho intestacy statute that preferred men over women in the appointment of any administrator of an intestate decedent's estate.<sup>214</sup> Writing for a unanimous Court (but without stating what standard of review it applied), Chief Justice Burger held that "[t]o give a mandatory preference to members of either sex over members of the other ... is to make the very kind of arbitrary legislative choice forbidden by the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."215 Two years later, in Frontiero v. Richardson, the Court found unconstitutional a military policy of providing automatic spousal benefits to married male personnel, but requiring married female personnel to prove they provided over half of the support for their spouses.<sup>216</sup> Many other cases followed, and slowly intermediate scrutiny emerged as the standard for evaluating sex-based classifications drawn by the government.217

<sup>213</sup> See, e.g., Clare Cushman, Supreme Court Decisions and Women's Rights: Milestones to Equality 37–55 (2001). <sup>214</sup> Reed v. Reed, 404 U.S. 71 (1971).

215 Id. at 76.

<sup>217</sup> See, e.g., Craig v. Boren, 429 U.S. 190, 197 (1976) (invalidating state law that set sex-based age minimums for the purchase of 3.2% beer, reasoning that "classifications by gender must serve important governmental objectives and must be substantially re-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> MODERN HISTORY SOURCEBOOK: THE DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, SENECA FALLS CONFERENCE, 1848 (Jan. 21, 2020), https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/senecafalls.asp (reprinting text of Declaration of Sentiments).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> ELIZABETH CADY STANTON & OTHERS, HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE 72 (1881), http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/abolitn/abwmat.html [https://perma.cc/GRD9-RG3S] (discussing resolutions passed, including "[t]hat woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> See id.; see also Elizabeth B. Clark, Matrimonial Bonds: Slavery and Divorce in Nineteenth-Century America, 8 L. & Hist. Rev. 25, 49 (Spring 1990) (describing Stan-ton's autonomy-based approach to rights); Reva B. Siegel, Home as Work: The First Wo-man's Rights Claims Concerning Wives' Household Labor, 1850-1880, 103 YALE L.J. 1073, 1157-58 (1994) (discussing nineteenth-century rights discourse around married women's property rights).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> Frontiero v. Richardson, 411 U.S. 677 (1973). Although eight of the nine justices agreed that the military policy violated the Constitution, only four justices joined Justice Brennan's opinion that applied strict scrutiny. *Id.* at 684. The other justices applied *Reed* without elaborating on the precise standard that should be applied. Id. at 691-92.

The Supreme Court's classic liberal construction of equality has two important ramifications for discussion of students' rights in connection with the menstrual issues explored above. First, the Court's jurisprudence is organized around a gender binary: male and female. This is true for equal protection purposes, and for Title IX purposes, given Title IX's focus on ensuring that students are not discriminated against because of "sex." Thus, in its current state, the doctrine fits less easily with claims that do not line up with that binary.<sup>218</sup> In this sense, menstrual advocates' gender-inclusive language (i.e., referring to "menstruating students" rather than to girls or women) must be used carefully in the context of legal claims, to avoid delinking menstruation from sex, or at least biology.<sup>219</sup> To be sure, not all who menstruate are girls or women, but emphasizing the connection between menstruation and female biology (as opposed to gender) is an important thread of Title IX argumentation.<sup>220</sup>

Second, although formal equality theory is helpful in framing menstruation-based harassment as a form of sex discrimination, given that the harassment is directed toward students on account of their female biology, it is of limited utility for analyzing some of the other issues raised by sex-specific biological processes. Recall that in *Geduldig v. Aiello*, for example, the Court upheld a state disability insurance program that excluded pregnancy from coverage, saying that the program's distinction between pregnant women and non-pregnant persons was not based on sex, just pregnancy.<sup>221</sup> Similarly, an approach solely grounded in formal equality risks the argument

<sup>219</sup> Relatedly, there are three pending cases that will require the Supreme Court to determine whether Title VII's prohibitions on discrimination "on the basis of sex" also prohibit gender discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity. *See Bostock v. Clayton Cty. Bd. of Comm'rs*, 723 F. App'x 964 (11th Cir. 2018), *cert. granted sub nom.* Bostock v. Clayton Cty., 139 S. Ct. 1599 (2019) (declining to interpret Title VII to prohibit discrimination in employment on the basis of sexual orientation); Zarda v. Altitude Express, Inc., 883 F.3d 100, 112 (2d Cir. 2017), *cert. granted sub nom.* Altitude Express Inc. v. Zarda, 139 S. Ct. 1599 (2019) (interpreting Title VII to prohibit discrimination in employment on the basis of sexual orientation); EEOC v. R.G. & G.R. Harris Funeral Homes, 884 F.3d 560, 571, 582 (2018), *cert. granted in part sub nom.* R.G. & G.R. Harris Funeral Homes Inc. v. Equal Emp't Opportunity Comm'n, 139 S. Ct. 1599 (2019) (finding that Title VII prohibits discrimination on the basis of "transgender status" and finding that the employer did not meet the showing of a "substantial burden" under the Religious Freedom Restoration Act). The Supreme Court's analysis of these cases will have important implications for the meaning of sex and sex discrimination in the Title IX context.

<sup>220</sup> See infra Part III.B.

<sup>221</sup> Geduldig v. Aiello, 417 U.S. 484, 496 n.20 (1974) ("The lack of identity between the excluded disability and gender as such under this insurance program becomes clear upon the most cursory analysis. The program divides potential recipients into two

lated to the achievement of those objectives"); United States v. Virginia, 518 U.S. 515 (1996) (invalidating the male-only admission policy at the Virginia Military Institute on the grounds that the state did not show an "exceedingly persuasive" rationale for the policy).

policy). <sup>218</sup> See, e.g., Kathryn M. Stanchi, Bridget J. Crawford & Linda L. Berger, Why Women? Judging Transnational Courts and Tribunals, 34 CONN. J. INT'L. L. 319, 327-28 (2019) (discussing difficulties of classifying people on the basis of sex or gender identity).
that school refusals to exempt menstruating students from strict bathroom break policies or to provide free menstrual products do not reflect sex discrimination, since both sexes are being treated equally. Indeed, just as David Cohen has noted in the context of athletics, formal equality does not always ensure the equality of opportunity that is Title IX's ultimate goal.<sup>222</sup>

#### **B**. Anti-Essentialism

Some similar tensions about the connections between menstruation and sex are raised by the anti-essentialist strain of feminist legal theory. The formal equality emphasis of some feminist thinking led legal scholars such as Tina Grillo and Angela Harris to question the emphasis on "women's" experiences. Grillo decries what she calls "essentialism" of the women's movement:

Essentialism is the notion that there is a single woman's, or Black person's, or any other group's, experience that can be described independently from other aspects of the person — that there is an "essence" to that experience. An essentialist outlook assumes that the experience of being a member of the group under discussion is a stable one, one with a clear meaning, a meaning constant through time, space, and different historical, social, political, and personal contexts.223

To Grillo, any emphasis on "women's" experiences effectively ignores the difference that race made (and continues to make) in women's lives. An African-American woman's experience of rape, for example, is historically different than a white woman's experience, as the law treated enslaved African-American women as the chattel property of their owners.<sup>224</sup> So to talk about "women's" experience requires attention to the way that experience is impacted by multiple factors.

Informed by the anti-essentialist vein of feminist legal theory, any discussion of access to menstrual products in schools, the right to be free from menstruation-based harassment, or even reproductive education needs to be aware of the risks of generalization. It is possible to talk about the needs of girls and women to access menstrual products, for example, but as noted

groups—pregnant women and nonpregnant persons. While the first group is exclusively female, the second includes members of both sexes.").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> See Cohen, supra note 106, at 265.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> Trina Grillo, Anti-Essentialism and Intersectionality: Tools to Dismantle the Master's House, 10 BERKELEY WOMEN'S L.J. 16, 19 (1995); see also Angela P. Harris, Race and Essentialism in Feminist Legal Theory, 42 STAN. L. REV. 581, 586–87 (1990)

<sup>(</sup>critiquing feminists' failure to listen to what women say about their own experiences). <sup>224</sup> See Harris, supra note 223, at 598–99 ("[A]s a legal matter, the experience of rape did not even exist for black women. During slavery, the rape of a black woman by any man, white or black, was simply not a crime.").

above, not all girls and women menstruate<sup>225</sup> and not all who menstruate are girls or women.<sup>226</sup> Yet anyone who menstruates has female biology.<sup>227</sup>

Understanding these distinctions requires appreciation of the differences between and among sex, gender, and gender identity. "Sex," in the broadest sense, may refer to one or more medical markers-external genitalia, chromosomes or hormones (although humans can present with a range of chromosomal combinations and different hormone levels, and intersex individuals represent approximately 0.05 percent to 1.7 percent of the population).228 "Gender" refers to the social or cultural expectations associated with people of a certain sex.<sup>229</sup> "Gender identity" is one's self-perception as having a particular sex or gender, which may or may not match the sex one is assigned at birth.230

Given the fact that not all girls and women menstruate, but not all who menstruate are girls or women,<sup>231</sup> what type of essentialization of menstruation is appropriate? To be sure, an inclusive movement must recognize that although menstruation may be biologically-based, it is not necessarily gender-based or gender-identity based. Yet, as discussed above, the scientific fact that menstruation is an involuntary biological process unique to most girls and women (as well as those who have female biology) is an important part of Title IX argumentation. For that reason, anti-essentialism should certainly inform social activism, but there is no precise consensus among feminists as to whether legal arguments under Title IX are enhanced or weakened by an anti-essentialist approach to sex and gender.<sup>232</sup> On the one hand, there

https://www.hrc.org/resources/sexual-orientation-and-gender-identity-terminol-PAIGN, ogy-and-definitions [https://perma.cc/D9FD-D2MF] (defining gender identity as a person's "innermost concept of self as male, female, a blend of both or neither — how individuals perceive themselves and what they call themselves. One's gender identity can be the same or different from their sex assigned at birth.").

<sup>231</sup> See supra notes 22, 228–230 and accompanying text.

<sup>232</sup> Other forms of anti-essentialism arguments are outside the scope of Title IX, but should be considered in advocacy for any legislation relating to menstruation and schools. For instance, recognizing the greater need for products for low-income students,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> Reasons that girls and women might not menstruate include age (i.e., being prepubescent or menopausal), pregnancy, breastfeeding, and hormone imbalance, among other factors. See, e.g., supra note 22.

<sup>226</sup> See, e.g., What is Menopause, NIH: NAT'L INST. ON AGING (June 27, 2017), https:/ /www.niah.nih.gov/health/what-menopause [https://perma.cc/6Z7A-B8EE] ("meno-pausal transition most often begins between ages 45 and 55."); Nat'l Inst. on Aging, Menopause 2 (Dec. 2013), https://www.nia.nih.gov/sites/default/files/menopause\_2.pdf

<sup>(</sup>giving average age of menopause as fifty-one). <sup>227</sup> See, e.g., Reading, supra note 194, at 91; Johnson, supra note 9, at 5, 26 (explain-ing use of term "menstruators" to include transgender men and boys).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> See Fact Sheet, Intersex, UN Hum. Rts. Office of the High Comm'r, https:// unfe.org/system/unfe-65-Intersex\_Factsheet\_ENGLISH.pdf [https://perma.cc/U9DB-XJFX] (defining "intersex" as those "born with sex characteristics (including genitals, gonads and chromosome patterns) that do not fit typical binary notions of male or female (2008), http://www.isna.org/faq/frequency [https://perma.cc/LZU5-GCNW].
<sup>229</sup> See Stanchi et al., supra note 218, at 321 (differentiating sex and gender).
<sup>230</sup> Id.; see also Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Definitions, Hum. RTS CAM-

is a legal risk in using anti-essentialist rhetoric that emphasizes that some transgender boys and men, as well as some gender non-binary and intersex persons, menstruate. After all, an underlying premise of the Title IX arguments outlined above—as well as analogous equal protection arguments for eliminating the tampon tax—is that unfavorable treatment of menstruation and menstrual products amounts to unlawful sex discrimination.<sup>233</sup> On the other hand, there is also a risk that if advocates and scholars only refer to girls and women in their discussion of menstruation, rather than acknowledging others who menstruate, their arguments will exclude some who need access to menstrual products, menstrual accommodations, and protections against harassment. Scholars and advocates must navigate these competing concerns in framing their rhetoric and arguments.

#### C. Anti-Stereotyping

The anti-stereotyping understanding of the formal equality approach provides a stronger theoretical foundation for Title IX claims that address the issues identified by this Article. Legal scholar Cary Franklin has argued that the equal protection litigation of the 1970s is best understood as grounded in a view that "the state could not act in ways that reflected or reinforced traditional conceptions of men's and women's roles. . .. The anti-stereotyping approach was designed to provide such guidance; its aim was to direct courts' attention to the particular institutions and social practices that perpetuate inequality in the context of sex."<sup>234</sup> Franklin's argument helps explain cases like *Moritz v. Commissioner*, in which Ruth Bader Ginsburg, on behalf of the ACLU, challenged the denial of an unmarried man's eligibility for a tax deduction for caretakers.<sup>235</sup> Ginsburg argued that denial of the deduction to Mr. Moritz because of his sex was rooted in the stereotype that only women (or men who had been married) occupy the caregiving role in families.<sup>236</sup>

Colorado's proposed legislation for free menstrual products prioritizes schools with large numbers of low-income students. Saja Hindi, *Student-Advocated Bill Would Help Colorado Public Schools Provide Free Tampons And Other Feminine Hygiene Products*, The Denver Post, (Nov. 27, 2019, 6:13 PM), https://www.denverpost.com/2019/11/27/colorado-schools-tampons-feminine-hygiene-products/ [https://perma.cc/63VH-NERH].

rado-schools-tampons-feminine-hygiene-products/ [https://perma.cc/63VH-NERH]. <sup>233</sup> See Crawford & Waldman, supra note 8, at 442 ("[W]e argue that a tax on menstrual hygiene products—when roughly analogous male or unisex products are exempt on grounds of 'necessity'—amounts to an unconstitutional tax on women, because menstrual hygiene products are so inextricably linked to female biology.").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> Cary Franklin, The Anti-Stereotyping Principle in Constitutional Sex Discrimination Law, 85 N.Y.U. L. Rev. 83, 88 (2010).

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> Moritz v. Commissioner of Internal Revenue, 469 F.2d 466, 467 (10th Cir. 1972).
<sup>236</sup> See Brief of Petitioner-Appellant at 18, 20, Moritz v. Commissioner of Internal Revenue, 469 F.2d 466 (10th Cir. 1972) (No. 71-1127) (Ruth Bader Ginsburg, Martin Ginsburg, and Melvin Wulf on brief arguing that "the constitutional sword necessarily has two edges. Fair and equal treatment for women means fair and equal treatment for members of both sexes.").

In the context of menstrual equity issues, anti-stereotyping theories may not immediately be an obvious fit. After all, decisions to provide (or more often, to decline to provide) menstrual products are not typically grounded in socially-based views about proper roles for males and females. That said, one connective thread linking the various issues identified in this Article is the long-standing social convention that menstruation is a private, "taboo" bodily function inappropriate for public mention or attention.<sup>237</sup> This itself is a sex-based stereotype, resulting in the relegation of female sex-specific bodily functions and needs to the private sphere.<sup>238</sup>

To be sure, the traditional distinction between what is public and what is private, at least with respect to menstruation, has begun to crumble in the wake of increased public awareness.<sup>239</sup> Activists, including young students, are becoming more willing to openly talk about the ordinary bodily function of menstruation.<sup>240</sup> But that long-held stereotype still has force.

Relatedly, stereotypes or misunderstandings about the basic facts of female biology may be underlying the failure of schools to provide menstrual

<sup>238</sup> Indeed, before states like Illinois and New York began requiring free menstrual hygiene products in bathrooms in middle schools and high schools in 2018, see supra notes 158-161 and accompanying text, it was not clear that many school boards made an active decision to *not* provide menstrual hygiene products in schools. Rather, school boards made and active decision to *not* provide menstrual hygiene products in schools. Rather, school boards may have simply let languish (and not refilled) existing "pay" machines in bathrooms. See, e.g., Alexandra Bruell, Tech-Savvy Critics Aim to Upgrade the Tampon Dispenser, Wall St. J. (May 2, 2019), https://www.wsj.com/articles/tampon-dispenserslack-that-high-tech-wow-factor-11556800479 [https://perma.cc/HF3F-CH98] ("Most of the dispensers found in women's bathrooms in department stores, offices and public venues were designed several decades ago. They still require quarters. They often get jammed, or sit empty because no one has manually checked the supply levels, leaving women who forget their own supplies without a basic necessity.") As society has moved away from a cash economy, it is possible to buy a soda from a vending machine by swiping a credit card, but menstrual hygiene product machines lie empty. See id. This inattention is consistent with long-standing social conventions that menstruation is a private bodily function inappropriate for public mention or attention. See Crawford & Waldman, supra note 8, at 477-78 (describing general aversion to discussing "private" matters of menstruation). The failure to consider students' needs for menstrual hygiene products is based on a general stereotype of what is (and is not) a legitimate "public" concern, and a specific relegation of girls' and women's sex-specific bodily functions to the private sphere. See Crawford & Spivack, supra note 40, at 506-12 (discussing cultural attitudes about women's bodily fluids).

<sup>239</sup> See, e.g., Shruti Sathish, Menstrual Products Must Be Available in School Restrooms. Period., WOMENSENEWS.ORG (Jan. 29, 2019), https://womensenews.org/2019/ 01/menstrual-products-must-be-available-in-school-restrooms-period/ [https://perma.cc/ 9VNN-43Q5] (high-school student's description of efforts to increase access to menstrual hygiene products in her public school because, "[i]t's time for everyone to realize that menstrual products are necessities, not luxuries, and that periods should be embraced, not feared.").

<sup>240</sup> See supra notes 1–4 and accompanying text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> See Crawford & Spivack, *supra* note 40, at 506–12 (exploring cultural roots of misunderstandings of and taboos around menstruation); see also Crawford & Waldman, *supra* note 8, at 477 (explaining failure of many states' legislatures to accord non-taxable status to menstrual hygiene products not as discriminatory intent, but rather as "the result of a combination of indifference, lack of understanding, and discomfort with discussions about or consideration of women's biological processes").

2020]

products and menstrual accommodations. Menstruation is an involuntary bodily function that most girls and women experience every month for years-and menstrual cycles vary widely, in terms of predictability, discomfort, and heaviness of flow.<sup>241</sup> If decision-makers better understood the biological facts of menstruation, there might be greater understanding of why students cannot always wait for bathroom breaks, and why it is so important to make menstrual products freely and easily accessible.<sup>242</sup> Unless all students, as well as all teachers and administrators, understand these basic facts. policies may unintentionally disadvantage menstruating students. Better school-based education for all students will help combat misinformation and stereotypes about female biology, ultimately reducing the potential for harassment as well.<sup>243</sup> To be sure, uninformed views of female biology are not the traditional target of "anti-stereotyping" theories.<sup>244</sup> But debunking misinformation or misconceptions about female bodies is just as important as challenging socially constructed norms about women as caretakers or as dependents of their spouses.245

<sup>243</sup> See, e.g., Bonnie J. Rough, Why We Shouldn't Be Separating Boys and Girls for Sex Ed, WASH. POST (Oct. 19, 2018, 6:00 AM), https://www.washingtonpost.com/life style/2018/10/19/why-we-shouldnt-be-separating-boys-girls-sex-ed [https://perma.cc/ 6DZW-ZPQJ] (describing daughter's experience with single-sex "puberty workshop" and daughter's curiosity about, "[h]ow do male teachers talk with fathers and sons about female bodies when girls are not in the room?"); see also Elizabeth Jeglic, Should Boys and Girls Get Sexual Education Separately?, PSYCHOL. TODAY, Feb. 24, 2018, https:// www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/protecting-children-sexual-abuse/201802/shouldboys-and-girls-get-sexual-education-separately [https://perma.cc/29X5-3XAL] (reporting that fourth grade daughter's health class was sex-segregated for unit on "'Family Life Education,' aka sex ed').

<sup>244</sup> See, e.g., Franklin, supra note 234; see also Neil S. Siegel & Reva B. Siegel, Struck by Stereotype: Ruth Bader Ginsburg on Pregnancy Discrimination as Sex Discrimination, 59 DUKE L.J. 771, 773 (2010).

<sup>245</sup> See generally Moritz, supra note 235 (holding that a tax benefit for caregivers must be made available to an unmarried man on an equal basis to other taxpayers), Frontiero, supra note 216 (holding that same rules for awarding dependent spouse benefits must apply to female service member and male service member).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> See supra Part I. A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> See, e.g., Daniel A. Epstein et al., Examining Menstrual Tracking to Inform the Design of Personal Informatics Tools, CHI '17 PERSONAL INFORMATICS & SELF-TRACK-ING, Proceedings of the 2017 CHI Conf. on Hum. Factors in Comp. Systems 6876, 6876 (2017) https://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=3025635 [https://perma.cc/JJ2J-86D9] ("For example, women often track their menstrual cycles without an explicit goal of action, but instead for awareness of their place in their menstrual cycle. Understanding the differences and commonalities between menstrual cycle tracking and other domains of personal informatics extends how we as a field consider personal informatics and design our personal informatics tools."); see also Martha Hickey & Adam Balen, Menstrual Disorders in Adolescence: Investigation and Management, 9 HUM. REPROD. UPDATE 493, 494 (2003) (explaining that in adolescent girls, menstrual cycles may "initially be variable" but that they tend to become more regular "over the first 2-3 years following menarche").

#### D. Anti-Subordination

As described above, a rigid formal equality approach tolerates the law's failure to give women a particular benefit, as long as men do not receive it even if men have no need for that benefit by virtue of their biology.<sup>246</sup> Such an emphasis on formal equality can lead to near-absurd results, as in *Geduldig*'s acceptance of a classification between "pregnant women" and "non-pregnant persons."<sup>247</sup> The failure of schools to provide menstrual accommodations and access to menstrual products presents a similar challenge.

Catharine MacKinnon's approach, commonly referred to as anti-subordination theory,<sup>248</sup> provides a helpful lens through which to view these issues. MacKinnon invites attention to power differentials between women and men:

[A]n equality question is a question of the distribution of power. Gender is also a question of power, specifically of male supremacy and female subordination. The question of equality, from the standpoint of what it is going to take to get it, is at the root a question of hierarchy, which—as power succeeds in constructing social perception and social reality—derivatively becomes a categorical distinction, a difference.<sup>249</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Catharine A. MacKinnon, Difference and Dominance: On Sex Discrimination (1984), in FEMINIST LEGAL THEORY: READINGS IN LAW AND GENDER 81, 84 (Katharine T. Bartlett & Roseanne Kennedy, eds. 1991). ("Difference doctrine says it is sex discrimination to give women what we need, because only women need it. It is not sex discrimination not to give women what we need because then only women will not get what we need"). One of the main shortcomings of the formal equality approach, as Patricia Williams has explained, is that it is largely mechanical. PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS, THE ALCHEMY OF RACE AND RIGHTS 104–110 (1991) (comparing the Supreme Court's approach to equal protection to a machine that produces sausage links regardless of what is fed through the machine).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> See supra note 221 and accompanying text. But see 42 U.S.C. § 2000(e) et seq. (the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 mandating that employers treat pregnant women the same as other employees with similar work abilities). "Despite sustained criticism, the *Geduldig* decision has never been explicitly overruled and continues to constrain women's access to substantive equality and reproductive liberty." Maya Manian, *Commentary on* Geduldig v. Aiello, *in* FEMINIST JUDGMENTS: REWRITTEN OPIN-IONS OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT 185–90, 185 (Kathryn M. Stanchi, Linda L. Berger & Bridget J. Crawford eds. 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> See, e.g., Joan C. Williams, Jumpstarting the Stalled Gender Revolution: Justice Ginsburg and Reconstructive Feminism, 63 HASTINGS L.J. 1267, 1269 (2012) (calling Professor MacKinnon "legal feminism's foremost antisubordination theorist").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> MacKinnon, *supra* note 246, at 87. In her early writings, Professor MacKinnon called this the "dominance approach," but she has explained that "it's as much about subordination as dominance." Emily Bazelon, *The Return of the Sex Wars*, N.Y. TIMES MAG. 56 (Sept. 10, 2015), https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/13/magazine/the-return-of-the-sex-wars.html [https://perma.cc/U859-ZPQG].

2020]

Her theory grounds sexual harassment law in anti-discrimination law.<sup>250</sup>

Applying anti-subordination theory to the menstruation context, menstrual harassment represents a form of subordination.<sup>251</sup> Indeed, the narratives of menstruating students demonstrate this.<sup>252</sup> In addition, the failure to provide girls and women with the accommodations and products that they need in order to be fully functioning members of society ultimately serves to subordinate them and perpetuate male power. If menstruating students cannot attend class without fear of bleeding through their clothes, they will not be in the room to compete with the boys. If girls are in class, but are concerned about managing their menstruation, they will not be able to focus on their studies. By contrast, if girls can go to the restroom when they need to and access products in privacy-and have the peace of mind of knowing that they will be able to do so-they are more likely to be able to compete on an even footing with boys. Indeed, when schools take affirmative steps to ensure that menstruation does not hinder girls' educational experiences, they are not giving menstruating "special treatment." They are simply leveling the proverbial playing field—an understanding consistent with Title IX's underlying goal of ensuring equal opportunity.<sup>253</sup>

#### E. Intersectionality

Intersectionality, too, provides a useful lens for viewing menstrual equity issues.<sup>254</sup> Kimberlé Crenshaw has drawn on the metaphor of a traffic intersection to explain the interlocking forms of oppression that Black women experience.<sup>255</sup> "Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another," Crenshaw explains.<sup>256</sup> "If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> KATHARINE T. BARTLETT ET AL, GENDER AND LAW: THEORY, DOCTRINE, COM-MENTARY 332 (6th ed. 2013) (citing CATHERINE A. MACKINNON, THE SEXUAL HARASS-MENT OF WORKING WOMEN (1979)).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> See Katherine M. Franke, What's Wrong with Sexual Harassment? 49 STAN. L. REV. 691, 693 (1997) (discussing sexual harassment as a "technology of sexism"); see also Anita Bernstein, Treating Sexual Harassment with Respect, 111 HARV. L. REV. 446, 506 (1997) (framing sexual harassment as a dignitary harm); Kathryn Abrams, *The New Jurisprudence of Sexual Harassment*, 83 CORNELL L. REV. 1169, 1172 (1998) (describing sexual harassment as "a practice that preserves male control or entrenches masculine norms in the specific setting of the workplace").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> See supra Part II.A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> See, e.g., United States Department of Justice, Equal Access to Education: Forty Years of Title IX, supra note 49 and accompanying text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> See generally Johnson, supra note 9 (discussing the universe of "menstrual injus-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> See Kimberlé Crenshaw, Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Anti-Discrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Anti-Ra-cist Politics, 1989 U. CHI. LEGAL F. 139, 148–50 (1989); see also Kimberlé Crenshaw, Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color, 43 STAN. L. REV. 1241, 1244 (1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> Crenshaw, Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex, supra note 255, at 149.

from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in the intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination."<sup>257</sup> Anti-discrimination law fails, Crenshaw explains, when it lacks the capacity to address discrimination that is not sex-based alone or race-based alone, but the result of both sex *and* race.<sup>258</sup>

Legal scholars and cultural commentators have expanded Crenshaw's theory of "intersectionality" to embrace consideration of a broad range of identity categories and the multiple oppressions that may be at work with respect to any particular individual or groups of individuals.<sup>259</sup> Indeed, in the context of menstruation at school, particularly relevant structures and systems include class, poverty, gender identity, a school board's authority over students, and the control of a teacher over the classroom.<sup>260</sup>

In particular, it is important to recognize the ways that poverty and class overlap with sex in the context of access to menstrual products at school. If a student cannot afford menstrual products, and such products are not available through local food banks, pantries, or at school, that student

<sup>257</sup> Id.

<sup>258</sup> It is not uncommon for people to use the term out of context and to convey ideas that are not consistent with Crenshaw's own conception of the theory. See Jane Coaston, The Intersectionality Wars, Vox.com, May 28, 2019, https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/ 2019/5/20/18542843/intersectionality-conservatism-law-race-gender-discrimination [https://perma.cc/E6TM-D3B3] (quoting Professor Crenshaw as saying, "Sometimes I've read things that say, 'Intersectionality, blah, blah, blah, 'and then I'd wonder, 'Oh, I wonder whose intersectionality that is,' and then I'd see me cited, and I was like, 'I've never written that. I've never said that. That is just not how I think about intersectionality.""). On the left, "intersectionality" is often used to mean multi-cultural or pertaining to racial minorities. See id. On the right, conservatives have used it to describe rights claims that they perceive are based on claims of victimhood. Id. (quoting political commentator Ben Shapiro saying, "I would define intersectionality as, at least the way that I've seen it manifest on college campuses, and in a lot of the political left, as a hierarchy of victimhood in which people are considered members of a victim class by virtue of membership in a particular group, and at the intersection of various groups lies the ascent on the hierarchy."). As Crenshaw herself has explained, intersectionality is not a concrete plan for change, but rather a mode of inquiry, one that requires individuals and movements to understand multiple forms of oppression. Id. ("Indeed, intersectionality is intended to ask a lot of individuals and movements alike, requiring that efforts to address one form of oppression take others into account.").

<sup>259</sup> See, e.g., Nicole Delaney & Joanna N. Lahey, *The ADEA at the Intersection of* Age and Race, 40 BERKELEY J. EMP. & LAB. L. 61, 69 (2019) ("The idea that discrimination affects people with multiple disadvantages in a unique way is useful in understanding differential outcomes for older black and older white workers."), Vicki Lens, Judging the Other: The Intersection of Race, Gender, and Class in Family Court, 57 FAM. CT. REV. 72, 74 (2019) ("The concept of intersectionality . . . is particularly relevant to child maltreatment proceedings where many of the respondents are not only women and mothers, but also women of color and women experiencing poverty."); see also Caroline Mala Corbin, Essay: Terrorists Are Always Muslim But Never White: At the Intersection of Critical Race Theory and Propaganda, 86 FORDHAM L. REV. 455, 463 (2017) ("this Essay applies [critical race theory's] insights to the brown Muslim/white Christian [hierarchy]").

<sup>260</sup> See Johnson, supra note 9, at 7, 25, 47, 53-63.

may need to miss some or all of a school day.<sup>261</sup> School districts with fewer financial resources may be constrained similarly in their ability to make products available for free to students, underscoring the importance of broader governmental involvement with this issue.<sup>262</sup> Relatedly, using a menstrual cup may not be a viable option for anyone who does not want to clean a device in a school restroom; similarly, if a family is homeless or does not have running water at home, tampons and pads will be the only options.<sup>263</sup> In these ways, the lack of access to such products in schools must be understood as a class-related issue as well.

In addition to class, there is an overarching power imbalance between those who have authority in schools (typically principals and teachers) and students who are subject to school-wide or teacher-specific policies. As discussed above, schools and individual teachers sometimes limit students' bathroom breaks by requiring them to procure passes, wait for an escort, invoke procedures for special permission, or visit the bathroom no more than a specified number of times over the course of a month or school year.<sup>264</sup> These policies impose physical and psychological pressure on menstruating students. If a student knows that she is menstruating and may not be able to attend to her needs during the school day, she may leave school early or not go to school at all. Therefore, it is important to understand the ways in which the school personnel, through their bathroom-related policies,

<sup>262</sup> See Bridget Crawford, How Much Do "Free" Tampons Cost? #MenstrualCapitalism and Examples from New York State, THE FACULTY LOUNGE (Sept. 14, 2018), https:// www.thefacultylounge.org/2018/09/how-much-do-free-tampons-cost-menstrualcapitalism-and-examples-from-new-york-state.html [https://perma.cc/W3X2-TNQN].

<sup>263</sup> See, e.g., Aneri Pattani, Woman Gets Free Pads and Tampons to Teens in Need, PHILA. INQUIRER (Aug. 3, 2019), https://apnews.com/414de3619eca4b3fb62539252 f4dd017 [https://perma.cc/YFG4-3M3B] (describing experience of sexual-health counselor who advised the use of a menstrual cup by a teen who could not afford menstrual products: "When Medley suggested one girl try a menstrual cup — a reusable container that has been shown to safely collect blood inside the vagina — the girl explained she doesn't consistently have running water at home to clean the cup.").

<sup>264</sup> See, e.g., Alia Wong, When Schools Tell Kids They Can't Use the Bathroom, THE ATLANTIC (Feb. 26, 2019), https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2019/02/thetyranny-of-school-bathrooms/583660/ [https://perma.cc/G4JG-E6ES] (reporting on a variety of formal and informal bathroom policies adopted by teacher including "a teacher who allegedly stipulated that her students could only go to the restroom during class time once every two months"); see also Survey of School Nurses, supra note 155 (reporting that less than 8% of nurses reported that their schools have a written policy on student bathroom use (64% reported no policy, 28% were unsure), while nearly half said students have free bathroom access, with permission required only as a formality, while others reported varying timed and supervised bathroom breaks).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> See Nearly 1 in 5 American Girls Have Missed School Due to Lack of Period Protection, MARKETWATCH (Aug. 7, 2018, 8:00 AM), https://www.marketwatch.com/ press-release/nearly-1-in-5-american-girls-have-missed-school-due-to-lack-of-period-protection1-always-joins-forces-with-gina-rodriguez-feeding-america-to-help-endperiod poverty-and-keep-girls-in-school-2018-08-07 [https://perma.cc/3X4T-WPGW] (reporting results of survey finding that "nearly one in five American girls have either left school early or missed school entirely because they did not have access to period products").

very much control and exercise authority over the bodies of menstruating students.

#### F. Third-Wave Feminist Legal Theory

One important development in feminist thought and discourse in the last twenty five years is the rise of third-wave feminism, typically defined as a movement led by activists and writers who came of age in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>265</sup> Methodologically, third-wave feminists emphasize the power of media and technology to effect cultural change.<sup>266</sup> In the context of activism around access to menstrual products, one can discern a distinctly third-wave feminist engagement with the law.<sup>267</sup>

In 2015, Jennifer Weiss-Wolf took inspiration from international activists and joined forces with *Cosmopolitan* magazine to sponsor the first online petition in the U.S. to draw attention to the state sales tax on menstrual

<sup>267</sup> See generally Crawford, supra note 266 (describing general themes of third-wave feminist writings and preferred methods for addressing gender inequality).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> See, e.g., Sally Ann Drucker, Betty Friedan: The Three Waves of Feminism, Ohio HUMANITIES, Apr. 27, http://www.ohiohumanities.org/betty-friedan-the-three-waves-offeminism [https://perma.cc/JNM2-CLXC] (providing brief overview of three principal "wayes" of feminism in U.S. history). Feminism's first wave in the nineteenth century culminated in the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, and feminism's second wave in the 1970s removed many formal legal (and other) barriers to women's participation in political, social and economic life. Id.; see also Cathryn Bailey, Making Waves and Drawing Lines: The Politics of Defining the Vicissitudes of Feminism, 12 HYPATIA 17, 17-18 (1997) (distinguishing feminism's first and second waves, but critiquing the declaration of a "third wave" as a political act that does not advance feminist interests); see generally Maggie Humm, Introduction, in FEMINISMS: A READER 1-8 (Maggie Humm ed. 1992 2d ed. 2013). The precise beginning and end points for the generationally-based third-wave feminism are debated. Compare Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, Introduction in Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminism 4 (Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake eds., 1997) (defining third-wave feminists as those "whose birthdates fall between 1963 and 1973"), with Lisa Jervis, The End of Feminism's Third Wave, Ms., Winter 2004/2005, 57 ("I was born in 1972, right smack in the demographic that people think about when they think about the third wave."), and DIFFERENT WAVELENGTHS: STUDIES OF THE CONTEMPORARY WOMEN'S MOVEMENT vii (Jo Reger ed. 2005) ("I feel feminist but do not fit into a second (i.e., starting in the 1960s and 1970s and continuing into the backlash 1980s) or third-wave (i.e., argued by some as beginning in the 1990s) description. I am barely a baby boomer and too young for the second wave, and not quite a member of Generation X, making me too old for the third wave."). <sup>266</sup> Bridget J. Crawford, *Toward a Third-Wave Feminist Legal Theory: Young Women*,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> Bridget J. Crawford, *Toward a Third-Wave Feminist Legal Theory: Young Women, Pornography and the Praxis of Pleasure,* 14 MICH. J. GENDER & LAW 99, 124, 127–33 (2007) (explaining that "harnessing and interpreting media" is a principal method of third-wave feminism). Some scholars recently have identified what they believe is the emergence of a "fourth wave" of feminism, but that wave's allegedly distinguishing characteristics—an emphasis on social media—bears a striking resemblance to third-wave feminism. *See, e.g.*, Kira Cochrane, *The Fourth Wave of Feminism: Meet the Rebel Women*, THE GUARDIAN (Dec. 10, 2013), https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/10/ fourth-wave-feminism-rebel-women [https://perma.cc/9PAH-TABL] ("[T]he fourth wave of feminism . . . . [is] defined by technology: tools that are allowing women to build a strong, popular, reactive movement online.").

products.<sup>268</sup> The petition, called Stop Taxing Our Periods. Period, sparked interest and awareness of a financial injustice that many women have experienced (and mostly overlooked) their entire lives. Weiss-Wolf joined with attorney Laura Strausfeld to begin Period Equity, which, as described above, is the nation's first law and public policy organization devoted to the various aspects of menstrual equity.<sup>269</sup> Period Equity coordinated the class-action litigation that spurred New York's 2016 repeal of its state sales tax on menstrual products.<sup>270</sup> Together with the menstrual products company Lola, Period Equity has launched a national campaign to end the sales tax on menstrual products in the more than thirty states that retain it.<sup>271</sup> The campaign makes heavy use of social media, attention-getting facts and an interactive website to keep focus on the issue.<sup>272</sup>

Generationally, both Weiss-Wolf and Strausfeld are squarely within the age demographic typically associated with third-wave feminism.<sup>273</sup> Separate and apart from any generational-based touchstones, though, what makes the work on menstrual equity issues-eliminating the sales tax on menstrual products, increasing access to menstrual products, ensuring product safety, and making workplaces, schools, and public places hospitable to girls, women, and others who menstruate-distinctly third-wave is the movement's leadership and recognition of individual identities. In the past, prominent third-wave feminist writers have critiqued second-wave feminists for jealously holding leadership positions and for narrowly focusing on issues that

<sup>268</sup> See, e.g., Prachi Gupta, supra note 5, and Crawford, Interview with Jennifer Weiss-Wolf, New York Attorney and Menstrual Equity Advocate, supra note 5 (describing origins of Weiss-Wolf's menstrual equity activism).

<sup>270</sup> See Complaint at 12, Seibert v. New York State Dept of Taxation and Finance, Index No. 151800/2016 (N.Y. Sup. Ct. Mar. 3, 2016) (stating claim for a refund of all sales taxes paid on menstrual hygiene products); see also Crawford & Waldman, supra note 8, at 460–63 (discussing New York class action litigation to repeal sales tax on menstrual hygiene products).

<sup>271</sup> See PERIOD EQUITY, supra note 7. <sup>272</sup> See, e.g., Explore Our Interactive Map, TaxFreePeriod.com, https://www.taxfreeperiod.com [https://perma.cc/ZFG7-UQA5] ("Oklahoma has a tax on tampons, but sun lamps are untaxed"); see also Jennifer Weiss-Wolf & Brigid Kelly, Your Taxes Shouldn't Be Higher Because of Your Period, NBCNEws.com (Nov. 9, 2019), https:// www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/your-taxes-shouldn-t-be-higher-because-your-periodlet-ncna1076221 [https://perma.cc/PK8Z-BKH6-825Y]; Jennifer Weiss-Wolf, Abolish the "Pink Tax": There Will be No Women's Equality Without Menstrual Equity, RE-WIRE.COM (Oct. 31, 2018, 5:04 PM), https://rewire.news/article/2018/08/31/abolish-the-pink-tax-menstrual-equity [https://perma.cc/2U8B-825Y].

<sup>273</sup> See Heywood & Drake, *supra* note 265 (describing age demographic typically associated with third-wave feminists as those born between 1963 and 1973). Weiss-Wolf was born in 1967. Email message from Jennifer Weiss-Wolf to co-author Bridget J. Crawford (February 1, 2020, 12:33 PM EST) (on file with the author). Strausfeld was born in 1964. Email message from Laura Strausfeld to co-author Bridget J. Crawford (February 1, 2020, 13:12 EST) (on file with the author).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup> See supra note 15 and accompanying text (providing details about the mission of Period Equity).

are relevant only to some women, such as middle-class white women.<sup>274</sup> By contrast, the current menstrual movement has national leadership through Period Equity, but also relies on people of all ages to increase awareness of the issues in a decentralized way.<sup>275</sup> There is no age minimum or status requirement for becoming a local, national, or even international leader.<sup>276</sup> And because menstruation is a basic biological fact, issues of access, safety and structural or institutional recognition of the need to be able to manage menstruation (through break times at school or work, for example) cut across all other identity factors. As Weiss-Wolf has explained, "[o]ur issues aren't all the same, but whether you're dissecting it by poverty or gender or any issues that affect things like access, participation, equality, justice, democracy— [menstrual equity touches] all those things. This is why we can't leave it out."<sup>277</sup> The issues of girls and women who are poor,<sup>278</sup> homeless,<sup>279</sup> detained,<sup>280</sup> and incarcerated<sup>281</sup> are distinct and important fronts of the menstrual equity movement.

<sup>275</sup> See e.g., Debbie Truong, Her School's Restrooms Didn't Have Pads or Tampons. So She Took Matters Into Her Own Hands, WASH. POST (Dec. 29, 2018, 5:34 PM), https:/ /www.washingtonpost.com/local/education/her-schools-restrooms-didnt-have-pads-ortampons-so-she-took-matters-into-her-own-hands/2018/12/29/00c73bca-ffdc-11e8-862ab6a6f3ce8199\_story.html [https://perma.cc/Q3PS-45DK]; Chelsey Sanchez, Brooklyn Girl Scouts Find City Isn't Fully Implementing Menstrual Equity Law, Gotham Gazette (Dec. 28, 2018), https://www.gothamgazette.com/city/8163-brooklyn-girl-scouts-findcity-isn-t-implementing-menstrual-equity-law-seek-redress [https://perma.cc/97MJ-R427]; Emily Benson, Meet the Girl Scout Fighting Period Poverty, AUSTIN WOMAN (Nov. 21, 2018), https://atxwoman.com/meet-girl-scout-fighting-period-poverty/ [https:// perma.cc/7U7F-YQVJ].

<sup>276</sup> See, e.g., supra note 1 and accompanying text (describing "cookie protest" by middle school students).

<sup>277</sup> Anna Druet, *Menstrual Equity is the Ground We All Need to Stand On*, HELLOCLUE.COM, Sept. 19, 2018, https://helloclue.com/articles/culture/menstrual-equity-is-the-ground-we-all-need-to-stand-on [https://perma.cc/9XUL-4P8G] (quoting Jennifer Weiss-Wolf).

<sup>278</sup> EVANS et al., *supra* note 52, at 11 (highlighting voices of school children, shelter administrators, teachers and formerly incarcerated women speaking about their experiences of menstrual inequity).

<sup>279</sup> See, e.g., Julie Kosin, Getting Your Period Is Still Oppressive in the United States, HARPARSBAZAAR.COM (Oct. 9, 2017), https://www.harpersbazaar.com/culture/features/ a10235656/menstrual-period-united-states/ [https://perma.cc/B9BV-H32W] (conveying Weiss-Wolf's recommendation that advocacy efforts include making menstrual products available in public restrooms and shelters).

<sup>280</sup> See, e.g., Jennifer Weiss-Wolf, Forcing Immigrant Girls to Bleed Through Their Underwear is Cruel, Degrading and Dangerous, NEWSWEEK (Aug. 30, 2019), https:// www.newsweek.com/forcing-immigrant-girls-bleed-through-their-underwear-cruel-degrading-dangerous-opinion-1457040 [https://perma.cc/RD2D-987K] (decrying treatment

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> See, e.g., JENNIFER BAUMGARDNER & AMY RICHARDS, MANIFESTA: YOUNG WO-MEN, FEMINISM, AND THE FUTURE 219 (2000) (critiquing earlier feminist programming such as "Take Our Daughters to Work" day); see also Lillian S. Robinson, Subject/Position, in "Bad" Girls/"Good" Girls: Women, Sex, and Power in the Nineties 182 (Nan Bauer Maglin & Donna Marie Perry eds., 1996) ("The problem is that the feminism that went public in the late 1960s and early 1970s... broke silence about the systemic oppression of women, however we named the system, whereas the newer 'third-wave' seems inclined to break silence chiefly about oppressions perceived or experienced within feminism itself.").

2020]

The commitment of menstrual activists to inclusivity reveals both the strength of the movement and potential fault lines. As described above, menstruation is a product of female biology, but not all who menstruate are girls or women.<sup>282</sup> Transgender boys and men need access to menstrual products in safe, clean and private facilities. They need to be free from harassment and bullying, too. Thus, a truly inclusive menstrual equity movement must include all who menstruate, while still being attentive to the sex binarism currently embedded in our legal system.<sup>283</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

Public schools need to take menstruation into account in order to provide true freedom of educational opportunity for menstruating students. As described above, menstruating students face many obstacles at school, including menstruation-based harassment, lack of menstrual accommodations, lack of provision of menstrual products, and lack of timely and meaningful menstrual education. At the local, state and national levels, organizers should advocate that schools voluntarily remove these barriers to equal access to education that arise at the multiple intersections of menstruation and education. To the extent that public schools do not take remedial steps on their own, Title IX provides a legal framework for arguments that any educational barriers related to menstruation are impermissible barriers based on sex. Moreover, additional regulations and guidance are needed to ensure that Title IX accomplishes this goal.

Title IX's promise of non-discrimination, complemented by feminist theoretical frameworks, is merely one starting point in menstruation-related justice efforts, albeit an important one. Other efforts include state and federal legislative and other advocacy to provide menstrual products in primary and secondary schools. The efforts to ensure that menstruation does not prevent students from full and equal access to all educational opportunities should be understood as one of many fronts in the larger project of increasing justice for all people.

of detained immigrant girls who do not have access to adequate menstrual hygiene products while in custody of the U.S. government).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> See, e.g., Bridget J. Crawford, et al., *The Ground on Which We All Stand: A Conversation About Menstrual Equity Law and Activism*, 37 MICH. J. GENDER & L. 101, 105–06 (2019) (Margaret Johnson's describing student and faculty advocacy affiliated with the Bronfein Family Law Clinic at the University of Baltimore School of Law on behalf of women incarcerated in Maryland prisons and jails to increase their access to menstrual hygiene products).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> See supra notes 228-230 and accompanying text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>283</sup> See, e.g., supra notes 232–232 and accompanying text (discussing embedded sex binarism).

# **SB0427 MD NARAL SUPPORT.docx.pdf** Uploaded by: Philip, Diana

Position: FAV



#### SB0427 - Public Schools - Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products - Requirement

Presented to the Honorable Paul Pinsky and Members of the Senate Education, Heath, & Environmental Affairs Committee February 11, 2021 11:00 a.m.

#### **POSITION: SUPPORT**

NARAL Pro-Choice Maryland urges the House Ways & Means Committee to issue **a favorable report on SB0427 - Public Schools – Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products,** sponsored by Senator Sarah Elfreth.

When menstruating students in Maryland enter their schools in the morning, they may face any number of challenges to completing a full day of school unimpeded. From a lack of menstrual education to pervasive stigmas among peers, obstacles within the education system make puberty all the more confusing and difficult during this tumultuous time for young Marylanders. We must understand and recognize that menstrual equity is a reproductive justice issue. To achieve menstrual equity in Maryland, it is essential that we eliminate these obstacles by not only expanding knowledge about menstruation in health education classes, but also access to menstrual hygiene products in Maryland public schools.

As noted in a law journal article written by faculty and students at the University of Baltimore School of Law, "Title IX & Menstruation," "[b]ecause menstruation is uniquely associated with female biology, a school's failure to address the needs of menstruating students amounts to a denial of educational opportunities on the basis of sex under Title IX".<sup>1</sup> When menstruating students cannot access necessary products because of expenses or lack of support from home, they may be forced to use products for longer than their recommended duration, stuff their underwear with toilet paper or other inappropriate materials, or miss school to avoid menstruating while in class altogether. To ensure equal opportunity and provide holistic support for menstruating students, we must establish both a culture and a practice of menstrual product access in Maryland schools. Failure to do so would create a limitation on students' ability both to participate in and benefit from their education.

The Maryland State Department of Education reports that nearly 43% of students in Maryland schools qualify for free and/or reduced meal services.<sup>2</sup> When considering the struggles many low income families experience throughout our state to cover basic costs of housing, food, and transportation, it is understandable that some parents may struggle to provide menstrual hygiene products for their children. If menstrual education has not yet occurred for an 8-year-old or 9-year-old experiencing menarche within their homes, families with a lack of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Margaret E. Johnson, Emily Gold Waldman, and Bridget J. Crawford, Title IX and Menstruation, 43 Harv. J. L. & Gender 225 (2020), <u>https://digitalcommons.pace.edu/lawfaculty/1164/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "Free and Reduced-Price Meal Statistics." Maryland State Department of Education, 2019. <u>http://marylandpublicschools.org/programs/pages/school-community-nutrition/freereducedpricemealstatistics.aspx</u>.

understanding or stigma surrounding menstruation can create insurmountable barriers for their children to access menstrual hygiene products.

The Office of Women's Health at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reports that while the average age of menarche (the onset of menstruation, or one's "period,") is 12 years of age, menstruation may begin as early as 8 years of age or as late as 15 years of age.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the National Institutes of Health have found that the age at menarche is lower in African-American populations than white populations.<sup>4</sup> Further, although menstruation is usually associated with female biology and reproductive anatomy, menstruation is not limited to women, and not all women menstruate. Because transgender boys and gender non-conforming students may also experience menstruation, menstrual hygiene products must be available in all restrooms. This considered, it is critical that Maryland schools provide size-appropriate menstrual products in public elementary, middle, and high schools in order to effectively serve students across age and racial differences, as well as sex and gender identity differences.

Menstrual equity is a reproductive justice issue globally, nationally, and locally. To provide all students with a positive and meaningful education, we must acknowledge that when socioeconomic disparities are coupled with menstrual inequity, gaps in education attainment widen further. An investment in menstrual equity is an investment in Maryland students, and thereby an investment in Maryland's future. For these reasons, NARAL Pro-Choice Maryland **urges a favorable committee report on SB0427**. Thank you for your time and consideration.



Dispenser used in University of Baltimore School of Law restrooms. Cost: \$35

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> "What Happens During the Typical 28-Day Menstrual Cycle?", U.S. DEP'T OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES., OFFICE ON WOMEN'S HEALTH, <u>https://www.womenshealth.gov/menstrualcycle/your-menstrual-cycle</u> (last visited Jan. 28, 2020).
<sup>4</sup> Salsberry, Pamela J, Patricia B Reagan, and Kathleen Pajer. "Growth Differences by Age of Menarche in African American and White Girls." Nursing research. U.S. National Library of Medicine, 2009. <u>https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2876306/</u>.

# SB0427 MEAMS-Fact-Sheet.pdf Uploaded by: Philip, Diana

Position: FAV

### HB0205/SB0427

### **Public Schools - Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products**

Sponsored by Delegate Kirill Reznik & Senator Sarah Elfreth

### Period Poverty is the

inability to access menstrual hygiene products. This, and the related issue of menstrual stigma, are barriers to education for many Maryland students.



1 in 5 teens

in the US have struggled to afford period products or were not able to purchase them at all.

According to a study done by THINX and PERIOD, "State of the Period."



- **12 years old** is the average age of menarche (first period)
- **30-50% of girls** get their period *before* this age
- Hispanic and African American girls menstruate before their white counterparts.
- 1 of 5 low-income women report missing school or work due to lack of access to period hygiene products



According to a 2018 Kotex Survey

In 2019, 43.2% of Maryland public school students enrolled for free and reduced-price meals, indicating that their families struggled to afford basic necessities. Many students are of menstruating age.



Receiving Free/Reduced Cost Meals 🛛 📕 NOT Receiving Free/Reduced Cost Meals

\*This statistic only represents families who turned in their school meal benefit application; the true figures may differ

### Our Goals



HB0205/SB0427 has been introduced into the

Assembly to require Maryland public schools to provide free, size appropriate maxi-pads and tampons, in at least one restroom in each primary school and two restrooms in each secondary school by October 1st, 2021, and most restrooms by August 2025.



- Increase school attendance
- **Increase** extracurricular participation
- Decrease peer harassment



# Why this legislation is essential:

- ★ A recent New York study revealed that school attendance increased when students were provided with free menstrual hygiene products. Increased school attendance further allows female students to succeed in their academic and extracurricular goals.
- ★ Because period poverty disproportionately impacts students of color from low-income families, free menstrual hygiene products will help bridge gaps in academic opportunities.
- ★ Female students will be better supported in their education when they aren't worried about their period!

### How you can support us:

Share your story!

O: @prochoicemd Keep up with our efforts!

**ZOOM**: register for and join our virtual event on **Wednesday**, **January 13th, 2021 @ 3:30 PM**: https://us02web.zoom.us/meeting/regist er/tZcqdOigrT4sGdSEEWOaj06NNarll YS9FI08

Contact your legislators and express the importance of passing this bill. Not sure who those are?  $\rightarrow$ <u>https://maryland.maps.arcgis.com/ap</u> <u>ps/webappviewer/index.html?id=177</u> <u>afa87a67746a4ac54 96b2d0897fb7</u>

For more information, contact Diana Philip at  $\rightarrow \underline{\text{diana@prochoicemd.org}}$ 

Menstrual Equity Alliance for Maryland Students

# **SB0427 sign on letter for support.pdf** Uploaded by: Philip, Diana

Position: FAV

#### SB0427 - Public Schools – Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products

Presented to the Hon. Paul Pinsky of the Senate Education, Health, & Environmental Affairs Committee February 11, 2021 11:00 a.m. **POSITION: FAVORABLE** 

Dear Paul Pinsky of the Senate Education, Health, and Environmental Affairs Committee,

In 2019, 43.2% of Maryland public school students enrolled for free and reduced-price meals, indicating that their families struggled to afford basic necessities. Many students are of menstruating age. With this statistic and the state of COVID-19 exacerbating financial and racial disparities in mind, we urge you to support HB0205 to help provide free, quality menstrual products to public school students. Your support of this crucial legislation demonstrates your commitment to basic hygiene, gender equality, public health, and providing essential healthcare because menstrual health is healthcare.

A lack of access to menstrual products can significantly impact students' education, forcing them to miss class time or not participate fully due to fear of leakage. A recent New York study revealed that school attendance increased when students were provided with free menstrual hygiene products. Increased school attendance further allows female students to succeed in their academic and extracurricular goals and helps bridge gaps caused by poverty.

We are signing onto this letter because period poverty disproportionately impacts students of color from low-income families. Providing free menstrual hygiene products is a monumental step in bridging academic opportunities and reaching menstrual equity. We strongly urge you a favorable report on SB0427 and the fight for menstrual equity.

Joe Spielberger, ACLU of Maryland Ann Steinberg, Baltimore Hebrew Congregation Task Force on Long Range Planning Prof. Margaret E. Johnson, Center on Applied Feminism - University of Baltimore Maeve Sanford-Kelly, Maryland High School Democrats Jessica Morgan, Maryland Legislative Agenda for Women Sandy Bell, Maryland National Organization for Women Jeannette Feldner, Montgomery County NOW C.R. Valeriann, Baltimore NOW Julia Gross, Marylanders Against Poverty Diana Philip, NARAL Pro-Choice Maryland Ela Jalil, PERIOD at Winston Churchill High School Sara Carney & Ellie Frisch, Period Poverty Project Ashley, Black, Public Justice Center Kimberly Haven, Reproductive Justice Inside Kaprece James, Stella's Girls Incorporated Shamoyia Gardiner, Strong Schools Maryland Michelle Siri, Women's Law Center of Maryland Lindsay M. Harris

# **SB0427 IfWhenHow Support.pdf** Uploaded by: Roodberg, Shea

Position: FAV

#### SB0427 Public Schools - Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products - Requirement

Presented to Members of the Education, Health, and Environmental Affairs Committee

#### February 11, 2021 11:00 a.m.

My name is Shea Roodberg, and I am a law student at the University of Baltimore School of Law. I am also the Program Coordinator for UB's chapter of If/When/How: Lawyering for Reproductive Justice<sup>1</sup>. I am writing on behalf of my chapter to urge the Education, Health, and Environmental Affairs Committee a favorable report on SB0427 Public Schools - Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products – Requirement, sponsored by Senator Sarah K. Elfreth and Senator Chris West.

If/When/How at UB Law urges a favorable report because the lack of provision of free and accessible menstrual hygiene products in public schools is a violation of Title IX. The underlying goal of Title IX as stated by the United States Department of Justice is to ensure equal access to education, to ensure that no educational opportunity is denied to women on the basis of sex, and to ensure that women are granted the equal opportunity to aspire, achieve, participate in and contribute to society.<sup>2</sup> It is important to keep in mind that since the DOJ issued this statement in 1996, the Office of Civil Rights extended Title IX to encompass discrimination based on a student's failure to conform to sex-based stereotypes, and the SCOTUS holding last summer made it clear that sex-based discrimination encompasses discrimination on account of sexuality or transgender status.<sup>3</sup> Menstruation is a biological process exclusively experienced by people with female anatomy. When a school fails to alleviate barriers to education related to menstruation, it should be interpreted as a violation of Title IX's goal.

Period poverty is a pervasive issue which presents a barrier to education for menstruating students in Maryland. In 2019, 43.2% of Maryland public school students enrolled for free and reduced-price meals, indicating that their families struggled to afford basic necessities. Due to the costly nature of menstrual hygiene products, many families will make the difficult decision to deprioritize menstrual hygiene products over other basic necessities. If students' families cannot afford menstrual hygiene products, many will opt to stay home or miss class if they do not have a reliable and dignified source of menstrual hygiene products at school.<sup>4</sup> Even students whose families can afford menstrual hygiene products will frequently find themselves in need at school due to the high rate of irregularity that typically occurs during puberty. With the knowledge that students are missing classes and sometimes whole school days due to lack of access to menstrual hygiene products at school, the schools are violating the underlying goal of Title IX by failing to remedy this barrier to education which is unique to female students. The proposed bill offers a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> <u>https://www.ifwhenhow.org/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See United States Department of Justice, Equal Access to Education: Forty Years of Title IX (June 23, 2012), 1, https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/crt/legacy/2012/ 06/20/titleixreport.pdf [https://perma.cc/5A6L-B9VN] (quoting US v. Virginia, 518 U.S. 515, 532 (1996))

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Office of Civil Rights, Resources for LGBTQ Students (Sept. 24, 2020), https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/lgbt.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Christopher A. Cotropia, Menstruation Management in United States Schools and Implications for Attendance, Academic Performance, and Health, 6 WOMEN'S REPROD. HEALTH 289, 292 (2019).

sufficient remedy to this issue by providing free and accessible menstrual hygiene products in school restrooms.

Though Title IX does not explicitly mandate accommodations for menstruating students, it does suggest that accommodations should be provided to menstruating students via its provisions for pregnant students. Title IX's treatment of pregnancy as a sex-based occurrence, and mandate of reasonable accommodations to students based on their pregnancy status, can logically be carried over to menstruating students. The Office of Civil Rights issued guidance in 2013 stating in effect, "to ensure a pregnant student's access to educational programs, when necessary, a school must make adjustments to the regular program that are reasonable and responsive to the student's pregnancy status. For example, a school might be required to provide a larger desk, or permit temporary access to elevators."<sup>5</sup> Menstruation can be reasonably and logically linked to pregnancy because both involve the same uniquely female biological processes. If a school might be required to provide reasonable accommodations to a pregnant student when it deems to be necessary, why shouldn't a school be required to provide basic hygiene products to menstruating students in order to prevent them from bleeding through their clothes? Schools should, and in fact must, make these necessary and reasonable provisions in order to honor the underlying goal of Title IX.

Menstruation-based harassment is an experience shared by many females which arises from the perception that one is menstruating, which continues to be treated as a highly stigmatized biological process.<sup>6</sup> Triggers of harassment include students carrying menstrual hygiene products in school hallways, students bleeding through their clothes, students being overheard asking their peers for menstrual hygiene products, and so on. The failure to provide accessible menstrual hygiene products in the privacy of restrooms creates a barrier to education that is unique to menstruating students. There is no doubt that a young menstruating student faced with harassment, fear of harassment, and uncertainty of where or how to access a menstrual hygiene product at school would not have the same access to education as their male counterpart whose mind would not be fraught with these issues. The proposed bill largely alleviates this issue and honors the Title IX commitment to equal access to education by mandating the provision of menstrual hygiene products in school restrooms.

Many states and school districts have already taken the necessary step to provide free and accessible menstrual hygiene products in schools in order to honor and comply with Title IX. Maryland students deserve the same deference. For these reasons, UB's chapter of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> SETH GALANTER, OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, U.S. DEP'T OFF., DEAR COLLEAGUE LETTER: SUPPORTING THE ACADEMIC SUCCESS OF PREGNANT AND PARENTING STUDENTS, 1–2 (2013), https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-201306- title-ix.pdf [https://perma.cc/N5UH-QMWL], with attached pamphlet U.S. DEP'T OF EDUCATION, OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, SUPPORTING THE ACADEMIC SUCCESS OF PREGNANT AND PARENTING STUDENTS UNDER TITLE IX OF THE EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1972 (2013) [hereinafter "OCR Pregnancy Pamphlet"].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> 8 One in Five Girls and Young Women Bullied about Periods–Study, THE GUARDIAN (May 28, 2019, 2:59 EDT), https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/may/28/one-infive-girls-and-young-women-bullied-about-their-periods-study [https://perma.cc/2LXE828K].

If/When/How: Lawyering for Reproductive Justice urges the Committee to issue a favorable report on SB0427.

# **Testimony in Support of SB0427- Public Schools - P** Uploaded by: Seth, Riya

Position: FAV

Testimony in Support of SB0427- Public Schools - Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products

#### WRITTEN TESTIMONY IN SUPPORT OF

SB0427- Public Schools - Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products - Requirement February 9th, 2021

My name is Riya Seth and I am a student at River Hill High School in Clarksville, Maryland. I believe that all students in Maryland public schools deserve access to menstrual hygiene products. I'm submitting this testimony in support of SB0427, introduced by Senator Elfreth.

Personally, I've forgotten sanitary products at home, which has resulted in anxiety and has distracted me from participating in school. As I shared the details of this bill with my peers, many shared stories similar to mine. They also voiced their stories about the impact of period stigmamany felt embarrassed to ask others for menstrual products. By providing access to period products in bathrooms, we can begin to destigmatize the basic bodily functions of menstruation.

In addition, the COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated underlying inequalities and public health disparities. Namely, period poverty, the lack of access to menstrual products due to income inequality, has been worsened. Even before the pandemic, more than 40% of the nearly 200,000 girls of menstruating age came from families facing financial difficulties. Similar to toilet paper, menstrual products are basic hygiene requirements.

In order to combat the issues of shame and stigma associated with menstruation and bridge the gaps in income inequality, we must provide period products in public schools and pass SB0427.

Contact: Riya Seth <u>riya.seth@gmail.com</u>, (410)-717-6341 President, Light a Lamp Nonprofit Council Member, Maryland National Organization for Women

### Alexandra Siebenhaar- Senate Bill 0427- Written T

Uploaded by: Siebenhaar, Alexandra Position: FAV

#### To Whom It May Concern,

I recently graduated from the University of Maryland: Baltimore County with my bachelor's degree in Gender and Women's Studies and English Literature. I was also one of the policy and research interns at NARAL Pro-Choice Maryland for the entirety of 2020, and am proud to be a part of the reproductive justice movement in Maryland. I am writing to you to share my support for **Menstrual Equity Alliance for Maryland Student Senate Bill 0427- Public Schools- Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products- Requirement**, because it provides all students in Maryland public schools with their basic reproductive healthcare needs, *free and size-appropriate pads and tampons*. I graduated from North County High School in 2015, and I know for a fact **Senate Bill 0427** would have benefitted me and my classmates.

I remember many mornings when my friends contacted me before school asking me to bring them menstrual hygiene products due to getting their period unexpectedly. My friends shouldn't have had to rely on me to bring them their period products, because if I wasn't attending school that day or if I didn't get their text message, my friends may have bled through their pants, risking peer harassment and discomfort. I also remember in both middle and elementary school the shame girls felt around their menstrual cycles and being embarrassed in asking their teachers for period products. More specifically, in middle school my friend had gotten her period in gym class, and when asking if she could go to the nurse, our gym teacher subjected her to unnecessary questioning. After telling him she had gotten her period, he said, **"you didn't have to tell me that."** All menstruators should *not* have to jump through hoops and/or feel humiliated when they need to obtain menstrual hygiene products. By providing students with pads and tampons, they will be able to avoid further shame from teachers.

Another reason why I support this bill is because it is *gender inclusive*. As an ally to transgender and gender non-binary youth, I support gender-neutral bathrooms and for menstrual hygiene products to be placed in all bathrooms since one of any gender can menstruate. Providing menstrual hygiene products in 'boy' bathrooms may help limit physical violence, bullying, and peer harassment that is enacted on many transgender youth in schools while building allyship between both transgender and cisgender students.

Finally, by providing *free and size-appropriate* menstrual hygiene products to all students in most (or even all) public school bathrooms by the year of 2025, we as a state, are saying we believe students should have their reproductive healthcare needs met. This would not only benefit their overall health and education but will fight against *period poverty*. By combatting period poverty (in which *disproportionately* impacts Black students and other students of color) with free menstrual hygiene products, we will be *increasing* student attendance, *increasing* extracurricular participation, and *decreasing* peer harassment. We will also be normalizing menstruation for educators, teachers, and non-menstruating students with my hopes of erasing the shame and stigma we have upheld as a society for far too long. For these reasons, I support Menstrual Equity Alliance for Maryland Students Senate Bill 0427 – Public Schools – Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products-Requirement.

I would like to thank you for considering your support for this bill and hope that you can join me in mine. Thank you.

#### Sincerely,

Alexandra Siebenhaar 231 Williams Road Glen Burnie, Maryland 21061

### SB 427 - Public Schools - Provisions of Menstrual

Uploaded by: Siri, Michelle Position: FAV



BILL NO:	Senate Bill 427
TITLE:	Public Schools - Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products
COMMITTEE:	Education, Health, and Environmental Affairs
HEARING DATE:	February 11, 2021
POSITION:	SUPPORT

Senate Bill 427 would require all public schools in Maryland to install menstrual hygiene dispensers in at least two bathrooms by October 1, 2021, and in all bathrooms by August 1, 2025. Additionally, each county school board shall ensure that public schools provide free menstrual products to their students via those dispensers.

According to the 2018 Maryland Poverty Profiles, 13% of children in Maryland live in poverty<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, the Maryland Department of Education reports that in 2019, 42.6% of Maryland public school students enrolled for free or reduced price meals<sup>2</sup>. Thus, it is clear that there are young women attending schools across the State who struggle to afford basic necessities, including menstrual products. When this occurs, students frequently miss class or skip school all together out of embarrassment and out of lack of other options. At the very least their attention is clearly focused on the issues related to their period, and they are unable to focus on learning. Access to menstrual hygiene products is a gender parity issue, disproportionately affecting low-income girls who already face a number of barriers to education.

A quality, free public education is a right bestowed upon all children in Maryland. But that right is not limited to just attending school. Once in school, children are guaranteed *equal educational opportunity*, regardless of race, gender, or socio-economic status. In order to fully participate and enjoy the benefits of those rights, students must be provided the resources necessary to be able to concentrate on learning and growing as citizens. Providing menstrual products to students will allow young women to focus on learning and reach their full potential, without being burdened by the financial concerns of purchasing those essential products.

For these reasons, the WLC supports SB427 and urges a favorable report.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 2018 Maryland Poverty Profile, Maryland Alliance for the Poor,

https://mda.maryland.gov/about\_mda/Documents/SNAB/Maryland-Poverty-Profiles\_2018\_1-15-2018\_T.pdf, last visited January 28, 2020

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Maryland Department of Education, Free and Reduced Price Miles Statistics, <u>http://marylandpublicschools.org/programs/pages/school-community-</u> nutrition/freereducedpricemealstatistics.aspx, last visited January 28, 2020

# **SB 427\_FAV\_ACLU\_Spielberger.pdf** Uploaded by: Spielberger, Joe

Position: FAV



#### Testimony for the Senate Education, Health, and Environmental Affairs Committee February 11, 2021

SB 427 - Public Schools - Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products

#### FAVORABLE

The ACLU of Maryland supports SB 427, which would require public schools to provide menstrual hygiene products at no cost to students. **Menstrual equity is a clear issue of gender equity, economic justice, and public health.** Menstruation should be treated like any other natural bodily function, as it will affect over half the population in their lifetimes. Young women and those who menstruate need easy and affordable access to basic hygiene products to be physically and mentally healthy. Menstrual products in school bathrooms should be regulated no differently than toilet paper, for instance, and the lack of reliable access to such a vital health need is gender discriminatory.

This burden is even starker for students living below the poverty line. A monthly supply of menstrual hygiene products can be cost-prohibitive for low wage-earning families. These students are disproportionately impacted by a lack of menstrual products, and bear most of the medical and psychological impacts when going without them.

When students cannot afford or do not have reliable access to menstrual products, they are forced to reuse products, use them for longer periods of time, or go without, risking their health and wellbeing. Physical risks include developing infections that can lead to cervical cancer and infertility. Especially in the early stages of puberty, girls often feel self-conscious even when menstrual products are readily available. The embarrassment of asking for basic products they need, or struggling when forced to go without them makes it more difficult to concentrate in the classroom, and may cause them to skip school altogether, falling behind educationally and socially, and participating less than fully in school.

The ACLU-MD advocates strongly for personal bodily autonomy. Students should not face additional burdens simply because of their gender, especially when their bodies and minds are growing inside and outside the classroom. SB 427 would help lessen this burden for young students who menstruate, creating a more equitable school environment for all students.

JOSEPH SPIELBERGER PUBLIC POLICY COUNSEL

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF MARYLAND

3600 CLIPPER MILL ROAD SUITE 350 BALTIMORE, MD 21211 T/410-889-8555 or 240-274-5295 F/410-366-7838

WWW.ACLU-MD.ORG

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS JOHN HENDERSON PRESIDENT

DANA VICKERS SHELLEY EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

ANDREW FREEMAN GENERAL COUNSEL



For the foregoing reasons, we urge a favorable report on SB 427.

**SB427 White.pdf** Uploaded by: White, Megan Position: FAV

#### Menstrual Equity Testimony – Megan White, M. Ed. Maryland SB0427: Public Schools – Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products Presented to the Hon. Paul Pinsky and Members of the Senate Education, Health, and Environmental Affairs Committee February 11, 2021 11:00am POSITION: SUPPORT

My name is Megan White and I am a 2<sup>nd</sup> grade teacher at a Title-1 Baltimore City Elementary/Middle Public School. I submit this testimony in support of SB0427 – Public Schools – Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products, sponsored by Senator Sarah Elfreth.

Preparing for my first year of teaching back in 2017 was a whirlwind. Before I even met my 3<sup>rd</sup> grade students, I wanted to make sure that I had everything that they might need. This included school-related supplies like pencils and notebooks, as well as hygiene-related products such as hand sanitizers and soap. Of course, professors and mentors continually warned me that there will be things that will occur during my teaching career that I cannot prepare for. Admittedly, during my first year teaching there were many moments where I was caught off-guard. One moment that still sticks with me is when one of my students came back from the bathroom with a noticeable amount of toilet paper stuffed in her leggings. I immediately assumed that she had soiled herself and I was shocked when she came up to me discreetly asking for a pad. I did not have one. I felt like a failure because while I prided myself for having a stock-pile of erasers and band-aids, I had failed to include menstrual hygiene products on my supply list.

I have to admit that I was ignorant. Until that day, I truly did not know elementary school students were able to menstruate. For me, it took one of my third grade students asking me for a pad to learn this. Thankfully, there is an abundance of research that can support my schoolhouse anecdote. There is a need for menstrual hygiene products at the elementary school level. While I have since included menstrual hygiene products in my annual back-to-school supply list, I was ecstatic to learn about the proposed SB0427. Public school students should not have to worry about bringing enough menstrual hygiene products to school on any given day. Likewise, teachers should not have to add expensive menstrual hygiene products to their ever growing list of supplies that they have to buy out of their own pocket. We do not ask students to bring their own tissues or toilet paper. When a student scrapes their knee at recess I do not ask them if they brought a band-aid from home. It is at the heart of public education to not only meet students' academic needs but also their physical ones. I wholeheartedly believe that passing SB0427 will help Maryland public schools become more equipped at meeting students' needs.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Megan White, M.Ed. Baltimore City Public Schools <u>mlwhite@bcps.k12.md.us</u> 117 W. Hamburg Street Baltimore, MD 21230

# **CRASC Written Testimony - SB427.pdf** Uploaded by: Pellegrin, Stacy

Position: FWA



#### SB427 Public Schools – Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products

Thursday, February 11, 2021

#### EDUCATION, HEALTH, AND ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS

#### SUPPORT

Our names are Olivia Le, Zachary McGrath, and Florence Tian and we are students of Anne Arundel County and part of the Chesapeake Regional Association of Student Councils (CRASC) and support HB418 Public Schools – Provision of Menstrual Hygiene Products. This bill will require each county board of education to ensure that every public school will provide to its students, at no charge, menstrual hygiene products via dispenser in restrooms, with two restrooms that have dispensers in each school by October 1, 2021.

If passed, this bill will help to support a safe and effective learning environment for all students. Instead of students worrying if they will be able to afford hygiene products or where they can find them, students will be able to focus on education in a safe and healthy learning environment.

The menstrual period is a natural biological process affecting approximately 50 percent of all 9–14-yearold students assigned as female at birth. As a concurrence of this natural biological process, that 50 percent of students bear the added responsibility of menstrual period management for 3-7 days every month. To ease the burden these students must bear; we believe it prudent to provide menstrual hygiene products at no charge in all public middle and high schools. In one fell swoop, every county board of education may effectively reduce the burdens put on these children, both financially and psychologically, of menstrual period management. Because menstrual hygiene products provide for students who are already enduring increased stress, more intense mood swings, physical pain, among a host of physical and biological symptoms, this bill directly provides for student wellness. Providing menstrual hygiene products to students reduces student stress, negates an obstacle to student attendance (CRASC Platform Plank III, Clause J), and provides for student wellness (CRASC Platform Plank IV, Clause A). Therefore, providing menstrual hygiene products is well *within* the responsibilities of county boards of education.

CRASC requests that the bill be amended to include funding to our schools, based upon enrollment, to provide effective and equitable implementation.

Accordingly, CRASC respectfully requests a **FAVORABLE with amendments** committee report on SB427.

Respectfully Submitted,

Olivia Le, Secretary of Legislation, <u>oliviathomsonle@gmail.com</u> Zachary McGrath, Legislative Liaison, <u>zachary.m.mcgrath@gmail.com</u> Florence Tian, Legislative Liaison, <u>florencet107@gmail.com</u>