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# FEMINISM AND INTERIOR DESIGN IN THE 1960s

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## FEMINISM AND INTERIOR DESIGN

#### IN THE 1960s

by

Manli Zarandian

# A THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of

The Graduate College at the University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements

For the Degree of Master of Science

Major: Architecture

Under the Supervision of Professor Mark Hinchman

Lincoln, Nebraska

May, 2015

#### INTERIOR DESIGN AND FEMINISM

IN THE 1960s

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University of Nebraska, May 2015

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Feminism and Interior Design in the 1960s is a research endeavor that attempts to contribute to the professionalization and better recognition of the interior design discipline through addressing gender issues, and specifically analyzes the relationship between interior design and feminism in the 1960s as represented through contemporary advertising imagery. Here, professionalization refers to the process in which decoration as a domestic activity transforms to interior decoration, and later design, as a properly recognized profession.

Despite the attempts of many historians of interior design, as well as there being a great deal of existing literature on the issue of professionalization, it continues to be a matter of concern. Moreover, there is a misunderstanding of the concept of the discipline within both the academic community and the general public. Despite decades of progress, femininity, decoration, and domesticity have been deeply ingrained as the pillars of interior design throughout its history.

One perspective can give the view that interior design offered women many career opportunities, and allowed them to be seen as experts and professionals. Some examples of successful female decorators of the past are Elise de Wolfe, Dorothy Draper, and Sister Parish. Yet, women's accomplishments and contributions to the field have been counted as unequal compared to the achievements of men in the discipline. In other words, despite the high level of professionalism among the women of the field, in the end they were associated with the domestic sphere while the public sphere was, and continues to be, associated with men. A good example of this gender bias is mentioned in an article titled "Is the design's world still a boy's club?" that states Le Corbusier's response to Charlotte Perriand when she requested to join his studio and work in his architecture firm: "We don't embroider cushions here."<sup>1</sup> This clearly presents the undermining of women designers at the beginning of the modern movement, and the article continues to argue that in many respects. That perspective is still prevalent.

This thesis focuses on two issues in parallel: the relationship women have developed with interior design as well as the role and influence of the feminist movement on this relationship between women and interior design in the 1960s.

This study is developed in two parts. In part one, a brief history of both the feminist movement and interior design is presented. In part two, images and articles from three American Journals, *Better Homes and Gardens, House Beautiful* and *Ladies Home-Journal* are analyzed in terms of the indicated main concept and are categorized in different sections which will be presented later. These analyses examine how the three journals responded to the feminist movement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Alice Rawsthorn, "Is the design world still a boys' club?," *Frieze*, Published December 2014, http://www.frieze.com/issue/print\_article/by-design2/.

Dedicated to

Javid and Homeyra

# Acknowledgement

I would like to express the deepest appreciation and gratitude to my advisor, Professor. Mark Hinchman for the continuous support of my Master's thesis and for his patience, advice, and immense knowledge. Professor Hinchman's guidance and persistent help was paramount in my research. Without his help this dissertation would not have been possible. I would also like to thank Professors Betsy Gabb and Peter Olshavsky as part of my advising committee for their insightful comments, encouragement, and for the hard questions which incented me to widen my research. Last but not least, I would like to thank my family for their continuous support in this journey.

CONTENTS	C	ΟN	TE	NΊ	[S
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LIST OF FIGURES				
INTRODUCTION				
CHAPTER 1: History of Interior Design:				
A Successful Venue for Working Women				
Elise de Wolfe				
Dorothy Draper				
Sister Parish				
Florence Schust Knoll Bassett				
CHAPTER 2: History of Interior Design:				
Complicating the History of Women's Success in the Field15				
Ray Eames16				
Lilly Reich				
Eileen Gray				
CHAPTER 3: The Feminist Movement				
What is Feminism?				
The First Wave				
The Second Wave				
Peaks of the Second Wave				
Women's Organizations				
CHAPTER 4: Decorating magazines				
Introduction				
Direct Feminism				
Separation of the Spheres44				
Time Saving Supplements				
Generations				
Role Reversal62				
Education66				
Men72				
CHAPTER 5: Conclusion				
BIBLIOGRAPHY				

# LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Johnny Appleseed's campaign shirt advertisement	32
2. MPA Advertisement	33
3. Article Illustration	33
4. Article Illustration	35
5. Article Illustration	36
6. Article Illustration	38
7. Article Illustration	38
8. Article Illustration	40
9. Article Illustration	41
10. One-Step floor care advertisement	42
11. Frigidaire appliances advertisement	43
12. Amana refrigerator advertisement	44
13. Porter-Cable Machine Company advertisement	46
14. Bell telephone system advertisement	47
15. Roper gas company advertisement	50
16. Clorox advertisement	51
17. Carpet advertisement	53
18. Chevrolet advertisement	55
19. Bell extension telephone advertisement	56
20. Dryer advertisement	58

21. Dixie cup dispenser advertisement	59
22. Frigidaire oven advertisement	61
23. Thermador oven advertisement	62
24. Simplicity mower- machine advertisement	64
25. Hahn-eclipse mower-machine advertisement	64
26. Article Illustration	65
27. Article Illustration	65
28. Cover Photo	67
29. La Salle Extension University advertisement	68
30. Article Photo	69
31. Article Photo	69
32. Article Photo	70
33. Article Photo	70
34. La Salle Extension University advertisement	71
35. Article Photo	73
36. Kenwood TV lounge advertisement	75
37. Article Photo	76
38. California Redwood Association advertisement	77

Feminism and Interior Design in the 1960s

Manli Zarandian

#### Introduction

Despite the attempts of many historians of interior design, as well as there being a great deal of existing literature, the issue of professionalization continues to be a matter of concern. Moreover, there is a misunderstanding of the concept of the discipline within both the academic community and the general public. Despite decades of progress, femininity, decoration, and domesticity have been deeply ingrained as the pillars of interior design throughout its history.

Feminism and Interior Design in the 1960s is a research endeavor that attempts to historically validate and contribute to the professionalization of interior design as a discipline. Here, professionalization refers to the process in which decoration as a domestic activity becomes interior decoration, and later design, as a properly recognized profession. Through addressing gender issues and analyzing the relationship between interior design and feminism in the 1960s as represented through contemporary advertising imagery this manuscript aims to assess the visual representation of women's roles and the perception of interior design.

Throughout its history, a complicated relationship was established between women and interior design as a field of study. On one hand, interior design offered women many career opportunities, and allowed them to be seen as experts and professionals. On the other hand, women's accomplishments and contributions to the field have been counted as unequal compared to the achievements of men in the discipline. Consider the fact that interior design offered women many career opportunities, and allowed them to be seen as experts and professionals. Some examples of successful female decorators of the past are Elise de Wolfe, Dorothy Draper, and Sister Parish. Yet, women's accomplishments and contributions to the field have been counted as unequal compared to the achievements of men in the discipline. In other words, despite the high level of professionalism among the women of the field, they were ultimately associated with the domestic sphere while the public sphere was, and continues to be, associated with men. A good example of this gender bias is mentioned in an article titled "Is the design's world still a boy's club?" that states Le Corbusier's response to Charlotte Perriand when she requested to join his studio and work in his architecture firm: "We don't embroider cushions here."<sup>2</sup> This clearly presents the undermining of women designers at the beginning of the modern movement, and the article continues to argue that in many respects; that perspective is still prevalent.

This thesis focuses on two issues in parallel: the relationship women have developed in the 1960's with interior design as well as the role and influence of the feminist movement. Developed in two parts, part one is a brief history of both the feminist movement and interior design is presented. In part two, images and articles from three American Journals, *Better Homes and Gardens, House Beautiful* and *Ladies Home-Journal* are analyzed in terms of the indicated main concept and are categorized in different sections which will be presented later. These analyses examine how the three journals responded to the feminist movement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Alice Rawsthorn, "Is the design world still a boys' club?," *Frieze*, Published December 2014, http://www.frieze.com/issue/print\_article/by-design2/.

#### Major Hypotheses:

During the 1960s, decoration, and later interior design as a profession, were one of the few possible options available for women that helped them to enter the workforce, and to take the first step toward the male-dominated public sphere of commercial design. The feminist movement in that period initially presented the concept of financial independence for women, as well as equality to men; this is possibly the point where the two domains of interior design and feminism came to overlap.<sup>3</sup>

Two types of association of women with interior design can be defined. The first association is that of linking women to the field due to the high number of female practitioners, an understandable association. Second, is the link that deliberately tended to undermine women's talent, and ignores the fact that social, cultural and political context in the 1960s were playing a major role in women's choices of career. This latter generally related women's talents to their good taste, but not to their ability to design and think critically.

#### Statement of the problem

The interior design field continues to struggle with issues such as the proper recognition, professionalization, and association of women to the field, as well as a lack of a female narrated literature in its history. According to the previous studies, there is a misconception and misunderstood perception of the interior design discipline.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Christine Stansell, *The Feminist Promise*: 1792 to the Present (Modern Library: 2010), 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Linda Kaukas Havenland, "A view from the margin: Interior design," *Design issues* 20, no. 4 (2004): 32-42, URL: http://0-www.jstor.org.library.unl.edu/stable/pdf/1512000.pdf?acceptTC=true.

As a profession, interior decoration, and later interior design have been associated with domesticity and femininity throughout its history.<sup>5</sup> John Turpin, an interior design historian, stated in his study on the literature of the interior design and women, that the current literature of the interior design field has been developed largely by male architects. Therefore, despite the high number of women practitioners, men are perceived as the major and influential figures.<sup>6</sup> Also, he stated that after the feminist movement, histories have been rewritten because of the new attention to role of females, but the history of interior design is still lacking in having a female-narrated history. Another interior design historian, Mark Hinchman, discussed the non-presence of women in the fields' literature in his research paper "Interior Design History: Some Reflections". He referred to the *Dictionary of Art* which omitted important interior decorator figures such as Dorothy Draper and Elsie de Wolfe.<sup>7</sup>

Based on this evidence, it is clear that the history of interior design requires more research in the domain of women's roles in the field.

#### Significance of the problem

A better understanding of the history of women in interior design might lead scholars and practitioners to the roots of women's link to the field. Problems such as misconception and misunderstood perception of the discipline can be addressed easier

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Grace Lees-Maffei, "Introduction: professionalization as a focus in interior design History," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 1 (2008): 1-18, URL: http://jdh.oxfordjournals.org/content/21/1/1.full.pdf+html.
<sup>6</sup> John Turpin, "The History of Women in Interior Design: A Review of Literature," *Journal of Interior Design* 33, no. 1 (2007): 1-15, URL: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1939-1668.2007.tb00418.x/abstract.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Mark Hinchman, "Interior Design History: Some Reflections," *Journal of Interior Design* 38, no. 1 (2013): ix-xxi, URL: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/joid.12004/pdf.

with a more in depth knowledge on why and how women have been associated with, decoration, feminine, domesticity and interior design. In other words, analyzing the link between women and interior design can directly affect the academic and the public's perception of the field, which consequently contributes to the professionalization of the discipline.

#### Research question

This thesis focuses on two subjects. First, the relationship between women and interior design. Second, the influence of the feminist movement on that relationship.

In order to address these subjects, the main question and sub questions must be answered. The primary question is: What is the relationship between feminism, women, decorating and interior design in the 1960s? The sub questions are as follows: What is feminism? What is the history of feminism in the ninetieth the twentieth century? What is the history of interior design in the twentieth century? How did interior design journals respond to feminism in the 1960s?

# Chapter 1: History of Interior Design: A Successful Venue For Working Women

Developing a more in depth body of knowledge of interior's design's history, specifically with regards to women's roles, is extremely beneficial to the continuing professionalization and recognition of the field. In this study, in particular, two different approaches to the field's history are presented: a history that shows how interior design was a career that brought women major achievements and success, as well as a history that explains that despite the success of women in the interior design discipline, they were not counted equally as their male designer counterparts.

A brief introduction and a summary of the projects of early prominent female decorators such as Elsie de Wolfe, Dorothy Draper, Sister Parish, and Florence Knoll is presented below.

## Elsie de Wolfe

Elsie de Wolfe was born on twentieth of December 1865 to a middle-class family in New York. She was educated in Edinburgh in Scotland. After her father's death, she and her family had no money. Although, she found herself in a harsh financial situation, unlike many other young women in her time, de Wolfe chose her independence over marriage by choosing acting as her first career.<sup>8</sup> This can demonstrate her high tendency to independency, freedom, and having a career. As John Turpin states in his study "Risk as Window to Agency" de Wolfe was among the women who challenged the social, cultural and political climate of their time. De Wolfe, Dorothy Draper and Sister Parish risked their predicted safe positions as women by entering the public and masculine world of decorating and design.<sup>9</sup>

Although acting was not a successful career for de Wolfe, being on stage had its particular advantages for her, which actually played a very crucial role in her decorating profession. Her taste in fashion and the exquisite costumes on stage helped de Wolfe develop a reputation for "her style and good taste".<sup>10</sup>

De Wolfe's personal and private life was not similar to many women of her time. She was in a relationship with another woman, Elizabeth Marbury, who was a theatrical manager and a literary agent. Their relationship was deemed a "Boston marriage," a term that was used in the nineteenth and twentieth century, and described a household with no male presence. In other words, Boston marriage meant a place where two independent women were living together without a man being the provider.<sup>11</sup>

Again, de Wolfe's craving for power and independency is noticeable through her type of marriage. By the age forty, in 1910, de Wolfe identified herself as a decorator and entered the domain in which only seven percent of women were involved in decorating

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Nancy H. Blossom, and John C. Turpin, "Risk as a Window to Agency: A Case Study of Three Decorators," *Journal of Interior Design* 34, no. 1 (2008): 1-13, URL:

http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1939-1668.2008.00003.x/pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ibid, 4.

jobs.<sup>12</sup> She describes her career this way: "I am going in now for interior decoration. By that I mean supplying objects d'art and giving advice regarding the decoration of their houses to wealthy persons who do not have the time, inclination, nor culture to do such work for themselves. It is nothing new. Women have done the same thing before."<sup>13</sup>

Two of de Wolfe's most famous projects are the interior of the Colony Club in New York, and the Villa Trianon in France, where she lived with Murbury. She lived in France because it was a more liberal place for women where they enjoyed more freedom. The Colony Club was one of the first women's club houses in America, and had cocktail and smoking rooms inside. In her designs, she mostly used light colors and mirrors to create a bright atmosphere which contrasted the previous heavy and fully furnished Victorian style.<sup>14</sup> In her famous book *The House In Good Taste*, de Wolfe explains her opinions on beauty; she names uncrowded interiors, stability and furniture which can fulfil their uses as important criteria with which to examine household aesthetics.<sup>15</sup>

#### Dorothy Draper

Dorothy Draper was born in 1888, and raised in Tuxedo Park, one of the most prestigious neighborhoods in New York. Like de Wolfe, she visited Europe frequently. She was married to George Draper, a doctor from a wealthy and influential family.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Nancy H. Blossom, and John C. Turpin, "Risk as a Window to Agency: A Case Study of Three Decorators," *Journal of Interior Design* 34, no. 1 (2008): 1-13, URL:

http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1939-1668.2008.00003.x/pdf. <sup>13</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>--</sup> IDIO, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Elsie De Wolfe, *The House In Good Taste*. (New York: The Century Co, 1914), 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Nancy H. Blossom, and John C. Turpin, "Risk as a Window to Agency: A Case Study of Three Decorators." *Journal of Interior Design* 34, no. 1 (2008): 1-13.

After Draper gave birth to her third child, she decided to be a decorator, and due to her wealth it was easier for her to start her own business. She established her first company, The Architectural Clearing House, in 1925, which offered consulting services in design. In 1930, she founded her second company, Dorothy Draper Inc.<sup>17</sup>

Although she was quite successful in her professional life, she got divorced and was left with less money that she was normally accustomed to. She could not afford the luxurious life she had previously, and therefore was forced to move to a one bedroom apartment.<sup>18</sup> One of her famous quotes was: "there are two types of women, those who are happily married and those who are decorators."<sup>19</sup> This statement clearly indicates that in Draper's opinion decorating was a career for women who are independent and not supported by men. It is intriguing that Draper named decorating, and not any other profession, as a profession for women. This may show how deep the association between women and interior decorating was in the beginning of the twentieth century.

Some of Draper's career achievements were her commercial projects. She heightened her decorating career level by engaging herself in commercial contracts. Several of her most famous projects were done during the 1930s and 1940s: The Hampshire House; Arrowhead Springs Resort (1939) California; the Quitandinha Resort (1944) in Brazil; and the Greenbrier Resort (1948) in White Sulphur, West Virginia.<sup>20</sup> In addition to her ability in commercial design, she was a successful project manager. She was mostly working with businessmen and tycoons, and she had a reputation for doing the work she promised, on time and within budget. She is now widely regarded as one of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Nancy H. Blossom, and John C. Turpin, "Risk as a Window to Agency: A Case Study of Three Decorators," *Journal of Interior Design* 34, no. 1 (2008): 1-13.
<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid.

the most influential early decorators. One of her admirers is Donald Albrecht, the curator of architecture and design at the Museum of the City of New York, who believes that one can see Draper's influence "everywhere from Frank Gehry's architectural forms to Philippe Starck's Ghost Chair."<sup>21</sup>

Draper had a key role in defining women decorators of her time. Her importance is not only due to the characteristics of her magnificent designs which are defined as eyepopping colors, oversize prints, and controlled flourishes, but because of her prominent attempts to bring decorating to the public domain and commercial projects.<sup>22</sup> While most of Draper's projects were in the domestic sphere, she did a few commercial projects. Draper's projects bridged the domestic sphere to the public, and changed the assumption that women as decorators must only work in domestic sphere.

#### Sister Parish

Dorothy May Kinnicut, known as Sister Parish, was born in the United States in 1910. She came from a wealthy family and, like Draper and de Wolfe had visited Europe multiple times. By the time she was twenty years old, Sister Parish married the well-to-do Henry Parish II.<sup>23</sup> Much like Draper and de Wolfe, Parish entered the decorating arena by designing the inside of her own house in Far Hills, New Jersey in 1930.<sup>24</sup> Although she had no educational background in design, her ideas and suggestions in decoration were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Wendey Goodman, "The Draper Effect, "New York, 2006: 61-65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Nancy H. Blossom, and John C. Turpin, "Risk as a Window to Agency: A Case Study of Three Decorators," *Journal of Interior Design* 34, no. 1 (2008): 1-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Nancy H. Blossom, and John C. Turpin, "Risk as a Window to Agency: A Case Study of Three Decorators," *Journal of Interior Design* 34, no. 1 (2008): 1-13.

considered valuable. Some of Sister Parish's later projects were decorating the living room of the Essex Hunt Club and embellishing the Howard Johnson's restaurant in New Jersey.<sup>25</sup>

Parish faced a similar situation as did De Wolfe and Draper after the market crashed. As a consequence, she found herself struggling financially, but Parish entered the decorating world, in which she became very successful. She stated that in the beginning of her journey to decorating, she was not optimistic about her career choice and found herself in an impossible situation, mostly because she was, to use today's phrase, a stay-at-home mother with children. It is interesting to mention that when Parish started her own firm, her husband's wealthy family did not approve and support her career; this went so far that one of the members cut her husband out of the will.<sup>26</sup> This suggests that even though she was in dire circumstance, familial pressure was exerted on her to stay out of the public realm. Also, it appears that her only chance to have a career was through becoming a decorator.<sup>27</sup> This emphasizes that decorating was one of the few possible choices for women to become financially independent. Despite her doubts and concerns about becoming a decorator, one of her first projects was a \$100,000 contract, which was a remarkable amount of money at the time.

Parish's design was quite ahead of her time. She was interested in the practical aspects of decoration. The prominent projects of hers are as follows: the living room of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Nancy H. Blossom, and John C. Turpin, "Risk as a Window to Agency: A Case Study of Three Decorators," *Journal of Interior Design* 34, no. 1 (2008): 1-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Adam Lewis, and Jeremiah Goodman, *The Great Lady Decorators: The Women who Defined Interior Design*, 1870-1955 (New York: Rizzoli, 2010), 262.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Nancy H. Blossom, and John C. Turpin, "Risk as a Window to Agency: A Case Study of Three Decorators," *Journal of Interior Design* 34, no. 1 (2008): 1-13.

the Essex Hunt Club with an orange and aqua theme color, John Kennedy's residence when he was a senator, and later portions of the White House.

#### Florence Schust Bassett

A prominent architect and interior designer in the postwar period, Florence Schust was born in Michigan in 1917. Her father, Fredrick Schust, was an immigrant from Switzerland, and met his wife Mina in college. Florence's parents died when she was very young, with her father's passing first, followed by her mother's a few years later, making Florence an orphan by the time she was twelve years old.<sup>28</sup> Florence's enrollment in the Kingswood school gave her the opportunity to meet Eliel Saarinen, who was the director of the school. Florence became close to Saarinen's family; she attended family events and traveled with them extensively. Among the discussions Florence and the Saarinen family took part in were intellectual and architectural arguments. She also benefited from Eero Saarinen's advice in the realm of architecture.<sup>29</sup>

Her experiences with the Saarinens opened her thinking horizons, and influenced her design ability and critical thinking. After she graduated with a degree in architecture from Colombia University, she started an internship in Marcel Breuer's office, and later continued her architectural education at the Illinois Institution of Technology.<sup>30</sup> During her internship, Florence met a great number of the important architects of her time, in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Philip G Hofstra, *Florence Knoll, Design and the Modern American Office Workplace* (ProQuest: 2008), 36.
<sup>29</sup> Ibid.
<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 42.

addition to working with Breuer. She stated that, Mies Van der Rohe had "a profound effect on [her] design approach and clarification of design."<sup>31</sup> She gained more experience in interior design when she started working in Wallace K. Harrison's architectural office.

Florence Knoll was one of the primary figures who attempted to present a new concept of interior design as a profession, and played an important role in the professionalization of the field. Her specialty was the interior design of workplaces, and she was one of the first women and interior designers that entered the workplace design realm. According to Phillip G. Hofstra's book on Knoll: "Florence Knoll could have pursued architectural work, but opportunities were greater for women in interior design."<sup>32</sup> This statement can prove that women were highly linked were interior design, and actually had better job opportunities in that discipline. Florence Knoll married to Hans Knoll in 1946, and the fact that she was in love with him, positioned her closer to interior design projects. She also presented herself specifically as an interior designer and not a decorator, which was a part of her efforts to aid in the professionalization of the field. Florence Knoll's design characteristics were rooted in her ideas about humanized modernism; she believed in the essentiality of color, texture, and comfort in a human's life.<sup>33</sup> Hofstra describes Knoll's approach to interior design is what today is known as the responsibilities of the interior designers. Florence Knoll's greatest achievement was becoming a full partner in the firm that her husband established, The Knoll Associates.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Philip G Hofstra, *Florence Knoll, Design and the Modern American Office Workplace* (ProQuest: 2008), 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ibid, 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Bobbye Tigerman, "'I Am Not a Decorator': Florence Knoll, the Knoll Planning Unit and the Making of the Modern Office," *Journal of Design History* 20, no. 1 (2007): 61-74. URL: http://0-www.jstor.org.library.unl.edu/stable/4540337.

Knoll Associates mostly designed office furniture as well as doing workplace interior design. Their design philosophy included "appreciation for craft, superior design and elegant simplicity"<sup>34</sup> This company is still in the business and is one of the most successful among similar firms.

As presented, the most famous early decorators went through similar experiences; they had visited Europe and came from middle to upper class families. Of course, the most prominent common matter among them is the fact that they struggled with financial situations, and found decorating as the finest solution for their problems. Despite numerous women that lived in their time, the early decorators resisted to accept the common and long-established roles that society was forcing to them. Another point is that mostly these women used their wealth as the main support of their business. This raises a question of how many talented women are not mentioned in the history of interior design due to the lack of financial support. This can raise a question that how many talented women lived that could not afford to establish a firm, and consequently have no stance in the current literature of interior design.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Philip G Hofstra, *Florence Knoll, Design and the Modern American Office Workplace* (ProQuest: 2008), 41.

# Chapter 2: History Of Interior Design: Complicating The History of Women's Success in the Field

The previous chapter demonstrated that interior decorating and later interior design, were successful professional venues for women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, despite women's success in the profession, many historians studying the history of interior design believe that a large number of women who practiced in the field have been ignored, and their contributions to the discipline were not considered equal to men's. As John Turpin stated in one of his studies on the achievements of women in interior decorating: "The current literature on the history of the interior design profession is replete with evidence of gender discrimination. Women in the discipline of interior design are presented as being insignificant in the development of the profession"<sup>35</sup>

The focus in this section is not on the successes of the women in the field, but women's struggles on their way to gain credibility and acceptance from the maledominated domain of architecture and design. To demonstrate how the field has ignored women or treated them differently, Ray Eames, Lilly Reich, and Eileen Gray's lives and projects in particular will be presented.

The obstacles that obscured women's paths to success and professionalization started decades earlier than women's presence in work places; in particular it began in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> John C. Turpin, "Omitted, devalued, ignored: Reevaluating the historical interpretation of women in the interior design profession, " *Journal of Interior Design* 27, no. 1 (2001): 1-11.

universities. In many countries, including the United States, women were not allowed to enter architectural programs in specific universities until the late nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. For example, Cornell University and the University of Illinois admitted both men and women into their architecture programs, but Harvard prevented women's admission to their architecture program even up to 1915.<sup>36</sup>

#### Ray Eames

Ray Eames and her husband Charles Eames developed one of the most famous architecture and design firms in the post war period. Their most famous designs are the bent plywood chair, in 1946, the fiber glass chair in 1950, and their lounge chair in 1965.<sup>37</sup> Charles was educated in architecture, and Ray had a background in painting and movie directing. Although the couple gained their fame mostly through their furniture design firm and exhibitions, they were also interested in science, philosophy, cinema, and other fields. Charles and Ray Eames collaborated in life and in their work; they had a very deep and profound partnership. All of their projects and success were products of their joint efforts. Although, due to the complex type of partnership, it is almost impossible to credit any of the specific aspects of the final product to either of them

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Kathryn H Anthony, *Designing for diversity: Gender, race, and ethnicity in the architectural profession*. (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 48.

 $<sup>\</sup>label{eq:http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=qqo2LXIaW7YC&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=lilly+reich+the+designer&ots=WkWourDuec&sig=NWb359cJwaduG1tFbCbtyrDdjFA#v=onepage&q=lilly%20reich%20the%20designer&f=false.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Pat Kirkham, Charles and Ray Eames: designers of the twentieth century. (MIT Press, 1998), 1.

 $http://books.google.com/books?hl=en\&lr=\&id=JJGeC8kqrEUC\&oi=fnd\&pg=PP13\&dq=Ray+Eames+the+interior+designer\&ots=01IXDyeMao\&sig=MNoNDLCiAx_rcEK-the-interior+designer\&ots=01IXDyeMao&sig=MNoNDLCiAx_rcEK-the-interior+designer\&keK-the-interior+designer\&keK-the-interior+designekkeK-the-interior+designekkeK-th$ 

Vwi0oyxdgzc#v=onepage&q=Ray%20Eames%20the%20interior%20designer&f=false

alone.<sup>38</sup> The literature about Charles and Ray Eames mentions that Charles not only emphasized how much of an active and critical role his wife had in all of their projects, but that he also cared deeply for Ray, and helped her enormously in developing her design ideas. In admiration of Ray's talent he once said "anything I can do, she can do better."<sup>39</sup> One of their employees in the Eames Company emphasized how significant Ray's role was in the design projects: "Ray played an important part in refining shapes and argues that the final forms of the furniture seen as a joint effort."<sup>40</sup> Yet, despite Charles's effort to showcase his and his wife's equal roles in the company, the design community did not accept Ray as a modernist designer, and did not initially appreciate her the way she deserved. Pat Kirkham, a historian interested in the marginalization of women in design history, writes in her book about Charles and Ray Eames that she intended to write about Ray Eames so she can she revive her from the margins of the design domain.<sup>41</sup> Kirkham also mentioned in another research endeavor of hers that in the period Ray and Charles were seen similar to Charles Rennie Mackintosh and his partner Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh.

In both partnerships, men were associated with the genius and talent, while women's projects were linked with decoration instead of structure. A review of Kirkham's book is written by Pamela H. Simpson in which she mentions: "success was aided by partnership with a famous husband. Yet there was a downside, as Eames and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Ibid, 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Pat Kirkham, "Introducing Ray Eames (1912-1988)," *Furniture History* 26, (1990): 132-141. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/23407149Accessed.
<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 132.

<sup>1010, 152.</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Ibid, 133.

Brown were often denied credit for what they did."42 An example of undermining Ray's

role in her partnership happened in the British Society of Artists and Designers award,

where rewarded Charles for his projects and contributions with a medal, while Ray

presented with a mere consolation prize: a rose after the medal ceremony for her

husband.43

Kirkham conducted a personal interview with Ray in which she explains some of

the misconceptions surrounding her role as a woman. She responded to a question about

her significant role in coloring the projects:

It annoys me when people write that Ray 'did the colour'. First of all it is wrong. We both did it. But it also implies that I did that and nothing else. In the same way they say 'Oh, Ray — well she did the interior' because they feel the exterior was all Charles. [Pat Kirkham asks again] Do you think that is because you are a woman and women are associated with interior decoration? [Ray Eames answers] Of course.<sup>44</sup>

From rewarding Ray with a rose to associating her with colors in their joint projects

with Charles, it is clear that the design community initially undermined Ray and the

legacy she left behind.

# Lilly Reich

Lilly Reich (1885-1947) was a German designer, whose work varies from fashion

design to architecture. She had "more than 800 drawings of designs for clothing,

household items, furnishings, and layouts, plus almost 100 photographs of installations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Pamela H. Simpson, "Women Designers in the USA, 1900-2000: Diversity and difference," a review. Pat Kirkham. Review by: Pamela H. Simpson Source: *Woman's Art Journal* 22, no. 2 (autumn, 2001 - winter, 2002), 53-54. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1358907Accessed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Pat Kirkham, "Introducing Ray Eames (1912—1988)," *Furniture History* 26, (1990): 132-141. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/23407149Accessed.

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

and projects that Reich completed with others or in her own atelier" in her archive.<sup>45</sup> She had a great work experience due to her collaboration with well-known firms such as Wertheim and Gerson in Berlin; she also worked with the Werkbund association in 1912.<sup>46</sup> Reich's most famous projects are her collaboration in the Werkbund Shop-window project in 1913, and the Glass exhibit in Berlin in 1934 which was a joint effort between Mies Van der Rohe, Lilly Reich, and the German Textile Exhibit of 1929 in Barcelona.<sup>47</sup> The historian Esther da costa Meyer admires Reich's installation project and states: "Her lapidary elegance and originality in this area remain a milestone in the history of design."<sup>48</sup>

Despite her success in the design arena, Reich did not receive proper recognition of her work, even in the last years of her life. This issue mostly stems from her collaboration and her relationship with Mies Van der Rohe. In the male-dominated arena of architecture, Reich was overshadowed by her male partner. An article by Magdalena Droste on Reich's work describes her secondary position in comparison to Mies and said: "She is so overshadowed by her collaborator that she is hardly mentioned in Miesian literature (that published in English, at least)."<sup>49</sup>

This matter is mentioned in the da Costa Meyer's research on Reich as well. Meyer claims that collaboration and dedication to Mies caused Reich to pay a high price, which was her marginalization in the domain of design and architecture. Then, Meyer

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Virginia Pitts Rambert, "Lilly Reich: Designer and Architect," a review, ed. Mathilda Mc Quaid, ed. Magdalena Droste. *Woman's Art Journal* 18, no. 2 (Autumn, 1997 - Winter, 1998), 57. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1358560.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Esther da Costa Meyer, "Cruel Metonymies: Lilly Reich's Designs for the 1937 World's Fair," *New German Critique* 76, (1999): 161-189. Duke University Press Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/488661.
<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Review Author(s): Virginia Pitts Rembert Review by: Virginia Pitts Rembert Source: *Woman's Art Journal* 18, no. 2 (Autumn, 1997 - Winter, 1998), 57. Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1358560.

adds: "There is no question of Mies's deep and lasting impact on her. But the exact extent of her influence on Mies may never be known. During their intermittent work and occasional life together, her projects were often overshadowed by his."<sup>50</sup>

It can be accepted that Lilly Reich was a talented, successful, and influential designer but she definitely had more to offer the design world that did not embrace her. There is a high possibility that Reich had a profound effect on the joint projects with Mies Van der Rohe. This can give her equal credit for her collaboration with Mies, but unfortunately the work of Reich was not appreciated by the design community, and she did not receive attention until decades after she died, in the last decades of the twentieth century.

#### Eileen Gray

Born into a privileged Irish family, Eileen Gray (1878-1976) was one of the most successful designers and architects of her time. She finished her studies in the Slade School of Art. In 1900 she visited Paris, and later London, the city that influenced her work later. With a background in drawing and painting, she augmented her experience in art by attending the Ecole Colarossi and Academia Julien.<sup>51</sup>

Gray's projects in the early stages of her work were profoundly influenced by a lacquer shop in Soho, which later led to her work with a Japanese artist. Years later, she

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>Esther da Costa Meyer, "Cruel Metonymies: Lilly Reich's Designs for the 1937 World's Fair," *New German Critique* 76, (1999): 161-189. Duke University Press Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/488661.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Charlotte Benton, "Eileen Gray": a review, ed. Peter Adam, *Journal of Design History* 5, no. 4 (1992), pp. 308-310. http://0-www.jstor.org.library.unl.edu/stable/1315997.

learned about the area of rug design from Evelyn Wyld.<sup>52</sup> Similar to Lilly Reich, Gray exhibited her work in such places as Salon des Artistes Decorateurs in Amsterdam in 1913, and at the Salon des Artistes Decorateurs and the Salon d'Automne in the early 1920s.<sup>53</sup> Gray knew and worked with famous architects and institutes such as Balles and Le Corbusier, but the architect Jean Badovici influenced Gray, and turned her interest towards architecture. This led to their villa E.1027, a controversial project for Gray, and also a collaborative work between herself and Badovici. Gray designed the interior of the villa, which many people admired. Years later, Le Corbusier painted murals in the house without Gray's permission.<sup>54</sup> As a result, Gray was furious, because she believed that she had done a good and tasteful work, and that no one should step on another designer's work. Although she was an avant-garde designer and worked with modern designers, Grav said that "Theory is not sufficient and does not answer to all its requirements."<sup>55</sup> This statement shows that she did not want to be restricted to the principles and design characteristics of modernism, and that she did not believe that a house is a machine for living. The later changes in the villa made by Le Corbusier that had, at one time, demonstrated Gray's exceptional architectural talents the best, illustrates that some of the male architects of the time did not want to accept women as professionals within the field. Le Corbusier's actions may show that he believed his designs to be superior to Gray's or that he was intimidated by her talent, and literary wanted to cover it up. However, he actually admired Gray's work in villa E.1027, and acknowledged that her

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Isabelle Anscombe, "Eileen Gray: Architect/Designer. A biography": a review, ed. Peter Adam. *The Burlington Magazin* 130, no. 1027 (Oct., 1988), 782. URL: http://o-www.jstor.org.library.unl.edu/stable/883513.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Charlotte Benton, "Eileen Gray": a review, Journal of Design History 5, no. 4 (1992), 308-310.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Constant, Caroline. "E. 1027: The Nonheroic Modernism of Eileen Gray." *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (1994): 265-279.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Ibid, 265.

work was good, but through his actions insisted that his design was better.

Considering the life and work of these women designers, there exists a pattern: despite their high talents in design, they did not obtain the attention and appreciation they deserved, and were overshadowed by their male partners. In other words, it can be concluded that women had the secondary role in the design's realm, as well as they had in the society.

# Chapter 3: The Feminist Movement

## What is feminism?

According to commonly accepted dictionary definitions, the word feminism is defined as "a theory/or movement concerned with advancing the position of women through such means as achievement of political, legal, or economic rights equal to those granted to men."<sup>56</sup> Although, there is no specific definition which scholars agree on, in concept the feminist movement is a social-political movement that was established to demonstrate and fight against existing gender based inequalities. Christine Stansell, a feminist scholar, describes feminism as a metropolitan democratic movement with a political and psychological background that seeks sexual equality.<sup>57</sup>

#### The First Wave

The roots of the feminist tradition are planted under the political and social climate of the post-revolutionary period in America and England, as well as the reaction of women to the separation of spheres, which was due to the commercial and industrial growth in the nineteenth century. One of the earliest and most significant writings on women is written in 1792 by Mary Wollstencraft, an English writer who was influenced

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>Karren Offen, "Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach," *Signs* 14, no.1 (1988): 119-157, http://www.drbeardmoose.com/sitebuildercontent/sitebuilderfiles/whatisfeminism.pdf .
 <sup>57</sup>Ibid.

by the French revolution, titled *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* which many scholars believe was the beginning of the modern feminism.<sup>58</sup>

The women's right movement was the main women's movement that established in the nineteenth century. In that period, women's concerns were mostly legal issues; some examples of what they demanded include: legal standing, rights of wages, rights to equal education, rights to a political voice, and the right to vote. Supporters of the abolition of slavery and women's rights movements were both minorities during the nineteenth century; their unity led to the establishment of the suffrage movement. The suffrage movement's primary goal was to fight for the freedom of African Americans as well as the civil rights of women in the United States. Women's right activists were largely upper-middle class white women. Later in 1869 Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, two of the main figures of the women's rights movements, founded a new organization called the National Women Suffrage Association or (NWSA).<sup>59</sup> One of the most important achievements of NWSA was that they succeeded in achieving the women's right to vote in 1920. Women's activists in the nineteenth century is referred to as the "first wave" of feminism.

Although winning the vote was a turning point for women, it was a starting point for the feminist movement; it still was a long journey for women to go in order to claim their rights and to fight inequalities in the world. That was the remained and unresolved important women issued that spread the seeds of the Second Wave of feminism.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Christine Stansell, *The Feminist Promise: 1792 to the Present* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), 153.
 <sup>59</sup> Ibid, 91.

#### The Second Wave

#### Background

At the turn of the century, America was in the middle of a crisis that started in the 1890s, which included the following: labor battles, the Panic of 1893, massive unemployment, and racial violence.<sup>60</sup> During World War II, women had great responsibilities; married women were under a heavy emotional pressure which they struggled to cope with, and yet they continued to look after children and often were the family's provider. Consequently, masses of women entered the workplace and performed the tasks that the men, who now were at war, used to do; women worked in factories, shipyards and steel mills.<sup>61</sup> Women were referred to as "Soldiers without guns" which implies their significant role in the war period.<sup>62</sup> Despite all the power and acceptance that women gained in workplaces in America, the postwar period created very different circumstances for them. Post war ideology mainly was focused on consumerism and domesticity, which placed women with high paid war time jobs back at home again.<sup>63</sup> As a consequence, women were pushed to play the perfect housewife's role: to look for Mr. Right, to get married and have children. Betty Frieden, one of the most prominent

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Christine Stansell, *The Feminist Promise: 1792 to the Present* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), 121.
 <sup>61</sup> Emily Yellin, *Our mother's War: American Women at Home and at the Front During the World War II.*

<sup>(</sup>New York: Simon& Schuster, 2010), 39. http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=BcQDE0Ce9GAC&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=our+mother%27 s+war&ots=t8scYjS48l&sig=gt8BkyihBYHwMswLuc4jzA\_74Mk#v=onepage&q=our%20mother%27s%2 0war&f=false.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Christine Stansell, *The Feminist Promise: 1792 to the Present* (Modern Library, 2010), 91.

feminist figures of the twentieth century, discussed the issue of "the problem that has no name" in her famous book The *Feminine Mystique*:

It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover materials, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and brownies, lay beside her husband at night- she was afraid to ask, even of herself the silent question – "is that all?"<sup>64</sup>

She also explains how women were encouraged to leave school and get married, to not want to work and have a career, and therefore how deeply unsatisfied women were before the 1960s. Another influential ideology at the time was social Darwinism which essentially implied that men and women were naturally different, and that based on this difference, women's main function is to give birth to children. These issues were further pushing women to the margin.<sup>65</sup>

Particularly in the 1950s, all of these circumstances contributed to forcing women to play a traditional female role, to sacrifice, and not to seek their individualities in the world. Fortunately, years later in the1960s, the political and social climate for feminism started becoming more hospitable.

# Peaks of the Second Wave

The second wave of feminism does not have a specific start date. As the term wave implies, the second wave can be referred to as the period after the 1920s until the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Betty Frieden, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: WW Norton& Company, 2010), 57. http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=Xg6NEVBTM6IC&oi=fnd&pg=PA11&dq=the+feminine+ mystique&ots=nZLkVTkX9\_&sig=LY0Eg8EBCyerDQxDDS8yNPoEo6I#v=onepage&q=the%20feminine %20mystique&f=false.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Christine Stansell, The Feminist Promise: 1792 to the Present (New York: Modern Library, 2010), 124.

mid-1960s and 1970s which were the peak points of the movement. One of the main concerns of the second wave activists was to enter and be influential in the domain of politics.<sup>66</sup> Also, with the start of the twentieth century women became more educated, which led to their changing ideologies and priorities. They were not simply discussing women's rights anymore; they established themselves as feminists. Years later, women presented the idea of the New Womanhood. The New Women were independent, tough, strong, interested in politics, and capable women who are adventurous and revel in new experiences.<sup>67</sup> Also, feminist theories encouraged women to work. The number of women in the work force increased dramatically, but women were still employed in the most basic positions and received minimal pay.<sup>68</sup> Flora Davis, a feminist writer, wrote in her book titled *Moving the Mountain*, that the highest achievement of the second wave of feminism was the shift in society's general assumptions about women and their capabilities.<sup>69</sup> Activists such as Frieden and Stanton played a major role in the achievements of the Second Wave but aside from Betty Frieden and Elizabeth Stanton, Simon de Beauvoir was also an iconic figure in the realm of feminism. This also underscores that feminism was not exclusively an American phenomenon. Born in 1908, Simone-Ernestine-Lucie-Marie de Beauvoir was a feminist intellectual writer as well as a university teacher who profoundly influenced and made major contributions to the second wave of feminism, and became a liberationist in the 1970s. She wrote important books in feminist literature such as The Second Sex, Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter, The

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Christine Stansell, *The Feminist Promise: 1792 to the Present* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), 150.
 <sup>67</sup> Ibid, 151.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Davis, Flora, *Moving the mountain: The women's movement in America since 1960*.(Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 16.

*Prime of Life, Force of Circumstances,* and *All Said and Done. The second Sex* is a book in which she exclusively discusses the secondary statues of women. She explains her famous quote "One is not born a women, one becomes one" in her interview in 1975 in the French TV show the Questionnaire as follows:

Being a woman is not a natural fact. It is a result of a certain history. There is no biological or psychological destiny that define a woman as such. She is the production of a history, a civilization, first of all, which resulted in her current status. And secondly for each individual women, of her personal history, in particular that of her childhood. This determines her as a woman. Creates in her something which is not at all innate, or an essence, something which has been called the "eternal feminine", or femininity.<sup>70</sup>

As can be understood, women activists formed the pillars of the second wave of feminism in the early twentieth century; they introduced the world a new face of women. Part of their further attempts led to establishment of organizations which will be discussed below.

### Women's Organizations

After the first wave subsided, and women had achieved their principal goal of the right to vote, the women's movement was left with no unifying purpose. Subsequently, the women's suffrage movement was divided in two groups: moderates and militant suffragists. The militant group established an organization named the National Women's Party (NWP) with the leadership of Alice Paul. The NWP members were more radical,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Simon de Beauvoir, interview by Jean Iouis Servan Schreiber The Questionnaire, 1975. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v2LkME3MMNk.

and at the time were the only activists that used the word "feminist" to describe themselves. Later, they ran a campaign to pass the Equal Right's Amendment (ERA).<sup>71</sup>

The moderate group that had branched out from the main suffrage movement, created the nonpartisan League of Women Voters. This group's activities mainly included: the education of women for their new citizenship, The League of Women Voters supported ERA, and supported various reforms in the women's rights movement. The group also had a non-gender agenda, which was simply to promote voting in general among the populace.

Despite the divisions in the mainstream feminist movement, feminist activities continued in the 1920s and 1930s. However, due to the confrontation and disagreements between the two main factions of the movement, there were few milestones achieved for woman's right. As mentioned before, after the Second World War, despite the fact that the number of educated females and laborers was increasing, the political and social climate was hardly conducive towards creating satisfying improvements for women's rights. Women were under pressure to return to and play the traditional female role once again. Another aspect that was intensifying the marginalization of women in the postwar period was the further division of the woman's organizations by 1945. There were three main activist groups: the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, National Woman's Party, and the third was mainly a conglomerate of women's activists in politics which had no specific title or name. None of these groups had significant achievements during the 1940s and 1950s. The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor could

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Verta Tyler, "Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance," *American Sociological Review* 51, no 5 (1989): 761-775, http://prelim2009.filmbulletin.org/readings/08-Social\_Change/Taylor%20Social%20Movement%20Continuity%20The%20Womens%20Movement%20in %20Abeyance.pdf.

contribute to the improvements of women's working conditions improvements and also defeated ERA. The NWP was focused on passing the ERA amendment, and the active women in politics requested a separate party for women in Congress in order to help woman become more involved with political decision making.<sup>72</sup>

Although women's activities between the 1920s and mid-1960s were not so prominent, they prepared the context for the rise of the new woman in 1960s. The establishment of the National Organization for Women (NOW) by Betty Friedan in 1966 was a turning point for women in America. NOW untied feminist activists, labor union activists, and government employees. Betty Friedan said about the formation of NOW: "under-ground network" of longtime committed feminists who provided crucial resources necessary for the formation of NOW. Even Alice Paul joined NOW, although she criticized NOW members for acting "as if they've discovered the whole idea."<sup>73</sup>

As implied in this chapter, women encountered countless challenges in their journey to equality, and to present themselves as the New Women. The next chapter explores how part of the women's community, in particular, women's magazines digest the concept of feminism.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Verta Tyler, "Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance, "American Sociological Review 51, no 5 (1989): 761-775. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2117752.
 <sup>73</sup> Christine Stansell, *The Feminist Promise: 1792 to the Present* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), 45.

#### Chapter 4: Decorating Magazines

#### Introduction

Previous chapters briefly presented a background on women decorators and their role in the establishment of interior design as a career as well as demonstrating the obstacles women faced through their journeys to professional success. Furthermore, a concise history of the feminist movement was established in order to set the context for the 1960s when the two worlds met in the pages of women's magazines. The movement had its profound influences and reflections in layers of the society. Therefore, media as a prominent form of communication, were responsible to address and echo the feminist movement in both explicit and implicit ways.

This chapter in particular interprets three decoration magazines in America from 1960 to 1969 through analyzing their advertisements and articles in order to inspect how these magazines reflected interior decoration, the feminist movement, and women in particular.

The 1960s is selected due to the significant women's achievements and intense activities during this period. The 1960s coincided peaks of the Second Wave of the feminist movement occurred in the 1960s. The studied magazines are *Ladies Home Journal, Better Homes and Gardens*, and *House Beautiful*. All three magazines enjoyed the high circulation numbers.

Advertisement images as well as article images are separated into seven categories: direct feminism, separation of spheres, role reversals, education, men, generations, and time saving appliances.

## **Direct Feminism**



Figure 1. Johnny Appleseed's campaign shirt advertisement. House Beautiful. June 1960 p, 22.

An advertisement from *House Beautiful* is showing an Appleseed's campaign shirt advertisement that demonstrates a woman with a typical 1960s outfit, and haircut (fig. 1). She is holding a flag that says "vote" which encourages people to participate in the upcoming election. The focus of the image is on the woman. She is smiling, and has a thin and feminine body. Despite her feminine figure her and clothes, she is shown in an image within the content of politics. Due to the image's presence in a decorating magazine, it therefore conflates the world of fashion, voter participation and design. Also, this type of image can present women who are entering the male-dominated world of politics, and women who are entering the public sphere.

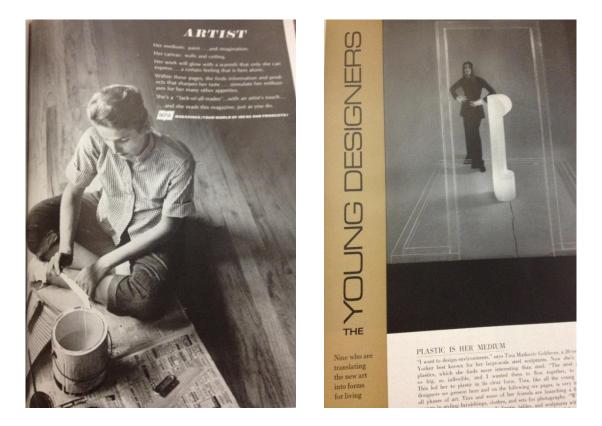


Figure 2 (left). MPA Advertisement. *House Beautiful*. April 1964 p, 17. Figure 3. (right). Article "The Young Designers: Plastic is Her Medium". *House Beautiful*. July 1969 p, 43.

Figure 2 is an advertisement from *House Beautiful* in 1964, and figure 3 is an image from an article from the same publication that appeared in 1969. In the painting advertisement, the woman is sitting on the wooden floor (fig. 2). She is working with a

white paint, a modern and neutral color. She has a masculine haircut; her hair is short. She is wearing a pant and a button shirt; in composite she is presented as a modern, as well as her surroundings are. She is described as an artist in the text which demonstrates her abilities and talents were not considered amateur, unprofessional, or taste related. The image on the right demonstrates a woman as one of the current young designers of her time. She is wearing a plain black outfit. The woman is pictured in a gray background, and is standing next to a piece that is probably one of hers. Similar to the left image, the surroundings are very modern and simple.

These photos are important and remarkable due to the different images they are presenting of women. Women were usually referred to as decorators, but now are introduced as artists and designers. Both women are attractive, yet not in a stereotypical or reductive way. This article shows the magazines responding quite directly to the fact that roles for women were changing, and they are examining this in the world of the arts and decorating, which after all is their subject.

An article from *House Beautiful* in 1969 introduces twelve successful women in the 1960s while connecting them to horoscope signs (fig. 4). The life and achievements of these women is briefly presented. One of the women is Gloria Steinem, an active feminist. In other words, the article attempts to emphasize the women's success and importance, and their changed roles in the American community. This article presents role models for women in some ways; it encourages them to continue their education and have a professional career.

This article is interesting due to connecting women to horoscope signs. It seems that despite the attempts of the magazine to show women as modern and

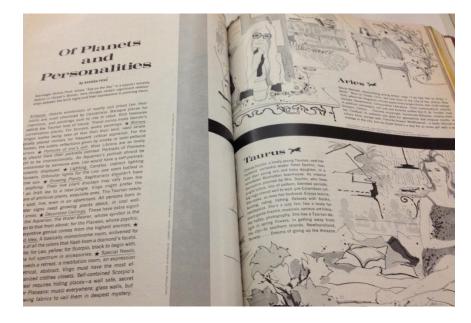


Figure 4. Xavora Pov'e. "Of Planets and Personalities," House Beautiful. (April 1969): p. 72 and 73.

contemporary, it also shifts the topic to horoscope signs in order to make the topic less serious and less threatening. The magazine needed to be careful in addressing the feminism issue. They (magazines) intended to be current, but not offend people or some of their readers. That is probably the main reason of addressing direct feminism cautiously, which can imply that the public was not fully ready for extreme shifts and changes of roles.

An article illustration from *Ladies Home Journal* in 1966 shows a woman sitting on a chair alone around a table (fig. 5). There are white curtains, white walls, and a white sheet on the table. The floor as well as the chairs and console like piece on the left has a dark color. The curves and the legs in the furniture, besides the Chinese plate and other ornamentations, express a semi-Victorian environment.

The text underneath the image says: "Husband at work, children quieted, an American housewife reflects on the monotony of her days." This is presenting that in that specific period, some American housewives were not satisfied with their place in society. This, shows that it was only men who had a job, and it was the woman who needed to look after the children. The text strongly reflects Betty Frieden's argument about the pain with no name, discussed in the previous chapter.

This image perfectly captures a general malaise that is attributed to many women in the 1950s and 1960s, expressing a feeling that somehow their lives should have more meaning, even if they were being unsure about what changes would bring that about.



Figure 5. "When I think how bored I am, I hate myself." Ladies Home Journal. November 1966.

p, 97

Two photographs that illustrated articles in 1961 and 1969 show participation of women in the public sphere (figs. 6 and 7).

Figure 6 is a black and white picture that shows a conference room in which a group of men and women are working on a project or deciding on quite important issues; their formal clothes and their facial expressions clearly confirm the importance of the session. The traditional interior has long heavy draperies, a chandelier with crystal hangers which expresses its decorating purposes, and the fabric on the table give the place a traditional touch. Although, the paintings from the human body, and the chairs are traditional.

All the women have a short and trendy haircut, and are wearing quite dark and professional clothes. Also, they are the minority in comparison to the six men in the picture; it is exactly twice as many the number of women. The image shows the contribution of women and their role in the public sphere, but it also demonstrates that men are still more powerful in the public domain.

Figure 7 is showing that three women are meeting with the mayor, which expresses their new role in the political world. In addition to exposing women's entrance to the public sphere, the paragraph raises some intriguing issues. In terms of interiors, there is a light green long curtain, a dark brown wall, and a simple and modern table in a light colored wood. The chairs are wooden and have a dark brown color. There is no ornament in the room, and all the items are simpler than figure 6, which can imply that figure seven's interior is more contemporary. The colors of the women's outfits prove it as well. The woman on the right is wearing a formal shirt and coat, and both have the fashionable yellow color of the 1960s in them. The woman in the middle is wearing a white simple dress with dark edges; the colors are neutral and simple as well as her face and make-up.



Figure 6. Article. Ladies Home Journal. August 1961 p, 5.



Figure 7. Article. Ladies Home Journal. February 1968 p, 52.

Lastly, the woman on the left is wearing a plain black formal dress and barely has noticeable make up. More importantly, she as well as the mayor are African American, which implies the increased level of diversity in American politics. Diversity is an important criteria to measure a community's acceptance, modernity, and level of enlightenment. Accordingly, image 7 is presenting a more modern environment. Also, there are three women and there is only one man in the image, which in comparison to figure 6 has increased. This can indicate the increasing participation level of women in the public sphere.

A staple article type in women's magazines are articles about hair, and one from *Ladies Home Journal* in 1968 is advertising a new short haircut for women (fig. 8). This can demonstrate the popularity of the short haircut in 1968 that was due to the feminist movement influences on the people.

There are two main images in the advertisement. The first image shows a woman with a short haircut but less masculine than the woman in the bottom image. She is wearing a blue shirt, and the background is light pink. Her facial expression is quite neutral, but is some ways implies uncertainty, especially in comparison to the second image. The second image pictures a woman with short, masculine, dark hair, a yellow stylish button shirt, and a green background. The woman's face express a strong sense of power, and self-determination; it shows that she is fearless, and strong. The women's make-up is decidedly feminine, designed to distill any fears that wearing short hair was to be construed as masculine. The photo intends to show that in a new and contemporary era, a woman with a short haircut and contemporary make-up, presents women the best.



Figure 8. Article. Ladies Home Journal. February 1968 p, 57.

All these images are good examples of the new woman in the 1960s; they increasingly show women in the public sphere who have a career (fig. 9). All the outfits are simple and contemporary, in particular, the orange coat expresses a strong sense of modernity; orange was a popular color in the 1960s. Other colors are mostly white and gray which can imply women rejecting traditionally associated with women, such as pink. Locations in these images are meaningful: the woman on the right is standing beside newspapers that implies her interest in politics and media.

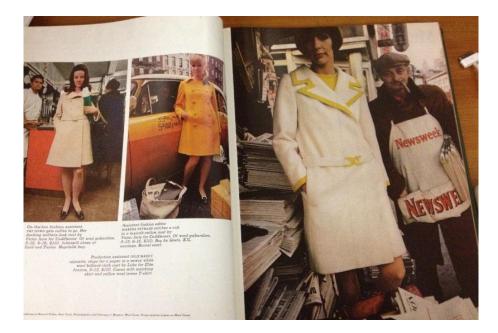


Figure 9. Article. Ladies Home Journal. February 1967 p, 80 and 81.

Another woman is standing beside a cab that can imply the mobility and activity of the new woman; these can show that women are not restricted to the house any more.

An advertisement for One step, a cleaning product from 1967, pictures a woman wearing the standard fencing swordplay outfit, and holding a sword in a kitchen (fig. 10). The kitchen has wooden cabinets with simple margins, a big glass rectangular window, exposed brick wall, orange flooring, white countertops, and some kitchen items on the wall and the countertops. In general, the whole kitchen with its color scheme, implies a contemporary kitchen, with a small touch of the traditional. The most modern feature in the image is the woman with her unusual sword playing outfit. The outfit with the sword is implying that she is a fighter, and a strong woman. Her body posture indicates her power, confidence, and self-determination. She also has contemporary make-up. On the other hand, this advertisement pictures a woman in a kitchen, which reinforces a traditional gender perspective. It shows that although the woman has a strong and contemporary look, she is still expected to work in the kitchen and clean the floor.



Figure 10. One-step Floor Care advertisement. Ladies Home Journal. March 1967 p, 14.

The text under the image says: "For Women With More Exciting Things To Do Than Scrub Floors." It is a bizarre example of how consumer goods often targeted women, and sought to do so by linking their products to feminism, or a freeing up of gender roles, even though at the same time they were reinforcing those roles.



Fugure 11. Frigidair appliances advertisement. Better Homes and Gardens. Feburary 1968 p, 5.

A Frigidair advertisement from 1968 features a large photo of a woman flexing her bicep (fig. 11). In addition, there are three smaller images: one of them shows the woman holding a laundry basket on her shoulder, and another one shows her holding her husband and smiling. The woman's body and outfit is masculine which shows the woman's strenghth. Her face and hair on the other hand are more feminine. The important issue is that the advertisement shows that due to the high volume of housework, in this case luandry, that the woman has muscles. It means that her masculine body and contemporary look is not because she believes in the concept of the New Womanhood. In other words, the ad intoduces some common features of feminist women in a superficial way, and applies these features to their products to increase their selling rates.

# Separation of Spheres



Figure 12. Amana refrigerator advertisement. House Beautiful. February 1960 p, 77.

An Amana refrigerator advertisement from 1960 shows a housewife presenting a fully stocked refrigerator (fig. 12). This is a close up image, and is focused on two items: the woman and the refrigerator. The woman looks happy, and it seems that she intends to show off and surprise the viewer with her refrigerator and all the delicious food in it. The relatively high amount of desserts in the appliance is interesting; there is a whole section of desserts plus a big bowl of jell-o with fruit pulps. This can imply two matters. First, it can demonstrate that housewives were expected to spend a considerable amount of time in the kitchen in order to have exquisite desserts prepared all the time. Second, it can convey the concept of comfort at home in the post war period. In other words, the sweets are related to a sense of comfort, and are expressing to the viewer that a home is a place where one can have tasty food and pastries ready. The body posture, outfit and facial expression of the housewife conveys a sense of happiness and comfort as well. The woman is wearing the common outfit of the mid-twentieth century. Another issue is that the full refrigerator related women to consumerism, which was one of the policies after the Second World War. The text "a size for every family" can show the insistence of society on the matter of family; it shows that people were encouraged to get married and have children. In terms of the color scheme, blue, yellow, and a light green are prominent. The colors have some similar characteristics: they are all light and pastel, and not strong and haunting colors; they are mellow. This may relate women with softness or even weakness, to show they are fragile and sensitive.

All the aspects of figure 12, are focused to indicate that women belonged to homes which created the domestic sphere.

An advertisement for a riding lawn mower perfectly pictures a suburban family in the postwar period, in which roles of both husband and wife in a family were finely separated based on their gender (fig. 13). The image consists of four main components: the father, the mother, the children, and the background that shows a yard. The husband's figure is more prominent in terms of size; the faces of the mother and children are smaller. In addition the woman is shown in the background in comparison to the children and her husband. Colors green and red are noticeable here. It is interesting that the color red may be used to make the father's, and one of the son's, roles more prominent. In terms of roles, the father is pictured riding the mower machine which relates men with machines, the outdoors and technology.



Figure 13. Porter-Cable Machine Co. advertisement. House Beautiful. March 1960 p, 175.

Also, the machine is carrying the children in the back as well, which can express the leadership characteristics of the husband. Besides this, it conveys that outdoor tasks and activities are related to men. On the other hand, the woman is holding some drinks which she had prepared for her husband and children that can show she is the person in charge in the kitchen. Also, she is standing, which can imply she probably was in the kitchen, wanted to check on her family and bring them some drinks. All the family members are

smiling expressing that they are enjoying their time. Figure 13 associates men to the public sphere, and women to the domestic sphere.



Figure 14. Bell Telephone System advertisement. House Beautiful. June 1962 p, 105.

An advertisement for the Bell Telephone system from 1962 presents six characters on a white background, and each character is placed on a white modern shelf (fig. 14). A man is sitting on a chair while reading a newspaper, a girl is listening to records, a postman waits on the door, a baby is sleeping, a woman is working with a sewing machine while she is talking on the phone, and an older man is doing carpentry. The older man is working on a piece of wood. He is wearing a pair of glasses and seems thoughtful; he is wearing the common clothes for carpentering which is blue. The machine in front of him is in blue too, and the yellow telephone hangs on the wall on his right. Elements in this photo associate men with creativity, craftsmanship and machines.

The woman is sitting on a yellow tulip chair, the table is a white tulip table as well, which was designed by Eero Saarinen in the 1950s. She is wearing an orange outfit, which was a fashionable color for the time, and white heels; she has short blond hair, and in composite has the common look of the housewives in the 1960s. She is talking on the phone, and working with a sewing machine that can imply a link between women, house activities, and domesticity.

The post man is wearing a black uniform, and his body posture can express seriousness. The baby is sleeping in a white wooden bed with a simple design. The blanket is yellow, and there is light blue telephone next to the bed. This can imply that the baby is learning to use a telephone from an early age.

The girl is sitting on a pink cushion. She is wearing a pink dress, and has a pink telephone. It seems that the girl is working with a portable record player.

The man is sitting on a modern piece of furniture similar to Eero Saarinen's womb chair. It is a dark blue chair with wooden legs. He is reading a newspaper, and has a quite formal outfit; he is wearing a tie. There is a blue phone on his left.

In conclusion, this advertisement underlines important issues. First, it demonstrates policies in the postwar period which were focused on consumerism and family. Second, it pictures a contemporary time, according to the modern furniture and the prominent application of the color white. It also associates specific tasks and colors to men and women, which can present the perception of the public of genders and roles. House activities, such as sewing, is associated with women, and pictures them in the domestic sphere. Also, this is linking the color pink to women. On the other hand, the image pictures men as being interested in reading, craftsmanship, and politics. In addition, it shows them with the color blue mostly. All the main features in this advertisement emphasize the separation of the domestic and public spheres. It also shows that the telephones were the social media of their day, with four of the six characters involved in communication.

An advertisement of the Roper Gas Company in 1967 similarly markets a consumer item by appealing to the two genders differently, within a single ad. The ad is divided into two sections (fig. 15). A woman is on the left side of the image, cooking inside the house, and on the right side of the image, a man stands barbequing in the yard. The kitchen's design is quite contemporary; it has black and white tiles for flooring and simple white and yellow modular cabinets. Yellow was a popular color in the sixties, and the color scheme insists on the modernity of the interior.

Also, there are not many kitchen appliances shown in the kitchen area. The woman herself is fashionable, but not in a mid-twentieth century style. She is wearing a dress with abstracted or less elaborated forms of flowers; purple and green are the prominent colors in her dress. She has blond short hair, and she is not smiling; she is tasting the food and has a normal and natural expression on her face.

The husband is wearing a light brownish-grayish pant, with a light yellow button shirt. He seems relaxed, simple and happy. The look on his face in not serious, but funny is some ways. To compare the colors on both sides, the woman looks more remarkable than the man. This is also a form of discrimination against women in the commercials that indicate 'nerdy' men have the possibility of being with highly attractive women, but the reverse situation is almost never shown. She looks like a model or actress, and he looks like an accountant. While both are involved cooking, he does so outside, as though he just felled a beast that he is roasting, while she cooks inside. These are a few signs that can reflect women were being taken more serious than before; they were noticed, as in the photo.



Figure 15. Roper gas company advertisement. House Beautiful. June 1967 p, 55.

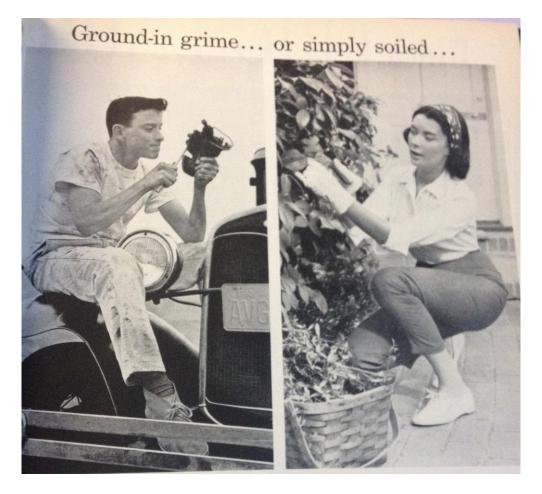


Figure 16. Clorox advertisement. Better Homes and Gardens. August 1960 p, 7.

This Clorox advertisement from 1960 separated a different set of men's and women's tasks according to their gender (fig. 16). Two different and separate photos can be seen in the advertisement. The photos are black and white. The image on the left shows a man who is sitting on a car and seems to be fixing a piece of the machine. His face shows that he is thinking about how to fix the piece, and he seems positive that he can do it because he is slightly smiling. In some way, he looks as if fixing the piece is a challenge that he accepted, and he will be successful in it. The confident way he is sitting on the car implies a sense of power and domination. His muscles are somehow demonstrating his power. Conclusively, the left image relates men to power, intelligence, technology, confidence, and somehow the world outside the house, the public sphere.

The right side of the advertisement features a woman who is gardening. Her outfit is quite plain, and she has a feminine face and a thin body. She is wearing gloves which shows that she cares about her hand's appearance; she does not want them to get dirty or to hurt herself with thorns. This can express her vulnerability. She is sitting on the ground and looks calm, relaxed and peaceful; she is not challenging anything. In comparison to the man's image, she seems to do the less important tasks; the man is fixing the car, but she simply beautifies the garden, and not doing a necessary task.

Figure 16 relates men to the world of machinery, and women to nature. Also implies that women are expected to make everything neat, beautiful and pleasant.

A carpet advertisement from 1961, shows a couple who have guests, and the husband is opening the door for them. Also it seems they recently moved in (fig. 17). The interior is modern and simple. There is a light wooden floor, white paint for the walls, a red door, and white plates, similar to blue Chinese plates. The first apparent issue is that the woman, who is wearing heels, and a formal black dress with a pearl neckless, is still wearing an apron. She is walking towards the door while opening her apron, which shows that she probably has been working in the kitchen to the last minute until the guests had arrived.

There is a strong contrast between the woman's dress color and the wall's color, which highlights the wife even more. Also, there is a telephone on top of the boxes that can link the action of talking on the phone with the domestic sphere, and essentially women. All these characteristics can emphasize the role of women in the domestic sphere, and shows the high level of women being linked to the home.



Figure 17. Carpet advertisement. Better Homes and Gardens. January 1961 p, 73.

The red door is an element that separates the outside from the inside of the house. It is colored in red which can show its importance; it was necessary for the two spheres to be clearly separated. The man is who is opening the door, which can link him to the outside world. Another issue, is that all the people in this advertisement seem to be married. This can underscore the importance of the concept of marriage, in particular hetero- normativity. A Chevrolet advertisement for a Corvair shows two different image, the top picture shows a man who is sitting on a bench and waiting for a bus, and the bottom picture features a woman who is driving a car, and has shopping boxes in the back seat (fig. 18). The images can be analyzed through two different perspectives. First, the images are showing the wife in a better and higher situation because she is the one who is driving the car and is happy and confident. Also, the woman driving a car can associate women to cars, technology, and the public sphere.

From another perspective, it can be interpreted that despite the fact that the woman is driving the car, she does not own the car (according to the text that refers to the man as the owner of the car). Therefore, it shows that the woman probably does not have a job to afford buying a vehicle and is not financially independent. In addition, the boxes in the back seat demonstrate that the woman was so excited about shopping that she forgot her husband, who in consequence is taking the bus.

In general the advertisement links women to consumerism and financially dependent while shows men as financially independent individuals.

As presented in this section, numerous advertisements in the 1960s pictured women inside the house doing the housework, while presented men as individuals who go to work and are involved with the public sphere; in other words, they emphasized on the separation of the spheres.

Mass production and advertising the time saving appliances were other ways of the market targeting women in the after war period that also accentuates separation of the spheres.



Figure 18. Chevrolet advertisement. Better Homes and Gardens. April 1964 p, 13.

## Time Saving Appliances

Figure 19 shows a Bell telephone Company advertisement from 1960. The photo pictures a woman in a kitchen. The kitchen walls are in warm and light wood, with light blue cabinets. There are many items on the kitchen counter that seem to for purpose of baking. The oven has a blue color as well, and has a teapot with pineapple patterns on it. The woman is sitting and speaking on the telephone which is a light pink.



Figure 19. Bell extension telephone advertisement. Better Homes and Gardens. August 1960 p, 25.

In general it is a full kitchen; no empty space can be seen in the picture; items such as the teapot are not simple and modern, but with pattern and ornaments. The whole interior expresses a traditional kitchen in some ways.

Many interesting issues can be interpreted from this advertisement. The image pictures a woman in the kitchen that link women to kitchen tasks, and in a larger scale, domestic sphere. The woman has a look of the stereotypical look of the housewives in the advertisements of the mid-twentieth century; she has short blond hair, wearing a red lipstick, wearing a blue shirt, and a black and white apron. The text above the image says: "you can mix your cake and visit too" which implies that women were expected to work long hours in the kitchen, so they needed a telephone to be able to talk and bake at the same time. In other words, women were highly busy with kitchen tasks, so some specific appliances, like this extension telephone, could save them time.

### Generations

An advertisement from 1961 pictures a mother and her daughter doing laundry (fig. 20). The washer, the dryer, and the cabinets are all white, the walls have blue and white wallpaper with a floral pattern. Prominent colors in figure 20 are white, blue, pink and red. White and blue can imply a sense of freshness and cleanliness. Both figures seem happy in this photo. The text uses the word "pleased" to describe their feeling and mood. It is interesting that all the characters in this image are females, even the dolls.

The mother frames a typical housewife with apron and short brown hair. She looks traditional. Framing the mother this way had links her to the household activities and domesticity, but the emphasis here is not only on the mother, but on the daughter as a future housewife. Mother is the main role model for her, and she is learning to be a housewife who keeps everything clean and tidy, looks good, and always has her lipstick on. Figure 20 demonstrates that the after war policies were not only targeting the first generation, but the second generation of women as well. The notion of succeeding generations of females inheriting the tradition of household chores is furthered by the girl holding onto dolls who represent yet a third generation.



Figure 20. Dryer advertisement. Better Homes and Gardens. March 1961 p, 33.

Another noticeable matter, is the girl playing with two dolls. It raises a question of why girls always have to play with dolls. Why not trucks, planes or cars? It also, involves the Simon de Beauvoir's argument that it is the society that makes a girl a woman with associating specifics, such as these dolls, to women. In general, this photo highly spreads the idea of gender based tasks and associates women and girls to domesticity and the defined femininity in the 1960s.

A Dixie cup dispenser advertisement from 1969 pictures a family: the parents, a daugher , and a son (fig. 21). The interior is light and mostly pink; tiny pink tiles for

flooring, pink tiles for lower parts of the wall, and a gray finish for the upper part of the wall. In general the interior is vey pinkish. Based on the title and the image, all the family members have a cold; they seem tired and exhausted.



Figure 21. Dixie cup dispenser advertisement. Better Homes and Gardens. Feburary 1969 p, 25.

According to the father's body posture, it seems he is the one who is protecting and supporting the family; he has embraced all the members, and the mother has leaned on him. This makes the father's role more prominent.

Another remarkable issue is the association of color to specific genders; all the males are wearing blue, while all the females are in pink. It expresses that women were expected to wear pink, which is the color that is considered feminine, and domestic in

Western contexts. It is interesting that not only the mother but the daugher's clothes are pink too. This underscores the fact that gender based policies adressed to the next generation as well; this is the same for the son's clothes as well; it shows that he has been taught that he is man just like his father, and the father should be his role model. Repeatedly, Simon de Beauvior's argument about the role of societies in establishing women can be seen here. In this case, magazines are presenting women with color pink and men with color blue.

A Frigidaire advertisement from 1965 addresses household cleanliness from a different perspective (fig. 22). The kitchen appliances have a reddish-brownish color, and the cabinets are orange, with simple white margins. The counter has a white and black pattern. There are ornaments and a few jars on the counter top which are yellow and orange as well. The floor and the walls are simple white. The kitchen is closer to modern than traditional, but still has some traditional characteristics such as the ornaments on the countertops

Besides the main picture, there is a smaller image on the buttom left of the page that shows the daughter is waiting for the pies to be ready. The mother is wearing pants and a button shirt; she has a short dark hair cut, and a simple pair of black shoes; she seems quite contemporary. Her daughter is wearing a brown outfit with a red band. Both are wearing quite modern colors, and not what was considered sterotypically feminine in the 1960s. On the other hand, despite the some of the modern features in the images, women are linked to the kitchen tasks and domesticity. Again, it targets the daughter, which represents the next generation.



Figure 22. Frigidaire oven advertisement. Better Homes and Gardens. February 1965 p, 27.

The image shows that the mother and daughter made five pies, and afterwards are cleaning the oven; the mother is shown teaching her daughter how to clean the oven. These elements can present that women concerns were limited to the kitchen area and its tasks. Also, there are five pies in the oven that shows they are a family probably with five members which undescores the issue of family and its values. It also can imply that the three other members of the family are males, and not participating in baking some pies for the family, because the women were expected to do that. The kitchen also presents an interesting decorating scheme. While design history books tend to emphesize modern or traditional schemes, there were many designs, such as the one pictured, that drew from both extremes.

### **Role Reversal**

In an era in which most of the advertisements reinforced long-existing gender ideas, there was a significant sub-category which subverted those same norms.

In the picture below, presumably a husband and a wife both are participating in the kitchen work; the woman is possibly taking out the dessert from the oven, while a man is cooking a manly roast (fig. 23).



Figure 23. Thermador oven advertisement. House Beautiful. October, 1962 p. 131.

The woman is wearing a party dress, again with an apron on, which suggests she was preparing the food until the last minute. She is looking at the dessert with a satisfied look on her face that can imply she had spent a considerable amount of time on this task. The man is wearing a suit for the party with and he wears an apron as well. He has a classy hair style, face, and seems to be joyful by the smell of the roast. This presents a face of men that were not usual and common in the 1960s. A man who enjoys cooking, participates in the housework, and in general is not masculine (based on the 1960s stereotypes of men).

The main remarkable issue in this image is that it pictures a collaboration of men and women in the kitchen tasks, which can indicate that men started to enter to the domestic sphere. This mean that the public started to perceive men and women in different roles, roles that were different from the traditional ones, or at least that changes were underway or under question.

Figure 24 is a lawn mower machine advertisement from 1964 in which three men are shown riding the machines; they all look busy and serious in some ways, and all of them are pictured in the outdoors. Many examples of men using mower machines in their yards can signify two issues. First, it can show the emphasis on the link between men and machines that expresses them as people who are in control and are expected to work with technology. Second, because mowing the lawn is an outdoor activity, it can increase the association of men to the outside of the home and the public sphere.

Figure 25 shows another mower machine advertisement from 1968, and is one of the few images that shows women participating in this activity. This demonstrates a change of perception of the society for women of the 1960s. Also, it might show women entering the public sphere. She seems to be a daughter, or at least a young woman wear liberating hot pants, so there is a perception that things are changing for the next generation.



Fig 24. (left) Simplicity mower machine advertisement. *House Beautiful*. May, 1964 p.235.Fig 25. (right) Hahn-Eclipse mower-machine advertisement. *House Beautiful*. April, 1968 p. 54.

A photograph that illustrated an article published in 1965 shows a man who is giving his son breakfast (fig. 26). He has a plain outfit and classic haircut. They both are sitting possibly in the kitchen. The wall behind is covered with a traditional wallpaper, although the kitchen table, mugs and plates are white and simple. The man's outfit is plain, and his haircut is classic. The image presents a new perception of men; men who participate in tasks which only women were supposed to do previously. This can indicate the entrance of men to the domestic sphere as well as the slow fading of the fine line that used to demarcate the separation between household tasks.



Figure 26. (left), Article. *Ladies Home Journal*. April, 1965 p. 124 Figure 27. (right), Article "In her own fashion" by Trudy Owett. Photography by Horn/Griner. *Ladies Home Journal*. August 1965 p, 55.

The images on the right are from an article on fashion in 1965 (fig. 27). In figure 27, the left photograph shows a woman who is standing next to her husband and their little baby who are sitting on a chair. They are possibly in the living room (according to the fireplace on the left of the image). The walls are simple white, and they are many handmade art pieces framed on the wall. The woman is wearing a black and white knitted dress, and has a contemporary haircut and make-up. The man is wearing a dark blue shirt, he has a mustache, and seems happy. The whole interior and outfit in this image conveys a sense of modernity.

The right image pictures a family with four members in a library. The woman is sitting on a chair separate from his husband who is holding their daughters. The wife is wearing a green and simple dress; she looks modern in terms of make-up, haircut and fashion. The daughters' outfits are in contemporary colors as well.

This can demonstrate the two spheres are not separated completely; men are in the domestic sphere being involved with raising children. This also can express the there was considerable interest in the changing roles of women, and that was occasionally addressed by exploring changing roles for men. These images often took the form of showing men in context that had previously been considered exclusively female realms.

## Education

The cover of the *Ladies Home Journal* from April 1966 had particularly focused on the issue of women's education (fig. 28). The image is showing Jacqueline Kennedy, and the epitome of modern woman that is possibly taking her daughter to school. The girl is wearing a school uniform in some ways, and holding a school briefcase. The image underlines the seriousness of women's education, and includes both generations the mother, and her daughter, while focusing on this issue. These are very different images from the early 1960s that showed women and daughters doing a kitchen task and enjoying it. Education and later finding a career became important issues for feminists especially because women were not allowed to enter universities by the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. One of the many advertisements for educational programs is from *Ladies Home Journal* in 1966 (fig. 29) shows an accountant woman that is classically dressed and shown in a traditional environment. She is wearing pearls, and has a classing haircut. The woman seems professional, confident and happy. She encourages women to become accountants, and according to the text, offers them an equal opportunity with men. This clearly demonstrates the influence of the feminist's request of equality in the Second Wave.



Figure 28. Ladies Home Journal. February 1966, cover photo.

An interesting issue is that the job that is offered in this advertisement has no relation to what were defined, at that time, as feminine careers such as decoration or fashion, although it was placed in a magazine aimed at the domestic sphere. This could be considered as one step forward for women toward more masculine jobs that had previously been the purview of men.

Images of four successful women, from articles on women with careers from *Ladies Home Journal* in 1964 are shown in figures 30, 31, 32, and 33. The most prominent common issue these images demonstrate are the women with careers. In figure 30, there is a woman shown in an office. The office's interior and furniture are modern; the woman is sitting on a Knoll chair; tables are simple with cut edges. The woman herself seems busy; she is wearing glasses, and there are documents on the table which show that she is working. She is wearing a contemporary suit, and seems happy and satisfied. According to the figure thirty's caption, the woman has developed a successful career for herself, and through that profession, she has been recognized in the public sphere.



Figure 29. La Salle Extension University advertisement. Ladies Home Journal. February 1966 p, 3.

Figure 31 shows a woman who has a career in genetics and has three children (according to the text under the image). The image frames the woman in a lab while she is working with a microscope. She does not have a modern look; she has traditional haircut and outfit, and she has a professional career.

The woman in the third picture is shown working with a camera man possibly on a stage (fig. 32). She is possibly a director or a person who has been interviewed, and is pictured in the focal point of the photograph. She is a middle-aged woman who is trying to explain an issue to the camera man. She looks serious, professional, and her clothes are classy. This is one of the rare photos that pictures a woman who is strongly expressing her ideas to a man, and implies that a woman is more knowledgeable than a man, in this case she is the director, and the man is the cameraman.

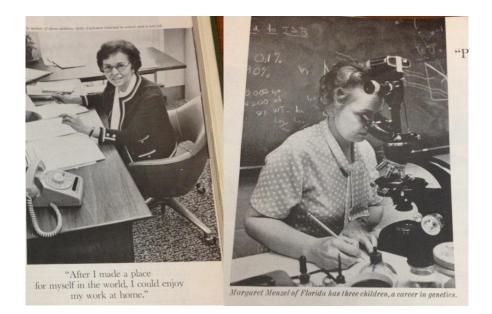


Figure 30. (left), Article. *Ladies Home Journal*. June 1964 p, 49. Figure 31. (right), Article. *Ladies Home Journal*. June 1964 p, 50.



Figure 32. (left), Article. *Ladies Home Journal*. June 1964 p, 51. Figure 33. (right), Article. *Ladies Home Journal*. June 1964 p, 52.

In the last image a woman is presented who is a teacher. She is wearing a simple outfit in black with white edges, and her hair and make-up are not contemporary (fig. 33). What is noticeable in this image is the text which refers to some American husbands as "weak"; in particular states that men were threatened due to their wives' successful careers in the United States. Here, the woman directly challenges men's authority and power in American nation which can express the woman's power and confidence as well. The previously mentioned images show the importance and prominent role of women in the society, and emphasize the potential, ability, talent and power of women in the 1960s.

Figure 34 shows an article from *Ladies Home Journal* magazine in 1966 that presents interior decoration as a profession for women. This can show the necessity of education and career for women. This article is interesting in terms of the way it presents interior decoration as a career, and because it targets only women as people who are expected to apply for the course: "it's a high income field where a woman is in her glory." That clearly underlines the link between women and the field.

As stated, this indicates that interior design came naturally to women, and adds there is no specific background or experience needed to be a decorator. Another interesting issue is that it is mentioned interior decorating is not limited to wealthy clients due to the increasing level of homebuilding in America. It can be implied that maybe decorating started evolving and becoming interior design due to the high volume of construction in the postwar period.



Figure 34. "Why don't you become an interior decorator?" by Janice Trimble. La Salle University

Extension advertisement. Ladies Home journal. June 1966, p 79.

In another section, the author describes the essence of decorating courses consists of sketching, color, background of decoration, arrangement of furniture. One of the objectives of the course is mentioned as learning to "achieve a beautiful setting." This article repeatedly links women's natural talents and taste to decorating as well as emphasizing the subject of beauty as the main criteria for evaluation of projects.

The discussed article can clearly demonstrate the profound relationship women developed with decoration in the early stages of the creation of the field as a profession. Again, it is mentioned in this article that no job is better than decorating for women at the time: "I don't think there is another profession today that offers more pleasure or greater rewards to a woman than that of interior decorating."

## Men

An article from the *House Beautiful* Journal in 1962 presents a man as a "Genuine 20<sup>th</sup> Century Creator (fig. 38). One of the most important parts in this article is the image; it shows a designer named Ernst Auerbach. The first remarkable feature about this figure is his masculinity; he has a pick axe and a mustache, and he has a many defined muscles in his hands. These definitely expresses his power. In addition, he is wearing a black shirt, and he seems thoughtful and serious. It seems he is thinking about a matter deeply. His hand pose increases the sense of stern thoughtfulness in him.

Another notable part in this image is the emphasis on the importance of this man, specifically because the author of the article is a woman, Elizabeth Gordon. She applies the terms and phrases such as genuine, creators who influence your life, artist, and introduces him as a craftsman. All these elements in this article presents men as people who design as their career, who are professionals, influential, smart, and creative. Also, this article, once again, links men to the design and craftsmanship domain, which shows this area was considered masculine.

This is one of the Kenwood's TV lounger advertisements in 1962 (fig. 39). It shows a woman who is tied to a chair, and a man with a cowboy outfit sitting on the TV lounger. The woman is wearing the usual outfit from the mid-twentieth century. She seems furious, and dissatisfied because the man has tied her. There are two explanations for his action. First, he wants to watch TV and does not agree with his wife on the channel. Second, he wants to sit on the TV lounger because it is more comfortable.



Figure 35. Article. House Beautiful. February 1962 p, 107.

The furniture seems soft, comfortable, heavy and not modern; it has some figures of the Victorian furniture. In both scenarios, the absolute is that the image demonstrates the superiority of men over women. The man is show in complete power; he has a gun, is sitting and watching his favorite show, while smiling; he seems so satisfied and comfortable, and does not seem to care about his wife. The wife is looking at him which shows she wants him to untie her. This can present women as defenseless and weak individuals.

This also can be a staple of westerns that a woman was tied up, waiting for a man to rescue her. What's strange here is that he was the one who presumably tied her up. In addition the ad seems to be playing into an attitude that American men are somehow cowboys in the Wild West, when really what he's doing is being a schlump sitting around watching TV.

This article's image from *House Beautiful* Journal in 1965, is another example that present men as successful and prominent individuals with a career in architecture (fig. 36), which explains the connection between men, architecture and design. It expresses six white men as architects in a women magazine. This can show the domination of white men in the architecture and design worlds, specifically in the modern era. The pictures are black and white. Three of these men are wearing a formal suite, and the rest are wearing a plain black shirt which conveys a sense of formality and professionalism. In the top left photo, the background is an exposed brick wall, which can represent brutal architecture. Also, there is a modern and simple lamp. Both features link the man with modernism. The facial expressions in all the photos indicate a sense of satisfaction and confidence.



Figure 36. Kenwood TV Lounge advertisement. September 1962 p, 206.

Penny Spark argued in her book *As Long As IT'S Pink*, that after the Victorian era, the way that women decorated their homes was considered not aesthetically beautiful and artistic. This notion increased with the raise of modernism. Consequently, women were associated with beautifying and decorating due to their taste because it was considered natural for them to decorate because of their gender. While men were presented as creative architects with the ability to think critically and design. The image highly approves the existence of this attitude toward women's designs. This article definitely is not contributing to professionalization of decorating, and careers which were attributed to women.

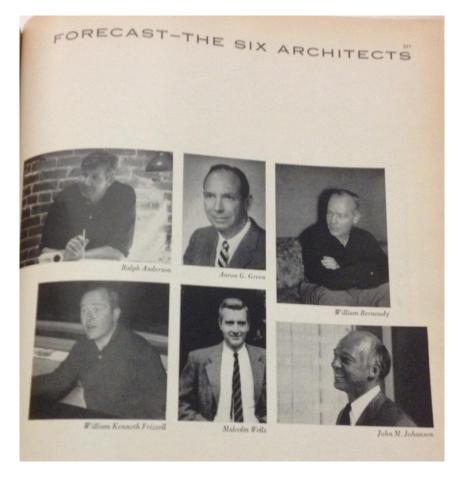


Figure 37. Article. House Beautiful. October 1965, p, 227.

This advertisement from the California Redwood Company in the early sixties, pictures a man in modern surroundings (fig. 38). The man, the wooden wall and the contemporary and simple pieces of furniture are the main focus in this photo. The image is black and white and shows a simple and neutral interior. The ceiling and the wall are plain wood, the couch has a neutral color and has a modern design Although the room is modern, it seems not to be an office (according to the height of the couch and the table and lack of existence of any office furniture such as a telephone or a fax machine, etc.) It is probably a modern living room.

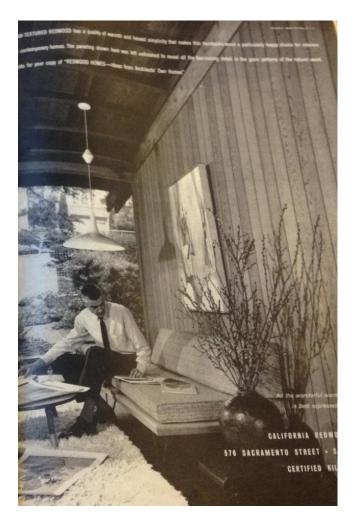


Figure 38. California Redwood Association advertisement. House Beautiful Journal. February 1960 p, 25.

The man is reading a newspaper or a journal; he is wearing quite a formal outfit for a living room. His facial expression shows that he is busy, serious, and thoughtful. Based on the details and components in this photo, it can be concluded that the intention was to associated men with the public sphere, career, modernity, power, and professionalism.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

It can be concluded that the feminist movement increasingly gave women the confidence to claim their place in the public sphere. Interior decoration was one of the first professions that contributed to entering women into the male-dominated and professional design sphere. Perhaps, the large number of women practitioners and the high level of acceptance of interior design in the women's community was not due to their ability in beautifying, but was a political and social choice for independence.

The seeds of independence were planted years before the Second Wave of feminism emerged; they were planted after the eighteenth century industrialization and began sprouting during the postwar periods in America. Industrialization led to the separation of the public and domestic spheres, and as discussed previously, men dominated the public sphere, while women were supposed to stay in the private sphere of the home. The circumstances were not satisfying for women; they made up a considerable part of the population, but the only place their voice was heard was solely in their own homes. Women had no legal standing, the right to vote, or to study equally as men did. At home they were important, but in society, they were invisible. Therefore, women started the extremely difficult challenge of claiming a voice for themselves. Merging with the slavery abolitionists and establishing the suffrage movement was the first crucial and political step for women toward liberation and freedom. Years later in 1920, women won the right to vote, which was their greatest achievement at the time, but yet, not entirely adequate. The Second World War generated an exceptional opportunity for women to thrive. They started to work as the main labor force in America, sensing the satisfaction of being a significant influence on the world.

Unfortunately for women, the political system in the postwar period had a different agenda for them. The United States actively chose the path of capitalism; where the complete focus was on mass production and consumerism. Women were the target demographic, and were bombarded with consumer goods. The political agenda expected women to play the traditional role of the perfect housewife, looking after the children, and adding virtue to the family. Due to women's high involvement in the workforce during the war period, there was some resistance to the mentioned policies. Women's demand for equality and independence was an unstoppable flow, which later resulted in the Second Wave of feminism. The Second Wave presented the concept of New Womanhood presenting the modern woman as, strong, independent, fearless and powerful. The feminist movement was a public battle for equality.

Yet, feminist's fight for liberation was not limited to women's activities in the public sphere, it also was a fight for women in the domestic sphere. Women were pushed to stay in their homes after the war, while they had the hunger for entering the public sphere. In order to claim their stance in society, women made a smart choice according to the context they lived in. The concept of home was the element that restricted women to the domestic sphere, but amazingly, the home was the only factor that led to the women's presence in the public sphere. Women were the queens of domesticity, and they used the privilege. Decorating their own homes to be used as a resume or an advertisement showed women's skills to the public. This was the case for early women decorators; Elsie

79

de Wolfe, Dorothy Draper, and Sister Parish's first projects were their own residences. Consequently, women developed a reputation in the field of decoration corresponding to the roles set for women by society, beautifiers of the home.

This argument suggests that women benefited from decoration to open their path to the public sphere. The hypothesis of this document proposes that the social, cultural and political climate during the period in which interior decorating and design were established as a field, alongside the changing perception of women in the world, resulted in a profound link between women and the interior design discipline. The approach in this study was to examine the hypothesis through reviewing and interpreting the decorating magazines in the 1960s looking primarily at advertisements and photographs that illustrated articles. Magazines were a major form of media in the postwar period, which represented America in terms of political, social and cultural context; they represented the face of American society. Academically, journals are greatly informative primary sources that are highly rich in data. Therefore, women's magazines are excellent sources for analyzing women's identity in the 1960s' nation. These magazines portray the women's community with a great deal of detail and complexity, and their concerns in the 1960s.

An analysis of women's journals indicates that women were extremely associated with consumerism, beautifying, household tasks, and in general, with domesticity in the early years of the 1960s. Meanwhile, men were associated with professionalism and the public sphere. This pattern changes in the middle and later years of the 1960s. In these periods, a new face for women emerged. They were pictured outside of the home with successful careers in the public sphere, a very different look from the traditional woman. In some advertisements, women were pictured in modern interiors implying in the new contemporary era, women had changed and modernized as well. Also, in numerous commercials and advertisements, men were presented engaging in housework, a part of the domestic sphere. It is important to mention that in all three magazines under examination here, interior decoration was repeatedly suggested as the ideal career for women, which can indicate two issues: the high rate of success for women in the field, and women's attempt to enter the public sphere of the workforce. Another noticeable issue is that despite the magazine's effort to introduce New Womanhood, it was being expressed in non-confrontational ways. For instance, women were shown in advertisements for household cleaning supplies having contemporary or masculine looks relating them to the household work. In other words, the feminist portrayal of women was presented with a decidedly superficially. This can indicate that perhaps the public was not fully ready to embrace New Womanhood.

The shifts in portrayal of the women's community in decoration magazines, can be interpreted from different perspectives. Either the existing capitalist system wanted women to play an active role in the public sphere, or women themselves intended to open the door to the public sphere. In either scenario, the critical role of politics can be seen. It is plausible that the creation of a profession was crucial to the capitalist system, so women professionalized interior decoration as means to entering the capitalist system. Political circumstances created the separation of the spheres based on political decisions of the era. Women were used as the emergency labor force during the war, and ultimately forced back to the domestic sphere after the war. Women fought these political circumstances through a political movement known as feminism. In the domain of domesticity, women entered the public domain by fighting the political system through creating the profession of interior decoration.

Reviewing the relationship women developed with interior decoration underlines the role of politics and feminism in establishing interior design as a discipline. Consequently, viewing the interior design field through a different perspective provides a better understanding of the history of interior design, particularly, the reasons why women were and are primarily linked with the field. Interior design is rooted in women's world; it rose from the domestic sphere, homes in particular, and was established, supported and practiced mostly by women. Therefore, women and interior design were and are inextricably linked to each other. Although, the role of political and social circumstances alongside with the women's will for independence, was prominent in formation of the profound link between women and interior design as well.

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