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## Architects of households

Housewives and reproductive labour's impact on housing design in the 30s in Poland

### Abstract

Historically, working as a housewife has been highly devalued, underappreciated and even ridiculed. Even today, women assuming domestic work are associated with a caring, motherly figure that provides physical and emotional shelter and creates a home. This housewife stereotype comes from rooted deeply in created by society's gender norms and assigning to women the role of a "natural caregiver", intersected by class hierarchy and racial biases. However, as argued by Maria Mies, the housewifisation process is a creation of economical strategies aimed at profit. In XX-century Poland, during the interwar and post-World War II period, women were orientated towards domestic labour, which resulted in preventing them from pursuing a career, including architecture. To become a housewife, women would not only rely on knowledge passed onto them from their mothers. Not only adult women, but even young girls in elementary schools were taking lessons to prepare them for the future role of a housewife, that is educated in the field of home economics, including management, finances, health and even architecture. The paradigms and ideology of scientific management lead to the establishment of *Instytut Naukowej Organizacji* [Institute of Scientific Management] in 1925 and *Związek Pań Domowych* [Housewives Association] in 1930, to promote and expand knowledge necessary for effective management of household equally amongst housewives of different experience and background. Based on archival information and documentation gathered from *Biblioteka Raczyńskich* [Raczyńskich Library] in Poznań, as well as literature review such as the journal *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management] run by Housewives Association 1927-1939, this history thesis explores the strategies and processes standing behind the process of housewifization in the interwar period in Poland, to analyse the impact of the housewives on housing design between 1927-1935.

## Introduction

Great stories were too often reserved for privileged men. For ages, feminised works have been perceived as inferior to male-paid professions, widening the gap between the productive and reproductive spheres. Often, acknowledging women's achievements in history requires overcoming this dichotomy. In Poland, many pioneer women architects were also housewives. This is the case of the architects Janina Czarnecka and Władysław Czarnecki, a Polish married couple working in the twentieth century in the city Poznań, during the interwar and post-World War II period (1925-1960). However, it is not so widely known that Janina aside from her architectural career, was like most of the Polish women at that time a housewife and a member of *Związek Pań Domowych* [Housewives Association], an institutionalized women-only association active from 1930-1939.<sup>1</sup> One of the purposes of the association was to “elevate the dignity of women's domestic labour”, being assimilated to career equal to any other professions, yet without being paid.<sup>2</sup> Further to this, the association aimed to broaden skills one need to acquire for the “effective” and “efficient” maintenance of the household.

Education of women in the field of scientific management was an essential element in the process of *housewifisation*. Its definition was developed by a German professor of sociology Maria Mies in *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* to outline the global phenomena of naturalisation of unpaid domestic labour of women.<sup>3</sup> Reproductive work is assimilated with key of social capacities, such as birthing and raising children and caring for family as well as community.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, housewives were expected to be proficient in cleaning, management, psychology, and even to obtain certain architectural and engineering knowledge (Figure 1). The aim of obtaining architectural knowledge for a housewife was to make the household efficient in terms of living and organisation. However, a person running a house provided with significant knowledge for the architects, so they both could cooperate in the design process, using their situated expert knowledge to push for quality in housing design.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Szymon Kubiak, *Modernizm Zapoznany: Architektura Poznania 1919-1939* [Acquainted with Modernism: Architecture of Poznan i 1919-1939], (CA Centrum Architektury, 2014): 239.

<sup>2</sup> Irena Szumlakowska, „Zjazd Pań Domu” [Housewives' Convention] *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], no.11 (November 1930): 164.

<sup>3</sup> Maria Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2022), (pp. viii-ix)

<sup>4</sup> Nancy Fraser, „Contradictions of Capital and Care” *New Left Review*, no.100 (July/August 2016): 99.

<sup>5</sup> Marja Chmieleńska “Planujmy Racjonalne Mieszkania” *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], no.3 (March 1929): 18.



**Figure 1.:** Students at the State Higher Vocational School during the cleaning lesson in Krakow, 1930. Source: Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe.<sup>6</sup>

This history thesis explores the spatial and architectural dimension of the reproductive work of Polish *housewified* women to finally analyse their impact on housing design between 1927-1935 when the Housewives' Association publications were released. For this purpose, the research gathers primary sources of information preserved in the *Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa* [Digital Library of Greater Poland] such as the journal *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], that gives an overview of the activities of the Association and history of the domestic labour in interwar Poland. Aside from a number of articles on cleaning, health, psychology and propagandistic messages, there are significant architectural influences indicated, that were supposed to enrich the housewives' knowledge and experience. The contents of the articles rise a few questions. Were the housekeepers considered in new houses planning? What were the strategies for designing functional houses, just as the educative articles were assuming?

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<sup>6</sup> Author unknown. "Uczennice Państwowej Szkoły Zawodowej Żeńskiej w Krakowie podczas lekcji porządków" Photograph. Krakow: 1930. Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe. [National Digital Archive] <https://niepodlegla.gov.pl/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/J-2048x1561.jpg> (Accessed February 16, 2023)

The topic of the gendered division of domestic labour is a phenomenon observed, studied, and questioned by a number of scholars worldwide. Maria Mies studies a long history of exploitation of women and their domestic labour as a part of the global system.<sup>7</sup> An associate professor of Sociology at the University of South Florida Lauren D. Graham in “Domesticating Efficiency: Lillian Gilbreth's Scientific Management of Homemakers” as well as professor of history at the University of Akron Daniel Nelson in *A Mental Revolution: Scientific Management Since Taylor* analyse the principles of scientific management, which ideologies were implanted onto Polish home economics education to maximise the efficiency of domestic labour.

The first chapter of the thesis focuses on the origins and history of the Polish Housewives' Association. It explains the institutionalised aspects of the association as well as its postulates to understand the contemporary strategies and propaganda, that were used to orientate women into unpaid domestic labour. The second chapter delves into the kind of knowledge passed to women from the perspective of experts, amongst other engineers and architects, as well as fellow housewives. Moreover, it investigates the claim of constant cooperation and information exchange between housewives and architects resulting in better-quality housing designs. The third chapter compares the articles included in the magazines with contemporary housing designed by women and men architects with a focus on Czarnecki couple projects. The analysis delves into the input of Janina Czarnecka's housewife experience in contemporary housing design as well as the consideration of Housewives' Association postulates in planning by her husband, Władysław Czarnecki.

Gender double standards in domestic labour have been long studied phenomenon. However, its history still misses a number of chapters. Housewives' impact on housing design has been largely overlooked in architectural history. Further analysis is an attempt to acknowledge the effort and commitment of the women and to investigate, whether without the housewives' impact, the architecture of dwelling in interwar Poland might have taken a different trajectory.

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<sup>7</sup> Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour* (pp. viii)

## Chapter 1 *Origins of Housewives' Association (1925-1930)*

Domesticity and “social reproduction work” was imposed on women as their domain.<sup>8</sup> Housewives' Association derived from local gatherings of housewives in villages and cities across Poland. The first documented Country Housewives' Association can be traced back to 1866. Since then, new local associations were emerging and evolving across Poland till the present day.<sup>9</sup>

The Housewives' Association was established officially during the very first convention of Housewives in *the Great Hall of Technical Colleges Association*<sup>10</sup> in 1930 in Warsaw (Figure 2). The association aimed to gather about seven million women working in their households across Poland.<sup>11</sup> According to Central Statistical Office, in 1931 there were thirty-two million people living in Poland and 72,6% of them were living in villages.<sup>12</sup> The aim was to create units in every city and village across the country, so the housewives collectively could “improve the households and life of Polish families”.<sup>13</sup> A Polish doctor of humanities Renata Knyspel-Kopeć says, in the face of the country's rebirth after the first World War, Polish women were gaining more rights, so as their societal position can be equal to that of men. They were often working paid jobs, yet still were obligated to domestic labour with their limited time. Therefore, the economic crisis of 1929-1935 called for model management solutions, supported by wide propaganda of the “mission” of a woman as a mother and wife and declaring domestic labour a professional career.<sup>14</sup> Mies explains, the labour women put into the production of life, including childbirth is perceived as their “unconscious interaction of human being with nature”, like nature producing plants and animals.<sup>15</sup> This view has been consequently implemented onto gendered division of domestic labour narrative.

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<sup>8</sup> Fraser, „Contradictions of Capital and Care”, 99.

<sup>9</sup> Piotr Frączak, “Historia kół gospodyń wiejskich- między emancypacją a kolonizacją wsi” [History of Country Housewives' Association- between emancipation and colonisation of countryside], May 6, 2022, <https://publicystyka.ngo.pl/historia-kol-gospodyn-wiejskich-miedzy-emancypacja-a-kolonizacja-wsi>

<sup>10</sup> Wielka sala Stowarzyszenia Techników w Warszawie, Translated by the author

<sup>11</sup> Marja Romanowa, „Zawód Pani Domy” [The Profession of a Housewife] *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], no.6 (June 1930): 83.

<sup>12</sup> “Statystka w II Rzeczypospolitej” [Statistics of the Second Polish Republic] *Niepodległa - świętujmy razem!* Accessed April 8, 2023, <https://niepodlegla.gov.pl/o-niepodleglej/statystyka-w-ii-rzeczypospolitej/>

<sup>13</sup> Szumlakowska, „Zjazd Pań Domu”, 163.

<sup>14</sup> Renata Knyspel-Kopeć, „Gospodarstwo Domowe jako Firma w Świetle Prasy Kobiecej” [Household as a Company in the Light of Women's Press] *Metamorfozy Społeczne* [Societal Metamorphosis], no. 9 (2014): 231.

<sup>15</sup> Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour*, 44-45.



**Figure 2.:** Initiation of the very first convention of the housewives, Warsaw 1930. Source: *Household Management*.<sup>16</sup>

The very first convention of the Housewives' assembled the fundamental postulates of the Housewives' Association. Firstly, domestic labour was proclaimed a "duty" and a "core assignment" of housewives as well as the common ground of communication amongst each and single one of them.<sup>17</sup> Secondly, the association was to "elevate the dignity" of women's domestic work, so it is declared as a career "equal to any other profession". As importantly, the Association pointed out a need to adjust schooling. It was demanded to establish a school for scientific management instructors. What is more, alongside reading and writing lessons, women would receive home economics education.<sup>18</sup>

Home economics education was providing women with house maintenance skills and teaching how to use the resources of modern management science.<sup>19</sup> Professor and Chair

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<sup>16</sup> Author unknown. "Otwarcie Zjazdu Pań Domowych w wielkiej sali Stow. Techników w Warszawie" [Initiation of the Housewives' Convention] Photograph. Warsaw: 1930. Instytut Gospodarstwa Domowego

<sup>17</sup> Szumlakowska, „Zjazd Pań Domu”, 163.

<sup>18</sup> Szumlakowska, „Zjazd Pań Domu”, 163.

<sup>19</sup> Julia Grant „Modernizing Mothers: Home Economics and the Parent Education Movement, 1920-1945” in *Rethinking Home Economics: Women and the History of a Profession*, ed. Sarah Stage and Virginia B. Vincenti (Cornell University Press, 1997), 55.

of Women's Studies at Arizona State University West in Phoenix Sarah Stage says that home economics practises at the beginning of the twentieth century focused more on careers for women, rather than on domesticity. Race, gender, and class were factors limiting the career options for women. Stage also points out home economics being “glorified housework” and a “conspiracy to keep women in the kitchen”.<sup>20</sup> In the late 20s in Poland, the literacy rate of women was at 36%. It decreased in the 30s to about 20%.<sup>21</sup> After regaining independence in 1918, elementary education in Poland was obligatory for everyone. Officially, secondary and higher education was accessible and followed the same programmes for women and men, yet most of the schools were segregated. Education of women in cities was far more tolerated than it was in villages. In the countryside, it was believed that the ability to read and write was enough for women and that higher education should be the domain of men. Moreover, women would often leave the school system for domestic labour.<sup>22</sup> According to law, women were allowed for broad education beyond home economics. However, as argued by an American philosopher Nancy Fraser, reproductive work resolves around maintaining social bonds and is acute to shaping a community and its culture. The unpaid domestic labour was “rebaptised” to “love” in favour of waged, productive work of men.<sup>23</sup>

The philosophy of scientific management as well as home economics were foundations of the Housewives' Association. Following the ideas of North American engineer Frederic W. Taylor, who articulated that successful management depends on ideas that were applicable to many kinds of organizations. His work aimed to provide with a detailed organisation plan for any kind of institution, starting from subdividing the routines of workers to elementary processes in order to increase their productivity.<sup>24</sup> Graham, in the article “Domesticating Efficiency: Lillian Gilbreth's Scientific Management of Homemakers, 1924-1930” notices that application of scientific management to housekeeping were supposed to helping the housewife with “earning a life”. Its strategies

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<sup>20</sup> Grant, “Modernizing Mothers: Home Economics and the Parent Education Movement, 1920-1945”, 1-2.

<sup>21</sup> Dorota Pauluk and Dominika Jagielska, „Concepts of Women's Sexual Education and Dispute over Co-education in Poland between Two World Wars” *Historia Scholastica* no.1 (2020): 70.

<sup>22</sup> Joanna Dufurat “W Okresie Powolnej Modernizacji. Kobieta w II Rzeczypospolitej- Próba Bilansu” [In the Period of Slow Modernization: Women in the Second Republic of Poland- Conclusions] *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne* [Scientific Notebooks of Jagiellonian University. Historical Works] no.147 (2020): 813-814.

<sup>23</sup> Fraser, „Contradictions of Capital and Care”, 102.

<sup>24</sup> Daniel Nelson, *A Mental Revolution: Scientific Management Since Taylor* (Ohio State University Press, 1992), 1-5.

Lauren D. Graham, “Domesticating Efficiency: Lillian Gilbreth's Scientific Management of Homemakers” *Signs*, no.3 (Spring 1999): 638.

were claimed to be a timesaving tool for the activities outside of domestic work.<sup>25</sup> The framework of Taylorism was noticed by the international engineers striving for increasing efficiency of reproductive work, including those responsible for establishment of the Scientific Management Institute in Poland. Polish Institute of Scientific Management was established in 1925 by an initiative of engineer Karol Adamiecki that was a pioneer of scientific management in Poland. With its development, scientific management dogmas were promoted in multiple fields, including households. Since 1926, the institute was the publisher of the *Household Management Journal*.<sup>26</sup> In 1930, the Housewives Association became an official organ of the institute under the household management section.<sup>27</sup> The statute of the Institute says that members of the Institute shall distinguish themselves in remarkable work in the field of scientific management. During its early years, it was financed by a few industrial enterprises. Nevertheless, with its development and growth of awareness in terms of scientific management, it started to be financed by the government.<sup>28</sup>

Polish Institute of Scientific Management was not the first and only institution of this kind. Several countries worldwide had similar organizations established, with household management and home economics as the main points of focus.<sup>29</sup> A North American housewife and engineer Lillian M. Gilbreth, in her essay written for the International Congress of Scientific Management in Rome in November 1927, discuss the programme of the congress and elaborates on the “purpose” of a housewife. Gilbreth, applying to her knowledge of home economics paradigms of Taylorism, once again points out the importance of the well-being of inhabitants as a factor depending on the work of the housewife.<sup>30</sup> As cultures are different, the very core assumptions of the management of the household were identical across western and eastern countries. In general, the whole “responsibility” of a functioning household rested on the shoulders of the housewife and the adaption of scientific management.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Graham, “Domesticating Efficiency: Lillian Gilbreth's Scientific Management of Homemakers”, 634.

<sup>26</sup> Karol Adamiecki, “Rozwój naukowej organizacji w Polsce i w innych krajach” [Development of Scientific Management in Poland and other countries] *Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny* [Law, Economic and Sociological Movement], no.3 (1929): 326.

<sup>27</sup> Marja Romanowa, „Nowy Okres Rozwoju Pisma” [New Trajectory of the Journal Development] *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], no.11 (November 1930): 164.

<sup>28</sup> Adamiecki, “Rozwój naukowej organizacji w Polsce i w innych krajach”, 327-328.

<sup>29</sup> Rada Naczelna Gospodarczego Wykształcenia Kobiet [Chief Council of Scientific Management for Women], “Kronika” [Chronicles] *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], no.4 (April 1930): 61.

<sup>30</sup> Lillian M. Gilbreth, „Naukowa Organizacja a Ognisko Domowe” [Scientific Management and Home] *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], no.7 (July 1927): 79.

Graham, “Domesticating Efficiency: Lillian Gilbreth's Scientific Management of Homemakers”, 634.

<sup>31</sup> Gilbreth, „Naukowa Organizacja a Ognisko Domowe”, 80.



*Housewified* women were facing immensely high expectations set upon them. They were “studying” home economics through experience-based and institutionalized education. Women were oriented to take over the role of the caregiver from a very early age. Knowledge of scientific management was an essential element in the process of a housewife ‘creation’. However, the knowledge informally passed from mother to daughter for generations and little girls observing the work of women in their family, were of equal significance in the housewifisation procedure.<sup>32</sup> In the article from 1930 “Motherly Girls and Little Housewives”<sup>33</sup> by writer Wanda Pogonowska she explains how girls taking care of dolls or playing house were supposed to be proof of an early housewife instinct present in women from a very young age. She argues that not only imitating her mother’s daily activities in the house, but natural maternal intuition causes girls to be interested in domestic labour. Pogonowska also claims that girls’ toys should be miniature versions of the newest kitchen appliances and cleaning tools, so they can be quickly prepared to help their mothers with “household responsibilities”. Yet, in the modern, inculcated onto her mother spirit.<sup>34</sup>

At the time when a daughter was being indoctrinated through innocent plays, a mother was taught about a deep understanding of the layout of the house and its effective use. Housewives were expected to be proficient in cleaning, management, psychology, and even to obtain certain architectural and engineering knowledge. The aim of obtaining the architectural knowledge by a housewife was to make the household efficient in terms of living and organisation as well as to provide with modern, functional living space. However, it is also acknowledged that woman running a house provides with significant knowledge for the architect. While cooperating, they can make the house both well designed and full of life.<sup>35</sup> The Housewives’ Association was initiating collaboration with Architects’ Association in attempt to impact design of entire new developments, or even smaller interventions in existing housing, such as redesigning kitchens.<sup>36</sup> In this understand of pursuing a “career” in domestic work, housewives should know how to practically allocate the furniture, technicalities, lights and be aware of the real use of every

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<sup>32</sup> Wanda Pogonowska, „Małe Mateczki – Małe Gosposie” *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], no.5 (May 1930): 67.

<sup>33</sup> „Małe Mateczki – Małe Gosposie” Translated by the author.

<sup>34</sup> Pogonowska, „Małe Mateczki – Małe Gosposie”, 66-67.

<sup>35</sup> Marja Chmieleńska „Planujmy Racjonalne Mieszkania” [We Should Design Rational Apartment Flats] *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], no.2 (February 1929): 18.

<sup>36</sup> Marja Ankiewiczowa „Walne Zgromadzenie Doroczne” [The Annual Gathering] *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], no.5 (May 1930): 77.

single appliance. Moreover, she should be the one to distribute the functions of the rooms and in case of restoration or rebuilding, she should come out with solutions for the efficient use of the new space.<sup>37</sup> Those were indeed, architectural and spatial organisation skills, that women were expected to obtain.

## **Chapter 2** *Strategies for efficient and practical households (1927-1930)*

*Conditions of work and living are changing. Sets of beliefs, tastes are changing. So must change the most repetitive type of flat. These changes are brought about by new construction methods and materials. The execution of a new design compromises its aim and the budget. What we do, is look for solutions that will bring modern living space that is available for anyone. We embrace tradition while looking for new ways. No solution is ultimate, everything needs to be flexible, so we never want to stop at the moment and always strive for new.* <sup>38</sup>

In the 30s of twentieth century, Polish architects were often following the ideas of western modernism. They were introducing housing innovations and new ways of thinking, that were supposed to face the challenges brought upon society in the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>39</sup> In the light of post- First World War housing crisis, a number of measures needed to be undertaken to provide with new houses. As mentioned in prior chapter, home economics education and domestic labour of women were a part of Polish government's strategy to revive collapsing economy. That included making a house perfectly functional, which sometimes required considering the expert knowledge of housewives. The women-oriented magazine *Household*

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<sup>37</sup> Marja Romanowa „Zawód Pani Domu” [Housewife as a Career] *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], no.6 (June 1930): 83-85.

<sup>38</sup> Translated by the author from the original quote: „Zmieniają się warunki pracy i bytu, zmieniają się poglądy i upodobania, zmieniać się także musi najczęściej powtarzający się typ mieszkania. Zmiany te wywołuje przede wszystkim zmieniająca się technika budowy i zmiana stosowanych materiałów budowlanych. Każda realizacja jest kompromisem pomiędzy celem a środkami. Szukamy takich środków, któreby pozwoliły na największe przybliżenie do osiągnięcia celu: mieszkania godnego współczesnego człowieka i dostępnego dla wszystkich. Szukamy ich na wszystkich drogach starych i nowe drogi torując, nie odrzucamy żadnych doświadczeń techniki odwiecznej, wykorzystujemy każdy postęp techniczny. Szukamy w pełnej świadomości, że żadne rozwiązanie nie jest ostatecznym, że wszystko jest i musi być płynne, że niema i nie będzie takiej chwili, którąbyśmy chcieli w biegu czasów zatrzymać.”; *Dom, Osiedle, Mieszkanie* [House, Neighbourhood, Flat] no.9 (September 1931): 1.

<sup>39</sup> Hanna Grzeszczuk-Brendel „Architektura Powszechnej Wystawy Krajowej (1929) a architektura lat 30-tych w Poznaniu” [Architecture of Polish General Exhibition] *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki: teoria i historia* [Quarterly of Architecture and Urbanism: theory and history], no.4 (2009):118.  
Izabela Wiśłocka, *Awangardowa Architektura Polska 1918-1939* [Avant-garde Polish Architecture 1918-1939] (Arkady, 1960): 145.

*Management* published from 1927 to 1939 provided with insight of architects, engineers, and housewives on the contemporary trends in housing design and management. Articles that were written by women and members of the Housewives' Association followed the idea of housewives sharing their knowledge and advice with one another. However, a number of articles in the magazine prepared by experts that sometimes were also men, aimed to educate housewives in the fields of engineering, architecture and scientific management, providing with their insight into domestic labour. Housewives, architects, engineers - they all had differentiated attitudes towards explanation of management, planning and decorating of a house, as well as contemporary tendencies in design.

Male engineers also participated in the discussion about effective housework. In 1927, engineering professor, Stefan Biedrzycki published the article "Philosophy of Scientific Management Applied in the Households".<sup>40</sup> In the article, he elaborates on engineering and management skills a housewife should obtain. Biedrzycki states that the ability to light a fireplace and its efficient use throughout the day is a domain of engineering. Following this statement, he compares a housewife with manager of a factory. As aforementioned manager arranges matters of purely technical nature, what distinct a housewife is that she has her family to take care of and she is to reassure everyone have their meals on time and that the house is always clean.<sup>41</sup>

Biedrzycki's statement follows the logic of Gilbreth's that requires "scientification" of the domestic labour.<sup>42</sup> Concluding the essay, Biedrzycki states that without well-planned ahead space, all the efforts of a housewife will be useless and its designer's responsibility to prepare adaptable houses that are easy to organize.<sup>43</sup> The article is in fact very biased towards middle- and upper-class housewives and ignores the reality of most of the housewives that were living in the interwar period. Poland and that time was still recovering after the first World War and was at economic and housing crisis. That resulted in families often living in overcrowded houses and flats. What is more, one of the core assumptions of the Association was to provide with equal education to housewives of all the classes.<sup>44</sup> Building a new house was an unreachable dream for majority of families at that time. Biedrzycki's statements are not in favour of housewives from lower-classes, whose economic prosperities could not allow them to afford building a new house.

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<sup>40</sup> "Filozofa Organizacji Naukowej w Zastosowaniu do Gospodarstwa Domowego" Translated by the author.

<sup>41</sup> Stefan Biedrzycki "Filozofa Organizacji Naukowej w zastosowaniu do gospodarstwa domowego" *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], no.7 (July 1927): 77-78.

<sup>42</sup> Graham, "Domesticating Efficiency: Lillian Gilbreth's Scientific Management of Homemakers", 634.

<sup>43</sup> Stefan Biedrzycki "Filozofa Organizacji Naukowej w zastosowaniu do gospodarstwa domowego", 78.

<sup>44</sup> Lydia Coudroy de Lille, „Housing in the Polish People's Republic: From 'Deficit' to 'Crisis'". *Le Mouvement Social*, no.3 (2013): pp.i-iv.

Szumlakowska, „Zjazd Pań Domu”, 166.

Other experts questioned the professionalization of the housework. Italian medical doctor Clelia Lollini, in the article “The most suitable careers for women”<sup>45</sup> states that the housewife cannot be considered an engineer: “A profession a woman can acquire shall be conform with her psyche”. A profession of a woman shall agree with her “loving and caring nature”.<sup>46</sup>

*Above all, the need of being surrounded by love is in the nature of woman; the feeling is stimulant for her performance. [...] it is a nurturing way to show the complete value of a woman.*<sup>47</sup>

Lollini encourages women to obtain careers outside of their households and acknowledges the need of women for paid jobs. Nevertheless, she states that “if a woman devotes her life for a professional career that will not fulfil her primary need of taking care of others, she will miss out on the life gratification.” Careers such as nurse, teacher, medical doctor or journalist are advertised as those completing woman’s nature.<sup>48</sup> Juxtaposed statements of Lollini and Biedrzycki expose contradicting approaches towards domestic labour and create impossible to meet standards. On the one hand, the housewife is a “manager”, with engineer’s proficiency. On the other, her “motherly instincts” must be met by activities involving taking care of others. She was “not meant” to find fulfilment in scientific commotions.

Contribution of architects towards efficient living was providing with sufficiently realistic approach. In relation to constructive details and storage spaces, architect Józef Padlewski in article “Windows as a regulator of light, temperature and ventilation”<sup>49</sup> from 1930, criticises the traditional houses. He explains, a modern building is functional, practical, clean and elude from unnecessary ornaments. Consequently, the traditional, highly ornamented windows are critiqued. It is mentioned that a window should be adjusted according to the function of the room, rather than to be coherent with the other windows on the façade. The architect also points out the storage rooms ideally should have no windows and plain walls. As the construction aspects of the best windows are vastly explained (Figure 3), the matter of functionality and easy maintenance is crucial.<sup>50</sup> Padlewski in his article is explaining the purpose of the proper ventilation techniques, alongside

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<sup>45</sup> „Zawody Najbardziej Odpowiednie Dla Kobiet” Translated by the author.

<sup>46</sup> Clelia Lollini “Zawody Najbardziej Odpowiednie Dla Kobiet” *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], no.6 (June 1930): 81-82.

<sup>47</sup> Translated by the author from the original quote: „Przede wszystkim w naturze kobiety leży potrzeba być otoczoną miłością; uczucie jest u niej główną podniętą działania. (...) to forma życia najwięcej nadająca się do dania wyrazu pełnej wartości kobiety.” Clelia Lollini “Zawody Najbardziej Odpowiednie Dla Kobiet”, 81.

<sup>48</sup> Lollini “Zawody Najbardziej Odpowiednie Dla Kobiet”, 81-82.

<sup>49</sup> “Okno, regulator światła, temperatury i wentylacji.” Translated by the author.

<sup>50</sup> Józef Padlewski “Okno, Regulator Światła, Temperatury i Wentylacji.” *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], no.9 (September 1930): 135.



In relation to functional planning of flats, in the article “We Should Design Rational Apartment Flats”<sup>52</sup>, a housewife Marja Chmieleńska discusses the adaptability of the space to the needs of its inhabitants. She points out factors defining functional space. However, she is critical about lack of their application in the new contemporary housing. (Figure 4) No space-saving wardrobes placed in walls, pantry placed away from the kitchen or with direct sunlight, servants’ bedrooms with no windows, dysfunctional planning of kitchens and recreational outdoor spaces that are North-oriented, are contradicting the contemporary narrative of a functional house.<sup>53</sup> Chmieleńska analysed plans of such new house and with succour of colleague architect, listed alterations to asset the desired functionality. (Figure 5)

For the purpose of improvement of the future developments, housing department of the Housewives’ Association addressed the Architects’ Association with formal inquiry. The architects were requested to be more attentive to the allocating the functions of the room according to sunlight access and to provide with proper ventilation design in the entire house. They also sent a detailed request of kitchen design, which included: locating workspaces towards the sun, plenty of space for modern appliances, certain heights of the countertops and even exact placement of the sockets. What is more, in case of small-scale rooms, folding door should be considered.<sup>54</sup> Concluding her article, Chmieleńska encourages readers to provide their requests and ideas to pressure the designers for improvements. The need to amend planning is often repeated topic by experts and housewives themselves. Women demanding improvement of the designed spaces proves, they were noticing inadequacies in their living environment. It likely was caused by the positive impact of the articles on their architectural apprehension. However, without embodiment of such demands and designers’ cooperation to apply them in the new developments, improvement of spaces were left for the housewives’ creativity alone.

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<sup>52</sup> “Planujmy Racjonalne Mieszkania” Translated by the author

<sup>53</sup> Marja Chmieleńska “Planujmy Racjonalne Mieszkania” *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], no.3 (March 1929): 17-18.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* 17-18.

# ORGANIZACJA GOSPODARSTWA DOMOWEGO

ORGAN SEKCJI GOSPODARSTWA DOMOWEGO  
PRZY INSTYTUCIE NAUKOWEJ ORGANIZACJI

ROK III

WARSZAWA, LUTY 1929.

Nr 2

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## PLANUJMY RACJONALNIE MIESZKANIA.

MARJA CHMIELEŃSKA.

**WIEMY DOSKONALE**, jak wielkie usługi daje racjonalnie rozplanowane mieszkanie.

W Zachodniej Europie i Stanach Zjednoczonych niezmierną wagę przywiązuje się do najdoskonalszego przystosowania wnętrza domu do potrzeb życia, rozumiejąc że w ten sposób podnosi się kulturę życia codziennego. Wiąże też z nas, gdy budujemy stosunkowo dużo i z tak wielkim wysiłkiem finansowym dla Państwa i jednostek, powinno się dążyć, aby wznoszone obecnie mieszkania dawały maksimum korzyści i ulepszeń, pozwalających na ułatwienie pracy i życia. Niestety w wielu nowych domach, dość nawet kosztownych, widać pod tym względem ogromne wady: brak szaf w murze, tak bardzo ułatwiających sprzątanie i oszczędzających miejsce; brak szafki lub umieszczenie ich w nieodpowiednim miejscu, np. zbyt daleko od kuchni lub od strony słonecznej; pomieszczenia dla służby w alkowach bez okien; rozplanowywanie samej kuchni bez zrozumienia czynności, które w niej odbywają; umieszczanie od północy balkonów i tarasów, mających być źródłem zdrowia i miejscem wypoczynku.

Dla uplastycznienia tego, co można zrobić w tych samych ramach, przy tych samych kosztach, ale tylko z nieznaczną dopłatą, ale będąc oży-

wionym chęcią najdoskonalszego wyzyskania danych warunków, podaję ciekawe zestawienie; za wzór biorę pierwszy lepszy plan jednego z nowowbudowanych domków sześciopokojowych i podaję dwa warjanty zmian, które go czynią bez porównania bardziej dogodnym i użytecznym. Zmiany te zostały opracowane przez znajomego mi architekta, interesującego się specjalnie racjonalną budową mieszkań.

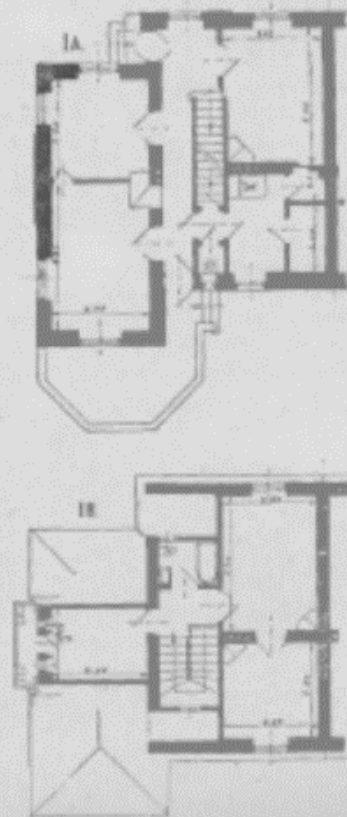


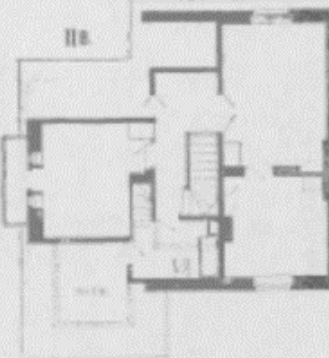
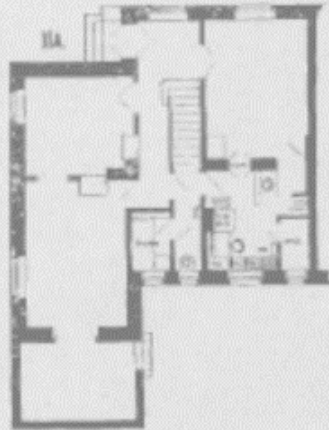
Figure 4.: "Dysfunctional" Plans of New Development. Source: *Household Management*.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 17.

Plan pierwszy. I. A — parter, I. B — piętro.

Plan ten ma następujące wady:

1. Zbyteczne dwa wejścia przez hall.
2. Hall nieogrzewany.
3. Brak pokoju z oknem dla służącej.
4. Brak śpiżarni z oknem.
5. Ulokowanie śpiżarni przy ścianie ogrzewanej przez kanały dymowe.
6. Zbyteczne dwa piony (rury wodociągowe i kanalizacyjne).
7. Złe rozplanowanie kuchni: płyta kuchenna — tyłem do okna, za małe pomieszczenie na zmywanie, brak miejsca na szafę z naczyńcami, brak miejsca na czyszczenie ubrań, brak deski do prasowania.
8. Brak wejścia na strych.
9. Dwa duże poddasza niewyżytkowane.



na szafę z naczyńcami, brak miejsca na czyszczenie ubrań, brak deski do prasowania.

8. Brak wejścia na strych.

9. Dwa duże poddasza niewyżytkowane.

Plan drugi. II. A — parter, II. B — piętro.

Plan ten daje nam:

1. Wskutek skasowania niepotrzebnego wejścia do hall'u — pokój dla służącej z oknem i szafką w ścianie; drugie wejście mamy przez werandę.
2. Hall ogrzewany.
3. Kuchnia rozplanowana tak, że prawie bez przeszkazy można się w niej przygotowywać posiłki, zmywać i t. d. Przybyły: deska do prasowania, wygodna zmywalnia z pod-

stawkami na suszarki, szafy w murze na naczyńca, kredens z lodownicą i szafka na porcelanę; szafa, otwierana z obu stron muru, może być nityta na porcelanę lub też — otwierana tylko od strony pokoju — może służyć jako bieliśniarka lub kredens, zależnie od przeznaczenia pokoju.

4. Śpiżarnia z oknem.
5. Dogodne wejście na strych.
6. Z jednego poddasza zrobiono pokój, z drugiego — schowek na kufry i t. p.
7. Jeden pion służy dla parteru i piętra (oszczędność 1500 do 2000 zł.).
8. Przy W. C. umieszczono umywalkę do rąk dla służącej.
9. Przybyły szafy ścienne.

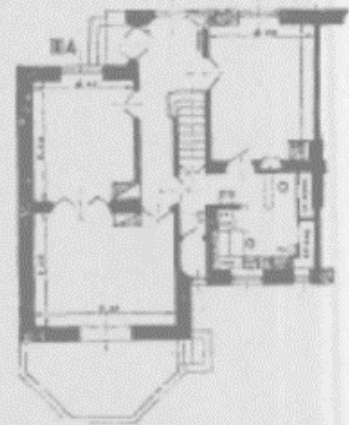
Uwaga: przy zastosowaniu centralnego ogrzewania w mieszkaniu można zrobić zewnętrzny drzwi składane między dwoma słykającymi się pokojami.

Plan trzeci. III. A — parter.

Plan piętra jest w tym wypadku identyczny z planem II. B.

Oprócz wszystkich modyfikacji, uwzględnionych w planie drugim, plan trzeci przewiduje przesunięcie muru tak, by dodać do hall'u 3 m<sup>2</sup> powierzchni, których koszt wynosi około 1500 zł; zato — licząc część hall'u, wykorzystanie poddasza i szafy ścienne — otrzymujemy 15 m<sup>2</sup> więcej powierzchni użytkowej, co łącznie ze skasowaniem jednego z dwu pionów daje nam zysk około 7000 zł.

Z powyższego przykładu widać konieczność bardzo szczegółowego i starannego wnikania w potrzeby gospodarstwa i pracy w nim, aby racjonalnie planować domy mieszkalne. I mimo że nie można ustalić jakiegoś jednego szablonu dla wszystkich mieszkań, trzeba jednak uwzględnić pewne nieodzowne wymagania, bez spełnienia których nie można nawet myśleć o racjonalnej organizacji pracy w gospodarstwie domowym. Moor powiedział, że „jeżeli dom projektują sami mężczyźni, bez rad i wskazówek kobiet, może on się okazać bardzo niewygodnym i nieestetycznym”. To też kobiety polskie, chcąc by ich domy mogły się stać wzorowymi ośrodkami życia i pracy, postanowiły opracować nieodzowne desiderata racjonalnego planowania mieszkań i zwrócić się z niemi do Związku oraz Koła Architektów z prośbą o ich uwzględnienie.



Życzenia te opracowała podsekcja mieszkaniowa przy Kole Studjów Gospodarstwa Domowego w porozumieniu z Sekcją Gospodarstwa Domowego przy Instytucie Naukowej Organizacji, a brzmią one jak następuje.

1. Przy projektowaniu nowych domów należy umieszczać pokoje sypialne, dzieciinne oraz werandy od strony słonecznej.
2. Należy dążyć, aby hall i każda ubikacja (śpiżarnia, W. C., łazienki i t. p.) posiadała okno.
3. Każdy pokój powinien mieć wentylację, zwłaszcza tam, gdzie jest centralne ogrzewanie.
4. Umieszczać jak najwięcej szaf w murach.
5. Choćby najmniejsze pomieszczenie dla służącej powinno mieć okno oraz mieścić łóżko, stolik i szafkę ścienną na rzeczy.

Figure 5: "Corrected" Plans in the New Development. Source: *Household Management*.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 18.



Attention to the sunlight access was frequently repeated doctrine of the functional and modern living space. A woman professor of architecture Małgorzata Bartnicka in the article "Forgotten rules, distorted ideas. The remaining legacy of the innovative late 1920s and early 1930s" states that the access to sunlight in the late 1920s and early 1930s was one of the most crucial social postulates and an important guideline of new architecture.<sup>57</sup> A chief editor of the *Household Management* Irena Szumlakowska on example of "Sunny House"<sup>58</sup> designed by architects couple, Barbara and Stanislaw Brukalski, explains the impact of the impact of the sunlight and planning strategy of a small house. She approves of the modernist's house functionality as well as encourages the simplicity of the finishing elements such as window frames or handles in terms of future maintenance.<sup>59</sup> Szumlakowska acknowledges the well-planned placement of the utility rooms and additional storage spaces placed in the dips of the walls. (Figure 6) Kitchen is well connected with the dining area as well as the garage. For this aspect of the planning, she credits only Barbara Brukalska, that apparently "brings her housewife experience onto the architect's profession."<sup>60</sup> The "Sunny House" is set as an example of adjusting the house to the needs of its inhabitants and is acknowledged for being unconventional. The article praises the longed for in the *Household Management* magazine functionality. Nonetheless, Szumlakowska does not share expert input and barely explain the applied solutions in plans. For the housewives that are not trained in reading architectural language, it was one more representation of hardly reachable dream of having a modern house.

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<sup>57</sup> Małgorzata Bartnicka "Forgotten rules, distorted ideas. The remaining legacy of the innovative late 1920 s and early 1930 s" *Architectus*, no.1 (2013): 45.

<sup>58</sup> "Słoneczny Dom" trans. by the author

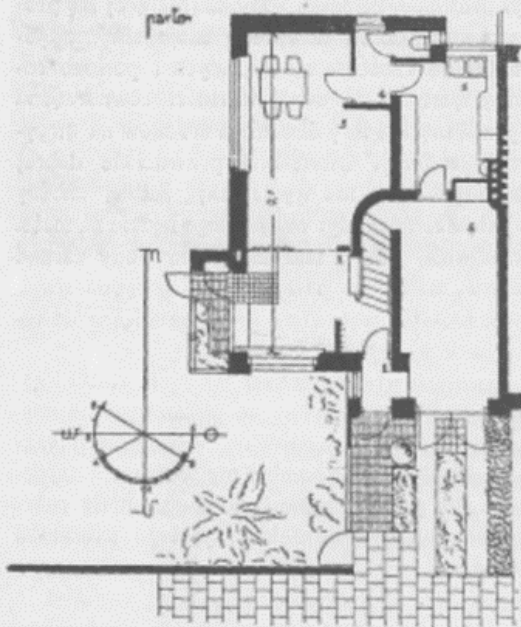
<sup>59</sup> Irena Szumlakowska "Słoneczny Dom." *Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego* [Household Management], no.5 (May 1930): 68-70.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* 70.

## „SŁONECZNY DOM”<sup>1)</sup>.

I. SZ.

MOŻNA go słusznie tak nazwać, gdyż cały to nie w świetle i w słońcu. A osiągnięto to nie przez specjalnie korzystne położenie parceli, lecz przez umiejętne rozmieszczenie większości otworów wejściowych i okiennych od strony południowej, zwłaszcza zaś przez doskonale naswietlenie całego wnętrza domu, dzięki oknom, które dają ogromnie dużo światła. (Okno przez wysokość całego piętra w hallu, okno stanowiące róg pokoju w sypialnym i trójdzielne okna bardzo szerokie we wszystkich innych ubikacjach).



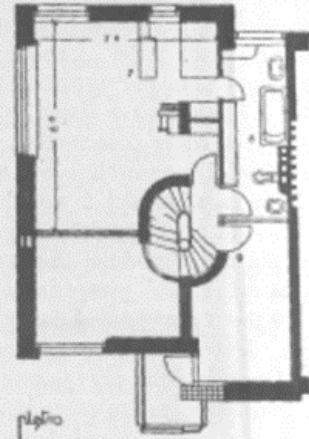
Parter „Słonecznego Domu”.

- 1) Przedsiónek. 2) Hall. 3) Jadalny. 4) Kredens.  
5) Kuchnia. 6) Garaż.

Sama koncepcja tego domu, niewielkiego, bo o kubaturze tylko 600 m<sup>3</sup>, stanowi bardzo pomyślane rozwinięcie jednoizbowego mieszkania. Centrum jakby stanowi hall, który w jednej swej części, mniejszej, posiada szatnię, ogromnie miły kącik przy owym wielkiem oknie oraz wejście do małej oranżerii. Druga część składa się

<sup>1)</sup> Projekt i własność Barbary i Stanisława Brukskich, architektów.

z dużego „mieszkalnego” pokoju, który zarazem służy jako stołowy (ma też bezpośrednie połączenie z częścią gospodarczą); nad nim wisi jak-

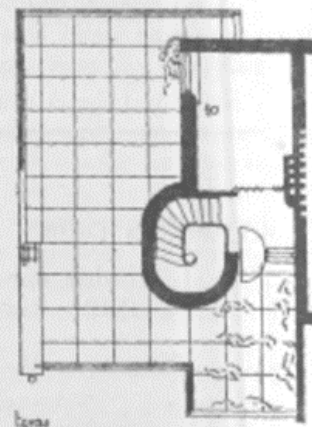


1-e piętro „Słonecznego Domu”.

- 7) Pracownia.  
8) Łazienka.  
9) Sypialny.

by balkon, który jest przeznaczony na pracownię i, mimo iż wchodzi się nań już ze schodów i że jest położony na innej kondygnacji, stanowi z hall'em całość, dając jednak możliwość odosobnienia przy pracy.

Na pierwszym piętrze obok pracowni znajduje się pokój sypialny, duża łazienka-ubieralnia



2-e piętro „Słonecznego Domu”.

- 10) Sypialnia. Taras.

oraz mała nisza w pracowni, która, będąc oddzielona umiejętnie ścianką i kotarą, może doskonale służyć za miejsce do spania. Na wyż-

Figure 6.: Plans of the Sunny house in the article. Source: *Household Management*.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 68.

Most of the articles were proposing solutions for new designs and developments and not much advice was given to improve the existing houses. The discussion provides with many professions' perspectives which display consistency on "functional planning" for new dwellings. Nevertheless, they were setting unreachable standards for the significant part of society living in post-war economy and were only strengthening class stratification. In the issue 9 of the magazine *House, Neighbourhood and a Flat*<sup>62</sup> written for the designers, yet as well people with no architectural education, a statement of a need for a healthy condition for everyone is made. "No matter of the budget, the new strategies for design should be accessible for everyone." The statement contradicts engineers' approach that rarely spoke of prevailing housing upgrades, nor the new builds. They were providing with conflicting messages not aligned with the Housewives' Association paradigms. Occurrence of opposing statements made by experts were not unusual in the articles. Their advice was based on their professional knowledge, exclusive for their field of expertise, with a tendency to overlook the reality of reproductive work. Architects' input was to some extent supportive and helpful for housewives. They were providing with advice to mostly new developments with respective guidance in prevailing houses. However, as in the article "We Should Design Rational Apartment Flats", the discussed points hand out explicit advice on design solutions, as well as directly encourages collaboration of housewives and designers. The many experts' perspectives differ. Separately, the might had provided with constructive advice. However, collectively they produced unstable guidance full of paradoxes. The architects responsible for the articles were rather informative and educative for all the housewives, yet despite of the housewives demands, they were not always considered.

### **Chapter 3** *Functionality of housing in the 1930*

Czarnecki couple ambition was to popularise modernist functionality in Polish architecture.<sup>63</sup> They have been acknowledged for their work during the interwar period and post-World War II period in Poznan, such as the number of recreational parks, projects of rebuilding and reconstruction after the war and the Raczyński Library.<sup>64</sup> The following chapter analyses projects of architects couple, Janina and Władysław Czarnecki to

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<sup>62</sup> „Dom Osiedle Mieszkanie” Translated by the author.

<sup>63</sup> Kubiak, *Modernizm Zapoznany: Architektura Poznania 1919-1939*, 239.

<sup>64</sup> „Wydarzenie - Dom. Miasto Ogród. Twórczość Janiny i Władysława Czarneckich” Brama Poznania ICHOT, accessed March 3, 2023, <https://bramapoznania.pl/wydarzenie/52/dom-miasto-ogrod-tworczosc-janiny-i-wladyslawa-czarneckich>

investigate closer the application of modernism framework in housing built in the 1930 in Poznań. In that time, it was not unusual for women to pursue their careers in the collaboration with their husbands. Czarnecki's architectural activity is well preserved and acknowledged. However, in case of Janina Czarnecka there is little to no information about her work. Therefore, her exact activities in the Housewives' Association are briefly known. As an architect and a housewife, she wrote an article for *Dziennik Poznański* [Poznań's Daily News] in which she aimed to popularise modernist agenda referencing Le Corbusier. Czarnecka states that any element of the design is not only of aesthetic value but shall be a contributing solution increasing functionality. She articulates that "A practical, minimalistic design has a great chance to be aesthetically pleasing."<sup>65</sup>

During the interwar period, Czarnecka designed several projects, including private housing and villas, whilst reconciling her architectural career with domestic labour. Raczynskich Library's Archive preserved the letters written by Janina for Władysław. In letters written between the 22 and 28 of February 1940, she expressed her longlines for her husband. However, she says she will be strong as she was taking care of three of their children. The plan of her day, which she vaguely described, included cooking meals throughout the day with the help of the daughter Marysia, while two of their sons were learning Latin.<sup>66</sup> Czarnecki family belonged to "Inteligencja" [Intellectual Class], which was far more open for the education of women. Nevertheless, domestic labour was still the domain of women and seemingly, their schedule had to adapt to it, at the cost of their education and career.

The insufficiency of Czarnecka's recognition was noticed in organised in 2019 exhibition of Czarnecki's couple architectural activity. The rich list of Władysław Czarnecki's works raised suspection amongst organizers. No evidence is provided; however, many opinions are made on the matter that plenty of "his" projects might have been co-designed by Czarnecka and only were signed by him.<sup>67</sup> This opinion is shared by professors of Architecture at the Technical University of Poznań Hanna Grzeszczuk-Brendel and Grażyna Kodym-Kozaczko who state that "He assigned to many of his projects to himself. (...) Janina's ideas are very visibly more innovative, fresher. It was usual for women in the interwar period to stay in the shadow of their husbands."<sup>68</sup> According to an

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<sup>65</sup> Kubiak, *Modernizm Zapoznany: Architektura Poznania 1919-1939*, 239.

<sup>66</sup> Letters of Janina Czarnecka to Władysław Czarnecki, 22 February, 1940, 2613/17, Archive of Biblioteka Raczynskich [Raczynskich Library Archive]

Letters of Janina Czarnecka to Władysław Czarnecki, 28 February, 1940, 2613/19, Archiwum Biblioteki Raczynskich [Raczynskich Library Archive]

<sup>67</sup> Wojciech Hildebrandt, „Władysław Czarnecki zrobiony w jelenia”, *Wielkopolska Kultura u Podstaw* [Basics of Greater Poland's Culture], accessed 15 March, 2023

<https://kulturaupodstaw.pl/wladyslaw-czarnecki-zrobiony-w-jelenia-wojciech-hildebrandt/>

<sup>68</sup> Hanna Grzeszczuk-Brendel and Grażyna Kodym-Kozaczko, „Urbanista z Przypadku” [City Planner by a Chance], interview by Jakub Głaz, *Poznań.pl*, December 18, 2015, transcript.

art historian at Adam Mickiewicz University, Szymon Piotr Kubiak, Janina Czarnecka was paying explicit attention to designed interiors.<sup>69</sup> Significant amount of her works are villas, including designed collaboratively with her husband, their own house.

### *Szelągowska Avenue House in Poznań, 1930*

Located by the river Warta in Poznań, Poland. Most of the Czarnecki couple projects were designed according to modernist fundamentals plan- and form-wise. The exterior of the house by Szelągowska Avenue was restricted by the local regulations which required a slate roof and followed the strict, simple forms of surrounding buildings. The expanse of the house is 170m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>70</sup> In the reality of most people living in small, overcrowded apartments the house can be considered luxurious, especially as the Czarnecki family belonged to the upper class. Nevertheless, as a new development, it can be analysed in terms of considerations of the functionality as well as a co-design by an architect that is also a housewife.

The plans were designed by Władysław Czarnecki. (Figure 7) Semi-basement locates boiler room, laundry room, storage as well as two-room space for the house warden. Several solutions facilitating housekeeping were applied, such as a kitchen with direct access to the pantry, room for drying in the attic and a room for housekeepers. The ground floor includes two bedrooms for the Czarnecki family, one master bedroom and another one for children. Attic allocates four-room sublet apartment.<sup>71</sup>

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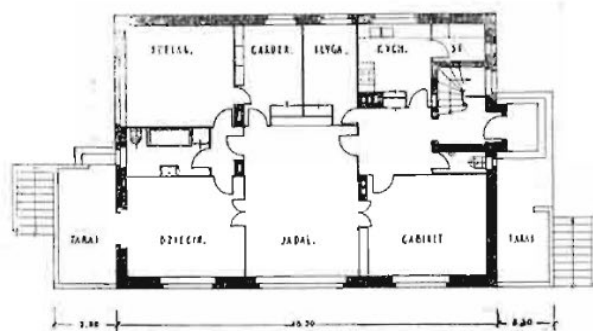
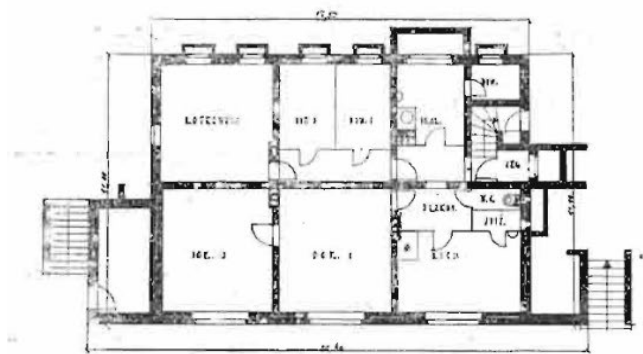
<https://www.poznan.pl/mim/bm/news/wydarzenia-poznanskie,c10/urbanista-z-przypadku,89236.html>

<sup>69</sup> Kubiak, *Modernizm Zapoznany: Architektura Poznania 1919-1939*, 238.

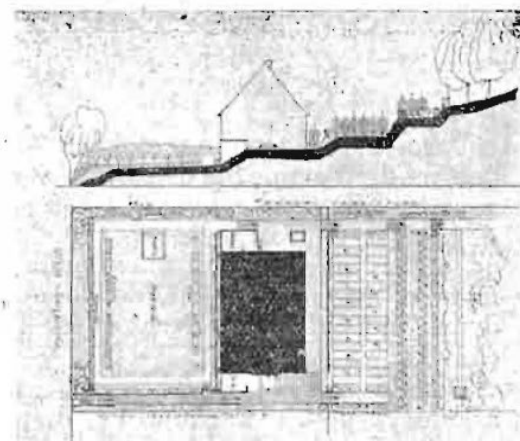
<sup>70</sup> Janina Czarnecka and Władysław Czarnecki „Dom mieszkalny przy Alei Szelągowskiej w Poznaniu” *Dom, Osiedle, Mieszkanie*, no. 9 (September 1931): 17-18

Kubiak, *Modernizm Zapoznany: Architektura Poznania 1919-1939*, 239.

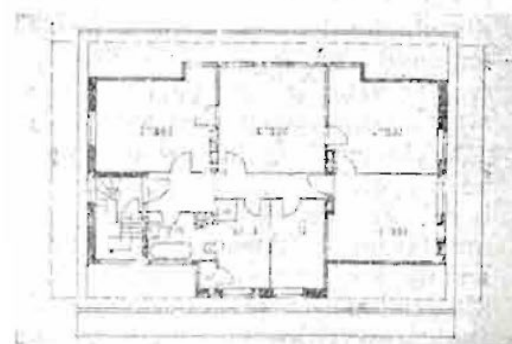
<sup>71</sup> Czarnecka and Czarnecki „Dom mieszkalny przy Alei Szelągowskiej w Poznaniu”, 17-18.



rys. 446 inż. arch. Wł. Czarnecki  
rzut piętra i parteru.



rys. 447 inż. arch. Wł. Czarnecki, plan sytuacyjny



rys. 448. arch. Wł. Czarnecki, rzut poddasza

**Figure 7.:** Plans and Section of the Szelągowska Avenue House. Source: *Dom, Osiedle, Mieszkanie*.<sup>72</sup>

Interiors as well as the construction were fully designed by Janina Czarnecka.<sup>73</sup> She prioritised functionality in every detail. Therefore, decided on frame structure for the flexibility of the floor plan, with partition walls allowing for effortless changes. Use of a frame structure became often used by architects back then, to provide room for dynamic and personalised modifications.<sup>74</sup> Czarnecka also decided on simple furniture with little to no ornaments to maximise the functionality of every detail and plenty of storage spaces, including the walls having storage pits (figures 8-11).<sup>75</sup>

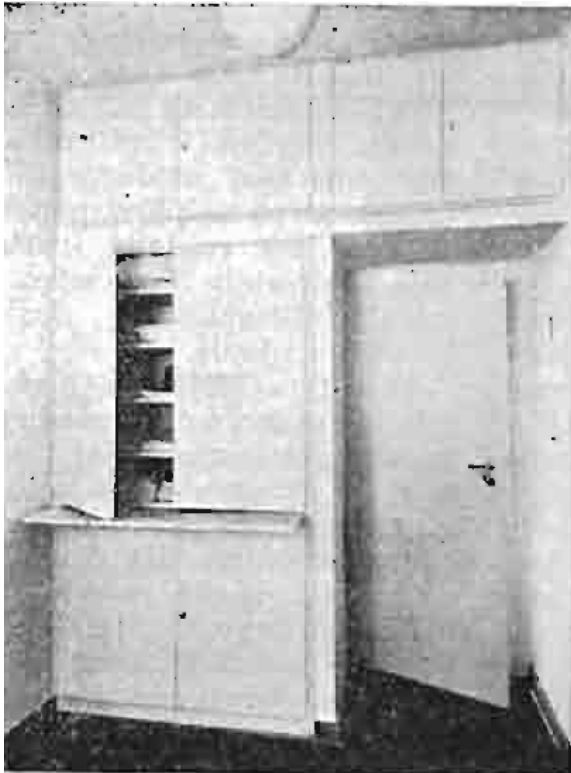
<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 19.

Kubiak, *Modernizm Zapoznany: Architektura Poznań 1919-1939*, 239.

<sup>74</sup> Bartnicka, "Forgotten rules, distorted ideas. The remaining legacy of the innovative late 1920s and early 1930s": 44. Izabela Wiśłocka, *Awangardowa Architektura Polska 1918-1939* [Avant-garde Polish Architecture 1918-1939] (Arkady, 1960): 145.

<sup>75</sup> Grzeszczuk-Brendel „Architektura Powszechnej Wystawy Krajowej (1929) a architektura lat 30-tych w Poznaniu”, 122.



**Figure 8.:** Wardrobe designed by Janina Czarnecka. <sup>76</sup>

Source: *Dom, Osiedle, Mieszkanie*



**Figure 9.:** Kitchen designed by Janina Czarnecka. <sup>77</sup>

Source: *Dom, Osiedle, Mieszkanie*

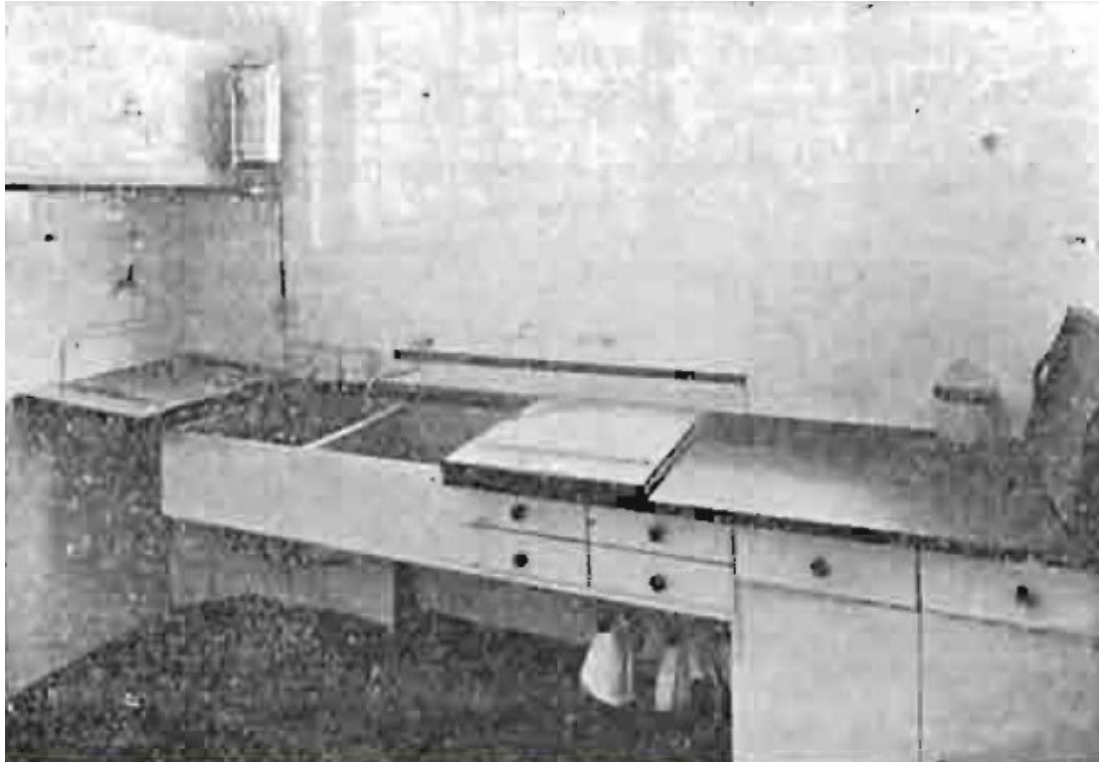


**Figure 10.:** Office designed by Janina Czarnecka. Source: *Dom, Osiedle, Mieszkanie*.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Czarnecka and Czarnecki „Dom mieszkalny przy Alei Szelągowskiej w Poznaniu”, 19.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. 19.



**Figure 11.:** Kitchen designed by Janina Czarnecka. Source: *Dom, Osiedle, Mieszkanie* <sup>79</sup>

Szelagowska Avenue House's design faithfully reflects the architectural and scientific management principles present in the *Household Management* articles. As a new project, the adaptability and functionality were considered from construction design, through planning, to details such as minimalistic finishings and storage in the walls. The collaboration of the couple resulted in a design mirroring the principles of modernist architecture and was true to aiming for quality design that eventually, could improve management of the house and domestic labour.

#### *House of Czapczyński and house of Ulmański in Poznań, 1930.* <sup>80</sup>

House of Czapczyński and House of Ulmański were built on the terrains owned by the *Collective of Intellectual Workers*.<sup>81</sup> The neighbourhood accommodated modern villas. Highly influenced by the modernism, the houses were pioneering in the shaping of new trends in 1930s Poznań. Two of them were designed by Władysław Czarnecki. Houses' design implements several strategies of functional design taught in the

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>80</sup> "Domy dyr. Czapczyńskiego i p. Ulmańskiego w Poznaniu" Translated by the author.

<sup>81</sup> „Spółdzielnia Pracowników Umysłowych” Translated by the author.



articles. With the development of the neighbourhood, newly emerged villas were mimicking those designed by Czarnecki.<sup>82</sup> Kubiak states that Janina Czarnecka specialized in villa design and even describes emerging in the neighbourhood villas as the couple's co-design.<sup>83</sup> Nevertheless, publications in which houses are mentioned; Kubiak's book *Modernizm Zapoznany: Architektura Poznania 1919-1939* (2014) [Acquainted with Modernism: Architecture of Poznan 1919-1939] and journal *Architektura i Budownictwo* (1932) [Architecture and Engineering] do not mention Czarnecki's wife input into the design and these two specific houses credits him only.

Both houses were of similar layout. Each in its floorplan includes a kitchen with a pantry, a laundry room, a drying room, a three-room basement and additional rooms for the housekeeping staff and a warden's room in a semi-basement. Three-storey Czapczyński's House had an area of 172m<sup>2</sup>. The ground floor has two East-oriented bedrooms and a bathroom with a window. The upper floors allocated additional flats for sublets. Ulmański's House, of a slightly smaller area, 165m<sup>2</sup>, allocated similar rooms, with the difference of kitchen being directly connected to a dining room.<sup>84</sup> There are no preserved photographs of the interiors, therefore comparison of details designed in other projects by Czarnecka cannot be done. However, as it was suspected she was often cooperating with her husband, it is not impossible that she influenced the layout, so the kitchen directly connects the dining room in the Ulmański's House. Similarly, as Szumlakowska acclaims such a connection in the Sunny House, crediting the "housewife experience" of the woman architect for this aspect.

The two villas were designed on principles of the functionality discussed in the articles "We Should Design Rational Apartment Flats" and "Sunny House". Not only bedrooms are provided with Eastern sunlight, but bathrooms also had natural light access, which was not usual in planning at that time. Additionally, recreational outdoor spaces, such as terraces, are likewise oriented towards the East. Houses provide conveniently allocated pantries, as well as provide with plenty of storage and house maintenance rooms, such as a laundry room.

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<sup>82</sup> Kubiak, *Modernizm Zapoznany: Architektura Poznania 1919-1939*, 235.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 234.

<sup>84</sup> „Domy dyr. Czapczyńskiego i p. Ulmańskiego w Poznaniu” *Architektura i Budownictwo*, no.1 (1932): 17.  
Kubiak, *Modernizm Zapoznany: Architektura Poznania 1919-1939*, 235.



Fot. R. S. Ulatowski, Poznań.

### Domy dyr. Czapczyńskiego i p. Ulmańskiego w Poznaniu.

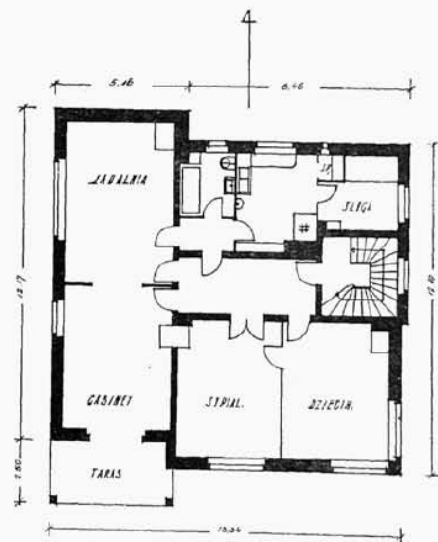
Dwa domy mieszkalne, wybudowane w r. 1930 na terenach Spółdzielni Pracowników Umysłowych w Poznaniu, zawierają w suterrenach: mieszkanie stróża (pokój z kuchnią, spiżarnią, ustępem i przedpok.), pralnię, 3 piwnice; w parterze i na I piętrze: mieszkanie 4 pok. z kuchnią, spiżarnią, łazienką i pokojem dla służby i tarasem; na II piętrze: mieszkanie 2 pok. z przynależnościami jak poprzednio i górkę do suszenia bielizny.

Wykonanie: ściany murowane, stropy dźwigarowo-żelbetowe, dach pokryty kizolinem, podłogi w pokojach parkietowe, w kuchniach i łazienkach terazzo, ściany malowane klejowo, aparaty gazowe, zmywalnie, schody dębowe, oświetlenie i dzwonki elektryczne.

Zestawienie	Dom dyr. Czapczyńskiego	Dom p. Ulmańskiego
Powierzchnia zabudowana . . . . .	172 m <sup>2</sup>	165 m <sup>2</sup>
Powierzchnia użytkowa (mieszkanie) . .	130 „	124 „
Pow. klatki schodowej . . . . .	9.75 „	9.75 „
4 pokoje <sup>1/10</sup> pow. użyt. . . . .	70 <sup>1/10</sup> „	70.5 <sup>1/10</sup> „
Kuchnia <sup>1/10</sup> „ „ . . . . .	9 <sup>1/10</sup> „	8.3 <sup>1/10</sup> „
Ubikacje pomocnicze . . . . .	21 <sup>1/10</sup> „	21.2 <sup>1/10</sup> „
Objętość zabudow. . . . .	1.970 m <sup>3</sup>	1.875 m <sup>3</sup>
Koszt budowy . . . . .	80,000 zł.	80,000 zł.
Koszt 1 m <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	40,60 zł.	42,50 zł.

Oprocentowanie kapitału na 7<sup>1/10</sup> rocznie = 5,600 zł  
 Czynsz roczny za mieszkania = 7,200 zł.  
 Dochód roczny właściciela = 1.600 zł.

### Prace malarskie wyk. f. „J. Wrembel” (Poznań).

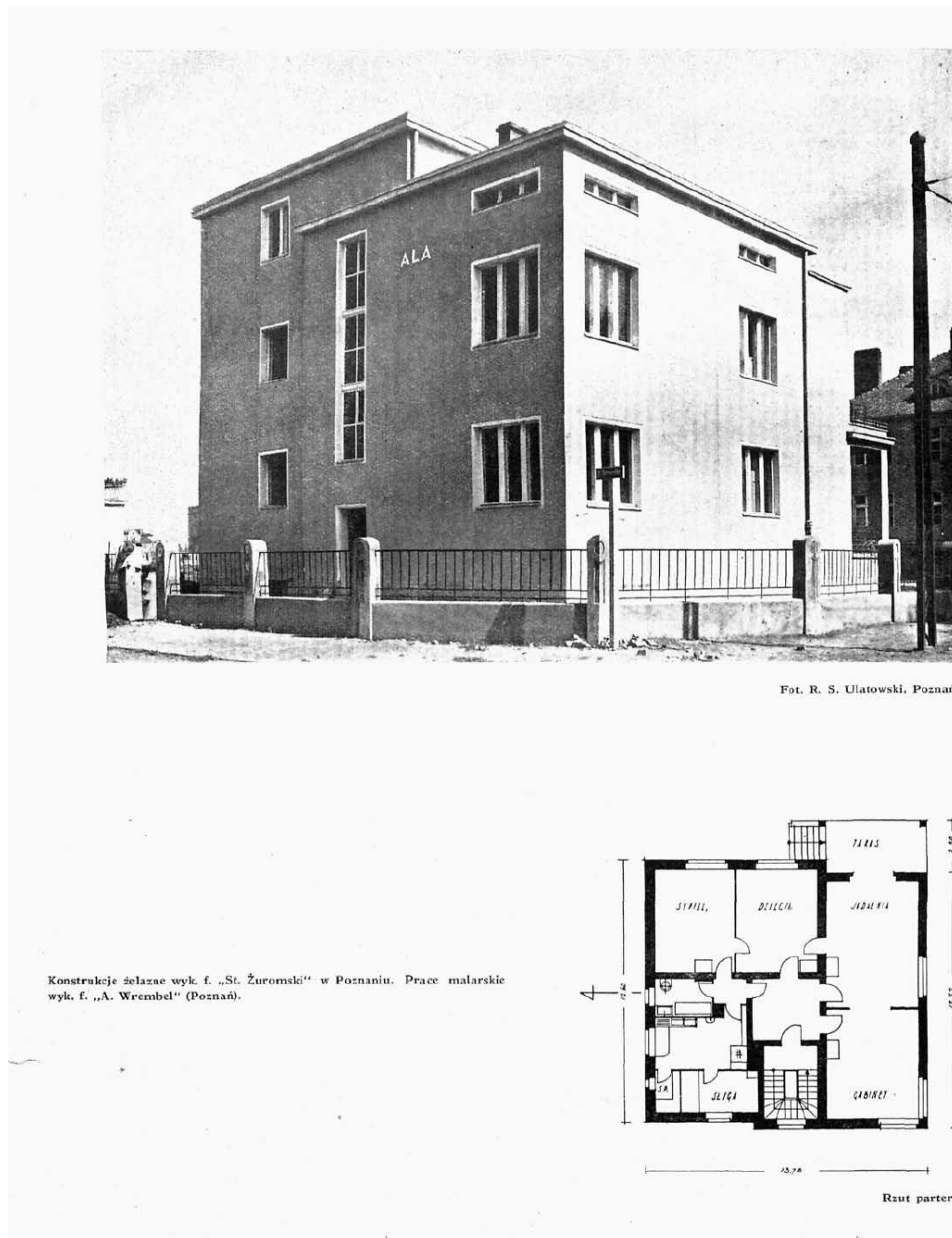


Rzut piętra.

Arch. Władysław Czarnecki (Poznań). Dom p. Ulmańskiego (Spółdz. Prac. Umysł. B. G. Kr.).

Figure 12.: Ulmanski's House. Source: *Architektura i Budownictwo*.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>85</sup> „Domy dyr. Czapczyńskiego i p. Ulmańskiego w Poznaniu” *Architektura i Budownictwo*, no.1 (1932): 17.



**Figure 13.:** Czapczynski's House. Source: *Architektura i Budownictwo*.<sup>86</sup>

The three houses designed by Czarnecki Couple were envisioned for high classes, which is indicated by location, size as well as housekeeping staff rooms. They give an insight into the application of functional solutions which were highly demanded and required for quality housing design. They are relevant to the topics covered in the *Household Management* magazine. What is more, they prove architects' consideration of the housewives demands. Nevertheless, they are applied in the higher-class housing for which, buying a modern, designed by architects' house was feasible, compared to middle

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. 18.

and lower classes. Janina Czarnecka as an architect but also a housewife was using her experience and knowledge, desired by housewives' improvement of the new houses. In the "Philosophy of Scientific Management Applied in the Households" article Biedrzycki stated that without well-planned ahead space a housewife cannot manage the house efficiently. Władysław Czarnecki held onto the modernist influences as well as domestic workers' postulates to achieve flexibility and maximize the effective use of spaces by considerate layout.

## **Conclusion**

Domestic labour has been involuntarily chained to women's lives. The reproductive work's impact on economy and social capacities, such as birthing and raising children, maintaining households and communities, resulted in a number of attempts of its improvement, which often was equal to exploitation. The significance of reproductive work is reflected in number of institutions and input of experts who by sharing their knowledge, aimed to maximize the efficiency of households' management. That indeed substantiate home being a fundamental factor in shaping society, therefore dependant on women managing them. The process of housewifisation was starting on early stages of women's lives. Since childhood, they were prepared for taking over a role of a housewife and thus accompanied them throughout the rest of their lives. Global propaganda to keep them in the kitchen was supported by voices claiming that reproductive work was a "mission" and "obligation" to a "natural and maternal instincts" of women and perceived as inferior to productive labour of men. Management of a household was not left for the situated knowledge of women alone. Said "instincts" were not trusted and many experts seemed housework as an enterprise, rather than management of a household based on individual needs of the family. Engineers, doctors, architects, all were sharing their knowledge with housewives in order to "enrich" their experience and maximize efficiency in households. They were claiming their truths and advice, which were often exclusive to their expert knowledge, with no understanding of reality behind being a housewife and in result, were creating paradoxical messages.

In Poland, established by Scientific Management Institute and Housewives' Association women-oriented press was educating women in home economics. Articles, provided with housewife-to-housewife advice with occasional input of experts. They aimed to teach women necessities from the fields of scientific management, engineering, and architecture. Dwellings were common ground amongst architects and housewives as their activities resolved directly around houses. Many

experts claimed that without well-planned ahead space, a house cannot be truly functional. Both housewives and architects were raising their concerns about state of existing housing. However, even new developments were not fulfilling to ideas of functionality. In collaboration with Architects' Association, housewives were attempting to influence changes that would improve every day and long-term housekeeping. Nevertheless, housewives were barely given advice how to improve functionality of their current houses – most of advice regarded future projects, yet still the expectations were not always met. Several architects in the 30s' in Poland were indeed applying solutions in their designs that aligned with notions of functionality. Married architects couple, Janina and Władysław Czarnecki advocated for functional and adaptable spaces, being themselves highly influenced by western modernism and Le Corbusier's criteria of functionality. They tried to popularize it in the contemporary housing. Janina Czarnecka, as a housewife and member of Housewives' Association, in her designs was paying attention to the low-maintenance details, minimalism and flexibility. As a modernist architect and a housewife, she noticed that precise and functional detail being helpful in household management. Similarly, her husband Władysław mindfully kept plans functional. The couple strongly advocated for practical design.

Certain contemporary designs were true to the Housewives' Association paradigms. Nonetheless, modernism was rather "indoctrinating" housewives with its ideology, rather than being considerate of their actual issues. Paradigms of modernism were a tool that was indeed improving housing efficiency, but it was rarely applied in prevailing housing. Functional design, even though being crucial in efficient housing management, was "imposed" on the housewives and their domestic labour.

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