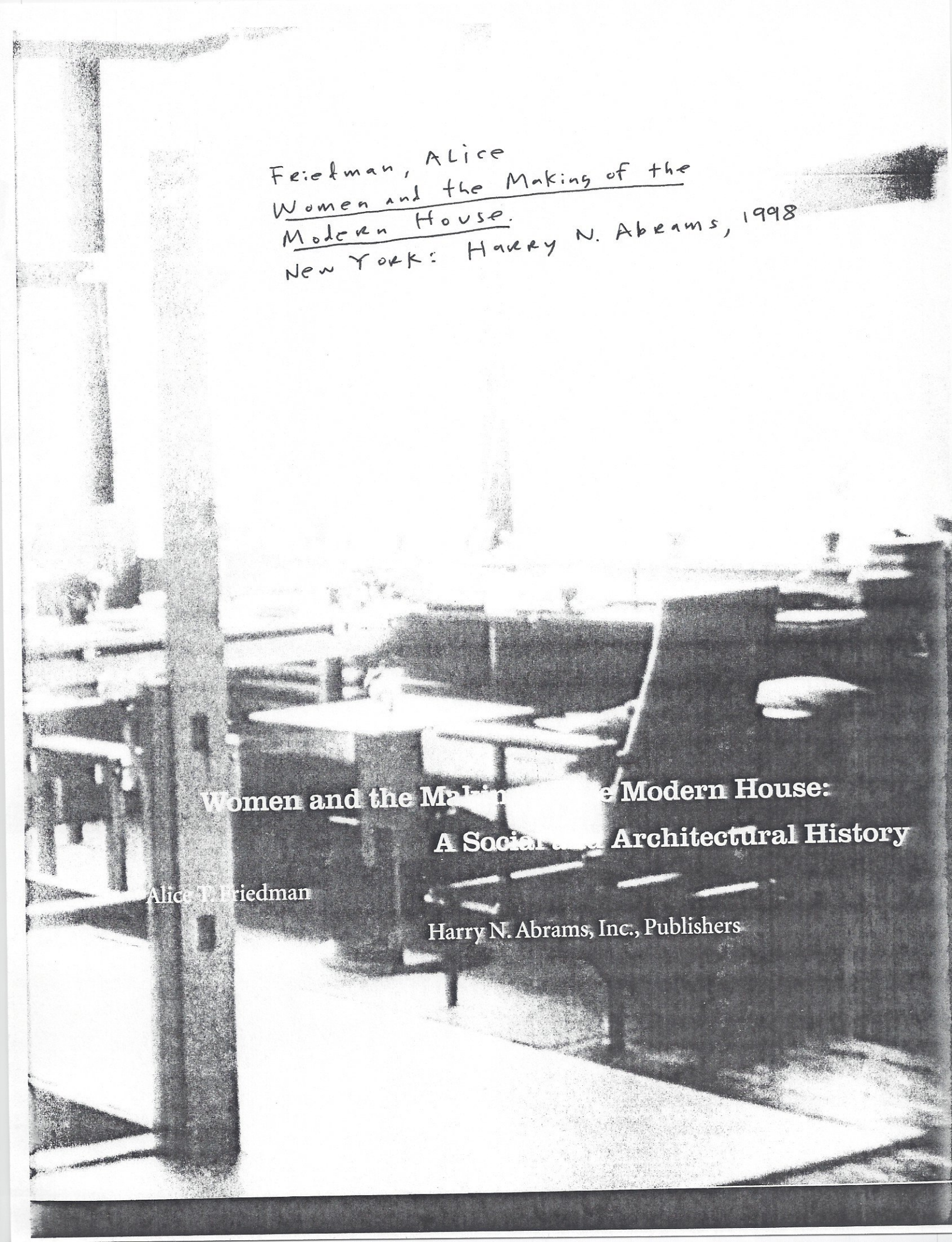


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**Women and the Making of the Modern House:
A Social and Architectural History**

Alice T. Friedman

Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers

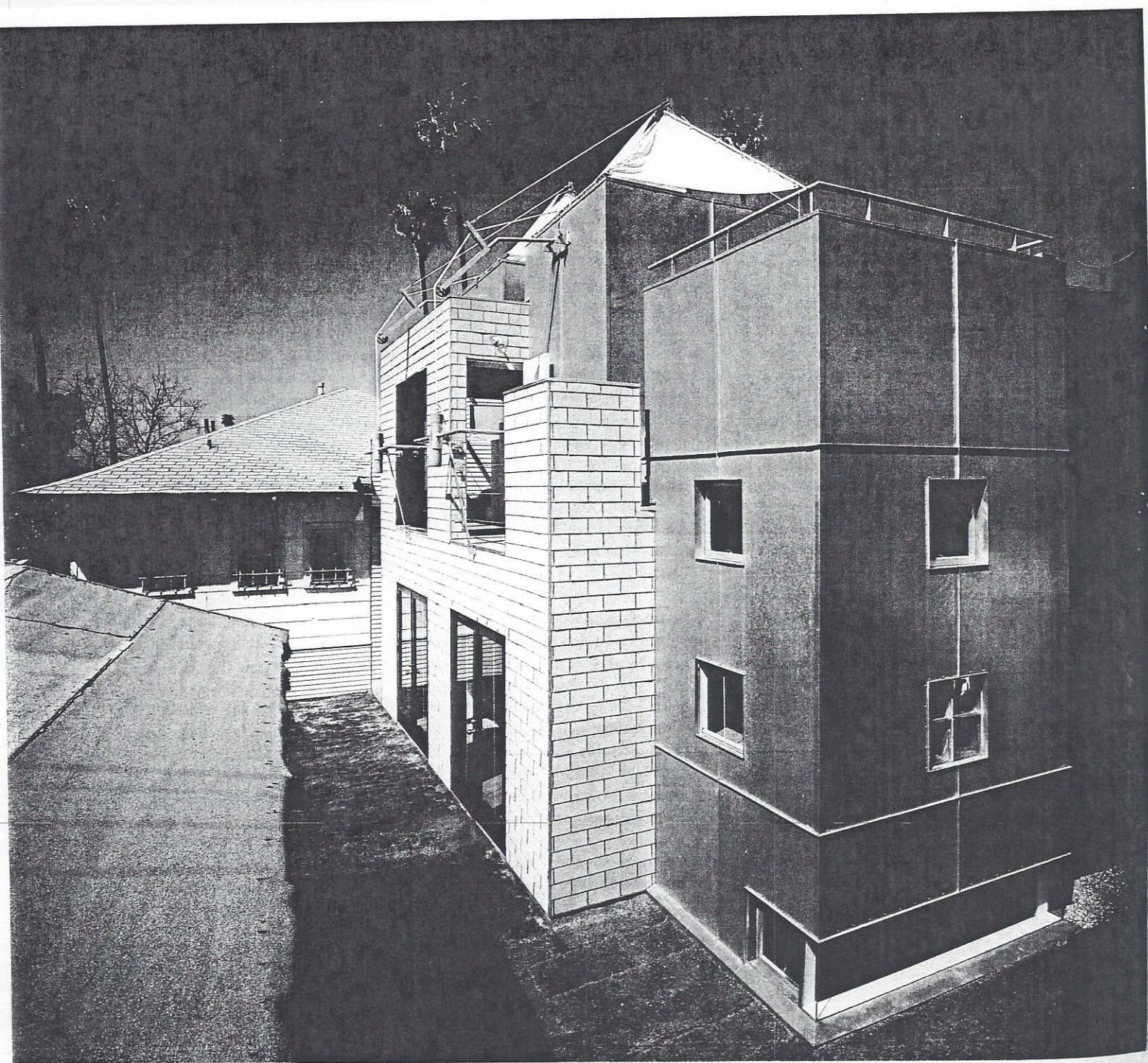


PLATE 1

Morphosis. Bergren House,
Venice, California, rear elevation.

1985

Much has changed in the lives of American and European women in the wake of the women's movement of the 1970s. Thanks to the "second wave" of feminism, more women work outside the home, attaining higher levels of economic, professional, and educational achievement than their mothers or grandmothers could have imagined possible.¹ Moreover, through the sustained efforts of activists, researchers, and educators at both the grass-roots and professional levels, women have gained greater control over their health and sexuality: issues such as birth control, abortion, mental health, lesbian rights, and the needs of older women are more openly discussed, and access to services – as well as information and community supports – relating to all these topics has increased dramatically.² Patterns of marriage and divorce have also changed since the 1960s: there has been a significant decline in the number of marriages and, more important, a greater acceptance of alternative choices – later marriage, divorce, remaining single, and living alone or with other women.³ Overall, women are now in a far better position than ever before to make independent choices about how and where they want to live.

Given these changes, one might well expect to find a greater number of women heads of households hiring architects to design or renovate their houses to suit a variety of new program requirements. Yet this is not the case, and the reasons are primarily economic.⁴ In the United States real wages decreased by 19 percent for both men and women between 1973 and 1989; this decline, combined with a steep rise in the cost of education and housing, has made it far more difficult for most people – men *and* women – to even consider home ownership,

Conclusion:

The 1980s and 1990s

let alone new construction. According to a national survey conducted by the Chicago Title and Trust Company, the proportion of single-income families owning houses dropped from 47 percent in 1976 to 21 percent in 1989.⁵ Although over 50 percent of women now work outside the home, the situation is not much better for double-income households: the high cost of living, particularly in cities and suburbs, has substantially decreased the ability of most couples to save the capital needed to buy a home. Women heads of households face even greater obstacles.

Changes in the American family have put additional pressures on women.⁶ Women may have greater freedom to make choices about work and family than they had a generation ago, but they also bear heavier financial burdens. The combination of the decline in the marriage rate and the astronomical rise in the rate of divorce has meant that there are more women supporting themselves and their families than ever before: at present, one in five women is raising children alone.⁷ Many of these women are poor: fully 40 percent of households headed by white women and 60 percent of those headed by black women fall below the poverty line (defined as roughly \$10,000 a year for a family of three).⁸ Middle-class and professional women also face a significant gap in earnings compared with men: although they are paid higher salaries than other working women, their wages and benefits have not kept pace with those of men performing similar jobs. Moreover, despite far-reaching changes in attitudes toward women and family life in Europe and America, women of all classes still have more responsibility than men for child care and housework; the cost of providing these services – a cost paid in both time and money – has had a significant impact on women's ability to provide shelter for themselves and their families, much less to afford architect-designed homes.⁹

In the face of these economic and demographic pressures, some women have turned to collective housing, focusing their attention on formulating creative design

alternatives and financing strategies; in the process, the history of feminist housing has been rediscovered, and many innovative projects have been built over the past twenty years in Europe and the United States, including a number of successful co-housing communities and group homes.¹⁰ Moreover, since the 1970s a small but significant number of women have designed and built their own homes in rural locations, exploring a range of alternatives for single people, groups, and families in extremely low cost projects. Building primarily in wood, these women have produced original new designs by altering the spatial arrangements of familiar vernacular house types – small single-family homes, cottages, and even log cabins.¹¹ Such collective and low-cost alternatives are the clearest reflection of the influence of the women's movement in architecture and planning.

Although women still commission architect-designed, single-family homes, they do so in numbers that are no greater than in previous generations. In the 1990s most women and their families continue to live in single-family homes and apartments designed for people with very different lives from their own. There is still much to be learned about the ways in which contemporary households – single people, groups of adults, working couples, people with and without children, single parents, or intergenerational families – change their homes, by reconfiguring spaces, tearing down walls, and attaching additions to older houses.¹² One emerging trend suggests that living rooms and dining rooms in existing single-family homes – spaces designed for formal entertaining but now rarely even entered – are being adapted for use as home offices, studios, and extra bedrooms.¹³ These rooms in older housing stock can also provide a usable core of enclosed spaces to which open, communal areas might be added through renovation or new construction, as we shall see in the case of Venice III, the Bergren House.

The Bergren and Drager Houses

Two recent houses built for women clients suggest some of the ways in which architects and clients have interpreted new, postfeminist domestic programs. Both were designed for professional single mothers and their children. They share many of the characteristics discussed in the preceding chapters, but also reveal elements not previously explored in designs for women: redefinition of the relationship between parent and child or children to foster greater independence through spatial parity; enlargement and subdivision of private space to accommodate a variety of uses – study, reading, writing, listening to music, or other leisure pursuits – and to offer varying degrees of accessibility to the activities of children, visitors, and the outside world; elaboration of areas devoted to dressing, bathing, and relaxation.

The Bergren House (also called Venice III), built in 1985 in Venice, California (plates 1, 2; fig. 1), is a compact, multilevel addition to a 1920s bungalow designed by Thom Mayne and Michael Rotondi of Morphosis for Ann Bergren, a single mother and a professor of classics at U.C.L.A.¹⁴ The program called for a new library, study, living area, bathroom, bedroom, and deck; these spaces were intended primarily for the use of Bergren herself, while the rooms in the existing house – including small bedrooms, a living room, kitchen, and dining area – would become common space and a bedroom and playroom for Bergren's young son.¹⁵

The site, a small backyard in an urban neighborhood of densely packed houses, offered very little room to build and no views at all, except over the roof of the bungalow to a busy street. The budget was also tight: new construction had to be limited, and costs were kept to a minimum. Since Mayne and Rotondi had a number of large-scale projects under way at the time, they could afford to view Bergren's modest addition as a learning experience in which to try out new ideas.¹⁶ This case follows

the pattern established by other small projects for women clients discussed in this book: like Truus Schröder, Edith Farnsworth, and Constance Perkins, Bergren took part in the creative process and encouraged the architects to experiment with alternative designs. Rotondi described the architects' approach to the project:

It allowed us to explore sequential movement in a way that we hadn't before. It was very processional. It allowed us to deal with the relationship between a visual axis and an organizational axis (as opposed to one of movement), which had to do with the rational ordering systems that we lay on the world in order to comprehend the world, but then beyond that, the circumstance of everyday life.¹⁷

Although such a statement seems to have more to do with design theory than with the program of a house for a single mother, it is in fact an extremely revealing distillation of the fundamental goals of the client: to provide a series of linked spaces for work and leisure that enhance and order the daily activities of the individual and household.

Using thresholds and boundaries to mark points of transition, the interior reveals itself as a sequence of distinct spatial environments. An axial, processional path leads from the common space of the old house directly into the center of the entrance lobby; from here one can view the open living area and library in the addition, and the stair and bathroom beyond (plate 3; fig. 2). At this point the path of movement shifts from the center to the perimeter of the room, but the path of sight continues on axis; the two paths are thus first conjoined and then separated, calling attention to the passage from a more public to a more private area of the house. At the back of the large room, the stairwell articulates the complexities of access in a similar way: it is a vertical slot of space, screened by a floating rectilinear grid yet traversed by the diagonal stairway, which moves up through and across it.



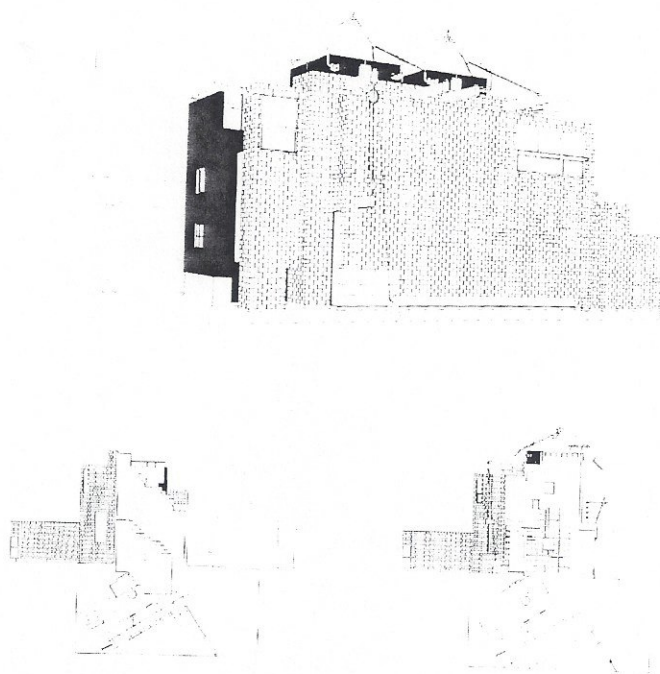


Figure 1

Morphosis, Bergren House,
Venice, California, perspectives,
sections, and plans, 1985.
Courtesy of Morphosis, Santa
Monica

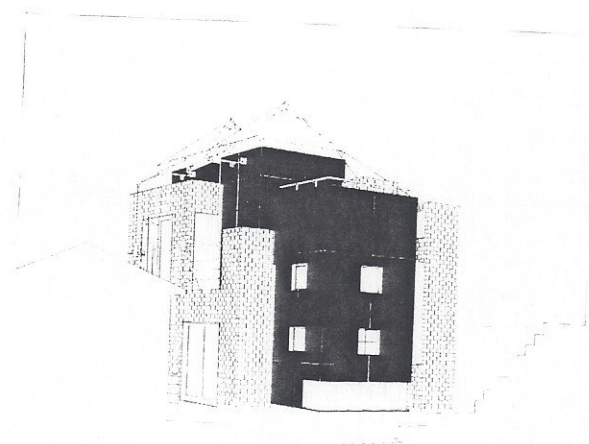


Figure 2

Bergren House, partial view of
front elevation



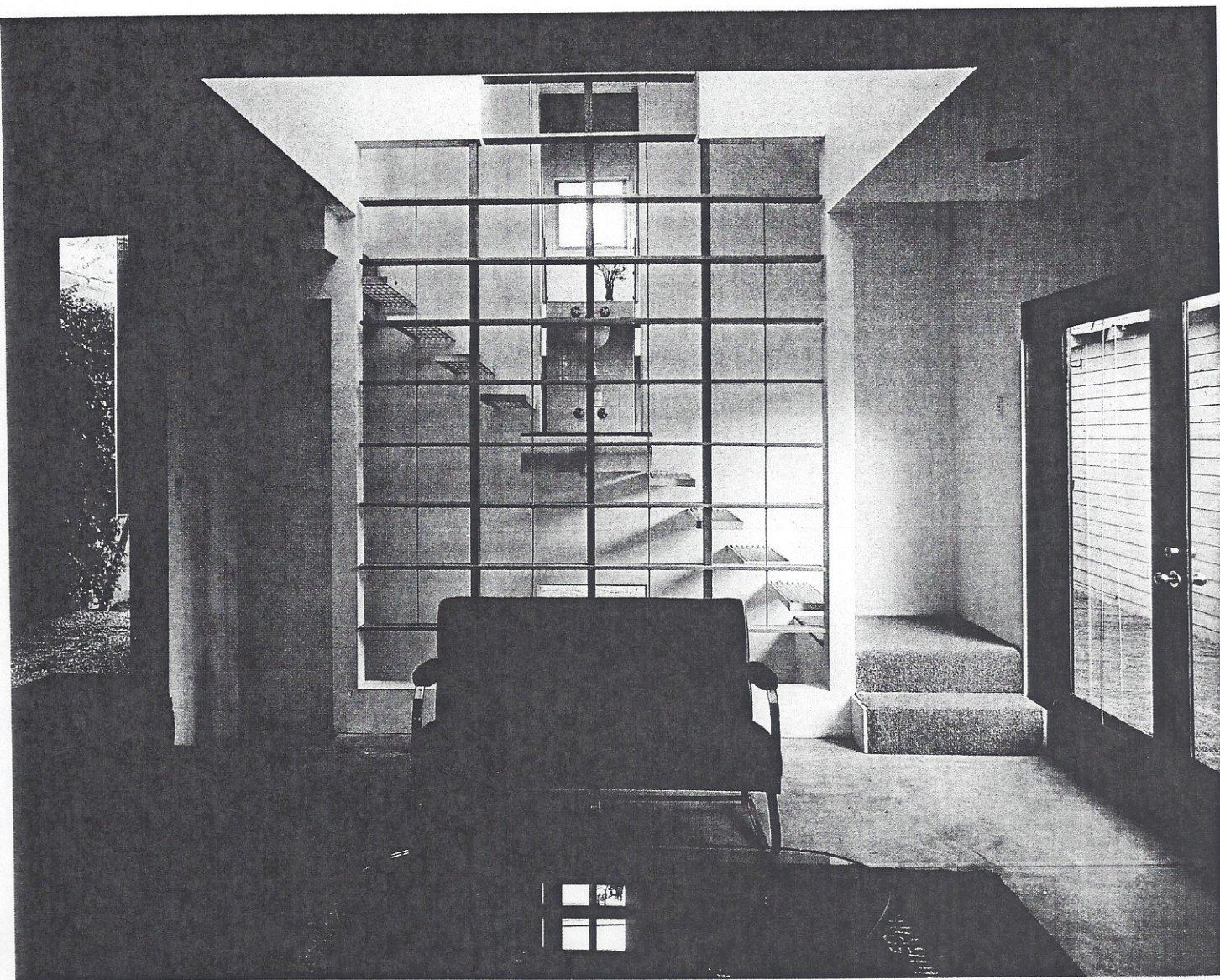


PLATE 3

Bergren House, view of living area with stair and bathroom beyond. The entrance to the below-ground study is visible just above the sofa

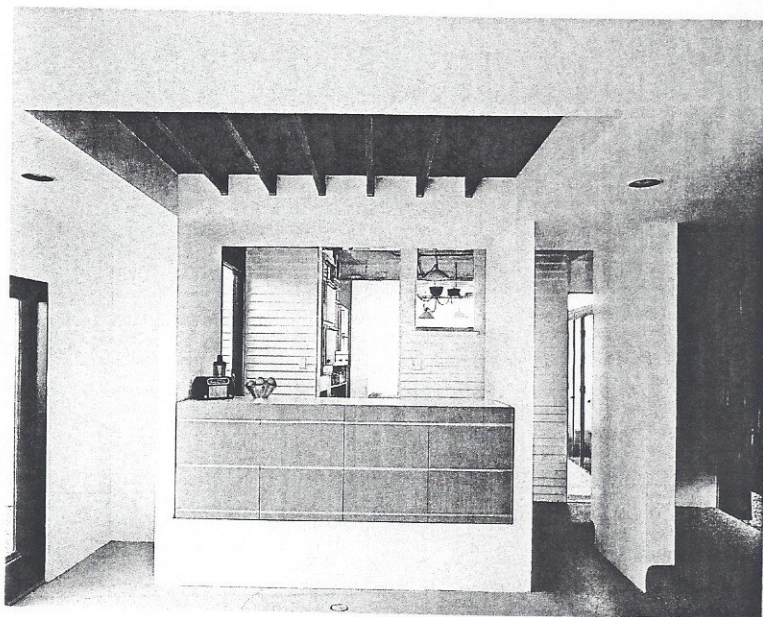
The stairs provide entry to a stack of ancillary spaces devoted to mind, body, and nature: a below-ground study, surrounded by windows on three sides; a light-filled bath with a window on axis with the door and landing (the toilet is in a small extruded space beyond, visible through the window wall of the library); and an open terrace at the top of the house. Here again, visual axes intersect with organizational and processional axes, creating a series of overlapping movements, vistas, paths, and rest points.

These architectural devices have the effect of framing the activities of family and individual, expressing Bergren's role as both mother and scholar, and highlighting the integration of mind and body. The complexity of the program and its expression in the sequence of separate but linked spaces reflects the changes in women's roles since the 1970s by balancing work, leisure, and family life within the home. While in this design there are clearly elements of Le Corbusier (particularly in the processional route) and of Mies (in the imposition of the grid, and in the notion of the domestic realm as a space of contemplation), the synthesis of these parts in a project for a woman client is new.

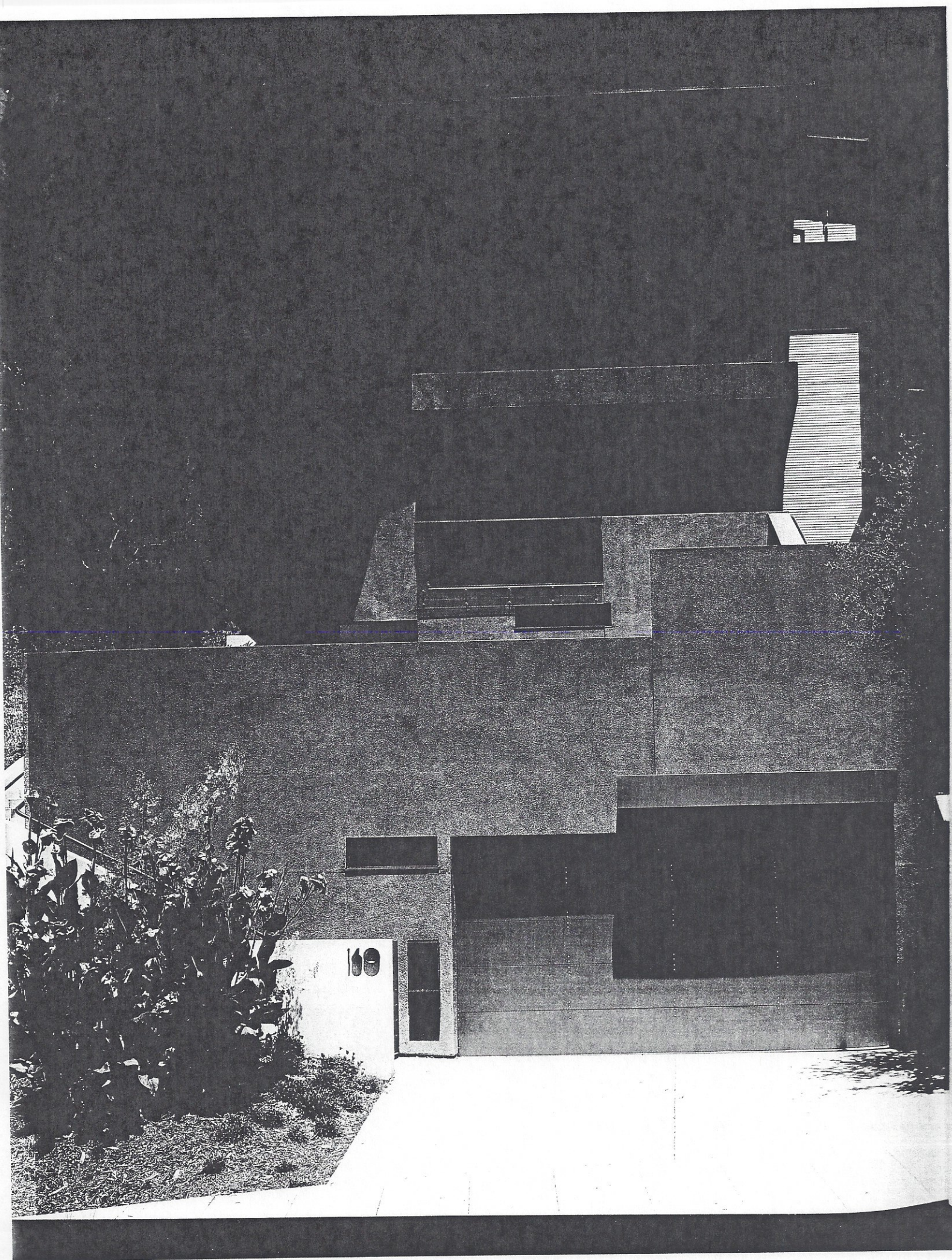
The Bergren House is not, however, simply an inward-looking retreat: in the bedroom and dressing area at the top of the stairs, the space opens up again and becomes more formal and axial, focusing attention on the relationship between the individual, the ordered environment, and the outside world. Doors and a balcony overlook the garden, windows open onto the street, and a pyramidal tent of white "sails" floats and flutters above the skylighted ceiling. Located between earth and sky, the bed at the center of the room is like a ceremonial platform, mediating between nature, the self, and the city beyond. The room, like the house itself, thus becomes a place of liberation from the social realm, a private space of deep contemplation and aesthetic pleasure that is nevertheless linked to the world beyond the home.

FIGURE 2

Bergren House, view from living area toward the kitchen in the original house



Bergren described her own awareness of the overlay of physical, intellectual, and compositional structure in an article entitled "Interplay of Opposites": "I, too, work with form, ambiguity, and the interrelations of old and new. I combine the traditional skills of philology with post-structuralist literary theory to study early Greek thought – especially about how language works through the instability of opposition like inside/outside, fixed/mobile, truth/imitation of truth."¹⁸ Work and pleasure – like mind and body, individual and family, parent and child – are integrated but also delineated, providing each with shape and definition as constituent parts of a modern life. Bergren summed this up: "Here I realize what I've learned from Los Angeles and from ancient Greek architecture – that intellectual concentration is promoted best by relaxation, the relaxation of living in beautiful form animated by natural light. In this building, Morphosis has overcome for me the opposition between vacation and work."¹⁹



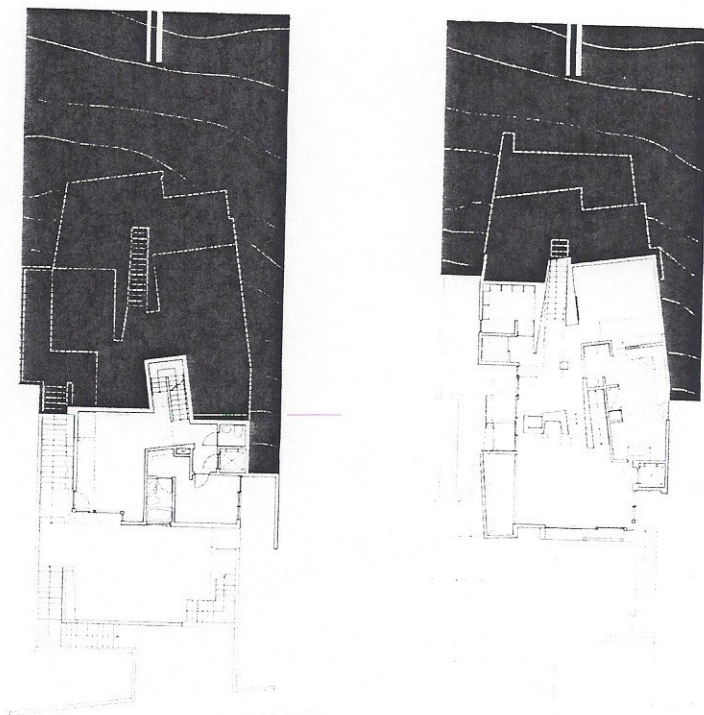


FIGURE 3

Franklin D. Israel, Drager House, Berkeley, California, plans. From upper left: a. second floor b. third floor c. fourth floor d. roof, 1994. Courtesy of Israel, Callas, Shortridge, Architects, Los Angeles

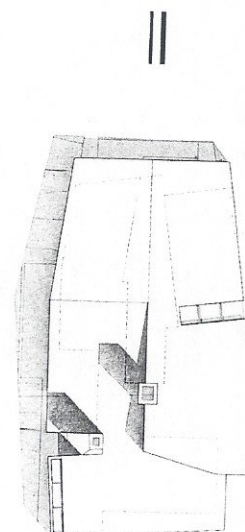
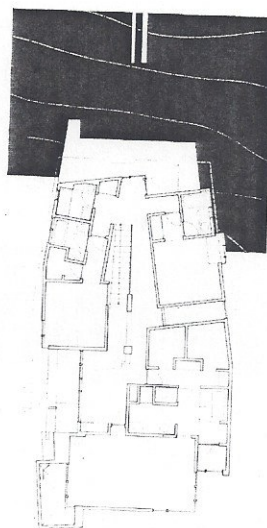


PLATE 4

Franklin D. Israel, Drager House, Berkeley, California, front elevation, 1994



PLATE 5

Drager House, view from the
southwest. 1994

In Franklin D. Israel's house for Sharon Drager, built in 1994 in Berkeley, California (plates 4, 5; fig. 3), some of the same concerns and devices became evident, despite the fact that the house is much larger and was far more expensive to build. For Drager, a vascular surgeon and mother of two teenage children, the home is not a place for work but for family life, leisure, and relaxation; nevertheless, like Bergren, she emphasizes the need for careful programming of linked spaces to accommodate a variety of activities, and for balance between individual privacy and family life.²⁰ Conceived and designed in the aftermath of the Berkeley fire of 1991, the Drager House is a resplendent phoenix, a tall, defiant, copper-clad symbol of continuity that literally rises from the ruined foundations of the modest wood-frame home that burned to the ground.²¹ Although a recent article quoted Drager as saying, "The house looks like me. . . . It's an edgy house for an edgy owner,"²² its sharp angles and folded planes belie the sense of stability and order that its complex forms and spaces express. Here, as at the Bergren House, the meaning of the domestic realm unfolds along a processional route, and this linking of diverse elements gives the Drager House its character as a modern home and as a work of contemporary architecture. As such, it follows in a long line of luxurious, architect-designed houses – the Villa Stein-de Monzie comes immediately to mind – which despite their size and ample budgets nevertheless contain lessons about domestic planning for more modest projects.

For Sharon Drager the starting point was an idea about her relationship with her children. Having divorced soon after the project began, she worked closely with the project manager, Barbara Callas, and project architect, Annie Chu, to develop the program as an alternative domestic environment, elaborating the project's dimensions as a feminist essay on architecture and domesticity. The design of the house carries with it remnants of its original concept as a "traditional" home – large, formal

living and dining rooms occupy most of the main floor – but the way the house is currently used, these spaces seem somewhat vestigial and empty. By contrast, the family room, kitchen, breakfast nook, children's rooms, and Drager's own study and bedroom at the top of the house feel alive with daily activity and with their connection to one another. The integration of these areas is expressed by the dramatic stairway that traverses the interior space from front to back and top to bottom of the steep site.

Drager described the ideas that were important to her as a client:

*I have very strong feelings about children's rooms. . . . When I first started looking to buy a house when my kids were babies, I was appalled at some of the VERY fancy houses I saw with tiny children's rooms. They were almost after-thoughts in homes with very grand public spaces and very sybaritic master suites. I had to share a room with my sister when we were kids and I LONGED for my own room. I bought the house that burned down because it had great light, big closets, and two wonderful large bedrooms for the kids.*²³

Her comments reveal her awareness of children as people with a need for privacy: "One of the worst things about the house I rented after the fire was the fact that the kids' rooms were the size of monks' cells. True, kids' rooms are often messy, but they are also places to dream dreams, to try out fantasies and learn to be comfortable with yourself."²⁴ It was Israel who persuaded her to provide each child with a small bathroom en suite with a large bedroom, a decision she considers one of the successes of the project. Each of the children's rooms, which flank the stair on either side of the upper floor, is thus like a good-sized room in a hotel, complete with its own bath and enough space to accommodate a wide range of activities as well as storage of books, clothes, and so on. For Israel, an architect with a strong connection to Los Angeles architecture, the model for a house made up of self-enclosed studio/living rooms clustered around a

common space may have been R. M. Schindler's Elizabeth Van Patten House (discussed in the introduction), a residence for three women that also sits on a steep site.²⁵

Drager's private living area is on the same floor as the children's rooms but removed from them by a long, open hallway (fig. 4). Here the balance between family and individual is most clearly articulated. Drager's study (plate 6) is located in an open space outside the doorway of her bedroom, an "extended threshold" of her private space that allows her to be in several places at once.²⁶ The client had strong feelings about the programming of this area as well:

*The idea of having my study "in the middle of everything" was mine. I liked the idea of being able to "monitor" the comings and goings from my space. I wanted to know if someone came in the door or if the kids were in their rooms. This was not snooping – just being in the center. I think many women view the kitchen as that sort of space... but cooking is not an important activity for me.*²⁷

With the many views that it provides, the study functions like the central point in a panopticon: sitting at her desk,

Drager can look down at the front door, across to the stairs and children's rooms, and out at the view, and monitor access to her own bedroom. Like the kitchen, the open study (there is also an enclosed home-office next to the entrance) also works as a transitional space within the home: both are places where the children can "check in" – notably while she is occupied with a task of her own – and then move along. The stair and hallway, too, function as places for spontaneous, informal meetings; thus the house is like a city traversed by a busy thoroughfare, on which people meet and talk casually before going their separate ways.²⁸

With its threshold study, Drager's bedroom suite at the top of the house is the signal spatial and programmatic event in the home. The bedroom itself, with a fireplace, television, and built-in desk for working on jigsaw puzzles, is a self-contained retreat. Like Bergren's bedroom, it takes advantage of the view from the front and side of the house, yet it is also inward looking, a place for privacy and reflection, for mind and body. Here, too, the space of private retreat extends into the recesses of the house: in the large bathroom and bathing area, muted colors, textured surfaces, and natural light create an environment of physical awareness and aesthetic pleasure – Drager calls it "Frank's gift to me."²⁹ This is not a place of vanity or glamour, but rather one of sentience and calm.³⁰ A large shower room with a three-quarter-length window opens onto a view across the valley. Toilet, sink, shower, and dressing rooms (there are two of them) are in separate areas. Thus washing and bathing become a daily, choreographed ritual, a series of

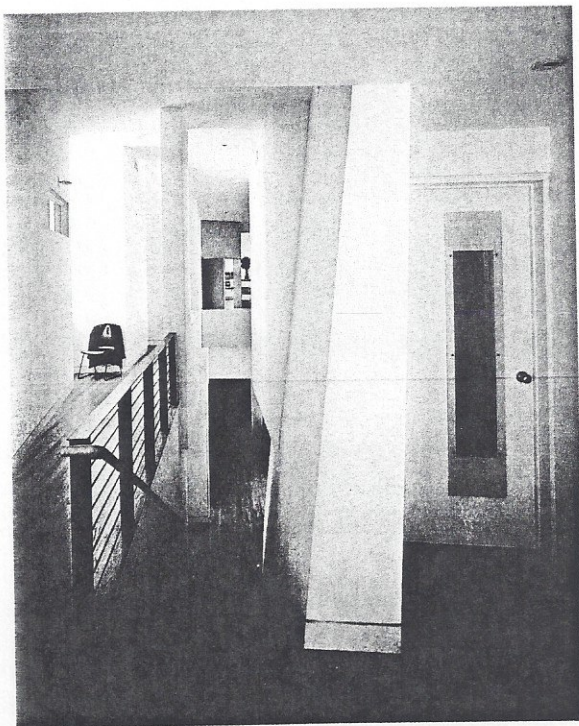


FIGURE 4

Drager House, the stair and hallway leading to the threshold study

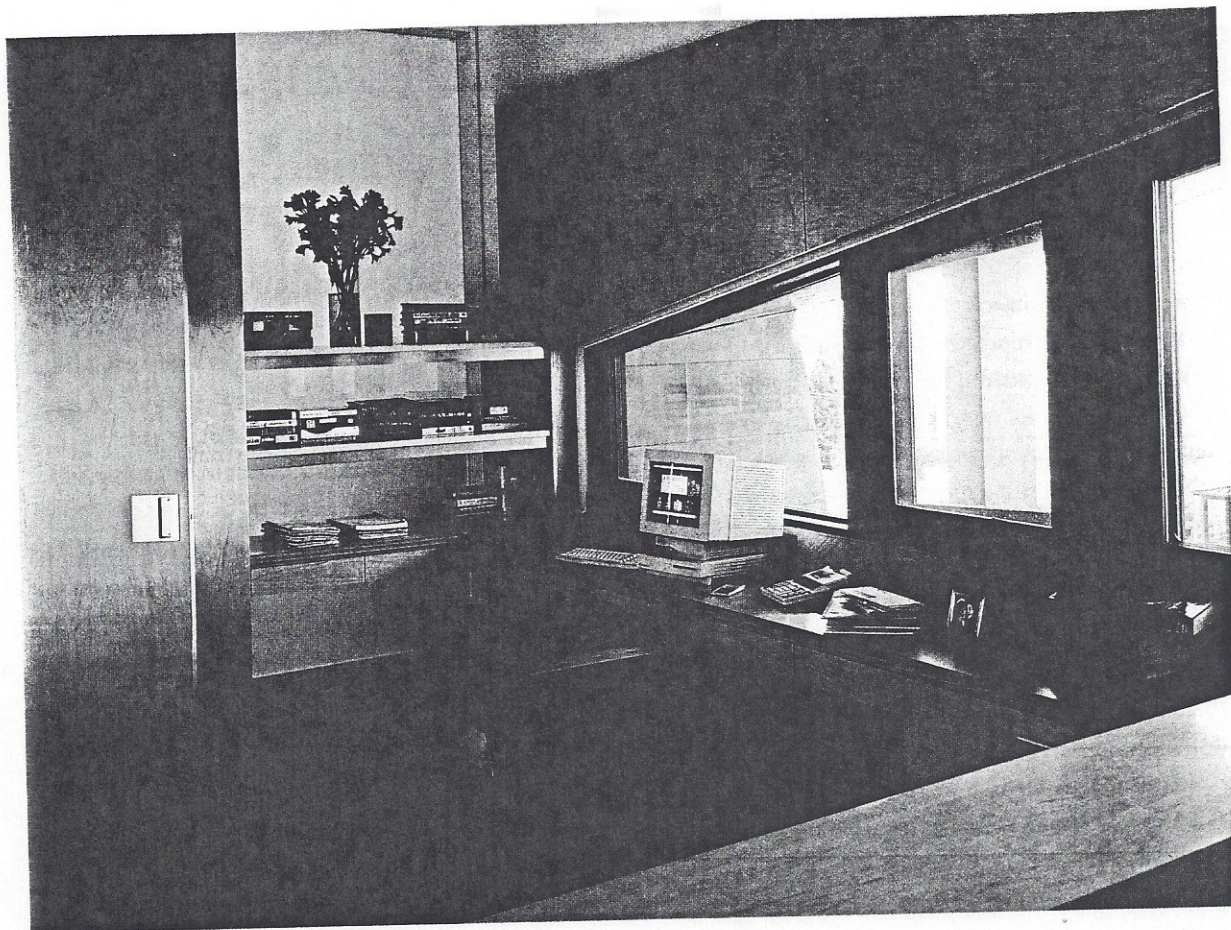


PLATE 6

Drager House, threshold study

distinct moments in which awareness of the body and its movements creates a reciprocal consciousness of objects and spaces. Drager understands this well after several years of use:

There are two doors, one from the bedroom and one from the hallway. The door from the bedroom is a pocket door—sort of like opening into a secret place. In the morning, I progress from my private sleeping space into the bathroom to the shower, sink and toilet, then to the closet, and finally dressed and fully “armed” I leave by the more public, official door to the hallway and the day.³¹

Comments such as this confirm the success of the house as a work of architecture and as a home. Like Bergren, Drager viewed her collaboration with the architects as positive, and she recognized that they not only enhanced the program as she defined it, but also reconfigured domestic space in a way that clarified and enlarged the experience of domestic life.³²

Implications for Future Design

Ultimately, the significance of the Bergren and Drager houses, like that of the other projects discussed in this book, stems from their ability to integrate program and design in a meaningful synthesis of form, function, and symbolism. As houses built for women clients, they go further: in interpreting the needs of women and their households, both projects exceed the requirements of use to suggest new approaches to domestic planning – narratives of balanced integration among disparate parts – responsive to complex programs. By making and sustaining new connections through spatial organization, architecture goes beyond mere form to act as a cultural force for change.

The most successful projects are those that provide users with choices, offering a variety of spatial and social environments. Architectural experience is not simply physical and aesthetic but also cultural, and it is through the culturally constructed body that the mind and spirit of an individual are reached. This is why gender matters to architectural design, and why houses built for women who defied convention teach us important lessons about the power of architecture.

The Bergren and Drager houses suggest a number of lessons for domestic design, not only in the case of single-family houses but for multi-unit projects as well.³³ The innovative approaches taken in these houses need not be tied to budget or scale but can be applied to a variety of domestic conditions. First, it is evident from the comments of the architects and clients in both examples that these houses were viewed as collaborative projects from the start. Sustained and detailed discussion of the program requirements – and of the symbolic and psychological dimensions of each client's vision of the new house – ensured that the strong foundations of the collaboration were laid early. Further, these conversations were an opportunity for architects and clients to exchange ideas; such a process is grounded in the recognition that each

participant has a role to play in the project as it develops. This is a crucial point: on the architect's side, there is an acknowledgment of the client's vision and experience, and, equally important, on the client's side, an affirmation that the architect not only satisfies the functional requirements of the program but adds to and enhances it through design. This, after all, is the bitter lesson of the Farnsworth House: ultimately, architect and client failed to come to terms with each other's vision, goals, and experience.

Second, the two projects suggest new approaches to design for nontraditional households. In each case the balance between public and private space is shifted to offer a wider range of choices for individual and group activities. Points of overlap between zones (the entrance lobby of the Bergren House, and the stairway and threshold study in the Drager House) become meeting places for household members. Communal spaces can thus be reduced in size relative to areas where adults and children can work or relax in private (the vestigial quality of the living and dining rooms in the Drager House confirm this point). Moreover, by expanding and elaborating private spaces, both houses acknowledge the complex lives of the adults and children who live in them, providing places to "dream dreams," as Drager put it. It is important to emphasize that projects such as these need not be large. It is not size but circulation and sequence that are critical, as is evident from the realization of how much is accomplished in the 800-square-foot addition at the Bergren House.

Third, both houses emphasize the importance of domestic ritual and meaningful daily contact with well-designed built form. Windows, vistas, furniture, and materials call attention to repeated actions, creating a storehouse of familiar experiences and memories over time. Moreover, the delineation of paths of movement and sight highlights specific actions and points of

connection, making the work of architecture an active participant in shaping daily experience. Such connections help focus on what Bergren called “the interplay of opposites” – old and new parts of the house, work and relaxation, individual and family – and thus create coherence among the disparate parts of everyday life at home. Many good buildings offer such rich environments, but these examples, as houses designed for single women and children, underline the importance of respecting – and representing – the experience of a range of users.

Fourth, these two examples focus attention on the boundaries and connections between individuals not only within the household, but also between the home and the outside world. Windows offer views of the street and the city, terraces provide access to sky and air, and checkpoints within the house allow monitoring of entrances and exits, both interior and exterior. These devices anchor the home in its surroundings, offering the sort of connection to the wider community that the interior streets and paths offer to household members. As single-family homes, these houses represent individual, private solutions, yet they contain ideas that can be expanded and developed to create community and broaden connections between households.

Like all good buildings, the Bergren and Drager houses confirm architecture’s ability to transform lives. By providing users with choices, and with contexts in which to order daily activities, they create an awareness of individual experience and of the lives of others.

I began this book with the voice of Frank Lloyd Wright, and it is only appropriate that I end it with that of Virginia Woolf, the person with whom the notion of “a room of one’s own” is most closely associated. Though many readers may be familiar with the phrase, fewer will have read the text in which it appears. In her essay Woolf makes clear that it is not simply physical space but also money, freedom, and courage that are needed if women

are to create great works of literature or to become the equals of men in any field. For her, all these things were necessary if women were to put aside the expectations of society – to free themselves from the “common sitting-room,” as she put it, of gender stereotype – and experience life and art more fully. Thus she spoke to her audience of women at Girton College, Cambridge, in October 1929 about Shakespeare’s sister – that fictitious, frustrated woman poet “who never wrote a word” – and about how her spirit lived on, not only in each of them but “in many other women who are not here tonight” because they are at home “washing up the dishes and putting the children to bed.”³⁴ With “five hundred [pounds] a year each of us and rooms of our own,” she explained, she and the women around her could bring Shakespeare’s sister back to life through their own work. But many things would have to change:

*If we have the habit of freedom and the courage to write exactly what we think; if we escape a little from the common sitting-room and see human beings not always in relation to each other but in relation to reality; and the sky too, and the trees or whatever it may be in themselves. ... if we face the fact, for it is a fact, that there is no arm to cling to, but that we go alone and that our relation is to the world of reality and not to the world of men and women, then the opportunity will come and the dead poet who was Shakespeare’s sister will put on the body which she has so often laid down. Drawing her life from the lives of the unknown who were her forerunners, as her brother did before her, she will be born.*³⁵

Like all the women in this book, Woolf knew well that with the money to live and a room of one’s own, courage, independence, and creativity would follow. But the houses designed for these women teach us a further lesson: that if the room is not just a room but a home that gives pleasure, order, and meaning to life, then these things might come sooner.

- 1 See Rosalind Rosenberg, *Divided Lives: American Women in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), and Claudia Dale Goldin, *Understanding the Gender Gap: An Economic History of American Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- 2 For a survey of changes in women's lives in the United States, see John d'Emilio and Estelle Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); for Europe, see Drude Dahlerup, ed., *The New Women's Movement: Feminism and Political Power in Europe and the USA* (London: Sage, 1986), and Jane Rendell, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States* (New York: Schocken, 1984).
- 3 D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 331; Rosenberg, *Divided Lives*, 195–209.
- 4 For an overview of the effects of recent social and economic trends on women's lives, see Rosenberg, *Divided Lives*, 235–52.
- 5 Ibid., 236.
- 6 For a survey of recent changes in the American family, see Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Life* (New York: Free Press), 202–52.
- 7 For a summary of data relating to this point, see Sherry Ahrentzen, "Overview of Housing for Single-Parent Households," in Karen A. Franck and Sherry Ahrentzen, eds., *New Households, New Housing* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1991), 143–60. On working women, see Arlie Russell Hochschild, *Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home* (New York: Viking Press, 1989).
- 8 Rosenberg, *Divided Lives*, 247–48.
- 9 Ahrentzen, "Overview," 145–56. On women and housework, see also Susan Strasser, *Never Done: A History of American Housework* (New York: Pantheon, 1982).
- 10 For feminist housing alternatives, see Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods and Cities* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981), and her *Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work and Family Life* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1984). Further discussion of contemporary alternatives is in Franck and Ahrentzen, *New Households, New Housing*, esp. parts 1, 2. For collective living in apartments, see Elizabeth Cromley, *Alone Together: A History of Early New York Apartments* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989).
- 11 This movement is described in Janice Goldfrank, *Making Ourselves at Home: Women Builders and Designers* (Watsonville, Calif.: Papier-Mache Press, 1995).
- 12 For some recent alternatives, see K. Michael Hays et al., eds., *Assemblage* 24, issue entitled "House Rules" (1994). This type of work dominates the practice of many young architects.
- 13 The evidence for this observation comes from over one hundred "house histories" written by students in my courses on gender and domestic architecture at Wellesley College over the past twelve years.
- 14 For the Bergren House, see Peter Cook and George Rand, *Morphosis: Buildings and Projects* (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), 100–111; a full bibliography for the firm's work is included. See also Ann Bergren, "Interplay of Opposites," *House and Garden* (Jan. 1986), 126–33, and Dana Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), 199–209.
- 15 Ann Bergren and Taylor Bergren-Chrisman, interview with Alice Friedman, May 24, 1996.
- 16 Cuff, *Architecture*, 199–203.
- 17 Ibid., 203 (from an interview conducted in Feb. 1988).
- 18 Bergren, "Interplay of Opposites," 127–28.
- 19 Ibid., 174.
- 20 For the Drager House, see Diana Ketchum, "An Architect Conjures Up History from the Ashes," *New York Times*, Aug. 17, 1995, B: 1, 4, and Aaron Betsky, *Drager House: Franklin D. Israel* (London: Phaidon, 1996). For the work of Franklin D. Israel, see Franklin D. Israel et al., *Franklin D. Israel: Buildings and Projects* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), esp. Frank O. Gehry's introduction, Israel's essay, "Cities Within," and Thomas Hines's essay, "Takeoff: The Journey of Frank Israel." See also James Steele, ed., *Franklin D. Israel* (London: Academy Editions, 1994).
- 21 Annie Chu, interview with Alice Friedman, Mar. 29, 1996.
- 22 David L. Kirp, "There Goes the Neighborhood," *Harpers Magazine* 294 (Mar. 1997), 52.
- 23 Sharon Drager, E-mail letter to Alice Friedman, May 4, 1996.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 For Israel's debt to Schindler, see Hines, "Takeoff," 212.
- 26 The phrase is Annie Chu's; interview with Friedman.
- 27 Drager, E-mail letter to Friedman.
- 28 Sharon Drager, interview with Alice Friedman, Mar. 26, 1996, and Chu, interview with Friedman.
- 29 Drager, E-mail letter to Friedman.
- 30 For example, compare this bath to that in Israel's Strick House, Hollywood, Calif., of 1993, a room filled with smooth, reflective surfaces, glass partitions, and featuring a view over the rooftops of Hollywood from the spa bath itself; illustrated in Steele, *Franklin D. Israel*, 138–43.
- 31 Drager, E-mail letter to Friedman.
- 32 The Drager House was only the second house built by Frank Israel and, tragically, his last; he died in June 1996 at the age of fifty.
- 33 I am indebted here to the approach offered by Ghislaine Hermanuz in her essay "Housing for a Postmodern World," in Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway, and Leslie Kanes Weisman, eds., *The Sex of Architecture* (New York: Abrams, 1996), 233–40.
- 34 Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1989), 113 (originally published in 1929).
- 35 Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, 114.