

# "WHEN IS A KITCHEN NOT A KITCHEN?"

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*Le Régime canadien d'amélioration des foyers (Canadian Home Improvement Plan) introduit par le gouvernement fédéral en 1937, fut conçu pour remédier au chômage au moyen d'un plan national de rénovations et de réparations. C'était une tentative de gagner l'appui des propriétaires de classe-ouvrière pour l'ordre social et économique qui existait. Les auteures examinent l'importance de ce régime dans le retranchement des divisions sexuelles dans la société canadienne et dans la désignation des rôles appropriés parmi les membres de famille. Le régime est un exemple des moyens par lesquels les gouvernements ont tenté d'améliorer les bouleversements économiques aux dépens de l'autonomie des femmes au sein de la famille et de la main d'oeuvre.*

"When is a kitchen not a kitchen?" was a question posed in January 1937 by a press release for Canada's Home Improvement Plan (HIP). Women were told that the "old-fashioned" and "inefficient" kitchens which most of them used were "not worthy of the name." Ads such as this aimed to enlist the support of women for the federal government's major job creation project during the late years of the Depression. The Home Improvement Plan, one of the few recommendations of the National Employment Commission (NEC) to be implemented by the federal government, was designed to relieve unemployment through a nation-wide scheme of residential renovation and repair. Intended to defuse radicalism among the jobless, the policy, in its media presentation to the public, operated to blur class distinctions; in actuality it may

have helped to redraw and harden class lines. Paraded as a boon to the 'average' homeowner, the Plan was an attempt to win over the property-owning stratum of the working class to the existing social and economic order. By the provision of low interest loans, the securely employed male wage earner could modernize 'his' house and thus also protect 'his' investment. In addition, the Home Improvement Plan presupposed and sought to entrench existing gender divisions in Canadian society. It represents one facet of the state's increasing involvement in defining what constitutes a proper home, as well as in designating the proper roles and relations between and among family members. Formulated in a climate of opinion which scapegoated women for unemployment, especially married women, the Plan is also an example of the way governments have attempted to ameliorate economic dislocation at the expense of women's autonomy in the family and the workforce.<sup>1</sup>

Modelled on an American plan implemented in 1934, the Canadian Home Improvement scheme offered home owners low-interest loans to a fixed maximum of \$2000 (later \$3000) for the sole purpose of restructuring, repairing or beautifying residential property, farm houses as well as city homes.<sup>2</sup> In the minds of the National Employment Commissioners and members of the federal government more generally, the state of the nation's homes was a measure of the prosperity of the nation: rundown homes reflected a rundown economy.

Regarding the building trades as a pivotal industry, policy makers assumed that recovery in this sector would stimulate economic recovery more generally by increasing the demand for products in related industries, such as lumber, paint, insulation, linoleum, and bathroom fixtures' manufacture. Employment would also be generated for electricians, plumbers, carpenters, house painters, roofers, masons and bricklayers, as well as certain professionals like domestic architects and engineers.<sup>3</sup> On the strength of the promise of job creation, the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada officially endorsed the Plan in December 1936.<sup>4</sup> The expected boost to employment was tied to the further expectation that the Plan would create an atmosphere of business confidence in which lending institutions

would free up credit to the general public, and the general public would be encouraged to spend. The Home Improvement Plan was to straighten out a tangle of related problems: unemployment, tight credit, and the deterioration of property that was occurring in the Depression.

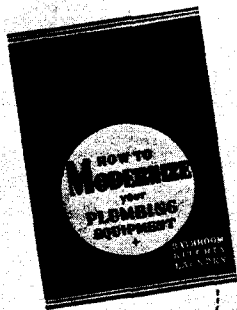
Having come to power in 1935 on the heels of the Bennett government, Prime Minister Mackenzie King was under considerable pressure both to appease the unemployed and to allay property owners' fears of social unrest. Urgent action was required in order to avoid the violence and disruption of previous winters, especially that of 1933/34. The government felt that mere word of the Plan could act as "a barrage against [winter] riots."<sup>5</sup> The Plan was especially appealing to King because it channelled "relief" to the unemployed through the respectable, responsible, propertied segment of society.

While the propertyless and the jobless were to benefit from increased employment opportunities, they were not eligible for loans.<sup>6</sup> Applicants had to demonstrate "moral worth" as well as ability to repay. Although good character in the first instance was defined in terms of financial security and responsibility, bank forms generally extended the concept to include conformity with prevailing norms of marriage and the family.<sup>7</sup> The premium placed on stability in marital relation, employment and residency was intended to weed out the unmarried and the transient.

The main target group was neither the poor nor the wealthy, but rather "ordinary credit-worthy owner[s] of residential property." Advertising strategists spoke of using the image of "'the humble cottage,'" rather than that of the baronial mansion, to attract the upper working class and show them what a difference a few low-cost home improvements could make.<sup>8</sup> In these ways, the Plan worked to differentiate between strata of the working class: between the respectable and the unrespectable, the stable and the unstable, those who owned property and those who did not.

The Plan also worked to differentiate between the sexes. Very rarely did a press release acknowledge the existence of a female home owner. For all intents and purposes, a basic characteristic of the "credit-worthy home-owner" was a male identity. Advertisers typically referred to "Mr. Home-Owner and his wife."

# What would HE think IF HE SAW OUR BATHROOM



**FREE** without cost or obligation. Send in the coupon for either or both booklets. They're of real help and interest to every home owner.

**M**ARY has a date. She is going out for the evening... anywhere to spend an enjoyable evening. Mother wishes she would entertain her friends more frequently at home, but Mary makes excuses. Young people are like that... sensitive about their home surroundings, and particularly so about the old-fashioned, patched-up bathroom. And if parents want to exercise a kindly influence they must make home attractive for them — so attractive that they will want to bring their friends home for evenings and week-ends.

No longer need the family apologize for the bathroom or its fixtures. The Home Improvement Plan has made it possible for every home owner to have the ideal bathroom—modern, well-equipped, perfectly appointed. Chartered Banks and Approved Lending Institutions are making loans for home improvement at the lowest of repayment rates—and on the easiest basis of borrowing. Payments can be spread over a period of one to three years.

CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF PLUMBING AND HEATING,  
Canada Cement Company Bldg., Montreal, P.Q.  
Please send me free of charge or obligation, the booklet or booklets checked below:—  
☐ "How to Modernize Your Plumbing Equipment"  
☐ "How to Modernize Your Heating Equipment"

Name.....

Address.....

Name below, if you wish, your regular plumbing and heating contractor.

The Canadian Institute of Plumbing and Heating is not a commercial organization, and has nothing to sell, but is interested only in promoting modern bathrooms, home heating, kitchens and laundries. FREE illustrated booklets have been prepared to assist home owners in planning plumbing and heating improvements.

Write direct or consult your plumbing and heating contractor.

((( CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF PLUMBING AND HEATING )))

women were situated, by and large, in an indirect relation to the Plan; it was chiefly as dependents of men, not as home owners or labour force participants, that they were to benefit. The loans were to go to men and the employment to be generated was located in male-dominated job sectors. Nonetheless, the promotional literature cast women as central to the Plan's success in their roles as homemakers and consumers, wives and mothers.

While the first step to introducing the Plan had been to win the co-operation of banks and other lending institutions, its implementation depended on the involvement of those businesses whose interests would be served and on the employment of the most up-to-date and aggressive

advertising techniques. *Chatelaine*, in co-operation with the NEC's bid for support from the housewives of Canada, declared 1937 'HOME IMPROVEMENT YEAR' on the cover of its January issue announcing a \$25.00 prize every month beginning in March "for the best example of home improvements submitted" to *Chatelaine's* "Home Improvement Contest."<sup>10</sup>

A powerful sales pitch was made by glorifying "the modern." Experts praised structures which were "simple, utilitarian... efficient," and "devoid of the frills which delighted past generations." A link was made between increasing the property value of one's home, putting men to work, and keeping up-to-date. Home Improvement Plan publicity insisted that, with a little "sprucing up," an old home

could become "as modern as tomorrow."<sup>11</sup> To boost its Home Improvement Contest, the March 1937 *Chatelaine* featured a "dramatized presentation" of a "modernized" Winnipeg house. The "almost unbelievable changes" to the exterior were achieved by removing "a dark old verandah," a bay window and an "ugly oversized dormer," and adding a "new finish of brick veneer." In another *Chatelaine* article, architect Richard A. Fisher condemned the "clumsy front porch" for having "outlived its usefulness" since, with the increased privatization of the home, the backyard had superseded the verandah as the preferred place to sit outside. "So off with the porch!" Fisher decreed.<sup>12</sup> In general, HIP ads advocated the elimination of all Victorian decorative detail. To our contemporary eye, the execution of many of these schemes meant the desecration of Canada's architectural heritage.

Interiors were also to be "stream-lined" and brightened. Above all, the principle of less is more was to guide renovation. Throughout the house "dark, massive and drab" were outdated; fashionable were bright or off-white walls, "cheery" furniture, and light woodwork. Exciting things could happen below stairs, too. Gone were the days when the basement was a dingy, "trash-littered" "chamber of horrors," "harbouring" "writhing pipes" and sooty furnaces.<sup>13</sup> In the era of recreation rooms, General Electric urged Canadian home owners to transform their old-fashioned cellars into clean, cheerful rooms.<sup>14</sup> Although Home Improvement Plan promoters made every effort to assure the public that striking alterations need not be costly, most of the featured suggestions were clearly beyond the budget of ordinary Canadians.

HIP ads were aimed primarily at women in their various homemaking capacities—as mothers, wives and housekeepers as well as consumers. In keeping with an advertising trend that developed in North America in the 1920s and 1930s, home improvement ads marshalled the opinion of 'scientific experts.' Ads were peppered with the advice of psychologists and home economists, as well as home decorators and architects.<sup>15</sup> Invocation of the experts was integral to the advertisers' strategy of playing on the fears and insecurities of the public by reinforcing consumers' "suspicions of their own inadequacies."<sup>16</sup> Home economists who

doubled as advertising consultants helped 'ad men' zero in on the special susceptibilities of the female market. HIP publicity exploited women's anxieties – especially about their appearance and homemaking talents.

Home economists also championed the extension of Frederick Taylor's "scientific management" principles from the industrial work place into the privatized home.<sup>17</sup> In the name of efficiency, household labour was to be broken down into specialized processes along the same lines as factory production, despite the fact that in the home the woman was the sole worker. Many of the renovation tips contained in HIP ads were inspired by pseudo-scientific management theory and infused with its rhetoric and imagery. The kitchen above all became the focus of 'scientific' planning.

Achieving the new ideal of a "laboratory-like kitchen" involved not simply the introduction of new appliances, but their positioning in a work environment of maximum efficiency. In many older houses, kitchens were so large and badly arranged that "a woman had to be a marathon walker to prepare one meal."<sup>18</sup> Time/motion studies and diagrammatic floor plans were produced to contrast the poorly laid out kitchen of the past with the convenient modern one. Spurious quantification was cleverly utilized to lend an aura of scientific authority to the efficiency claims. In one diagram flow arrows emphasized that the orderly modern kitchen cut out much needless walking, reducing, by as much as 50 per cent, the time and energy involved in meal preparation. "How many steps make a Pie?," asked one manufacturer of plumbing and heating equipment. In the old-fashioned kitchen, over 100, this ad replied, as compared with a mere 22 in the modern kitchen.<sup>19</sup>

Manufacturers of kitchen equipment did not hesitate to capitalize on HIP modernization schemes. Canadian General Electric, for example, sold appliances in a co-ordinated ensemble around which a total kitchen would be created. The CGE ad promised the Canadian housewife that "For a few dollars a month" she could "own a General Electric kitchen – under the new Home Improvement Plan," and thereby fulfill her dreams for a kitchen that is "trim and compact . . . clean and cool." Emphasizing the magically transformative power of electricity when



## "We can have them ALL under the HOME IMPROVEMENT PLAN"



**N**OW you can actually have a modern home instead of day-dreaming about it. The obstacle that has balked you—lack of ready funds—is removed by the Home Improvement Plan.

So choose the improvements you want most—a modern kitchen or bathroom, an up-to-date heating system; new roofing and insulation; interior or exterior painting, decorating, landscaping, fencing, a playroom—get an estimate of their cost from the

people who will do the work and see how many of them will fit into your budget.

### SIMPLIFIED FINANCING

Any contractor, supply firm or architect can help you arrange a Home Improvement Plan loan if you need it to finance the work for you, or you can apply direct to your banker. No security or endorsement needed; you simply show that you can repay in monthly instalments and the loan is made, the work proceeds, your home is made brighter and more livable and men get needed jobs.

Full information on the Home Improvement Plan and what it covers may be obtained from your local committee, your Provincial Chairman, your bank or the National Employment Commission, Ottawa.



The cost of this series of advertisements sponsored by the National Employment Commission, has been defrayed entirely by public spirited citizens and individuals as a contribution towards the "unemployment co-operation plan" envisaged by the Parliament of Canada in the National Employment Commission Act.

## National Employment Commission

UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE DOMINION GOVERNMENT

joined with the brilliance of CGE-designed appliances, this ad tantalized women with the vision of "A kitchen where a score of tedious tasks are done quickly and economically, merely by turning electric switches!"<sup>20</sup>

Despite efforts to draw in upper-working class women with "affordable" modernization hints, HIP ads projected an ideal world in which the perfect family was WASP, middle to upper middle class and composed of 'Mr. Home-Owner', his wife 'Mrs. Consumer' and their two children, a boy and a girl. In their appeal to 'Mrs. Consumer', the ads conveyed conflicting messages. On the one hand, the woman was represented as a responsible "purchasing agent" with a careful "eye on her budget." She was the one

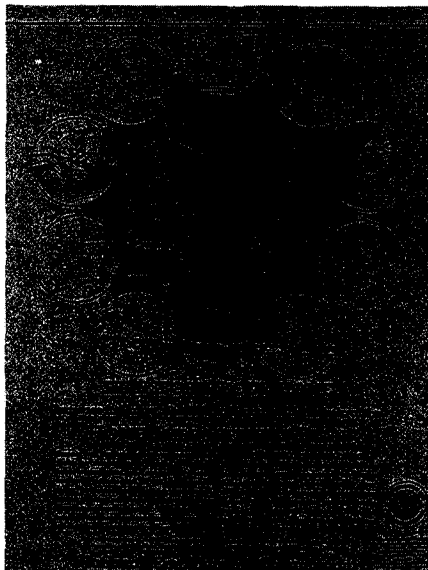
who could exercise a restraining influence. On the other hand, in a universalization of the upper-middle-class women with considerable spending power, women were portrayed as spendthrifts and compulsive shoppers. The woman may have been the "purchasing agent" in the corporation of the family, but through her economic dependency, she remained accountable to her husband, the "president."<sup>21</sup> Built into this relationship, because of the woman's need to account for every penny spent, was the wife's vulnerability to her husband's criticism of her performance as financial manager. Even the thriftiest housewife could be made to appear wasteful or frivolous from the man's perspective. Women were seen as waging a constant assault on the

wallets of their husbands, an image that certain comic strips, like "Dagwood and Blondie," have helped keep alive for decades.

In the HIP appeals to women as home-makers, women were identified so closely with the home that they were encouraged to express the essence of their personalities through the rooms and furnishings of their houses, particularly the kitchen. HIP press statements typically sought to instill in women the desire to stand out from all their neighbours through unique home decoration. "Every once in a while," one ad posited, "the average home-maker wants a kitchen that is entirely individual and doesn't resemble in the slightest the yellow and blue, or the red and white or the pink and brown workshops of her friends."<sup>22</sup> Some ads recognized that women's confinement to the home might be a source of depression or restlessness. Paradoxically, these same ads urged women to undertake home decoration as a cure for discontent. "The redecorating of one room or an entire house can do more to soothe the troubled spirit of the true housewife than a trip to the Canary Islands," one ad maintained – as though the average home owner in Depression Canada could have contemplated such an extravagance.<sup>23</sup> Thus women's feelings of entrapment and yearnings for independence were subverted and channelled back into domesticity.

The ads so identified woman with home that woman and dwelling became one and the house took on a feminine persona. The homemaker was encouraged to empathize in a very personal way with the feelings of her house. "Did you ever look at your house as you approached it and think it looked dispirited and dejected?" one press release queried the Canadian housewife. "Remember how a facial or a wave will raise your own morale and let the house profit accordingly," the ad continued. Renovating the facade of a house was made analogous to giving a woman a face lift.<sup>24</sup>

Despite the extent to which HIP ads promoted the coalescence of woman with home, some expressed the worry that women might make the home *too* feminine an environment for the male head of household and his son. Excessive accommodation to the feminine taste for ruffles and frills threatened to overthrow the "na-



tural" order of the patriarchal family. In a thinly disguised reference to the wife's economic dependence on her husband and consequent fear of losing him, one press release warned that "only a foolish woman plans a totally feminine house in which a man will feel out of place." Accordingly, this ad instructed the woman to go easy on the "dainty," "lady-like" touches, for such decor would "hardly . . . make a man want to stay around and read the evening newspaper and spill ashes."<sup>25</sup> The female persona of the house notwithstanding, man's privileged place in it was to be protected and confirmed.

In general, the spatial ordering of the house and the gender identity embodied in rooms and their furnishings expressed and reinforced the sexual division of labour. The mother/wife was to give priority to the spatial needs of other family members before her own. Only after the husband got his den, the son a club room, and the daughter an attic bedroom, could the wife expect a space of her own, perhaps a sewing room.<sup>26</sup> Ironically, like the other rooms considered woman's domain, the sewing room was a site of work. The reality of the home as a place of leisure for men and work for women was thereby preserved.

As mothers responsible for the upbringing of their children, women were charged with implanting and enforcing gender divisions. Women were advised that the "home-making instincts of a little girl may be fostered or stunted by the kind of room she lives in." The responsible mother would furnish her daughter's room with "a dressing table, a desk, a

comfortable chair for reading" and maybe "a coffee table from which she might dispense cocoas or orange juice to her young friends." In contrast, a boy's room might use "ships, dogs, hockey, football or soldiers" as the decorative theme.<sup>27</sup> Most favoured was the nautical motif, as in a Marbolem ad in *Chatelaine* which promised that in such a room your boy would be king.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the idealization of the home as a haven of love and affection, HIP ads also recognized that the home was an arena of conflict. It was women's job, as wives and mothers, to manage tension among family members. Proper allocation of space was billed as a solution to family conflict. A Marbolem ad showed one woman boasting to her friend about how she averted a crisis in her family by creating "a smart extra room" where "Babs and Billy could practice without having to stop when I am on the phone or when their Dad wants to hear a special radio speech."<sup>29</sup> The subtext of these ads was that those families too poor to afford such resolution of conflict through "wise" allocation of space would remain caught in wrangling.

The Home Improvement Plan's intent to generate male employment by the salvaging of rundown homes was in keeping with depression values. "Use it up, wear it out, make it do, or do without" was an oft-repeated saying of the 1930s.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, the encouragement that the HIP gave to loosening credit and stimulating consumerism heralded an end to the period of "telling ourselves that self-denial is good."<sup>31</sup> The injunction to lift self-restraint on spending was directed, it should be noted, at the more affluent of Canadian society, the group of middle-income home owners truly targeted by the Plan. "[T]he industrial workers of Canada will wait until doomsday before they get any relief from this Bill," T.C. Church, Conservative M.P., charged in the House. It was not designed to help them cope with high taxes or to fend off foreclosures. As C.C.F. member J.S. Woodsworth pointed out, "it simply does not touch the great problem of housing that faces the country at the present time." In fact, he warned, "it may become a substitute for a more comprehensive scheme." Moreover, despite the "great hullabaloo" surrounding the promotion of the Plan, the job creation it promised was limited to a small and specialized

group of workers in the building and allied trades. It did not, Woodsworth intoned, "begin to touch the great mass of the unemployed people of this country."<sup>32</sup>

While criticism of the class implications of the Act were raised on the floor of the House and elsewhere, rarely if ever did anyone question its gender implications. This silence indicates the depth to which the priority of the male and ensuing gender divisions were unquestioningly entrenched in Canadian society. Despite evidence of widespread female joblessness, women's unemployment was simply not addressed by the Plan. Indeed, the Plan's clear assignment of women to domesticity reflected the strong opposition during the Depression to the gainful employment of the married woman and the prevailing assumption that her right to work should be sacrificed to the needs of the male breadwinner. In addition, the Plan became another arm of the state's active intervention in the home to establish norms of familial constitution and gender roles. While the wife was regarded as the financial manager, she remained answerable to her boss, the husband. The housewife's freedom to transform the environment to which she was confined was always to be limited by her prior duty to safeguard her husband's comfort and authority. Her home decorating activities were also to serve the proper gender development of her children, a task with which she, as mother, was entrusted. The Home Improvement Plan stands as an example of the Canadian state's agency in the social construction of class and gender relations. Furthermore, critical response to the Plan demonstrates the extent to which, in this period of economic distress, class inequities were visible and challenged, however feebly, while the patriarchal structuring of gender inequities was not only accepted as given but viewed as crucial to economic recovery.

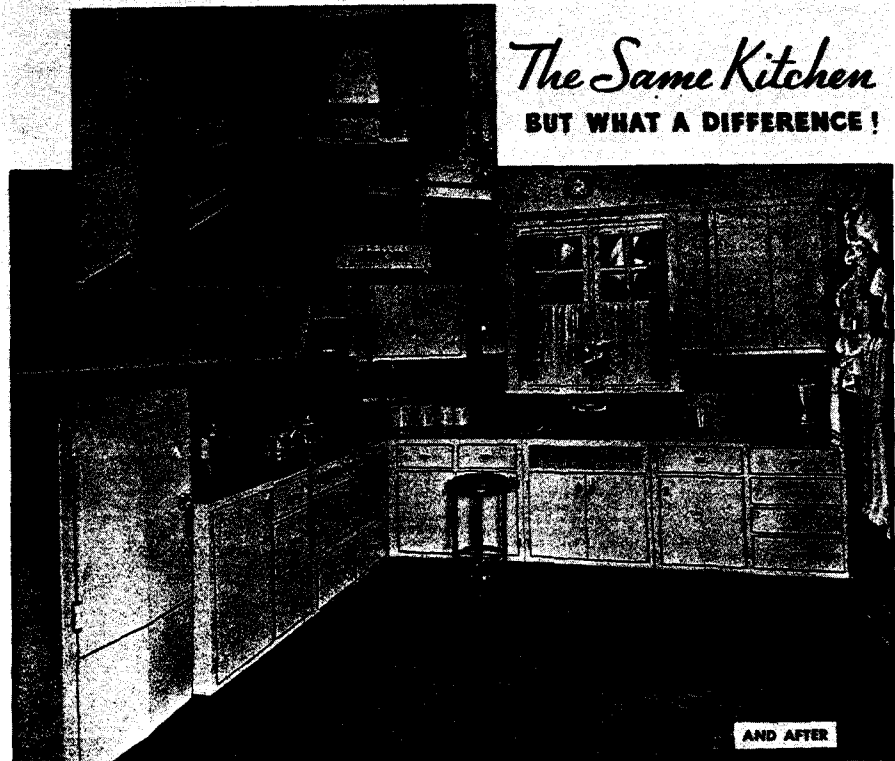
<sup>1</sup>Public Archives of Canada [PAC], Record Group 27, Department of Labour Records, Vol. 3347, file 5, [HIP] Press Release #20; Vol. 3355, file 3, Press Release - January 15, 1937.

<sup>2</sup>PAC, RG 27, Vol. 3355, file 3, "Address of H.A. McLarty at Banquet of the Association of Ontario Architects," Windsor, Ontario, October 17, 1936.

<sup>3</sup>PAC, RG 27, Vol. 3354, file 13, "A British Building Society for Canada," 1936;

Maclean's Magazine, March 1, 1937

2



## You too can have a GENERAL ELECTRIC KITCHEN



It's time to change to a modern General Electric Kitchen... trim and compact... clean and cool. A kitchen where a score of tedious tasks are done quickly and economically, merely by turning electric switches! A well planned, time-saving kitchen that will be your constant pride and joy!

In such a kitchen, General Electric servants work daily magic. They preserve your food... do the heating and mixing... cook whole meals automatically... banish cooking odors... wash the dishes... and even dispose of the garbage!

### Ask about the Government Loan

For a few dollars a month, you can own a General Electric kitchen - under the new Home Improvement Plan of the Dominion Government. Interest rates are remarkably low... and payments can be spread over as many as 36 months. Ask your bank manager.

Complete suggestions on how to transform your kitchen are available through your local G-E dealer, or the Kitchen Planning Division of the General Electric Home Bureau. Send for free booklet today.

Canadian General Electric Co., Limited  
212 King St. West, TORONTO

Please send me, without obligation, free copies of the illustrated booklets: "The General Electric Home" and "The New Art of Living".

Name.....

Street Address.....

Town or City.....

**CANADIAN GENERAL ELECTRIC CO., LIMITED**

Vol. 3347, file 4, Press Release #10, November 12, 1936; Vol. 3366, file 10, Press Release #156, "A Year of the Home Improvement Plan;" Vol. 3355, file 3, "Address of H.A. McLarty."

"Canadian Labour Organizations Present Memoranda of Proposed Legislation to the Dominion Government," *Labour Gazette*, January 1937, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup>PAC, RG 27, Vol. 3355, file 3, HIP Press Release, "For Release in Morning Papers of Saturday, October 17, 1936;" "Outline of Plan for Promoting and Popularizing the Home Improvement Plan," p.1.

<sup>5</sup>PAC, RG 27, Vol. 3347, file 4, Press Release #1, "House Renovation Scheme."

<sup>6</sup>Hansard, January 29, 1937, p. 394; "A Job in Your Home," *Maclean's*, November

15, 1936, p.4; PAC, RG 27, Vol. 3355, file 7, "Application for Home Improvement Loan Plan - Bank Application Forms".

<sup>7</sup>PAC, RG 27, Vol. 3347, file 5, "Speech of Arthur B. Purvis: Over a National Network, March 25th, 1937," Vol. 3354, file 10, Press Release #120; Vol. 3355, file 3, "Minutes of Meeting at Cockfield, Brown & Co. Ltd., Tuesday December 8, 1936," p.4.

<sup>8</sup>PAC, RG 27, Vol. 3354, file 10, Press Release #83, Vol. 3347, file 5, Unnumbered Press Release; Vol. 3354, file 10, Press Release #45.

<sup>9</sup>Chatelaine, January 1937, p. 35.

<sup>10</sup>Evan Parry, "'Modern' Style," *Maclean's*, September 15, 1937, p. 24; Gordon Sturrock, "'Money to Loan'," *Chatelaine*, November 1936, p. 82; Richard

A. Fisher, "Before/After," *Chatelaine*, March 1937, p. 20

<sup>12</sup>Richard A. Fisher, "Modernizing an Old House," *Chatelaine*, February 1937, p. 72; Fisher, "Before/After," p. 20; Richard A. Fisher, "Modernizing the Small House," *Chatelaine*, April 1937, p. 22.

<sup>13</sup>PAC, RG 27, Vol. 3347, file 5, Press Release #40; "1937 Home Improvement Year," *Chatelaine*, January 1937, p. 41; Fisher, "Modernizing the Small House," p. 23.

<sup>14</sup>*Maclean's*, October 1, 1937, p. 25.

<sup>15</sup>PAC, RG 27, Vol. 3354, file 10, Press Release #106; Vol. 3366, file 8, Press Release #70; *Maclean's*, December 1, 1936, p. 61; March 1, 1937, p. 57.

<sup>16</sup>Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 352; Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976), pp. 97-99.

<sup>17</sup>Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982), p. 285.

<sup>18</sup>"Planning for a Maidless House," *Chatelaine*, November 1940, p. 55; John Alexander, "Replanning the Kitchen," *Maclean's*, April 15, 1937, p. 72.

<sup>19</sup>Alexander, "Replanning the Kitchen," p. 72; "Why Planned Kitchens?," *Maclean Building Reports Annual* (1937): 58.

<sup>20</sup>*Maclean's*, March 1, 1937, p. 27.

<sup>21</sup>Marchand, pp. 169-170.

<sup>22</sup>PAC, RG 27, Vol. 3354, file 10, Press Release #48.

<sup>23</sup>PAC, RG 27, Vol. 3354, file 10, Press Release #92.

<sup>24</sup>PAC, RG 27, Vol. 3354, file 10, Press Release #111; "1937 Home Improvement Year," p. 49.

<sup>25</sup>PAC, RG 27, Vol. 3354, file 10, Press Release #136.

<sup>26</sup>*Maclean's*, March 15, 1937, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup>PAC, RG 27, Vol. 3354, file 10, Press Releases #116 and #96.

<sup>28</sup>*Chatelaine*, May 1939, back of front cover.

<sup>29</sup>*Chatelaine*, April 1940, back of front cover.

<sup>30</sup>Susan Ware, *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), p. 2.

<sup>31</sup>"1937 Home Improvement Year," p. 41.

<sup>32</sup>*Hansard*, February 2, 1937, pp. 468, 476, 475.

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## MUTATION

Entre les buildings  
Un ciel d'apocalypse  
Le temps est venu

La pluie s'est abattue  
sur nous  
Les chats sont ivres fous  
Le temps est venu

Où tout sera le lien  
Où toute transformation  
Donnera naissance  
Aux mutations diverses  
Le temps arrive  
Il est là  
Il est le sens même  
De nos visages  
Transfigurés extrêmes.

**Céline Messner**  
Montréal, Québec

# WIN

WOMEN'S  
INTERNATIONAL  
NETWORK

# NEWS

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POSTAGE OVERSEAS ADD \$3.00 // AIRMAIL ADD \$9.00  
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**YOU ARE INVITED TO SEND NEWS AND PARTICIPATE!**