

The Engagement of *Vogue* With the Women's Liberation
Movement, 1960-1979

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Images of shift dresses, Mary Jane shoes, pearls, beehive hairdos, tie-dye, bell-bottoms, tunics, floral patterns, peasant blouses and long hair are all fashion trends easily recalled when thinking of women's fashion during the 1960s and 1970s. The historical context of these fashion trends is significant because these styles all became popularized in the midst of a number of social movements that came to define the era. One social movement that the women's fashion industry had no choice but to engage with during this period is women's liberation since this campaign dealt directly with their target audience and actively worked to redefine the place and image of women in American society. While many scholars have studied the feminist movement of the 1960s-1970s, the way that the fashion industry framed the campaign has not been adequately explored. Consequently, this paper will investigate the influence of the feminist movement on one form of popular media, women's fashion magazines, during these two decades and the ways that the prominent publication, *Vogue*, highlighted the cause. The questions that I seek to answer in this paper are, how did the magazine publicize the movement and how did the engagement of *Vogue* with the feminist campaign change over time?

In order to fill this gap in historiography, recognizing the work of a number of scholars who study the role of fashion in identity politics and social agendas is essential to appreciate the significance of fashion during the women's liberation movement. Sociologists such as Joanne Entwistle argue that because dress is a universal aspect of all known human cultures, clothing is the primary way that bodies are made social.¹ Participating in the public sphere almost always requires bodies to be dressed and this is a medium that people utilize not only to feel comfortable in their body but also to present a public presentation of it.² Also, the necessity of presenting oneself in a dressed body points to the centrality of dress to the social order. In her scholarship

¹ Joanne. Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press : 2000), 7.

² Ibid.

on the function of fashion in society, gender scholar Elizabeth Wilson theorized that this is because people perceive clothing, the body and the self as a complete entity.³ Further, philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty argues that rather than solely understanding the world by being acted upon, humans perceive their relationship to space, objects and the world through the body as well and that selfhood comes from the body.⁴ Since dress is the most visible component of the body/self, this platform inherently affects the engagement that people have with the world around them.⁵ Since dress is the presentation of self that participates in the external world, scholars including Entwistle theorize that fashion is a form of communication and expression through signs that media theorist Dick Hebdige suggests gives identity to a group.⁶

A number of prominent theorists have also theorized about various facets of fashion including the industry itself and specific ways that fashion enters the realm of identity politics and social agendas. For example, Anthony Sullivan has applied the original critique of capitalism that Karl Marx provided in order to argue that this premise underpins critical study of fashion due to the significance of his theory of “commodity fetishism” to identifying the continual re-presentation of fashion objects such as shoes and clothing in the fashion industry. The legacy of Marxism is also noticeable in considerations of branded and ethical fashions. Subsequent scholars such as Walter Benjamin have utilized the theories of Marx to understand the ephemeral nature of fashion and the willingness of a capitalist market structures to change accordingly.⁷ The work of Sigmund Freud is a cornerstone of fashion theory because he made a connection fetishizing to clothing due to their frequent combination in his patients. Scholars such as Janice

³ Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (London: I.B. Tauris Press : 2003), 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 69.;

⁷ Agnès Rocamora, *Thinking Through Fashion : A Guide to Key Theorists* (London, GB: I.B.Tauris, 2015), 15–16.

Miller and Valerie Steele utilize his theory in order to recognize and study the growing fetishistic nature of mainstream fashion.⁸ Freud, and later Jacques Lacan under his influence, each propose the impact of the “gaze” where one looks at oneself and others in order to create a sense of self and form identity.⁹ Meanwhile, Erving Goffman expands on the notion of fashion as communication and theorizes that clothing and performance work together in the process of identity formation. Mikhail Bakhtin advocates that fashion is a mechanism in order to uphold the “classical body” that is individualized and sealed or transgress these borders through the grotesque.¹⁰ In her work, Judith Butler studies the way that this tendency of fashion to interrogate boundaries has tested gender norms and combines this notion with the idea that people are constantly performing. In her work she studies androgyny, gender play and drag in order to theorize the performativity of gender and fashion is a central part of her analysis.¹¹ Meanwhile, Jane Tynan suggests that the work of Foucault concerned with biopolitics, governmentality and discourse is fundamental to realizing how fashion and dress are fundamental tools to maintain collective identities that unite communities as well as divide them.¹²

In this vein, a number of scholars have studied the ways that fashion is an important aspect of social agendas. While by the 20th century clothes largely lost their economic importance due to increased availability of ready-made clothing at a wide range of price levels, the symbolic nature of clothing maintains significance.¹³ For example, the enforcement of dress

⁸ Ibid., 52.

⁹ Ibid., 53–54.

¹⁰ Ibid., 97.

¹¹ Ibid., 285.

¹² Ibid., 20.

¹³ Diana Crane, *Fashion and Its Social Agendas: Class, Gender, and Identity in Clothing* (University of Chicago Press, 2012), 5–6; Giorgio Riello and Peter McNeil, *The Fashion History Reader: Global Perspectives* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; Routledge, 2010), 271.

codes and uniforms in most workplaces generates an understanding of occupation and social control.¹⁴ However, due to the availability of fashion at all social levels, representation of numerous identities and subcultures of societies through fashion has expanded.¹⁵ Since this medium is the primary way that people see each other, changes in clothing and fashion discourse in a society indicates a shift in social tensions and relationships among social groups that present themselves differently in public spaces.¹⁶ Further, fashion itself assists in redefinition of these social identities since this industry constantly attributes new social meanings to clothing and provides consumers ways to recognize their own personal identity in relation to their social identity that is composed of various social groups that wear certain kinds of clothing.¹⁷ Further, fashion has been a useful tool in order to combat hegemonic definitions of femininity and challenge common societal standards.¹⁸ The notion of respectability politics is another example of how people appreciate fashion as a way to send a particular message in pursuit of a specific social agenda.¹⁹

The 1960s and 1970s are understood as a period where fashion became an essential feature of social movements. While fashion designated for teens and youths began appearing in the 1950s, it did not become widely popularized until the “youth explosion” of the 1960s.²⁰ The hippie movement of the late 1960s and 1970s also made waves in fashion by popularizing kaftans, fringe, flared jeans, long hair, the notorious tie-dye and by placing an emphasis on

¹⁴ Crane, *Fashion and Its Social Agendas*, 5–6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁹ Tanisha C. Ford, *Liberated Threads: Black Women, Style, and the Global Politics of Soul*, 1 Edition., Gender and American Culture; Gender & American Culture. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 67–68.

²⁰ Elizabeth Ewing, *History of 20th Century Fashion*, Revised edition (Quite Specific Media Group Ltd, 2002), 178.

psychedelics.²¹ The hippies are well-known for drawing on Eastern countries for fashion inspiration as a form of revolt that rejects Western materialism and consumerism while also breaking down gender barriers.²² Further, the disco craze of the 1970s that began in New York introduced fad fashions that are well-remembered in the public mind today and while disco was not a social movement, its popularity presents an example of a trend which rejected gender and sexual conventions and was a popular ideological sentiment at the time.²³ As it relates to specific protests, the respectability politics mentioned before were an important aspect of these movements, because as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) demonstrates, these fashion norms dictated the presentation of Civil Rights protestors in the organization in its early years. The noncompliance of political radicals within this group such as the “soul sisters” who wore jeans and natural hair, in combination with the eventual adoption of this look by SNCC members and wider protest culture, demonstrates the change over time of protest fashion during this period.²⁴ Specific clothing of the 1960s and 1970s including women’s pants and suits, jeans, and miniskirts are notable pieces of women’s fashion that will be discussed further due to their significance as it relates to the women’s liberation movement.

Identifying meaningful events and trends of American women’s history in the 1960s and 1970s and highlighting these occasions is integral to understanding the context of the women’s liberation movement as well as defining the temporal scope of this study. Specific events include: 1960 when the first oral contraceptive was approved by the Food and Drug Administration and released to the public, 1961 when the Presidential Commission on the Status

²¹ Nigel Cawthorne, *Key Moments in Fashion: From Haute Couture to Streetwear, Key Collections, Major Figures and Crucial Moments That Changed the Course of Fashion History from 1890 to the 1990s* (London: Hamlyn : 1999), 122–124.

²² *Ibid.*, 122–126.

²³ *Ibid.*, 132; Riello and McNeil, *The Fashion History Reader*, 522.

²⁴ Ford, *Liberated Threads*, 68.

of Women (PCSW) was established, 1963 when Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique*, 1966 when a group of feminists founded the National Organization of Women, 1968 when women protested the beauty pageant crowning the 1969 Miss America, 1970 when a group of young feminists interrupt Senate hearings regarding the oral contraceptive and demand access to pertinent medical information, 1972 when the House of Representatives passed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and sent to the Senate for approval, 1973 when the Supreme Court deemed abortion legal in *Roe v. Wade*, 1977 when the first National Women's Conference was held in Houston, Texas and 1979 when the deadline for approval of the ERA was postponed to 1982. The scope of this paper is limited to the years 1960 through 1979 due to the first and last mentioned items in this list. Women during this period also made great strides as women participation in the labor force increased from 35% in 1960 to 44% in 1970 and participation of specifically white married women jumped from 21% in 1950 to 42% in 1970.²⁵ However, the gendered pay gap, sexism in the workforce, and resistance of companies to hire female employees were prominent issues of the period.²⁶ More women also entered higher education during the 1960s and 1970s as well as politics, with women including Bella Abzug, Carol Bellamy, and Shirley Chisholm gaining elected positions and the number of federal appointments of women peaking.²⁷ However, internal fighting between members of the movement characterized the mid to late 1970s and declined as the Conservative, anti-feminist campaign led by Phyllis Schlafly gained attention.²⁸ Further, critiques that mainstream women's

²⁵ Blanche M. G. Linden and Carol Hurd. Green, *American Women in the 1960s: Changing the Future*, *American Women in the Twentieth Century*; *American Women in the Twentieth Century*. (New York: Twayne ; 1993), 9.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 89–109.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 24, 27, 68; Winifred D. Wandersee, *On the Move: American Women in the 1970s*, *American Women in the Twentieth Century*; *American Women in the Twentieth Century*. (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1988), 34, 35, 103.

²⁸ Wandersee, *On the Move*, 52.

liberation ignored class and race differences among women arose from minority women.²⁹ A number of women's movements that took race into account including the Black, Chicana, and native feminist campaigns arose during this period.³⁰

The release of the contraceptive pill marks the beginning of the women's liberation movement due to the fact that this medicine gave women a much greater sense of sexual agency as well as greater autonomy in the career, family and social paths that women in the country could take.³¹ The proceeding feminist movement took female sexual freedom further by celebrating female bodies and working to connect women with their own sexuality.³² This campaign also sought the autonomy that oral contraceptives provided but in the political, economic and social arenas and consequently beginning this study with the catalyst for change is most logical. Finally, backlash from more conservative members of society who argued that the pill would result in moral havoc further demonstrates how deeply people felt that this development would affect American society. Meanwhile, this study ends in 1979 with the rescheduling of Senate approval of the ERA into the next decade because this event demonstrates the lack of power within the feminist movement that had been declining in the few years prior and reveals the lack of public support. This triumph of Phyllis Schlafly and the anti-feminist campaign, which actively opposed the ERA and lobbied against the bill, signifies the de facto end of second-wave feminism. These two events provide useful start and end dates to the feminist campaign and recognizing the events and trends of these two decades is crucial to

²⁹ Alexander Bloom, *"Takin' It to the Streets": A Sixties Reader*, 4 edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 449–474.

³⁰ Benita. Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave* (Cambridge, UK ; Cambridge University Press, 2004), 3–8.

³¹ Matthew Collins and Rocky Collins, *American Experience - The Pill* (PBS, n.d.).

³² Bloom, *Takin' It to the Streets*, 438.

evaluating the ways that media such as *Vogue* publicized and framed the women's liberation movement over time.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the women's liberation movement and fashion came together as activists utilized fashion in order to visibly establish their identities. New styles of dress provoked tensions in American society as these trends challenged accepted fashion norms of gender, sexuality and class.³³ Further, many people connected their fashion to the activism that they were involved in because they viewed dress as connected to, and representative of personal values.³⁴ The connection of activists to their fashion statements was so strong that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and conservative oppositional groups began to target people as activists based on their clothes.³⁵ As mentioned earlier, activist groups were conscious of the way that members would be seen in visual media such as television, photographs and magazines and consequently the fashions that these groups viewed as acceptable for activism were concerned with respectability.³⁶ Activists who formed NOW utilized respectability politics as well, choosing women who wore well-managed coiffured hair, discreet jewelry, and suits and were thin to represent the group and members actively protected this image throughout the movement.³⁷ As the women's liberation campaign grew, American fashion became the battlefield for competing conceptions of what women should embody and the growth of fashion trends that blurred gendered lines became increasingly popular among many activists.³⁸ The

³³ Betty Luther Hillman, *Dressing for the Culture Wars : Style and the Politics of Self-Presentation in the 1960s and 1970s* (London, England: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 3–4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 32, 45–47.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 50–59.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

³⁷ Linda M. Scott, *Fresh Lipstick: Redressing Fashion and Feminism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 284–285.

³⁸ Jo B. Paoletti, *Sex and Unisex: Fashion, Feminism, and the Sexual Revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), 36, 51.

media easily spread the fashion that various protest and activist groups wore and consequently many of these trends were popularized and eventually became ubiquitous.³⁹

An important form of media during this period is the magazine and understanding the popularity of this medium is essential to recognizing the significance of the engagement of *Vogue* with the women's liberation movement. Magazines were not read by the masses until the early 20th century and by 1959 the Magazine Publishers Association made the conservative estimate that 41,492,000 households made up the magazine market.⁴⁰ *Vogue* maintained a large readership in the 1950s and by 1963 had a readership of 500,000, as the market for women's magazines maintained steady despite the general decline of interest in this form of media due to popularization of the television.⁴¹ While most magazines struggled to make a profit in the early 1960s due to rising production costs, with nearly 40% of the 35 leading publications losing money in 1961, *Vogue* remained profitable.⁴² However, in the 1970s magazines saw a resurgence of popularity, with more than twice as many magazines being launched than in any preceding decade.⁴³ Magazines that were directed at specific audiences gained particular popularity by the early 1970s and the interest in circulation shifted from how many people were reading to the demographics of those people.⁴⁴ Into the late 1970s, due to the increased specialization of this media and adaptation to a larger audience of workingwomen, women's magazines remained very

³⁹ Luther Hillman, *Dressing for the Culture Wars*, 124.

⁴⁰ Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, [2d ed.]. (Urbana : University of Illinois Press, 1964), 45.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 268; David E. Sumner, *The Magazine Century: American Magazines Since 1900*, *Mediating American History*, 0085-2473 ; v. 9; (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 124–125.

⁴² John William Tebbel and Mary Ellen. Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America, 1741-1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 246–247.

⁴³ Sumner, *The Magazine Century*, 159.

⁴⁴ John William Tebbel and Mary Ellen. Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America, 1741-1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 247.

popular.⁴⁵ During Grace Mirabella's tenure as the editor of *Vogue* from 1971 until 1987 she increased readership to around 1.245 million in that time.⁴⁶ Clearly the popularity of the magazine increased substantially over the course of the 1970s and even into the 1980s. The continued popularity of women's magazines and *Vogue* specifically during the 1960s and 1970s demonstrates the breadth in influence that this publication maintained and grew, as well as shows that the publicity that this magazine provided of the feminist movement was circulated among an interested, engaged audience.

Having some knowledge of the history of *Vogue* in terms of its intended audience, variation in content and learning about the editors-in-chief over time are necessary in order to understand the broad changes in the magazine over time so that an in-depth analysis can be accurate. In 1909, Conde Nast bought the publication and he wanted to appeal to an elite and wealthy white female audience and commitment to this demographic remained strong into the 1960s and 1970s.⁴⁷ The editor of the magazine from 1952 until 1963 was Jessica Daves who was let go because she appeared self consciously prim and conservative.⁴⁸ Diana Vreeland took over the magazine in 1963 and is remembered for focusing on popular culture and the youthquake as well as introducing casual nudity to the publication.⁴⁹ While she sought the same audience that Nast intended, she hoped to introduce more unconventional fashion to the magazine. Consequently, she is known for embracing the exotic and eccentric as she aspired to make bold, brash statements in the magazine and is credited with making Twiggy, Cher, Streisand and

⁴⁵ Ibid., 267–268.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 272.

⁴⁷ Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 266–267; Cawthorne, *Key Moments in Fashion*, 32.

⁴⁸ Vince Aletti, "The Age of Exuberance: Vreeland's *Vogue*," *Aperture*, no. 189 (2007): 60.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 60–62.

Anjelica Huston into models.⁵⁰ Vreeland also understood the utility of photography in evoking emotions and informing readers and personally chose the photographs that went into the publication.⁵¹ While her *Vogue* was bold, it was also expensive and the exorbitant cost was cited as a reason for her firing in 1971 as well as her unconventional taste.⁵² Grace Mirabella took over the magazine and is well known for successfully exploiting the rise of women in the workforce to increase readership of the magazine as well as her talent in anticipating fashion trends of the 1970s.⁵³ Uncovering the general aims of the magazine and its various editors is essential when discussing change over time of the publication so that sudden shifts in the layout or message of the magazine are not wrongly attributed to the movement.

Studying the engagement of *Vogue* with the feminist movement is significant due to its demonstrated adaptability to changing times, intended audience, and apparent reputation as a feminist magazine. Established in 1892, *Vogue* is the third oldest continually published women's fashion magazine third only to *Harper's Bazaar* and *Cosmo*, which were established 25 and six years earlier respectively. By 1960 the publication had been in print for 68 years and was older than similar magazines such as *Elle* and *Marie Claire*. Clearly this magazine has been adept at reacting to changes in society and able to remain one of the leading women's magazines throughout the 20th century.⁵⁴ Understanding the way that this magazine adapted to the changes of second-wave feminism is important to analyze how often *Vogue* publicized women's liberation, how it framed the movement, and how perceptions of what women wanted to consume when reading changed. The intended audience and large readership of elite white females makes this publication particularly interesting because its audience was a demographic

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 62–63.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 63, 66.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 66.

⁵³ Tebbel and Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America, 1741-1990*, 272.

⁵⁴ Crane, *Fashion and Its Social Agendas*, 210.

that was often part of the silent majority and that conservative anti-feminists also targeted in order to increase opposition to feminist agendas. Looking at this magazine provides the perspective of one popular media source that women of the silent majority frequently and consistently consumed, thereby showing one source of exposure that this demographic received regarding women's liberation. Finally, while there has been no substantive scholarship on the publication through this lens, one scholar declared *Vogue* a "vocally feminist magazine" on the basis that the magazine called for feminism to be revived prior to the beginning of the women's liberation movement.⁵⁵ Investigating whether or not the magazine supported this campaign is especially important since there is a dearth of scholarship on this topic and so that whether or not the magazine supported the movement in practice can be determined. Also, if *Vogue* is being declared "vocally feminist" then determining the bar that this standard set is also useful since women's magazines have largely been ignored in scholarship that studies publicity of the feminist movement in popular media.

Vogue engaged with women's liberation through the content and fashion trends included, and the type of woman that the publication promoted.⁵⁶ The content that is relevant to analyzing the ways that the magazine did or did not support and publicize the women's liberation movement can be divided into two categories based on what the magazine thinks women should know about and be interested in, as well as coverage of events related to the movement. While a number of fashion trends gained popularity during these two decades, the three that are most illuminating for this purpose are the mini skirt, denim and pants/pant suits. All three of these clothing items are intertwined with the feminist movement for unique reasons that demonstrate a

⁵⁵ Scott, *Fresh Lipstick*, 288.

⁵⁶ while I will use language that suggests that *Vogue* is a conscious being, I understand that editors and authors of articles determined and wrote the contents, the purpose of this structure is to recognize the magazine as one continued magazine over time despite differences in editor/authorship etc that are inherent in such a publication which are discussed in the paper

different facet of the campaign, which will be elaborated upon further. Finally, the image of the “*Vogue* woman” that this publication supported consists of the ways that the publication promoted different “brands” of women over time as well as the celebrity icons that it profiled and celebrated over this period of time.

While *Vogue* began this period presenting information that it thought women should know about and be interested in that conformed to stereotypical gender roles of homemaking by the end of the 1970s the magazine printed articles that were useful to women who functioned outside of the domestic sphere. Throughout the 1960s, the publication intimates that women want to know about homemaking through its frequent publication of articles that discuss ways that women can better take care of the home, and the kitchen in particular. For example, the June 1961 issue includes an article titled “In the Kitchen Men Like...” while issues from 1962, 1964, 1966, and 1968 contain articles titled “Women’s Clothesplan for a Life Centered Around Her Own House,” “On Being a Beautiful Mother,” “Looks Men Like at Home” and “How Not to Cook for a Child”⁵⁷ The titles of these articles demonstrate that *Vogue* anticipated homemaking and domestic life the focus of its readers, and thought that these women would be most interested in learning how to function within this space. However, this vision of what women want to know about began to shift in 1968 when the “*Vogue* Money Spotlight” column begins frequent publication and throughout the 1970s provided information on stocks, mutual funds and taxes to readers.⁵⁸ This addition suggests that the magazine recognized that women were obtaining income and would be interested in reading financial advice. Rather than depending on husbands

⁵⁷ “In the Kitchen Men Like,” *Vogue Magazine*, February 1962, 126., “On Being a Beautiful Mother,” *Vogue Magazine*, August 1964, 24. “Looks Men Like at Home,” *Vogue Magazine*, November 1966, 125-132., “How Not to Cook for a Child,” *Vogue Magazine*, March 1968, 140-141.

⁵⁸ “Vogue Money Spotlight,” *Vogue Magazine*, February 1968., 114., “Vogue Money Spotlight,” *Vogue Magazine*, May 1968., 162., “Vogue Money Spotlight,” *Vogue Magazine*, April 1972, 62., “Vogue Money Spotlight,” *Vogue Magazine*, October 1975, 136, 148., “Vogue Money Spotlight,” *Vogue Magazine*, October 1977, 54.

to make money and financial decisions, *Vogue* anticipated that women would want to have financial literacy and make economic decisions independently. Further, inclusion of material that highlighted women in the workforce began in earnest in 1970, with profiles of women with careers in journalism and the arts while information on sexism in employment practices, pay, and the office environment begin to make frequent appearances.⁵⁹ Later articles published in the late 1970s discuss female professionals with careers in fields from athletics to finance, and give advice on balancing a career with domestic life as well as provide information on workplace sexism.⁶⁰ These articles show that the magazine anticipated that rather than reading about how to better function in a domestic space, women were more interested in consuming material that highlighted women in the workforce and helped them navigate the professional sphere.

At the beginning of this period the magazine did not include information that supported women taking charge of their reproductive health or medical care more broadly, however by the end of the 1970s this type of content was prominent. While the oral contraceptive pill was released to the public in 1960, *Vogue* does not mention this item until 1967 as part of a profile of American women that highlights Mrs. Stanley R. McCormick who financially backed the development of this product.⁶¹ Beginning in 1969 with “If Not the Pill, Then What?” articles such as “Birth Control, Today’s Ways,” and “Developments in Safer Birth Control” were

⁵⁹ “People Are Talking About,” *Vogue Magazine*, June 1970, 106-107., Barbaralee Diamonstein “Women Need Politics and Vice Versa,” *Vogue Magazine*, February 1972, 100., Allene Talmey, “Books,” *Vogue Magazine*, September 1973, 148, 161.

⁶⁰ Kay Gillman, “Women Pros, Super-Starred,” *Vogue Magazine*, February 1978, 42, 46., Cathleen Medwick, “Woman’s Survival Manual,” *Vogue Magazine*, August 1978, 180, 254-256., Lorraine Davis, “Between Us,” *Vogue Magazine*, January 1979, 96., Lorraine Davis, “Between Us,” *Vogue Magazine*, February 1979, 48.

⁶¹ Cecil Heaton, “American Women: The Changers,” *Vogue Magazine*, May 1967, 184.

frequently published in the magazine.⁶² Information about abortions is also provided in the magazine several times from 1970-1974 and again in 1979.⁶³ This increase of discussions of ways that women can manage their own reproductive systems implies that *Vogue* recognized that as this period progressed, women had more sexual agency and were interested in information about contraceptive methods. Further, articles about mental health begin appearing in 1972 in the Health Section and continue throughout the decade including articles like “Mental Health and Depression.”⁶⁴ “The magazine demonstrated its acceptance of women wanting to consume information about serious topics that affected their mental wellbeing through the addition of information on mental health in the 1970s. Information about the doctor/patient relationship is also provided including “Finding the Right Doctor,” “How a Male Doctor Diagnoses You” and “What Should you Tell Your Doctor.”⁶⁵ The publication of these articles show that the magazine hoped to assist women in navigating the doctor/patient relationship so that they could engage with their own medical care. The inclusion of content regarding contraception and reproductive health seven years into this period suggests that over time, *Vogue* viewed women knowing how to take control of their own reproductive, mental and even general health as beneficial and topics that they should be interested in consuming.

⁶² Dr. Louis Lasagna “If Not the Pill, Then What?” *Vogue Magazine*, October 1969, 102, 157., Melva Weber “Health: Birth Control-Today’s Ways” *Vogue Magazine*, September 1975, 214., Abby Avin Belson, “On the Way: Fail-Safe Birth,” *Vogue Magazine*, March 1977, 243.

⁶³ “People Are Talking About,” *Vogue Magazine*, August 1970, 83., Lorna J Sarrel and Philip M. Sarrel, “Abortion: What You Should Know,” *Vogue Magazine*, August 1971, 93-94., “Health,” *Vogue Magazine*, April 1972, 78., Melva Weber, “Doctors Tell You What to Do,” *Vogue Magazine*, February 1974, 82., “What Counts, People, Trends, Ideas,” *Vogue Magazine*, January 1979, 132-134.

⁶⁴ “Your Body,” *Vogue Magazine*, January 1972, 40-42., Melva Weber, “Vogue Health,” *Vogue Magazine*, March 1972, 20., Suzanne Fields, “From Experts: Help For Your Mind,” *Vogue Magazine*, March 1974, 31., RW Shepherd, “Is Your Depression a Real Tiger?” *Vogue Magazine*, June 1978, 111-112.

⁶⁵ Eileen Simpson, “Finding the Right Doctor: How Women Make the Choice,” *Vogue Magazine*, 309-310., Rosemary Blackman, “How a Doctor Diagnoses You,” *Vogue Magazine*, 135., Isadore Rosenfeld, “What Should You Tell Your Doctor,” *Vogue Magazine*, May 1978, 242-243.

While the themes of liberation and female empowerment clearly influenced the views that this publication presented, in the early 1960s the magazine gives little attention to the depth or political nature of women's liberation in content. It is not until the 1970s, that *Vogue* becomes overtly political and generally supports the ideas of the movement but does not endorse the campaign itself. A number of events important to the feminist movement that occurred in the 1960s went unmentioned including the oral contraceptive, establishment of the PCSW and publication of *Feminine Mystique*. Further, the protest of the Miss America Pageant is only mentioned in passing and noted as a "protest skirmish" that the author does not condone.⁶⁶ A 1969 article titled "The Passionate Rebels" highlights the resistance that the women of Barnard College in New York City carry out through daily actions and beginning in 1970, the subject of women's equality and women's liberation begins to appear in the "People Are Talking About" column of *Vogue*.⁶⁷ While this kind of publicity that framed the movement in neutral terms and represented little coverage within the magazine, early articles in *Vogue* like "Is the Equal Woman More Vulnerable?" more prominently discussed women's liberation and suggest that while the cause is noble, there are consequences to women.⁶⁸ Further, articles such as "The War Inside My Head," in which the female author explains why she will not join women's liberation conveys that the magazine is hesitant to endorse the campaign.⁶⁹

However, by 1976 the tone changed with an article "What Burns Women Up" in which the female author expressed outrage at a patriarchal society and irritation with women who say

⁶⁶ "Beauty Checkout," *Vogue Magazine*, November 1968, 86.

⁶⁷ Stephanie Harrington, "The Passionate Rebels," *Vogue Magazine*, May 1969, 1476-148., "People Are Talking About," *Vogue Magazine*, March 1970, 161., "People Are Talking About," *Vogue Magazine*, September 1970, 100., "People Are Talking About," *Vogue Magazine*, November 1970, 108-110., "People Are Talking About," *Vogue Magazine*, October 1970, 158., "People Are Talking About," *Vogue Magazine*, December 1970, 166.

⁶⁸ Elizabeth Hardwick, "Is the Equal Woman More Vulnerable?" *Vogue Magazine*, January 1971, 70-71.

⁶⁹ Penelope Mortimer, "The War Inside My Head," *Vogue Magazine*, April 1973, 173.

that they do not support women's liberation.⁷⁰ Further, in this year the magazine publicized the ERA, which the women's liberation movements supports, in a long article titled "Women: Can Rights Be Equal."⁷¹ This op-ed written by Susan Sontag provides information about the state of the ERA in the ratification process and encourages women to support the passing of this bill. By publishing this article, *Vogue* implicitly takes a political stance that aligns with the women's liberation due to the fact that significant opposition that had arisen by this time and the publication broke from its pattern of staying neutral on this specific issue. Further, in 1977 Jimmy Carter is profiled positively in the magazine because he is a man who will fight for women's equality which suggests that *Vogue* felt comfortable endorsing political candidates based on their stance on women and again shows an overt commitment to goals of the movement.⁷² By 1979, while the magazine included another article that endorsed the ERA, the women's liberation movement itself went unmentioned, indicating a shift back to silence on this movement. It is important to note that the publication never explicitly expresses support for women's liberation, only the initiatives that this campaign brings to national attention. While deeply intertwined, this distinction is necessary to make because support for certain ideas does not mean total support for those who are working toward women's liberation and consequently is not a suggestion that women commit themselves in this campaign in any major way. As demonstrated earlier, over time *Vogue* begins to publish articles on health, finance and employment that the movement brought to the forefront while never fully supporting those who were actively fighting for these causes. The magazine was happy to include content as it became acceptable to print but did not ever push limits in pursuit of women's liberation.

⁷⁰ Jane O'Reilly, "What Burns Women Up," *Vogue Magazine*, June 1976, 103, 157.

⁷¹ Susan Sontag, "Women: Can Rights Be Equal?" *Vogue Magazine*, July 1976, 100-101.

⁷² "Jimmy Carter...and Women," *Vogue Magazine*, January 1977, 108-109.

Analyzing the styles that *Vogue* promoted is also necessary in order to gain a complete understanding of the ways that this magazine engaged with the feminist movement. Denim is one style that the magazine publicized during these two decades that was originally associated with work, later protest culture and finally became popular clothing for feminist activists. While denim had been associated with western working clothes since the 1930s, in post-World-War II United States, men began wearing jeans as leisure clothing rather than simply as work clothing and by the 1950s, blue jeans were associated with the rebellious youth culture since celebrities such as James Dean, Marlon Brando and the Hells Angels all wore this clothing frequently and this item became highly popular by the early 1960s.⁷³ The popularity of this clothing originated among the public and the unisex nature of denim made it popular specifically among the women's movement in the 1960s since it was suited toward gender awareness and remained popular into the 1970s and into the present.⁷⁴ Despite the popularity of denim beginning in the 1950s, *Vogue* did not publish a spotlight on this fashion trend until 1968 titled "Denim and Ways to Wear It" and in the years following continued to highlight this style.⁷⁵ The hesitation of the magazine to highlight this clothing until 8-18 years after it began to grow in popularity, depending on if you define this by presence in youth culture or among feminist activists, indicates that the publication sought to appease its targeted demographic. Rather than highlight clothing that was popular among large amounts of people, the magazine was concerned with maintaining its upper-class elite women who may not have wanted to associate with the youthful rebellion that denim had previously represented. Further, the association of this clothing with feminist activists did not seem to motivate the magazine to support this trend since the spotlight was not published until two years after women's liberation activists established NOW. Rather

⁷³ Riello and McNeil, *The Fashion History Reader*, 486.

⁷⁴ *ibid*

⁷⁵ "Denim and Ways to Wear It," *Vogue Magazine*, January 1968, 90-94.

than lead the charge on this trend, *Vogue* waited to highlight jeans until they were widely disseminated enough among the population to not explicitly indicate alignment with youth rebellion and feminist ideology.

In the fashion trends that the publication publicized, the miniskirt stands out as an item related to the feminist movement since it sparked concerns of female morality, and the change over time in skirt length during this period indicates the shifting societal ideals in the country. Hemlines had previously been dramatically shortened in the past during times of great social change and similarly in 1965 this item of clothing is one of the most enduring images of the 1960s.⁷⁶ The miniskirt was associated with a culture of increased sexual permissiveness and came to represent the spirit of female sexual liberation.⁷⁷ Many Americans expressed concern with the propriety, respectability and sexual habits of girls and women who wore miniskirts.⁷⁸ However, many women of the 1960s viewed this clothing as sexually empowering and provided a sense of breaking out of a culture of modesty that society had cultivated.⁷⁹ The mini-skirt is shown in *Vogue* for the first time in 1967 and again in 1970 among skirts with longer hemlines but is not showcased in a comparable way to denim.⁸⁰ Skirt length is also notable due to the fact that hemlines plummeted in the early 1970s as cynicism took hold of American consciousness and fashion designers looked to nostalgic trends of longer, looser styles like the “maxi” and “midi” skirts rather than promoting newer trends.⁸¹ Correspondingly, the magazine featured

⁷⁶ Cawthorne, *Key Moments in Fashion*, 110.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 115; Riello and McNeil, *The Fashion History Reader*, 490; Jane. Mulvagh, *Vogue History of 20th Century Fashion* (London, England ; Viking, 1988), 181.

⁷⁸ Luther Hillman, *Dressing for the Culture Wars*, 42.

⁷⁹ Linden and Green, *American Women in the 1960s*, 322–323.

⁸⁰ “Knockout Knockabout,” *Vogue Magazine*, August 1967, 90-111., “Fashion Forecast,” *Vogue Magazine*, January 1970, 94-155.

⁸¹ Cawthorne, *Key Moments in Fashion*, 116.

these styles as well as wrap and breezy skirts more often than the mini-skirt.⁸² However, many women rebelled against this change in the fashion industry and continued to wear mini skirts.⁸³ The brief and understated inclusion of the mini-skirt in *Vogue* despite their immense popularity in the United States seems surprising. However, the association of this garment with female sexual liberation and the corresponding backlash regarding immorality was likely too controversial for the publication to highlight the clothing but too popular not to include at some point during this period. Further, the fact that the publication quickly reverted to more modest skirt styles and publicized these much more frequently suggests discomfort with women wearing short skirts and an unwillingness to push this boundary of women's liberation.

Finally, pants and pantsuits are a fashion trend that *Vogue* included which was associated with women's liberation because of concerns of gender bending that distorted popular conception of how women should appear, and later due to the increase of women in the workforce. While women frequently wore pants during World War II, after the war ended, most women returned to wearing skirts.⁸⁴ Girls and women did continue wearing pants for leisure but it was in the 1960s that pants entered the workplace as business attire and formal clothing.⁸⁵ In the early 1960s, women wearing pants was a source of social concern due to the fact that it was one of many styles which subverted gender norms and many Americans viewed pants as a gender bending, un-feminine item.⁸⁶ Some restaurants and businesses put restrictions on

⁸² "Fashion Forecast," *Vogue Magazine*, January 1970, 94-155., "The Little Ruffled Midi," *Vogue Magazine*, April 1970, 96., "Clothes to Enjoy Your Busy Life," *Vogue Magazine*, February 1972, 26-41., "The Looks American Women Love Most," *Vogue Magazine*, September 1975, 256-275., "Vogue Patterns: Soft Damask Skirts and Tops," *Vogue Magazine*, February 1978, 240.

⁸³ Linden and Green, *American Women in the 1960s*, 326.

⁸⁴ Cawthorne, *Key Moments in Fashion*, 56.

⁸⁵ Luther Hillman, *Dressing for the Culture Wars*, 18; Paoletti, *Sex and Unisex*, 38.

⁸⁶ Luther Hillman, *Dressing for the Culture Wars*, 2, 45.

women's clothing and refused to admit women wearing pantsuits.⁸⁷ However, pantsuits became popular among women in the workplace by the mid-1970s and pants became uncontroversial by the end of the decade.⁸⁸ The magazine first shows pants in a major spread in 1964, however these are not full pants but bodysuits.⁸⁹ Pants as fashion are presented from this point onward, being featured prominently for the first time in 1968.⁹⁰ While *Vogue* first included pantsuits in the same year as pants, the belted pantsuit was first profiled in 1967, then called a "pantdress."⁹¹ Fashion spreads such as one published in 1972 "If You Work, If You Don't Work" highlighted pants and suits as acceptable working clothes for women throughout the decade.⁹² The gradual inclusion of pants in the magazine demonstrates the slow tendency of publishers to include clothing that has controversial connotations. However, by the 1970s women had entered the workforce in large numbers and *Mirabella* consciously wanted to appeal to this group. Consequently, pants and pantsuits were a fashion choice that this magazine came to include while rarely showcasing either item. This fact suggests the pragmatism of the inclusion of pants and pantsuits in the publication rather than support for the revolutionary aspects of this clothing. While this magazine included jeans, mini-skirts and pants/pantsuits during the 1960s and 1970s, this did not occur until each trend was popularized enough to be disassociated with their roots in protest and women's liberation.

Analyzing the change over time in the brand of woman that *Vogue* endorsed indicates the aesthetic that this magazine understood as exemplary and demonstrates the ways that this

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 45–47.

⁸⁸ Cawthorne, *Key Moments in Fashion*, 60; Paoletti, *Sex and Unisex*, 57.

⁸⁹ Rumer Golden, "The New Blaze of India," *Vogue Magazine*, December 1964, 195-215.

⁹⁰ "The Explorers: Fashion That's Yours For the Discovery," *Vogue Magazine*, October 1968, 108-143.

⁹¹ "Norell's New Trouser-Suit," *Vogue Magazine*, March 1964, 139-140., "The Chain Belted Pantdress," November 1967, 112.

⁹² "If You Work, If You Don't Work," *Vogue Magazine*, February 1972, 26-39.

publication engaged with feminist notions of the ideal woman. Early in the decade, the magazine emphasizes the “Ladylike Look” which conforms to stereotypical dress for women.⁹³ Later issues of the magazine from the mid-1960s heavily emphasize the “youthquake” and the importance of young people.⁹⁴ Here, the fascination of Vreeland with youth culture is clear, and reveals that the publication heavily idealized the notion of youth and translated this to the ideal woman as one who is, or at least looks, young. Emphasis in the early 1970s on natural beauty is epitomized in a 1972 edition of the “Vogue’s Point of View” titled “Be a Natural” and here, the magazine follows the trend of simple and natural beauty standards.⁹⁵ *Vogue* also publicizes the working woman through articles like “Beauty-working Plan for the Working Woman,” “Beauty Tips for the Working Woman.” The magazine also creates the “working woman” and similar “modern woman” that it recommends items for and frequently includes tips and tricks for this trope throughout the magazine from this point forward.⁹⁶ Here, the magazine is clearly adapting to increasing employment rates among its readers and indicates that the model woman now has a career and is not stuck in past traditions, rather it is modernity that women should aspire to embody. Meanwhile, the magazine utilized the language of liberation beginning in the mid-1970s, titling clothing and products in a 1975 issue as “Liberated Beauty.”⁹⁷ The ideal woman by this period is one who is individually liberated and aspires for “Ease, Age, Style, Fitness,

⁹³ “The Lady-Like Look,” *Vogue Magazine*, February 1960, 31.

⁹⁴ “Youthquake,” *Vogue Magazine*, January 1965, 112-123., “People Are Talking About,” *Vogue Magazine*, June 1965, 94., “Vogue’s Eye View: Yes-It’s For a Young Woman” *Vogue Magazine*, August 1966, 65-66.,

⁹⁵ “The Natural Approach to Beauty Now,” *Vogue Magazine*, August 1972, 84-87.

⁹⁶ “Beauty Bulletin: Working Plan for the Woman Who Works,” *Vogue Magazine*, February 1972, 56-57., “Modern Jewelry for the Modern Woman,” *Vogue Magazine*, March 1972, 118-121., “Working Clothes for Working Women,” *Vogue Magazine*, October 1978, 376-383., “Beauty Tips for the Working Woman,” *Vogue Magazine*, March 1979, 136.

⁹⁷ Joanna Brown, “Beauty Now: Liberated Beauty,” *Vogue Magazine*, June 1975, 124-125.

Freedom Now” as the title of one article that highlights the American woman shows.⁹⁸ Finally, the magazine declares that the “American Woman is On the Move” through headlines of fashion spreads.⁹⁹ Clearly the rhetoric that was part of the women’s liberation movement spread to the understanding of the characteristics of the perfect woman that this magazine seeks to portray. The progression of the ultimate woman throughout this period demonstrates that the magazine shifted her characteristics in order to fit popular trends and attitude at a given moment. Language of the feminist movement and female empowerment appear only when well established in the culture and therefore convenient for the publication.

Finally, the female icons that *Vogue* continues to highlight throughout this period suggests the living celebrities who represent the ideal woman and studying these women indicates the degree that the magazine associated itself with the notion of women’s liberation. Two obvious icons of this period who were international fashion icon, and still notable in current times are Jackie Kennedy and Audrey Hepburn. The magazine publicizes the fashion that Jackie Kennedy is known for throughout the 1960s, and follows her life and style extensively as first lady, even after her prominence in the political sphere ends and until she marries Aristotle Onassis.¹⁰⁰ It is notable that while Jackie Kennedy was married to the man that initiated the PCSW, her political views are never asked or provided in the magazine. Further, she is not remembered for her commitment to any particular cause as First Lady as is the case for other First Ladies. Meanwhile Audrey Hepburn and the styles that she wears are featured seven times

⁹⁸ Susan Wood, “Ease, Age, Style, Fitness, Freedom Now,” *Vogue Magazine*, June 1977, 116-119.

⁹⁹ “On-The Move Wardrobes,” *Vogue Magazine*, October 1979, 387., “Beauty on the Move,” *Vogue Magazine*, October 1979, 302-331.

¹⁰⁰ “Fashion Naturals,” *Vogue Magazine*, February 1960, 125-133., “New R Month for Pearls,” *Vogue Magazine*, May 1960, 150-152., “Special Feature: Mrs. Kennedy,” *Vogue Magazine*, February 1961, 132-138., “Mrs. John F Kennedy,” *Vogue Magazine*, December 1965, 174-175., “Mrs. John F Kennedy,” *Vogue Magazine*, March 1968, 85-86., “People Are Talking About,” *Vogue Magazine*, December 1968, 226.

between 1961 and 1976.¹⁰¹ Due to the root of her fame being outside of the political sphere, it is not surprising that she does not take a stand on politics. Instead, these two women were publicized for their brand of beauty. Somewhat surprising then, is the continued inclusion of Jane Fonda in *Vogue*. Her image is the cover of the first issue published in 1960 and she is shown or mentioned a total of five times throughout these two decades.¹⁰² While Fonda rose to fame in the 1960s, beginning in 1970 she vocalized her opposition to the Vietnam War. She traveled to Hanoi in 1972 where she criticized the actions of the United States Military and funded antiwar activists in the early 1970s. Throughout this period, the magazine continued to highlight the controversial celebrity who was overtly political, though not necessarily about women's rights. However, attention to the dates that this celebrity is featured indicates that she only protested the Vietnam War and the magazine included her well after public sentiment regarding the war had shifted to disapproval.¹⁰³ Fonda then represents an ideal woman that stands up for causes once public opinion has begun to sway in a favorable direction. Meanwhile, vocal feminist activists including Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, Germaine Greer and Susan Sontag only received a combined nine mentions over these two decades, with four of these being short lines in the "People Are Talking About Column," rather than general articles.¹⁰⁴ The scarce coverage of such

¹⁰¹ "Audrey Hepburn," *Vogue Magazine*, October 1961, 88., "Audrey Hepburn," *Vogue Magazine*, January 1963, 82., "Audrey Hepburn as Eliza Doolittle," *Vogue Magazine*, November 1964, 0, 152., "Audrey Hepburn at the Prêt a Porter," *Vogue Magazine*, January 1966, 110., Violet Leduc "Steal-Sceneing With Hepburn & O'Toole," *Vogue Magazine*, April 1966, 172-175., Curtis Bill Pepper, "Audrey Hepburn Dotti and Her Family in Their Swiss Farmhouse," *Vogue Magazine*, April 1971, 94-101., Leo Lerman, "People are Talking About," *Vogue Magazine*, May 1976, 168-176.

¹⁰² "Cover," *Vogue Magazine*, January 1960, 0., "Beauty Checkout: The Hair of Jane Fonda," *Vogue Magazine*, February 1970, 26., "Liza Minnelli and Jane Fonda," *Vogue Magazine*, June 1970, 106-108., Fred Robbins, "Jane Fonda the Woman," *Vogue Magazine*, November 1977, 286., Leo Lerman, "People Are Talking About," *Vogue Magazine*, February 1978, 192.

¹⁰³ Bloom, *Takin' It to the Streets*, 163, 193-231.

¹⁰⁴ Gloria Steinem "James Baldwin: An Original," *Vogue Magazine*, July 1964, 78-79., "People Are Talking About," *Vogue Magazine*, February 1969, 188-191., "People Are Talking About," *Vogue Magazine*, April 1971, 126-131., Liz Smith, "Coming of Age in America: Gloria Steinem," *Vogue Magazine*, June 1971, 90-92., Leticia Kent, "Susan Sontag Speaks Up," *Vogue Magazine*, August 1971,

women demonstrates the limited commitment that *Vogue* felt to publicizing those who were fully engaged with the movement because fashion and reputation came first while women of the liberation movement were covered when convenient.

The coverage that women's fashion magazines gave to the feminist movement is a previously unstudied topic, yet significant due to the theoretical and political implications of dress. Fashion has consistently played a role in identity politics during moments of societal change, and the women's liberation movement of the 1960s-1970s was no exception. The utility of clothing in conceptions of self-identity and communication within a larger society are noteworthy theoretical components that are particularly important in this context. In the 1960s and 1970s, the education, labor participation and legal right of American women changed and consequently, they were re-interpreting their place in society through the feminist movement. This campaign consciously developed fashion choices in order to convey commitment to a common cause and the necessity of understanding fashion theory is demonstrated here since the decision to wear denim, mini-skirts, and pants/pantsuits had moral and gendered implications which pushed existing boundaries of society through dress. Media forms, such as magazines, played a large role in disseminating these trends and since *Vogue* was a prominent women's fashion magazine during this period, their engagement with this movement was inevitable to a degree.

Established with the intent to captivate the upper-class white women, the way that this magazine publicized and framed the movement is particularly important to study due to the fact that there have not been substantial studies on the content of popular media that this demographic, which the anti-feminist movement also drew on, consumed on a regular basis such

88., Susan Sontag, "Women: Can Rights Be Equal?" *Vogue Magazine*, July 1976, 100-101., "People Are Talking About," *Vogue Magazine*, May 1978, 238., "People Are Talking About," *Vogue Magazine*, December 1978, 262. Gloria Steinem, "Does Sex Sell in Ads?" *Vogue Magazine*, August 1979, 36.,

as *Vogue*. Over time, the content of the magazine shifted from articles that would appeal to a homemaking housewife to include women with careers that led independent lives. Further, by the end of the 1970s, the publication included information useful to women who wanted autonomy regarding their medical care and reproductive health while earlier in this period the magazine did not include any such information. Three trends of the women's liberation movement that this magazine highlighted included denim, mini-skirts and pants/pantsuits, all of which were initially controversial due to their association with protest, loose morals and gender bending respectively. While the magazine eventually published these items in fashion spreads, this inclusion did not occur until well after controversial aspects of this clothing had substantially subsided. Furthermore, the brand of women that *Vogue* promoted in the 1960s and 1970s changed from one that conveyed stereotypes of femininity to those that capitalized on the societal rhetoric of the "working," "liberated," and "modern," women. Finally, two of the female icons that this publication continuously highlights over time are not public supporters of the women's liberation movement and while Jane Fonda protested the Vietnam War, she did not publicize her opinions either. In fact, *Vogue* showcased such a controversial figure during periods after others had already expressed condemnation for the War. Rather than acting as a staunch supporter of feminism, *Vogue* magazine demonstrated through its content, fashion, and branding that it only engaged with aspects of the movement when it was convenient and widely acceptable to do so. Editors of the magazines largely did not act as trailblazers but instead as reactionaries who responded accordingly as the women's liberation movement rose and fell.