

Her Dream Home. Domesticity and Gender in Advertising in Arts & Architecture

In the United States, with the end of World War II, a cultural and territorial model based on the suburban lifestyle took root. Women had taken an active role during the conflict, but postwar American society returned them to the background, restricting them to the care of family and home. The domestic space became again a distinctly female ecosystem. From a gender perspective this article explores how the discourse on housewives and domesticity was expressed in the specialized press, particularly in advertisements published in Arts & Architecture. It tries to show how advertising contributed to the association drawn between women and the domestic sphere, and in particular to the idea of the kitchen as an inherently feminine space. Women were mostly assigned an ornamental role as passive consumers, but occasionally they were portrayed as experts capable of instructing architects on how to design the home.

Key Words: Advertising. Domesticity. Gender. Postwar America. Single-family homes.

El Hogar de sus Sueños: Domesticidad y Género en la Publicidad de Arts & Architecture

El final de la Segunda Guerra Mundial consolidó en Estados Unidos un modelo cultural y territorial basado en el estilo de vida suburbano. Aunque las mujeres habían tenido un papel activo durante el conflicto, la sociedad estadounidense de posguerra las relegó a una posición secundaria limitada a las tareas de cuidado familiar y del hogar, por lo que el espacio doméstico se convirtió en un ecosistema netamente femenino. El objetivo de este artículo consiste en estudiar cómo se estructuró este discurso en la prensa especializada utilizando los anuncios de la revista Arts & Architecture. Se muestra cómo la publicidad contribuyó a la asociación entre la mujer y el ámbito doméstico, y en particular a definir la cocina como un espacio inherentemente femenino. A las mujeres se les asignó principalmente un papel ornamental como consumidoras pasivas, aunque ocasionalmente también aparecían como expertas capaces de instruir a los arquitectos sobre cómo diseñar una casa.

Palabras clave: Publicidad. Domesticidad. Género. Posguerra. Vivienda unifamiliar.

Daniel Díez
Martínez

Her Dream Home

Domesticity and Gender in advertising in Arts & Architecture

DOI: 10.20868/cn.2021.4748

The Suburban Haven: A Dream Lifestyle for Sale

The end of World War II brought a climate of economic boom to the United States that had a clear bearing on the real estate business. The promises made to over 10 million returning veterans who would be needing homes (Mettler 2005: 15-23), the baby boom and the population explosion in the new peacetime, and the firm resolution to address the housing scarcity that the United States had been suffering since the Great Depression led to what some analysts foresaw as *«the greatest home building and buying activity on record in America»* (Davis 1944: 33). Indeed, the most optimistic prognostications came true: in just the short period 1940–1950, 8.7 million dwellings were built in the United States. Housing construction grew by 23.6 percent during those ten years nationwide, and in specific areas the growth was larger. In California, it reached 57.2 percent (Hine 1998: 176). Hence, whereas in 1940 only 43.6 percent of Americans owned the house they lived in, a decade later, in 1950, the percentage of proprietors was 55.0 percent, up by 11.4 points. This would rise to 61.9 percent in the 1960s (U.S. Census Bureau 2017).

The American home became a national obsession. Federal and state agencies, politicians, architects, urban planners, architecture magazines, cultural institutions, and businessmen's associations orchestrated enthusiastic campaigns that associated the house with the romantic myth of the American Dream, based on *«the fundamental belief by Americans that America has meant and shall always mean that all men shall be free to seek for themselves and their children a better*

life» (Belmonte 2008: 91). The predictions of a bright tomorrow would be tied to a new culture of consumption and excess that had great impact not only on the nation's economic and political development, but also on community and family values, resulting in a territorial model based on the ideal of a suburban lifestyle. Whether in a traditional design or in a more daring and contemporary language, the single-family home became the hallmark of postwar architecture.

In the same train of thought, the architect and historian Dolores Hayden holds that the domestic lifestyle of current American society has its seed in industrial, technological, and scientific developments during World War II and the early years of the Cold War (Hayden 2002: 85-95). Hayden connects the American model to what she calls *«the haven strategy»*, which presents the home as a retreat, a sanctuary of intimacy and self-sufficiency, where a clear line between public and private must be drawn. Giving form to this refuge necessarily results in a house isolated from society, surrounded, and accompanied only by nature, as represented by a garden. The single-family home epitomizes this haven set-up: it is the formal, spatial, and tangible representation of the aspirations fostered by the American Dream.

Domestic space ceased to be a trivial issue and became the main ground for architectural and technological experimentation. New York's Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) started building prototype homes designed by Marcel Breuer (*«The House in the Museum Garden»*; April 12 – October 30, 1949) and Gregory Ain (*«Exhibition House by Gregory Ain»*; May 17 – October 29, 1950) in its sculpture gar-

daniel.diez@upm.es
Doctor Arquitecto por
la Universidad
Politécnica de Madrid
Profesor Ayudante
Doctor en la ETSAM-
UPM

den, while in the specialized printed scene, the three leading American periodicals of the time —*Architectural Record*, *Architectural Forum*, and *Progressive Architecture*— promoted singlefamily homes by featuring residential design projects and holding competitions that fueled the critical debate surrounding the postwar home.

From its headquarters in Los Angeles and with a print-run between four and five times smaller than the above-mentioned East Coast magazines,¹ *Arts & Architecture*, somewhere between an architecture journal and a ‘shelter magazine’, contributed to this mindset by launching its own initiatives, such as the “*Designs for Postwar Living*” competition, the intentions and objectives of which were published in April 1943 (Entenza 1943), or the celebrated Case Study House Program, announced in January 1945, which furthered the search for novel ways to “*fulfill the specifications of a special living problem in the Southern California area*” (Entenza 1945: 37). Both experiments show how the magazine was fostering a campaign to give Modernism and avant-garde design the upper hand in the local scene. Its owner-editor John D. Entenza heartily committed himself for over twenty years to ensuring that *Arts & Architecture* served as a platform to “*put California on the cultural map, identifying its relaxed style and asserting that the most advanced taste of the nation was to be found on the West Coast*” (Votolato 1998: 54).

The magazine’s editorial line took on a didactic tone in all its contents, seeking to show the public the positive influence that a properly designed environment could have on their lives. In turn, the companies that advertised in *Arts & Architecture* were aware that what they were selling was more than a house or a building product. Indeed, advertisers soon realized that the advertising message did not have to focus on announcing the benefits of using a gas cooker in the kitchen, Douglas fir doors in the garage, or a television set. The thing to do, rather, was to focus on promoting the attractive lifestyle that could only be had by buying the gas cooker, the garage doors, or the TV set to place in front of the sofa. The company Western Holly, instead of explicitly selling the actual product, was particularly skillful in marketing gas stoves through an idyllic depiction of a new state of mind. In a series of full-page ads published in various *Arts & Architecture* issues in 1945, photographs of Rockwellesque family scenes pitched the product only indirectly, through a



metonymy in which the item was represented by the food cooked on it. The images showed a pretty smiling housewife serving her proud husband a meal, a woman passing around slides of cake at a picnic, a father carving a chicken for dinner, and a gathering of friends with the hostess offering sandwiches (figure 1). These ads fueled associations with a pleasant and happy life that had sure marketing appeal.

Advertisements for residential-architecture products established explicit connections with the firms paying for them, and there was a common element, regardless of the article being promoted. Women, and housewives in particular, until then largely absent in architecture publications, now graced the pages of these magazines, and became a fundamental agent of postwar American domesticity.

The Home: A Feminine Ecosystem

In June 1959, *Arts & Architecture* published “*The Scientific Sixties*”, which partly reproduced seminar discussions on how the transformation of social, economic, and scientific-technological values could affect the development of residential architecture in

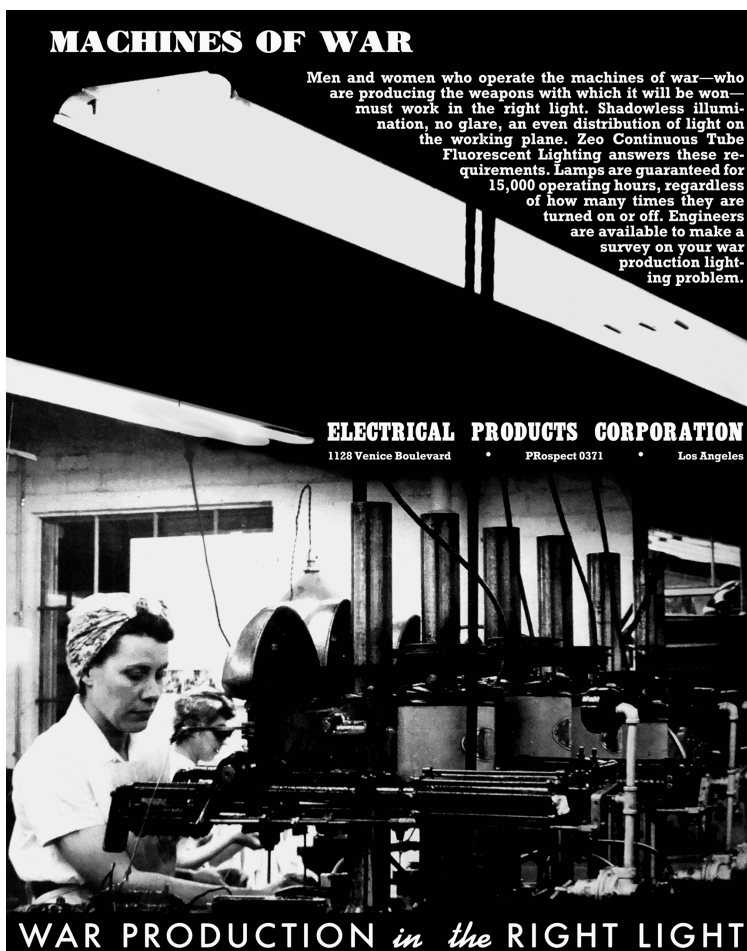
Figure 1. Advertisements for Western Holly in the series published in 1945 (*Arts & Architecture*, April 1945: 10; *Arts & Architecture*, May 1945: 10; *Arts & Architecture*, June 1945: 45; *Arts & Architecture*, July 1945: 6).

the coming decade. The article included the views of the economist Dr. Robert Dockson, the professor of sociology and anthropology Dr. Wendell Bell, the physicist and nuclear scientist Dr. Ernst H. Plesset, and two architects specialized in housing, Robert E. Alexander and A. Quincy Jones. This team of experts offered a complex and multidisciplinary view of how future societal changes could alter the configuration and appearance of American middle-class homes.

The debate revolved around the ways in which new work and leisure dynamics might correlate with the development and use of new materials and construction techniques, or with the emergence of alternative spatial configurations. However, not one of the five panelists questioned the importance of familism in American society. In the words of Dr. Bell:

Since World War II there has been an increase in the birth rate, an increase in family size, a decrease in the age of marriage and so on. Today we talk about family living as play, as an end in itself. We spend time, money and energy in family living because of the enjoyment we get out of it...

Figure 2. Advertisement for Electrical Products Corporation (California Arts & Architecture, February 1943: 2).



If we think of these basic values and the life styles in which they are reflected—Familism, career, consumership and quest for community—as configurations of possessions, activities and desires of individuals, there may be many implications for those who are involved in the process of providing the possessions and the physical environment in which the activities take place (Bell et al. 1959: 18).

The single-family home was a domestic expression of the nuclear-family ideal, with the father as breadwinner, the mother as proud housewife, and two or three children² raised to emulate and perpetuate these same roles. In 1959, this family arrangement was still regarded as the only model that would be perpetuated, unquestioned, in the 1960s and beyond. Such unshakeable rigidity in role assignment within the traditional nuclear family was in stark contrast to the freedom of choice that the democratic values of the United States and the American Dream upheld. Postwar American society relegated women to a secondary position, restricted to the care of family and home. In this way, the domestic space became a distinctly female ecosystem. For Hayden, the adoption of this model in the wake of World War II was part of a strategy for social reconversion in the shift from wartime to peacetime:

The veteran, his young wife, and their prospective children appeared as the model family of 1945. Millions of them confronted a serious housing shortage. In the aftermath of war, employing veterans and removing women from the paid labor force was a national priority. So was building more housing, but the two ideals were conflated. Developers argued that a particular kind of house would help the veteran change from an aggressive air ace to a commuting salesman who loved to mow the lawn. That house would also help a woman change from Rosie the Riveter to a stay-at-home mom (Hayden 2002: 59).

What Hayden spoke of as a change in discourse around the figure of the woman is perfectly apparent in the advertisement pages of *Arts & Architecture*, and a case in point is an ad placed by Electrical Products Corporation in February 1943 (figure 2). The company's advertising campaign centered on the fluorescent tubes that were being installed in all weapons factories, for which this lighting system was ideal because it was energy-saving and safer: they saved electricity and

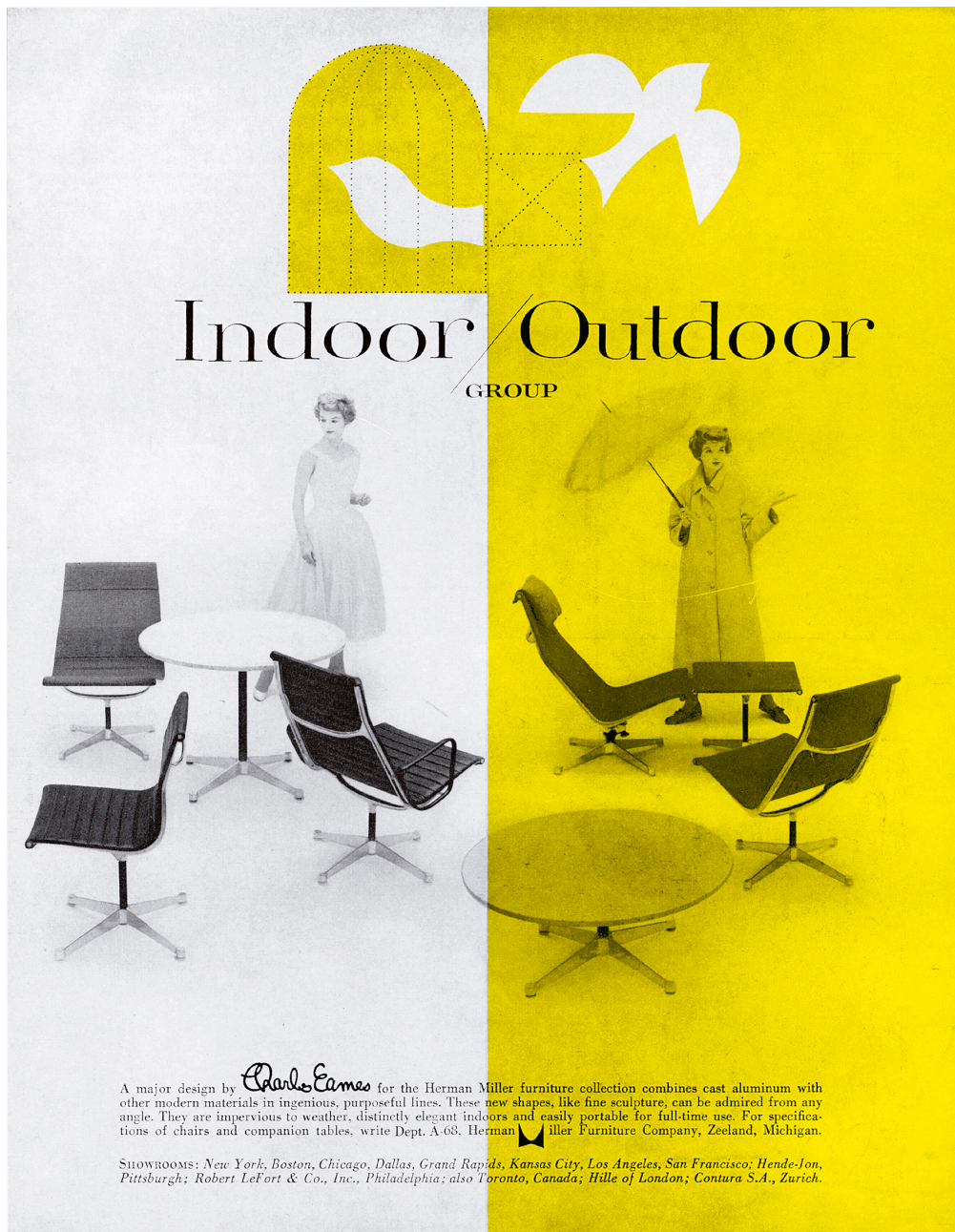


Figure 3. Advertisement for Herman Miller Furniture Company (*Arts & Architecture*, June 1958: 5).

produced less heat than filament lamps of similar brightness, reducing the potential danger of a highly inflammable manufactured material (Davidson 1995: 197). The Electrical Products Corporation ad demonstrated an extraordinary capacity to use the product being sold, the fluorescent lamp, as an active and relevant visual and compositional element against a predominantly black background, an allusion to wartime camouflage and black-out imperatives. The fluorescent tube traced a thick white line that lit up spaces for those «*men and women who operate the machines of war – who are producing the weapons with which it will be won*». In the foreground is a female worker wearing a short-sleeved shirt and a bandanna on her head, the classic Ro-

sie the Riveter look. She has been elevated to the rank of machine of war. She, not the fluorescent bulb, is the light, illuminating the road to defeating fascism in Europe.

With the war over, the picture changed radically, and the heroic women who labored side by side with men gave way to the homey and very feminine mom of the postwar. The suburban single-family home was a different scenario for men than it was for the women. For him, it was a place of retreat and rest; for her, one of work and sacrifice. In the city it was a bit different. The woman went out with friends to indulge in leisure, shopping, meals in restaurants, while the husband worked in a skyscraper office. The advertisement with which the furniture manufacturer and retailer

Figure 4. Página siguiente. Advertisement for Lumite (*Arts & Architecture*, June 1949: 3).

Figure 5. Página siguiente. Advertisement for Quality Block Producers (*Arts & Architecture*, September 1959: 5).

JUNE 1949



SMITH and HILL, INC.
Des Plaines, Illinois, builders have demonstrated to Chicago the advantages of site fabrication, expert architectural advice, labor cooperation and LUMITE screening, in mass producing houses that exceed the local average in everything but price.

Illinois Builders Choose Lumite

"We chose LUMITE screening because buyers recognize the value of screening that is immune to rust, rot and corrosion . . . a screening that will not stain or discolor paint under windows . . . a screening that will resist children's rough handling without sagging or bulging."

Facts for Architects and Builders
EFFECTS OF ACIDS, ALKALIES AND SOLVENTS—Essentially none.
NON-INFLAMMABLE—LUMITE will not support combustion . . . is self-extinguishing. Softening point 240°F.
TENSILE STRENGTH, ULTIMATE (of filament)—Up to 40,000 lbs. per square inch.
IMPACT STRENGTH—Greater than conventional screening.
INSTALLATION—Cut with ordinary scissors. Fold out edges under 1/2". Tack or staple the screening smoothly and evenly every 1/2". Because of inherent characteristics, LUMITE will gradually draw itself into a snug, firm fit.

M. E. Smith
SMITH and HILL, INC.
Des Plaines, Illinois

Architects and builders everywhere specify LUMITE screening knowing that it provides years and years of care-free, dependable service. They've learned that LUMITE is a screening that can take it—that can stand up against every enemy known to conventional screening.

Yes, when you do the job with LUMITE you know it's done right. It's rustproof . . . can never stain walls. It lasts longer and costs far less than any other quality screening—1 1/2¢ to 2¢ per square foot, retail. Give your clients the benefit of this new plastic screening. Ask your building supply dealer about LUMITE today.

Sold through hardware, lumber and building supply dealers and screen manufacturers.
Registered Trade-mark



For further information consult Sweet's File or write Dept. AA-3, LUMITE DIVISION, Chicopee Manufacturing Corporation of Georgia, 47 Worth Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Herman Miller promoted a series designed by Charles Eames offered a visual metaphor of this new reality (figure 3). The designs combined cast aluminum with other modern materials, resulting in pieces of furniture «*impervious to weather, distinctly elegant indoors and easily portable for full-time use*». The ad conveyed this message showing the same furniture and the same model in different circumstances: indoors on the left, outdoors on the right. The model's attire on each side is instrumental to the differentiation. Inside, she dons a nice sleeveless dress, tight at the waste, and pump shoes. Outside, on the contrary, she is in a long coat, ankle-length, and wetproof footwear. Her right hand holds an umbrella, while her left palm feels for rain. The idea of two opposing situations is reinforced by the use of yellow to split the page into halves. The white-bird shape in the upper part of the ad, either within a cage or freely flying out of it, further emphasizes the indoor-outdoor dichotomy, while driving home a sinister domestic point: the house is a prison for women.

Advertising in *Arts & Architecture* reinforced this discourse that segregated the places, tasks, and interests of men from those of women. Thus, the iconic image of the American lifestyle and family values in the 1950s—that of the perfect housewife and angel of the house who came out to kiss her husband goodbye as he left for work—was recurrent in advertising (figure 4). The picture of the woman as the jealous guardian of the stability of the family haven, who also made sure to stay pretty, was the main strategy behind the advertisements of Quality Block Producers, manufacturers of prefabricated concrete. The firm's ads featured modernist homes in Southern California and played out stereotypically feminine scenes, such as a mother reading her child a story by the fireplace or a housewife at the entrance to a house by architect J. Merrill Gray in Corona del Mar (figure 5). The advertisement text stressed the attributes of the concrete blocks —«*tremendous pattern versatility and structural soundness*»— but the illustration gave more importance to the young woman than to the product the company was trying to promote. The geometric pattern of the fretwork wall at the entrance is in the foreground, but visually does not compete with the woman posing gracefully beside it, not even with the two palm trees behind.

SEPTEMBER 1959



NEW PATTERN VERSATILITY PLUS STRUCTURAL SOUNDNESS!

Corona del Mar residence. Architect: Smith & Gray, A.I.A.

"We're witnessing another great trend here in Southern California. . . a trend to extensive residential use of Concrete Block. In the past few years, block manufacturers have produced new shapes and designs that have practically transformed Concrete Block into a new building material. Tremendous pattern versatility and structural soundness are obtained with ease and economy when Concrete Block is used. . . and these features help to explain its fast-growing popularity." . . . J. Merrill Gray of Smith & Gray, A.I.A.

A non-profit Association of Southern California's leading Concrete Block manufacturers, QUALITY BLOCK PRODUCERS will be happy to supply information or literature on New Concrete Block. If you haven't received your free copy of the new "Protective Coatings For Exterior Surfaces of Concrete Masonry Walls in Southern California," write today.

QUALITY BLOCK PRODUCERS
Incorporated

ANGELUS BLOCK CO., INC., Burbank / ARTORAT CONCRETE BLOCK CO., Montebello / BOY & BEAN, Inc., El Monte / CALIFORNIA LIGHTWEIGHT BLOCK CORP., CHINA BLOKS & MATERIALS, INC., Duarte / CURTIS-MERRILL CONCRETE PRODUCTS CO., Santa Fe Springs
ELVERT PRECISION BLOCK CO., San Bernardino / HUNTER CONCRETE PRODUCTS, Torrance
NORTH HOLLYWOOD CONCRETE TILE CO., N. Hollywood / O'NEILL-ECCLES CO., Balacon Park
ORION BLOCK CO., Stanton / PONDROM BLOCK, INC., Pomona / PRECAST CONCRETE PRODUCTS CO., Long Beach / ROCKLITE PRODUCTS, City of Industry, La Puente / WARD CONCRETE PRODUCTS, Buena Park / FREDERICK CEMENT BLOCKS, INC., Chino City / WILLYS CERTIFIED CONCRETE PRODUCTS, San Bernardino

For QUALITY BLOCK PRODUCERS, 856 S. Hoover St., Los Angeles 5, California

Please send your free Technical Bulletin on Protective Coatings (Circle the manufacturer of your choice . . . see above).

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

New Concrete Block also adds elegance to bathroom of same home.



Kwikset, a door lock manufacturer, used the same kind of strategy for the back covers of several 1954 issues of *Arts & Architecture*,

FINE HOMES BEGIN AT THE DOORWAY

Specify the new KWIKSET "600" line and select from a distinctively styled line of fine, precision-manufactured, unconditionally guaranteed locksets.

Available in all popular functions and finishes, for finer residential and commercial building.

kwikset
sales and service company
Anahiem, California

TAKING THE APPLE-A-DAY-CURE in easy comfort. Young moderns have a gift for finding furniture that fits their lives...modern furniture that combines utility and beauty with direct simplicity. In Southern California our Modern Shop has long been the center for modern enthusiasts. There we have assembled the best in contemporary design. See it yourself. Fifth floor

THE MODERN SHOP BARKER BROS.
SEVENTH STREET, FLOWER AND FIGUEROA

placing full-color ads with young, attractive, sophisticated stay-home wives in seductive poses at their front doors (figure 6). A bit of the inside can be seen, and the neat straight lines of wooden panels and the detailing of frames are evidence of an architectural sensibility of clear contemporary and modern inspiration, and they strike a contrast with the woman's curves and sensual stance. The advertisement reads «*Fine homes begin at the doorway*», and uses double entendres, phrases referring to the product being promoted but perhaps also to the woman, such as «*distinctively styled*» and «*unconditionally guaranteed*» – the latter in italics for greater visibility. Associating feminine beauty with home entrances, and womanhood with locks, was as much a lure in 1954 as it is politically incorrect today.

Such ads led to the acceptance of a patriarchal model based on gender stereotypes corresponding with different areas of the home. The home itself was portrayed as a fundamentally feminine ecosystem, with hardly any rooms associated exclusively with men. The husband rarely figured in the house, as his natural habitat was supposedly outside it. Only occasionally did he appear in the living room, a place for a man to relax in after a hard day at work and be fussed over by his young wife, «*in easy comfort*» (figure 7). The

other rooms were the realm of women, who played a starring role in *Arts & Architecture* ads showcasing the perfect housewife and consumer of household appliances.

As we will see, the kitchen would be the quintessential place for the domestic work and personal fulfillment of women. Nevertheless, the whole house could be regarded as the woman's masterpiece, and it was her responsibility to make all decisions concerning its appearance and maintenance. The master bedroom was a private space in which everything had to be made ready to please the husband (figure 8), while the bathroom was the ideal place for her to preen and make herself sexually desirable (figure 9). This same gender-based spatial segregation was transferred to the outside of the house. The garage and garden were male-dominated areas, almost always associated with masculine work or a type of leisure based on physical exertion and mechanical skills, such as repairing the car, lighting a barbecue, or mowing the lawn. The swimming pool, in contrast, was depicted as feminine territory, an area for relaxing, sunbathing, and, incidentally, sporting a swimsuit and arousing the husband's libido (figure 10 and figure 11).

This matter of women as a visual accessory required in an advertisement exclusively for its power to attract a predominantly male

Figure 6. Advertisement for Kwikset (*Arts & Architecture*, February 1954; back cover, 44).

Figure 7. Advertisement for Barker Bros (*California Arts & Architecture*, January 1944: 16).



Figure 8.
Advertisement for
Tumble-Twist
Rugs (*Arts &
Architecture*,
July 1947: 11).



Figure 9.
Advertisement for
Gladding, McBean
& Co. (*Arts &
Architecture*,
November 1953: 43).

Figure 10. Advertisement
for Monolith Waterproof
Plastic Cement
(*California Arts &
Architecture*, August
1941: 43).

Figure 11.
Advertisement for
Paddock Swimming
Pools (*Arts &
Architecture*, March
1951: 41).

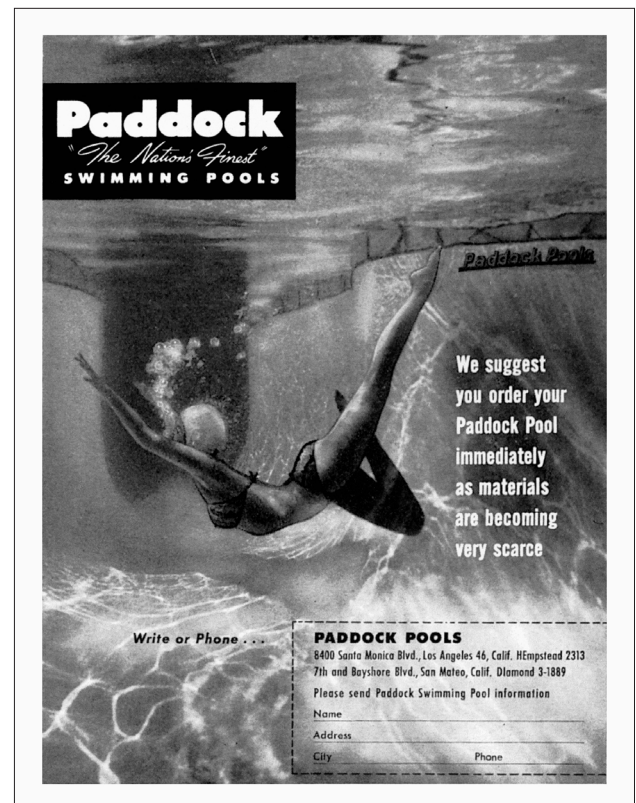




Figure 12.
Advertisement for
Thermador (Arts &
Architecture, July
1947: 2).

Figure 13.
Advertisement for
Borg-Erickson Corp.
(Arts & Architecture,
January 1947: 16).

audience is worth analyzing, as one wonders how *Arts & Architecture*, on the whole a sophisticated magazine, could contain ads guilty of the sexist tone that was widespread in media at the time. Women were portrayed as gorgeous but shallow beings with little understanding of the world around them: a beautiful young woman was a perfect and valid 'object' with advertising appeal, regardless of the product being advertised. The magazine's advertisement pages featured the same young woman stepping out of the shower in a skimpy towel to promote Thermador electric heaters (figure 12) or Borg-Erickson scales (figure 13), while Globe Lighting Products presented a Marilyn Monroe lookalike feeling the urge to strip down under a fluorescent bulb

(figure 14). Flintkote drew connections between the Hawaiian cane fibers used to manufacture its Canec Insulation Tile and Plank for interior decoration with girls in Polynesian tiki-inspired outfits leaning against palm trees (figure 15). West Coast Lumbermen's Association went a step further when it overlooked semantic connections and announced new names for lumber grades with totally irrelevant photographs of pin-up models (figure 16). Looking at the ad, one wonders what 'Standard' grade has to do with a girl in a very short miniskirt holding a draftsman's square in her right hand. In contrast, instead of using sex appeal, there were brands that preferred to promote their products upholding elegance and refinement as qualities essentially



Figure 14.
Advertisement for
Globe Lighting
Products Inc. (Arts
& Architecture, May
1954: 3).

Figure 15.
Advertisement for The
Flintkote Company
(Arts & Architecture,
July 1951: 2).

Figure 16. Advertisement for West Coast Lumbermen's Association (*Arts & Architecture*, January 1956: 3).



Figure 17. Advertisement for United States Plywood Corporation (*Arts & Architecture*, April 1948: 10).



Figure 18. Advertisement for Brown-Saltman (*Arts & Architecture*, October 1958: 2).



inherent to women. A case in point was the United States Plywood Corporation, which advertised its panels through direct allusion to the «sophisticated beauty» of a blonde dressed in an evening gown (figure 17), a model resembling the one who strikes a pose

on the distinguished all-modular, fully upholstered seating furniture designed by Martin Borenstein for Brown-Saltman (figure 18).

**The Mechanized Kitchen:
Woman as Expert in her 'Natural Space'**

The middle years of the 20th century placed the American home at the center of a new technological, economic, and cultural revolution, making it the standard bearer, along with the Space Race, of America's triumph over the Soviet Union and its satellite states. The domestic space, in particular the kitchen, proved the ideal rocket for projecting the lifestyle of the capitalist free world (Castillo 2010). The historical episode that arguably best illustrates this took place at the opening of the American National Exhibition at Sokolniki Park in Moscow on July 24, 1959, when U.S. Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev engaged in what became known as the Kitchen Debate,³ a standoff in the kitchen of a full-scale replica of a typical American suburban home. The joint visit to the model house transpired in a tense atmosphere, with the leaders commending the successes of their respective countries. The high technification and large range of gadgets present in the model kitchen perplexed Khrushchev, who mockingly asked Nixon if there was «a machine that puts food into the mouth and pushes it down» (Masey and Morgan 2008: 204).

The sparring also included a reflection on the role of women on either side of the Iron Curtain.



Figure 19. Advertisement for Sierra Wood Products, Inc. (*Arts & Architecture*, April 1947: 9).

Figure 20. Advertisement for the Southern California Gas Company / The Pacific Coast Gas Association (*Arts & Architecture*, June 1945: 2).

Nixon: This is our newest model. This is the kind [of kitchen] which is built in thousands of units for direct installations in the houses. In America, we like to make life easier for women.

Khrushchev: Your capitalistic attitude toward women does not occur under Communism.

Nixon: I think that this attitude towards women is universal. What we want to do is make life more easy [sic.] for our housewives (CIA 1959).

Nixon's implication that it was women who took care of the house, and that this was «universal», makes quite clear the role that women had been assigned in American society at the time.

Nevertheless, the haven strategy had implications that exceeded strictly ideological considerations. The ideal of living in voluntary isolation, with its attendant autonomy and efficiency requirements, had major consequences on house design. In line with the conservative ideas —based on 19th-century moral philosophy— advocated by Catharine Beecher, who raised domesticity to the status of a science in upholding the woman's duty as mother and wife as something near-sacred (Beecher 1869), the haven strategy also supported the housewife's mission at home by seeking optimal solutions in everything related to household appliances, sanitation facilities, ventilation, and especially productivity in the kitchen, which Beecher held to be the woman's 'natural space'.

However, while American society in the mid-20th century transformed the home into

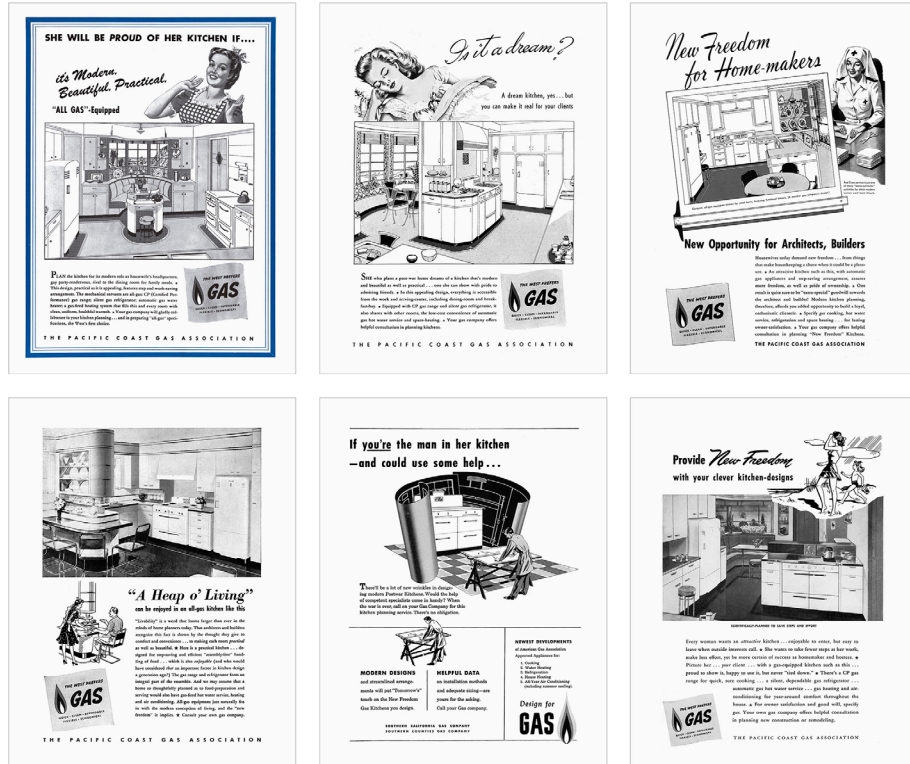
a woman's realm, many women felt that, beyond choosing tableware or the color of curtains, they had no influence or responsibility over home design. The architect and housewife Helen Baxter criticized this state of affairs in *Arts & Architecture*:

Architects, engineers, designers, draftsmen, students... all were asked by Arts & Architecture to submit a design for postwar living. All were asked except the housewife, the victim, so to speak, of all this planning. May I, as a housewife, ask indulgence for limited technical knowledge and submit my ideas to the best of my ability? (Baxter 1943: 28)

In the article, the author listed up to fifteen «prevalent abominations one finds in most houses of today» (Baxter 1943: 28), nine of which made direct reference to the kitchen. The author questioned the dimensions of the room, as well as its connectivity to other areas of the house or the location of home appliances. Baxter drew up a design guide that would make life easier for housewives, and the home ultimately more enjoyable to all the inhabitants.

Architects and industrial designers began to take a different view of women, finally understanding that they, being in charge of the housework, would know better than anyone how new materials and alternative layouts could help them carry out their domestic chores. Of course, the idea of considering women even capable of providing inputs into kitchen redesign was not new. Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, the first female Austrian architect, an old collaborator of Adolf Loos, produced over

Figure 21. Advertisements for the Southern California Gas Company / The Pacific Coast Gas Association in the series published in 1945 (above: January, March, May; below: July, August, September) (*Arts & Architecture*, January 1945: 2; *Arts & Architecture*, March 1945: 2; *Arts & Architecture*, May 1945: 2; *Arts & Architecture*, July 1945: 2; *Arts & Architecture*, August 1945: 2; *Arts & Architecture*, September 1945: 2).



thirty prototypes of the *Frankfurter Küche* (the Frankfurt Kitchen) in 1926-1927, designing them for German social housing projects.⁴ But Schütte-Lihotzky centered her research on dwellings for workers, which were very small, even minimal (*Existenzminimum*, to use the German term widely used throughout Europe) (May 1929: 209-212). She planned out modest kitchens for apartments where working women lived alone, where alleviation of housework was a social necessity (Jerram 2006: 538-556). For its part, though it similarly sought to introduce substantial changes in kitchen design with the woman as axis, the American model was grounded on radically different principles.

So it was that twenty years and a world war after the Frankfurt experience, the American woman's "dream home" found itself at the center of a profound technological transformation and became a largescale laboratory of sorts where without a doubt the kitchen, once again, was the area that most underwent renovation, thanks to a highly complex degree of technological implementation (Strasser 1982). This drastic transformation would make the kitchen «*the room which most nearly epitomizes Le Corbusier's dictum that 'the house is a machine for living in'*» (Feldman 1957: 34).

Designing the postwar kitchen involved not only modernizing appliances, but also testing solutions for alternative layouts. Advertis-

ing in *Arts & Architecture* was in step with the *Zeitgeist*. Sometimes this was reflected in simple devices, such as the Fain FOLDInelle, a dining set that could be hidden away in a cabinet recessed into the wall to get «*more living space in the same floor space*» (figure 19). Such naive exercises aside, brands developed truly interesting architectural proposals in their advertisements. The series published by the Southern California Gas Company / The Pacific Coast Gas Association inside the front cover of the twelve 1945 issues of *Arts & Architecture* could be considered a document of great interest. Eleven of the twelve ads showed highly detailed interior views, often accompanied by specific floor plans, which in themselves amounted to a catalog of arrangement options for the modern, up-to-date kitchen (figure 20). Some of the precepts that were tested for application in the kitchens of Southern California's new modernist architecture included the logical sequence for appliance placement, the solution of continuous worktops for food preparation and eating, and the kitchen's visual and physical connection with the external environment, with easy access to the terrace for serving outdoors.

Women were present in six of the gas company's eleven kitchen advertisements (figure 21). The January ad read «*She will be proud of her kitchen if... it's Modern. Beautiful. Practical*» and showed the kitchen as the housewife's headquarters. In March, the readers

SEPTEMBER, 1946



Cool clean cooking

Western-Holly
THE MARK OF EXCELLENCE ON
Post-War GAS Ranges

You may cook in an evening gown on the post-war built-in Western-Holly gas range. You'll be cool because a newly devised automatic ventilator instantly draws off vapors from top stove cooking, oven, and broiler. You'll be clean because exclusive new Western-Holly TEMP-A-PLATES, four-inch line, are the clearest heating elements yet devised. Full insulation will keep you cook and smooth, carefree surfaces, without dust-collecting gulches, will be the easiest possible to keep clean.

THIS RANGE WILL BE AVAILABLE IN 1947 THROUGH YOUR BUILDER OR CONTRACTOR WHO WILL SECURE IT FROM A WESTERN-HOLLY DEALER

*NOW SHOWN AT THE FRITZ & BURNS "POST-WAR HOUSE" IN LOS ANGELES

Products of WESTERN STOVE COMPANY, Inc.
LOS ANGELES: FURNITURE MART • CULVER CITY, CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO: WESTERN MERCHANDISE MART

Copyright 1946 by Western Stove Company, Inc.

MAY 1948



"I can read your blueprint, Mr. A."

The lines and arrows with figures are strictly in your department, Mr. Architect . . . but down there under "Specifications" it says "Formica", and that makes sense to me."

Beauty Bonded Formica® for sink tops is the kind of specification every Architect likes to write. Color and beauty to delight his Client, solidly backed up with physical properties that make Formica ideal material for sink top conditions. Sink tops of Formica are fabricated for custom kitchens as well as for many "pocket" cabinet units. We'll be glad to send you the names of near-by Fabricators who build with Formica.

"You and Beauty Bonded Formica® is a new little folder your home-building Clients will appreciate your giving them. Shall we send you a sample? How many please? And you'll find Beauty Bonded Formica in Ovens, Formica 4635 Spring Grove Avenue, Cincinnati 24, Ohio.

Beauty Bonded FORMICA
at Home with People
all World in Industry

Just a few of the many Beauty Bonded Formica colored surfaces in chrome-top kitchens and other rooms.

*Reg. Trade Name, U. S. Pat. Off.
COPYRIGHT 1948, WESTERN STOVE CO., INC.

saw a Sleeping Beauty-like woman dreaming of the company's kitchen: *"She who plans a postwar home dreams of a kitchen that's modern and beautiful as well as practical... one she can show with pride to admiring friends"*. May's edition is interesting in that it presented the kitchen as a place designed for a woman's freedom and pleasure: *"Housewives today demand new freedom... from things that make housekeeping a chore when it could be pleasure. An attractive kitchen such as this, with automatic gas appliances and step-saving arrangements, assures more freedom, as well as pride of ownership"*. The ad featured a woman in a Red Cross nurse's uniform and small print text that read: *"Red Cross service is just one of the many 'extra-curricular' activities for which modern women want more leisure"*. So, women who had actively contributed to the war effort were now encouraged to return to their 'natural space,' and their former jobs and occupations were presented as extra. The July ad employed a slightly different strategy, flourishing the "livability" of the space and including a picture of a wife serving food to her husband. With the war nearly over, the company sold the idea of recreation: *"Here is a practical kitchen...which is so enjoyable (and who would have considered that an important factor in kitchen design a generation ago)"*. In August the kitchen was explicitly portrayed as a woman's territory. A

male architect is planning the kitchen design and bold letters say: *"If you're the man in her kitchen - and could use some help..."*. Finally, the kitchen in September's issue was accompanied by an illustration of a mother and her daughter at the beach. Once again, the bold print reinforced the postwar idea of 'new freedom' while the small print said: *"Every woman wants an attractive kitchen... enjoyable to enter, but easy to leave when outside interests call. She wants to take fewer steps at her work, make less effort, yet be more certain of success as homemaker and hostess"*. The text invited the reader to: *"Picture her... your client... with a gas-equipped kitchen such as this... proud to show it, happy to use it, but never 'tied down'"*. What is interesting about this 1945 series is that it is presented as an authority- and knowledge-backed reading of the feelings, dreams, and aspirations of post-war women.


Other kitchen-related advertisements simply pursued the general strategy of showing women in a merely ornamental role, with a smiling model contently performing a household chore in the kitchen. Western Holly, whose 1945 series was analyzed earlier in this article, planned its gas range series of 1946 around two apparently contradictory concepts of cooking: "cool" and "clean." But the company drove home its point by showing women cooking in elegant gowns (figure 22).

Figure 22. Advertisement for Western Holly (Arts & Architecture, September 1946: 9).

Figure 23. Advertisement for Formica (Arts & Architecture, May 1948: 19).


Figure 24. Advertisement for The Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company (Arts & Architecture, April 1948: 50).

What's wrong here?



Take another look. See any sign of planning for built-in telephone facilities?

It's hard to see how a home can be really modern these days if the builder hasn't put in pipe or other tubing leading to well-located telephone outlets. That way telephones can be moved or added in the future without drilling holes or running wires along baseboards. The cost? It's insignificant if the facilities are put in during construction.



for free help in planning modern, built-in telephone wiring, call your local telephone company office and ask for "Architects and Builders Service."

The Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company

Formica added color to its kitchen worktops through plastic finishes that also made them more durable and easier to maintain (figure 23). The advertisements adopted the strategy of a non-genuine conversation between a housewife and an architect to emphasize her involvement in the design process: «I can read your blueprint, Mr.A(rchitect).» The woman, pointing at the kitchen plan, adds, «the lines and arrows with figures are strictly in your department, Mr. Architect... but down there under 'Specifications' it says 'Formica', and that makes sense to me.»

The strategy of this Formica ad differs from that of other ads starring housewives. The woman in this case was not just an ornament; here she was shown as someone capable of making design decisions, someone with expertise. And so it was that the ad story of a woman giving orders to the architect became widespread. «What's wrong here?» one asks an architect while holding up a house plan in an advertisement of The Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company (figure 24). «Take another look,» she says in an authoritative tone. «See any sign of planning for built-in telephone facilities? It's hard to see how a home can be really modern these days if the builder hasn't put in pipe or tubing leading to well-located telephone outlets. That way telephones can be moved or added in the future without drilling holes or running wires along baseboards.» Suddenly the woman was depicted as an expert giving lessons to the trained architect. In this advertisement, she is also seen talking on the phone in the kitchen, wearing an apron, and there is a child near her. The message is clear: modernizing the home included an overhaul of technological factors,⁵ but did not involve a reversal of roles and responsibilities. The wife spoke on the phone and minded the children. The husband was not even home.

The kitchen furniture manufacturer Crosley took the strategy a step further by showing a woman giving lessons on kitchen design to an architect, who is visibly embarrassed by his ignorance of kitchen procedures (figure 25). «We might as well face it! We can't put yesterday's kitchen in tomorrow's houses,» she reprimands him. She adds, «It's high time kitchens were 'furnished' and not 'built',» in reference to the firm's modular systems. So it is the housewife who shows the reader how kitchen work is organized in three broad areas: the storage area, presided by the refrigerator and featuring cabinets in which to keep utensils and dry or packaged food; the cleaning center, surrounding the sink,

Figure 25. Advertisement for The Crosley Corporation (Arts & Architecture, March 1946: 19).

"We might as well face it!"

We can't put yesterday's kitchen in tomorrow's houses. With Crosley sinks and cabinets there's no more need to "build" a kitchen—kitchens can now be conveniently and attractively "furnished"—like any other room in the house.

All units are complete in themselves. Makes many types of arrangements and combinations possible.

1. food preparation: A Crosley "Shelcher" is all important. Preserving all the best features of any refrigerator, the Shelcher[®] gives you more in work food in the future, while you work. Storage space for dry foods is provided by a Crosley over-refrigerator shelf cabinet. Installation is simplifying with built-in units. An added light or location. Made of stainless steel and with sliding translucent glass doors. Crosley cabinets are attractive and efficient.

2. sink and cleaning center: The real traffic center of any kitchen is the sink—water is used in 95% of all kitchen tasks. The Crosley Cabinet sink has a lavatory, allowing sliding doors, a drain and sink drain, several drawers, metal racks and a host of other features, are incorporated. Crosley Cabinets are "furnished" (not "built") to give more storage and working surface. There are 6 cabinet sizes including corner cabinet.

3. cooking and serving center: Naturally the Crosley range is the most interesting all the qualities and features for efficient cooking. Used with convenient Crosley floor cabinets, the range can be placed in a standard wall cabinet, set into a built-in kitchen unit and floor cabinets. Crosley "furnished" kitchen. Handle 85% of all kitchen arrangements.

Crosley "furnishes" the modern kitchen

In Case Study House No. 13, designed by Richard H. Neutra, A.I.A., president of Los Angeles International & Architects is an excellent example of the great flexibility of Crosley sinks and cabinets, in the living room of C.S.H. No. 13 is a Crosley refrigerator with the famous Hoping around! Case Study.

CROSLY
THE CROSLY CORPORATION, CINCINNATI, OHIO

© 1946 Crosley Corporation. All rights reserved. Crosley, Shelcher, Hoping around!, and the Crosley logo are trademarks of Crosley Corporation. All other trademarks are the property of their respective owners.

«the real traffic center of any kitchen;» and the cooking and service center, the most complex part, where 85 percent of the kitchen appliances is concentrated.

The technical terms she uses makes her sound like an expert, but of course this is an illusion, for the anonymity of the 'standard architect' taking a scolding from her is offset in the lower right part of the ad by a small picture of Richard Neutra and the title of president of Les Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), a full guarantee of professional prestige and experience. As the ad explains, in designing the modern kitchen of Case Study House No. 13, Neutra did harness «the great flexibility of Crosley sinks and cabinets». The master looks calm. There is no need to get upset; he, not she, is the true kitchen design expert.

Conclusions

The end of World War II brought on tremendous economic, industrial, and societal changes, so the second half of the 1940s was an especially intense time for the practice of architecture in general, and for North American architecture magazines in particular, the pages of these becoming perfect platforms for debate on what postwar architecture should be like. Against this general backdrop, the present article has examined how the new times bore upon residential architecture, as portrayed in advertisements that found their way into *Arts & Architecture* issues, and how these ads helped to construct the notion of the home as a quintessential feminine space. Analysis of the advertisements shows that despite their commercial purposes, whether to sell a product or to position a given brand in the market, they are highly ideological documents that contributed to molding the postwar American woman into the perfect contemporary suburban housewife.

This article is illustrated with a number of examples, but the existing catalog of advertisements graced by women is truly vast. Surely the female presence is a differentiating factor of advertising in *Arts & Architecture*; in other architecture magazines of the period, the human repertoire was mostly male. In this regard, it is important to stress that the woman almost invariably appears in strictly domestic contexts, very rarely in other architectural contexts—such as offices or stores—that women also frequented daily in mid-20th century America. This may well have to do with the fact, mentioned before, that *Arts & Architecture* magazine was primarily fo-

cused on the residential sphere, devoting less space to other architectural typologies. Nevertheless, there is no ignoring the fact that its advertisements upheld the notion of the house as a place of feminine seduction. Why are there no little girls or elderly women? Not even middle-aged mothers. Always young attractive women in seductive mode, of the kind sometimes exceeding the limits of what one might expect in an architecture magazine.

Hayden and Wright noted how in architecture “women have been most closely associated with domestic environments, but almost always as passive clients” (Hayden and Wright 1976: 927) an observation supported by this analysis of how women are portrayed in advertising: as beings playing an ornamental role, oozing sophistication, or sexuality (figure 26). Overall, the female figure had no real connection to the product being sold, thus only strengthening the view of women as home creatures complying with the image constructed for them in postwar America. This pervasive image—referred to by Betty Friedan, as early as 1963, as the “Feminine Mystique”—is considered by many to have triggered second-wave feminism in the United States. Far from elevating the American woman to the state of bliss promised by the advertisements, it plunged her into a state of deep discontent, a void that had her yearning for something more than husband, children, and home (Friedan 2001: 298-332).

Of all the rooms in the home, the kitchen could be said to have undergone the most significant transformation. With women targeted as the main consumers of kitchen commodities and appliances, showing them in the kitchen became a constant in the magazine's advertising pages, and different strategies were used to present the kitchen as an inherently feminine place. One was to harness women's ornamental appeal, but the kitchen also offered advertisers the opportunity to sell the idea of the housewife as an expert user. This idea cast her in a more positive light, but proved to be only an illusion. In fact, the modernization of the kitchen—and of women's role in it—remains a theme for discussion today. Obviously, technology now is not that of decades ago. Instead of the gas stoves of the postwar, the market is flooded with a whole diversity of kitchen robots, household appliances connected to the Internet, and complex smart systems that promise to lighten our workload. But the technological revolution coincides with a revival of the traditional meek housewife. These so-called

Figure 26.
Advertisement for
Motorola (Arts &
Architecture, May
1948: 2).

**More radio pleasure
for less money-**

• Happy holiday—with your Motorola Portable to sing you a love song or bring you laughter and thrills—*wherever* you go! Take it to the beach, in a plane or speeding train—its voice will be rich and full where others often fail. *In no other portable* can you match the outstanding value of the Motorola Model 48L11 (above.) Big volume and glorious tone are masterfully engineered into a marvelously compact two-tone plastic cabinet. Built-in loop antenna for long reach and added power. 4 tubes plus rectifier. Superheterodyne. Tuned RF section. Battery operation. **\$19⁹⁵**

MODEL 58L11 — AS ABOVE, BUT AC-DC OR BATTERY OPERATION **\$29⁹⁵**

**MOTOROLA[®]
PORTABLES**

*Prices slightly higher in
south and west
Batteries extra on all portables*

AMERICA'S FAVORITE PERSONAL PORTABLES

The Motorola PLAYMATE JR.—internationally famous glamour-baby of personal portables. Tiny as a Brownie camera, but with the tone and power of sets many times its size. All metal cabinet, handsome maroon "crackle" finish. Antenna is in the lid. **\$39⁹⁵** AC-DC or battery operation.

The Motorola 68L11—*new all through* and breathtakingly beautiful! All controls in thumb's reach while carrying. Exclusive Dial-in-Handle. Cabinet is rich fabric permanently laminated with clear, durable plastic. Outperforms them all! AC-DC or battery operation. **\$49⁹⁵**

MOTOROLA TELEVISION
Don't buy a television receiver until you see the new Motorola! Clearer, brighter pictures and wonderful sound. Amazingly simple to operate. Your BEST BUY at only \$179⁹⁵ (Aerial and installation additional)

Look in your Classified Telephone Book for the name of your nearest Motorola Dealer

**MOTOROLA INC.,
CHICAGO 51, ILLINOIS**

'tradwives' take an attitude that transcends the question of roles, and carry themselves in anachronistic, deliberate hyperfeminine garb. Although these communities exist everywhere in the world, in the United States they are linked to white supremacist movements and to the proudly reactionary anti-feminists of the alt-right (Kelly 2018).

To close, this article also draws a conclusion that can be instrumental to architectural historians, which is that advertisements included in architecture magazines are in themselves an exceedingly valuable research source. Those selected to illustra-

te this study should not be taken as mere visual or graphic supports; there is a whole discourse lying behind them. Just like in *Arts & Architecture*, these images have a life of their own which is as important as the written text; in fact, the text is built up around the images, not the other way around. This paper makes a solid case for paying more attention to the advertising that goes into architecture magazines, which deserves to be studied with depth and rigor. Advertisements in architecture journals fulfill a mission, but without a doubt are also a useful research tool.

Notas

- 1 In 1964, the best in terms of sales, *Arts & Architecture* sold 12,295 copies per month (Travers 1964: 39). When *Architectural Forum* ceased publication, also in 1964, its circulation was 64,000 copies. That same year, its immediate rivals, *Progressive Architecture* and *Architectural Record*, published 42,296 and 37,611 copies, respectively (Huxtable 1964: 31).
- 2 In the United States in 1960, the average number of children under 18 in families with children was 2.33 (U.S. Census Bureau 2019).
- 3 The debate was filmed in color and broadcasted in the United States by the three largest television networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) on July 25, 1959. Two days later, on July 27, it went on Russian television. A partial transcript of the debate can be found in "High Noon at Sokolniki Park" (Masey and Morgan 2008: 152-283).
- 4 The Frankfurter Küche was a standardized kitchen prototype that was conceived to be mass-produced and installed in small spaces. The kitchen connected with the living room directly, eliminating the traditional separation. It was a workplace thought out with absolute economy of movement in mind, fully equipped and featuring built-in modular furniture (Martín Hernández 2014: 294-299).
- 5 It is important not to forget how badly equipped American homes remained in the mid-1940s, after more than a decade of depression and war. In 1940, 33 percent of Americans still cooked with wood or coal, and another 33 percent had no indoor running water. Moreover, 67 percent lacked central heating, 47 percent did without indoor bathing equipment, and 48 percent had no refrigerator (Green 1992: 7-8). Regarding telephones, because they were rented rather than purchased, many households quickly economized, and the percentage of those with phone service plummeted from 45 percent in 1929 to 33 percent in 1933 (Gordon 2016: 189).

Bibliography

- BAXTER, Helen. "A housewife who must live with it talks about architecture". *California Arts & Architecture*, November 1943: 28, 38.
- BELMONTE, Laura A. 2008. *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- BEECHER, Catharine Esther and Beecher Stowe, Harriet. 1869. *The American Woman's Home: Or Principles of Domestic Science*. New York: J. B. Ford and Company.
- BELL, Wendell; Dockson, Robert; Plesset, Ernst H.; Alexander, Robert E. and Jones, A. Quincy. 1959. "The Scientific Sixties". *Arts & Architecture*, June 1959: 18-19, 32-33.
- CASTILLO, Greg. 2010. *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) – Library. 1959. "The Kitchen Debate – Transcript". Ref. web: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/1959-07-24.pdf> (accessed 25 Apr. 2021).
- DAVIDSON, Joel. 1995. "Building for War, Preparing for Peace: World War II and the Military-Industrial Complex". In: Albrecht, Donald (ed.), *World War II and the American Dream: How Wartime Building Changed a Nation*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 184-229.
- DAVIS, Neill. 1944. "The 'G. I. Bill of Rights' in terms of housing". *Arts & Architecture*, October 1944: 33.
- ENTENZA, John D. 1943. "Designs for Postwar Living". *Arts & Architecture*, April 1943: 34-35, 47.
- ENTENZA, John D. 1945. "The Case Study House Program". *Arts & Architecture*, January 1945: 37-41.
- FELDMAN, Edmund Burke. 1957. "Homes in America – Second of two parts". *Arts & Architecture*, November 1957: 22-23, 36-37.
- FRIEDAN, Betty. 2001. "The Sexual Sell". In: *The Feminine Mystique* (originally published in 1963). New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 298-332.
- GORDON, Robert J. 2016. *The Rise and Fall of American Growth: The U.S. Standard of Living since the Civil War*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- GREEN, Harvey. 1992. *The Uncertainty of Everyday Life, 1915-1945*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.
- HAYDEN, Dolores and Wright, Gwendolyn. 1976. "Architecture and Urban Planning". *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol 1 Issue 4, Summer 1976: 923-933.
- HAYDEN, Dolores. 2002. *Redesigning the American Dream: Gender, Housing, and Family Life* (revised and expanded edition). New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- HINE, Thomas. 1998. "The Search for the Postwar House". In: Smith, Elizabeth A.T. (ed.), *Blueprints for Modern Living: History and Legacy of the Case Study Houses*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 167-182.
- HUXTABLE, Ada Louise. 1964. "Architectural Forum Dropped; House and Home Magazine Sold". *The New York Times*, 28 May 1964: 31.
- JERRAM, Leif. 2006. "Kitchen sink dramas: women, modernity and space in Weimar, Germany". *Cultural Geographies* 13, no. 4, October 2006: 538-556.
- KELLY, Annie. 2018. "The Housewives of White Supremacy". *The New York Times*, 3 June 2018. Ref. web: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/01/opinion/sunday/tradwives-women-alt-right.html> (accessed 25 Apr. 2021).
- MARTÍN HERNÁNDEZ, Manuel. 2014. *La casa en la arquitectura moderna. Respuestas a la cuestión de la vivienda*. Barcelona: Editorial Reverté, 2014.
- MASEY, Jack and MORGAN, Conway Lloyd. 2008. *Cold War Confrontations: US Exhibitions and their Role in the Cultural Cold War*. Baden, Switzerland: Lars Müller Publishers.
- MAY, Ernst. "Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum". *Das neue Frankfurt*, no. 11, November 1929: 209-212.

- METTLER, Suzanne. 2005. *Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- STRASSER, Susan. 1982. *Never Done: A History of American Housework*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- TRAVERS, David. 1964. "Statement of ownership, management and circulation". *Arts & Architecture*, November 1964: 39.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2017. "Historical Census of Housing Tables: Homeownership". Ref. web: <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/dec/coh-owner.html> (accessed 25 Apr. 2021).
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2019. "Historical Families Tables". Ref. web: <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/families/families.html> (accessed 25 Apr. 2021).
- VOTOLATO, Gregory. 1998. *American Design in the Twentieth Century: Personality and Performance*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.

Fecha final recepción artículos:
30/04/2021
Fecha aceptación: 07/07/2021

*Artículo sometido a revisión por
dos revisores independientes
por el método doble ciego.*