

Selling Detroit on Women

Woman's Day and Auto Advertising, 1964-82

From 1964 to 1982, automotive journalist Julie Candler's monthly column in Woman's Day helped readers navigate the male sphere of driving with useful tips from purchasing to maintaining a car. The popular women's magazine published the "Woman at the Wheel" column to attract auto advertising, but it never did. This paper examines the representation of the woman car driver and themes present in the "Woman at the Wheel" column and reasons for its failure to attract auto ads. Textual analysis, interviews, and archival research show that Detroit automakers' gendered bias of the female car buyer kept them from advertising in women's periodicals such as Woman's Day.

Julie Candler's "Woman at the Wheel" column in *Woman's Day* found a receptive audience when the magazine created it in 1964. More and more women were driving to jobs outside the home, stay-at-home moms stuck in the suburbs lobbied for a second car, and still others were taking their drivers' exams for the first time. They looked to their trusted supermarket magazine for advice. From Candler's column they learned how to buy a car, change a tire, teach their teenager to drive, handle a motor home, and call the service garage when a high squeal followed a loud "CLUNK, CLUNK."¹ But *Woman's Day* did not hire Candler to craft a column just for readers; the magazine wanted to attract automobile advertisers. It never did.

At a time when women's opportunities outside the home were growing, U.S. carmakers continued to embrace stereotyped notions about women drivers and to dismiss women as buyers.

Candler's column, which appeared from 1964 to 1982, challenged those cultural assumptions.

This research studied a women's magazine that has received little previous scholarly attention.² The "Woman at the Wheel" column also is significant for running more than eighteen years in a major women's magazine.³ *Woman's Day* editors and writers such as Candler crafted content for the modern woman whose daily life increasingly involved the automobile.⁴ The magazine's failure to gain car advertising during that period shows the strength and long-lasting nature of the auto industry's gendered bias about women.

To look at the relationship between editorial content and advertising sales, this paper examined the representations of the woman car driver and themes present in 189 "Woman and the Wheel" columns from June 1964 to September 1982. This

number represents a complete set of those published. Using qualitative textual analysis of the columns and interviews with Candler, the authors demonstrated that an interest in cars and driving in the 1960s and 1970s was definitely a feminine concern.

The research also studied the advertising climate during the column's tenure with particular focus on two concerns: the extent to which automakers and their advertising



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agencies were aware of the female car buyer's importance as a target audience, and media-buying and creative decisions that kept automakers from viewing women's periodicals such as *Woman's Day* as serious venues for information about their products. Interviews with a *Woman's Day* editor from the 1980s and with advertising executives, as well as archival research and reports from the trade press, showed that considerable market buzz about the female car buyer existed, but automakers focused their advertising strategies on the male car consumer.⁵

When Candler's first column appeared in June 1964, *Woman's Day* was a successful player in the women's general interest market. From humble 1931 beginnings as a free A&P grocery store leaflet, it became a full-scale, albeit only six-page, magazine in 1937. It had reached a circulation of 3 million by 1944 and 4 million by 1958, when new owner Fawcett Publications took over.⁶ By 1972, its circulation had reached 7.5 million, and in 1982, it was at 6.9 million.⁷

In the 1960s and 1970s, the editorial pages of *Woman's Day* featured articles on food, fashion, and home similar to those appearing in its mass-market counterparts known as the Seven Sisters (*Better Homes & Gardens*, *Family Circle*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *McCall's*, *Redbook*, and *Woman's Day*). *Woman's Day* editors also understood that many of their readers managed a home and a part- or full-time job, and they needed a car to get there.

Covering issues outside the domestic sphere was not new to *Woman's Day*. In 1946, historian Elizabeth Bancroft Schlesinger wrote that an analysis of four women's magazines between October 1944 and March 1945 showed *Woman's Day's* topics and the down-to-earth quality of its writing set it apart from rivals:

Woman's Day, the homespun member of this glittering company, was the only one to compliment its readers by discussing important public issues in a significant way. It presented arguments for and against compulsory peacetime military service, appraised prewar college education and stressed women's civic duties. Among its 31 articles were seven on care of children, three on English literature and five on the serviceman.⁸

Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, a ground-breaking 1963 book often considered the catalyst of the second wave of feminism, chastised women's magazines of the 1950s for portraying women in happy housewife roles.⁹ Some historians have questioned the postwar ideology of women's domesticity that she and others put forth. Historian Joanne Meyerowitz's 1994 study of general-interest, African-American, and women's magazines from 1946 to 1958 revealed they emphasized women's achievements and public service. While the magazines included some stories that glorified the home, other articles expressed ambivalence about domesticity and celebrated women's hard work and public success. She wrote that in these articles, "the most prevalent morality tale did not forbid careers; it honored them."¹⁰

Still, as Ellen McCracken wrote in 1993 in *Decoding Women's*

Magazines, magazines such as *Woman's Day* and *Family Circle* offered only a thin "veneer of modernity."¹¹ She and Jennifer Scanlon, who studied the *Ladies' Home Journal* in the early twentieth century, emphasized that women's magazines were not agents of change but rather vehicles encouraging women to consume products.¹²

Consumer magazines serve advertisers' interests by running editorial material related to their products. *Woman's Day* was no exception. A *Woman's Day* advertising representative convinced editor in chief Eileen Tighe to hire Candler to write the new column, arguing that a regular automotive advice feature would garner car ads. Geraldine E. Rhoads took over as editor in chief

in 1966, and she continued to place the column in a prominent front-of-the-book position throughout her tenure. In a 1974 *New York* article, Rhoads said she saw herself "helping women to cope with the daily nitty-gritty of life." According to the article's author, Edwin Diamond, the magazine's circulation had grown by almost 1.5 million since Rhoads had become editor.¹³ Ellen Levine, a former *Cosmopolitan* senior editor who succeeded Rhoads in early summer 1982, ended the "Woman at the Wheel" column's long run that year.¹⁴

Tighe's decision to start the "Woman at the Wheel" column in mid-1964 likely reflected business and editorial instincts. In the post-war suburbs of single-family homes, women's lives became focused

around the auto, wrote Margaret Walsh, a United Kingdom researcher who studies gender and automobility. Lack of public transit, the location of large supermarkets outside the immediate neighborhood, the need to chauffeur children to school, and travel to jobs meant more time driving.¹⁵

Every year saw more drivers behind the wheel, and an increasing number of them were female. In 1964, 40.3 percent (38.5 million) of the total licensed drivers were women. By 1982, women represented 48.9 percent (84.7 million) of the total. In addition, an increasing number of Americans were buying cars, and more families owned multiple cars. By 1964, there were 72 million cars on the road, and in 1982, 123.7 million. In 1960, 19 percent of families owned two or more cars, but by 1980, 34 percent did.¹⁶

Candler, a Detroit freelance journalist, was a good choice to write the column. When she was a young girl, her father owned a large, multi-story Ford dealership in Springfield, Illinois.¹⁷ As city editor of the *Birmingham (Michigan) Eccentric* in the mid-1950s, she covered the police beat and wrote features. At the same time, she wrote articles about driving that were published in the American Automobile Association Michigan's *Motor News* and *Redbook*.¹⁸

She said the *Woman's Day* reader was a woman much like herself: "Women like me hated housework and preferred interesting work in the business world. In order to get a job, they had to get a car."¹⁹ *Woman's Day* readers were mothers with young children and full- or part-time jobs, who lived in suburbs and commuted thirty minutes or more to and from work. They took modest family vacations, often camping trips within ten miles of home, and they worried about their kids' safety and stretching the family's budget. Candler recalled that, like her readers, she also "didn't have any money."²⁰

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The "Woman at the Wheel" columns, which the authors analyzed for recurrent themes and rhetorical writing style, showed a savvy woman driver more interested in safe driving and her car's operation than how it looked. The prevailing theme (see Table 1) concerned safety. Thirty-six columns focused on safe driving tips, child car safety and restraints, and preventing accidents. As Candler wrote in an October 1964 column, "Good Tires Spell Safety": "Today the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that most often turns the steering wheel of the family car. And that means it's you who must shoulder the responsibility for care and maintenance of the car, factors on which your family's safety in large measure depends."²¹

Of secondary interest was the theme of car repairs and maintenance, which appeared in twenty-nine columns. Candler encouraged her women readers to tackle maintenance jobs to save money. In a November 1977 column, "Is Your Car Ready for Winter?" she wrote:

If your engine floods occasionally when you attempt to start it or stalls immediately after start-up, cleaning the carburetor may help. You can do it yourself by adding to the gas tank a combination cleaner and gas-line antifreeze such as Cristy Drygas. Products of that type clean out the deposits that eventually collect inside every carburetor.²²

Two other themes, buying a new or used car and car-related vacations, each appeared prominently in seventeen columns. For example, the "How to Choose the Right Car" column in May 1970 compared options ranging from a subcompact to a station wagon; the latter cost \$300 more than a comparable sedan but was perfect for "chauffeur[ing] lots of children or transporting forty pounds of hot dogs to the PTA fair." It offered another bonus for family vacations: "Traveling families save motel costs by moving the wagon up to a motel-room door and letting part of the family sleep in it."²³

The theme of saving money and budgeting was the focus of fourteen columns. In contrast, only one column touched on a car's style features.²⁴ The *Woman's Day* reader hoped to deliver her kids to school and herself to work without an accident or mechanical failure, and she did not care if the car's upholstery was pretty.

However, she might well be the family member who cleaned that upholstery. In a 1965 column Candler wrote that the man of her house hosed winter salt deposits off the family car's exterior, but scrubbing its interior was her job. There were good reasons why readers should carry out this "womanly duty": the many hours the typical woman of 1965 spent in the car, she wrote, would be more pleasant without the marks of muddy boots and dog tracks,

and a well-kept interior improved trade-in value.²⁵ It was hardly feminist rhetoric. But when Candler was offering this spring-cleaning advice, the second-wave women's movement was in its infancy and women's employment rights had just achieved legal status. Only a year earlier, in 1964, the U.S. Congress added the word "sex" to Title VII of the Civil Rights Bill, prohibiting for the first time discrimination in employment based on gender. The National Organization for Women would be created in 1966, and it would be 1969 before the Women's Equity Action League was founded to combat employment discrimination.²⁶

During the more than eighteen years that Candler wrote her automotive column, changing social values and economic pressures reshaped gender roles and the female labor force. Lynn Weiner wrote in 1985 in *From Working Girl to Working Mother* that in 1969, fewer than 25 percent of mothers of children under the age of three worked, and by 1979, this percentage had risen to more than 40 percent. In 1979, women were likely to be holding clerical jobs, as that occupational group for women overtook manual and service jobs.²⁷



Julie Candler (Courtesy of Julie Candler)

The column's emphasis on safety reflected the growing consumerism movement, which in the 1960s took particular aim at the auto industry. Ralph Nader's seminal 1965 book, *Unsafe at Any Speed: The Designed-In Dangers of the American Automobile*, hammered Chevrolet for ignoring safety issues in its Corvair and, in general, indicted Detroit for favoring cost savings over safety concerns.²⁸ Candler often applauded women who worked in the public sphere to effect change. In a September 1973 column, she described the work of three young mothers, also *Woman's Day* readers, who founded the organization Action for Child Transportation Safety.²⁹ Confirming Meyerowitz's research, *Woman's Day* portrayed women in

important roles both in and outside the home. The 1973 oil crisis, prompted by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) embargo, caused long lines to form at gas stations, a rapid increase in gas prices, and many car owners to rethink their eight-cylinder gas guzzlers. Money was on the *Woman's Day* reader's mind even moreso as a bear stock market in 1973-74 helped send the nation into a recession. An August 1973 column was blunt: "There's only one thing to do about the decreasing supply and increasing cost of gasoline: start using less of it, to help your budget and the nation's energy crisis."³⁰ An October 1973 column extolled the higher fuel efficiency and lower service costs of lighter model cars, including the sexy imports gaining popularity in the U.S. market. When Candler pulled into a service station in a Mazda RX-2 sport coupe that she was test-

driving, a crowd formed to see its “revolutionary new engine, the Wankel rotary.”³¹ The many columns she wrote about maintenance tips and finding reputable service at a fair price also reflected readers’ concerns about managing a tight family budget.

Vacation-themed columns covered topics from preparing the car to choosing a campground. Candler was shown in a picture accompanying her May 1974 column, “Take a Ten-Gallon Camping Trip,” as she leaned on the nose of a recreational vehicle. “You can probably find a delightful resort campground within fifty miles of your front door,” she wrote.³² In the post-war years, car camping enjoyed a resurgence. Families packed station wagons—and later recreational vehicles—for trips along interstate highways created with federal aid in the 1950s. Roadside motels eventually overtook campgrounds as popular overnight accommodations for travelers, and in the early 1960s, 61,000 motels existed.³³

Women, of course, had the skills to engineer the perfect family vacation. Historian Richard K. Popp wrote in 2010 that while travel offered women the possibility of escape from the domestic sphere, post-war magazines often placed the topic within the context of feminine duties: “It was women, with their knowledge of household budgets, travel goods, and children’s needs, who were uniquely able to make family vacations, and vacation spending, happen.”³⁴ What made the travel narrative in Candler’s columns significant, however, was the presumption that women would be behind more than the trip planning. They also would be behind the wheel.

Candler advised readers to be smart when buying a car. In the “Woman-to-Woman Advice on Buying a Car” column in March 1979, she cited a nationwide study that showed half of the women surveyed felt dealerships took advantage of them. This column was particularly interesting for its all-female automotive sources: a thirty-one-year-old supervisor of Ford’s advanced engine engineering office, a top Mercedes and Volvo salesperson, a drag racer, and a Ford dealership owner. The columnist wrote that she recently had attended the first automotive press preview for the staff of women’s magazines, and it was conducted entirely by women.³⁵ The auto industry, while not placing advertising in *Woman’s Day*, saw the value of spending money for marketing activities that could gain editorial coverage.

Analysis of her rhetorical style showed that Candler spoke to readers as a friend, but while she might acknowledge their femaleness or domestic duties, she did not patronize. She dismissed female-driver stereotypes in “Be Glad You’re a Woman Driver,” a chapter in a 1967 book that compiled her early columns. “Those jokes about women drivers aren’t funny any more, fellows,” she wrote before laying out the facts:

In one typical recent year, 23.5 per cent of the male drivers had an accident, while only 13.3 per cent of the women ran into trouble. Out of every 100,000 male

drivers, 67 were involved in fatal accidents compared to 23 of every 100,000 female drivers. For every 1,000 male drivers, 246 had accidents, but only 135 out of every 1,000 females cracked up.³⁶

Candler’s voice was always encouraging, whether she was telling readers they could fix a flat tire or navigate icy roads. It was also newsworthy, and she included quotes from industry and government experts along with research data. Some women automotive journalists of the same period found it difficult to gain access to the industry’s largely male executive group, but not Candler.³⁷ “I had no trouble getting Detroit people to talk to me. I had more readers than any of the automotive magazines, even *Car & Driver*,” she said in an interview.³⁸

Some columns shared her personal experiences. In one in January 1968, she suggested readers should sign up for an auto mechanics class, as she had recently done.³⁹ In another in December 1965, she wrote, “I drove down a stretch of polished ice at twenty-five miles per hour last winter and jammed on the brakes.”⁴⁰ In an interview she recalled how she and her twenty-one-year-old daughter took turns driving a twenty-foot recreational vehicle around their suburban Detroit neighborhood until they felt safe enough to venture farther.⁴¹

Candler’s columns ran in the front of the book, prime real estate for advertisers. Typically 2,000 words, they sometimes jumped to inside pages, and readers saw a variety of ads on the same

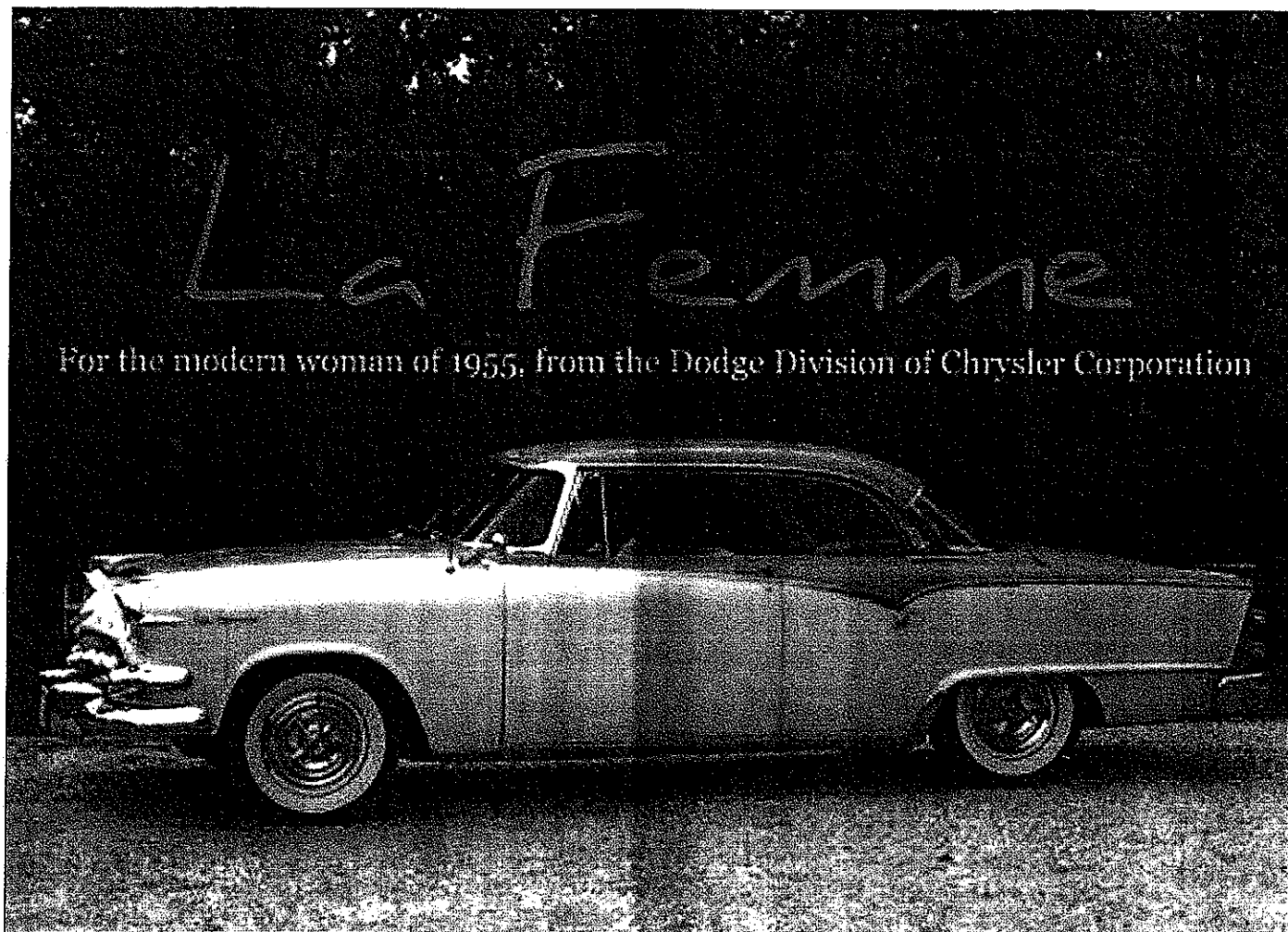
or adjoining pages. A column in March 1965 on driving safely at night was accompanied by two ads: one for Midol menstrual pills and another for a Wisconsin vacation that offered “a carefree haven for care-worn housewives.”⁴² A column on how to increase a car’s life appeared next to an ad for Tuna Helper in July 1975.⁴³

“George Green, a retired advertising executive who worked in the 1960s for D.P. Brother, an agency with the General Motors account, recalled in an interview automakers ‘denigrated the female market,’ directing little if any marketing resources to discovering information about the women car buyer. ‘To be blunt, they were male chauvinist pigs.’”

Table 1: Themes in 189 “Woman at the Wheel” columns in *Woman’s Day*, 1964-82

| Number of Columns | Topics |
|-------------------|--|
| 36 | Safety (safe driving, child safety, accidents) |
| 29 | Car repairs and maintenance |
| 17 | Buying a new or used car |
| 17 | Cars and vacations |
| 14 | Saving money and budgeting |
| 5 | Car-related gifts |
| 71 | Other* |

* Some topics appeared three or fewer times, such as the following: car style features, insurance, teen drivers, traveling with pets, and women-specific traffic organizations.



When Detroit tried to market a car specifically to women, the result was the Dodge La Femme, introduced in 1955. It had pink trim and came with a matching rain hat, umbrella, and handbag. Chrysler dropped La Femme in 1957.

But noticeably absent from *Woman's Day's* pages were auto ads. Other women's magazines experienced the same disinterest from car advertisers. In January 1970, no automakers placed advertisements in *Cosmopolitan*, *Family Circle*, *McCall's*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Redbook*, *Glamour*, or *Vogue*.⁴⁴ Was Detroit ignorant of the woman car consumer's existence—or simply not interested in her?

Some magazines did have automobile ads during this period, but broadcast media received the biggest share of the automakers' total advertising budget. In 1965, U.S. automakers spent \$493 million in media advertising, with 39.9 percent (\$197 million) in radio, 18.6 percent (\$91.6 million) in newspapers, 18.4 percent (\$90.7 million) in consumer magazines, and 16.9 percent (\$83.7 million) in television; the remaining portion went to billboards and farm and business publications. In 1982, the percentage changed little for consumer magazines while television saw a threefold increase: out of that year's \$1.3 billion media advertising budget, 55 percent (\$720.4 million) went to television; 19.5 percent (\$254.8 million) went to consumer magazines, 16.3 percent (\$213.5 million) to newspapers, and 7.8 percent (\$102 million) to radio.⁴⁵

It is not known what proportion of the advertisers' magazine buys in 1965 went to women's magazines. But even in 1981 the portion of an automaker's advertising budget slated for women's magazines, including food and shelter books, was minimal. Writing in a trade magazine in 1982, Candler cited a Publishers

Information Bureau report showing that of the \$18 million that Chevrolet spent on magazine advertising in 1981, only 3.2 percent went to women's general and special interest publications.⁴⁶

A question that this research considered was whether marketing research during the 1960s and 1970s was sophisticated enough to identify women's purchasing influence and thus help automakers target this segment of the car-buying market.⁴⁷ Advertising executives interviewed and information in trade reports showed it was. But car manufacturers in general were slow to consider women an important market compared with makers of clothing, cosmetics, and toiletries. Detroit made some clumsy attempts to attract the female driver in the mid-1950s, such as Chrysler's introduction of the pink-and-white Dodge La Femme in 1955. The special model, featuring a pink handbag, raincoat, rain hat, and umbrella to match its interior, was discontinued in 1957. "Designed for the ladies, La Femme became the favorite car of pimps all over the country," wrote Jane and Michael Stern in *Auto Ads* in 1978.⁴⁸

A more successful example of reaching women came from the toiletry sector. Proctor & Gamble was among the first to use gender segmentation with its 1956 launch of Secret, an antiperspirant specially formulated for a woman's chemistry and packaged and advertised to reinforce the female image. In the

late 1960s, the Leo Burnett agency found for Philip Morris that women represented a third of the market for cigarettes, and its staff developed advertising creative concepts that ran in print, targeted especially for women. One of the agency's most famous was for Virginia Slims.⁴⁹

In the 1960s, researchers began outlining the benefits of market segmentation. In 1964, Daniel Yankelovich wrote in the *Harvard Business Review* that segmentation analysis was the beginning of a sound marketing strategy, defining it as a "systematic approach that permits a marketing planner to pick the strategically most important segmentations and then to design brands, products, packages, communications, and marketing strategies around them."⁵⁰

George Green, a retired advertising executive who worked in the 1960s for D.P. Brother, an agency with the General Motors account, recalled in an interview automakers "denigrated the female market," directing little if any marketing resources to discovering information about the women car buyer. "To be blunt, they were male chauvinist pigs."⁵¹ Other media executives agreed the women buyer elicited little interest. Ed Papazian, a media director for the advertising agency Benton, Batten, Durstine & Osborn (BBDO) from 1960 to 1975, said in an interview that lack of information was not the reason women's magazines received scant attention from Detroit. He said automakers knew that women bought cars, but "they didn't care."⁵²

Detroit decision makers could not have missed the headlines such as those in the trade publication *Automotive News* in the 1970s: "Here's How to Sell Cars to Women," "How to Pitch Subcompacts to Women," and "Does Detroit Understand Girls?" In the latter in December 1971, journalist Charlotte Fancett interviewed the president of Cadwell Compton Advertising Agency in New York, who encouraged automakers to wake up to what women wanted in a car: functionality, passenger safety, and accident protection. Franchellie Cadwell said agencies handling auto advertising should hire women writers and auto dealers should employ women in sales: "At the moment, walking into an automotive showroom for a woman is about as intimidating as walking into the men's room."⁵³

Another *Automotive News* report that year admitted that selling cars to women would be difficult in the 1971 economic climate of rising unemployment and layoffs. But it showed that Detroit hoped to lure women into auto showrooms by offering women-specific car options and special promotions. However, comments of marketing managers interviewed for the article confirmed that gendered notions of the female driver persisted. A Chrysler manager explained the feminine appeal of new ignition systems optional on V-8 models: "Women are never quite sure when a service man tells them their cars' points and condenser caps need replacing. They just look and say, 'Yes, it does look dirty under there.' With the [ignition system] option they'll be free from this baffling situation." Another manager acknowledged that women's high heels and short skirts created special problems; thus his firm had changed seat levels in its smaller model cars to help

women enter and exit their vehicles and get groceries out of back seats.⁵⁴

With market information accessible, Detroit's reluctance to use national advertising to reach women through a medium that offered millions of female readers, such as *Woman's Day*, can be better explained by the automaker-dealership relationship during this period. Auto manufacturers sold cars through dealerships, but they also had to sell their marketing programs to the franchise owners. The dealers saw customers, sold product, offered financing, and provided service. They also might use the corporate-produced television ads in local markets along with their own ads touting specials and sales.

Papazian said local dealerships exerted considerable influence over how corporate headquarters spent their advertising dollars. Dealership owners were "all men," powerful figures who made their views known to Detroit and who did not believe women were important customers. "You didn't discuss ratings and frequency with them. You discussed where is the right place to be," he said. And that place was prime-time television, particularly sports programming. Even though television advertising had a higher cost per million (CPM) than other media, it was a strong medium for conveying image.⁵⁵


In a 1981 trade magazine, a Toyota official explained the company's move toward increased television advertising:

"We asked our dealers what they would like to see more of in Toyota advertising and the answer was football," says Toyota official Arthur Garner. "That's what they thought would do the most good. So we picked up NFL football and they are very happy with it."⁵⁶

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NEW WAYS TO KEEP YOUR CHILDREN SAFE IN THE CAR WOMAN AT THE WHEEL



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Julie Candler with children in recommended safety seats (in a convertible to give you a good view)—the Ford Tot-Guard (behind) and the General Motors Child Safety Seat.

Julie Candler connected with readers on a personal level, as in this example from her column, but never broke through to Detroit automakers and their advertising executives.

the types of national magazines that auto advertisers chose for corporate ads. They favored auto “buff” titles such as *Road & Track* or the classy picture book *Life*, not women’s service magazines.⁵⁷ Agency staff considered the glossier women’s books such as *Good Housekeeping* or *Better Homes & Gardens* more sophisticated than *Woman’s Day*. Historian Ella Howard wrote in 2010 that advertisers wanted high-income readers:

To reach this women’s market, automakers placed ads in publications targeting high-income demographics. Working-class and traditional women’s magazines struggled to attract automotive advertisements despite high-circulation rates, due to the conviction that homemakers, especially working-class ones, made large purchasing decisions. Automakers instead turned to *Ms.* and *Cosmopolitan*, two-thirds of whose readers were unmarried. By 1978, *Ms.* ran 20 automotive advertisements from nine different manufacturers, including General Motors and Chrysler.⁵⁸

Woman’s Day may have suffered from its supermarket point of sales and from being owned until 1977 by a pulp magazine publisher best known for the popular 1940s *Captain Marvel* comic books.⁵⁹ “*Woman’s Day* was never really a candidate [for car ads],” Papazian said, “and Fawcett [Publications] was laughable.” He also said the U.S. auto industry was a closed community in which one manufacturer would be reluctant to adopt a media-buying strategy outside the automotive category’s norm. Thus, an automaker placing a greater percentage of advertising dollars in a medium that its competitors did not use, such as *Woman’s Day*, was unlikely.⁶⁰

Foreign automakers made noticeably different media buys. While Ford in the 1970s employed actress Catherine DeNeuve in TV commercials selling its Monarch, Nissan was buying ads in *Ms.* magazine.⁶¹ An advertising executive explained possible reasons for the different strategies in an interview with Candler in 1981:

Women say they are treated more seriously and humanely by the import dealerships. They are more receptive to women as customers. I think it’s because the importers had to scramble at first to get their market share. They didn’t have a lot of ingrained attitudes about selling to women. They had younger sales men and women who tend to be more open-minded in this respect—less of a macho thing.”⁶²

Detroit was home to the U.S. car industry, and automakers demanded their ad agency teams be nearby, not in New York. Thus, agencies served their car accounts from Detroit offices, and any

magazine hoping to grab a piece of the action needed a sales office there as well. The latter required a secretary, an ad rep and more: wining, dining and taking agency staff to hockey or football games over a period of several years. *Woman’s Day*, whose editorial offices were in New York, had an advertising rep in the Motor City. But not even this type of investment guaranteed success.⁶³ “They might toss you an ad, or they might not,” said Papazian, who also noted that *Playboy* had a Detroit office for years but no luck getting ads.⁶⁴

If *Woman’s Day* had been successful in garnering auto ads, it is unlikely they would have been designed with women in mind. Jack Keenan, who worked for J. Walter Thompson in Detroit

from 1945 to 1984 and handled the Ford Motor Company account as the agency’s creative director, could not recall designing a car ad for a specific audience. Rather, he worked on creative ideas for the “great American consumer.”⁶⁵ Other advertising executives agreed that creative strategies oversimplified the concept of the car consumer. As Green said, it was “a composite, and not an accurate one.”⁶⁶

In the mid-twentieth century, car marketers viewed the car purchase as male-driven with the woman’s role as an influencer. Many male creative directors and agency media buyers, not immune to gendered notions of the time, made decisions that reflected their personal experiences. Agencies such as D.P. Brother did not employ women as media analysts, Green said, and thus no one was evaluating for auto clients the relative merits of editorial content, such as Candler’s automotive column, found in women’s magazines. He described editorial content that sustained auto advertising: “Male analysts like me looked for articles on travel that supported our choice of magazines such as *Life*, *Look*, and *Saturday Evening Post*. I’d want to know how many articles on travel they were running that year.”⁶⁷ In short, there

was a “vicious cycle of men advertising to men,” ad agency owner Cadwell told *Automotive News* in 1971.⁶⁸

Many scholars have studied the depiction of women in automotive advertisements. Historian Virginia Scharff wrote in 1988 that advertisers in the 1920s linked the car to a woman’s social life, a tool with the “potential to make Lonelyville less lonely.”⁶⁹ Some ads in this decade highlighted a woman’s independence and desire for mobility, such as the Jordan Motor Company’s campaign aimed at women. The Cleveland carmaker’s classic “Somewhere West of Laramie” ad for the *Playboy* model appealed to a lass “who loves the cross of the wild and the tame.”⁷⁰ A 1935 Ford V-8 ad emphasized a car’s style and attractive accoutrements, reflecting “a concept that endured for years—that men chose the car, women the color and upholstery.”⁷¹

The post-war years saw more ads aimed at men as the common thinking was that women had relinquished their wartime employment and were home caring for the children. Ads in the

“Rena Bartos, who became a senior vice president at J. Walter Thompson in 1977, wrote internal memoranda and spoke before auto industry groups emphasizing the importance of the female car purchaser. Her research showed this audience was highly educated, extremely skeptical, and discriminating. For this reason, she felt credibility in advertising and staffing of the showroom personnel was particularly important.”

1950s often emphasized domesticity and suburban life, but at least one ad in this decade targeted women with time for fun: The DeSoto car featured wide doors, making it "wonderful for party dresses and tight skirts."⁷²

In the 1960s and 1970s, while Candler's columns strongly put women in the driver's seat, advertisements did not. In many car ads, women served as feminine decorations.⁷³ In an April 1967 ad, a female model draped in mink posed alongside an Oldsmobile Toronado. Below the picture the copy read: "Would you say Toronado is a man's kind of car? Indeed. The kind of a car a man buys for his kind of girl!" In a 1966 Chevrolet Caprice ad, a bikini-wearing model stretched on top of the convertible's roof, applying her makeup. Thus, these women took part in the world of the automobile but clearly on male terms.⁷⁴

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, evidence on several fronts demonstrated that the woman car buyer existed and was worthy of Detroit's attention. Car companies created committees to advise them about women's concerns, *Woman's Day* undertook market research, and an executive within the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, which had the Ford Motor Company account, addressed auto industry groups on the topic.⁷⁵

In 1980, Chrysler and Ford put together marketing groups to analyze their programs and products for the female car consumer. Chrysler's thirteen-member Women's Passenger Car Committee included female company employees and two members from its two advertising agencies. Their research showed that women thought cars ads underestimated their car knowledge and overestimated the male influence on women consumers; appeals to women should be realistic, portray women in non-sexist ways, and provide functional information. Responding to negative feedback from women about their treatment at dealerships, the committee developed a twenty-five-minute videotape for dealers. In what seems an odd choice of sources for a promotion aimed at male dealers, Gloria Steinem discussed Chrysler's attention to the woman buyer.⁷⁶

Woman's Day, along with the National Automobile Dealers Association, commissioned Audits & Surveys Inc. in 1979 to study dealers' and women car consumers' buying habits. The research firm conducted 489 dealer interviews and 1,002 interviews with new car buyers. The interviews revealed how much the dealers misunderstood the woman's interests and her influence as a car purchaser. The study showed that when women bought cars, it was not for their style or comfort as dealers believed but for economy, reliability, durability, and handling. Sixty-two percent—50 percent more than the dealers thought—of the women who shopped with a man felt they were very influential in the ultimate decision.⁷⁷ The study said:

In the matter of customer treatment, a large majority of dealers thought they treated women equally with men. Only 52 percent of women agreed; and most of the rest considered that they were treated unfavorably: dealers didn't take them seriously, or acted

as if they didn't know anything about cars, or avoided discussion of price. In short, these same dealers, much like advertisers, have overlooked a major market."⁷⁸

In a 1979 column, Candler wrote that the study showed women were "more concerned than the average man" about having power steering, automatic transmissions, and other optional items, for instance.⁷⁹

Rena Bartos, who became a senior vice president at J. Walter Thompson in 1977, wrote internal memoranda and spoke before auto industry groups emphasizing the importance of the female car purchaser. Her research showed this audience was highly educated, extremely skeptical, and discriminating. For this reason, she felt credibility in advertising and staffing of the showroom personnel was particularly important. Communication of facts and information along with charm and humor would appeal to this segment. She also found that local car dealers did not treat women equally when considering their credit worthiness.⁸⁰ Yet, in a 1976 *New York Times* article, lenders said women buying cars on credit were fastidious about making car payments.⁸¹

In a speech to the SuperDealer Roundtable meeting in Dearborn, Michigan, in 1987, Bartos described the "New Demographics" of the woman car

buyer, a theme she had been sharing with dealers for several years. Women buyers, who represented 44 percent of the total number of car purchasers, included four distinct market segments: stay-at-home housewives; plan-to-work housewives; just-a-job working women; and career women. She argued that women not only drove cars but represented the best prospects and growth potential for the automotive industry. Her presentation stressed that automotive manufacturers could "no longer accept the conventional wisdom that the car market is a man's market or that women only choose the color of the upholstery."⁸² It is unclear how much Bartos' research data influenced advertising decision makers in Detroit.

Trade articles in the early 1980s suggested a spark in automakers' interest in advertising in women's magazines. The changing attitude came at a time when a growing number of niche women's magazines promised access to a younger, working demographic.⁸³ In a November 1981 *Automotive News* article, "Women Emerge as Auto Buying Force," reporter John Russell pointed to the 44 million women who worked outside the home as a potential market of tremendous scope. In another article by Russell in the same issue, spokesmen for the Big Three (Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler) explained that they had eschewed women's magazines in the past in favor of dual-audience publications that would include a high number of women readers, but they were reconsidering that media-buying strategy.⁸⁴ A 1982 *Advertising Age* article confirmed they should: It reported that 49 percent of women surveyed by Condé Nast Publications, the publisher of glossy books such as *Vogue*, said they would pay more attention to car ads if they saw them in women's magazines.⁸⁵

Ford teamed with *Working Woman* magazine in 1981 to offer seminars for women at shopping centers; led by executive editor

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Kate Rand Lloyd, they were on topics such as buying and servicing a car. Ford succeeded in gaining editorial attention in the same year when *Cosmopolitan* and *Glamour* ran excerpts of Anne and Charlotte Ford's sixty-page book, *How to Love the Car in Your Life*. According to the trade press, Cadillac knew women liked the small size and fuel efficiency of foreign imports, and thus it planned to advertise the Cimarron, a model similar to imports such as the Audi 5000 that had a large percentage of women buyers, in women's and car buff magazines. The luxury carmaker also created fashion items marketed at exclusive New York stores, a strategy it used previously to launch the Seville model. American Motors Corporation (AMC) noted it hoped to reach young people, particularly young women, with media buys in *Working Woman*, *Essence*, and *Cosmopolitan* as well as *Ski*, *Apartment Life*, *Rolling Stone*, and *People*.⁸⁶

It seems ironic that as automakers in the 1980s began to acknowledge the female car consumer with targeted advertising, *Woman's Day* ended its "Woman at the Wheel" column. Ellen Levine, who became editorial director of Hearst Magazines in May 2006, was hired as *Woman's Day* editor in chief in 1982 to revitalize the magazine. With a \$10 million promotional budget, the magazine aggressively campaigned to bring in younger women readers. Emotional topics, from unfaithful husbands to avoiding divorce, along with health and medical topics became mainstays.⁸⁷ Levine said in an interview she stopped the column because magazine research showed it was not being read by readers: "It didn't seem as if we should be keeping anything in a brand to please an advertiser when the reader wasn't interested." Candler was a good writer, she said, but still no readers ever called to say they missed the automotive column. Levine, who remained at *Woman's Day* until 1990 and went on to edit *Redbook* and *Good Housekeeping*, said automotive advertising was a hard sell for women's magazines: "In their minds, Detroit people didn't think women made automotive purchase decisions. They assumed the woman was along to pick the color."⁸⁸

Levine also said that in the 1980s the use of regular monthly columns in magazines was beginning to erode, and this trend contributed to the column's demise. An April 1983 *Folio* magazine article profiling Levine reported that she cut other columns as well as Candler's. In place of the monthly automotive column she ran occasional features on safe driving and child safety, issues that she as a driver and a mother believed women cared most about.⁸⁹

However, the "Woman at the Wheel" column undoubtedly enjoyed reader support in earlier years, or editors preceding Levine would not have carried it for more than eighteen

years.⁹⁰ Candler said her editor, Geraldine Rhoads, shared magazine research that indicated the column was highly read. Attempts to find readership surveys from that period were unsuccessful, and a review of individual issues showed the magazine did not publish letters from readers from 1964 to 1982. After *Woman's Day* canceled her column, Candler approached rival *Family Circle* but was unable to interest its editors in a similar column. She continued to freelance, and her articles appeared in publications such as *McCall's*, *Working Woman*, the *Detroit Free Press*, and *Motor Boating & Sailing*. As a contributing editor for *Nation's Business* from 1987 to 1998, she reported on transportation issues, and in 2012, in her nineties, she was still working as automotive editor of the Michigan magazine *Corp!* She was inducted into The Michigan Journalism Hall of Fame in 1999.⁹¹

"As for attracting automotive advertising, the evidence shows that Woman's Day did everything right: It provided advertisers a large audience of working women, who drove and bought cars; it offered optimal placement for ads next to a popular car-related column; and it kept a sales rep in Detroit to schmooze with agency staff. But Woman's Day faced an industry that held strong biases about a woman's role in the car culture and that considered women's magazines too unsophisticated for its male-oriented product."

Thus, *Woman's Day* ran an editorial column for more than eighteen years that did not contribute to its bottom line but did offer its readers topics beyond the domestic sphere. Following *Woman's Day's* lead, other women's magazines such as *Glamour* and *Vogue* ran similar automotive advice columns in the 1970s and 1980s.⁹² Even more significant, the "Woman at the Wheel" column gave readers accurate representations of their world, one in which women checked the car's oil, motored to jobs, and on weekends climbed into the driver's seat of the family's recreational vehicle.

As for attracting automotive advertising, the evidence shows that *Woman's Day* did everything right: It provided advertisers a large audience of working women, who drove and bought cars; it offered optimal placement for ads next to a popular car-related column; and it kept a sales rep in Detroit to schmooze with agency staff. But *Woman's Day* faced an industry that held strong biases about a woman's role in the car culture and that considered women's magazines too unsophisticated for its male-oriented product. One reason for the failure to attract auto ads stood out: The individuals responsible for allocating

the corporate advertising budget faced immense pressure from local, male-owned dealerships to keep the cars' images squarely in front of men through television and auto publications.

Change at the dealership level happened slowly. In the mid-1990s, corporate Chevrolet marketers had not sold dealerships on the concept of advertising to the female niche. In 1995, journalists and publishers from automotive and women's publications attending the Chevrolet media event Women of Influence called dealerships "archaic, 'good ol' boy' marketing institutions." Even in 2011, no automobile ads appeared in *Woman's Day*.⁹³ Thus, thirty years earlier, *Woman's Day* had little chance of gaining entry into this culture.

NOTES

¹ Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: Ten Car Noises You Should Do Something About," *Woman's Day*, November 1975, 48.

² The authors' search of databases, using search terms "Julie Candler," "Woman's Day," and "magazines and automobiles," found only a few academic papers, generally in the area of women and automobile advertising. *Woman's Day* articles appeared in the trade press related to advertising revenues or staff changes. A review of a seminal advertising text, Roland Marchand's *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1985), showed no footnote listings related to *Woman's Day*.

³ Julie Candler, telephone interview by Ellen J. Gerl, May 10, 2010. Candler noted hers was the first automotive column in a major women's magazine. The authors could not support this claim. See Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel, Women and the Coming of the Motor Age* (New York: Free Press, 1991) 41; Scharff mentions C.H. Claudy as an automotive columnist for *Woman's Home Companion* magazine and cited columns that appeared from 1917 to 1920. Katherine Jellison, *Entitled to Power, Farm Women and Technology, 1913-1963* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993) 139, wrote that Wallace's Farmer columnist Elizabeth Wherry covered tractor and automobile topics among her columns. Charlotte Montgomery, *Good Housekeeping* automobile editor, wrote a series of features in the mid-1950s called "Woman and Her Car" that were compiled in *Handbook for the Woman Driver*, (New York: Vanguard Press, 1955). The authors' review of the Readers' Guide Retrospective database and *Readers' Guide to Periodicals, Vols. 41-49*, showed that Denise McCluggage wrote a regular automotive column in *Glamour* magazine from April 1978 to December 1988, which was called "Glamour's Guide to Driving Like a Pro" starting with the April 1982 issue; *Vogue* magazine ran regular automotive advice features from spring 1981 to December 1984; and *Better Homes & Gardens* from 1961 to 1983 printed occasional stories aimed at the woman driver.

⁴ Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: Which Car Options Should You Choose?" *Woman's Day*, Nov. 22, 1979, 58, in which the author cites a 1979 study by the magazine and National Automobile Dealers Association that revealed women's concerns when buying a car; and Jennifer Scanlon, "Advertising Women: The J. Walter Thompson Company Women's Editorial Department," in *Inarticulate Longings: The Ladies' Home Journal, Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 169-96, for a description of the agency's large female copywriting staff in the early decades of the twentieth century.

⁵ A research framework that combines textual analysis and its connection to the magazine's advertising is appropriate. As Ellen McCracken wrote: "Textual analysis of editorial features must also delimit their connection to the magazine's paid advertisements. . . ." Ellen McCracken, *Decoding Women's Magazines: From Mademoiselle to Ms.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 3.

⁶ David E. Sumner, *The Magazine Century, American Magazines Since 1900* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2010), 81; Kathleen L. Endres and Therese L. Lueck, eds., *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Consumer Magazines*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995), 440-43; and Geraldine Fabrikant, "As Hard Times Hit Industry, *Woman's Day* is Being Sold," *New York Times*, May 15, 1990. CBS purchased *Woman's Day* from Fawcett in 1977 for \$55 million, and the magazine became part of the publishing group Diamandis Communications in 1987. The French conglomerate Hachette S.A. bought Diamandis's magazine holdings in 1988; Hearst Corporation today owns *Woman's Day*.

⁷ 1972 *Ayer Directory of Publications* (Philadelphia: Ayer Press, 1972), 611; and '82 *Ayer Directory of Publications* (Bala Cynwyd, Pa: IMS Press, 1982), 677.

⁸ Elizabeth Bancroft Schlesinger, "The Women's Magazines," *New Republic*, March 11, 1946, 345, repr. Nancy A. Walker, *Women's Magazines 1940-1960, Gender Roles and the Popular Press* (New York: Bedford-St. Martin's, 1998), 229-33.

⁹ Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1963).

¹⁰ Joanne Meyerowitz, "Beyond the Feminine Mystique, A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946-1958," in *Not June Cleaver*, Joanne Meyerowitz, ed. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 238.

¹¹ McCracken, *Decoding Women's Magazines: From Mademoiselle to Ms.*, 178.

¹² *Ibid.*, 177-80; and Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*, 12-13.

¹³ Edwin Diamond, "The Unladylike Battle of the Women's Magazines," *New York*, May 20, 1974, 45.

¹⁴ Julie Candler, interview by Ellen J. Gerl, Aug. 25, 2010; Ellen Levine, telephone interview by Ellen J. Gerl, March 14, 2011; and "Ellen Levine," www.hearst.com/files/levine_ellen.pdf, accessed Oct. 3, 2010.

¹⁵ Margaret Walsh, "Gendering Mobility: Women, Work and Automobility in the United States," *History: The Journal of the Historical Association* (July 2008): 376-95; and Margaret Walsh, "Gender and Automobility, Selling Cars to American Women after the Second World War," 295-310, <http://faculty.quinnipiac.edu/charm/CHARM%20proceedings/Proceedings%20Vol.%2014.htm>, accessed March 29, 2011. This conference paper was published in *Journal of Macromarketing* 31, no. 1 (March 2011), 57-72.

¹⁶ "Licensed Drivers by Sex and Age Group, 1963-1995, Table DL-220," <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/ohim/summary95/section3.html>, accessed Aug. 2, 2012; "State Motor Vehicle Registrations, by Years, 1900-1995, Table MV-200," <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/ohim/summary95/section2.html> accessed Aug. 2, 2012; and "Household Vehicle Ownership, 1960-2009 Census, Table 8.4," *Transportation Energy Data Book: Edition 30*, June 2011, <http://cta.ornl.gov/data/chapter8.shtml>, accessed July 23, 2012.

¹⁷ Candler interview, Aug. 25, 2010; and Mike Davis, "Rise and Fall of Jennings Ford," *WARD's DealerBusiness*, April 2007, 31. Interestingly, the Jennings Ford dealership would go bankrupt in 1933; today the building is listed on the National Register of Historic Buildings.

¹⁸ "Michigan Hall of Fame: Julie Candler (1999)," <http://hof.jrn.msu.edu/bios/candler/html>, accessed Feb. 27, 2010; and Julie Candler, "Traveling Safely with Children," *Redbook*, July 1963, 40-41.

¹⁹ Candler telephone interview, May 10, 2010.

²⁰ Candler interview, Aug. 25, 2010.

²¹ Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: Good Tires Spell Safety," *Woman's Day*, October 1964, 10.

²² Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: Is Your Car Ready for Winter?" *Woman's Day*, November 1977, 48.

²³ Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: How to Choose the Right Car," *Woman's Day*, May 1970, 18, 86.

²⁴ Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel," *Woman's Day*, 1964-1982; 189 columns were examined from this period. The researchers collected columns from magazine issues available at the Bowling Green State University popular culture library and Library of Congress and retrieved some columns through interlibrary loan. The magazine, published twelve times a year until 1979 when it increased to fifteen times a year, did not carry a column every issue.

²⁵ Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: Spring Cleaning Your Car's Interior," *Woman's Day*, May 1965, 8.

²⁶ Lynn Y. Weiner, *From Working Girl to Working Mother: The Female Labor Force in the United States, 1820-1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 117.

²⁷ Weiner, *From Working Girl to Working Mother*, 96-97.

²⁸ Michael L. Berger, *The Automobile in American History and Culture* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001), 343; and John Heitmann, *The Automobile and American Life* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2009), 164-74.

²⁹ Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: New Ways to Keep Your Children Safe in the Car," *Woman's Day*, September 1973, 169.

³⁰ Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: How to Cope with Gasoline Shortages," *Woman's Day*, August 1963, 28.

³¹ Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: The Mighty Minis," *Woman's Day*, October 1973, 124.

³² Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: Take a Ten-Gallon Camping Trip," *Woman's Day*, May 1974, 6.

³³ Berger, *The Automobile in American History and Culture*, 248-53.

³⁴ Richard K. Popp, "Domesticating Vacations: Gender, Travel and Consumption in Post-War Magazines," *Journalism History* 36, no. 3 (Fall 2010): 133.

³⁵ Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: Woman-to-Woman Advice on Buying a Car," *Woman's Day*, March 14, 1979, 4.

³⁶ Julie Candler, "Be Glad You're a Woman Driver," *Woman at the Wheel* (New York: Paperback Library, 1967), 20-21.

³⁷ Ellen Gerl, "Beverly Rae Kimes: Automotive Journalist Under the Hood," *Journalism History* 36, no. 2 (Summer 2010): 62-71.

³⁸ Candler interview, Aug. 25, 2010.

³⁹ Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: A Short Course on Auto Care," *Woman's Day*, January 1968, 20.

⁴⁰ Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: How to Skid Proof Your Driving,"

Woman's Day, December 1965, 8.

⁴¹ Candler interview, Aug. 25, 2010.

⁴² Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: The Importance of Good Vision for Drivers," *Woman's Day*, March 1965, 111.

⁴³ Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: How to Make Your Present Car Last Longer," *Woman's Day*, July 1975, 80.

⁴⁴ Ella Howard, "Pink Truck Ads: Second-wave Feminism and Gendered Marketing," *Journal of Women's History* (Winter 2010): 143.

⁴⁵ "125 Leaders' Media Expenditure in Measured Media," *Advertising Age*, Aug. 30, 1965, 44-45; and "100 Leaders' Media Expenditure in Measured Media," *Advertising Age*, Sept. 9, 1982, 12-13.

⁴⁶ Julie Candler, "Ads for Women in Motion," *Advertising Age*, July 26, 1982, 38. Further research is needed to ascertain the extent that automotive ads were appearing in *Woman's Day's* competitors during this same period.

⁴⁷ At the end of the seventies, the automotive research firm J.D. Power and Associates began studying women car purchasers more seriously, according to an 1982 *Automotive Age* report cited in "Domesticating the Car: Women's Road Trips," *Studies in American Fiction*, March 22, 2004, http://goliath.ecnext.com/com2/gi_0199-26710/Domesticating-the-car-women-s.html, accessed Oct. 1, 2010.

⁴⁸ Jane and Michael Stern, *Auto Ads* (New York: Random House, 1978), 73.

⁴⁹ Philip Kotler and Gary Armstrong, *Principles of Marketing 9th ed.* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2001), 253-54; and Stephanie Pincas and Marc Loiseau, *Born in 1942, A History of Advertising* (Paris: Mundocom Press, 2006), 66-67.

⁵⁰ Daniel Yankelovich, "New Criteria for Market Segmentation," *Harvard Business Review*, March/April 1964, 2-5.

⁵¹ George Green, telephone interview by Ellen J. Gerl, March 11, 2011. Green also worked for Packard Motor Car Company, the research firm Market Strategies, and General Motors, and he is the author of two vehicle history books.

⁵² Ed Papazian, telephone interview by Ellen J. Gerl and Craig L. Davis, Feb. 18, 2011. Currently the owner of a media research firm, Papazian was cofounder and publisher of *Ad Forum* and *The Media Cost Guide*. Both publications were sold in the mid-1980s and continue today as *BrandWeek* and *The Marketer's Guide*. BBDO is an international agency founded in 1928.

⁵³ Charlotte Fancett, "Does Detroit Understand Girls?" *Automotive News*, Dec. 20, 1971, 4; Fancett, "Here's How to Sell Cars to Women," *Automotive News*, Nov. 19, 1973, 6, 89; and Fancett, "How to Pitch Subcompacts to the Women," *Automotive News*, Oct. 26, 1970, 30-32, 51.

⁵⁴ Fancett, "Selling Cars to Women No Soft Job," *Automotive News*, Nov. 1, 1971, 39.

⁵⁵ Papazian interview.

⁵⁶ Cited in Julie Candler, "A Long Drive for Recognition," *Advertising Age*, June 22, 1981, 26.

⁵⁷ Papazian interview; interview, Levine telephone interview; and Green telephone interview. Levine and both advertising executives mentioned that all women's magazines faced difficulties attracting automobile advertising, not just *Woman's Day*. Papazian noted that TV situation comedies, such as *My Three Sons* or *All in the Family*, offered a better way to reach women than magazines. Green said automakers liked to boast that their ads appeared in big magazines such as *Life*.

⁵⁸ Howard, "Pink Truck Ads," 144.

⁵⁹ Ron Goulart, *Comic Book Encyclopedia* (New York: Harper Collins, 2004), 39-40; and Papazian interview. Fawcett Publications appears worthy of further journalism scholarship as it once published numerous large-circulation magazines, among them *True Confessions* and *Family Circle*. The company is more often discussed in scholarship on comic book publishing.

⁶⁰ Papazian interview.

⁶¹ Candler, "Ads for Women in Motion," 38.

⁶² Candler, "A Long Drive for Recognition," 26.

⁶³ See Gloria Steinem, "Sex, Lies and Advertising," *Ms.*, July/August 1990, 18-28, for a discussion of the magazine's attempts to attract car advertisers, which included holding a major reception in Detroit that saw few attendees, hiring a Detroit-based saleswoman, and for almost ten years, knocking on doors. She wrote that eventually cars became a top source of ad revenue for *Ms.*

⁶⁴ Papazian interview

⁶⁵ Jack Keenan, interview by Ellen J. Gerl, Aug. 25, 2010. Keenan spoke the same day with a former colleague, Ted Teagarden, an executive at McMannis

Advertising who oversaw the accounts for Cadillac and Pontiac, and he reiterated the one-size-fits-all-approach to creative work.

⁶⁶ Green telephone interview.

⁶⁷ Keenan interview; and Green telephone interview.

⁶⁸ Fancett, "Does Detroit Understand Girls?" 3; and Keenan interview.

⁶⁹ Virginia Scharff, "Putting Wheels on Women's Sphere," in Cheri Kramarae, *Technology and Women's Voices* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988), 138.

⁷⁰ Heon Stevenson, *Selling the Dream: Advertising the American Automobile 1930-1980*, (London: Academy Books, 1995), 96.

⁷¹ Candler, "Ads for Women in Motion," 38.

⁷² Jane and Michael Stern, *Auto Ads*, 73; Candler, "Ads for Women in Motion," 38; Heon Stevenson, "Lady, Relax!" in *American Automobile Advertising 1930-1980, An Illustrated History* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Co., 2008), 158-59; and James M. Rubenstein, *Making and Selling Cars: Innovation and Change in the U.S. Automotive Industry* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 295.

⁷³ Alice E. Courtney and Sarah Wernick Lockeretz, "A Woman's Place: An Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Magazine Advertisements," *Journal of Marketing Research*, (February 1971): 93.

⁷⁴ Stevenson, "Lady, Relax!" 158-59. The author did not indicate the media in which these print ads appeared.

⁷⁵ Candler, "A Long Drive for Recognition," 26; and Walsh, "Gender and Automobility," 301.

⁷⁶ Candler, "A Long Drive for Recognition," 26; and John Russell, "How Auto Makers View the Women's Market," *Automotive News*, Nov. 9, 1981, 20, 22.

⁷⁷ See Charles L. Sanford, "'Woman's Place' in American Culture," in David Lewis and Laurence Goldstein, eds., *The Automobile and American Culture*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1983), 150, in which the author cites "Women and Automobiles: A Study of Dealers and Consumers in the Car Purchasing Process," (a joint project of *Woman's Day* Magazine, National Automobile Dealers Association and Audits & Surveys, Inc., 1970). In 1981 a Condé Nast Publications study also questioned whether women were getting the information about cars they needed, as cited by Candler in a "A Long Drive for Recognition."

⁷⁸ Sanford, "'Woman's Place' in American Culture," 151.

⁷⁹ Julie Candler, "Woman at the Wheel: Which Car Options Should You Choose?" *Woman's Day*, Nov. 22, 1979, 58.

⁸⁰ Walsh, "Gender and Automobility," 301; Rena Bartos, 1982a "The Moving Target" presentation for *Glamour* Magazine Annual Sales Meeting, New York, J. Walter Thompson Company, Rena Bartos Papers, 1960-1998, box 2, John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising and Marketing History, Duke University; Bartos, 1983a Speeches, "The Moving Target: A New Look at the Consumer Market Place" presentation to WABC-TV, box 2, J. Walter Thompson Company, Rena Bartos Papers, 1960-1998, box 2, John W. Hartman Center, Duke University; and James M. Rubenstein, *Making and Selling Cars*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 293-98. Rubenstein wrote that women had better sales and service experiences at Japanese auto dealerships where staff were happy to sell to lone women.

⁸¹ Eileen Shanahan, "More Women Are Buying Cars on Credit and Lenders Cite Good Payment Records," *New York Times*, Oct. 10, 1976.

⁸² Bartos, "Moving Target: The Women's Car Market," a presentation at the SuperDealer Roundtable Mid-Year Meeting, Hyatt Regency, Dearborn, Michigan, July 30, 1987, 7, box 3, J. Walter Thompson Company, Rena Bartos Papers, 1960-1998, John W. Hartman Center, Duke University. The authors want to thank Hartman Center staff for assistance accessing the Rena Bartos papers.

⁸³ See McCracken, *Decoding Women's Magazines*, 87, 303, for a list of forty-two U.S. women's magazines in 1982-83 and description of *New Woman* and *Working Mother* as the two fastest-growing women's magazines in 1982 by total revenue; and Sumner, *The Magazine Century*, 157-95.

⁸⁴ John Russell, "Women Emerge as Auto Buying Force," *Automotive News*, Nov. 9, 1981, 18; and Russell, "How Auto Makers View the Women's Market," 20, 22.

⁸⁵ Candler, "Ads for Women in Motion," 38; and Candler interview, Aug. 25, 2010.

⁸⁶ Candler, "A Long Drive for Recognition," 24, 26.

⁸⁷ McCracken, *Decoding Women's Magazines*, 178.

⁸⁸ Levine telephone interview. For the small amount of press coverage during her years at the helm of *Woman's Day*, see Philip H. Dougherty, "Woman's Day Turns

to TV," *The New York Times*, Sept. 14, 1982; Elizabeth Kastor, "The Renaissance of 'Women's Magazines,'" *Washington Post*, May 7, 1984; and Steve Cohn, "The 21 Most Intriguing: The Iconoclast: Ellen Levine," <http://www.minonline.com/mmag/94.html>, accessed Oct. 3, 2010. Cohn describes how Levine achieved a rare ad-page victory over rival *Family Circle* during her tenure as editor in chief of *Woman's Day*.

⁸⁹ Levine telephone interview; and Ira Ellenthal, "Ellen Levine: Editor in Chief of *Woman's Day*," *Folio: The Magazine for Magazine Management*, April 1983, 70.

⁹⁰ In contrast to readership research that Levine mentioned, Candler said her editors shared information from reader surveys that indicated excellent readership of the column. The following attempts to verify reader interest were made: The authors contacted former *Woman's Day* editor Geraldine Rhoads, who was ninety-nine at the time of this writing, but she was unable to grant an interview; the authors contacted current owner Hearst Magazines but were told no archives with reader survey research from 1964 to 1982 existed there; the authors reviewed issues of *Woman's Day* available at the Bowling Green State University Popular Culture

Library and determined the magazine did not have letters to the editor at this time. The only types of reader content used were recipes and personal stories.

⁹¹ Candler interview, Aug. 25, 2010; and Julie Candler, e-mail to Ellen J. Gerl, March 8, 2011. Candler also was the Democratic candidate for state representative in the Michigan House District 40 races in 2008 and 2010.

⁹² Readers' Guide Retrospective, a search of this online database using the subject terms "automobile driving" and "automobile drivers" showed *Glamour* magazine began publishing regular automotive columns written by Denise McCluggage in April 1978; *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, March 1981-February 1982, Vol. 41* (New York: H. W. Wilson:1982), 133; and *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, March 1984-February 1985, Vol. 44* (New York: H.W. Wilson: 1985), 142.

⁹³ Julie Ralson, "Chevy Targets Women," *Advertising Age*, Aug. 7, 1995, 24; the authors' review of fourteen issues of *Woman's Day* from January to December 2011 found no automobile ads; however, there were two ads on related topics such as car insurance.