

DECADE OF DARING DIFFERENCES: HOW SECOND WAVE FEMINISM INFLUENCED
COSMOPOLITAN, LADIES HOME JOURNAL AND REDBOOK
FROM 1963-1973

A Thesis by

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Bachelor of Arts, Wichita State University, 2018

Submitted to the Elliott School of Communication
and the faculty of the Graduate School of
Wichita State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

May 2020

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INFLUENCED *COSMOPOLITAN*, *LADIES HOME JOURNAL* AND *REDBOOK*
FROM 1963-1973

The following faculty members have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Communication.

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ABSTRACT

Popular media provides a window in which researchers are often able to observe shifts in societal norms in history, and women's magazines have provided a wealth of information. This qualitative historical analysis will examine if and how the portrayal of women in three popular women's magazines—*Cosmopolitan*, *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Redbook*—changed and how society influenced these changes, if at all. The thematic analysis will cover the years 1963 to 1973 because this was time in which multiple changes related to race and sex were occurring within American society, which included the second wave of feminism.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BFOQ's	Bona-Fide Occupational Qualifications
EEOC	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
EPA	Equal Pay Act
HGB	Helen Gurley Brown
LHJ	<i>Ladies' Home Journal</i>
NOW	National Organization for Women
PCSW	President's Commission on the Status of Women

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

By examining mass media from a specific period, society's dominant ideologies—as well as shifts in dominant ideologies—can often be observed. Noticeable shifts often indicate there was an event or events that led to societal change. Magazines—more specifically women's magazines—have provided a wealth of information regarding societal changes concerning women.

Magazines create content for specific audiences; however, to remain profitable, magazines cannot remain stagnant. Instead—to remain aligned with their readers' interests, values, attitudes and beliefs—magazines must adjust to changes in society in order to retain their audiences. However, when society is undergoing an era of change, magazine editors have to gauge their audience to determine just how much change their publication should reflect. Too much change too quickly turns away readers. Too little change too slowly does the same. Therefore unconventional, nondominant views are often excluded from mass media until a large portion of society embraces the new viewpoints.

While past historical research regarding women's magazines from the 1950s to 1970s has generally focused on fiction in women's magazines,¹ gender roles,² women's sexuality or lack

1. Alison M. Rice, "The Rise of 'Good Reading over 'Good Writing: How and Why Women's Magazine Fiction Changed in the 1950s and 1960s," *Media History* 6, no. 2 (December 2000): 139. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13688800020008592>.

2. Jack Demarest and Jeanette Garner, "The Representation of Women's Roles in Women's Magazines Over the Past 30 Years," *The Journal of Psychology* 126, no.4 (July 1992): 357. Pantea Farvid and Virginia Braun, "Most of Us Guys are Raring to Go Anytime, Anyplace, Anywhere: Male and Female Sexuality in *Cleo* and *Cosmo*," *Sex Roles* 55, no. 5 (September 2006): 306.

thereof,³ gendered marketing,⁴ and the impact of feminism on advertising.⁵ This study is important as it explores if and how the portrayal of women changed in three women's magazines, *Cosmopolitan*, *Ladies' Home Journal (LHJ)* and *Redbook* from 1963-1973, and how society influenced these changes.

3. Paul Hunt, "Editing Desire, Working Girl Wisdom, and Cupcakeable Goodness Helen Gurley Brown and the Triumph of *Cosmopolitan*," *Journalism History* 38, no. 3 (Fall 2012): 135; Jacqueline Blix, "A Place to Resist: Reevaluating Women's Magazines," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 16, no. 1 (January 1992): 68.

4. Ella Howard, "Pink Truck Ads: Second-Wave Feminism and Gendered Marketing," *Journal of Women's History* 22, no. 4 (Winter 2010): 137.

5. Linda J. Busby and Greg Leichty, "Feminism and Advertising in Traditional and Nontraditional Women's Magazines 1950s-1980s," *Journalism Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (Summer 1993): 247.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Women in the Workforce

During World War II, nearly six and a half million women entered the workforce, and at the height of the war 20.6 million women were employed.⁶ American women were encouraged to contribute to the war effort by taking jobs in factories; however, they were also encouraged to retain their femininity.⁷ Ideologies of women in the workforce changed, and as a result, the number of female high school students who wanted to work outside of the home after graduating increased significantly.⁸ However, at the end of the war, nearly one-fourth of women left the workforce and returned to being solely homemakers.⁹ The fact that women were expected to return to their domestic spheres at the war's end was largely encouraged by the same forms of government and mass media propaganda that had urged them into the workforce in the first place. For those women who wanted to retain their jobs, many were reassigned to more feminine roles while others encountered a reduction in pay or were simply fired.¹⁰ By 1947, over three million women had been unwillingly dismissed from their wartime work.¹¹

6. Janet Hooks, *Women's Occupations Through Seven Decades*. Women's Bureau Bulletin, No. 218. (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), 1.

7. James Kimble and Lester Olson, "Visual Rhetoric Representing Rosie the Riveter: Myth and Misconception in J. Howard Miller's 'We Can Do It!' Poster." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 9, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 534.

8. Stephanie Coontz, *A Strange Stirring: The Feminine Mystique and American Women at the Dawn of the 1960s*. (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 46, Kindle.

9. Hooks, *Women's Occupations*, 1.

10. Gillian Nichols-Smith, "Women Facing the Emergencies of the Great Depression and World War II: Women's Rights in the 1930s and 1940s," in *Women's Rights: People and Perspectives*, ed. Crista DeLuzio (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 173; Coontz, *A Strange Stirring*, 49.

11. Coontz, *A Strange Stirring*, 49.

Popular Media

Subsequently, domestic life took on new meaning in the 1950s and 1960s as the baby boom and the idea of the perfect suburban lifestyle spread throughout the nation.¹² The “mystique of feminine fulfillment” became a principle in American culture as American housewives were thought to be beautiful, healthy, educated women who were only concerned with caring for their homes and doting on their husbands and children. This ideology of the perfect American housewife was often propagated throughout popular mass media.¹³

An expanding economy and higher-paying jobs allowed many Americans to spend money not only on necessities but also on luxuries, which included items such as televisions and magazines.¹⁴ Although the number of households that owned televisions grew during the 1950s, magazines were still a source of information for many Americans.¹⁵ Specialized and niche-oriented magazines gained popularity as television exposed viewers to new interests, hobbies, concepts, and places, and as individuals became interested in topics that appeared on television, they often sought more information, which led to an increase in specialized-magazines sales.¹⁶ Historian Theodore Peterson explained that in the early sixties specialty magazines were so plentiful it would have been difficult to find a subject that was not covered, which helps to explain why an estimated 66 to 85 percent of Americans were magazine readers.¹⁷ However,

12. Kathleen Laughlin, “Homemakers and Activists in the 1950s,” In *Women’s Rights: People and Perspectives*, ed. Crista DeLuzio (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 178.

13. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1997), 18.

14. Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), 47.

15. Rice, “The Rise,” 139; Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 55.

16. David Summer, *The Magazine Century: American Magazines Since 1900* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 125.

17. Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 55.

while television positively impacted niche-oriented magazines, it negatively impacted general interest magazines, and numerous general interest magazines folded.¹⁸ In order to avoid going under, many magazines underwent massive transformations. One genre that experienced an extreme shift in content was women's magazines.¹⁹

Unhappy Homemakers

Mass media coverage of issues regarding women's rights and women's roles in society reached its lowest point between 1950 and the early 1960s, and while some magazines began publishing articles about successful career women who worked outside the home, others published articles stating working mothers were the cause of juvenile delinquency.²⁰ Furthermore, when women began speaking out about being unfulfilled by being just a housewife, many magazines—including women's magazines— encouraged these unhappy wives and mothers to just take tranquilizers.²¹ Because magazines are thought to portray the societal norms of a given time, the odd and extreme variations of stories related to women's roles demonstrated that there was a growing cultural shift in American society. Whereas previously women had been portrayed as simply being happy homemakers it was becoming evident that many women wanted to have an occupation other than being a housewife.

18. Summer, *The Magazine Century*, 124.

19. Nancy A. Walker, *Women's Magazines, 1940-1960: Gender Roles and Popular Press* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1998), 4-12.

20. Coontz, *A Strange Stirring*, 67; Blix, "Resist," 65; Elizabeth Singer More, "The Necessary Factfinding has only just begun: Women, Social Science, and the Reinvention of the 'Working Mother' in the 1950s." *Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 40, no. 8 (2011): 996, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00497878.2011.609409>.

21. Jonathan Metzl, "Mother's Little Helper: The Crisis of Psychoanalysis and the Miltown Resolution." *Gender & History* 15, no. 2 (August 2003): 240; Donald Cooley, "The New Nerve Pills and Your Health," *Cosmopolitan*, January 1956, 70, ProQuest.

Women and Politics

President's Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW)

As women's frustrations were being made public, there was mounting tension in American society, and in response, President John F. Kennedy created the President's Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW) in 1961.²² The primary goal of the commission was that it would report to Kennedy by indicating "...what remains to be done to demolish prejudices and outdated customs which act as barriers to the full partnership of women in our democracy."²³ Two years later, Congress passed the Equal Pay Act (EPA) of 1963, which Kennedy stated would protect women in the workforce.²⁴ Kennedy noted that the number of employed women was rising much faster than that of men, and while the EPA was a step in the right direction, more needed to be done as women's wages were 40 percent less than men's.²⁵ In October 1963, the PCSW presented its report to Kennedy, which documented sex discrimination in education, the workforce, and personal and property rights.²⁶ More was left to be done and activists began coordinating efforts to produce change more quickly.

In an attempt to combat workforce discrimination, women's rights activists soon joined ranks with Civil Rights activists after realizing that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,

22. JFK archive letter Papers of John F. Kennedy. Presidential Papers. President's Office Files. Departments and Agencies. Commission on the Status of Women. 14 December 1961. <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPOF/093/JFKPOF-093-004>.

23. Ibid.

24. Papers of John F. Kennedy. Presidential Papers. President's Office Files. Speech Files. Remarks on signing the Equal Pay Act of 1963, 10 June 1963. <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPOF/045/JFKPOF-045-001>.

25. Ibid.

26. United States. President's Commission on the Status of Women Records. General Transcripts: Proceedings, 23 April 1963. <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/USPCSW/005/USPCSW-005-007>; U.S. Department of Labor. *American Women Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1963*. <https://www.dol.gov/wb/American%20Women%20Report.pdf>.

which defined “unlawful employment practices” based on race discrimination, could be beneficial in combating sexism as well.²⁷

National Organization for Women (NOW)

According to Flora Davis, author of *Moving the Mountain*, the creation of an organization or movement is often fueled by a crisis, and for many, sex discrimination during the 1960s and 1970s was deemed as such.²⁸ Although the number of women entering the workforce was steadily growing, women had to continually prove themselves to obtain respectable jobs.²⁹ Gender stereotyping, pay inequalities and sex-segregated help wanted advertisements still existed despite the passing of the EPA and the 1964 establishment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), which had been tasked with overseeing the enforcement of Title VII.³⁰ By 1965, just two years after Congress passed the EPA, the EEOC received over 4000 complaints from women regarding discrimination; yet, some believed sexual discrimination to be “a joke,” and the sex provision of Title VII was even called a “fluke” by EEOC director Herman Edelsberg.³¹

During an August 1965 EEOC panel meeting, which was meant to educate employers on sex provisions of Title VII including discriminatory hiring practices as well as the legitimacy of bona-fide occupational qualifications (BFOQ’s), it was questioned as to whether the BFOQ’s

27. Natasha Zaretsky, “Feminists of the 1960s and 1970s” In *Women’s Rights: People and Perspectives*, ed. Crista DeLuzio (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 194.

28. Flora Davis, *Moving the Mountain: The Women’s Movement in America since 1960*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991), 54.

29. Phyllis Lee Levin, “Road from Sophocles to Spock is Often a Bumpy One,” *New York Times*, June 28, 1960, 24, ProQuest.

30. Judith Hole and Ellen Levine, *Rebirth of Feminism*. (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971), 34; Davis, *Moving the Mountain*, 45; Zaretsky, “Feminists of the 1960s and 1970s,” 195.

31. Davis, *Moving the Mountain*, 45-46; Hole and Levine, *Rebirth*, 34.

section of Title VII would require Playboy clubs to hire men as “bunnies.”³² According to Davis, some prominent newspapers, such as the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* then nicknamed the BFOQ portion of Title VII “the bunny law.”³³ On August 20, 1965 (the same day as the EEOC panel meeting), an article titled “For Instance, Can She Pitch for Mets?” appeared in the *New York Times*, and just one day later an article in the editorial column stated that the “bunny problem” had created chaotic upheaval in which “everything has to be neutered.”³⁴ The author stated that it may have been more beneficial had Congress “abolished sex itself.”³⁵

Despite the facts that President Kennedy had created the PCSW in 1961, and that Congress had passed the EPA in 1963, and the Civil Rights Act in 1964—which resulted in the creation of the EEOC—affirmative action, which included both gender and race, progressed slowly. When a small group of women, which included Betty Friedan, attempted to present a resolution addressing the lack of Title VII enforcement by the EEOC at the State Commission on the Status of Women Conference in 1966, the women were told that members of the conference could neither take action nor pass a resolution.³⁶ Frustrated by EEOC’s narrow-mindedness and its intentional indifference of women’s interests, the women determined that the most effective course of action would be to create a new feminist organization named the National Organization for Women (NOW).³⁷ NOW’s mission, as written by Betty Friedan, was “to take the actions

32. John Herbers, “For Instance, Can She Pitch for Mets?” *New York Times*, August 20, 1965, 1, ProQuest; Davis, *Moving the Mountain*, 46; Hole and Levine, *Rebirth*, 34.

33. Davis, *Moving the Mountain*, 46.

34. “De-Sexing the Job Market,” *New York Times*, August 21, 1965, 20, ProQuest.

35. Ibid; Herbers, “For Instance,” 1.

36. Davis, *Moving the Mountain*, 54; Hole and Levine, *Rebirth*, 83.

37. Davis, *Moving the Mountain*, 54; Hole and Levine, *Rebirth*, 84.

needed to bring women into the mainstream of American society,” which included challenging the way mass media portrayed women.³⁸

Women Speak Out

Sex and the Single Girl

Other activists took a more single-handed approach and encouraged gender equality through their writing. Unafraid of taking risks and inspired by her husband, David Brown, (who was a former *Cosmopolitan* editor) Helen Gurley Brown (HGB) wrote the best-selling book titled *Sex and the Single Girl*, which was published in 1962.³⁹ In her book, Brown argued American society’s perception of women was skewed, and that “a single woman’s biggest problem is coping with the people who are trying to marry her off.”⁴⁰ She stated, “There is a more important truth that magazines never deal with, that single women are too brainwashed to figure out, that married women know but won’t admit, that married men *and* single men endorse in a body...the single woman...is emerging as the newest glamor girl of our times.”⁴¹ Brown unabashedly addressed a range of subjects from where and how to meet men and have a relationship or affair, to why having a job you enjoyed and a space where you resided alone was essential. Brown claimed single women had to “work like a son of a bitch” in order to “lead the rich, full life,” which included having and enjoying sex.⁴²

38. Davis, *Moving the Mountain*, 54. Hole and Levine, *Rebirth*, 247; Howard, “Pink Truck,” 144.

39. Brook Hauser, *Enter Helen*, (New York: HarperCollins, 2016), 30-50.

40. Helen Gurley Brown, *Sex and the Single Girl*. (New York: Bernard Geis Associates distributed by Random House, 1962), 4.

41. Brown, *Sex and the Single Girl*, 5.

42. Gurley Brown, *Sex and the Single Girl*, 8-9.

The Feminine Mystique

Just one year later, Betty Friedan's book titled *The Feminine Mystique*, which has been said to have kick-started the second wave of feminism, was published.⁴³ Friedan, who had earlier campaigned against racism and advocated for women's rights,⁴⁴ stated that many American women, especially housewives, were facing a serious mental health problem, which she termed "the problem that has no name."⁴⁵ Friedan argued that as American women began marrying younger and the number of children American families produced increased, a large number of American women either dropped out of college or decided not to attend college at all.⁴⁶ Additionally, she stated there were fewer women pursuing careers; instead, women were "...making careers out of having babies."⁴⁷ Friedan claimed that, due to these circumstances, many American housewives suffered unhappiness and identity crises as they were unfulfilled by their domestic duties.⁴⁸

In 1960, "the problem with no name," according to Friedan, "burst like a boil through the image of the happy American housewife."⁴⁹ While many still simply dismissed the issue, newspapers, magazines, and television began to report that a large number of American housewives might not be happy.⁵⁰ Speculation as to why housewives were unhappy varied. One

43. Kristan Poirot, "Domesticating the Liberated Woman: Containment Rhetorics of Second Wave Radical/Lesbian Feminism." *Women's Studies in Communication* 32, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 263.

44. Daniel Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique: The American Left, the Cold War, and Modern Feminism*. (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 137-138.

45. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 15.

46. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 16-17.

47. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 17.

48. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 69-79.

49. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 22.

50. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 22.

New York Times article stated that the reason American housewives were unhappy was because women were often too highly educated, which led them to feel like a “two-headed schizophrenic” because domesticity was not intellectually fulfilling.⁵¹

In the chapter, titled “The Happy Housewife Heroine,” Friedan argued magazines suppressed women by creating a fictitious image of what an American woman should be. This was done by promoting the ideas that the “only goal a woman is permitted is the pursuit of a man,” and that women achieve this goal by only doing housework and keeping their bodies beautiful.⁵² Frustrated by this fictitious image, Friedan conducted research, in which she examined twenty years of various women’s magazines, to determine if the fictitious image had always been present.⁵³

Friedan found that while in the late 1930s women’s magazines contained stories with women heroines who were rarely housewives and often had careers, by 1950 the image of women heroines all but disappeared and the image of the “Occupation: housewife” American woman emerged, which continued well into the 1960s. Additionally, she claimed the only career women represented in women’s magazines were actresses, but even then she was written about as a housewife.⁵⁴ Friedan wanted to know why.

According to Friedan, an older female editor of a women’s magazine was able to answer her question. The editor said that after men returned from World War II, many female writers quit writing to become mothers and housewives; therefore, current material in women’s magazines was written primarily by men.⁵⁵ Friedan noted that magazines were suffering as they

51. Ibid.

52. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 36.

53. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 38.

54. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 53.

55. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 54.

competed with television, and five women's magazines had already folded while others were "on the brink."⁵⁶ She argued in a short-time mass media had reversed "trends of a century" in which women overcame "legal, political, economic, and educational barriers" only to relegate women back to being merely housewives.⁵⁷

In the final chapter of Friedan's book, which was titled "A New Life Plan for Women," Friedan implored women to find their own identities by seeing through the largely male-created "delusions of the feminine mystique."⁵⁸ She argued that women did not have to choose between having a career and having a family, but rather women needed to find fulfillment by first finding themselves.⁵⁹

Over two million copies of Brown's *Sex and the Single Girl* were sold in just three weeks, and over three million copies of Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* were sold within three years.⁶⁰ While both books received glowing reviews, they also received scathing criticism, and one *Cosmopolitan* author called Brown's book "the most immoral book of 1962."⁶¹ However, "Jennifer Scanlon, a professor at Bowdoin College, argue[d] that Brown was a feminist trailblazer who did for young white working-class women what Friedan did for middle-class suburban wives."⁶²

56. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 66.

57. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 68.

58. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 338.

59. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 344.

60. Coontz, *A Strange Stirring*, 136.

61. "And the Letters Are Still Coming," *Ladies' Home Journal*, April 1963, 20, ProQuest; Maurice Zolotow, "Women and Immorality," *Cosmopolitan*, January 1963, 40, ProQuest.

62. Coontz, *A Strange Stirring*, 137.

Women's Magazines

Women's magazines were routinely considered somewhat of a service manual for housewives by instructing them on the best way to cook, clean, care for their children, and look beautiful.⁶³ According to Peterson, as a business, magazines had "a vested interest in the maintenance of the existing economic system," yet publishers realized that the survival of their magazine depended on adjusting to marketplace demands.⁶⁴ Therefore, whereas previously the content of magazines had been heavily influenced by the magazines' editors—who were predominantly white males—the editors had to begin to consider what readers wanted from women's magazines, rather than what the editors wanted in women's magazines.⁶⁵ However, while publishers were quick to introduce new magazines related to rising special interests,⁶⁶ most remained conformist⁶⁷ and were hesitant to take on controversial topics.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the second wave of feminism challenged women's magazines' status quo as support of Women's Liberation via the women's movement grew, albeit not without resistance in some cases.

Although the first American magazine debuted in 1741, and the first American's women's magazine—*Lady's Magazine*—debuted in 1792, magazines didn't become widely popular and available until the late 1800s.⁶⁹ Fueled by economic growth and industrialization—which resulted in the need for an increase in advertising—as well as the 1879 Postal Act, the

63. Ellen McCracken, *Decoding Women's Magazines from Mademoiselle to Ms.* (New York: St. Martin's, 1993), 192; Walker, *Women's Magazines*, 2.

64. Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 445.

65. Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 119; Walker, *Women's Magazines*, 4.

66. Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 54.

67. Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 445.

68. Walker, *Women's Magazines*, 14.

69. Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 1; Patricia Okker, "Godey's Lady's Book," in *American History Through Literature 1820-1870*, eds. Janet Gabler-Hover and Robert Sattelmeyer (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2006), 472.

number of periodicals increased by nearly six times from 1865 to 1885.⁷⁰ The magazine industry, again, experienced tremendous growth when technological developments that made printing more affordable led publishers to decrease magazines' purchase prices significantly, which, in turn, resulted in higher circulation rates.⁷¹

Ladies' Home Journal

The *LHJ*, which is known as the "grand old lady," forever changed the landscape of women's magazines.⁷² Frustrated by the content selected for the women's supplement portion of the *Tribune and Farmer* weekly publication, Louisa Knapp (wife of *Tribune and Farmer's* publisher Cyrus Curtis) took over the women's department of the weekly.⁷³ Knapp's content quickly amassed such a large following that Curtis decided to create a separate magazine, with Knapp at the helm as editor.⁷⁴ In 1883, the first issue of the *LHJ* was published, and within just six years, the magazine's circulation reached one million.⁷⁵ Knapp's pledge was to publish "a pure and high-toned family paper."⁷⁶ In addition to containing content such as household and child rearing tips, the magazine also contained feature articles, novels and short stories. Numerous editors came and went from the *LHJ* following Knapp's reign; however, in 1935, Bruce and Beatrice Gould took over as editors.⁷⁷ For over twenty-seven years the husband and wife team delivered content consistent with *LHJ's* previously stated adage that the magazine was

70. Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 2.

71. Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 5-6.

72. Kathleen L. Endres and Therese L. Lueck, *Women's Periodicals in the United States* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995), 173; Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 11.

73. Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 11.

74. Ibid.

75. Endres and Lueck, *Women's Periodicals*, 173. Edward Bok, "Apropos of Our Birthday," *Ladies' Home Journal*, November 1903, ProQuest; Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 11.

76. Endres and Lueck, *Women's Periodicals*, 173.

77. Endres and Lueck, *Women's Periodicals*, 175.

a traditional voice to American women whose jobs were first and foremost to be good wives and mothers.⁷⁸

Following the Goulds, Curtiss Anderson took over as the *LHJ* editor in 1962. Although Anderson was replaced after only two years, magazine's content shifted slightly as he ran articles regarding women's rights, some of which were written by Friedan.⁷⁹ After Anderson, again, the *LHJ* experienced a short bout of ever-changing editors who reverted back to publishing articles mirroring traditional domesticity.⁸⁰ In 1965, John Mack Carter became the *LHJ* editor, and he remained in the position for over eight years.⁸¹ During that period, the women's movement was slowly gaining strength, and following the 1966 inception of NOW, members of the organization soon realized the important role the press played. While NOW members argued that the press brainwashed women by perpetuating the message that domesticity alone should be fulfilling, they also realized that furthering the women's movement would only be possible with press coverage—which had been intermittent at best. Following the 1969 Miss America pageant, which was protested by feminists, press coverage regarding the women's movement increased significantly. However, traditional women's magazines were slow to respond because the women's movement had not yet become largely accepted by society.⁸²

On March 18, 1970, roughly 100 feminists stormed Carter's office at the *LHJ* where they demanded liberation.⁸³ During the 11-hour sit-in, the women argued that the *LHJ*'s content did

78. Endres and Lueck, *Women's Periodicals*, 175-176.

79. Endres and Lueck, *Women's Periodicals*, 176.

80.. Additionally, the magazine was sold to Downe Communications. Endres and Lueck, *Women's Periodicals*, 176

81. Endres and Lueck, *Women's Periodicals*, 176-177.

82. Walker, *Women's Magazines*, 14.

83. Grace Lichtenstein, "Feminists Demand 'Liberation' in *Ladies' Home Journal* Sit-in," *New York Times*, March 19, 1970, 51, ProQuest; Davis, *Moving the Mountain*, 11; Endres and Lueck, *Women's Periodicals*, 177; Hole and Levine, *Rebirth*, 255.

not portray an accurate representation of American women, as the content was disparaging toward women and represented women who were solely housewives and mothers—it did not represent women who worked, were divorced, or single.⁸⁴ The women also pointed out that the majority of women’s magazines’ articles were written by men, and that the few women who worked in the media industry were paid a portion of what their male counterparts were paid.⁸⁵ Although not all of demands made by the feminists that day were met, the sit-in did result in a change being made to a portion of the *LHJ*’s content. While Carter noted the sit-in did not dramatically impact the magazine’s overall content, a supplement titled “The New Feminism” was included in the August 1970 issue of the *LHJ*.⁸⁶

Cosmopolitan

Cosmopolitan magazine has been in circulation since 1886;⁸⁷ however, the magazine has not always targeted the female audience. In fact, in the 1950s, the magazine consisted of a primarily male-dominated staff who often depicted women as being the subservient or lesser sex. By the late 1950s, *Cosmopolitan* was considered an unexceptional magazine that was financially unstable and lacked a specific target audience.⁸⁸ Over half of *Cosmopolitan*’s content during the 1950s and early 1960s consisted of fiction, and the nonfiction articles “lacked any particular emphasis.”⁸⁹ While the similar magazines continued to thrive financially, despite competing against television, *Cosmopolitan* lost money in 1964.⁹⁰ Circulation fell to an all-time low of

84. Lichtenstein, “Feminists Demand ‘Liberation,” 51;

85. Hole and Levine, *Rebirth*, 253-254.

86. Davis, *Moving the Mountain*, 257; Hole and Levine, *Rebirth*, 256.

87. James Landers, *The Improbable First Century of Cosmopolitan Magazine* (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2010), 4.

88. Landers, *Improbable First Century*, 218.

89. Landers, *Improbable First Century*, 214-215.

90. Landers, *Improbable First Century*, 221.

below 800,000 copies, which was the magazine's lowest circulation rate in fifty years, and according to *Cosmopolitan's* fiction edit HGB became the *Cosmopolitan's* editor in chief in 1965 that the magazine's content underwent an extreme overhaul, which led the magazine to flourish and become one of the top-selling women's magazines in the United States.⁹¹

Brown had specific ideas for reaching young career women, and she somewhat "...modeled *Cosmopolitan* to *Playboy*."⁹² She wanted the editorial content to be bold, hopeful, upbeat, positive, and frank.⁹³ *Cosmopolitan* began covering the topic of sex both openly and casually.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, this violation of mainstream standards did not come without consequences. Letters from disgruntled readers flooded in, some vendors refused to sell the magazine, and several large companies discontinued advertising in the new *Cosmopolitan*.⁹⁵ However, as dissatisfied readers canceled their subscriptions, new readers subscribed to the magazine because they "...felt as though, finally, someone was talking directly to them."⁹⁶ Brown stated this was because *Cosmopolitan's* "...area was sex and the man-woman relationship," and within six short months of Brown becoming editor, *Cosmopolitan's* readership grew to approximately one million copies per issue, which clearly indicated Brown had found a niche that had not yet been filled.⁹⁷

91. Michaela Frischherz, "Cosmo complaints: Reparative reading and the possibility of pleasure in *Cosmopolitan* magazine," *Sexualities* 21 no. 4 (2018): 552.

92. Landers, *Improbable First Century*, 256.

93. Landers, *Improbable First Century*, 223.

94. Landers, *Improbable First Century*, 232-233.

95. Hauser, *Enter Helen*, 210.

96. Ibid.

97. Hauser, *Enter Helen*, 210.

Redbook

Dating back to its inception in 1903, *Redbook* has experienced several target audience shifts.⁹⁸ In what was first published as a general interest magazine—which contained both facts and fiction—following World War II, *Redbook* began targeting young adults; however, targeting this audience was short-lived.⁹⁹ During the mid-1950s, *Redbook* began targeting an exclusively female audience, and it quickly became known as a women’s magazine that did not shy away from controversial issues—a reputation that the magazine would keep throughout the 1970s.¹⁰⁰ Robert Stein, editor of *Redbook* from 1958 to 1965, argued that—as opposed to other women’s magazines—*Redbook* staff believed that women wanted to be informed about both political and societal issues; therefore Stein attempted to make the magazine more cultured and politically involved by covering controversial topics ranging from racism and nuclear war threats to premarital sex and Women’s Liberation.¹⁰¹ In addition to being the first national magazine to run a story on civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Stein also incorporated monthly advice columns written by specialists such as Dr. Benjamin Spock and anthropologist Margaret Mead.¹⁰²

When Stein left *Redbook* in 1965, Seymour (Sey) Chassler—who had previously been the magazine’s executive editor—took over as *Redbook*’s editor, where he remained for over sixteen years.¹⁰³ Although *Redbook* had already been considered progressive for a women’s

98. Endres and Lueck, *Women’s Periodicals*, 297.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.

101. Endres and Lueck, *Women’s Periodicals*, 302-303; Paul Shankman, “The Public Anthropology of Margaret Mead: *Redbook*, Women’s Issues, and the 1960s,” *Current Anthropology* 59, no. 1 (February 2018): 56-57, ProQuest; Paul Vitello, “Robert Stein, 90; Top Editor at *McCall’s* and *Redbook*,” *New York Times*, July 20, 2014, 20, ProQuest.

102. Endres and Lueck, *Women’s Periodicals*, 302-303.

103. Endres and Lueck, *Women’s Periodicals*, 303-305.

magazine, Chassler—a women’s rights activist and feminist who previously published nontraditional articles—took the magazine to the next level by publishing highly politicized articles related to feminists’ issues, insisting the magazine represent African Americans in each issue, and replacing male pronouns with female pronouns.¹⁰⁴ Chassler’s target audience was young women between eighteen and thirty-four who were feminists; it did not matter if the women were married, single, mothers or childless.¹⁰⁵ He connected with the magazine’s readers by publishing questionnaires, which normally received over 100 thousand responses, and brought in new columnists and editors ranging from well-known pediatricians and poets to sex researchers and consumer advocates to address the presented issues.¹⁰⁶

Chassler was also attributed with influencing Mead’s *Redbook* column’s content, which was published between 1962 and 1978, as it became more progressive over time.¹⁰⁷ Whereas in the early 1960s Mead’s columns were family oriented and centered on the domestic bliss of marriage and motherhood, by the late 1960s Mead began covering political, social, and economic issues such as discrimination against women, civil rights, divorce, premarital sex and the feminist movement.¹⁰⁸ It is unknown whether *Redbook*’s growth, which went from three million in the early 1960s to the five million in the 1970s, should be attributed more to Chassler’s strategy, Mead’s columns’ popularity or a combination of both; however, the magazine’s

104. Endres and Lueck, *Women’s Periodicals*, 304.

105. Ibid.

106. Endres and Lueck, *Women’s Periodicals*, 303-305; Susan R. Trencher, “Reading ‘The *Redbook* Columns,’” in *Corridor Talk to Culture History: Public Anthropology and Its Consequences*, eds. Regna Darnell and Frederic W. Gleach (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 236.

107. Shankman, “Public Anthropology of Margaret Mead,” 56.

108. Shankman, “Public Anthropology of Margaret Mead,” 60-62.

exponential growth in such a short period of time indicates a rise in women's awareness and opinions regarding changes in society.¹⁰⁹

109. Shankman, "Public Anthropology of Margaret Mead," 55; Trencher, "Reading the Redbook Columns," 236.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

The researcher conducted a qualitative historical analysis by reviewing primary and secondary sources related to American society and culture between the 1940s through the 1970s to give context to the time leading up to and through the period under study. Additionally, the researcher examined the cover photograph and articles listed on the cover, with accompanying photographs, of one randomly selected issue each of *Cosmopolitan*, *LHJ* and *Redbook* from 1963-1973. [See Appendix] In total, this study examined eleven issues of each magazine over an eleven year time span, resulting in the examination of thirty-three issues. In total, thirty-three cover photographs and 241 cover stories—with accompanying photos—were examined. The breakdown of cover stories per magazine was as follows: *Cosmopolitan* eighty-three, *LHJ* ninety-five and *Redbook* sixty-three. Novels, book condensations and non-fiction book excerpts with no themes being explored were discarded, which resulted in forty items being discarded. Additionally, thirty cover stories in which no themes being explored were present were discarded.¹¹⁰ [See Appendix] This resulted in 171 cover stories being examined (fifty-three, *Cosmopolitan*, sixty-seven *LHJ* and fifty-one *Redbook*).

First, the researcher examined the cover of each issue. Notes were taken regarding both who or what was on the cover and the physical appearance of the individual(s) on the covers. The researcher also examined each cover article along with the associated photographs. Each cover story was read multiple times. The cover stories were first read to determine relevance, and subsequent readings were conducted for thematic information gathering purposes as the

¹¹⁰. Cover stories that were discarded ranged from personal interviews and memoirs to cartoons and quizzes.

researcher looked for themes related to advice or discussions about women's roles in society, in the home and in relationships. Additionally, the researcher categorized the sex of each article's author(s) as male or female based on the common use of first names. However, due to gender-neutral names, pseudonyms, nicknames or no author(s) being listed, this presented an opportunity for errors. By paying special attention to the language and photographs used to portray and describe women, multiple themes emerged, and the researcher was able to answer the question examining if and how the language and photographs portraying and describing women changed in *Cosmopolitan*, *LHJ* and *Redbook* during the 1963-1973 period.

Chapter 4

RESULTS

An analysis of the authors of the articles used in this study refuted the charge against *LHJ* in 1970 that the majority of the articles in women's magazines were written by men. Of the fifty-three articles examined from *Cosmopolitan* fifteen were written by men, thirty-three by women, and five articles either didn't have an author or the sex of the author could not be determined. Similarly, of the sixty-seven *LHJ* articles in this study, sixteen had male authors thirty-eight had female authors, and thirteen either didn't have an author or the sex of the author could not be determined. Of the fifty-one *Redbook* articles examined, fourteen were written by men, twelve were written by women, two were written by a man and woman and twenty-three articles either didn't have an author or the sex of the author could not be determined. However, it is important to note that the editors of each magazine remained dominated males during the period under study with the exception of HGB who became *Cosmopolitan's* editor in 1965.

In conducting the thematic analysis, nine main themes were identified. The thematic categories included: relationship, appearance, mothers and children, domesticity, sex and birth control, men, feminism, Women's Liberation and female pioneers, health and finances. Many articles contained overarching themes; however, the researcher categorized each article according to the most dominant theme displayed within the article.

Relationship

The relationship theme—which contained seven subthemes including wife, single, marriage, housewife, divorce, husband and kept woman—was the most predominant theme, and it contained forty relevant articles. The distribution of articles among the subthemes were as follows (see Table 1):

Table 1

DISTRIBUTION OF “RELATIONSHIP” ARTICLES BY SUBTHEME

Subtheme Category	Number of Articles
Wife	11
Single	9
Marriage	7
Housewife	4
Divorce	4
Husband	3
Kept Woman	2

Wife

Within the relationship theme, “wife” was the most predominant subtheme (which was often coupled with the theme “husband”) as it was present in eleven articles. While the subtheme “wife” was noticeably absent from *Redbook*, *Cosmopolitan* published eight articles from 1963 to 1973—in 1963, 1964, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970 and 1971—directly related to the “wife” subtheme, and the description of wives varied drastically.

Articles related to the theme subtheme “wife” typically supported traditional ideals of being a wife, even claiming that women’s progress in society was tied to or caused infidelity. In a January 1963 article, one author claimed that many women had become immoral due to women’ progress in society, which resulted in an increase in infidelity as women were “enjoying the deadly sins of lust, gluttony, envy and greed.”¹¹¹ However, several subsequent articles

111. Zolotow, “Women and Immorality,” 38.

contained descriptions of wives of Senators, First Ladies and other wives who always placed their husbands first, regardless of the cost.¹¹² In these articles, some wives alluded to being perfectly content in placing their husbands' needs and desires first. Wives' comments ranged from "our husband's jobs are our first jobs, too,"¹¹³ to one wife stating that she rushed home after work to make sure all of her stuff was hidden in the apartment she shared with her husband.¹¹⁴

In contrast, in the March 1968 article titled "The Mistress My Husband Can't Give Up," one wife stated that after she realized her husband couldn't be her entire life she got a job, which changed her entire outlook on life,¹¹⁵ and in a November 1969 article titled "Would You Rather Be the Wife?...Or the Mistress," multiple women indicated they would rather be a mistress than a wife because, as stated by Susan Hayward, she "could have all of the pleasures and none of the headaches."¹¹⁶

The manner in which the subtheme wife appeared in three articles published in *LJH*—in 1963 and 1970—remained consistent as wives were depicted as putting their husbands first. In the article titled "Sky High Courage," Doris White's primary responsibility was to ensure that her husband, Major Robert White, led a serene and normal life as he was "one of the world's

112. Stephen Birmingham, "Senate Wives Speak Out," *Cosmopolitan*, April 1964, ProQuest; Jane O'Reilly, "I Live With a Bachelor," *Cosmopolitan*, September 1967, ProQuest; John Fowles, "Jaqueline Kennedy Onassis and Other First (And Last) Ladies," *Cosmopolitan*, October 1970, ProQuest; Nick Thimmesch and William Johnson, "Robert Kennedy at 40," *Cosmopolitan*, February 1966, ProQuest; "The Mistress My Husband Can't Give Up," *Cosmopolitan*, March 1968, ProQuest; Edward Keyes, "Could You Be a Cop's Wife?" *Cosmopolitan*, February 1971, ProQuest.

113. Birmingham, "Senate Wives," 55.

114. O'Reilly, "Bachelor," 62.

115. "Mistress My Husband," 63.

116. Marion Meade, "Would You Rather Be the Wife?...Or the Mistress?" November 1969, 89, ProQuest.

highest-flying test pilots.”¹¹⁷ Additionally, in the October 1970 article titled “Mrs. Success,” it was noted that while the occupations of rich men may lead the men to travel frequently, “rich men’s wives are loyal.”¹¹⁸

Single

The articles related to the subtheme “single” were only present in *Cosmopolitan*. Because *LHJ*’s target audience consisted primarily of married women and housewives, it was expected that this subtheme would not emerge. However, it was somewhat surprising that the subtheme did not make an appearance in *Redbook*.

Nine articles falling into the subtheme “single” were published in *Cosmopolitan* during the time period being examined; however, the subtheme did not emerge until February 1966—approximately seven months after HGB became the magazine’s editor. The article, titled “Is He Really So Special?: (How to get over a love affair),” offered advice as to how women should handle themselves after a break up.¹¹⁹ Advice ranged from “throw yourself on the bed and thrash about” to “doing things that would “make him sorry he gave you up.”¹²⁰

Subsequent articles in the category “single” ranged from articles that advised women of ways to make a man want to love you, how to get a man to leave his wife, reasons a man might not call after having sex, common reasons of single girl depression, why it can be difficult to be friends with a married couple and how to determine if you are ready to live with a man.¹²¹ While

117. Dorothy Markinko, “Sky-High Courage,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, January 1963, 63, ProQuest.

118. Lois Wyse, “Mrs. Success,” *Ladies Home Journal*, October 1970, 50, ProQuest.

119. Mimi Sheraton, “Is He Really So Special?: (How to get over a love affair),” *Cosmopolitan*, February 1966, ProQuest.

¹²⁰ Sheraton, “So Special,” 53, 55.

121. Nancy Winters, “You Love Him More Than He Loves You,” *Cosmopolitan*, November 1969, Proquest; Jan Kornell, “Why (Sob!) Didn’t He Call?” *Cosmopolitan*, October 1970; Harvey Aronson, “Depressed Again! And Oh! So Alone!” *Cosmopolitan*, October 1970,

a few of the articles were coupled with the themes “sex,” “health” or “appearance,” the main focus of the articles related closest to the subtheme “single,” and only two articles—one which was about the music group the Supremes and another that was about the difficulty of a single girl being friends with a married couple—did not focus some aspect of a romantic relationship or lack thereof.¹²²

The message within the articles in the subtheme “single” (minus the two outliers referenced above), remained consistent in *Cosmopolitan*—get a man, and once you have him, keep him happy. Advice of what single women shouldn’t do ranged from not becoming possessive, to not gaining weight or becoming complacent¹²³ because, as stated in one article, “There is nothing quite so satisfactory as a really hooked man.”

Marriage

Although other relationship subthemes such as “kept woman,” “husband” and “wife” emerged early in the examination of the articles, the subtheme “marriage” did not specifically appear until 1966, and even then, only seven articles emerged throughout the 11-year period being investigated. Of the seven articles, the messages that pertained to marriage were sporadic and wide-ranging.¹²⁴ The three articles published in *Cosmopolitan* in 1966, 1972 and 1973 varied

ProQuest; Janice Penny, “I Loved a Gynecophiliac,” *Cosmopolitan*, February 1971, ProQuest; Constance Bogen, “Beware the Married Couple,” *Cosmopolitan*, January 1972, ProQuest; Jane Margold, “Living Together Handbook,” *Cosmopolitan*, March 1973, ProQuest.

122. Rona Jaffe, “The Supremes: They Make You Believe Again,” *Cosmopolitan*, September 1967, ProQuest; Bogen, “Beware.”

123. Margold, “Living Together,” 170; Kornell, “Why (Sob!),” 82.

124. Jean Baer, “When Is a Man Remarriageable?” *Cosmopolitan*, February 1966, ProQuest; Dorothy Cameron Disney, “Can This Marriage Be Saved?” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, February 1966, ProQuest; Edward M. Brecher, “A New Way To Help Troubled Marriages,” *Redbook*, March 1968, ProQuest; Phillip E. Slater, “Must Marriage Cheat Today’s Young Women?” *Redbook*, February 1971, ProQuest; Myrna Blyth, “The Big Catch,” *Cosmopolitan*, January 1972, ProQuest; Allan Fromme, “Is It Better To Marry Poorly Than Not At All?”

from offering advice as to if and when a man would likely remarry, and if so, how a woman could “get him to the alter soon,”¹²⁵ to tales of women who had landed rich husbands and the methods they used to do so,¹²⁶ and why it was beneficial for women to marry regardless of a man’s wealth because “...most young women agree that they would be best off getting married.”¹²⁷ Although HGB’s editorial style was said to have catered to young career women, the end goal of young career women appeared to be that of marriage.

LJH, which only published one article during the time period related specifically to marriage, consisted of an article in which Dorothy Cameron Disney examined the 1966 film “Who’s Afraid of Virginia Wolfe?”¹²⁸ Disney stated it was likely that the film “would likely upset a great many women” because the way in which marriage was presented had never before been committed to film.¹²⁹ Although the star of the film, Elizabeth Taylor, who was referred to as a “sex symbol to the entire world,” did not physically commit adultery onscreen, she propositioned a younger man multiple times, and it was alluded to that she had previous sexual affairs.¹³⁰ Additionally, Taylor’s blatant disrespect of her husband was thought to be distasteful as she considered him to be “a pig and a weakling.”¹³¹ Because *LHJ* catered to American women whose jobs were first and foremost to be good wives and mothers, the fact that the movie was ill-received by the magazine was unsurprising.¹³²

Cosmopolitan, March 1973, ProQuest; Norman Lobsenz, “What You Should Know Before Choosing a Marriage Counselor,” *Redbook*, March 1973.

125. Baer, “Remarriageable,” 51.

126. Blyth, “Big Catch.”

127. Fromme, “Marry Poorly,” 126.

128. Dorothy Cameron Disney, “Can This Marriage Be Saved?” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, February 1966, ProQuest.

129. Disney, “Marriage Be Saved,” 59.

130. Disney, “Marriage Be Saved,” 109.

131. Disney, “Marriage Be Saved,” 109.

132. Endres and Lueck, *Women’s Periodicals*, 175-176.

Redbook articles that related to marriage, were presented in two different manners. While two of the articles—published in 1968 and 1973—offered advice about therapy and counselors for existing married couples,¹³³ the remaining article, which was published in February 1971, investigated the strong generational divides between women regarding marriage.¹³⁴ In this article, Sociology Professor Phillip E. Slater argued that rather than being abhorred by women of previous generations, young women should be praised as they “fight for their place in the workforce” and focus on interpersonal relationships, which include sexual relationships, and self-development rather than relegating themselves to “simply being wives and mothers.”¹³⁵ This article was somewhat of an outlier as it promoted Women’s Liberation.

When comparing the subtheme “marriage” across all three magazines, the content contained varied and conflicting messages. While *Cosmopolitan* advocated for marriage, and *Redbook*, at least in one article, supported young women who were uninclined to marry, *LHJ* found it disgraceful for a woman to not be happy with her marriage and her husband.

Housewife

While the subtheme housewife was absent from *Cosmopolitan*, it appeared in four articles—three of which were in *LHJ* and one of which was in *Redbook*. *LHJ*’s portrayal of housewives varied in nature. One January 1963 article portrayed housewives as women who wanted to make the world “more beautiful and better,” and the article stated that a woman did so even when she “...uses her lipstick, considers what to cook for dinner, or teaches her

133. Edward M. Brecher, “A New Way To Help Troubled Marriages,” *Redbook*, March 1968, ProQuest; Norman Lobsenz, “What You Should Know Before Choosing a Marriage Counselor,” *Redbook*, March 1973, ProQuest.

134. Phillip E. Slater, “Must Marriage Cheat Today’s Young Women?” *Redbook*, February 1971, ProQuest.

135. Slater, “Must Marriage Cheat,” 67, 166.

children.”¹³⁶ However, another article—published in March 1968—suggested that some housewives found part-time employment enjoyable and listed twenty-six part-time job possibilities. However, it should be noted that out of the job opportunities listed, only ten were listed as being positions outside of the home.¹³⁷

In startling contrast, the February 1971 article titled “Wives Who Run Away” stated that there was a huge gap in society—especially for housewives—because what women thought they could do and what society would let them do were on opposite ends of the spectrum.¹³⁸ According to the author there was a “crazy situation of highly educated women washing dishes and sorting diapers,” which was “hellishly frustrating for some of them.”¹³⁹ One wife admitted that she left home because while her husband was out working and got to be intellectual, she was stuck doing the dishes and was stagnant.¹⁴⁰ The author stated that almost 300,000 women left their homes each year, and he alluded that a large majority of these women were likely housewives.

Redbook’s one and only article regarding the subtheme housewife was observed in the March 1968 issue. The article, titled “Yoga, Ancient Christian Rites, Parapsychology, Spiritualism: A Report on Mysticism Today,” stated that while American housewives weren’t interested in LSD, they sought the same thing as hippies, which was to discover who they were

136. Curtiss Anderson, “The World We Want,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, January 1963, 49, ProQuest.

137. Ruth Lembeck, “26 Part-Time Jobs for Women,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, March 1968, 74, 76, 78, 120, 122-123, ProQuest.

138. Max Gunther, “Wives Who Run Away,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, February 1971, 68, ProQuest.

139. Gunther, “Wives Who Run,” 68.

¹⁴⁰ Gunther, “Wives Who Run,” 68.

and what their purpose was.¹⁴¹ Influential yogi, Marcia Moore, stated that housewives were grossly underestimated as according to magazines, they were only interested in their appearance, hair, home and PTA.¹⁴² Moore stated that women often wondered whether getting married and having children was their sole purpose for living.¹⁴³

Similar to the previously listed subthemes, the subtheme “housewife” presented contrasting information. However, it appears evident that as time progressed, the manner in which housewives were portrayed changed drastically. This change was likely due to shifts in societal norms.

Divorce

Although often coupled with numerous other subthemes, the subtheme “divorce” was the most predominate subject in only four articles—two of which were in *Cosmopolitan* and two of which were in *LHJ*. The 1967 *Cosmopolitan* article titled “What to Tell Your Children About Your Sex Life,” was the only article that discussed numerous facets of a divorce. Advice was given on navigating the divorce proceedings, what to tell your children, questions to ask your lawyer, moving out, and how to handle a new romantic relationship after a divorce.¹⁴⁴ Women were told that “lawyers are happiest when they are certain you not only have been celibate from the moment of separation, but plan to continue that status for several years,” and that they should

141. Sam Blum, “Yoga, Ancient Christian Rites, Parapsychology, Spiritualism: A Report on Mysticism Today,” *Redbook*, March 1968, 110, ProQuest.

142. Blum, “Yoga,” 110.

143. Blum, “Yoga,” 110.

144. Jill Schary, “What to Tell Your Kids About Your Sex Life,” *Cosmopolitan*, September 1967, 79, Pro Quest.

be cautious entering a new romantic relationship.¹⁴⁵ It was reinforced that, although women would likely enter new relationships, they should always place the needs of their children first.¹⁴⁶

Two articles were related to Catholic divorces and annulments. In the 1968 *Cosmopolitan* article “Princess Lee Radziwill” and the 1969 *LHJ* article “Catholics & Divorce” the authors indicated that both Princess Radziwill (Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis’s younger sister) and Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis herself were likely able to remarry due to the Kennedy influence, which allowed previous marriages to be annulled by the Catholic Church—though the circumstances were somewhat unusual.¹⁴⁷ The authors insinuated that without the Kennedy name, the annulments would have likely not been granted. The final remaining article was somewhat of an outlier as was merely a short piece regarding Howard Hughes ex-wife, Jean Peters, who had returned to acting and remarried within the same year as divorcing Hughes.¹⁴⁸

The subtheme “divorce” presented interesting findings. While both *Cosmopolitan* and *LHJ* discussed romantic relationships and subsequent marriages following divorces, only *Cosmopolitan* examined how the new romantic relationship would impact children. This was somewhat surprising as the magazine rarely addressed topics pertaining to children. The fact that *Cosmopolitan* discussed sex after divorce was unsurprising, because HGB clearly stated the topic of sex would be covered within the magazine; however, because *LHJ* had consistently remained a conservative women’s magazine, it was startling that the magazine included an article about

145. Schary, “What to Tell Your Kids,” 80.

146. Schary, “What to Tell Your Kids,” 83.

147. Peter Evans, “Princess Lee Radziwill,” *Cosmopolitan*, March 1968, 143, ProQuest; Kenneth L. Woodward, “Catholics & Divorce,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, November 1969, 148, ProQuest.

148. D.L. Lyons, “Jean Peters: Howard Hughes Ex-Wife Speaks Out,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, March 1973, ProQuest.

Howard Hughes's ex-wife. Because the article was published in 1973, it is an indication that while remaining conservative, *LHJ* had begun to loosen the reins on article content.

Husband

As previously stated, the subtheme husband was often coupled with the subtheme wife. Although *Cosmopolitan* routinely published articles related to finding a husband, the magazine contained no cover stories that possessed the subtheme husband during the time period. However, *LHJ* contained two articles during the time period—both of which were published in January 1963—related to the subtheme, and *Redbook* contained one article related to the subtheme, which was published in September 1967.

Both articles in *LHJ* focused heavily on what husbands needed and wanted from their wives. While one article stated that current books and articles argued women were to blame for men dying younger than in previous eras, the other article stated that large numbers of husbands were leaving their wives and families due to disagreements that could have been prevented by wives.¹⁴⁹ In the article titled “10 Ways to Keep a Husband—Young Profession: Housewife,” the author stated that women could learn a lot from men, and that housewives' primary goals should consist of looking beautiful, caring for the children and boosting their husbands' self-esteem.¹⁵⁰ If the wife was not living up to her husband's standards, the author said that the husband could simply educate his wife accordingly so that his needs and wants would be met.¹⁵¹ Similarly, in the article titled “Why Husbands Run Away,” it was wives who were expected to admit fault and

149. Phyllis McGinley, “10 Ways to Keep a Husband--Young Profession: Housewife,” *Ladies' Home Journal*, January 1963, ProQuest; Dorothy Cameron Disney, “Why Husbands Run Away,” *Ladies' Home Journal*, January 1963, ProQuest.

150. McGinley, “10 Ways,” 87, 132.

151. McGinley, “10 Ways,” 87,

expected to change. Additional emphasis was placed on the fact that wives should believe their husbands “came first in everything.”¹⁵²

In *Redbook*’s September 1967 article, which was related to the subtheme husband, author Robert J. Levin took an entirely less sexist stance as he stated that while the revolution of “making women the equals of men” happened within a century, much of society was pitting “a feminine mystique against a masculine mystique.”¹⁵³ Levin argued that even psychiatrists, sociologists, counselors could not come to a general consensus as to how women’s equality was impacting society.¹⁵⁴

While some believed that women’s relatively newfound equality was causing men to become less masculine, sexually passive and more feminine and others claimed that men were the reason behind most women’s unhappiness, the author said that both of these notions were preposterous.¹⁵⁵ Instead, Levin argued that “Men and women must learn to see each other with fresh vision, abandoning the crude, outmoded measures of masculinity and femininity.”¹⁵⁶ Levin did note, however, that society’s opinions regarding married women would likely not change as rapidly because married women continued to play “familiar roles in essential traditional fashion.”¹⁵⁷

Just as the previous subthemes presented opposing information, the subtheme “husband” did as well. While the *Redbook* article seemed to have taken a stance supporting equality, both *LHJ* articles focused primarily on husbands’ needs and wants.

152. Disney, “Why Husbands Run,” 94.

153. Robert J. Levin, “Why So Many Husbands Feel Inadequate,” September 1967, 112, ProQuest.

154. Levin, “Husbands Feel Inadequate,” 69, 109, 110-112.

155. Levin, “Husbands Feel Inadequate,” 112.

156. Levin, “Husbands Feel Inadequate,” 112.

157. Levin, “Husbands Feel Inadequate,” 112.

Kept Woman

The subtheme “kept woman” only appeared in two articles, both of which were in *Cosmopolitan*—the first in January 1963 and the second in October 1970. In both articles, kept women (mistresses) were portrayed as somewhat footloose and fancy-free. While the January 1963 article, titled “The Life of a Kept Woman,” focused on one woman, the October 1970 article, titled “The Slightly Kept Girl,” told the stories of five semi-kept women.¹⁵⁸ Both articles stated that kept women didn’t need to worry about trivial things—such as paying their bills—because their primary incomes came from or were supplemented by their lovers.¹⁵⁹ Instead, kept women typically lived in the lap of luxury—as both articles mentioned the women being gifted with items such as furs and diamonds.

Physical appearance also played a large role in the lives of kept women as they were described as being “stunning” and “radiant.”¹⁶⁰ While lovers’ wives were briefly mentioned in each article, the manner in which they were presented varied.¹⁶¹ One wife was portrayed as being “anything but warm and cozy” and one was stated to have been “in a sanitarium;” however, this simply reinforced the ideology that kept women could provide something their lovers’ wives could not.¹⁶² Additionally, while some kept women claimed sex was not at the root of their relationships with their lovers, others indicated they felt as if it was, and one woman stated she felt “morally obligated to make love whenever he wants.”¹⁶³

158. Doris Lilly, “The Life of a Kept Woman,” *Cosmopolitan*, January 1963, ProQuest; Julie Baumgold, “The Slightly Kept Girl,” *Cosmopolitan*, October 1970, ProQuest.

159. Lilly, “Kept Woman,” 54; Baumgold, “Slightly Kept Girl,” 154.

160. Lilly, “Kept Woman,” 56; Baumgold, “Slightly Kept Girl,” 177.

161. Lilly, “Kept Woman,” 54; Baumgold, “Slightly Kept Girl,” 154, 177.

162. Baumgold, “Slightly Kept Girl,” 177.

163. Lilly, “Kept Woman,” 56; Baumgold, “Slightly Kept Girl,” 154.

Contrary to previously examined subthemes, the articles falling within the subtheme “kept woman” remained fairly consistent; however, this was likely due to the subtheme only being present in *Cosmopolitan* articles. Both of the articles expressed that being a kept woman was acceptable—even if the kept woman’s lover was married. Additionally, both articles focused on the benefits associated with being a kept woman.

Appearance

The appearance theme—which contained five subthemes including beauty, fashion, diet, physical appearance and exercise—was the second most predominant theme, and it contained thirty-seven relevant articles. The distribution of articles among the subthemes were as follows (see Table 2):

Table 2

DISTRIBUTION OF “APPEARANCE” ARTICLES BY SUBTHEME

Subtheme Category	Number of Articles
Beauty	14
Fashion	11
Diet	6
Physical Appearance	5
Exercise	1

Beauty

Within the “appearance” theme, “beauty” was the most predominant subtheme. Of the fourteen articles within the “beauty” subtheme, *LHJ* and *Rebook* each contained seven articles with content related to women’s hair, skin and makeup. Astonishingly, while *Cosmopolitan*’s

cover photographs and accompanying article photographs routinely contained women with perfect hair, skin and makeup, the topics were not explicitly addressed in any of the examined articles.

From recreating hairstyles of famous romantic heroines and tips on dying and glazing hair to the best makeup to purchase based on your complexion, the articles offered a full-range of beauty for women.¹⁶⁴ While some articles made fleeting comments regarding men's opinions and desires related to women's hair, skin and makeup, only one article, found in the July 1965 issue of *Redbook*, detailed the opinions of husbands of young mothers.

In the article, women in their 20s discussed complaints that their husbands had regarding their hair, makeup and skin with Ruth Drake, who was the beauty editor of *Redbook*. While one woman said her husband got mad if she slept with rollers in her hair, another young woman said her husband was "very strict" about what her appearance looked like even when she was at home, and yet another woman said her husband wanted her to look "neat."¹⁶⁵ As the women went on to discuss how to correct problems such as dandruff and perspiring, Drake steered the conversation by stating, "Let's get back to husbands again—our best audience."¹⁶⁶

The fourteen articles falling within the subtheme "beauty" were consistent in content. Whether what haircut styles, hairdos or makeup types and techniques were presented, the message was clear and consistent—be beautiful.¹⁶⁷

164. Clerke, "Romantic Hairdos," 65; "What Color?" 70; Drake, "New Make-Up," 98

165. "Young Mothers," 38, 42.

166. "Young Mothers," 42.

167. Bruce Clerke, "Return of the Romantic Hairdos," *Cosmopolitan*, January 1963, ProQuest; Ruth Drake, "The New Make-Up For Summer," *Redbook*, April 1964, ProQuest; "Young Mothers Talk About Their Hair, Skin and Other Beauty Problems," *Redbook*, July 1965, ProQuest; "What Color Did You Say Your Hair Was," *Redbook*, September 1967, ProQuest; Susan Harney, "The Curlyheads," *Ladies' Home Journal*, March 1968; "A Change of Face," *Redbook*, March 1968, ProQuest; "The Winter Beauty," *Ladies' Home Journal*, November 1969,

Fashion

Women's clothing—referred to as “fashion”—was the second largest subtheme within the “appearance” theme, and it appeared in all three magazines. However, whereas *LHJ* and *Redbook*'s articles regarding fashion emerged in 1963, *Cosmopolitan*'s articles regarding fashion did not emerge until July 1965, which was soon after HGB had taken over as editor. This discovery was significant as it provided insight as to why *Cosmopolitan*'s articles and accompanying photos were more risqué than those presented in *LHJ* and *Redbook*, because the photos aligned with HGB's vision for *Cosmopolitan* (see Figures 1, 2 and 3).¹⁶⁸

Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3



ProQuest; “Hairstyles for the Holidays,” *Redbook*, November 1969, ProQuest; Sally Obre, “Hair: How It Shapes Up,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, October 1970, ProQuest; “The New, Easier Hair Colors,” *Redbook*, October 1970, ProQuest; Sally Obre, “A Commonsense Guide to Hair,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, February 1971, ProQuest; “How to Get the Haircut You Want,” *Redbook*, February 1971, ProQuest; Sally Obre, “Dinah: Why She Looks Great,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, March 1973, ProQuest.

168. J. Frederick Smith, “Lingerie: Those Evil Pastels!” *Cosmopolitan*, March 1973, 201, ProQuest, Figure 1; Otto Stupakoff, “The Winter Woman Hits the Slopes,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, November 1969, 89, ProQuest; William Caddy, “It’s a Long Story,” *Redbook*, November 1969, 93, ProQuest.

LHJ and *Redbook* articles and accompanying photographs within the subtheme “fashion” focused on clothing that was “dazzling”¹⁶⁹ and encouraged women to “keep up with fashion.”¹⁷⁰ Additionally, *LHJ* contained articles related to maternity fashions. Conversely, *Cosmopolitan*’s articles and accompanying photos within the subtheme “fashion” focused on clothing that was alluring and sexy.¹⁷¹

When comparing the subtheme “fashion” across all three magazines, the content contained varied and conflicting messages. However, each magazine’s representation of the subtheme “fashion” remained consistent independently.

Diet

The subtheme “diet,” which was often coupled with the subtheme “recipes” in the “domesticity” theme, emerged within six articles—twice in *Cosmopolitan*, once in *LHJ* and three times in *Redbook*. Of the six articles, only half contained the advice of a doctor. Whereas the 1967 *Cosmopolitan* article titled “The Doctor’s Quick Weight Loss Diet” focused heavily on eating six small meals a day of specific foods to “...slim down fast to a gorgeous lissome figure...,”¹⁷² the 1973 *Cosmopolitan* article pertaining to “diet” offered advice of what to eat when “dining out with Mr. Exciting” and using the “date, no-date diet plan,” which encouraged

169. Catherine di Montezemolo, “Return of the Romantic Look,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, January 1963, 66, ProQuest.

170. Bernard Roscho, “Fads and Fashion: A Behind-the-Scenes Report on the People Who Decide What You Wear and How Much You Pay,” *Redbook*, January 1963, 70, ProQuest.

171. Harriet la Barre, “Are You a JAX Girl?” *Cosmopolitan*, July 1965, 48 ProQuest; Nancy Benson, “Lingerie: Those Evil Pastels!” *Cosmopolitan*, March 1973, ProQuest.

172. Irwin Maxwell Stillman and Samm Sinclair Baker, “The Doctor’s Quick Weight Loss Diet,” *Cosmopolitan*, September 1967, 111, ProQuest.

women to “eat up a storm” when they had a date or social engagement and deprive themselves of food when they didn’t.¹⁷³

In contrast, Yvonne Young Tarr’s 1968 *LHJ* article regarding dieting presented another approach at dieting, as well as sample recipes from her new cookbook. Tarr was described as being a “once-plump, now-svelte author” who had found a way to melt fat by alternating between a low-calorie diet and low-carbohydrate diet, which she called the “Fat Scat Plan.”¹⁷⁴

One *Redbook* article related to the subtheme “diet” provided suggestions of what to eat after the holiday season. However, similar to *Cosmopolitan*’s article titled “The Doctor’s Quick Weight Loss Diet,” *Redbook*’s October 1970 article titled “*Redbook*’s Wise Woman Diet” was based on the advice of a doctor and it contained recipes of specific foods—according to calorie content and nutrition—that wouldn’t jeopardize women’s health, strength and disposition.¹⁷⁵ *Redbook* published a similar wise diet article in January 1972 that added a nutrition for men section.¹⁷⁶

When comparing the three magazines’ coverage of the subtheme “diet,” both doctor-approved and fad diets were included. Whereas *Redbook* and *Cosmopolitan* each contained one article each that detailed dieting advice based on doctor’s recommendations, the other *Cosmopolitan* article and the *LHJ* article focused on fad diets. Therefore, once again, conflicting information was distributed to women.

173. Joan Dunn, “Dieter’s Notebook: Splurge-and-Fast Diet,” *Cosmopolitan*, March 1973, 94, ProQuest.

174. Yvonne Young Tarr, “The 10 Minute Gourmet Diet Cookbook,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, March 1968, 100, ProQuest.

175. “*Redbook*’s Wise Woman’s Diet,” *Redbook*, October 1970, ProQuest.

176 “The New Wise Woman’s Diet with All-New Recipes for 14 Days Of Well-Balanced, Weight-Reducing Meals and with Increased Portions That Make it Also the New Wise Man’s Diet,” *Redbook*, January 1972, ProQuest.

Physical Appearance

Articles containing written content closely related to women's physical appearance emerged within five articles. While *Cosmopolitan* examined women who had posed for *Playboy* and the way in which society judged aging women differently than aging men, *LHJ* offered physical appearance advice in the form of an etiquette column.¹⁷⁷ *Redbook*, on the other hand, published a dialogue piece in which singer and actress Barbara Streisand spoke about her lack of physical beauty, and in another piece Dr. Benjamin Spock offered his opinion regarding women who he felt neglected their appearances.¹⁷⁸

In *Cosmopolitan*'s March 1968 article titled "What Happens to the Girls Who Pose for *Playboy*...Afterwards?" author Joe Hyams interviewed twelve "Playmates" as part of a sociological study, and found that while most women reaped rewards after posing for *Playboy*, one claimed she began feeling depressed and disliked herself after posing for the magazine.¹⁷⁹ Playmates were described as being approximately "five feet one inch but with their bosoms out of all proportion to their height," but according to one talent agent, the women were often not as beautiful in person as they were in the "touched-up picture."¹⁸⁰ Regardless, Hyams indicated that Playmates' egos were likely bolstered when seeing her photograph pinned to service-station walls.¹⁸¹ However, in Susan Sontag's March 1973 article published in *Cosmopolitan*, rather than

177. Joe Hyams, "What Happens to the Girls Who Pose for *Playboy*...Afterwards?" *Cosmopolitan*, March 1968, ProQuest; Susan Sontag, "The Double-Standard of Aging," *Cosmopolitan*, March 1973, ProQuest; Amy Vanderbilt, "Single Weekend Guests," *Ladies' Home Journal*, January 1972, ProQuest.

178. "A *Redbook* Dialogue: Barbara Streisand and Marcello Mastroianni," *Redbook*, July 1965, ProQuest; Benjamin Spock, "Bringing Up Children in the Age of Disenchantment,"

179. Hyams, "Girls Who Pose for *Playboy*," 110.

180. Hyams, "Girls Who Pose for *Playboy*," 112.

181. Hyams, "Girls Who Pose for *Playboy*," 115.

focusing physical appearance, Sontag urged women to be wise, competent, strong and ambitious rather than being forced into a physically beautiful box in which society had placed them.¹⁸²

There was only one *LHJ* article that briefly touched on the subtheme “physical appearance” which could also be coupled with the subtheme “feminism/Women’s Liberation/women who made history.” In the article, which was an advice column, one woman stated she was jealous of women who didn’t wear a bra or girdle, and she asked whether she should wear pantyhose because she was a size sixteen. The author replied that “...any woman who wears a bra when she doesn’t have to doesn’t know what liberation means!”¹⁸³ However, she then proceeded to tell the woman asking for advice that she should diet and exercise which would help her, and that she should aim to be a size twelve or fourteen.

In one of *Redbook*’s articles related to the subtheme “physical appearance,” actor and singer Barbara Streisand said that although she feared she would never become an actress because she was not pretty enough and had been told by writers that she wasn’t attractive enough, she considered her success to be somewhat of a Cinderella story because she felt somewhat like the “ugly duckling.”¹⁸⁴ Additionally, in Dr. Spock’s February 1966 *Redbook* article, Spock argued that Americans no longer take pride in their appearances, and chastised female dancers who—after performing in a beautiful ballet—had the audacity to wear “old clothes and sneakers” during their ride home on the subway.¹⁸⁵

Similar to several other subthemes’ findings, the three magazines presented conflicting information regarding the subtheme “physical appearance.” *Cosmopolitan*’s coverage of the

182. Sontage, “Double-Standard,” 223.

183. Vanderbilt, “Single Weekend,” 38.

184. “*Redbook* Dialogue,” 50-51.

185. Spock, “Bringing Up Children,” 22.

subtheme “physical appearance” volleyed from coverage of beautiful Playmates, to placing a larger emphasis on women’s brains rather than their beauty. Additionally, although *LHJ* flirted with the subject of feminism, one author still placed an emphasis on what might be considered an acceptable clothing size. Furthermore, *Redbook* initially provided hope for women who were not classically beautiful by society’s standards, yet changed direction as Spock admonished Americans for no longer taking pride in their personal appearances.

Exercise

Although often coupled with the subthemes “diet” or “physical appearance,” the subtheme “exercise” was specifically observed in just one article. In the April 1964 *LHJ* article titled “Rag-Doll Exercises,” the author stated that several exercises could “accomplish minor miracles.”¹⁸⁶ The article contained both visuals and content explaining how to do each of the exercises, and the author advised women to “wear a leotard, so that the truth is indisputably revealed.”¹⁸⁷

Mothers and Children

The third and fourth predominant themes of “mothers and children” and “domesticity” contained twenty-five articles each; therefore, the rank order of these themes are interchangeable. The distribution of subthemes within the theme “mothers and children” were as follows (See Table 3):

186. Dorothy Anne Robinson, “Rag-Doll Exercises,” *Ladies Home Journal*, April 1964, 82, ProQuest.

187. Dorothy Anne Robinson, “Rag-Doll Exercises,” *Ladies Home Journal*, April 1964, 82, ProQuest.

Table 3

DISTRIBUTION OF “MOTHERS AND CHILDREN” SUBTHEMES BY ARTICLE

Subtheme Category	Number of Articles
Children	13
Mother	7
Childbirth or Pregnancy	5

It is important to note that the theme “mothers and children” did not emerge within *Cosmopolitan*. The absence of the theme, however, was predictable as it was not aligned with HGB’s vision for *Cosmopolitan*, which therefore meant the theme was also likely unaligned with the majority of *Cosmopolitan*’s target audience.

Children

The subtheme “children” emerged within thirteen articles—six of which were in *LHJ* and seven of which were in *Redbook*. As previously stated, *Cosmopolitan* did not contain any articles within the subtheme.

LHJ’s articles related to children ranged from cookies that were fun to make with children and making toys out of common household items to opinions as to whether teachers should be allowed to spank children and why children are unhappy and afraid to fail.¹⁸⁸

Whereas nearly half of *LHJ*’s articles regarding the subtheme “children” contained directions that included things to do or make with children, *Redbook*’s articles related to the

188. Lois Stillwell, “Paper-Doll Cookies,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, April 1964, ProQuest; Margaret White, “The Play’s the Thing,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, April 1964, ProQuest; Bernard Bard, “Should Teachers Spank Kids?” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, March 1973, ProQuest; Phyllis McGinley, “In One Era—and Out the Other,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, April 1964, ProQuest.

subtheme “children” gravitated largely to more in-depth topics such as sex education, the roles of school psychologists and how to punish children.¹⁸⁹

While the ratio of coverage of the subtheme “children” was similar in *LHJ* and *Redbook*, *LHJ*’s articles focused more activities to do with children rather than on the well-being of children. This division was expected as *LHJ* was primarily concerned with women’s roles as mothers and homemakers, and *Redbook* ventured to more controversial topics.

Mother

The subtheme “mother” emerged within seven articles—four of which were in *LHJ* and three of which were in *Redbook*. Again, *Cosmopolitan* did not contain any articles within the subtheme.

The subtheme “mother” emerged in the January 1963 issue of *LHJ* in an article written by Dr. Benjamin Spock. In the article titled “Should Mothers Work?” Spock stated that women wishing to work should first speak to a social worker and that it would be wise if they only worked part-time until their children were in school.¹⁹⁰ In another article that appeared in *LHJ*’s July 1965 issue, a group of young housewives discussed why they believed that Viola Liuzzo, a mother of five who was murdered, should have stayed home rather than leaving her children to join a civil-rights protest.¹⁹¹ Additionally a *LHJ* poll showed that over fifty-five percent of American women agreed with the young wives.¹⁹²

189. Walter Goodman, “The New Sex Education,” *Redbook*, September 1967, ProQuest; Sam Blum, “Are School Psychologists Helping or Hurting Your Child?” *Redbook*, April 1964, ProQuest; Norman M. Lobsenz, “What Parents Should Know About Punishing Their Children,” *Redbook*, January 1972, ProQuest.

190. Benjamin Spock, “Should Mothers Work?” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, January 1963, 16, 18, ProQuest.

191. Lyn Rornabene, “American Wives Think Viola Liuzzo Should Have Stayed Home,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, July 1965, ProQuest.

192. Rornabene, “American Wives,” 42.

The two remaining articles containing the subtheme “mother” were both written by Dr. Bruno Bettelheim in a dialogue fashion where Bettelheim discussed the issues at hand with a small group of mothers. While in the first article Dr. Bettelheim suggested that mothers should encourage their sons to exhibit masculine behaviors or they would “grow up to be afraid of girls” and “become homosexuals,”¹⁹³ Bettelheim’s subsequent article insinuated that it is the hypocrisy of parents and overmanipulating children that cause children to run away and become involved in drugs and sex—they essentially become hippies.¹⁹⁴

The articles within the subtheme “mother” were quite different in *Redbook* as one pertained to mothers of large families, another talked about mothers who had occupations and the final article discussed parents who felt they were unequipped to deal with their children’s problems.¹⁹⁵

Mothers of large families—ranging from those who had nine children to those who had twelve children—were portrayed as somewhat heroic. However, the author noted that older daughters of the families were typically relied on as their “mother’s helper,” which often led to resentment.¹⁹⁶ Conversely, Margaret Mead’s April 1964 article titled “What I Owe Other Women” advocated for working mothers—somewhat. While Mead said it was acceptable for mothers to work outside of the home, she also wrote that in order for working mothers’ households and children to be properly cared for, they should hire other women to help because

193. Bruno Bettelheim, “Dialogue With Mothers: What Makes Boys Masculine” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, September 1965, 41, ProQuest.

194. Bruno Bettelheim, “Dialogue With Mothers: Hypocrisy Breeds the Hippies,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, March 1968, 48, ProQuest.

195. Norman L. Lobsenz, “The Busiest Mothers in the World,” *Redbook*, April 1964, ProQuest; Margaret Mead, “What I Owe Other Women,” *Redbook*, April 1964, ProQuest; Eda J. LeShan, “Parents with Too Much Knowledge—and Too Little Confidence,” *Redbook*, February 1966, ProQuest.

196. Lobsenz, “Busiest Mothers,” 102.

it wouldn't be right to involve "...her overworked husband in more and more domestic tasks...."¹⁹⁷ Mead argued that few women wanted to both work and run their household and that many women had "less homemaking than they desire."¹⁹⁸

Again, *LHJ* was primarily concerned with women's roles as mothers and homemakers as categorized by the subtheme "mother." Consequently, the content of the magazine covering the subtheme "mother" remained fairly consistent. *Redbook*'s portrayal of the subtheme "mother," however, was inconsistent. While one article portrayed the mothers of large families as "benevolent business executives," another advocated for working women—but only if other women could help run the household and take care of the children.¹⁹⁹ Therefore, when examining the overall message related to the subtheme "mother" the magazines presented contradictory information.

Childbirth or Pregnancy

"Childbirth or pregnancy" was the least predominant subtheme within the "mothers and children theme" as it contained only five articles—one of which was in *LHJ*, and four of which were in *Redbook*. Again, *Cosmopolitan* contained no articles within the subtheme.

The only article in *LHJ* that pertained to the subtheme "childbirth or pregnancy" appeared in the September 1967 issue. In the article, titled "Sophia Loren Talks About the Sorrow of Losing Her Baby," the actress spoke briefly about her miscarriage.²⁰⁰ Loren stated she had received thousands of letters of encouragement from other women, but that she didn't want

197. Mead, "Other Women," 20.

198. Mead, "Other Women," 20.

199. Lobsenz, "Busiest Mothers," 102; Mead, "Other Women."

200. Francesco Ghedini, "Sophia Loren Talks About the Sorrow of Losing Her Baby," *Ladies' Home Journal*, September 1967, ProQuest.

to discuss the details of her miscarriage because she didn't want to "portray herself as a victim."²⁰¹

The four articles in *Redbook* that pertained to the subtheme "childbirth and pregnancy" varied in nature. Articles included such controversial as topics abortion, postpartum depression, childbirth drugs and when labor should be induced.

Abortion, which did not become legal within the United States until 1973 as a result of *Roe v. Wade*, was likely a taboo subject in January 1963 when the article titled "The Baby We Didn't Dare Have" was published in *Redbook*. In the article, Sherri Finkbine, who was pregnant with her fifth child, talked about "living in the eye of a hurricane" while the public weighed in on her right to have an abortion.²⁰² Ultimately, Sherri—following the advice doctors and attorneys—flew to Sweden where the abortion was performed, and it was discovered that the her baby was deformed due to the drug thalidomide.²⁰³

In a March 1968 article, titled "What Doctors Now Know About Depressed Young Mothers," the author said that recent studies had discovered "childbirth blues can be predicted, controlled—and even prevented."²⁰⁴ Doctors stated that there were many reasons women suffered from postpartum depression, which ranged from forsaking their careers and becoming housewives to being influenced by heavily influenced by literature which made women feel insecure about being a mother.²⁰⁵ Training women how to be mothers and various forms of

201. Ghedini, "Sophia Loren," 70.

202. Sherry Finkbine, "The Baby We Didn't Dare Have (as told to Joseph Stocker)," *Redbook*, January 1963, 99, ProQuest.

203. Finkbine, "The Baby," 102-103.

204. Yanna Kroyt Brandt, "What Doctors Now Know About Depressed Young Mothers," *Redbook*, March 1968, 69, ProQuest.

205. Brandt, "Doctors Now Know," 162, 165.

therapy were recommended as treatment—however, returning to their career was not discussed as a viable option.

The articles that pertained to the subtheme “childbirth and pregnancy” varied in nature. While *LHJ* briefly covered pregnancy, *Redbook* examined both childbirth and pregnancy, although in an uneven way. While the controversial topics of abortion and postpartum depression were presented, none of the articles expressed that women were free to make their own choices. Instead, doctors and lawyers were responsible for making the choice about Finkbine’s abortion, and doctors and psychiatrists felt it best to train women on how to be mothers rather than advise them to return to work. These findings indicated that although controversial issues regarding women’s rights such as abortion were emerging and being discussed within society, women were told to adhere to the advice of others rather than making choices for themselves.

Domesticity

The fourth theme of “domesticity” contained twenty-five articles, and the distribution of subthemes within the theme “domesticity” were as follows (See Table 4):

Table 4

DISTRIBUTION OF “DOMESTICITY” SUBTHEMES BY ARTICLE

Subtheme Category	Number of Articles
Recipes	14
Sewing	8
Decorating	3

The emergence of the theme “domesticity,” which contained the subthemes “recipes,” “sewing,” and “decorating,” was important as it made it clearly evident that the content was

based on either what magazine editors thought women should be doing or what the editors thought women who read the magazines wanted. Although the answer as to which of these was true cannot be explained by this study, it does present an opportunity for future research. Additionally, it is important to note that *Cosmopolitan* contained only two articles related to domesticity—one within the subtheme “recipes” and one within the subtheme “decorating.” These findings were expected as domesticity likely did not align with the majority of *Cosmopolitan*’s target audience.

Recipes

The only *Cosmopolitan* article related to the subtheme “recipes” was observed in the March 1973 issue, and it provided two recipes for “elegant dinners to serve six.”²⁰⁶ Similarly, *LHJ*, which contained seven articles with recipes, and *Redbook*, which contained six articles with recipes, both also contained recipes that focused on entertaining.²⁰⁷ However, the *LHJ* and *Redbook* articles also contained recipes for cheap family meals and meals busy women could prepare.²⁰⁸

Sewing

The subtheme “sewing” was observed in eight articles, six of which were in *LHJ* and two of which were in *Redbook*. These articles were simply how-to patterns for the homemaker that

206. Robin Wagner, “For Under \$10: Two Elegant Dinners to Serve Six,” *Cosmopolitan*, March 1973, ProQuest.

207. Beard, James, “James Beard’s Menus for Entertaining,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, February 1966, ProQuest; “*Redbook* Reader Mrs. Diedrick S. Cassel—Cooking is Her Hobby,” *Redbook*, November 1969, ProQuest; “Easy Elegant Parties,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, October 1970, ProQuest; “Little Dinners for Big Occasions,” *Redbook*, March 1973, ProQuest.

208. “After the Holidays...Family Meals with Fewer Calories,” *Redbook*, January 1963, ProQuest; “Last-Minute Meals that Busy Women Can Prepare and Serve In Less than an Hour,” *Redbook*, September 1967, ProQuest; “*Redbook*’s Timesaver Cookbook,” *Redbook*, March 1968, ProQuest; “Holiday Treats to Make Now,” *Redbook*, November 1968, ProQuest.

ranged from how to make clothing from sheets and towels to sewing your own furs and crocheting.²⁰⁹

Decorating

The subtheme “decorating” contained just three articles—one in *Cosmopolitan* and two in *LHJ*. The October 1970 article in *Cosmopolitan* focused on how a “Cosmo girl” should decorate her apartment because, as stated in the article, “Who says your bedroom must be either a jungle-temptress lair or demure little lady retreat? With a few reversible touches, it can be both.”²¹⁰ Conversely, the *LHJ* articles related to decorating focused on women’s dream kitchens and ways to decorate an entire home using the color red.²¹¹

Because *LHJ*’s target audience consisted of American women with traditional values whose primary role was taking care of their husbands and children, it was unsurprising that *LHJ* contained the largest number of articles related to the theme “domesticity.” Likewise, because *Cosmopolitan* began targeting working girls as their audience it was predictable that the magazine would contain the least number of articles related to the subtheme “domesticity.”

Sex and Birth Control

The fifth most predominant theme “sex and birth control” contained sixteen articles—eight of which were in *Cosmopolitan*, two in *LHJ* and six in *Redbook*. As the time period being examined progressed, the number of articles related to the theme “sex and birth

209. Nora O’Leary, “The Easy Way to the Easy Life: Under the Sun the Easy Way,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, July 1965, ProQuest; Nora O’Leary, “A Safari’s Worth of Furs to Sew at Home,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, November 1969, ProQuest; “C’Est Crochet!” *Redbook*, November 1969, ProQuest.

210. Karen Fischer, “Make it Baby,” *Cosmopolitan*, October 1970, 159, ProQuest.

211. Margaret Davidson, “The Kitchen Women Want,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, October 1970, ProQuest; Margaret White, “Living with Red,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, September 1967, ProQuest.

control” progressed as well. The growth of articles related to sex and birth control indicated that society’s opinions regarding both were changing and evolving.

In *Cosmopolitan*’s November 1969 article, titled “The Curious Case of Carole Tregoff,” the article discussed the trials of Tregoff and her lover, Dr. Raymond Bernard Finch who had both been charged with the murder of Finch’s wife, Marie Ann Finch.²¹² The author questioned whether Tregoff was “...a cunning murderess, as the prosecution alleged...or merely the naïve victim of her own sexual infatuation.”²¹³ Although both Tregoff and Finch were issued a life sentence “with the possibility of parole in seven years,” Tregoff was paroled after just eight years.²¹⁴

Some articles regarding sex and birth control in *Cosmopolitan* were medical in nature and ranged from the benefits of the estrogen pill, which was said to have increased women’s sexual pleasure, to women seeking birth control advice from gynecologists.²¹⁵ However, other articles offered content ranging from how women could tell if a man would be good in bed, women’s sexual desires, and how to become a sensuous woman—via a sensuality program—to ways in which women became unsatisfied sexually after getting married.²¹⁶ One thing remained consistent throughout the articles—women’s sexuality was being openly discussed whether that meant advice regarding why women should fake orgasms to warnings that women should not

212. Edith deRham, “The Curious Case of Carole Tregoff,” *Cosmopolitan*, November 1969, ProQuest.

213. deRham, “The Curious Case,” 121.

214. deRham, 205.

215. “Oh What a Lovely Pill!” *Cosmopolitan*, July 1965, ProQuest; Deedee Moore, “All About Gynecologists,” *Cosmopolitan*, January 1962, ProQuest.

216. J, “The Sensuous Woman,” *Cosmopolitan*, October 1970, ProQuest; David Reuben, “The Sexually Deprived Wife,” *Cosmopolitan*, January 1972, ProQuest.

hold sex over men's heads,²¹⁷ and a January 1972 *Cosmopolitan* article titled "Redpants and the Sugarman," went as far as to tell the story of a New York prostitute and her pimp.²¹⁸

While *Cosmopolitan* and *Redbook* published articles that related to the theme "sex and birth control" in 1965, *LHJ*'s first article in the time period under study relating to the theme was not published until October 1970. The article, titled "Sex Games People Play," contained a short excerpt from psychiatrist Eric Berne's upcoming book that examined "the sexual rituals that ensnare men and women."²¹⁹ The second and only other article in *LHJ* related to the theme "sex and birth control" was published in the March 1973 issue. In the article titled "Sex After 40," the female authors listed reasons why women became less sexually reserved with age.²²⁰ The authors cited studies that found that "...women tend to become *less* inhibited and *more* interested in sex as they move through their 40's into their 50's—and even on to their 60's."²²¹ In the article, the authors advocated for women's sexual freedom stating that previously women had been restricted to either marriage or spinsterhood. However, the authors argued that "liberal-minded women" should be offered the same sexual freedoms as men.²²²

Similar to *Cosmopolitan*, *Redbook*'s first articles in this time period related to the "sex and birth control" theme were observed in the July 1965 issue—in which two articles related to the theme were present. In the article titled "This Baby Will Be My Last," which told the story

217. J, "Sensuous Woman," 114; Reuben, "Sexually Deprived," 87.

218. Although author Gail Sheehy had interviewed both New York prostitutes and pimps, the article was based on composites, and the Wall Street Journal "blew the whistle." Everette E. Dennis and William L. Rivers, *Other Voices: The New Journalism in America*. (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2011), 18.

219. Eric Berne, "Sex Games People Play," *Ladies' Home Journal*, October 1970, 80, ProQuest.

220. Sondra Gorney and Claire Cox, "Sex After 40," *Ladies' Home Journal*, March 1973, ProQuest.

221. Gorney and Cox, "Sex After 40," 89.

222. Gorney and Cox, "Sex After 40," 133.

of a Catholic woman who was pregnant for the sixteenth time and suffered from irregular menstrual cycles, the woman had been told repetitively by multiple Catholic priests that taking the birth control pill was a sin.²²³ However one priest's opinion finally differed from all of the others. The priest said that, in his opinion, women were "entitled to health," which included regulated menstrual cycles—meaning she was allowed to take birth control.²²⁴ However, it was only through the absolution offered by the priest that the woman felt it acceptable to begin using birth control.

On the other hand, in the July 1965 article titled "How Young Men Influence Girls Who Love Them," Notre Dame professor and doctor Mary Steichen Calderone said that "...the burden of proof in establishing the rightness or wrongness of a sexual relationship has for too long been placed entirely on the girl's shoulders."²²⁵ Calderone argued that because society "proclaims equality of the sexes," both boys and girls should accept the responsibility of their sexual relationships.²²⁶ Calderone pointed out that while young men were encouraged to have healthy sex drives, they were rarely held accountable for their sexual relations.²²⁷

Other articles related to the theme "sex and birth control" varied from one doctor's opinion about the sexual revolution—and women speaking more freely about sex—to why some women felt the double-standard of sexual satisfaction still existed.²²⁸ Issues addressed in other

223. B.J. Taylor, "This Baby Will Be My Last," *Redbook*, July 1965, 6, ProQuest.

224. Taylor, "This Baby," 10.

225. Mary Steichen Calderone, "How Young Men Influence Girls Who Love Them," *Redbook*, July 1965, 93, ProQuest;

226. Calderone, "How Young Men," 93, 96.

227. Calderone, "How Young Men," 96.

228. Edward M. Brecher, "We Are All Our Mothers' Daughters: What Sex Research Reveals About Unhappy Wives," *Redbook*, November 1969, ProQuest; William Masters and Virginia E. Johnson, "Sex, Guilt and the Double Standard," *Redbook*, October 1970, ProQuest.

articles included information related to whether it was safe to have sex during pregnancy and a brief mention of both birth control and abortion.²²⁹

Although the number of articles related to the theme “sex and birth control” progressed, the information about sex and birth control was inconsistent. While *Cosmopolitan*’s coverage of the theme remained the largest in number and the most consistent in content. *LHJ*, on the other hand, only contained two articles related to the “sex and birth control theme,” the first of which in this period appeared in 1970.

Redbook contained articles that presented conflicting information. While in one July 1965 article a Catholic priest was responsible for a woman’s decision to take the birth control pill, another article within the same issue advocated for both young men and young women to be held accountable for their sexual relations. It is important to note, however, that articles examined in subsequent issues advocated for women’s sexual equality.

Due to the increased number of articles related to the theme “sex and birth control” as time progressed, as well as the progression of the frequency of articles being published, these findings provide evidence that society’s opinions regarding sex and birth control were changing and evolving during the time period being examined.

Men

The sixth most predominant theme “men,” emerged within nine *Cosmopolitan* articles and four *LHJ* articles, and the content related to the theme greatly differed by magazine.

Redbook did not contain any articles related to the theme.

229. William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson, “Dr. William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson: Advice to Young Women,” *Redbook*, January 1972, ProQuest; “Dialogue: Robert Kennedy and Oscar Lewis,” *Redbook*, September 1967, ProQuest.

In *Cosmopolitan*, articles related to the theme “men” often contained content regarding what men wanted in women, what men found sexy in women or what women found sexy in men.²³⁰ Traits men listed as desirable ranged from women who were smart, classy or understated to women who had big breasts, great legs or “anything in a skirt.”²³¹ However, the March 1973 article titled “Should Men Do Women’s Work?” was less superficial than the rest of the articles. The article contained the opinions of thirty-nine men who had been asked if they thought men should do women’s work. Of the men questioned, twenty-two men thought men should be able to do women’s work, or at least that they should help, eleven men did not believe that men should do women’s work, three stated they would pay someone else to do women’s work and three didn’t outright answer the question.²³² While some men credited Women’s Liberation for changing their previous attitudes, other men blamed Women’s Liberation for bucking the status quo.²³³

In *LHJ*, the theme “men” first emerged in this period in the January 1963 article titled “Masculinity: What Is It?” The article indicated that although men were dominant in society, attempts at equality were emerging—although men were “...baffled and dismayed by the disenchanting housewife.”²³⁴ Another article related to the theme “men” consisted of an article in which a white female student wrongly accused an African American male high school teacher of

230. Cindy Adams, “What Famous Men Find Sexy in Women,” *Cosmopolitan*, February 1966, ProQuest; Oriana Fallaci, “El Cordobes,” *Cosmopolitan*, February 1966, ProQuest; Edna O’Brien et al., “Six Current (but Perennial) Fascinators,” *Cosmopolitan*, February 1966, ProQuest; Isobel Silden, “Why Doesn’t He Call?” *Cosmopolitan*, March 1968, ProQuest.

231. Adams, “What Famous Men,” 32, 34.

232. Gail Rock, “Should Men Do Women’s Work?” *Cosmopolitan*, March 1973, 108, 110, 114, ProQuest.

233. Rock, “Should Men,” 108, 110, 114.

234. Betty Hannah Hoffman, “Masculinity: What Is It?” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, January 1963, 96, ProQuest.

molestation.²³⁵ Of the two remaining articles related to the theme “men,” one detailed Olympic champion skier Jean-Claude Killy’s opinion that women who were “aggressive in sports” did not retain their “femininity,”²³⁶ and the other was related to mistakes men make in public situations.²³⁷

Cosmopolitan articles related to the theme “men” typically focused on men and women’s physical traits and what the opposite sex found attractive. However, one article—which could be coupled with the theme “feminism”—addressed whether men thought they should do women’s work. *LHJ*’s articles’ content related to the theme “men” varied widely in topic and they while mainly supported traditional values, one article did indicate that society was moving toward equality.

Feminism, Women’s Liberation and Female Pioneers

The seventh and eight most predominant themes, “feminism, Women’s Liberation and female pioneers” and “women’s health” both possessed six articles. Of the articles related to the theme “feminism, Women’s Liberation and female pioneers,” two were in *Cosmopolitan*, three were in *LHJ* and one was in *Redbook*.

The theme “feminism, Women’s Liberation and female pioneers” first emerged within this time period in the January 1963 issue of *Cosmopolitan*. In an article titled “Spiritually and Morally Aroused Women,” author Joan Dunn explored women who had left “...their mark on a skeptical world.”²³⁸ Dunn listed the brave acts of multiple female pioneers such as Joan of Arc,

235. Maurice McNeill, “How My Town Saved Me From a White Girl’s Lie,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, March 1968, ProQuest.

236. Judith Krantz, “Jean-Claude Killy & The Winter Woman,” November 1969, 87, ProQuest.

237. Amy Vanderbilt, “The Social Blunders Men Make,” November 1969, ProQuest.

238. Joan Dunn, “Spiritually and Morally Aroused Women,” *Cosmopolitan*, January 1963, 67, ProQuest.

Clara Barton, Carrie Nation and many more. Dunn stated, “Suffragette or humanitarian, militant or peace-loving, prohibitionist or patriot—females of the species often prove more formidable than males.”²³⁹

The only other article in *Cosmopolitan* that related to the theme “feminism, Women’s Liberation and female pioneers” was found in the article titled “On Being Female,” which was published in the February 1971 issue. In the article, author Carole Klein argued that women had been “brainwashed to think like a girl,” but that women were “after liberation” and gaining ground by wearing pants, “...storming magazine offices, marriage-license bureaus, all-male clubs, and Miss America pageants.”²⁴⁰ She stated that women were no longer being confined to the kitchen and that equal rights and the Pill were allowing women to be seen as “sexual people” instead of “sexual objects.”²⁴¹ Klein stated that in the past young women had went to college to find a husband rather than to obtain an education, but that times were changing.²⁴² She advocated for society to put aside the “absurdly polarized definitions of maleness and femaleness,” and instead realize that women could be “sexy *and* successful.”²⁴³

The three *LHJ* articles related to the theme “feminism, Women’s Liberation and female pioneers” varied in nature. In Betty Friedan’s January 1963 article titled “Have American Housewives Traded Brains for Broomsticks?” Friedan encouraged women to find something for themselves other than being only a wife and mother. She argued that a woman who lived solely for her husband and children would “have trouble finding her identity.”²⁴⁴ To add merit to her

239. Dunn, “Spiritually,” 70.

240. Carole Klein, “On Being Female,” *Cosmopolitan*, February 1971, 90, ProQuest.

241. Klein, “On Being Female,” 90.

242. Klein, “On Being Female,” 92.

243. Klein, “On Being Female,” 94, 98.

244. Betty Friedan, “Have American Housewives Traded Brains for Broomsticks?” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, January 1963, 24, 26, ProQuest.

claim, Friedan provided results of multiple studies that showed women diagnosed with “housewife’s fatigue” were, instead, suffering from boredom and emptiness.²⁴⁵ Friedan labeled this “the feminine mystique,” and she said that it was time for women to realize that housekeeping was just that—“not a career, but something that must be done as quickly and efficiently as possible.”²⁴⁶ Friedan urged women to find enjoyment by doing something for just for themselves—whether that meant working, volunteering or finding a hobby they enjoyed—in order find personal fulfillment.

While another article contained the stories of young women who fought for Israel, the remaining article related to the theme “feminism, Women’s Liberation and female pioneers” was related to workforce discrimination. In the January 1972 article titled “The Working Woman,” author Letty Cottin Pogrebin described the cases of Lorena Weeks and Ida Phillips—two women who had been discriminated against in the workforce. While equally important, Phillips case was the first Title VII case heard by the Supreme Court. The court determined that “Title VII prohibits the use of one hiring policy for women and another one for men.”²⁴⁷ Pogrebin urged women to take legal recourse if they faced discrimination in the workforce, and she provided a list of organizations that women could contact should they need assistance.²⁴⁸

Similarly, *Redbook*’s article related to the theme “feminism, Women’s Liberation and female pioneers” was in the January 1972 issue. The article “Gloria Steinem, Writer and Social Critic, Talks About Sex, Politics and Marriage,” began with a preface from the *Redbook* editors that said discussions regarding the Women’s Liberation Movement would be “published over the

245. Friedan, “American Housewives,” 26.

246. Friedan, “American Housewives,” 26.

247. Letty Cottin Pogrebin, “The Working Woman,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, January 1972, 46, ProQuest.

248. Pogrebin, “Working Woman,” 48.

next several months,” and that *Redbook* “believe[d] that every human being should have the right and opportunity to make her or his own choices in every area of life.”²⁴⁹ Although the article contained an interview with Gloria Steinem, photos and quotes of historical female pioneers also peppered the article’s pages.

In the article, Steinem advocated for Women’s Liberation and said that it was for all women, including housewives, working women, old women, little girls or female students, all regardless of race.²⁵⁰ Steinem argued that males within the media industry portrayed the movement in a distorted fashion, which caused women to be against the movement. Steinem said this was used by men as a method of “keeping women in their place.”²⁵¹ Additionally, she argued that although women’s magazines devoted a large portion of attention toward “make-up and self-embellishment,” women should instead “spend a fair time going totally without makeup” in order to find out who they truly are,²⁵² and she believed that *Cosmopolitan* taught “women to trick and trap men—to be male-defined instead of self-defined.”²⁵³ Above all, Steinem stated that if a woman wanted to be dominated by her husband that was fine—but the woman should have a choice rather than just doing what society deemed acceptable.²⁵⁴

The theme “feminism, Women’s Liberation and female pioneers” was presented in a cohesive manner across all three magazines. While the *Cosmopolitan* and *LHJ* January 1963 issues each contained an article related to the theme, it was surprising that *LHJ*—the magazine known for being the most conservative of the three being examined—appeared to be the first to

249. The Editors and Liz Smith, “Gloria Steinem, Writer and Social Critic, Talks About Sex, Politics and Marriage,” *Redbook*, January 1972, 69, ProQuest.

250. Smith, “Gloria Steinem,” 70.

251. Smith, “Gloria Steinem,” 71.

252. Smith, “Gloria Steinem,” 76.

253. Smith, “Gloria Steinem,” 75.

254. Smith, “Gloria Steinem,” 75.

address unhappy housewives, though Women's Liberation and the Women's Movement were not observed in any other articles within *LHJ*. Conversely, both *Cosmopolitan* and *Redbook* addressed Women's Liberation, and *Redbook* addressed the Women's Movement.

Health

The eighth most predominant theme was labeled "health," and it contained six articles related to the physical and mental health of women—two in *Cosmopolitan*, three in *LHJ* and one in *Redbook*.

In the July 1965 issue of *Cosmopolitan*, in an article titled "When a Working Girl Sees a Psychologist" author Lucy Freeman encouraged unhappy women to seek professional help. Freeman explained the differences between psychoanalysts, psychiatrists and psychologists, how to find a good therapist, how to afford to see a therapist, how to find the time to see a therapist, and whether it is a good idea to tell people you are in therapy, among other things.²⁵⁵ Similarly, the March 1973 issue of *Cosmopolitan* contained an article that examined emotional blackmail.²⁵⁶ In the article, author Mary Bringle used examples of instances in which women had been blackmailed emotionally, whether it was by a relative, lover, or friend. Bringle stated that psychologists had linked low self-esteem and low emotional security to emotional blackmail, and she pointed that emotional blackmail could impact men as well as women.²⁵⁷ Again, Bringle suggested seeking professional help.

255. Lucy Freeman, "When a Working Girl Sees a Psychiatrist," *Cosmopolitan*, July 1965, 58, 60, ProQuest.

256. Mary Bringle, "The Emotional Blackmailer: Private Enemy No.1," *Cosmopolitan*, March 1973, ProQuest.

257. Bringle, "Emotional Blackmailer," 70.

Whereas *Cosmopolitan* articles focused on mental health, *LHJ* focused more on physical health—although one March 1973 article listed the emotional benefits of crying.²⁵⁸ The article July 1965 article titled “Peggy Was Dying,” told the story of Peggy Longoria, a woman who fought and won the battle against “a rare and highly malignant condition that had never been cured.”²⁵⁹ Similarly, the January 1972 article titled “What Women Should Know About Heart Attacks” was related to physical rather than mental health. In the article, Doctor Christiaan Barnard detailed important factors related to heart attacks, which included discussing smoking, obesity, stress, blood pressure and exercise.²⁶⁰

Redbook only contained one article within the theme “health.” The article, titled “A *Redbook* Guide to the Health Problems of Young Women,” emerged in the September 1967 issue. In the article, author Alice Lake addressed common issues of women between the ages of eighteen and thirty-four, which included issues such as why and how these women suffer from menstrual problems, pregnancy, birth, infertility, motherhood, postpartum depression, menopause, pelvic pain, and various other illnesses.²⁶¹

The articles within the theme “health” were unified as they all examined facets of women’s health. While *Cosmopolitan*’s articles focused solely on mental health, *LHJ* and *Redbook* articles addressed both physical and mental health.

258. Nancy Lyon, “How to Cry Your Problems Away,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, March 1973, ProQuest.

259. Walter Sanford Ross, “Peggy Was Dying,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, July 1965, 50, ProQuest.

260. Christiaan Barnard, “What Women Should Know About Heart Attacks,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, January 1972, ProQuest.

261. Alice Lake, titled “A *Redbook* Guide to the Health Problems of Young Women,” *Redbook*, September 1967, ProQuest.

Finances

The ninth, and final, predominant theme that emerged was “finances,” and the theme was only found within three articles—two in *LHJ* and one in *Redbook*. The February 1966 and March 1973 *LHJ* articles—both of which were written by Sylvia Porter and titled “Spending Your Money”—addressed various financial topics. In the February 1966 issue, the article addressed topics such as how much it would cost to raise a child, when taking out a second mortgage was a good idea, how teens with jobs should spend their money and how to invest in the Stock Exchange.²⁶² However, in the March 1973 issue, Porter focused on tax advice—which included tax advice for women who had recently gotten a divorce or become legally separated.²⁶³

Redbook’s sole article during the time period under study that focused on “finances” was found in the February 1966 issue.²⁶⁴ In the article titled “Why Young Couples Spend More Than They Earn,” author Sidney Margolius examined the problems of a specific couple who he referred to as Bob and Judy. Margolius stated that although Bob was in control of the money—and he had not let Judy start signing checks until two years prior—neither Bob nor Judy had been taught how to budget.²⁶⁵ Although asked if they would like to create a budget, Bob and Judy were unwilling to do so. Margolius blames this on society as he stated Bob and Judy—along with other young couples—were not taught to budget at a younger age.²⁶⁶

262. Sylvia Porter, “Spending Your Money,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, February 1966, ProQuest.

263. Sylvia Porter, “Spending Your Money,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, March 1973, ProQuest.

264. Sidney Margolius, “Why Young Couples Spend More Than They Earn,” *Redbook*, February 1966, ProQuest.

265. Margolius, “Why Young Couples,” 57.

266. Margolius, “Why Young Couples,” 107.

The articles in *LHJ* and *Redbook* that fell within the “finances” theme presented somewhat conflicting information. While the *LHJ* articles alluded to the fact that women were more than capable of handling finances, the *Redbook* article the husband was stated to have been in control of the family finances.

Covers

In evaluating the covers of the thirty-three issues obvious differences were observed (See Figures 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9).²⁶⁷ Of the eleven *Cosmopolitan* covers examined during the time period under study, each issue contained a photograph of a woman, and the photographs became more provocative as the years under study progressed. On the contrary, *LHJ*'s and *Redbook* cover photographs remained conservative during the time period under study and the cover photos varied in nature. Of the eleven *LHJ* covers' photographs, six were of a woman, three were of a child or children, one was a woman and child, and one was an African American teacher. Similarly, of the eleven *Redbook* cover photographs, six were of a woman, two were of a woman and child, one was of children and two were drawings of women. Although the content within the magazines often varied, one thing remained consistent—cover photographs that contained women focused on beauty.

267. “Covers,” *Cosmopolitan*, January 1963, ProQuest; “Covers,” *Ladies' Home Journal*, January 1963, ProQuest; “Covers,” *Redbook*, January 1963, ProQuest; “Covers,” *Cosmopolitan*, March 1973, ProQuest; “Covers,” *Ladies' Home Journal*, March 1973, ProQuest; “Covers,” *Redbook*, March 1973, ProQuest.

Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Chapter 5

ANALYSIS

Although magazines create content for specific audiences, they cannot remain stagnant in a changing society if they wish to retain an audience and remain profitable. Because magazines are thought to portray the societal norms of a given time, the odd and extreme variations of stories related to women's roles demonstrated that there was, indeed, a cultural shift in American society during the time under study. However, because magazines must keep their loyal readers in mind, the manner in which controversial topics were covered varied. In some magazines the observed changes in content occurred over an extended period of time; however, in other magazines changes in content happened in fits and starts.

Whereas women had previously been portrayed as simply being happy homemakers, it became increasingly evident during this period that many women wanted to have an occupation other than being a housewife. Although this societal shift prompted President Kennedy to create the PCSW in 1961, which in turn led Congress to pass the EPA of 1963 as well as Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in efforts to combat sex discrimination, affirmative action enforced by the EEOC advanced slowly. Additionally, the successful sales of both HGB and Friedan's books further demonstrated that the status quo of American women—whether married, single or divorced—was changing and evolving. Frustrated by the government's sluggish progress and women's magazines' portrayal of women, NOW and other feminist organizations were created in an effort to advance Women's Liberation. While the efforts of feminist organizations moved Women's Liberation forward, they did not result in immediate reversals of the way women were portrayed in magazines during the time under study.

Despite the feminists' sit-in at *LHJ*, the magazine's content and portrayal of women went largely unchanged for quite some time as the magazine's target audience remained that primarily of women who were fulfilled by traditional domestic roles. Consistent with founder Louisa Knapp's pledge to publish "a pure and high-toned family paper," the magazine's coverage of controversial topics evolved slowly even though the majority of the articles examined were written by women.²⁶⁸ Of the three magazines, *LHJ* contained the largest number of articles related to the themes "appearance" and "domesticity" and the subthemes "housewife," "husband" and "mother," which aligned with the interests of *LHJ*'s target audience. However, shockingly, *LHJ* was the first of the three magazines to address unhappy housewives during the time period under study. As the time under study progressed, articles related to sex, women's rights in the workforce and tax tips for divorced or separated women also emerged—albeit not until 1972 and 1973. This progression demonstrated that while the magazine's content did not change massively or rapidly it did, in fact, begin to change as societal norms shifted.

On the other hand, *Cosmopolitan*'s target content underwent a drastic shift after HGB (the only female editor of the three magazines during the time under study) took over in 1965. In line with HGB's vision for the magazine, *Cosmopolitan*'s content and target audience shifted to that of young career women. Of the fifty-five articles examined, the majority of the authors were women, and *Cosmopolitan* contained the largest number of articles related to the themes "sex and birth control" and "men," as well as the subthemes "wife," "single," and "kept woman." Of these themes and subthemes, the most surprising emergence was that of the subtheme "wife," which at first does not seem to fit the magazine's target audience. However, upon further examination, the researcher discovered that while *Cosmopolitan* articles disregarded mainstream

²⁶⁸ Endres and Lueck, *Women's Periodicals*, 173.

standards by talking openly about taboo topics such as women's sexuality, the ultimate goal of young career women—according to most *Cosmopolitan's* articles—appeared to be marriage. Articles routinely encouraged young women to use their newly discovered sexual prowess to their advantage to both obtain and maintain romantic relationships, which meant catching a man and keeping him happy, and the magazine often contained articles related to what men wanted or found sexy. Although *Cosmopolitan's* content shift was largely embraced by the magazine's target audience, this researcher finds it unlikely that HGB's recipe for reinventing the magazine would have been as successful without the groundbreaking women's movements and changes in American society.

The gender of *Redbook's* editorial staff was difficult to classify because of the fifty-one *Redbook* articles examined, fourteen were written by men, twelve were written by women, two were written by a man and woman and twenty-three articles either didn't have an author or the sex of the author could not be determined. Additionally, although it was said that Chassler's (*Redbook's* editor) target audience consisted of young feminist women between eighteen and thirty-four,²⁶⁹ the study revealed conflicting findings, which included the magazine being labeled "The Magazine for Young Adults" until 1971 when it was relabeled as "The Magazine for Young Women." Similar to *LHJ*, *Redbook* contained a large number of articles related to the themes "appearance" and "mothers and children." However, *Redbook* approached the subthemes "marriage," "husband" and "housewife" in a progressive fashion that somewhat promoted Women's Liberation, and the majority of the articles related to the theme "sex and birth control" advocated for women's sexual equality. Therefore, the way in which the themes and subthemes

269. Endres and Lueck, *Women's Periodicals*, 304

emerged within *Redbook* demonstrated that while the magazine was progressive, not all traditional women's roles were discarded.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

This study sought to answer if and how the portrayal of women changed in *Cosmopolitan*, *LHJ* and *Redbook* from 1963-1973 and how society influenced these changes. By examining the cover photograph and articles listed on the cover, with accompanying photographs, of one randomly selected issue each of *Cosmopolitan*, *LHJ* and *Redbook* from 1963-1973, the researcher determined that the portrayal of women did, in fact, change in each magazine; however, the amount of change that occurred varied based on each magazine's target audience. Additionally, information obtained from primary and secondary sources related to American society and culture between the 1940s through the 1970s provided supporting evidence that indicated how society did, in fact, influence these changes.

Chapter 7

LIMITATIONS & FUTURE RESEARCH

Some of the limitations of this research include the number of magazines examined as only three women's magazines—and eleven issues of each magazine—were included. Additionally, the duration of the time period studied could be lengthened. Conducting interviews with editors, authors and readers of the magazines could also have proved beneficial.

Although this research answered the questions of how the portrayal of women changed in *Cosmopolitan*, *LHJ* and *Redbook* from 1963-1973 and how society influenced these changes, it also led the researcher to formulate new questions related to women's magazines. Because the majority of both cover photographs and photographs that accompanied articles contained primarily Caucasian women, it would be beneficial for future research to examine ethnicity in women's magazines. Additionally, because the studied magazines also routinely contained fiction, it would be interesting to determine what was being said in the articles matched what was being portrayed in fiction.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Months to examine were obtained via an online generator found at randomlists.com. The same months and years were selected for each magazine.

1963 Jan/May

1964 Apr/Oct

1965 Jul/Aug

1966 Feb/June

1967 Sept/Nov

1968 Mar/Dec

1969 Nov/Sept

1970 Oct/Aug

1971 Feb/Dec

1972 Jan/Jul

1973 Mar/June

Magazine	Total Number of Cover Stories	Number of novels, book condensations and non-fiction book excerpts discarded	Number of unrelated articles discarded	Number of articles examined
<i>Cosmopolitan</i>	83	23	7	53
<i>LHJ</i>	95	11	17	67
<i>Redbook</i>	63	6	6	51

	Cosmo Male	Cosmo Female	Cosmo Unknown	LHJ Male	LHJ Female	LHJ Unknown	Redbook Male	Redbook Female	Redbook Unknown	Redbook M and F	Total
RELATIONSHIP											
Marriage	1	2	0	0	1	0	3	0	0		7
Wife	5	3		1	2						11
Housewife	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0		4
Husband	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0		3
Kept Woman	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		2
Single	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		9
Divorce	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0		4
APPEARANCE											
Beauty	0	0	0	1	4	2	0	1	6		14
Fashion	0	2	0	0	6	0	1	0	2		11
Diet	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3		6
Physical Appearance	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1		5
Exercise					1						1
MOTHERS CHILDREN											
Children	0	0	0	1	3	2	3	2	2		13
Mother	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	2	0		7
Childbirth/Pregnancy	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	0		5
DOMESTICITY											0
Recipes	0	0	1	1	2	4	1	0	5		14
Sewing	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	0	2		8
Decorating	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0		3
SEX/BIRTH CONTROL	3	3	2	1	1	0	1	2	1	2	16
MEN	2	7	0	1	3	0	0	0	0		13
FEMINISM	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	1	0		6
HEALTH	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	1	0		6
FINANCES	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1		3
	15	33	5	16	38	13	14	12	23	2	171
Total Males	45										
Total Females	83										
Total Unknown	41										
Total Male and Female	2										
COMBINED TOTAL	171										