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# MODERN KITCHENS IN THE PAMPAS

*Home Mechanization and Domestic Work in Argentina,  
1940–1970*

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*Discourses about the kitchen are a useful starting point to trace changing ways of looking at domestic work and women's ideals in different times, especially within the home mechanization process. In this article, I explore the emergence of different kitchen models in Argentinean popular media during the second half of the twentieth century. Specifically, I observe the ways in which the kitchen was represented in women's magazines and how these representations were re-signified in the life stories of both men and women who witnessed and staged the mechanization of the home. Their appropriations of these models were not only diverse but also unequal. In this text, I show how experiences of housework and kitchen mechanization were marked by deep social and gender inequalities. I also show the significance domestic work gained in the promotion of new modes of living and new standards of consumption.*

## Introduction

Perla: The house . . . it has changed a lot. I remember, '55, '56, [I was] 4 or 5 years old, the house was separate from the bathroom . . . I remember that until I was 8 years old, when we moved to a house with a bathroom . . . we had to warm the kitchen to take a bath. That kitchen . . . You see, the kitchen was the center. In the kitchen we bathed, we ate; everything happened in the kitchen.<sup>1</sup>

The modern kitchen fuses two opposite images, although they are not necessarily contradictory. On the one hand, it is considered the heart of the home; on the other hand, it is imagined as a mechanized space.<sup>2</sup> It is also the place of domestic work *par excellence*; therefore, it is presented as a site of feminine subjection. The kitchen is a space filled with personal meanings attached to the construction of familial and individual identities. The kitchen is also, along with the bathroom, the room of the house that lends itself most easily to the ideals of standardization and mechanization that characterize the modern home. The place given to the kitchen in Perla's memory is meaningful: the modern kitchen is a synecdoche of the modern home.

As in post-war Europe and other Latin American countries, in Argentina modern homes—industrialized, rationalized and scientifically designed to free the modern family and, specifically, women from the backwardness of the past—spread extensively in the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>3</sup> It became a key element in an imaginary of domesticity in which consumption centered on the home, and family occupied a preeminent place.<sup>4</sup> In Argentina, the expansion of the modern home acquired specific features. By the mid-twentieth century there was a sizable urban middle class that shaped the modes of living and the parameters of consumption identified as “modern.”<sup>5</sup> Different public policies would make these modes of living reachable for different social sectors in the following decades within a context of “democratization of wellbeing,” which was identified with Peronist governments (1946–1955) but also characterized the subsequent decades.<sup>6</sup>

The popularization of “modern” homes was deeply related to the public policies of the period. Around the 1940s, the Argentinian state began to intervene directly in the housing market, building new homes and financing cheap mortgage loans. Despite the political changes of the following years, the State only gave up its place as the guarantor of the “right” to a dwelling in the late 1970s. Because of these housing policies, Argentinean society changed significantly. Whereas in 1947 only thirty-seven percent of the population inhabited their own homes, by 1980, this proportion had reached sixty-seven percent, a proportion significantly higher than that observed in other Latin American countries.<sup>7</sup> Most of these homes were new and built following “modern” standards.

Public policies also played a significant role in the protection of the local domestic appliance industry, a key element in modern homes and kitchens, by making these items affordable for many Argentineans. For instance, the manufacture of refrigerators for domestic use was standardized by Siam Di Tella in 1936 as part of the industrialization process that grew in parallel to local demand. Domestic appliance sales, however, remained low until the 1950s and 1960s when, favored by several trade restrictions proposed by the Peronist government in the previous years (which also declared the refrigerator industry a “national interest” in 1954), the level of national production increased, rising from 40,000 units annually in 1950 to 130,000 in 1955 and 206,000 in 1960.<sup>8</sup> Unlike Chile or Brazil, in Argentina, the consumption of these goods spread quickly.<sup>9</sup> In 1947, only three percent of Argentinean homes had an electric refrigerator; by 1960, this proportion had reached almost forty percent and continued to grow in the following decades.<sup>10</sup>

The most relevant characteristics for the characterization of a home as modern were its structure and the functional specialization of its rooms. These characteristics were accompanied by specific notions about who could

use each space at different times. The compact structure of the modern home implied the elimination of anterooms, corridors, and halls. It also presumed a separation of the workplace from the home.<sup>11</sup> Finally, unlike homes that were not “modern,” which excluded the service area (particularly the kitchen) from the “inhabitable” rooms, different technical transformations and changes in the urban infrastructure allowed the kitchen’s inclusion within the modern house interior.<sup>12</sup>

An object of attention for architects, doctors, and social reformers, the discourse about kitchens has been a means to talk about many different topics—not only technical and social progress but also public health and family morals. Above all, it has been a pretext to talk *about* as well as *to* housewives. In fact, one can trace in these discourses a reemergence of the domestic-woman ideal that first crystallized in the early twentieth century.<sup>13</sup> A new relevance of consumption and comfort characterized this reemergence, resulting in an ideal of efficiency applied to domestic work and an image of the home (and the kitchen) as the place of a fulfilling life for all family members.<sup>14</sup> Its appropriations, however, were not only diverse but also unequal. As we shall see, experiences of housework and kitchen mechanization were marked by deep social and gender inequalities.

In this article, I explore the discourses about the kitchen that appeared in Argentinean popular media during the second half of the twentieth century. I observe the ways in which the kitchen was represented in women’s magazines and how these representations were re-signified by both men and women who experienced the mechanization of the home.<sup>15</sup> The transformations in the ways the kitchen was conceptualized—in relation to both its structure and its equipment—are signs of the changing meanings attributed to different practices of domestic consumption.<sup>16</sup> The kitchen plays a central role in the memories of those who lived through this transformation. What meanings were attributed to this space? In what ways did they express the ideals of modernity? How did they change over the following decades? How were they experienced by men and women of different socio-economic conditions?

Based on the analysis of life stories of those who experienced these changes, this article seeks to reconstruct the different meanings attached to this space within everyday life, meanings that are located in a singular spatial context. All of the interviewees lived in the city of Mar del Plata during the period under scrutiny. This constitutes a specific material context in which these discourses were read. Mar del Plata is a mid-sized Argentinean city and the most important tourist destination in the country.<sup>17</sup> *Porteño* tourists brought modern modes of living closer to the local residents. By identifying with them and their consumption habits, the provincial middle class distinguished themselves from other local residents showing both

their wealth and modernity.<sup>18</sup> Mar del Plata was not unusual in this regard, however. Despite regional differences, in this period modern homes spread through all urban spaces within the Argentinean territory. By 1960, seventy-two percent of the Argentinean population lived in an urban milieu, and there were fifteen cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants.<sup>19</sup> If innovations were introduced first in Buenos Aires, their adoption in smaller cities was made possible by the housing policies and the industrial development described above and by the extension of public services, such as electricity, water, and gas supply. Regional differences were deep but were most obvious between urban and rural spaces. In this sense, some trends observed in Mar del Plata can be extrapolated to other Argentinean cities.

The notion of “modes of living” and the study of the material conditions of family life have been useful to emphasize the family historicity and diversity.<sup>20</sup> The analysis of the uses of domestic space has made the production of inequalities within the home visible, especially those related to housework and domestic consumption.<sup>21</sup> In general, domestic work has received little attention in Latin American history, and this is especially true in Argentinean historiography.<sup>22</sup> This article seeks to contribute to this growing field as well as to the history of consumption, particularly gender and consumption studies.<sup>23</sup>

The article is organized in three sections. Each section addresses a different transformation in the meanings attached to the kitchen, from hygienic to efficient kitchens, from the kitchen as Cinderella to the queen of the home and from a place for daydreaming to a place of confinement. In each section, I observe the circulation of the discourses about this room, from a specialist public to general audiences, and their diverse appropriations by people of different genders and generations. These appropriations were determined by specific times and spatial contexts that gave rise to new gender and social inequalities within the domestic space.

### **From Hygienic to Efficient Kitchens**

In the architectural field, the notion of efficiency in domestic work, achieved through the rational organization of space, had already begun to displace hygienic considerations by the 1930s. Such women as Christine Frederick imbued the efficient kitchen with the rational design principles developed in the United States and Germany in the first decades of the twentieth century. The solutions designed to reduce the time spent on housework required a redesign of the kitchen. These solutions were diverse, however. Some designs were based on the fragmentation of every movement aimed at reducing dead times. Others, imagined kitchen-less houses. In these designs, domestic work was shared by different households, reducing the time each woman spent on it.<sup>24</sup>

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In spite of this diversity, the model that became dominant in the United States and in Europe—as well as in Argentina—incorporated the least radical proposals and adapted the Taylorist criterion of efficiency to the kitchen and domestic work.<sup>25</sup> As the historian Alejandro Crispiani has noted, since the 1930s, various notions associated with the “scientific management” of industrial work (the assembly line, the continuity of work surfaces and the rationalization of movement) were introduced to the domestic space and used to organize household tasks. At the same time, the figure of the housewife gained centrality in both architecture and advertising discourses.<sup>26</sup>

The new kitchen was based on considerations of the time spent on each task and in each room and the distances covered while doing housework. The time and effort involved in domestic work would be diminished by rational kitchens, where every aspect of the kitchen design had to be planned in advance. The space was organized into work centers. Preparing, washing, cooking, and serving food were supposed to be done in different places within the kitchen. An ergonomic criterion guided these designs. Work surface heights, kitchen counters, cupboard dimensions, distances between different centers and their organization were estimated in relation to a standardized “female body.”

Housing policies initiated in the 1940s resulted in greater accessibility to modern housing for larger numbers of people. At the same time prescriptions about kitchen rationalization reached larger audiences. In this context, magazines (such as *Casas y jardines*, *Para ti*, *El hogar*, and *Claudia*) published numerous articles about the kitchen with an emphasis on the reduction of the time and effort demanded by housework. Several concepts from the rationalization discourse were included in these articles and were accompanied by new elements intended to make them understandable to a non-specialist reader, including diagrams, charts, and illustrations. The efficient kitchen was now addressed to a middle-class housewife who could potentially change the ways of doing domestic work or could demand particular features for “her” kitchen. These articles made the housewife the main subject of the modernization of the kitchen.<sup>27</sup>

In Argentina, however, the discourse of housework rationalization did not reach the same dominance that it gained in other places, such as Germany or Brazil, where housework rationalization was explicitly addressed by public policies.<sup>28</sup> The campaigns for the “rationalization” of consumption that occurred under the Peronist government, for example, did not consider the scientific organization of housework relevant. In fact, homes were thought of as sites of consumption rather than sites of production. As the historians Eduardo Elena and Natalia Milanésio have shown, in Peronist discourses, housewives’ duty regarding “rationalization” was to spend the household budget more wisely.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the significance

of the efficient household ideal should not be dismissed, especially within technical circles.

Luis: To design the kitchen, I, for example, look at books, and if they read, "the separation between . . . one kitchen counter and another must be of a minimum of approximately 1,40, 1,50 meters." That one [pointing at a counter] is 90 cm long, more or less. So what do I do? I put something here, I measure 90 cm, and I see how I move. This comes from my own practice. If I move well in 90 cm, that's it. . . . [referring to his ex-wife] We generally disagreed. As I said, she wanted a 6 by 12 m living room, and I can do with one of 3 by 3. Why would I want a larger one? What for?! . . . That took me a long time to build because I wasted money in things that weren't worth it, but what could I do? It was her choice.<sup>30</sup>

As we can see in the previous excerpt, efficiency also guided non-experts designs of the kitchen space. Even though he was a storekeeper, Luis, one of my interviewees, built his house himself. He was born in 1943, and he began to build his family house in his late twenties. The principle that guided his design was, in his own terms, "functionality." In this excerpt, Luis builds an image of himself as an autonomous and ingenious man who can adapt other people's designs to his own ideas and needs. He is guided in his work, however, by the standards we have already observed in the housework rationalization discourse. The adjustment of the working surfaces and the kitchen space to his movements is possibly the clearest example of the ways the advice he was given was transformed into personal inventiveness and wit.

Luis's story also points to a conflict that had not appeared previously. The imperative of space rationalization and functional surfaces are identified here as a masculine criterion that is confronted with an expensive, ineffective, and feminine way of thinking of domestic space. Although the housework rationalization discourse emerged with the purpose of reducing women's effort, as time passed, it became one of the sites where conflicts between feminine and masculine ways of looking at domestic space materialized.

Not all elements of this discourse had the same trajectory, however. Although working surfaces and cupboards were also frequently recalled by my female interviewees, these women minimized the elimination of unnecessary movements and the maximization of efficiency, highlighting instead the search for comfort, following the transformations that this discourse underwent in women's magazines. In these magazines, the aim of reducing the time spent on housework was related to the incorporation of new appliances (as well as new energies and technologies) rather than

a change in space organization.<sup>31</sup> Women's magazines presented domestic appliances as housewives' "liberators." Usually related to fantasy and fairy tales, they played the role of Cinderella's glass slipper; they magically transformed the kitchen into the queen of the home.

### From Cinderella to the Queen of the Home

Interviewer: . . . the gas stove, the kerosene heater first, and then the gas stove. And the fridge?

Felisa: I had an electric fridge, yes . . .

Interviewer: An electric one?

Felisa: Oh, yes. I always had an electric one. And I had . . . Then, I had . . . Because my husband did like this . . . My husband always . . . He was a very special man. Everybody loved him. He was wonderful. He was a good man, a good husband, he was . . . he wasn't romantic, in the sense, I don't know . . . In those days, men were ashamed of being romantic, but he was a man that, in spite of being like that because he was a little . . . yes, not serious, because he was always adorable with me . . . I was his employee. First, I worked making copies, then he put me in another place, then he . . . he . . . I was his secretary. And then we started dating, and in five months, we got married. By then I had worked for him for almost two years. My mother then adored him. He was very handsome; the truth is he was very handsome. A tall guy . . . My children too, they are both very handsome. He was very good. Everybody loved him. So as soon as we got married . . . And then the first thing he did was buy me the Martinco that was the first washing machine in Argentina. It was huge, very big . . . If there was anything new, my husband bought it . . .<sup>32</sup>

By the mid-twentieth century, the hygienic kitchen was replaced by new designs that prioritized efficiency. Overlapping with that discourse, another image emerged in the texts addressed to housewives, one in which a romantic view of the kitchen and domestic life prevailed. The technical tone observed in the previous section was displaced here by a "pink poetics" in which kitchens and domestic appliances functioned as support for love stories and fairy tales, for magic in the home and Venus in the kitchen.

In the interview excerpt at the beginning of this section, Felisa answers a question about the appliances that were in her home by telling the story of her romance with the man who would become her husband. Every dialogue is regulated by a principle that states that, when asked a question, the conversational partner should answer it with relevant information. This principle is not disrupted in the previous quotation. The love story reinforces

the meanings she seeks to attach to it; love transcending class barriers and social imperatives; social upward mobility reached through marriage; and the husband's exceptional generosity are narrative elements that place her as a triumphal heroine. The segment presents domestic appliances as love offerings that allow a negotiation between an unabashed romanticism and the male provider figure. If the domestic appliances made Felisa a queen, they also made her husband a king.

Domestic appliances gained a central place in public discourses in the middle decades of the twentieth century, particularly in the rhetoric that presented the Peronist government as the agent of the democratization of wellbeing.<sup>33</sup> The affordability of home appliances implied working and middle class homes could now have access to goods previously associated with the comfortable lives of the "well-to-do." This affordability was driven mostly by the growth of real salaries and the decrease of expenditures in housing, food, and clothing in the budget of working and middle-class homes. The local production of these goods was first developed in the 1930s within a context of economic crisis that promoted the protection of local industry. Massive consumption of these durables, however, would have to wait until the late 1940s, when local production grew significantly and the purchasing power of the middle and working classes increased, enabling a diversification of consumption that characterized the Peronist and the following Desarrollista governments.<sup>34</sup>

During the 1950s and 1960s, the pink poetics of the kitchen and its appliances was a recurrent element in texts addressed to housewives. The following excerpt, published in *Para ti* in 1954, is an example of the ways this poetics related to the new ideal kitchen. The article, entitled "The queen of the home should not be a slave," included some of the topics of housework rationalization but gave them a new shade. On the one hand, the article compared the work performed at home to the work performed at the office, the workshop, or in the countryside; it compared domestic appliances to typewriters and tractors, and presented the mechanized kitchen as equivalent to a factory. On the other hand, it presented kitchen appliances not only as working tools but also as "beauty lotions":

One of the things a man likes most is to feel that his wife is a true queen of her home. However, sometimes, to be a queen, the woman becomes a slave of her kitchen. And the husband doesn't realize. He is not the only one to blame. The woman hasn't used all the possibilities our century offers her to be the "queen of her home and of herself" . . . What is the kitchen but a workplace? However, the woman should consider her workplace on a par with any other workplace. In his office, the man has the typewriter to do his job faster. In the factories, the distribution of tools and



working tables are continuously studied in order to reduce the unnecessary movements of the worker so he can produce more. In the country, farmers aspire to have their own tractors. The woman should also have a plan to "mechanize" her kitchen . . . What does she gain at the end of the day? A few minutes to rest. What does she avoid? Unnecessary problems. And if she complains less, and rests more, surely her beauty will be more radiant. That is why kitchen appliances really are "beauty lotions" for the woman.<sup>35</sup>

In Argentina in the early decades of the century, both home economics textbooks and women's magazines assumed the presence of domestic servants when providing advice for middle-class housewives.<sup>36</sup> In contrast, during the following decades, many of these texts did not mention domestic servants and presented the housewife as performing domestic work on her own.<sup>37</sup> The domestic appliance replaced the figure of the domestic servant. If the kitchen lost its Cinderella status, it was thanks to the housewife's new electric "servants."<sup>38</sup> However, by the mid-twentieth century, domestic service was still an important occupation for working-class women. In 1947, more than half of the women employed in the service sector were domestic employees, a proportion that was maintained in the following decades.<sup>39</sup>

From the 1920s onward, we can witness a new significance of aesthetic considerations in the texts about the kitchen that appeared in popular women's magazines. This significance was parallel to the professionalization of housework and to what Francisco Liernur saw as the emergence of a new middle-class sensibility.<sup>40</sup> Plastic, formica, and other synthetic materials brought new colors into the kitchen. The new kitchen furniture was advertised as bright, colorful, resistant, and easy to clean. Whether tablecloths or curtains, stoves or refrigerators, marble kitchen counters or plastic furniture, the dream kitchen was an invitation to purchase more products. This was possible because of both a trend toward a reduction in the importance of food, housing, and energy in the expenditures of industrial workers in Buenos Aires, and an increase in their "surplus" consumption (in durable goods, health, and education) that became apparent by 1943. This type of consumption reached a greater level in the 1960s, accompanied by an increase in salary-earners' income along with growth in the participation of different members of the family group in the labor market.<sup>41</sup> Cinderella's glass slipper became a plastic dress.

The dining kitchen gained centrality in these years in an attempt to integrate the kitchen space into the rest of the home. The well-equipped kitchen was also a space to spend leisure time, where not only the housewife but also other family members could stay for long hours. By the 1960s, when the presence of the television in the domestic space began to expand,

its location in the kitchen indicated the symbolic place this room had acquired by then. If the most typical place for the television set among my interviewees was the living room, the kitchen was the second most common place. This location did not depend on the social status of the family; it was found both in middle-class and working-class homes.<sup>42</sup> Increasing consumption enabled the kitchen to be promoted from a "habitable space" to the "heart of the home."

By the mid-twentieth century, the "pink poetics" described above were commonplace in the articles about the kitchen addressed to women, and references to fantasy and fairy tales and the personification of the kitchen were recurrent. The identification of the kitchen with the housewife and within the semantic field of magical and mythical domains may have never been as strong as in an article by Eva Giberti that was first published in *Para ti* in July 1968. "Venus' Kitchen" hyperbolized and made explicit an underlying relation in the discourses analyzed above: the kitchen was a metaphor for the maternal uterus: "Seeing a Venus in the kitchen is not too odd because the kitchen represents symbolically the woman's body... On the one hand, the possibility of making babies; on the other one, of making food, delicious dishes made out of simple ingredients, and even enriching love through the food that is offered. Venus' kitchen is a result of these elements, that is, the image of the woman-sorceress who possesses the secrets and formulas capable of increasing the amorous powers. The woman is not oblivious to these fantasies that we find recurrently among men: she also feels she is a sorceress mixing flavors and textures that she will then offer to her husband."<sup>43</sup>

In this article the "pink poetics" becomes fantastic; the references to children's fairy tales are replaced with elements typical of seduction narratives, though always within the frame of a heterosexual, monogamous, and reproductive marriage. The monotonous task of cooking is tinged with magic and mystery. Fantasy was already present in the discourses addressing the changes in the kitchen through the parable of Cinderella; what is new here is that, from the passive object of others' magic, the housewife becomes a sorceress capable of increasing amorous powers.<sup>44</sup> "Venus's kitchen" must be contextualized within the context of a critical approach to a "traditional" lifestyle.<sup>45</sup> The 1960s were characterized by many changes in everyday life, particularly in sexuality and gender roles.<sup>46</sup> In this sense, Giberti's proposal has been read as a way of managing the prevailing chaos and establishing a boundary for an eroticism that could challenge family life.<sup>47</sup> The parodist use of the fantastic genre becomes a hyperbolic exacerbation of sensuality limited to marriage and the housewife's powers to limit the "discreet" sexual revolution that was taking place.<sup>48</sup>

However, these were not the only challenges that the “rebellious decade” brought to the model of the domestic woman observed in the previous decades. The expectations of the younger generations, especially women, to increase their level of consumption also appeared as potential sources of erosion for the happiness of the family.<sup>49</sup>

Silvia: Just think about it, mom: a young woman like me suddenly realizes that indecent novels, pornographic movies, theatre plays full of profanity are the only available entertainment, portraying failed, destroyed marriages . . . A world that is slipping through her fingers; a world in which her husband sinks every day when he leaves home . . . Why live like this? What we have isn't much, but it's enough.

Elina: Now you see it, only when you're already facing the problem. As a girl, you dreamed of greater comforts, the possibility of having a car and other things, and you transmitted it to him.

Silvia: However, isn't it human to dream of living better?<sup>50</sup>

This dialogue is excerpted from one of the episodes of *La familia Falcón*, a very popular Argentinean television show of the sixties. Here, Elina (a middle-aged woman, a perfect wife, and mother of four children) comforts her daughter, Silvia, who is worried about the emergence of multiple temptations related to changes in sexuality that endanger her family every time her husband leaves home. At the end of the scene, Elina associates these temptations with the pressure her daughter puts on her husband every day to have more and better things. In Elina's voice, the foolish materialism of the young causes the weakening of the family.

However, the model of domesticity jeopardized by Silvia's dream—and the dream of the generation embodied by her character—of better living was based on consumerism. In relation to the kitchen, modernity and comfort resulted from incorporating new objects, services, and technologies. A modern kitchen was, above all, a well-equipped one. Since the middle decades of the century, and especially since the 1960s, educated married women between thirty-five and fifty-five years old were increasingly likely to return to the labor market after having their children.<sup>51</sup> The growth of middle-class women's paid work during this period can be explained by the need to maintain a higher level of consumption. If consumption made a queen out of Cinderella while reinforcing domesticity boundaries, it also blurred those boundaries by pushing middle-class women to enter the labor market.

### **From a daydream to a place of confinement: gender and social inequalities in the kitchen**

The question of domestic appliances is frequently answered by the enumeration of the fuels necessary to make them work. This answer can be understood as a misunderstanding. It can also be read as an interpretation of what was relevant for the interviewees in the description of the changes they experienced in housework. The cleanliness of gas in comparison with other fuels and the comfort implicit in turning on the faucet and having warm water might be even more significant in their memory than the incorporation of new appliances.

The provision of public services is particularly significant because of the deep changes it implied, not only in sanitary standards but also in the material conditions in which housework was performed. The possibility of adopting new kitchen models depended on each home's material circumstances. The priority given to domestic comfort and the mechanization of the home in the image of a New Argentina can be traced to important public policies of the period destined to expand the water, electricity, and gas supply to a substantially greater percentage of homes. Access to public services depended on the region, the city, and the area within the city in which a family resided, although the most dramatic differences were displayed between urban and rural spaces. In 1960, almost every house in the city of Buenos Aires had running water, but only forty-two percent of the houses in the province of Buenos Aires had the same service.<sup>52</sup> Public sewers were not widespread during this period, reaching only half of the people covered by the running water public service.<sup>53</sup> In Argentina, the consumption of electricity increased continuously between 1950 and 1980; the amount of electricity consumed almost doubled every ten years.<sup>54</sup> The intensification in electricity use can be traced to the previous decades and can be explained by the relative decrease of its price in relation to the general cost of living.<sup>55</sup>

By 1960, ninety-three percent of the houses in the urban area of the Municipality of General Pueyrredón (for which Mar del Plata is the head of the district) had electricity, and fifty-three percent had running water. In addition to the twenty-six percent of the houses that had an electric water pump, almost eighty-three percent of the houses had access to water by systems that did not require considerable effort (including manual water pumps and other sources that were predominant just a few decades earlier).<sup>56</sup> Public policies had a major impact on access to the modern home, both in the possibility of acquiring a house and in the opportunity to equip it with the appliances and technologies that characterized modern modes of living. Despite these policies, there were still many households that could not afford these appliances and technologies. Inequalities in households'

material conditions could be deep, as we can see in the comparison between different interviewees' memories of everyday life in the 1950s and 1960s.

Adriana: The same with the washing machine. First, we had the pump. We had to pump to get water. And mom always had the house . . . I admired her because of how she worked. We helped as much as we could . . . And then, she had to heat the water in a very large bucket in order to bathe us all, one by one. That was when I was a little girl. Then, we had a water heater that needed alcohol. You poured the alcohol, lit a match, and the water was heated. All that trouble just to take a bath. Imagine . . . First pump, then the automatic pump: instead of pumping, a motor filled the water tank. And then, imagine what running water meant to us . . .<sup>57</sup>

Felisa: The house was well designed. I didn't need to go out for anything . . . Everything was available inside. I didn't need to go out because the automatic water pump was in my laundry room . . . The house was well designed.<sup>58</sup>

In fact, differences in the supply of public services were one of the greatest sources of inequality. At the same time that Felisa obtained her own automatic water pump, hot water provided by a gas boiler, and even a washing machine, Adriana's mother (who was approximately the same age as Felisa) had to use a manual water pump and heat the water to bathe her children or wash clothes. By the early 1950s, Felisa already had almost every domestic appliance, but Adriana's mother only obtained these appliances in the 1970s. Transformations in domestic work took different but simultaneous paths.

Services and appliances produced changes in the time and effort spent on housework. However, these transformations depended significantly on the previous uses with which these new technologies merged and on representations of gender and housework. By the 1980s domestic work was perceived differently. This is expressed in the way the youngest interviewees talk about the kitchen and its appliances. Carina was born in 1959. She was the youngest daughter of a wine trader and a full-time housewife. Her childhood took place in a house with a design that was quite common at the time: two bedrooms, a bathroom, a kitchen, and a garage. Carina did not dream of the kitchen. On the contrary, in her voice, this room represents confinement at home. She emphasizes her long working hours, both inside and outside her home, as a limit to her mother's generation housework standards. In her view her work allows her to avoid being confined within the boundaries of the home. Carina, who married in 1983, questioned the sexual division of labor and critiqued her double working shift: "At that time, stores closed at noon, so we rushed home to fix lunch, and at 3 pm

we had to come back to open [the store] after the two girls had been bathed and changed. At night, we had to go back home, bathe them again, because, imagine, in a store, . . . get them ready for kindergarten or school, whatever, wash the clothes, iron them, that's something I'd never do again. No . . . Since I got divorced, I haven't used the iron. I divorced the iron along with everything else [she laughs]."<sup>59</sup>

Despite regional and class differences, by the 1980s, women's participation in the labor market had increased significantly. The change in the economic model that began with the neoliberal policies implemented by the dictatorial government that ruled the country between 1976 and 1983, a model that would be deepened in the following decades, implied the decline of real salaries and increasing unemployment rates in traditionally male jobs. This process drove many wives to join the labor force.<sup>60</sup> By the time Carina got married, that ratio was already substantially higher, and it would continue to grow in the following decades. In 1980, thirty-one percent of the female population participated in the labor market; by 1991, that rate would reach forty percent.<sup>61</sup>

In addition, the return to democracy in 1983 was a propitious scenario to make visible the changes in family life and gender relations that had begun in previous years.<sup>62</sup> In this context, issues such as women's work, divorce, and child custody gained a new presence within public debates. During the elections, political parties attempted to address women by raising these subjects. The incorporation of divorce into the Civil Code and the creation of the Subsecretaría de la Mujer in 1987 demonstrate a change in sensibilities about family and gender relations.<sup>63</sup> The demand for a salary for housewives, proposed by the Sindicato de Amas de Casa (created in 1983), along with changes in consumption trends evident in , for example, the increasing consumption of pre-cooked food, show a change in sensibilities about domestic work that can also be seen in the youngest interviewees' discourses.<sup>64</sup> As Carina explains: "Look, at the beginning, you want to use everything, have everything [referring to electrical appliances] . . . Later on, you stick to the practical. If I have to chop an onion, I won't [use the food processor] . . . I had to take it out from the box, assemble it, plug it in . . . So I barely used them [the appliances]. Except for a cake . . . If I have an egg beater, I won't beat eggs for 20 minutes or 10 . . . that's silly. However, currently, I hardly ever use that stuff . . . Now, the washing machine is essential. I can do without food, but not [without] my washing machine."<sup>65</sup>

The changing attitudes toward domestic work are condensed in the way in which Carina refers to domestic appliances; the "electric servants" and "beauty creams," become "dispensable objects." With the exception of the washing machine (which she still signals as "essential"), she does not usually use domestic appliances and does not even take them out of their boxes.

Neither the dream of consumption nor the promise of domestic happiness are enough to reverse the ways she signifies the kitchen as a place of long hours of unpaid work, in what was her "second shift" after her paid one.<sup>66</sup>

When the reduction of time spent on housework was finally possible, it was only to enable women to spend more time on other types of work: paid jobs. The gender division of free time was still detrimental to women, especially to those who were in a precarious economic position. Some tasks were dismissed as unnecessary, whereas others, such as childcare, had to be done. To gain time for a paid job in a context where there were not enough social services, women had to find private solutions. These tasks were usually shared with such other women as mothers, daughters, neighbors, and domestic workers, when it was affordable. Paradoxically, the decrease in time spent on domestic and care work had less to do with its "rational" organization than with its socialization, although it was performed in very unequal conditions by women of different social classes.

## Conclusion

The kitchen changed considerably over the twentieth century: from hygienic to efficient, from "Cinderella" to "queen of the home" — identifying the kitchen with the women who worked there — and from a daydream to a place of confinement. Accompanying its material changes, there has been a transformation in the meanings attached to it: meanings that have coexisted, oscillating between harmony and tension, between the technical knowledge of those who built them and the non-specialist knowledge of those who used them.

As an epicenter of the domestic world, changes in the kitchen bespeak more general transformations in the modes of living of the Argentinean people. The image of the comfortable home and the introduction of modern technology in everyday life, related to the diversification of consumption and transformations in the material conditions of family life, changed the model of domesticity identified with the middle class in this period. The promotion of the consumption of new goods was sustained by a model of women who were to be liberated from the burdens of housework to spend more time making their families happy. However, the meanings ascribed to this space by men and women who experienced these transformations show changing attitudes toward domestic work that are often ambivalent.

Gender and class inequalities were articulated within the kitchen in the different material conditions in which domestic work was performed. The extension of electricity, gas, and running water reinforced inequalities within domestic work. The modern home was designed to be connected to these services, but its actual connection depended on the State's action at

the national, provincial, and municipal levels. Class inequalities mingled with regional differences, which were most visibly displayed between urban and rural spaces. For migrants who came from rural areas of the country, arriving at an urban milieu often implied a significant improvement in the material conditions of their everyday life. The comfort offered by the city could also be seen as an incentive to migrate. Once there, however, differences among diverse areas reproduced inequalities. Other material inequalities continued when women needed to reduce the time spent on housework to participate in the labor market. The continuity of the gendered division of labor reinforced inequalities among women and even favored the exploitation of women by other women.

It is paradoxical that the most standardized room of the home has been presented as its heart. However, this is not the only irony of the kitchen. On the one hand, discourses about the kitchen promoted consumption to save time, energy, and money. On the other hand, the dream kitchen was the beginning of a search that would lead to an exit from it. Finally, among the competing kitchen models of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the ones that prevailed were the least radical ones. When women needed to reduce the time spent on housework to obtain paid work, they nevertheless shared domestic and care work with other people (generally women), embracing (most likely, unbeknownst to them) the principles that guided the most radical kitchen designs of the nineteenth century. The middle-class ideal of domesticity, with its precise boundaries between public and private space, did not prevent work from being shared, but it made it more difficult. At the end of this story, from the heart of the home, the kitchen came to represent a place of confinement. A different sexual division of labor would most likely give rise to other, hopefully less oppressive, images of the kitchen.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Author interview with Perla, September 2009. Interviewees' names have been changed in order to preserve their privacy.

<sup>2</sup>Janet Floyd, "Coming out of the kitchen: texts, contexts and debates." *Cultural Geographies* 11, no. 1 (2004): 61–73.

<sup>3</sup>Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, "Condiciones materiales de la vida familiar," in *La vida familiar en el siglo XX. Historia de la familia europea*. Vol. 3, ed. David Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli (Barcelona: Paidós, 2004), 49–113. See especially quote on 49.

<sup>4</sup>Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance Through 20th-century Europe*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Paolo Scrivano, "Signs of Americanization in Italian Domestic Life: Italy's Postwar Conversion to Consumer-



ism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 40, no. 2 (2005): 317–40; Julio Moreno, *Yankee Don't Go Home! Mexican Nationalism, American Business Culture, and the Shaping of Modern Mexico, 1920–1950* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

<sup>5</sup>Maristella Svampa, *Los que ganaron. La vida en los countries y barrios privados*. (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2008); Anahí Ballent, "Políticas de vivienda, arquitectura doméstica y culturas del habitar," in *Población y bienestar en la Argentina del primero al segundo Centenario. Una historia social del siglo XX*, ed. Susana Torrado (Buenos Aires, Edhasa, 2007, Tomo II), 413–38.

<sup>6</sup>Juan C. Torre and Elisa Pastoriza, "La democratización del bienestar," in *Los años peronistas*, ed. Juan Carlos Torre (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2002), 257–312.

<sup>7</sup>Ballent, 415.

<sup>8</sup>Adolfo Drofman, *Cincuenta años de industrialización en la Argentina. 1930–1980. Desarrollo y perspectivas* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Solar, 1983); Claudio Belini, *La industria peronista* (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2009).

<sup>9</sup>Katharine French Fuller, "Gendered Invisibility, Respectable Cleanliness: The Impact of the Washing Machine on Daily Living in Post-1950 Santiago, Chile," *Journal of Women's History* 18, no. 4 (2006): 79–100; Ribeiro dos Santos, Marinês, "O Design Pop no Brasil dos Anos 1970: Domesticidades e relações de gênero na revista Casa & Jardim," (PhD diss., Universidad Federal de Santa Catarina, 2009); Katharine French Fuller, "Gender, Consumption, and Modernity: The Washing Machine in post 1950 Chile," (Master of Arts Thesis in Latin American Studies, University of California, Berkeley, Fall 2004).

<sup>10</sup>*Censo Nacional de Vivienda 1960*, Tomo I, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos.

<sup>11</sup>Jorge F. Liernur, "Casas y jardines. La construcción del dispositivo doméstico moderno," in *Historia de la vida privada en la Argentina*, ed. Fernando Devoto y Marta Madero (Buenos Aires: Taurus, 1999), 99–137.

<sup>12</sup>José F. Liernur y Graciela Silvestri, *El umbral de la metrópolis. Transformaciones técnicas y culturales en la modernización de Buenos Aires (1870–1930)* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1993).

<sup>13</sup>Marcela Nari, *Políticas de maternidad y maternalismo político* (Buenos Aires, Biblos, 2004); Francisco Liernur, "El nido de la tempestad. La formación de la casa moderna en la Argentina a través de manuales y artículos sobre economía doméstica (1870–1910)," *Entrepasados*, no. 13 (1997), 7–36.

<sup>14</sup>Some of these ideas were first developed in Inés Pérez "Corazón de hojalata, hogar de terciopelo. La cocina, epicentro del mundo doméstico (Mar del Plata—Argentina, 1950–1970)," *Asparkia. Investigació feminista*, no. 21 (2010), 105–28.

<sup>15</sup>In particular, I focused my analysis on *Para ti*, *El Hogar*, and *Claudia*, which were among the most popular women's magazines of this period. In my corpus, I also included *Casas y jardines* (published between 1929 and 1990), which was the most important home and décor magazine in this period in Argentina. Although

*Para ti* was first addressed to the modern woman, by the time I began my research, it had acquired a more conservative tone, closer to *El Hogar*. In contrast, *Claudia*, published since 1957, introduced a new style that was evident not only in its content but also in its format. *Claudia* became the most popular magazine for the modern woman of the 1960s and 1970s. I also included the women's supplement and the women's columns of *La Capital*, the most important newspaper in Mar del Plata, the city where my study is focused. Out of the issues available of each publication, I studied those corresponding only to three months of each year. However, I also considered separate numbers of different magazines and Home Economics textbooks, which will be quoted opportunely. For a more complete description of these magazines and the Argentinean publishing market, see Noemí Girbal-Blacha and Diana Quatrocchi-Woisson, *Cuando opinar es actuar: revistas argentinas del siglo XX* (Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1999); José Luis De Diego, ed., *Editores y políticas editoriales en Argentina, 1880–2000* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006); Paula Bontempo, "Para ti: el cuerpo de la mujer moderna (1922–1928)" (M.A. thesis, Universidad de San Andrés, 2006); and Isabella Cosse, "Claudia: la revista de la mujer moderna en la Argentina de los años sesenta (1957–1973)," *Mora*, no. 16 (2010). For this research, I conducted seventy interviews with forty-five interviewees (twenty-nine women and sixteen men). The quantity of interviews with each subject varied between one and three and took an average time of one hour. I conducted the interviews myself (the first twenty-four between 2004 and 2005 and the rest between 2006 and 2010). The interviewees were selected to demonstrate the diverse experiences of the home mechanization process. The interviewees were born between 1918 and 1965. They came from different places (from Italy and Belgium to the North of Argentina), but they all inhabited Mar del Plata by the end of the 1950s. They all identified as middle class, but their socio-occupational trajectories were diverse. Most of the women interviewed did not participate in the labor market after getting married, although this was less significant among the younger interviewees. Most of the men interviewed worked in the building industry, but in very different positions, as plumbers, electricians, master builders, or investors. Many times, wives took part in their husbands' business, but this work was perceived as "help" and not "real work." Most of the time, they identified themselves as "housewives."

<sup>16</sup>Dale Southerton, "Consuming Kitchens: Taste, context and identity formation," *Journal of Consumer Culture* 1, no. 2 (2001), 179–203.

<sup>17</sup>In this period, Mar del Plata's population experienced considerable growth, from 124,000 inhabitants in 1947 to 225,000 in 1960 and 434,000 in 1980. Ana Núñez, *Morfología Social de Mar del Plata (1874–1990)* (Tandil: Agencia Nacional de Promoción Científica y Tecnológica, 2000); Juan Carlos Torre y Elisa Pastoriza, "Mar del Plata, un sueño de los argentinos," in *Historia de la vida privada en la Argentina. La Argentina entre multitudes y soledades, de los años treinta a la actualidad*, eds. Fernando Devoto y Marta Madero (Buenos Aires: Taurus Tomo III, 1999), 49–77; Elisa Pastoriza, ed., *Las puertas al mar. Consumo, ocio y política en Mar del Plata, Montevideo y Viña del Mar* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2002).

<sup>18</sup>People who live in the city of Buenos Aires.

<sup>19</sup>Zulma Recchini de Lattes, "Urbanización," in *La población de Argentina*, ed. Zulma Recchini de Lattes and Alfredo Lattes (Buenos Aires, CICRED Series, 1975), 113–47.

<sup>20</sup>Michelle Perrot, "Modos de habitar. La evolución de lo cotidiano en la vivienda moderna," *Revista A&V. Monografías de arquitectura y vivienda*, no. 14 (1988): 12–17; Michel De Certeau, *La invención de lo cotidiano. Artes de hacer*, Tomo 1 (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1996); Raffaella Sarti, *Vida en familia. Casa comida y vestido en la Europa Moderna* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003), Martine Segalen, "Las condiciones materiales de la vida familiar," in *Historia de la Familia Europea*, ed. David Kertzer y Marzio Barbagli (Barcelona: Paidós, 2003), Vol. II, 49–96; Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, "Condiciones materiales de la vida familiar."

<sup>21</sup>Marion Roberts, *Living in a man-made world. Gender Assumptions in Modern Housing Design* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991); Marjorie De Vault, *Feeding the Family: The Social Organization of Caring as Gendered Work* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991); Donna Birdwell-Pheasant and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, eds., *House Life: Space, Place and Family in Europe* (Oxford: Berg, 1999); Chapman and Hockney, *Ideal Homes? Social Change and Domestic Life* (London: Routledge, 1999); Ana Falú, Patricia Morey, and Liliana Rainero (compiler), *Ciudad y vida cotidiana, asimetrías en el uso del tiempo y del espacio* (Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2002).

<sup>22</sup>Fuller, "Gendered Invisibility..." 79.

<sup>23</sup>Joana M. Pedro and Marinês Ribeiro dos Santos, "Práticas de consumo e identidades de gênero: representações da dona de casa moderna na revista Casa & Jardim," *ArtCultura* 11, no. 19 (2009): 169–82; Fuller, "Gender, Consumption, and Modernity..."; Karin A. Roseblatt, *Gendered Compromises: Political Cultures and the State in Chile, 1920–1950* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Barbara Weinstein, *For Social Peace in Brazil: Industrialists and the Remaking of Working Class in Sao Paulo, 1920–1964* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996). Fernando Rocchi, "La americanización del consumo: las batallas por el mercado argentino, 1920–1945," in *Estados Unidos y América Latina en el siglo XX. Transferencias económicas, tecnológicas y culturales*, ed. María I. Barbero y Andrés M. Regalsky (Buenos Aires, UNTREF, 2003), 131–90; Fernando Rocchi, "Inventando la soberanía del consumidor: publicidad, privacidad y revolución del mercado en la Argentina (1860–1940)," in *Historia de la vida privada en la Argentina*, ed. Fernando Devoto y Marta Madero (Buenos Aires: Taurus, 1999), 301–21; Natalia Milanesio, "The Guardian Angels of the Domestic Economy: Housewives' Responsible Consumption in Peronist Argentina," in *Journal of Women's History* 18, no. 3 (2006): 91–117; Eduardo Elena, "Peronist Consumer Politics and the Problem of Domesticating Markets in Argentina, 1943–1955," in *Hispanic American Historical Review* 87, no. 1 (2006): 111–49; Manzano, Valeria, "The Blue Jean Generation: Youth, Gender, and Sexuality in Buenos Aires, 1958–1975," *Journal of Social History* 42, no. 3 (2009): 658–76.

<sup>24</sup>However, not all the proposals offered the same solutions. Charlotte Perkins Gilman designed kitchen-less houses following the utopian tradition of socialism and with housework socialization in mind, but Christine Frederick created rationalized kitchens that applied the efficiency principles of Charles Taylor's thought. They also differed in the place they assigned to women in society: Gilman advocated for women's right to have a job and a salary that would allow them to gain autonomy from men; conversely, Frederick's main concern was that an excess of effort in housework would diminish women's skills as mothers and wives. Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 1981); June Freeman, *The Making of the Modern Kitchen: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Berg, 2004).

<sup>25</sup>The discourses related to housework rationalization and to the incorporation of different appliances in the home encouraged the sexual division of labor along with the imperative that housework should be performed within the nuclear home. Mary Nolan, "'Housework Made Easy': The Taylorized Housewife in Weimar Germany's Rationalized Economy," *Feminist Studies* 16, no. 3 (1990): 549–77.

<sup>26</sup>Alejandro Crispiani, "Transformaciones técnicas del hábitat doméstico: el sector cocina," in *Materiales para la Historia de la Arquitectura*, ed. Fernando Aliata and Francisco Liernur (REUN/UNLP: La Plata, 1996), 183–89.

<sup>27</sup>This discourse also surfaced in some Home Economics handbooks. See Alicia Lobstein, *365 días sin servicio doméstico* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1959).

<sup>28</sup>Nolan, "Housework made..."

<sup>29</sup>Milanesio, "The Guardian Angels of the Domestic Economy,"; Elena, "Peronist Consumer Politics..."

<sup>30</sup>Author interview with Luis, April 2010.

<sup>31</sup>However, as other works have shown, time spent on housework was not directly reduced by these appliances. Schwartz Cowan, Ruth, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave*. (New York: Basic Books, 1983); Inés Pérez, "El trabajo doméstico y la mecanización del hogar: discursos, experiencias, representaciones. Mar del Plata en los años sesenta," in *Los sesenta de otra manera. Vida cotidiana, género y sexualidades en la Argentina*, ed. Isabella Cosse, Karina Felitti, and Valeria Manzano (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2010), 171–204.

<sup>32</sup>Author interview with Felisa, June 2007.

<sup>33</sup>Inés Pérez, "Comfort for the People and Liberation for the Housewife: Gender, Consumption and Refrigerators in Argentina," *Journal of Consumer Culture* 12, no. 2 (2012): 156–74.

<sup>34</sup>Mario Rapoport, *Historia económica, política y social de la Argentina (1880–2000)* (Buenos Aires: Macchi, 2nd ed. 2003). As Adriana Marshall, "La composición del consumo de los obreros industriales de Buenos Aires, 1930–1980," *Desarrollo Económico* 21, no. 83 (1981): 351–74, has shown, it was not until the period between 1963 and 1969 that workers had access to some durable goods that had appeared in the market in previous years, such as refrigerators and television sets.

<sup>35</sup>Eduardo Kornreich, *Para ti*, 17 August 1954.

<sup>36</sup>See, for instance, *Economía doméstica al alcance de las niñas* (Buenos Aires: Cabaut y Cía. Editores, 1914); *La escuela moderna. Serie elemental de Instrucción Primaria* (Buenos Aires: Cabaut y Cía. Editores, 1925); Agustín Piracés, *El arte de gobernar una casa. Libro de oro del hogar* (Barcelona: José Monteso Editor, 1930); María C. Barilari de Abeledo, *El libro del hogar* (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos T. Álvarez e Hijo Editores, 1934). For an analysis of these textbooks in the first decades of the twentieth century, see José F. Liernur, "El nido de la tempestad" (note 16).

<sup>37</sup>See María Teresa León, *Nuestro Hogar de cada día. Breviario para la mujer de su casa* (Buenos Aires: Compañía General Fabril Editora, 1958); Alicia Lobstein,

365 días sin servicio doméstico; Elena Errazu de Rivas, *Manual de Economía Doméstica* (Buenos Aires: Librería del Colegio S.A., 1961, 2nd edition); Elena Errazu de Rivas, *Manual de Economía Doméstica* (Buenos Aires: Librería del Colegio S.A., 10th edition), *Buen gobierno del hogar en todo el mundo* (México: Centro Regional de Ayuda Técnica—Agencia para el Desarrollo Internacional); *Enciclopedia Sopena del Hogar para ella* (Barcelona: Editorial Ramón Sopena, 1973); *Enciclopedia Sopena del Hogar para él* (Barcelona: Editorial Ramón Sopena, 1973); *Enciclopedia Sopena del Hogar—La cocina* (Barcelona: Editorial Ramón Sopena, 1972).

<sup>38</sup>Inés Pérez, "De 'sirvientas' y eléctricos servidores. Imágenes del servicio doméstico en las estrategias de promoción del consumo de artículos para el hogar (Argentina, 1940–1960)," *Revista de Estudios Sociales*, no. 45 (2013): 42–53.

<sup>39</sup>It is not possible to state the number of domestic employees between 1947 and 1980 because of the methodological procedures followed by the National Census. For a general review, see Susana Torrado, *Historia de la Familia en la Argentina Moderna (1870–2000)* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Flor, 2003), 215. Later estimations—that, however, do not represent the whole country—can be done using the data collected by the *Encuestas de empleo y desempleo, Buenos Aires, julio de 1963 y abril de 1964*, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, Buenos Aires, 1964.

<sup>40</sup>Paula Bontempo, "Para ti: el cuerpo"; and Francisco Liernur, "Casas y jardines," 122.

<sup>41</sup>Mario Rapoport, *Historia económica*, 579.

<sup>42</sup>Inés Pérez, "La domesticación de la "tele": usos del televisor en la vida cotidiana. Mar del Plata (Argentina), 1960–1970," *Historia Crítica*, no. 39 (2009): 84–105.

<sup>43</sup>Eva Giberti, "La Cocina de Venus." *Para ti*, 1 July 1968.

<sup>44</sup>Lynn Spigel, *Welcome to the Dreamhouse: Popular Media and Postwar Suburbs* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001).

<sup>45</sup>Sergio Pujol, *La década rebelde. Los años 60 en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 2002).

<sup>46</sup>Catalina Wainerman, *La vida cotidiana en las nuevas familias. ¿Una revolución estancada?* (Buenos Aires: Lumiere, 2005); Susana Torrado, *Historia de la Familia...*; Isabella Cosse, *Pareja, sexualidad y familia en los años sesenta. Una revolución discreta en Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010).

<sup>47</sup>Mariano Plotkin, *Freud en las pampas* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2003); Agustina Cepeda and Cecilia Rustoyburu, "Venus en la cocina. La mujer en el discurso de Eva Giberti (Argentina en la década del 60)," *VIII Jornadas de Historia de las Mujeres y III Congreso Iberoamericano de Estudios de Género* (Córdoba: October, 25th to 28th, 2006).

<sup>48</sup>Isabella Cosse, *Pareja, sexualidad*.

<sup>49</sup>Marcela Nari y María del Carmen Feijóo, "Women in Argentina during the 1960's," *Latin American Perspectives* 23, no. 1 (1996): 7–26.

<sup>50</sup>*La familia Falcón*. It is difficult to establish the exact date of its first broadcast. However, it can be dated between 1966 and 1969.

<sup>51</sup>Susana Torrado, *Historia de la familia...*, 213–15; Catalina Wainerman, “Mujeres que trabajan: hechos e ideas,” in Susana Torrado, *Población y bienestar en la Argentina del primero al segundo Centenario. Una historia social del siglo XX*. (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2007), 325–52; Mirta Lobato, *Historia de las trabajadoras en la Argentina (1869–1960)* (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2007).

<sup>52</sup>*Censo Nacional de Vivienda de 1960*, Tomo II (Dirección Nacional de Estadística y Censos).

<sup>53</sup>*Anuario Estadístico de la República Argentina 1980* (Buenos Aires: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos, 1981–1982)

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup>*Anuario Estadístico de la República Argentina 1957* (Buenos Aires: Dirección Nacional de Estadística y Censos, 1957).

<sup>56</sup>Anuarios Estadísticos de la Municipalidad de General Pueyrredón correspondientes a 1974, 1974–1978, 1976–1980. *Censo Nacional de Vivienda de 1960*, Tomo II, (Dirección Nacional de Estadística y Censos).

<sup>57</sup>Interview with Adriana, June 2008.

<sup>58</sup>Interview with Felisa, June 2007.

<sup>59</sup>Interview with Carina, January 2007.

<sup>60</sup>Susana Torrado, *Historia de la familia...*, 215.

<sup>61</sup>Gloria Bonder and Mónica Rosenfeld, *Equidad de género en Argentina. Datos, problemáticas y observaciones para la acción* (Buenos Aires: PNUD/FLACSO, 2004).

<sup>62</sup>Catalina Wainerman, *La vida cotidiana en las nuevas familias...*, 79.

<sup>63</sup>Josefina Brown, “De la institucionalización de los asuntos de las mujeres en el Estado Argentino y algunos de los avatares, entre los ochenta y los noventa,” *Mora*, no. 14 (2008), 87–100.

<sup>64</sup>Catalina Wainerman, *La vida cotidiana...*; Mary Jo Fisher, “Gender and State in Argentina: the Case of the Sindicato de Amas de Casa,” in *Hidden Histories of Gender and State in Latin America*, ed. Elizabeth Dore and Molyneux (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000), 324.

<sup>65</sup>Interview with Carina, January 2007.

<sup>66</sup>Arlie Hochschild and Anne Machung, *Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*. (New York: Penguin, 1987).