Bunnies in Glass Houses

Male-Centric Domestic Fantasies
of the Interior that Emerged in Post-WWII U.S.A

AD692

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[1234]Original collage by the author, illustrating the absurd nature of Playboys amalgamation of sex and culture within the same publication.

[1] https://2.bp.blogspot.com/-8GfOXKhoB9E/Vh55ZmgLmMI/AAAAAAAABog/p_4rsS7JzL8/s1600/5558909511_781c9f6bfe_b%2B%25281%2529.jpg
[2]https://dyn1.heritagestatic.com/lf?set=path%5B5%2F4%2F5%2F8%2F5458883%5D&call=url%5Bfile%3Aproduct.chain%5D
[3] https://www.vargaspinupart.com/gallery
[4] https://i.pinimg.com/236x/25/4e/42/254e4299587f906fddfdaf0322997887--gun-rooms-vargas-girls.jpg

I hereby declare that,

I have consulted, and understand, the information provided in the University of Brighton's Plagiarism Awareness Pack and the information on academic standards and conventions for referencing given in the module directive.

I know that plagiarism means passing off someone else's writings or ideas as if they were my own, whether deliberately or inadvertently. I understand that doing so constitutes academic misconduct and may lead to exclusion from the University.

I have therefore taken every care in the work submitted here to accurately reference all writings and ideas that are not my own, whether from printed, online, or other sources.

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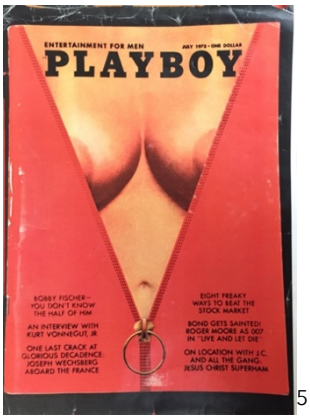
Foreword from the Author

My interest in Post-War Domestic Fantasy started with a design project. Initially focused on the scopophilic nature of Porn magazines, I was on the lookout for nude 'bunnies' to collage. My search for the vintage article began and ended in 'Snoopers paradise', a Brighton flea market. Here I foraged through a dozen or so cellophane wrapped Playboys, unable to ascertain their contents but assuming they were all relatively repetitive. Upon returning home I unsheathed my purchase and began flicking through the pages, scissors in hand. I was stunned, at not only the lack of nude female bodies, but the quality of literature and stature of the contributing designers, authors and architects whose work was published within its pages. I began to wonder, if Playboy wasn't exclusively selling sex, what was it offering its male consumers? This took me down a rabbit-hole of Eames sans Ray, rotating beds, Mies Van der rohe, 007, glass bathrooms, bars hidden in nightstands, and ultimately led me to the 'Bachelor Pad'. I started to realise that Hugh Hefner was selling a domestic fantasy, but not in a white picket fence, wife and 2.5 kids' kind of way. He wanted the man to obtain his own interior space, a version of domesticity which involved a single male 'free' from the plural of a monogamous marriage and multiple offspring. My interest was piqued further, how was this fantasy of a masculine interior and domesticity sold to the American public? A place where male heterosexuality was, and in many ways still is, heavily ingrained in breadwinning and outdoor (exterior) pursuits.



[5]

[5] Authors own copy of Playboy 1972, bought for design project

Abstract

This paper aims to understand how male-centric fantasy fuels the emergence of domestic spaces through examination of the post-WWII era in the United States. This is done with a particular consideration to the relationship between interior and exterior practices; and in many instances challenges the existence of a structural interior at all. Accounts from, but not limited to, Sigmund Freud, Walter Benjamin, Charles Rice, Doreen Massey, and Beatriz Colomina, will help both frame fantasy within the interior and further view it through the lens of psychoanalysis. Case studies used to explore notions of fantasy have been chosen for the dichotomies between them; this allows a thorough evaluation of their shared characteristics, and differences.

Introduction

How fantasy manifests itself into a tangible entity has been an ongoing argument amongst academics, from a plethora of different fields, for a number of years. Fantasy in the context of architectural theory holds less currency than terms such as Utopianism and Idealism. And yet, it is fantasy that, via our psyche, fuels both construction and collection within domesticity. Space, in particular the interior, is an agent of fantasy. It gives the fantasiser the ability to collect and curate objects from the exterior world, whilst still protecting them from rejected realities which threaten the fantasy.

Post WWII saw the emergence of disparate spatial fantasies, all of which nonetheless utilised the interior. Two of the latter case studies in this paper directly resulted from the existence of the same fantasy; suburbia and the coveted 'nuclear family'. This first chapter will therefore begin to dissect what the Suburban fantasy consisted of and question why it was the catalyst for further fantasies of projected and secret domesticity. In doing so, it will focus on the division of gender and space in relation to the exterior and the interior.

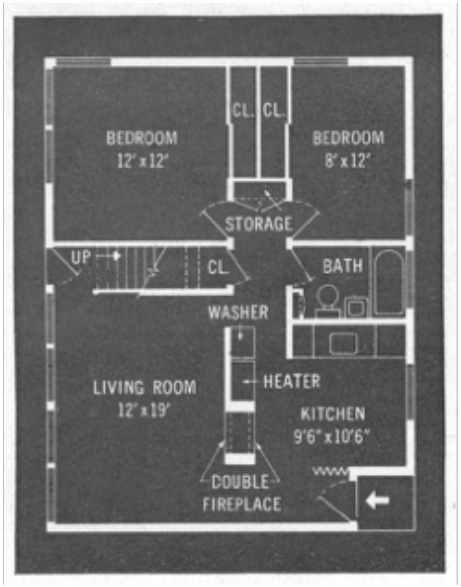
The paper will then continue by illustrating Playboy as an integral part of domestic fantasy in the post-war era. Its creator Hugh Hefner ushered men from their exterior practices, and into a male-centric version of the interior—a place where ego took precedent and the notion of a nuclear family was rejected. This led to the conception of the fantasy character 'the bachelor'. Playboy became an editorial band aid for men wounded by the emergence of industrialism. It protected them through fictionalised imaginings of identity, interior, ownership, and reality.

Where Playboy's fantasy rejected the realities of common-place domesticity and notions of family, architect Philip Johnson aimed to utilise it as a tool for disguising reality in his New Canaan estate. This case study aims to illustrate how the theory of fantasy can be applied to other identifiable forms of post-WWII domesticity, particularly in the context of an individual rather than a collective group. New Canaan is particularly telling of the duality of the interior and exterior, working together to both facilitate fantasy and disguise reality.

Suburban Fantasy: The Nuclear Family

Chapter I

There is a common misconception that 'home' and 'house' are inextricably linked, and it is often difficult to distinguish between the two. Both, however, evoke separate emotional and social responses in relation to domesticity and the interior. Doreen Massey discusses the term 'home' as both a desire for communal identification, and as something which inevitably excludes individual experiences of the space through the amalgamation of voices into 'we-ness'[6]. Home is something that extends beyond structure and space, and is more fittingly defined by individual choice rather than reality. House, on the other hand, is more indicative of a tangible space where one resides, as a group or as an individual. In the case of suburbia, it was the house that became physically symbolic of the post WWII suburban fantasy. The spatial practices, or programme, of the house, are what saw the division between genders broaden, especially in relation to the designation of public and private spaces amongst male and female.



[7] A couple fantisise about living in suburbia, the structure of a house was the reigning symbol at the heart of suburban lust. [8] Original floorplan of the modular Levittown home.

Even from a contemporary perspective, the concept of the 'home' arouses visions of the nuclear family of a married hetero couple and their 2 children living within a suburban landscape. Suburbia

[6]Alan Read. *Architecturally Speaking: Practices of Art, Architecture and the Everyday*. London: Routledge, 2000. http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=72187&site=ehost-live&scope=site.
[7] https://cdn.kastatic.org/ka-perseus-images/6a0d41ae7097f0ae8339073063c4ae87cf6f33e2.jpg
[8] https://i.pinimg.com/originals/be/69/7e/be697e71156452af616a32dae71f8638.jpg

was a targeted social response to an increase in population, lack of adequate housing, and a universal yearning amongst white, middle-class American families for a 'home'. This collective cry was heard, and capitalised upon, by construction companies such as Levittown and Son. In 1947 they purchased seven square miles of land in Long Island, previously used for agricultural purposes.[9] Settlements were soon being established outside city limits, the construction of which adopted the feverish industrial techniques Levittown had used during the war. Over the course of four years, Levitt and sons had succeeded in constructing the bulk of residences[10], the method of which was centred around mass-production with Levittown quoted as stating— "*We are not builders…we are manufacturers".*[11] Initially the conurbation was made up of cookie-cutter houses, with minute variations to colour and roofline but maintaining an unwavering uniformity. Over the course of a decade Levittown had amassed over 82,000 residents.[12] By the late 1950s the modular houses in Levittown had extended to six variations, a noticeable migration from the original structure. As they appear in a 1957 Levittown promotional booklet these models were called; *The Levittowner, The Rancher, The Jubilee, The Country Clubber, The Pennsylvanian, and The Colonial.*[13] The variation in spatial offerings of these newer models no doubt created a 'hermit crab' effect, with original members of Levittown and their growing families graduating to the larger models, and newly arrived residents scuttling in and occupying the leftover 'shell'. For the majority of individuals chasing the 'American dream', established communities like Levittown offered spatial freedom to play out their domestic fantasies—almost a form of luxury in comparison to the oppressive city landscape. Homeownership, something that was unobtainable for the majority, was now available to a broader spectrum of people.

[14] Nuclear family look towards their newly purchased suburban home, 1956.

[9] https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/apr/28/levittown-america-prototypical-suburb-history-cities
[10] https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/apr/28/levittown-america-prototypical-suburb-history-cities
[11] https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/apr/28/levittown-america-prototypical-suburb-history-cities
[12] https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/us-history/postwarera/postwar-era/a/the-growth-of-suburbia
[13] http://www.levittowners.com/houses.htm
[14] https://cdn.vox-cdn.com/thumbor/hlTDwtpIAFLAzAGLz2VfyuBnYBc=/0x0:3582x2811/920x613/filters:focal(1505x1120:2077x1692)/cdn.vox-cdn.com/uploads/chorus_image/image/59337775/GettyImages_3205122.0.jpg

[15] Xenophobic sign at a defence workers' housing project in Detroit, 1942. Levitt and Sons built housing for defence workers during the war and continued discriminating against minorities in their post-war suburbs. [16] Aerial view of Levittown showing the tracts of suburbia.

This domestic fantasy was rooted in a postwar ideology for a return to family values, obtaining a sense of community, and as Massey states— 'we-ness'. The en-masse departure from the public sphere (urban landscape), gave suburbanites a newfound social identity as private landowners.[17] Public, is very much an indicative term of the exterior, and in this temporal context is designated as male space; whilst the interior is embedded in the private, almost reproductive aspects of the family—female. Although the suburban fantasy was largely focused on cleansing domestic life of the supposed squalidness of the exterior, it was also, as stated above, a way of satisfying the contradictory desire for both a private interior and a sense of belonging to a community that extended beyond the nuclear family. Architecturally, this was achieved through design elements which added a sense of spatial ambiguity. The glass sliding door became a staple in all home magazines in the post-war era—advertised as a means of aesthetically diffusing the structural barriers between 'in' and 'out' and fostering a continuity of the interior and exterior realms. In a 1951 edition of *'The American House Today'* Katherine Morrow Ford and Thomas H. Creighton stated that "the most noticeable innovation in domestic architecture in the past decade or two has been the increasingly close relationship of indoors to outdoors".[18] This act of curating the exterior for the interior can be seen in almost every other form of domestic fantasy in the era proceeding WWII. It is, in this case, an exclusionary practice which 'delegates' 'non-desirables'; ethnic minorities, LGBTQIA+, older persons, and unmarried couples to live apart from suburbia—in the cities.

[15] https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/us-history/postwarera/postwar-era/a/the-dark-side-of-suburbia
[16] https://cdn.kastatic.org/ka-perseus-images/77038828ec023ed1d73f0f50d8c63406b78f95e2.jpg
[17] Spiegal, Lynn *Sexuality and Space* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 186.
[18] Spiegal, Lynn *Sexuality and Space* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 187.

Prospective suburbanites gaze out from the interior onto the sterile terrain.

The sliding glass doors act as a portal into the exterior of suburbia. In this instance it looks out to an unfinished house; which alludes to the fantasy of being part of/helping to build a new and wider homogeneous community.

Other white, middle class prospective home-owners fantasise about suburban life from the outside, looking in. One might start to imagine the two couples building a relationship through neighbourliness.

19 Promotion for thermopane glass & Levittown 1957

The American suburban fantasy did not rely solely on the house to sell notions of the home; it was assisted by the arrival of television into the domestic setting. Television had the unique ability to integrate public and private spaces; pass-times which involved leaving the interior, such as spectator sports, were soon available to view from what programmer Thomas H. Hutchinson exclaimed was '…your window on the world'.[20] The presence of TV in domestic spaces increased by 81% over the course of a decade.[21]Sit-coms, projecting idealised notions of neighborliness into homes served as an impetus for middle-class families who were considering a departure from the city. Once in suburbia the TV acted both as an antiseptic space, a tool for exploring beyond the community whilst remaining untouched by social contaminants, and something which maintained social purity by insulating children from the 'dangers' that the public realm posed. The television, in many ways, protected the fantasy, but it also threatened to disrupt other agents of suburban bliss—such as the practice of gendered spaces. Women, many of whom had retreated to the docile streets of suburbia, had, during the war, worked in the place of men. Partaking in practices of the exterior which had previously been deemed inappropriate for the 'lesser' gender; work which required a temporary departure from the interior, to the exterior, and back again—the commute. In fact, in Levittown (the aforementioned settlement) a man's only spatial respite was the commute into work, a journey which saw 80% of them leaving the extremities of suburbia for the city[22].

19 https://photos.smugmug.com/1957-Rescan/i-Cj4kt3H/0/36bb2a0d/L/img001%20%2856%29-L.jpg
20 Spiegal, Lynn *Sexuality and Space* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 188.
21 Spiegal, Lynn *Sexuality and Space* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 188.
22 https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/apr/28/levittown-america-prototypical-suburb-history-cities

Postwar intellectual Joshua Meyrowitz theorised that it was televisions arrival into the home that allowed women to "observe and experience the larger world, including all male interactions and behaviors" and further that it resulted in "…the perception that women have of the public male world and the place, or lack of place, they have in it"[23]. Whilst Meyrowitz's theories of gendered space are noteworthy, there is an uninformed belief here that exterior space is purely mono-gendered. Public space is more likely informed by sexual difference, and space is allocated according to volume of one gender over the other, and the general consensus doesn't differ here—it was men who dominated the exterior.

Many viewed the connection between female liberation and the advancement of technology as a means for both emasculating men and controlling them within the private sphere of the home—an act which would severely wound suburbic notions of fantasy. Philip Wylie espoused these telephobic and misogynistic attitudes in his 1955 edition of 'Generation of Vipers', stating "[women] will not rest until every electronic moment has been bought to sell suds…"[24] The common place sexist hierarchies had started to become inverted. This slight deviation of spatial conformity was enough for men to start to question their own identity within domesticity and the interior. As female presence in the exterior realm was increasing, men began to feel an acute pressure to reassert themselves in the interior. However, this did not evolve into an equilibrium of the indoors. Rather, the need for another form of domestication retreated from 'we-ness' in favour of egotism. This gap in the façade of suburban fantasy allowed Playboy magazine to unleash a new form of domestic fantasy onto the American male public.

"We don't mind telling you in advance – we plan on spending most of our time inside."[25]The founder of Playboy, Hugh Hefner, was explicit in the fact that his publication was unlike any for men before. It rejected the set gender standard of men pursuing the outdoors for pleasure, and instead offered something more alluring and obscure— 'The Great Indoors'.

[23] Spiegal, Lynn *Sexuality and Space* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 209.
[24] Spiegal, Lynn *Sexuality and Space* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 213.
[25] https://masculineinteriors.com/the-great-indoors-playboy-and-the-invention-of-the-bachelor-pad/

[26]In this post-war era cartoon, a man is seen returning home from home fantasising about the interior, the wife inside is seen fantasising about the outside public realm.

[26] Spiegal, Lynn *Sexuality and Space* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 210.

Playboy Fantasy: Protective Fiction

Chapter II

20th century philosopher Walter Benjamin refers to the interior as a 'retreat from an exterior world of industrialising forces.' [27] This is a very appurtenant theory to apply to Playboys manifestation of fantasy through the fictional imaginings of domesticity, and the interiors relationship to both inhabitant and the outside world. Hugh Hefner imagined the readers of his magazine to be connoisseurs of modernity—007 types who indulged in both the women and tasteful possessions which were readily available in the new consumerist world (that is, if he could differentiate between the two).[28]This narrative of what a modern man should be, singular from the world of suburbia, spurred Hefner to create an architectural and programmatic interior existence for this fictive male—the bachelor.

The concept of the bachelor has evolved over several centuries and has taken on many connotations. In the early 19th century to be called a bachelor was likely an implication of homosexuality, albeit one accepted within society, certainly in affluent circles. Over time however, the pinnacle of success remained as being borne from marriage and the resulting children. Post WWII saw a reinvention of the bachelor, not just as a term applicable to a single male, but a term which was descriptive of a desirable fantasy. At the helm of this fantasy was Playboy magazine. Published in 1953[29], it was an editorial band aid to men who were struggling to navigate the modernity of a world that had suffered considerable loss on all fronts and was now being enveloped by consumerism.

Architecture and the interior were not solely features of the magazine, but mechanisms which aided Playboy in selling sexual and architectural fantasies, which academic Beatriz Colomina argues are inextricably inseparable in this context.[30] Architectural historian Charles Rice refers to the interior as a 'conceptual apparatus',[31] contrary to its historical definition as something structural. Playboy was relentless in its obsession with the interior; she was the ultimate playmate of the

[27] Attiwell Suzie, *The Handbook of Interior Architecture and Design* (London: Bloomsbury Academic,2013) 110.
[28] https://www.manoftheworld.com/blog/2019/4/13/hefner-at-home-the-birth-of-the-modern-bachelor-pad
[29] Hines, Claire. 2018. *The Playboy and James Bond : 007, Ian Fleming, and Playboy Magazine*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000tww&AN=1737797&site=ehost-live&scope=site.
[30] Colomina, Beatriz. "Playboy, talking in bed and the secret life of architecture." W Awards, Conway Hall, London, 03/04, 2020 https://www.architectural-review.com/awards/w-awards/playboy-talking-in-bed-and-the-secret-life-of-architecture-beatriz-colomina-at-the-w-awards-2020
[31] Attiwell Suzie, *The Handbook of Interior Architecture and Design* (London: Bloomsbury Academic,2013) 111.

bachelor, who would indulge her with objects selected from the outside world. This concept of exterior curation is comparable to the approach suburbia took when navigating the contradictory need for both privatisation of the interior and calculated involvement in exterior practices. Indeed, Playboy wielded the interior as an apparatus for sustaining a fictional fantasy of a male-centric domesticity; one which would protect him from the industrialism of the new world and make him a collector within his own universe. Walter Benjamin expands on the role of the 'collector', for him the collector is the true resident and has the acute ability to curate how he wishes the world to see him through architectural space resulting in a phantasmagoria of the interior.[32]

Hugh Hefner imagined himself as both a curator of architecture and a master of the interior. Hefner's self-designated role as conductor of space came to a climax when Playboy published the architectural manifesto and renderings for the 'Penthouse Apartment' in 1956, and the further publication of the 'Playboy Townhouse' in 1962. Hefner had previously published stories about visits to a fictive Playboy apartment and photographed surrogate dwellings which adhered to the bachelor lifestyle, a practice of fantasy projection which will be explored in the latter part of this chapter. Having a viable space for the single male further cemented Playboy's counter-fantasy to suburbia that bachelorhood was a choice—and one which could be celebrated. Both apartment and townhouse interiors were filled with curated subversive domestic technologies, gadgets and architectural apparatuses to permute household work into 'play'.[33] This can be interpreted as a calculated move to spatially abolish women from the apartment and townhouse—to render them domestically 'useless' and protect the fantasy of a male-centric dwelling.

These technologically modern 'toys' aided in Playboys presentation of sex as the ultimate consumption. Freudian theory on *'phantasy'* states that it can be defined by two types: ambitious wishes (ego-preservative) and erotic wishes (libidinal).[34] Freud further theorises that fantasy is a defensive mechanism to reality in which men "cannot subsist on the scanty satisfaction which they can extort from [it]". [35] Playboy and the bachelor are an example of the dualism between these two notions of fantasy: the ambitious wishes of a single man (Hefner), resulting in the erotic wishes of many men. Furthermore, Playboy employs the interior as an abstract apparatus for creating fictitious imaginings of space as a defense mechanism against reality. Playboy proclaimed that with

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[32] Attiwell Suzie, *The Handbook of Interior Architecture and Design* (London: Bloomsbury Academic,2013) 110.

[33] Colomina, Beatriz and Brennan, Annmarie, and Kim, Jeannie. *Cold War Hothouses: Inventing Postwar Culture, from Cockpit to Playboy.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004. Page 226

[34] Ormond, James S., *Fantasy and Social Movements,* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, 44

[35] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fantasy_(psychology)

the possession of a pad, such as the Penthouse and Townhouse, multiple sexual encounters could occur within it—and freely. The irony isn't lost easily, the very additions to the house that prohibited and 'protected' the bachelor from unwanted female interaction, also facilitated him in having casual sexual encounters with women. This is best illustrated through the renderings of the Playboy townhouse 1962, designed by R. Donald Jaye and rendered by Humen Tan.[36]

The dominating design feature, and indeed the focal point of 'play' in the bedroom, is the circular bed which sits proudly in the center of the room. Although clearly space for two, a single pillow rests on the headboard which is currently contracted into a workplace with the fold down 'office'—inclusive of phone and radio. This is an indication that the bachelor is currently in 'work mode', and that maybe his 'guest of choice' was evicted from the premises a few hours ago.

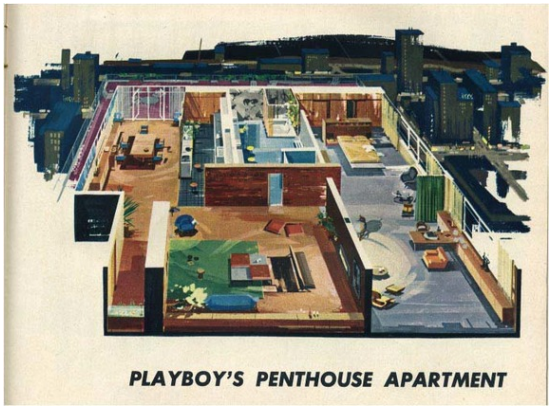
[38]Rotating bed 1962

[37]Section of the Playboy Townhouse 1962

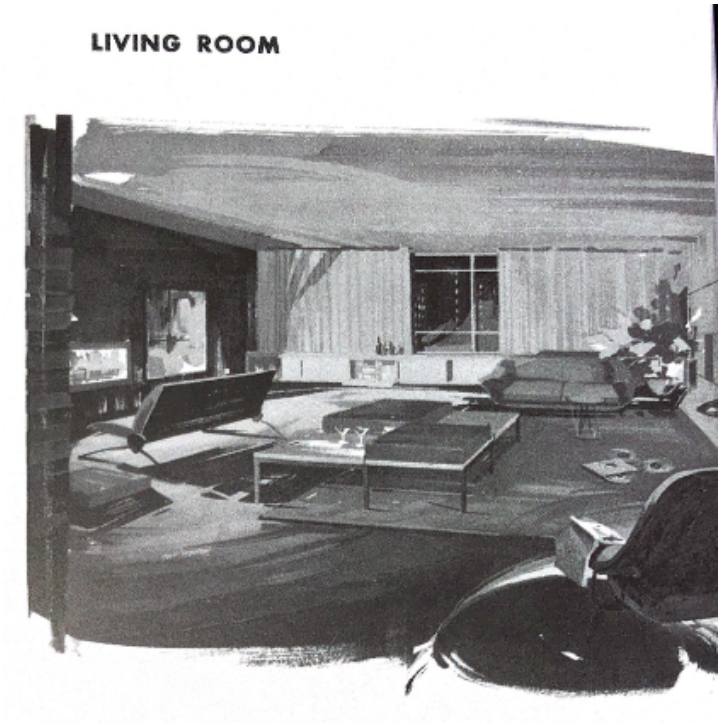
The television is suspended behind the headboard, a spatial homage to the beds mechanical ability to rotate, a feature that was patented by Playboy along with other aspects of its design.[39]

[36] https://www.manoftheworld.com/blog/2019/4/13/hefner-at-home-the-birth-of-the-modern-bachelor-pad
[37] https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/425238389816836141/
[38] https://www.manoftheworld.com/blog/2019/4/13/hefner-at-home-the-birth-of-the-modern-bachelor-pad
[39] Colomina, Beatriz and Brennan, Annmarie, and Kim, Jeannie. *Cold War Hothouses: Inventing Postwar Culture, from Cockpit to Playboy.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004. Page 238

The bedframe also contains a night table with a hidden bar, another nod towards the multidimensional abilities of the bed—the same bed that, since it's conception, Hefner himself has worked and 'played' from, a direct response perhaps to his suspected agoraphobia which was whispered about for decades. Miller describes Hefner [in relation to the bed] as "…*pampered and cocooned in his citadel of sensualism*."[40]



[41] Perspective floorplan 1956



[42] Playboy penthouse living room

When reviewing the renderings for the Penthouse 1956 (Chrysalis architects),[43] the living room displays an impressive array of ergonomic excellency in the way of curated possessions. The designers of whom helped shape Playboy's spatial economy. The aptly titled Saarinen womb chair sits on one side of the room, which could be shifted left to right in a way which promoted mobility within the living space.[44]

Borsani's D70 Divan was a focal point of the lounge, academic Beatriz Preciado states the designer *"…brought into industrial design a rhetoric of mutation, mobility, and flexibility*".[45] This is in

[40] Colomina, Beatriz and Brennan, Annmarie, and Kim, Jeannie. *Cold War Hothouses: Inventing Postwar Culture, from Cockpit to Playboy.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004. Page 245
[41] https://www.ias.edu/sites/default/files/styles/grid_feature_teaser/public/images/featured-thumbnails/ideas/paper43.jpg?itok=xXQ-qHON
[42] Sanders, Joel. *Stud: Architecture of Masculinity.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996. Page 59
[43] https://www.manoftheworld.com/blog/2019/4/13/hefner-at-home-the-birth-of-the-modern-bachelor-pad
[44] Colomina, Beatriz and Brennan, Annmarie, and Kim, Jeannie. *Cold War Hothouses: Inventing Postwar Culture, from Cockpit to Playboy.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004. Page 227
[45] Colomina, Beatriz and Brennan, Annmarie, and Kim, Jeannie. *Cold War Hothouses: Inventing Postwar Culture, from Cockpit to Playboy.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004. Page 227

reference to the D70s intrinsic transition from sofa to bed, a feature surely produced to facilitate and encourage ease in the department of casual sexual rendezvous—a trap for potential 'bunnies'.[46]

[47] Borsani's D70 divan as it would have appeared in the renderings of Playboy penthouse 1956

The Penthouse apartment of 1956 was likely an homage to Victor A. Lownes' apartment, one of Hefner's colleagues. Lownes, a divorcee with children, had in Hefner's eyes successfully escaped suburbia through the offerings of modernity and the male centric interior. Living in a single open-plan apartment where it relished in both the curated objects of the public domain, and the paradoxical domestic fantasy of the interior that Hefner had manufactured. These spatial qualities were also emulated and exaggerated upon in the Playboy Townhouse in 1962.

The Townhouse was the purest approach to the bachelor fantasy. It involved a man who had not been tarnished by the suburban alternative—a bachelor who the magazine described as an "*…unattached, affluent young man, happily wedded to the infinite advantages of urbia*."[48] The Townhouse, in many ways, marked a further shift for Playboy away from the realities of most American males, and further into a state of protective fiction. It was more useful to Playboy as a consumerist tool to sell possessions which corroborated the fantasy, as few who were entranced by its pages could afford the complete 'pad' with all its trimmings.

[46] Sanders, Joel. *Stud: Architecture of Masculinity.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996. Page 59
[47] https://abreelojo.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/30/2017/01/playboy-sofa.jpg
[48] https://www.manoftheworld.com/blog/2019/4/13/hefner-at-home-the-birth-of-the-modern-bachelor-pad

As evidence of how abstracted this fantasy was from reality, consider that both the apartment and townhouse were never brought into the concrete realm of architecture, but only ever manifested in the 2D pages of Playboy. This recalls Rice's assertion of the interior as a 'conceptual apparatus'.

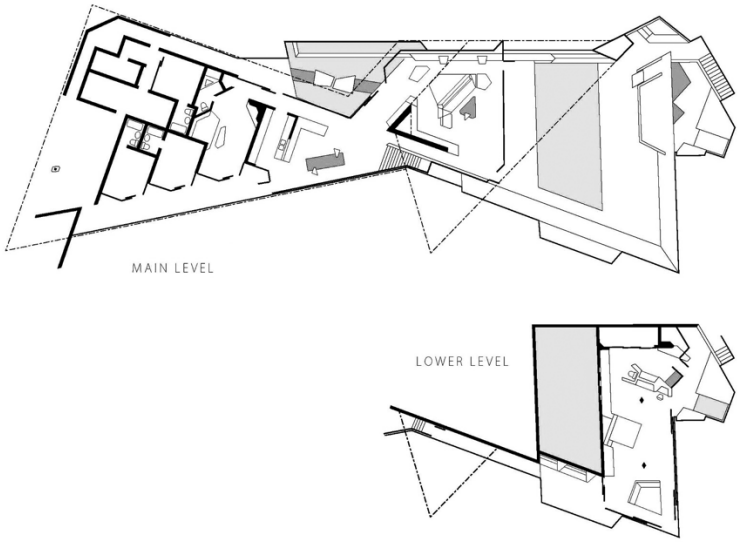
However, Playboy did not only rely on their fictitious interiors to manifest fantasy. They outsourced to the existing; stamping a pre-conceived identity onto buildings and objects regardless of the original designer's intentions. There is no better example of fantasy projection, and sexualization via third parties,[49] than John Lautner's Sheats-Goldstein house built in 1963. Nestled within the ridges of Beverly Hills, the house was originally built for Helen Taylor Sheats, a liberal and politically active artist who collaborated closely with Lautner on the project.[50] The primary concept was for the house to be a family home for Sheats, her husband, and two children to reside in—Lautner approached this as a sublimination of the nuclear family homes of suburbia.[51] The property, then named the Sheats House, caught the publications attention a year after its construction. Playboy was particularly enamored by the design of the pool, exclaiming: 'the master bedroom literally faced on the pool—not looking down onto it, looking *into* it—on the other side of the glass was water. You peered through the panes and saw the bodies of the swimmers from underneath.'[52] This description of the house implies a kind of domestic voyeurism, similar to that of the glass-paned pool Adolf Loos designed for Josephine Baker in the unbuilt house of 1927. The difference here, however, was that Baker was an exhibitionist and exotic dancer, whereas the Sheats family were just that—a family. This erotic enthusiasm for the house's disregard for opaque walls, which blurred public and private within the interior, was the beginning of Playboys reinterpretation of Lautner's spatial intentions.

[49] Williams J Richards, *Sex and Buildings,* London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2013, 114
[50] Williams J Richards, *Sex and Buildings,* London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2013, 119
[51] Williams J Richards, *Sex and Buildings,* London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2013, 119
[52] Williams J Richards, *Sex and Buildings,* London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2013, 119

[53] A digital reconstruction by Stephen Atkinson and Farès el-Dahdah of the unbuilt 1927 Adolf Loos house for Josephine Baker. [54] Contemporary photo of the Goldstein-Sheats master bedroom looking into the pool.

This notion of 'in-ness'; in-sertion, in-tervention, in-stallation, and re-presentation of the existing is explored through the collective writings of Sally Stone and Graeme Brooker. They argue that the words themselves are indicative of the action in which each is performed—that it implies a level of attachment to the exterior, and of the invasive thing proceeding inwards from the outside of the existing. Stone and Brooker further state that 'the act of creating interior space is a strategy that is naturally transgressive, it is an act that interprets, conforms to, or even disobeys existing orders.'[55]This infraction of the existing domestic programme occurred in the Sheats house in 1972, when it was purchased by notorious bachelor Jim Goldstein—hence it's contemporary name, Goldstein-Sheats. Goldstein embodied many of the qualities Playboy wished to instill upon its readers, a participant of the 'play' motto which was at the heart of its erotic manifesto. Until this point Playboy fantasy had only textually inserted the Sheats home into its arsenal of interiors, this change in ownership marked a significant shift in both domestic programme and curatorship of the interior.

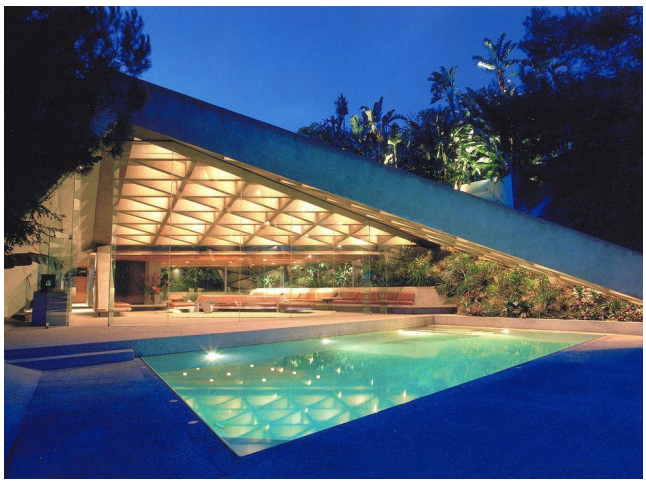
[53] https://cdn.ca.emap.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/12/2018/03/recreatedinterior2.png
[54] https://coveteur.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/James-3-728x269.jpg
[55] Attiwell Suzie, *The Handbook of Interior Architecture and Design* (London: Bloomsbury Academic,2013) 112.



[56] Floorplan of the Goldstein-Sheats house.

The house is distinctive through the interlocking triangles which form the floor plan of the structure and divide the 'guest' area from the 'master' quarters. Much like the sexual division of space in the suburban landscape, the architectural elements remain similar – the use of partitions and internal walls sanitise the interior from the unwanted elements of the outside, whilst remaining open for selective exterior practices. The domestic programme of the interior adapted to Goldstein's curation, as did the existing structure and material use of glass. Lautner's original intention for the glass, which pervades the house, was to usher nature into the interior. This linked back to Lautner's identity as an architect whose sensitivity to the exterior nature was embedded in a puritanical upbringing, the antithesis of the bachelor fantasy that Playboy so readily projected onto his architectural ventures. Glass in Goldstein's interior was very much embedded in the Freudian erotic wishes Playboy had originally admired in the family home. Colomina expands on glass as a material for domestic voyeurism (in relation to the Adolf Loos unbuilt Josephine Baker house); 'the eye is directed towards the interior, which turns its back on the outside; but the subject and object of the gaze has been reversed. The inhabitant of the house, Josephine Baker, is now the primary object, and the visitor, the guest, is the looking subject'.[57] Whilst not directly referencing the Goldstein-Sheats house, this analysis of domestic voyeurism is still applicable to it, although the voyeur is in this instance the curator of the interior (Goldstein, the bachelor), and the subject of the gaze are his many female guests.

[56] https://i.pinimg.com/originals/6e/b2/20/6eb2208b81259009532af7ce488d928a.png
[57] https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/loos-and-baker-a-house-for-josephine



[58]Exterior looking into the Goldstein-Sheats house 2018

Lautner's compliance with Playboy and its curation of his work, came from a self-imposed alienation from architectural journalism, leaving him more receptive to mainstream media.[59] Playboy presented modernism in a way which made it palatable and appealing for those who had little understanding of the world of art and design. It broke down the barrier between culture and commonality, and many academics, such as Colomina, believe that the publication was largely responsible for the dissemination of architecture in popular culture during the post-war era.[60] The long-term effects of the bachelor fantasy's inhabitation of Lautner's buildings, can be seen in the damage to the architect's reputation, and his frequent misrepresentation as a designer of eroticism. Supporters of Lautner, such as architect Frank Escher, are aiming to restore his identity as an architect of both moral integrity and emotional restraint, who showed respect towards the exterior elements of architecture and the natural world.[61]

Where Playboy's endeavors into the realm of architecture had previously fallen short of three-dimensional realisation, the Sheats-Goldstein house fulfilled many of its aims and requirements for the ideal bachelor pad. Playboy fantasy attached itself to Lautner's architecture in the way a parasite attaches to its host, penetrating its exoskeleton and rapidly taking over the domestic behavior within its interior—all for its own self-propagation. In doing so, Playboy went further than it had gone before. The interior was no longer a mere conceptual apparatus, but a collectable in its own right.

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[58] https://static.independent.co.uk/s3fs-public/thumbnails/image/2016/02/19/11/Sheats-Goldstein-House-by-John-Lautner-Yellowtrace-12.jpg?width=982&height=726&auto=webp&quality=75

[59] Williams J Richards, *Sex and Buildings,* London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2013, 115-116

[60] Colomina, Beatriz. "Playboy, talking in bed and the secret life of architecture." W Awards, Conway Hall, London, 03/04, 2020 https://www.architectural-review.com/awards/w-awards/playboy-talking-in-bed-and-the-secret-life-of-architecture-beatriz-colomina-at-the-w-awards-2020

[61] Williams J Richards, *Sex and Buildings,* London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2013, 114

Philip Johnson: Fraternal Fantasies

Chapter III

Naturally, fantasy is not only an experience of the heterosexual male. It is apparent in any tangible or conceptual domesticity created on the fringe of common practices, fuelled by what Freud states is a dissatisfaction for the existing.[62] In this sense it lends itself to those members of society who must devise fantasies in order to live out their own version of domesticity without societal input. One such prominent figure was architect Philip Johnson. Johnson's character is a rather complex one, as a homosexual man he neither hid his sexuality from close acquaintances nor did he publicise the fact.[63] Early on in his career he abandoned his posting at MoMA to devote himself to right-wing politics, namely a fascination for the burgeoning Nazi party in Germany. It is difficult to quantify why a gay man would devote himself to politics which actively condemn homosexuality, but it is just one of the many contradictions of Johnsons life.

[64] 2018 photo of the two main structures of New Canaan: The Guest House (left), and the Glass House (right). [65] Plan of New Canaan fig.5 is the Glass House, fig. 3 is the Guest House.

This complexity is clearly illustrated in the Glass House, which Johnson designed for himself on his sprawling New Canaan compound in 1949. The word 'resided' is used tentatively here, as the

[62] Ormond, James S., *Fantasy and Social Movements,* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, 43
[63] "The Man in the Glass House: Philip Johnson, Architect of the Modern Century, by Mark Lamster." *Times Higher Education* no. 2417 (Jul 18, 2019), https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/docview/2307754595?accountid=9727 (accessed November 14, 2020).
[64] https://www.themodernhouse.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/stringio-3-950x713.jpg
[65] "Edge of Danger": Electric Light and the Negotiation of Public and Private Domestic Space in Philip Johnson's Glass and Guest Houses November 2010Interiors: Design 1(3):197-217 DOI:10.2752/204191210X12875837764057

structure itself was but a fragment of the domesticity in which Johnson existed. Much as Hefner relied on the duality of public and private space, Johnson created the Glass House as both a way of publicising his work and as a means for containing his private domesticity through both figurative and literal transparency. Beatriz Colomina comments that there were 'Two persistent dreams of the twentieth century…That of an all-glass house and that of television, were finally realised at about the same time and in the same place: the suburbs of America'.[66] These fantasies of fully transparent houses were long established within science fiction narrative and modern architecture, but not until Johnson's glass house was this fantasy fully realised through domestic inhabitation. In more ways than one, the Glass House was a subversive approach to the American Dream Colomina is referring to; it is a piece of architectural puppetry in which Johnson both mocks and imitates normal domesticity–an ode to the banality of everyday life. The employment of the main design element—glass—is indicative of the house as a TV in its own right. An homage to the fictionality which happens within it, much like the sit coms readily consumed by suburbanites, Johnson embraces the transparency of the material as a way of broadcasting the normality of his fictitious domesticity, thus disguising reality.

[67] Interior of the Glass House, looking out to its natural wallpaper.

[66] Colomina, Beatriz. *Phillip Johnson. The Constancy of Change.* Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 68.
[67] https://www.ignant.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/ignant-architecture-eirik-johnson-glasshouse-07-2880x2251.jpg

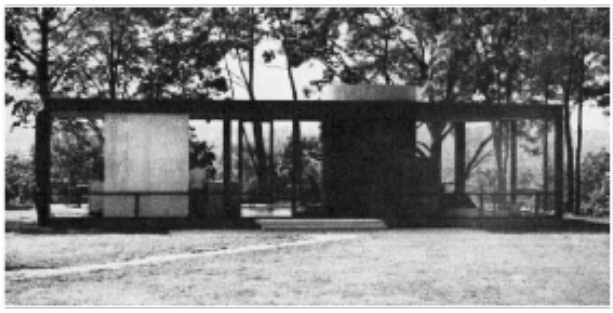
The transparency of the Glass House invites a brief glance without the risk of the inhabitant developing scopophobia, as Johnson himself states '…nobody has come up and looked in the windows. In a glass house, anyone who walks up to your house thinks you're looking at them.' [68] Academic Margaret Maile Petty considers architectural lighting to be of great importance in terms of Johnson regulating the domestic performance within the Glass House. Previously omitted from academic writing on New Canaan, lighting plays an imperative role in the aesthetic of the Glass House as both an object of public domesticity and aspect of the New Canaan fantasy. Johnson was obsessive in his control of the domestic gaze; if the Glass House was a television set, he was the programmer. Christopher Wilson comments 'a domestic glance, as its name implies involves the concepts of surveillance, privacy and social relations, all in relation to a domestic setting or living arrangement. Surveillance here refers both to "looking out" and also to "being looked at"'.[69] Lighting, designed by Richard Kelly, facilitated Johnson's need to control the fundamental transparency of the Glass House, which, at night, would become a mirrored box and lose all concept of exterior. This psychological need for a domestic glance outwards has pedigree; French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan theorised that the window is a carrier of the gaze, and that when the window darkens and all that is left is a reflection of one's self, the feeling of being watched intensifies.[70] It is naïve to believe that Johnson was disguising reality only out of necessity, an element of the fantasy was the danger of being seen. In his own words he stated 'I mean the idea of a glass house, where somebody just might be looking—naturally you don't want them to be looking. But what about it? That little edge of danger in being caught'.[71] So, whilst Johnson wanted to repel unwanted speculation, he also wanted to coax interest in his interior world, to invite the spectator's 'glance' at the dual domesticity he had curated. To be caught in the act of playing out his fantasy is a Freudian erotic wish in itself.

[68] Feitelberg, Rosemary, *Philip Johnson: People in Glass Houses.* WWD: Women's Wear Daily. 2/24/2006, Vol. 191 Issue 41, p20-20

[69] "Edge of Danger": Electric Light and the Negotiation of Public and Private Domestic Space in Philip Johnson's Glass and Guest Houses November 2010Interiors: Design 1(3):197-217 DOI:10.2752/204191210X12875837764057

[70] "Edge of Danger": Electric Light and the Negotiation of Public and Private Domestic Space in Philip Johnson's Glass and Guest Houses November 2010Interiors: Design 1(3):197-217 DOI:10.2752/204191210X12875837764057

[71] "Edge of Danger": Electric Light and the Negotiation of Public and Private Domestic Space in Philip Johnson's Glass and Guest Houses November 2010Interiors: Design 1(3):197-217 DOI:10.2752/204191210X12875837764057



[72] Right: The Glass House as it appears at night; here you can see Richard Kelly's carefully considered exterior lights (floodlights at the base of the trees), which balances the domestic gaze at night—allowing the inhabitant to look outside. Left: The Glass House during the daytime.

In relation to domesticity, fantasy relies on duplexity. In the case of Playboy, Hefner relied on the seriousness of his more cultured articles to help elevate and almost vindicate the less digestible elements of the publication. Johnson's glass house fantasy would be incomplete without its fraternal twin–the Guest House, also completed in 1949. Here, 'guest' is another word we much approach tentatively as it implies the house was intended for them. By christening the structure with this name, Johnson was adding to the already carefully curated narrative of the Glass House as a true reflection of his domestic life. The two houses were, in fact, a means of segregating his public and private personas. For the most part, he and his partner David Whitney resided in the Guest House, which, with its brick shell and clumsy eclectic aesthetic could be seen as the architectural antithesis of the sleek modernist glass house—perhaps more of a distant cousin than a twin. Regardless of their aesthetic differences, the two homes performed a sort of architectural pa des deux within Johnson's fantasy; representing a dichotomy of public modern architectural space and private queer space. Michael Moran, a photographer who visited New Canaan in the 1990s, remembers that Johnson and Whitney treated the whole property as one house. The Guest House was always observed as the sleeping quarters, whilst the Glass House was used as a living room to entertain outside visitors.[73]

[72] "Edge of Danger": Electric Light and the Negotiation of Public and Private Domestic Space in Philip Johnson's Glass and Guest Houses November 2010Interiors: Design 1(3):197-217 DOI:10.2752/204191210X12875837764057

[73] https://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/07/garden/07glass.html

[74] The windowless exterior of The Guest House, there are circular windows at the rear of the house, obscured from public view. [75] Plush cocoon-like interior of The Guest House.

In many ways, the entire New Canaan estate could be interpreted as one interior. Johnson himself challenged the existence of interior and exterior, when he stated "a wall is only an idea in your mind. If you have a sense of enclosure you are in a room."[76] Gay culture had long been challenging notions of public and private, mainly in relation to sexual rendezvous, something that makes Johnson's domestic arrangement all the more interesting. The fact that the extensive academic resources on New Canaan so concern themselves with the Glass House–with few intellectuals giving currency to its windowless twin–is tribute to Johnson's design ingenuity. Even now, his private persona remains somewhat obscured by the house and its endless interior which have held society's gaze for fifty years.

[74] https://lh3.googleusercontent.com/proxy/61EH1Lfjv6VMKRHLsX9X2S5vnbPgyT2OL7dbXtNJrDsvBfrrLfcbVK6xRNWxlHr9TFcw6poGVa-agOHq92ayHQEtN5g--kNmKJkPLc8gaRTsNA
[75] https://i.pinimg.com/originals/c1/ad/d1/c1add15c079cfd16851fd55b96722653.jpg
[76] Colomina, Beatriz. *Phillip Johnson. The Constancy of Change.* Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 71

Conclusion

Fantasy, as a concept of the interior, can take on many different forms; but all arise from an innate dissatisfaction for the existing. Through the lens of psychoanalysis, we can see the links between self and interior—furthermore, of the interior as an extension of how we wish to be perceived by the outside. Fantasy in the context of architecture can protect, promote change, disguise, and project.

A collective fantasy for 'we-ness' resulted in suburbia. It incited a social movement which led to mass migration of white middle-class families from the city and into homogenous communities on the outskirts of urbia. This fantasy was focused on the model of antiseptic space in which they were both protected from exterior contaminates, and part of an insular community outside the nuclear family. The domestic arrangement within suburbia was inherently prejudiced; denoting that you could only reside there if you were white, married and middle-class. The introduction of the television to the family 'home', while making it easier to safely observe the exterior of suburbia, greatly rattled the division of gender. This in turn led men to reassert themselves in a singular interior, a fantasy which was the antithesis of the nuclear family.

Charles Rice comments on the interior as a conceptual apparatus, and no domestic fantasy wielded this apparatus better than Playboy's. The publication used the character of the bachelor to disseminate their fantasy amongst the male public. It manipulated design, and in particular architecture, in order to reposition the male gender into an interior setting. Playboy took on the role of the 'collector', filling its interior universe with the furniture and gadgets of modernity which shaped its spatial economy. The concept of 'play', and the word's naïve and innocent connotations, allowed Playboy to curate the exterior within interiors in a way that sold sex as the ultimate consumption. Disregarding female integrity and wellbeing, Playboy navigated the dichotomy of sex and culture on an editorial and social level, creating a fantasy where it was possible for men to be 'connoisseurs' of both the distasteful and tasteful.

There is a distinct coldness to Playboy's approach to space, not only in regard to sex, but also in terms of ownership and the treatment of women as a possession or object. Another reoccurring problem with the bachelor fantasy is that many of those who pursued it were not bachelors. Some

were divorcees, the fallout from the suburban narrative of the 'American dream' fantasy, and some were still married—apparently 'trapped' within the confines of a chosen family and marriage. This is not to say that suburbia offered a particularly enriching life. It is now looked upon as an era of conformity—an example of the insipidness of the 'American Dream'.

Glass as a central design element was a repetitive theme throughout all three case studies of fantasy. Suburbia employed glass as a way of connecting the home to the, albeit insular, community outside. Playboy adopted it as a tool for domestic voyeurism—spying on female bodies as they did laps in the pool. It can be argued that glass was a portal to a conceptual notion of the never-ending interior. The most apparent interior where the glass was freed from thresholds, and at one with the exterior, was the Glass House. Philip Johnson had autonomy of his own design of domestic fantasy. Johnson, like Hefner, relied on a careful set of contradictory elements to balance this. The Glass House subverted normalised domestic practices of this era, and this subversion allowed Johnson to play out his domestic fantasies as a gay man within its fraternal twin– the Guest House. This is not to say that the Glass House was only a means to conceal. Johnson relished the danger that the endless glass interior presented, that perhaps one day he would be caught in the act '…That little edge of danger in being caught'. The study of this fantasy was imperative, not only to understanding fantasy as a means for disguising reality, but in realising how fantasy can be created through individualism, rather than collectivism.

Fantasies of the interior wax and wane, they are dreamt up by those disenfranchised by normalised domestic practice. The fossils of fantasies-past can be found in the architecture and design which remains long after the fantasy has played out its human lifespan—though this may not be its final incarnation. In some cases, the dissatisfaction which breeds new fantasy is the biproduct of other failed fantasies. At their core, these are sempiternal in nature; one growing from another in a repetitive cycle of daydreaming which on occasion seeps out into the built world. All forms of domestic fantasy display humanity's innate spatial fickleness. As a society, we consistently 'build' new interiors to facilitate our changing lifestyles, only to view them with distain later down the line.

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