

## **Life in the Kitchen: Television Advertising, the Housewife and Domestic Modernity in Britain, 1955-1969**

In a now celebrated exchange at the American Exhibition in Sokolniki Park, Moscow in 1959, the ideological battle for Cold War supremacy between the USA and Soviet Union was condensed and played out in the ‘Kitchen debate’ between Vice-President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. As the two men pressed against the railings that protected General Electric’s lemon-yellow kitchen within the American exhibition, Nixon lectured Khrushchev on the benefits of US consumer capitalism for its citizens, especially its women citizens, exemplified by the contemporary American kitchen. He contrasted this with the standard of living enjoyed – or perhaps, endured – by ordinary Soviets.<sup>1</sup>

It was no accident that General Electric’s kitchen should have been the flashpoint for this Cold War exchange. The modern kitchen, with its range of electric devices, built-in oven and counter-top cooking unit was emblematic of a Cold War obsession with household consumer durables as a measure of national progress.<sup>2</sup> It was not just American Vice-Presidents who made this judgement. American business visitors and tourists to Europe regularly viewed the continent through the lens of these measures of national standing, focusing upon the poor state of Western European homes and especially their kitchens.<sup>3</sup> Edward G. Wilson, the head of the International Department of the US-owned advertising agency J. Walter Thompson (hereafter, JWT), on a visit to Paris in 1954, for example, described the kitchen of one of his French colleagues as being ‘good for Paris, [but] the stove and refrigerator are tiny’.<sup>4</sup> Britons visiting the United States were drawn into the same consumerist contrasts. Another advertising man, Ashley Havinden, art director at the British agency W.S Crawford, wrote to American friends following a visit to their Connecticut home in December 1950 to thank them for their hospitality. His letter dwelt on the quality of their house and its ‘magnificent

kitchen and superb plumbing'. Referring to a forthcoming piece on his own Hertfordshire home in the magazine *House and Garden*, he rather mournfully compared his friends living standards with his own, suggesting that the feature 'may interest you to see how nicely you live in comparison to us'.<sup>5</sup>

If American norms of consumption, including kitchens, became symbolic of the advanced nature of US modernity in the context of the Cold War, then their significance rested upon a carefully elaborated vision of modern domesticity. This positioned modern kitchens as central to healthier, more hygienic and less labour intensive forms of living. Their promotion went hand in hand with the forging of a new forward-looking role for women as a 'modern housewife' who was freed from the drudgery of old. Defined as the manager of the new household centred on the kitchen, the housewife was assisted by a range of 'electrical servants'. These were powered aids that by the early 1960s included the cooker, refrigerator, washing machine and food processors.<sup>6</sup>

The American housewife cut a distinctive figure in US commercial propaganda and popular cultural forms. With, as Victoria de Grazia summarized it, her 'tall, lean body, stylishly upswept hair, and light self-mockery about her housewifely condition', she echoed the modernity of the new American kitchen. Typically replete with her decorative half-apron and warm smile, she was a confident and seductive advocate of the American way of life. [Insert Figure 1] As America sought to export its model of mass consumer society to European soil and to culturally and economically counter the challenge of Soviet communism, Mrs American Consumer and the new household formed central elements in the promotion of what de Grazia has called a 'cross-Atlantic consumer household'.<sup>7</sup> The dissemination of this household reshaped European expectations about their homes and those of the European settler societies like Australia, constituting at the same time a range of counterparts to the

American Housewife: the French menagere, the German hausfrau, the Italian massaie and the British and Australian housewife.<sup>8</sup>

Advertising was an important conduit for the circulation in Europe and beyond of this common standard of domestic modernity and the model of Mrs Consumer. In particular, it played a crucial role alongside women's magazines, Hollywood cinema and US popular television programmes in disseminating these ideals of 'modern living'.<sup>9</sup> In what follows, I explore how television advertising in Britain played its part in helping to promote these co-joined aspects of the cross-Atlantic domestic ideal. As will already be clear, in developing this argument the article draws on an expanding body of scholarship that has sought to understand the trans-Atlantic dimensions of post-war social and cultural change in Europe, particularly in relation to consumption norms and the forging of new consumer identities. Victoria de Grazia's commanding study *Irresistible Empire* stands at the centre of this recent debate and I draw upon her arguments about how American models of the household and the housewife functioned as a key influence and point of reference for the remaking of European homes after the war.<sup>10</sup> The article takes up her challenge and that of other historians to understand the development of consumer culture in Europe, and specifically Britain, as part of an international, trans-Atlantic history which shaped the convergences and 'family resemblances' between the consumer economies of America, Western Europe and the wider Western world.<sup>11</sup>

In pursuing this argument, however, the article also seeks to challenge the emphasis within de Grazia's work in particular upon the whole-scale transfer of American ideals to Britain and Europe. Against the assertion of the 'irresistible' force of the US market empire, the article contends that American domestic ideals took distinctive directions in Britain by being adapted and revised in their transfer across the Atlantic. I show how, in the case of modern

kitchen design and the representation of the modern housewife, American models were reworked and combined with more local cultural influences and adapted to material constraints to produce distinctively British versions. This translation and adaptation of US forms, as in other areas of business and commercial life, was driven by recognition of the cultural and material differences between British and American society. In this case, the smaller size and compactness of most British homes compared to post-war American housing and the distinct mores and habits of the British consumer that set them apart their American counterparts.<sup>12</sup>

Contributing to this adaptation of American ideals was a range of other, home-grown influences that shaped the remaking of the post-war home and women's social role. These derived not from commercial culture but from the field of social policy and wider social changes. Policy makers in the State, including educationalists, and new forms of expert knowledge about family life, together with demographic shifts, worked alongside the advocacy of commercial practitioners and the agents of consumer culture in shaping the British home in the 1950s and 1960s and the domestic role of women. Feminist historians have long noted the influence of these dimensions of public policy. They have drawn attention in particular to the place of 'pronatalism' within post-war social policy. As Denise Riley has argued, the promotion of the ideal of the full-time housewife mother was seen as a central goal of the Welfare State effectively rendering invisible the needs of working women with children.<sup>13</sup> The injunction to married women to focus upon the primary roles of wife, mother and custodian of the home also worked to increasingly constitute housework as an activity that women did for their families and was largely shorn of its wider social benefits.<sup>14</sup> These dimensions of public policy, rooted in national considerations and barely touched by transatlantic influences, brought to bear a powerful national-policy logic to the remaking of

the British home and the role of the housewife-mother. In doing so, they intersected with commercial influences on domestic life and contributed a distinctively British character to the remaking of the post-war home. The British version of domestic modernity that emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, then, was not solely the product of the drive to create a common trans-Atlantic household, but the result of the interweaving of a set of national as well as international processes.

In developing this argument about the shaping of domestic modernity and women's social role, the article draws on and seeks to extend the large, well-established body of feminist scholarship on the relationship of women to consumer culture. There are many strands to this body of work but it has all been concerned to show not just the gendered nature of consumer culture but also how the field of consumption offered women pleasures as well as pains as both consumers and workers. In its more optimistic form feminists have celebrated consumption as a space of consumer creativity and female empowerment.<sup>15</sup> Working against this more up-beat reading others, notably feminist sociologists, have emphasized the work involved for women within the gendered divisions of labour associated with consumer culture, especially through the unpaid domestic work associated with the housewife role.<sup>16</sup> Still other feminist scholars have sought to question some of the influential second wave feminist critiques of consumer society and to complexify their assertions about how women's experiences were addressed by the consumer industries. Much of this latter scholarship has revolved around a re-appraisal of seminal feminist critiques of advertising and consumer culture, especially Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*. Published in 1963, Friedan's book offered a withering attack on the way advertising presented the housewife role as the only legitimate one for women to pursue. Friedan argued that Madison Avenue defined women solely in terms of their roles 'as man's wife, mother, lover object, dishwasher and

general server of physical needs'.<sup>17</sup> As feminist researchers like Joanne Meyerowitz have suggested much of the power of Friedan's arguments came from the way they reworked themes already present within popular culture rather than with its purely oppositional stance to them. Certainly in the US women's magazines celebrated the domestic ideal alongside recognising the exhausting and isolating nature of housework and giving some prominence to women's involvement in activities outside the home. In Britain, as Helen Wood, Melanie Bell and Kristin Skoog have all argued, the image of the 'happy housewife' was challenged in cinematic representations and by radio programmes like the BBC's *Woman's Hour* which recognised the tensions between women's public and private roles.<sup>18</sup> Drawing on these insights, in what follows I offer a reading of the role played by television advertising in circulating normative and idealized fantasies of 'ordinary' femininity that were conservative in their understanding of women's primary social role whilst also registering, albeit in highly circumscribed ways, some of the frustrations and limitations of the role of the modern housewife.

In the first part of the article, I explore the role played by designers, policy makers and the utility companies in shaping new ideas of domesticity, especially the ideal of the modern kitchen. These developments began in the inter-war period and cast a long shadow over the shape of the post-war kitchen. It is the legacy of the 'kitchen debates' of the first half twentieth century, together with their post-war implementation, that the section describes. The second part of the article looks in more detail at the social context in which the ambitions of 'domestic reformers' and kitchen designers had to reckon with in the 1950s and 1960s. This included, centrally, the actually existing condition of most people's homes and the relatively slow and uneven pace of domestic change after the War. This evidence points to a

striking gap between images of the ideal home promoted by designers and their allies within the consumer industries and the circumstances in which much of the population found themselves living. The final section looks in some detail at the way TV advertising depicted modern domesticity through its representation of the post-war kitchen and the housewife. I draw on a selection of over 600 commercials from the Independent Television Authority (ITA) archive broadcast between 1955 and 1969.<sup>19</sup> These years marked the period from the inception of television advertising in 1955 in the London region of ITV through to the reorganisation of the commercial television service in 1968 and the introduction of colour transmissions in 1969. This period was a formative one for TV advertising setting in place many of its influential genres and consolidating the dominance of television as an advertising medium. The developments of the late 1960s ushered in a changed ITV network and new representational possibilities for advertising and effectively brought to an end television advertising's formative years. The commercials produced during this period were dominated by advertising for the big spending consumer goods manufacturers. These were the makers of detergents, washing powders, toiletries and confectionary that spent heavily on the new medium of television. Advertising for these goods accounted for almost a quarter of all advertising expenditure. Unilever, the Anglo-Dutch manufacturer of soap powders, detergents and margarine was Britain's biggest advertiser and a heavy user of television. By 1960 it was spending £13.1M on advertising, almost twice as much as its nearest rival The Beecham Group. The belief of these companies in the power of television advertising helped expenditure on the medium to boom and by 1962 television accounted for 29% of all advertising expenditure.<sup>20</sup>

The commercials produced for these advertisers were an integral part of the viewing experience of ITV and central to the novelty and appeal of the new commercial service from

its launch in the London area in September 1955.<sup>21</sup> Reaching into the living rooms of millions of households, TV commercials, especially long-running campaigns, became woven into the fabric of family life and formed part of a shared national consciousness. As the *Times* observed in 1967, these television commercials had a 'special place in modern life'.<sup>22</sup> Women, especially married women, were the key audience for much of this advertising and it was through advertising for goods like washing powders, detergents and cleaners that advertising promoted an image of the post-war kitchen and the modern housewife. This article focuses on two long running television campaigns that registered strongly with viewers and which addressed the modern housewife. They are the commercials for Persil washing power and Oxo cubes. Both campaigns were important in doing two related things. Firstly, they helped to establish the normative status of the post-war kitchen, whilst also often registering the slow and uneven pace of domestic change. Secondly, they elaborated a composite, cross-class image of the modern housewife that effectively translated the American ideal described by de Grazia into a number of recognisably English-British social types: the modern, conservative housewife and her more progressive sophisticated counterpart.

### **Ideal Homes and Kitchens**

In 1961, the British Ministry of Housing and Local Government published a report on the standards of design and equipment within both public and private housing. Titled *Homes for Today and Tomorrow* and subsequently known as the Parker Morris report after the chairman of the committee which had produced it, the publication offered an ambitious vision of how family homes might be improved.<sup>23</sup> It focused on the need for better planned space in house design and for improved standards of domestic heating so that the available space could be used for everyday activities throughout the year.<sup>24</sup> The report drew upon the visits made by



the committee to over 600 homes during the summer of 1959 and the autumn of 1960 in which they had studied people's homes and talked to the occupants. Distilling the evidence garnered from these visits, the report noted the transformations that had occurred in most people's lives since the end of the war. It identified this 'new pattern of living' as having been shaped by 'a social and economic revolution' fuelled by rising material standards. This had not only given the majority access to a greater range of domestic goods – like washing machines, televisions, vacuum cleaners and refrigerators – but had shaped a 'revolution in expectations' which public and private sector builders needed to take account of.<sup>25</sup> In short, these changes made it timely, in the view of the committee, to 're-examine the kinds of home that we ought to be building'.<sup>26</sup> One of the most notable sections of the report concerned its commentary upon kitchens. Noting that 'the kitchen is the most intensively used room in the house', it felt that in many homes, including those built since the end of the war, the kitchen 'retains some of the character of the nineteenth century scullery'.<sup>27</sup> The report delineated a precise vision of the way kitchens ought to be planned. This incorporated assumptions about the necessity of fitting into kitchen design space for a range of powered goods and technologies. It also sought to prescribe how the housewife should move around the kitchen. The latter ideas were derived from the American advocates of the scientific management of the home and its 'rational' planning. The report thus proposed a didactic model of kitchen design. This was the sequence 'work surface/cooker/work surface/sink/work surface' unbroken by a door or other traffic way.<sup>28</sup> The report suggested that this sequence could be realized in three forms: as a straight line, in the form of an L-shape or a U-shape.<sup>29</sup>

The Parker Morris report was important in establishing new public standards for house building, including kitchen design, providing statutory direction for the modernization of post-war homes. Its vision of kitchens registered over sixty years of thinking and

proselytizing, much of it pioneered in the USA. This had sought to transform the kitchen from, as Burnett suggests, 'the cheerless scullery populated by servants, to a room that was at the centre of household activity, skilfully planned, equipped with labour saving devices and as a room where family meals were typically eaten'.<sup>30</sup> Two American publications, Mary Patterson's *Principles of Domestic Engineering* and Christine Fredericks' *Scientific Management in the Home* were especially influential in these developments.<sup>31</sup> Both books initiated a new conception of the kitchen that was elaborated upon by designers in the 1920s, including early enthusiasts in Europe like the Bauhaus School in Germany.<sup>32</sup> Following the lead of writers on 'domestic engineering', US manufacturers of domestic technologies pioneered the development of electrical appliances designed for the new kitchen. They included companies like Hotpoint Electrical Appliances Ltd and International Refrigerator. In the inter-war years, these companies were assisted in their promotion of new ideas about kitchen design and domestic living by the electricity supply industry<sup>33</sup>. In Britain, as Adrian Forty has suggested, it was the search for alternative uses of electricity beyond that of illumination in the street, office and home that encouraged the electricity companies to promote the wider domestic use of electricity. To this end they were heavily involved in the development of domestic electrical appliances and the promotion of their value.<sup>34</sup> It was these domestic consumer durables that were important to the 'new consumerism' of the inter-war years in Britain and which included 'domestic aids' like electric cookers, fridges, water heaters, irons, wash boilers and vacuum cleaners.<sup>35</sup> Expenditure on these kinds of goods formed one of the three major areas of household spending in the 1930s – the other two being fuel and light and transport and communications – and were linked to the growing availability of mains power. Unlike in the USA, however, the diffusion of domestic consumer durables was a slow process and in the inter-war years, as Sue Bowden has shown, the 'new consumerism' was largely a middle class phenomenon.<sup>36</sup> Because of this the diffusion of

domestic electrical appliances in Britain lagged a generation behind America.<sup>37</sup> It took growing popular affluence in the 1950s and 1960s, coupled with a drop in the price of domestic electricity, to stimulate the take-off of powered household technologies. Through the late 1950s and early 1960s, this transformation was evident in relation to two of the most iconic post-war domestic technologies: washing machines and refrigerators. The former rose from being owned by 25% of households in the UK in 1958 to 50% in 1964. Ownership of fridges had a similar steep pattern of post-war growth, reaching 25% of households by 1962 and 50% by 1968.<sup>38</sup>

Building on the innovations of the inter-war years, post-war architects and designers in Britain invested heavily in the layout and design of kitchens in order to accommodate the new powered domestic technologies. *Design* magazine, the publication of the Council for Industrial Design, was an important showcase for this work and the advocates of design-led domestic reform. Between 1955 and 1966 it regularly featured developments in kitchen design and associated domestic technologies. In November 1955, for example, in a survey of kitchen furniture, the magazine depicted new kitchens designed by the upmarket store Heals and the more middle market manufacturers Hygena and Ezee Kitchens. These included flat-fronted and straight-edged cabinets and cupboards.<sup>39</sup> A few issues earlier, the same ‘functionalist’ design for kitchen furniture had appeared in the magazine in an article on a small home designed for the Ideal Home Exhibition. Alongside flat-fronted cupboards, the kitchen included a clean-lined gas cooker, a picture window and abstract patterned curtains.<sup>40</sup> [Insert Figure 2] This modernist design idiom also featured in an article from 1958. This showed two kitchen designs put together for the exhibition ‘Design in Your Kitchen’. The first of these was a ‘luxury kitchen’ and included work surfaces and fitted cupboards, fridge, washing machine, ironer, tumble dryer, deep freezer and dish washer. The ‘middle income’

kitchen was more modest, but included work surfaces and a cooker.<sup>41</sup> These kitchens were intended, in the words of designer Ursula Bowyer, to be run by the housewife with money spent on ‘equipment and labour saving devices rather than on domestic help’.<sup>42</sup>

In showcasing these ‘modern kitchens’, *Design* recurrently acknowledged the way they drew upon the innovations of American designers and builders. As the magazine acknowledged in 1958, ‘any discussion of ideal kitchens will inevitably invite comparison with American experiments in kitchen design’. The US company General Electrics also figured prominently in an article on the kitchens of tomorrow.<sup>43</sup> General Electrics kitchens, like those of other US manufacturers, led the way in precisely promoting the kitchen as being at the centre of family life, a room in which some of the most advanced domestic technologies and design thinking was located and as a space where women orchestrated the care of their families. These were preoccupations taken up by British post-war designers. This was the case even as British kitchen designers acknowledged that British kitchens, and kitchen design, lagged behind American developments. Seeking to make a virtue of this lag, *Design* magazine suggested that ‘our domestic scale’ necessitates ‘greater refinement and detail’. By this it meant the smaller size of British homes and kitchens compared to the standard of American house design. It saw this more modest form of kitchen design exemplified in the distinct look of cookers sold in the UK. These were the ‘heart-high oven and eye level grill’ which indicated a desire ‘to achieve comfortable working conditions’.<sup>44</sup> Nonetheless, British kitchen designs broadly followed the same principles of design which had produced the kitchen at the heart of the new post-war home in the USA. This deployed a distinctive and highly modern ‘functionalist’ design idiom in which long and uninterrupted work surfaces and fitted cupboards, together with the set of fridge, washing machine and gas or electric cooker defined the ideal kitchen.<sup>45</sup>

## **Housing, Class and the Diffusion of the Ideal Home**

As the Parker Morris report had conceded, despite a broad consensus about what the modern home, and especially the kitchen, should look like, many new homes built in the years after 1945 failed to live up to the new design standards. This was particularly notable given the scale of post-war house building. The home building programme initiated by the 1945 Labour government greatly increased the volume of new housing stock and by 1957 2.5M flats and houses had been built, mostly by local authorities.<sup>46</sup> This building programme occurred at the same time as the acceleration of the historical shift towards private sector home ownership which had begun in the 1930s. In 1945, 26% of all houses in England and Wales were owner-occupied, but this had increased to 47% by 1966.<sup>47</sup> The builders of these private sector homes were often committed to a vision of modernity in house design, especially in the application of open-plan living to room layout and also in confirming the new centrality of the kitchen. For example, the builders Taylor Woodrow's new 1956 home, selling for £2,155, was sold in terms of its 'dream of a kitchen' complete with stainless steel double sink, fitted cupboards and Formica work tops.<sup>48</sup> Growing owner-occupation and the public investment in housing helped to improve the living conditions of many people. As Selina Todd has shown, whilst in 1951 only 49% of Liverpool's households had piped water, their own stove, kitchen sink and fixed bath, by 1971, 71% benefitted from these facilities with the greatest improvement coming in council housing.<sup>49</sup> By 1963, most of the residents surveyed by the University of Liverpool in the central districts of the city had TV sets and some had refrigerators.<sup>50</sup> The growing numbers of married women who worked in paid employment contributed to the rising standards of living of many households. Their number grew strongly between 1951 and 1961, rising from 21.7% to 45.4% of married women and it was the 'luxury' expenditure on

goods like TV sets and other domestic technologies that these women's wages helped to fuel.<sup>51</sup>

The condition of many homes, especially in the private rented sector, however, remained at some remove from the ideal of the post-war home. This was largely because many of these properties had been built before the war and had been badly maintained. Edward Perkins, a 67 year old pensioner interviewed for the Crown Street study in Liverpool in 1963, rented a small run down house. He had no cooker and couldn't afford to pay for his electricity on a regular basis.<sup>52</sup> In Manchester, the returns for the 1951 Census revealed that 41% of households did not have exclusive access to a fixed bath and only 56% had exclusive use of piped water, a cooking stove, kitchen sink, W.C and fixed bath. By 1961, still over half of families in Manchester were without a hot water tap.<sup>53</sup> Evidence such as this was to inform the rediscovery of poverty amidst apparent affluence by sociologists like Peter Townsend in the early 1960s.<sup>54</sup>

The relatively modest level of material comfort experienced by many working class households, even if they were not officially poor, was also striking. When another sociologists, Brian Jackson interviewed young couples for his study of working class life in Huddersfield in the autumn and winter of 1962 he found them living in relatively poor housing with limited amenities.<sup>55</sup> Mr and Mrs Thackray, for example, were both in their early twenties and rented a small terraced house with a shared outside toilet and no fixed bath, though they rented a TV and had a car – the latter relatively unusual at the time.<sup>56</sup> Another, unnamed couple, also in their early twenties, lived in a small through terraced house with an inside toilet, but no bath, TV or car. The house was relatively well furnished 'with red moquette furniture' and contemporary patterned wallpaper.<sup>57</sup> A similar combination of modest, un-modernized house with a strong investment in decoration and furniture was

evident in the small back-to-back house rented by Mr and Mrs Johnson (aged 23 and 21). They shared a toilet, had no bath and rented a TV. Brian Jackson, however, was taken by the way their house was finished. He noted that it was 'decorated beautifully. The wallpaper is modern, not simply contemporary. There is a long olive green settee, a couple of stools, and a dining room suite'.<sup>58</sup> Mr and Mrs Davis were one of the more obviously prosperous couples and materially better off than most of Jackson's young couples. They lived in a new semi-detached house and had a mortgage on the property. It had its own toilet and bathroom. They rented a TV, but had no car. The house was, like many of the other houses Jackson visited, well-furnished, but unlike the other couples, the Davis's had a modern kitchen. Jackson noted that it was 'crammed with modern equipment, stove, washer, and refrigerator. The wife was pleased to show me around the house, which was spotless'.<sup>59</sup>

The variation in home comforts in Brian Jackson's small sample of Huddersfield households is indicative of the uneven pace of social change in post-war Britain. People living in close proximity could experience very different versions of domestic comfort and convenience. It is this unevenness of social change, as well as the normative pull of the ideal of the 'new household', that is evident in TV advertising in the 1950s and 1960s. It also formed the setting in which the elaboration of the role of the post-war housewife took shape within advertising.

### **Advertising and Modern Living**

As I noted earlier, television advertising was dominated in the late 1950s and 1960s by the advertising of a range of domestic commodities, including products like washing powders, detergents, soaps and cleaners, together with processed and convenience foods. Almost all the advertising for these goods was aimed at the 'mass market housewife' and it was this consumer who both figured in the advertising and formed its principle audience.<sup>60</sup> The

advertising agency J. Walter Thompson, the largest agency in Britain for much of the 1950s and 1960s, was especially strongly associated with selling to this group of consumers. Persil washing powder, produced by the giant detergent manufacturer Unilever, was one of the agency's most important accounts and a familiar product on television through the late 1950s and 1960s. We can see in JWT's advertising for Persil how the agency elaborated both the idea of the post-war housewife and the domestic world over which she presided.

From the end of 1958, JWT put together a new 'mood' themed series of commercials for Persil. The new series was centred on the depiction of what the agency called 'Mum'. It ran from 1958 until the late 1960s. Each of the commercials aimed to demonstrate, as the agency put it, 'a mother's love, care and pride in using Persil'. Based around the depiction of one or two child families, the idea, as the agency saw it, was to deploy the idea of 'modern non-sentimental family affection'.<sup>61</sup> In the adverts emotion and family bonds centred on the mother and were integral to the presentation of Persil in the commercials. As the account team at JWT noted in 1965, its aim had always been to emphasize the emotional authenticity of the advertising. It suggested,

'we have always been at great lengths to make Persil commercials as sincere and convincing as possible...Every mother among our viewers should be able to see herself (perhaps a little as she would like to see herself) in the same situation as the mother on the screen'.<sup>62</sup>

The advertising trade press was quick to praise the new commercials, with *Advertiser's Weekly* noting in its regular 'commercial spotlight' feature that the campaign 'broke new ground' in its style and was 'highly commendable'.<sup>63</sup> JWT London itself even featured the Persil advertising in a company advert from the mid-1960s. Using the commercial to show how different the agency was from its competitors, the company advert claimed that 'Persil



advertising spoke simply, straightforwardly, and sincerely – a quiet voice that carried above the hysteria of claim and counter-claim'.<sup>64</sup>

The series of 'Mum' commercials certainly portrayed understated emotional dramas based upon the experience of motherly pride and care for the family.<sup>65</sup> In depicting women's domestic role in this way the advertising emphasised that the housewife was undertaking the role of homemaker for the benefit of her immediate family and not doing so on behalf of the whole of society.<sup>66</sup> The pace and style of the adverts was gentle, with the mothers reflecting with quiet satisfaction, typically shot in medium close up, on their ability to successfully look after their family. At the heart of their satisfaction was the visible proof of the care that they took evident in the whiteness of their wash. The commercials used a recurring device of what the agency called the w/ow (white/off white) comparison. This showed the shirts of her children or her husband strategically placed next to the less gleaming white shirt of either a school friend, playmate or work colleague. The visual difference in the whiteness of the Persil Mum's items evidenced not just their cleanliness but also the positive social benefits she gained from achieving a white wash. Namely, that she was a better wife and mother. As JWT put it, the adverts revealed that 'the Persil user enjoys fulfilment in knowing she is doing the best for her family, with the further reward of earning their increased affection and the respect and approval of her neighbours'. The 'neighbours' were the other women who often appeared in the adverts, seen at the garden gate or at the school gate, and who figured as sources of approval (or sometimes disapprobation) testifying to the whiteness of 'Mum's' wash.

The choice of women caste in the 'Mum' series and the way they were styled gave the depiction of the housewife in the adverts a distinctive look and character. Almost all of the women shown were young married mothers, of above average attractiveness without being

too glamorous. Typically they were accessorized with the emblem of the housewifely role: an apron. The aprons were always pristine and the presentation of the housewife usually saw her looking neat and well-groomed, often wearing court shoes, occasionally high heels, and sometimes a string of pearls. This gave the commercials a certain formality and decorousness. It was as if viewers were being invited into homes that were putting on their best public face. Absent were depictions of the slovenly housewife with tousled hair and unfashionable housecoat. As Angela Ince, writing in the up market magazine *London life* in May 1966, sharply noted, ‘you never catch Commercial Woman coming down to start the day in an old woollen dressing gown and a grim glare, like any other woman’.<sup>67</sup> In this regard, the image of the housewife in these adverts not only echoed the wider trans-Atlantic ideal circulated within advertising but also that presented in women’s magazines on both sides of the Atlantic. This was a married woman who took care of her appearance but, in so doing, avoided the twin pitfalls of being either too dressy and narcissistic (the ‘overdressed woman’) or not concerned enough about how she looked for her husband. In women’s magazines and some press advertising, this latter figure was represented by the ‘girl with the dressing gown mind’.<sup>68</sup>

The modern housewife of these commercials was always pictured at the centre of the home and domestic life. Children regularly appeared in these adverts, though they tended to come and go in the narrative, leaving ‘mum’ on her own to reflect, positively, on her role in the family. Men, usually husbands, were much more marginal to the adverts and formed the connection to the wider world where they were depicted at the office or shown returning to the home. Conspicuously absent was the domesticated husband of contemporary social commentary who loomed large in the writings of researchers like Mark Abrams and Willmott & Young.<sup>69</sup> The strongly gendered picture of domestic life represented in the commercials

reproduced many of the explicit assumptions about women's roles that emerged in public debates during the 1950s and early 1960s, from the work of experts on family life like John Bowlby to the pronouncements in women's magazines. In this regard, television advertising formed part of a wider regime of representation that worked to elaborate an acceptable version of femininity for married wives and mothers. It was also underpinned by wider social changes. Central to these was the decline in women's participation in the labour market in the immediate post-war decades. This created a situation in which approximately two thirds of all women aged between twenty and sixty four were full-time housewives by the early 1950s.<sup>70</sup> This situation was encouraged by policy makers, with the system of tax allowances, benefits and national insurance all promoting the idea of a dependent wife within a stable nuclear family. Educationalists from the mid-1940s also sought to entrench the idea that being a wife and mother was the primary 'career' for women, with both the *Norwood Report* (1943) and the *Crowther Report* (1959) arguing that girls' secondary education should be focused upon this expectation of their future domestic duties.<sup>71</sup> Child psychologists like Winnicott and Bowlby gave additional intellectual weight to the idea that women's key social responsibility was as a full-time mother who took exclusive care of the developing child.

Demographic trends supported the emphasis of experts on women's domestic and familial responsibilities. By the early 1960s, women were marrying younger and having children earlier than they had before the war. In the early 1960s, 60% of women aged between 20 and 24 were married and most had their children in the early to mid-20s.<sup>72</sup> The image of the full-time housewife as a young married mother was rooted in these demographic shifts. At the same time, there was a convergence in the domestic duties undertaken by middle-class and working class women, fuelled by the relative decline of domestic service after 1945. By the early 1960s, there were only 200, 000 residential domestic workers, down from a figure of 2

million in 1931.<sup>73</sup> The rise of the 'servant-less home' for middle class families brought the domestic experience of middle class and working class women closer together through the 1950s and 60s as they shouldered similar domestic duties.<sup>74</sup>

If the ideal of the modern housewife promoted by JWT did symbolic work in elaborating key aspects of the social and demographic changes in women's lives not everyone found the Persil housewife appealing. Locating it within a broader set of depictions of women in TV adverts for soap, food and household items, an anonymous woman advertising executive writing in *Advertiser's Weekly* in September 1959 chastised her male colleagues for these images of 'Mum'. Contradicting Angela Ince's later assessment, the woman advertising executive complained,

'What woman-loving man could ordain her to be that all-to-often quite frumpish creature who speaks to us from her kitchen sink, from the washing machine, the shopping tour, the housework? Can any man who thinks of the British housewife in these saggy, middle-aged, un-groomed, un-coiffured, too solid and too 'sensible' terms really like women?'<sup>75</sup>

What was needed, she urged, was more glamour in the depictions of ordinary women. Interestingly, she thought she had found it in a new campaign for Oxo cubes. This was JWT's 'Cooking with Oxo' series. The anonymous reviewer waxed lyrical: 'Katy (sic) was just the sort of cute and streamlined young housewife most of us would like to think we are...Her hair was attractive and up to date; her dresses ...were contemporary, neat and full of sophisticated personality'.<sup>76</sup>

'Katie' did, indeed, mark something of a break from the representation of the 'modern housewife' depicted in the 'Mum' series. JWT had come up with the idea of Katie as part of its attempt to reverse the declining sales of Oxo and the products association with war-time

austerity. The agency decided to move the advertising into a domestic setting and emphasize the products domestic associations. This represented a shift from the previous advertising strategy which had relied heavily on using outdoor advertising and transport sites (like the sides of buses). To this end, JWT devised a campaign centred upon a young, modern housewife, Katie, and her husband, Philip. Katie and Philip were subtly, but clearly (lower) middle class, modern and 'nice'. Crucially, they were young and more prosperous than Oxo's established, declining market of consumers. The agency decided to produce the commercials as part of a recurring series. This was initially titled 'Cooking with Oxo', but later became 'Life with Katie'. In the latter commercials on-screen titles were used, confirming the serial nature of the advertising and emphasising their 'slice of life' character. As the commentary from *Advertiser's Weekly* made clear, however, it was the casting of the character of Katie which was central to much of the distinctiveness of the ads. Played by actress Mary Holland, 'Katie' was young, bright-eyed and trim.<sup>77</sup> Whilst 'Philip' joked in the commercials that he had married her not for her looks but for her cooking, this observation underplayed 'Katie's' physical attractiveness.<sup>78</sup> Her dark, relatively short hair gave her a contemporary look and in the early commercials she has a passing resemblance to Audrey Hepburn's gamine public image. Katie's eye make-up was clearly visible in the ads and this contributed to her relatively styled appearance. Though she dressed conventionally, there was a sense of fashionability about her attire and in an early commercial she appeared wearing a fitted blouse with a raised collar and stylish jacket. Tellingly, Katie rarely appeared in the commercials wearing an apron and when she does it is usually a butcher's style striped apron and not the highly feminine and flowery style typical of the 'Mum' series.

Mary Holland's performance of the character of Katie was naturalistic and warm compared to the rather stilted and formal demeanour of the Persil mum. Mary Holland brought to the part

a more expressive and open personality. She imbued Katie with a quick wit and obvious intelligence. Whilst every inch the loyal and dutiful wife, Katie uses her warmth and charm to manipulate Philip for her own ends.<sup>79</sup> What is striking is the way sexuality surfaces in the adverts. It is carried through the way Katie sparkles in the ads, but more obviously through the displays of physical affection between Katie and Philip. This includes a passionate embrace in one of 'Life with Katie' adverts. In another, which begins with a high angle shot, Katie and Philip are shown lounging in their sitting room. Whilst Philip reclines on a settee, Katie stretches out on the rug, leaning against him, her hair ruffled and her shoes kicked off in a moment of intimacy.

Alongside its elaboration of Katie's version of the modern housewife, one which was both sexier and more open to the demands of the housewife role, the 'Life with Katie' series also displayed the couple's modernity and hinted at a world of social mobility. This was evident, for example, when the couple attend a decidedly middle-class fancy dress party, take a trip to the ballet and eventually move to the country to a house with a rustic cooking range.<sup>80</sup> It was the depiction of domestic interiors and especially the kitchen which was also central to the ads. Katie's kitchen was large with plenty of work surfaces organized into an L-shape, just as Parker Morris recommended. The kitchen flooring was black and white checked vinyl tiles and the kitchen's picture window was adorned with venetian blinds. There was usually a small dining table in the kitchen where Katie and Philip would eat. Their house also had a separate dining room furnished with a low sideboard and modern painting. The rather up market standard of their home was underscored by some of the props used in the adverts. These included a contemporary set of coffee pots, the long pile rug in the couple's lounge and tableware from Heals, the up market West End furniture store.<sup>81</sup>

Katie's home, and especially her kitchen, was notably more middle class and closer to the post-war ideal than those that appeared in other commercials aimed at the mass market housewife. At the same time, it remained at some remove from the post-war reworking of the kitchen within progressive middle class culture. The obvious contrast here was with the vision of 'civilized living' both promoted by and exemplified in the kitchen of Elizabeth David, the cookery writer and doyen of the metropolitan middle class. David was a key cultural entrepreneur and part of a broader movement within progressive middle class culture in the 1950s and 60s which looked towards selected elements of 'continental taste' in order to break with the puritanism and restrictions of British culture. David's cookery books, especially her first, *A Book of Mediterranean Food*, became the culinary bible for a post-war generation of upper middle class readers.<sup>82</sup> They are notable for explicitly addressing the domestic situation of this new 'servantless class', a group of upper middle class Englishwomen required by this to 'take a far greater interest in food than was formerly considered polite'.<sup>83</sup> In her second book, *French Country Cooking*, David celebrates the centrality of the kitchen to the home and encouraged her readers to devote all the resources they could to building up this room. 'It will be', she reassured them, 'the most comforting and comfortable in the house'.<sup>84</sup> David's own kitchen, in the basement of her four storey Georgian townhouse in Chelsea, exemplified these principles. Mixing selected elements of English and Mediterranean country living it had a floor of oak woodblock, an English farmhouse dresser, a large old pine table set in the middle of the room, an old china sink salvaged from a pre-war scullery, a French armoire and a 'New World Cooker' - the only concession to post-war modernity.<sup>85</sup> The pine table was the centre-piece of the room and friends of David recalled how it was the social hub, with 'good food' and 'good talk' enjoyed around it'. 'Artistic clutter' was provided by bowls of fruit, plates of salted almonds and olives and jars of preserves.<sup>86</sup> All this represented a radically different shaping of the kitchen

not only from pre-war middle class homes, but from that promoted to the lower middling classes through TV advertising. It was also defiantly not an ‘American kitchen’, but aligned with ideas of Continental living. Elizabeth David herself also cut a different figure from the post-war image of the housewife – including ‘Katie’s’ more sophisticated image. Most tellingly, David was pictured in her kitchen wearing a white cotton full cook’s apron and not the highly feminine half-aprons which predominated amongst TV housewives.

Against the metropolitan setting of Elizabeth David’s kitchen and home, TV advertising, including the Persil and Oxo adverts, were set in a defiantly suburban world. In the Persil adverts ‘Mother Cares’, transmitted in April 1959, the housewife-mother was shown in a 1930s semi-detached house, and the ‘Mum’ series recurrently located the emotional dramas of domestic life in these safe and reassuring spaces; spaces where the streets were tidy and quiet and as orderly as the domestic interiors. As a memo from JWT account director Josephine Mackay to her colleagues in July 1965 concerning the new Persil commercial ‘Garden’ made clear the kind of garden they were seeking to portray was ‘of the type one sees from a suburban train’.<sup>87</sup> Notably absent were high rise flats or more threatening urban settings. The social realism of the commercials, however, did mean that they aimed at verisimilitude by mixing ‘modern’ domestic technologies with less contemporary styles of decoration and furniture, particularly within the kitchen. In ‘Piccadilly’, transmitted November 1958, the inter-war semi boasted a kitchen with a plain dresser, country style chairs and an iron range in the fireplace, alongside a contemporary top-loading washing machine. Similarly, in ‘Mother Cares’ the 1930s semi featured a modern kitchen complete with black and white check vinyl flooring and spindly legged table. [Insert Figures 3 &4] In ‘Woman Alone’, 1959, the setting is a Victorian style kitchen with a mantelpiece over a fireplace, and a large modern dresser. [Insert Figure 5] In ‘Jill Davis’, 1959, we see a house



with a large picture window, floral wallpaper on the lounge walls and a stainless steel sink in the kitchen with a top-loading washing machine. 'Cards', 1960, used another inter-war home as its setting, complete with a 1930s style fireplace. In 'Laura Davis', 1961, the kitchen featured a white gas cooker, fitted cupboards and a picture window with venetian blinds. For some of their critics, these 'slice of life' commercials were limited by their lack of social ambition. They were not forward looking enough in their depiction of the modern home. As the anonymous female advertising executive whom I cited earlier argued, the problem with many of these adverts was that the 'kitchen equipment is never the most modern available and usually at best they seem to be examples of that obnoxious 'imitation contemporary' that are the bane of so much 'modern' British furniture and furnishing'. Rather than promoting the most advanced thinking about modern living, British TV advertising, like some British designers, was offering a watered-down version of domestic modernity.

## **Conclusion**

Despite the reservations of industry critics, JWT's television advertising for not only Oxo but also Persil gave normative force to the conception of the 'new household' and the modern kitchen that was at its centre. Whilst the agency's depictions of domestic life were differentiated between the more idealized representations of the 'new household' and those, shaped by the conventions of social realism, that registered the unevenness of social change, nonetheless there was a clear sense of the new horizon of expectations that defined 'modern living' and modern domesticity present within the adverts. This centred upon the importance of domestic technologies like washing machines and modern cookers, together with a recognition that the kitchen was at the heart of family life. This was a depiction of modern domesticity in which there was a powerful iteration of the central role played by women within the home. This representation of women's domestic role offered a very particular

depiction of post-war femininity realized through the figure of the modern housewife. As we have seen, whilst this was a cross-class identity that stretched from working class to lower middling women, it was also tightly defined as a young, married woman typically with one or two small children. It was thus notable that the modern housewife was not generally a woman over forty or a single woman. Rather, it centred upon the cult of young motherhood. Such was the pull of this ideal that 'Katie' tellingly acquired a small son, David, during the run of the 'Life with Katie' series. Television advertising associated with selling to the mass market housewife, then, were bound up with strong ideas about the proper ordering of domestic gender relations and familial emotions.

This ideal of domestic living was intimately bound up with a trans-Atlantic image of the post-war home and the modern housewife. Yet the commercials that I have discussed in this article show how US ideals were tailored to the British market. This is clear in both the way depictions of kitchens embedded them in recognizable social settings and downplayed any explicit American association. In a similar vein, the images of the housewife within television advertising rendered her as a distinctly British social type. It was through casting and the verbal cadences of British actors that the indigenous character of the advertising was established and through which the trans-Atlantic ideal of Mrs. Consumer was imagined in British terms. As I noted earlier, however, these commercials did not stand alone. They were part of a wider regime of representation shaping contemporary domestic ideals which included influences of a more clearly national character. State-sponsored practices associated with education and family policy, along with demographic shifts, played their role in softening US-commercial influences on the post-war British home and ideals of post-war femininity. As such the representation of life in the post-war British kitchen was the product of the interplay between a set of international processes and those closer to home.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> On the 'kitchen debate' see *New York Times*, 25<sup>th</sup> July 1959, p1; *Daily Mirror*, 25th July 1959, p1; De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2005), p428; Oldenziel & Zachmann (eds.) *Cold War Kitchen* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2009), pp3-6 & 59-82; Nolan *The Transatlantic Century* (Cambridge, 2013), pp257-260.

<sup>2</sup> De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*; Nolan *The Transatlantic Century*.

<sup>3</sup> Pells, *Not Like Us* (New York, 1997), p137; Mandler, 'How Modern is it?' *Journal of British Studies*, Volume 42 (2), 2003, pp 271-275.

<sup>4</sup> 'My Trip to Europe', February 1954, Edward G. Wilson, J. Walter Thompson Company Archive, John W Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising and Marketing History, Duke University, Edward G. Wilson Collection, Box 19, p6

<sup>5</sup> Letter to Lester and Dorothy Beall, 19 December 1950, Ashley Havinden Archives, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, Box GMA A39/1/253.

<sup>6</sup> De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, p 419.

<sup>7</sup> De Grazia *Irresistible Empire*, p426.

<sup>8</sup> De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, p435; Johnson & Lloyd *Sentenced to Everyday Life*, p66.

<sup>9</sup> De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, p429. On the role of women's magazines, see Winship, *Inside women's Magazines* (London, 1987). For an account of the French experience, particularly in relation to the role played by women's magazines see Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean*

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*Bodies* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1996). For the Australian experience see Johnson & Lloyd *Sentenced to Everyday Life* (Oxford, 2004).

<sup>10</sup> De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*; Nolan *The Transatlantic Century*; Oldenziel & Zachmann (eds.) *Cold War Kitchen*; Nixon *Hard Sell* (Manchester, 2013).

<sup>11</sup> Djelic *Exporting the American Model* (New York, 1998); Zeitlin & Herrigel (eds.) *Americanization and its Limits* (Oxford, 2000); Killick *The United States and European Reconstruction* (Edinburgh, 1997); Rogers *Atlantic Crossings* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1998); Schwarzkopf, 'Transatlantic Invasions or Common culture?' pp 254-274; Tiratsoo & Tomlinson 'Exporting the "Gospel of Productivity"', pp 41-81; Zeitlin & Herrigel (eds.) *Americanization and its Limits* (Oxford, 2000).

<sup>12</sup> Zeitlin & Herrigel (eds.) *Americanization and its Limits* (Oxford, 2000); Boyd *Early British Television* (London, 2015); Mort 'The Commercial Domain'; Nixon *Hard Sell* (Manchester, 2013); Horn, *Juke Box Britain* (Manchester, 2009); Mort 'The Commercial Domain'; Nixon 'Apostles of Americanization?' J. Walter Thompson Company Ltd, Advertising and Anglo-American Relations 1945-1967', in *Contemporary British History*, Volume 22(4): 477-500.

<sup>13</sup> Cited in Johnson and Lloyd *Sentenced to Everyday Life*, p26.

<sup>14</sup> Johnson and Lloyd *Sentenced to Everyday Life*, p49; Winship 'Nation before Family: Woman, the National Home Weekly, 1945-1953', p188.

<sup>15</sup> See, inter alia, Birmingham Feminist History Group 'Feminism as Femininity in the 1950s?', *Feminist Review*, 5, 1979, p48-65; McRobbie & Nava *Gender and Generation* (London, 1984); Wilson *Adorned in Dreams* (London, 1985); Nava *Changing Cultures* (London, 1992); McRobbie *Feminism and Youth Culture* (London, 1991); McRobbie *British*

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*Fashion Design* (London, 1998); Atfield and Kirkham (eds) *A View from the Interior, Women and Design* (London, 1995); Scanlon (ed) *The Gender and Consumer Culture Reader* (New York, 2000) ; Rappaport *Shopping for Pleasure* (New York, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> Oakley *Housewife* (London, 1974); Strasser *Never Done* (New York, 1982); Glucksmann *Women Assemble* (London, 1990); Glucksmann *Cottons and Casuals* (Durham, 2000); Johnson & Lloyd *Sentenced to Everyday Life*;

<sup>17</sup> Friedan cited in Horowitz *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique*, p175.

<sup>18</sup> Johnson and Lloyd *Sentenced to Everyday Life* , p11; Meyerowitz ‘Beyond the Feminine Mystique’; Martens ‘Feminism and the Critique of Consumer Culture, 1950-1970’, in Gillis & Hollows (eds) *Homes Fires* (London, 2008); Wood ‘Television – the housewife’s choice?’, p344; Brundson *The Feminist, The Housewife and the Soap Opera* (Oxford, 2000); Bingham *Gender, Modernity and the Popular Press in Inter-war Britain* (Oxford, 2004).

<sup>19</sup> The ITA collection is held at the Bradford Film and TV Library. The commercials were transferred to video tape by the BBC for its documentary series, *Washes Whiter* and are held at the History of Advertising Trust. They consist of the pre-production copies of the commercials from which the documentary was made. The article also draws on a JWT London compilation tape, *Sixty Years of JWT*, together with agency documentation from the JWT archive.

<sup>20</sup> Nixon, *Hard Sell*, p20.

<sup>21</sup> Henry (ed.) *British Television Advertising* (London, 1986); Sendall, *Independent Television in Britain, volume one* (London, 1982); Nixon, *Hard Sell* (Manchester, 2013); Corner *Popular television in Britain* (London, 1991); Black, *The Political Culture of the Left in Affluent Britain* (Basingstoke, 2003).

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<sup>22</sup> Times, 13<sup>th</sup> June 1967, p67.

<sup>23</sup> Ministry of Housing and Local Government , *Homes for today and Tomorrow* (London, 1961).

<sup>24</sup> Ministry of Housing and Local Government , pp2-3.

<sup>25</sup> Ministry of Housing and Local Government , pp 1-2; Burnett *A Social History of Housing* (London, 1986), p306.

<sup>26</sup> Ministry of Housing and Local Government , p2.

<sup>27</sup> Ministry of Housing and Local Government, p19.

<sup>28</sup> Ministry of Housing and Local Government, p20.

<sup>29</sup> Ministry of Housing and Local Government, p21.

<sup>30</sup> Burnett *A Social History of Housing*, p280.

<sup>31</sup> Bullock ‘First the Kitchen – then the Facade’, p179.

<sup>32</sup> Bullock ‘First the Kitchen – then the Facade’, p179.

<sup>33</sup> Corley *Domestic Electrical Appliances* (London, 1966), p 32-4; *Forty Objects of Desire* (London, 1986), p182-7

<sup>34</sup> *Forty Objects of Desire*, p182.

<sup>35</sup> Bowden ‘The New Consumerism’, p244.

<sup>36</sup> Bowden ‘The New Consumerism’, p244; Bowden & Offer ‘The Technological Revolution that Never Was’; Scott *The Making of the Modern British Home* (Oxford, 2013), p166-7.

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- <sup>37</sup> Bowden & Offer 'The Technological Revolution that Never Was', p245.
- <sup>38</sup> Bowden 'The New Consumerism', p207.
- <sup>39</sup> *Design*, 1955, 83, pp 42-3.
- <sup>40</sup> *Design*, 1955, 79, p40.
- <sup>41</sup> *Design*, 1958, 109, pp 43-7.
- <sup>42</sup> *Design*, 1958, 109, p43.
- <sup>43</sup> *Design*, 1958, 109, pp 43-7.
- <sup>44</sup> *Design*, 1958, 109, p 46.
- <sup>45</sup> *Design*, 1 July 1966, pp 48-50; *North Thames Gas Board magazine*, Spring 1950, pp15-17; Spring 1958, pp 4-5.
- <sup>46</sup> Langhamer, 'The Meaning of the Home in Post-war Britain' p347.
- <sup>47</sup> Burnett, *A Social History of Housing* (London, 1986), p282.
- <sup>48</sup> Kynaston, *Family Britain, 1951-7* (London, 2009), p 666.
- <sup>49</sup> Kynaston, *Family Britain, 1951-7* (London, 2009), p 666.
- <sup>50</sup> Kynaston, *Family Britain, 1951-7* (London, 2009), p 506.
- <sup>51</sup> Wilson 'A New Look at the Affluent Worker', p209; Todd 'Affluence, Class and Crown Street', p506.
- <sup>52</sup> Todd 'Affluence, Class and Crown Street', p506.
- <sup>53</sup> Langhamer, 'The Meaning of the Home in Post-war Britain', p350.
- <sup>54</sup> Townsend 'The Meaning of Poverty' pp 210-227.

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<sup>55</sup> This research was subsequently published as *Working Class Community, some general notions raised by a series of studies in northern England*, London: RKP, 1968.

<sup>56</sup> Brian Jackson Archive, Qualidata, University of Essex, SN 4870, File C4

<sup>57</sup> Jackson, SN 4870, File C2.

<sup>58</sup> Jackson, SN 4870, File C1.

<sup>59</sup> Jackson, SN4870, File C1.

<sup>60</sup> The *Times* estimated that the housewife accounted for 90% of money spent on food and household goods. 'The Housewife – a sitting target', *Times*, 18 October 1962, pvii; 'The Women's Market', *Advertiser's weekly*, 15 January 1960, p24-34; 'Selling to women', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 8 January 1960, p40; 'Young Homemakers', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 20 April 1962, p3; JWT London *Shopping in Suburbia*, London: JWT, 1962.

<sup>61</sup> Memo from Josephine Mackay to Keith Buckroyd and Denis Lanigan, Persil 'My Mum' campaign, 9/7/1965, JWT/HAT, Box 158.

<sup>62</sup> Memo from Josephine Mackay to Keith Buckroyd and Denis Lanigan, Persil 'My Mum' campaign, 9/7/1965, JWT/HAT, Box 158.

<sup>63</sup> *Advertiser's Weekly*, 4 September 1959, p24.

<sup>64</sup> *Sunday Times* business section, 2 August 1965, JWT/HAT, Box 160.

<sup>65</sup> The titles of the Persil commercials were those used by the agency and did not appear on screen when they were broadcast.

<sup>66</sup> Johnson & Lloyd *Sentenced to Everyday Life* (Oxford, 2004), p49.

<sup>67</sup> Ince, *London Life*, 7 May 1966, p26; see Johnson & Llyod *Sentenced to Everyday Life* (Oxford, 2004) for similar distinctions in Australia.



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<sup>68</sup> Winship *Inside women's Magazines* (London, 1987).

<sup>69</sup> Abrams 'The Home-centred Society', p 914-5; Willmott & Young *Family and Class in a London Suburb* (London, 1960); Langhamer, 'The Meaning of the Home in Post-war Britain', p 341.

<sup>70</sup> Zweiniger Bargeilowska *Austerity in Britain* (Oxford, 2000), p103; Davidoff, Doolittle, Fink, Holden *The Family Story* (London, 1999), pp185-220.

<sup>71</sup> Summerfield 'Women in Britain since 1945', p 61.

<sup>72</sup> Smith 'Elements of Demographic Change in Britain', pp 22-8.

<sup>73</sup> Some sense of the relative decline of domestic service is documented by Selina Todd. She notes that in 1921 domestic service was the largest employer of women under 25 in the UK, but by 1951 only 5% of these women were in service. They had moved into clerical work and retailing, Todd *Young women, work and family in England* (Oxford, 2005), p33.

<sup>74</sup> Zweiniger Bargeilowska *Austerity in Britain*, p108.

<sup>75</sup> *Advertiser's Weekly*, 18 September 1959, pp 54-6.

<sup>76</sup> *Advertiser's Weekly*, 18 September 1959, pp 54-6.

<sup>77</sup> Mary Holland became so strongly associated with the role that she eventually changed her name to Katie Holland.

<sup>78</sup> 'Why I married you/gravy', 1960; 'Why I Married Her', 1965, JWT/HAT Tapes H10868; H119868; H106477.

<sup>79</sup> See 'New Dish/Grocery Bill Savings', 1960, JWT/HAT Tapes H10868; H119868; H106477.

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<sup>80</sup> ‘Ballet’, 1963; ‘Fancy Dress’, 1966; ‘Fog’, 1967 & ‘Workmates’, 1968, JWT/HAT Tapes H10868; H119868; H106477.

<sup>81</sup> A ‘Gondola’ line gravy boat made by Severin Design of Italy and available from Heals was used in one commercial, Reply to Letter from Mrs A.M. Advent, 26 May 1965, JWT/HAT Box 203.

<sup>82</sup> Chaney *Elizabeth David* (London, 1998), p 245.

<sup>83</sup> David *French Country Cooking* (London, 1951), p3.

<sup>84</sup> David, *French Country Cooking* , p23

<sup>85</sup> Chaney, *Elizabeth David* pp 227-9.

<sup>86</sup> Chaney *Elizabeth David*, p 230 & 271.

<sup>87</sup> Persil – My Mum, Memo from Josephine Mackay/Joe Houley to Mr. Buckroyd, 29 July 1965, JWT/HAT, Box 158.

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