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## DISABLED DOMESTICITIES AND THE POLITICS OF BATHROOMS

### Architectural Enactments of Interdependence

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I want to invite you to look at this photograph of a domestic bathroom. Let's unpack it collectively as a small act of defiance—we are not expected to do anything together in the bathroom!<sup>1</sup> The bowl, the most striking element in the image, stands isolated in the middle of the room, a couple of feet away from the closest wall. There is a pipe behind the bowl that seemingly feeds it with water, in the absence of a flush tank. This pipe is the only element that grounds this isolated device—it would otherwise be floating within the room, a sort of throne, or part of a Duchampian operation of estrangement. Another pipe, coming out of the wall close by, might provide water to an additional device: a sink, maybe, since none is in sight. Or it might serve as a grab bar, in case one would need stability while using this free-standing seat. The toilet paper, to the front, is too far to be reached comfortably while seating. A shower equipped with a handheld hose is placed right behind the toilet, leaving the bowl's position even more unsettled. One could even sit on the bowl while taking a shower—a suggestion that is not so unlikely given the position of the towel right above the toilet paper roll, which is fully covered as if to protect it from getting wet. This disruptive arrangement of devices is further estranged by its relation to the sequence of spaces pictured outside the bathroom. We perceive the toilet bowl from behind, as we look outwards from the bathroom into the next room. The toilet is aligned with the door, which the photograph depicts as wide open. Nothing in the next room helps decipher its intended use, but it seems to be quite large and well-lit. Across the room, a second door opens to yet another space, in which a third door, this one closed, offers an enclosure that is too far from the precarious toilet bowl (Figure 1.1).

This distribution of the bathroom's facilities and its relation to other spaces within the house challenges any normalized understanding of bodily



**FIGURE 1.1** A bathroom designed by the office of architect Sally Swanson in Berkeley, ca. 1975, featured in Raymond Lifchez and Barbara Winslow, *Design for Independent Living: The Environment and Physically Disabled People* (1979). (Photograph by Multimedia Center. Courtesy of Raymond Lifchez.)

performances, as well as the bathroom's historically constructed association with privacy and intimacy.<sup>2</sup> Mediating several practices of care, this bathroom was entangled in the redefinition of those performances and associations, as it was enacted by disabled individuals in Berkeley, California, in the 1970s. Designed by the office of architect Sally Swanson, the bathroom was featured in a publication titled *Design for Independent Living: The Environment and Physically Disabled People*, edited by Raymond Lifchez, an architecture professor in the College of the Environmental Design at the University of California Berkeley, and PhD candidate and lecturer Barbara Winslow.<sup>3</sup> The publication presented the design inventions and spatial transformations supporting the life of several disabled individuals who countered their internment in medical institutions as much as their seclusion within the family household. They worked to unfold their life within their communities with the assistance of both social and material infrastructures, many of them facilitated by the Center of Independent Living (CIL). At stake in the practices of care mediated by the

bathroom was the tension between these individuals' pursuit for independence and the forms of interdependence that they developed to sustain that pursuit, resulting in networks of kinship that manifested as an alternative to the nuclear family as a privileged framework of care.

Initiated by disability activists in 1972, the CIL resulted from the organizing and activism started some years earlier by UC Berkeley students—the so-called “Rolling Quads.” Significant among them was Ed Roberts, who in 1962 had been the first student with severe disabilities to attend Berkeley.<sup>4</sup> Following the paradigm of the period, which regarded disabled individuals as patients in need of internment, Roberts was housed at the campus's Cowell Hospital. Critically, however, he demanded that he would live there not as a patient but as a resident, with the help of attendants.<sup>5</sup> Roberts was soon joined by other disabled students, including John Hessler and Herb Willmore, and they quickly organized within the hospital to pursue greater independence and participation in social life. Their ambitions eventually led to the founding of the Physically Disabled Students Program within the university and, later, of the CIL outside the campus. Run by and for disabled people, the CIL soon expanded to include individuals beyond the university and other activists such as Hale Zukas, David Konkel, and Judith Heumann. The CIL led the disability community in the Bay Area to pursue several advocacy projects and operated as a counseling center and knowledge-sharing platform supporting individuals in their struggle for “mainstreaming” (a term that was used to appeal to their pursuit to have the same opportunities as nondisabled individuals) and in their life outside institutions, including referrals to attendants, among other services.

Most of the historiography of the Independent Living Movement has focused on the transformation of public spaces (significantly including the introduction of curb cuts in Berkeley) and has often overlooked the transformation of bathrooms and other domestic spaces.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, most scholarship on what is known as the politics of toileting for disabled individuals is concerned with public restrooms.<sup>7</sup> And yet, domestic restrooms are key sites for the structuring of both bodily performances and social norms—questions that are central to the politics of architecture and of disability—within the highly structured spaces of the home. And, as sociologist Rob Imrie has proposed, “disabled people's domestic experiences are, potentially, at odds with the (ideal) conceptions of the home as a haven, or a place of privacy, security, independence and control.”<sup>8</sup>

Despite this relevance, the Independent Living Movement itself often left domestic spaces outside their lawsuits and legal actions, which focused on transformations of public spaces and buildings. And yet, bathrooms were also at the center of the contemporaneous mobilization of the disability community in pursuit of structural reforms, even when they focused on public buildings. For example, in 1977, CIL members spearheaded protests in response to

the failure of the Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations to develop the necessary regulations for the implementation of Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. Section 504 had been developed to expand the civil rights laws of the 1960s by prohibiting discrimination against people with disabilities in programs that received federal financial assistance. During the final phase of their protests (ultimately leading to their success), disabled individuals occupied the San Francisco Federal Building of Health, Education, and Welfare in what turned out to be the longest sit-in in a federal government office in US history to date. The sit-in succeeded thanks to critical alliances between different civil rights movements, bringing to the fore the diverse experiences within the disability community and taking advantage of the different resources and knowledges of different groups that participated in the sit-in. The Black Panthers, for example, provided dinners to the occupiers, while deaf individuals were able to communicate with the outside without the interference of the police using American Sign Language (ASL).<sup>9</sup> And while the protestors were fighting for a more accessible built environment—with toilets that they could use—they had to live during their protest within a building that was not prepared for them.

In response to these limitations, the sit-in offered an opportunity to enact the prefigurative politics that characterized many of the civil rights movements at the time—understanding prefigurative politics as those by which the goals of the movement are rehearsed within the modes of organization mobilized during their struggles.<sup>10</sup> Mary Lou Breslin described the sit-in as “a living role model,” in which disabled individuals were “living out the purpose that [they were] trying to embody in [the Section 504] regulations—that purpose was being experienced and exercised in the building itself.”<sup>11</sup> Lifchez and Winslow’s publication gathered the experience of Peter Trier, one of the disabled individuals in the sit-in, who reflected on both the opportunities and challenges of this prefigurative modeling:

It was a beautiful experience characterized by shared emotions and loving concern; the depth of commitment of a group who was willing to take serious risks with their health and well-being for the sake of a shared belief moved me profoundly.<sup>12</sup>

As a matter of fact, the sit-in probed the forms of care unfolding within the community and their relations with architecture, as some of the participants had to live without the help of devices such as catheters or the assistance that they regularly required for their bowel movements and their performances of grooming and hygiene.<sup>13</sup> Corbett Joan O’Toole describes some of the designs that they developed in response, including an improvised shower made by hooking up a hose to the sink faucet in the women’s bathroom and placing a baby’s bathtub in front of it.<sup>14</sup> Ultimately, the politics of disabilities became evident in San Francisco not only in their heated discussions but also in their

tactics of living, including how to be clean and how to shit. Just as they did outside of the sit-in, disabled individuals demonstrated both their expertise in the transformation of the built environment and the diverse forms of care they practiced within it.

Care and its spatialization were critical to the project of the Independent Living Movement at the time. Significantly, although the movement sought to facilitate the “independence” of disabled individuals, this emphasis was different from the pursuit of autonomy and assimilation, foregrounding instead diverse forms of interdependence.<sup>15</sup> In what follows, my goal is to analyze bathrooms as architectural enactments of interdependence. I will highlight how the interventions performed within bathrooms by members of the Independent Living Movement not only allowed them to live outside institutions of care but additionally offered an alternative to the nuclear family—and to the single-family house as its architectural materialization. I will then move to analyze these design interventions both as the site of assistance and as assisted architectures—simultaneously challenging the autonomy of the body and the capacity of architects to operate as experts independently from the knowledge and performances of disabled individuals. Resulting instead from the agency of disabled individuals as designers themselves, the architecture of the bathrooms I will address—along with other transformations of domestic spaces—did not merely offer functional solutions to these individuals’ needs but rather operated as both technical and aesthetic interventions within new forms of kinship.

In my reading of these bathrooms, I assume a materialist approach by which neither culture nor politics are constrained to the realm of ideas but are rather mediated by material artifacts such as architecture. I argue that these spaces not only include or deny access to certain kinds of bodies but also produce those bodies, along with their identities and social ties. This approach challenges a medical paradigm in which disabilities are understood as individual conditions and illnesses to be cured or mended.<sup>16</sup> As an alternative to this model, environmental and social paradigms frame impairment in relation to social practices and the political dimension of medicine, situate disability in relation to diverse forms of oppression, and emphasize the characteristics of the built environment that identify specific bodies as disabled.<sup>17</sup> A critical approach to disabilities has increasingly built on these models to emphasize the shared lived experiences of disabled individuals, both as a result of those forms of oppression and as a platform for a shared culture, an episteme, and a politics.<sup>18</sup> This approach relates to other developments in feminist, queer, and transgender studies, as well as forms of activism that highlight the social and political production of gender and sex.<sup>19</sup> Some have embraced the term “crip” and have expanded the discussion on disabilities in alliance with those movements and as a form of resistance to what Robert McCruer has discussed as “the contemporary spectacle of able-bodied heteronormativity.”<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile, other scholars have emphasized the intersection of disability with other categories of identity, including race, following the understanding that “Blackness and disability have been—and continue to be—discursively linked in various cultures,” as Sami Schalk has argued.<sup>21</sup> While the disability rights movement that led the architectural interventions and practices of care that I address here rarely centered these intersections, I will highlight the ways in which their practices of interdependence and care aligned anti-ableism with the fight against other forms of oppression based on gender, sexual orientation, and race—allies in pursuit of alternative forms of care.

### Unveiling Intimacies

The bathroom within which we started was among the multiple transformations of domestic spaces performed by disabled individuals in Berkeley, which they sometimes defined and built on their own and sometimes with the assistance of architects.<sup>22</sup> Regardless of the participation of professional support, these transformations centered the knowledge and expertise of disabled individuals rather than relying on the authority of architects and other experts. This was particularly significant in the case of bathrooms, which have frequently been rendered as neutral technological devices since the advent of modernity. Contrary to this understanding, bathrooms are highly specific historical artifacts. While many of the characteristics of Western bathrooms still prevalent until today were both encoded and increasingly disseminated by diverse experts between the mid-nineteenth century and World War II, members of the Independent Living Movement developed new forms of expertise that joined other challenges to these prevailing standards.

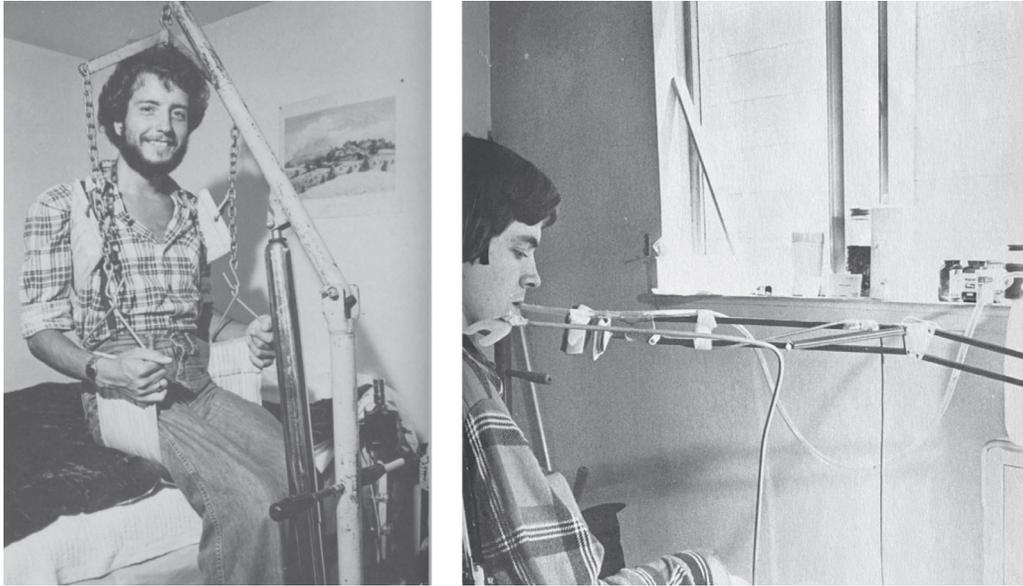
The most significant among these challenges in the United States was Alexander Kira’s scientific study of bathrooms and their use, developed between 1958 and 1965 during his tenure as Architecture Professor and Associate Director of the Center for Housing and Environmental Studies at Cornell University and published as *The Bathroom: Criteria for Design* in 1966.<sup>23</sup> Grounded on Henry Dreyfuss’s work on ergonomics, Kira developed user-centered research on diverse practices and behaviors of bathroom use and challenged devices that did not conform to those practices. Although the study was supported by broad-reaching field research and explored differences across ages and cultures, his ultimate goal was to lead a design reform following technocratic logics, privileging optimal postures according to medical paradigms.<sup>24</sup> While his first publication did not pay specific attention to disabled individuals, Kira amended this absence in the 1976 edition, in which he explored the behaviors and practices of individuals with diverse types of impairments and accounted for the technical, social, and psychological dimensions of their practices within the bathroom. Still, the chapters dedicated to disability and aging confirmed

the technocratic outlook of the book, with those experiences subsumed to abstract analysis and leading to technical generalizations.<sup>25</sup>

The knowledge that *Design for Independent Living* presented about bathrooms—and the built environment more broadly—was radically different to this technocratic approach, in its nature, in its sources, and in its goals. The bathrooms it featured were neither characterized by generic devices and normative spatial characteristics nor presented as model responses to the specific needs of disabled individuals. Instead, they were idiosyncratic adaptations resulting from the multiple dimensions of everyday life—including concerns with access along with responses to different experiences of beauty, among others. Rather than celebrating professional authority, these interventions and the whole movement emphasized the expertise of disabled individuals as the source of design authority, considering that “the disabled person may have a point of view that challenges what the designers would consider good design.”<sup>26</sup>

The book presented the transformations of bathrooms alongside other tools, furniture, and architectural adaptations of interiors as manifestations of the creativity of these individuals. Some of the adaptations were custom-made versions of generic architectural devices such as ramps, and others resulted from the introduction of equipment commonly used in hospitals, such as the Hoyer lift, within domestic spaces. Many of the design transformations were ingenious devices, such as tools to extend the reach from a wheelchair, open glass shelves to facilitate inspecting the content of a storage unit, and multilevel kitchen counters. Other changes consisted of transforming the expected use of spaces, such as bringing the bed into the living room in order for someone with limited mobility to participate in domestic dynamics or locating a table by the side of the bed to allow someone to work within it. Rather than tools for normalization, these design interventions were more clearly related to what scholars Aimi Hamraie and Kelly Fritsch have defined as the “powerful, messy, noninnocent, contradictory, and nevertheless crucial work of crip technoscience: practices of critique, alteration, and reinvention of our material-discursive world” (Figure 1.2).<sup>27</sup>

Some of the interventions within bathrooms featured in the study contradicted the recommendations proposed by Kira when considering optimal postures following generic physiologies. While Kira suggested that lower toilets facilitated excretion, for example, some toilets gathered in *Design for Independent Living* were lifted with wooden bases to facilitate seating. Far from generalizing any of these design interventions, the study always insists on the contingent nature of those interventions and giving voice to the users: “Mirrors ... should never be placed without consulting the user, because the reflected image of the self can be very hard to deal with for a disabled ... individual.”<sup>28</sup> All transformations included in the study were, in fact, presented by their users, who were regarded as the main agents of change.



**FIGURE 1.2** Documentation of environmental transformations collected in Raymond Lifchez and Barbara Winslow, *Design for Independent Living: The Environment and Physically Disabled People* (1979). Hoyer lift (left) and arrangement for obtaining water without assistance (right). (Photographs by Multimedia Center. Courtesy of Raymond Lifchez.)

These transformations can be placed within a broader challenge to the normative standardization of bathrooms performed contemporaneously by the counterculture movement in the West Coast. If Kira's book was a manifestation of a technocratic approach, the journal *WET: The Magazine of Gourmet Bathing* captured these latter challenges. Edited between 1976 and 1981 by Leonard Koren in Venice, California, the magazine situated bathrooms and bathing performances within a broad array of topics ranging from music, television, design, and fashion to medicine, drugs, beauty, and sex. Far from normalization, both the bathroom and the magazine were presented as “a clearing house for the weird.”<sup>29</sup> Rather than the site of expected performances, bathrooms were presented as opportunities for chance encounters. (“Somebody he recognizes from last night is in the showers. This one avoids him.”)<sup>30</sup> They were discussed in personal interviews or fictional narratives in relation to discourses on gender and diverse attitudes toward hygiene, among many others.

Aligned with this socialization of the bathroom and in a radical departure from the technocratic approach that conventionally characterizes architects' study of disability (an approach that architect and historian David Gissen has recently framed as “functionalist”)<sup>31</sup>—Lifchez and Winslow sought to capture the “material-discursive world” of disabled individuals through an

ethnographic approach. Rather than regarding disabled individuals as bearers of special needs to be solved by an external source of knowledge, the study engaged them as members of a culture that could be explored, valued, and learned from. In fact, while the study was addressed fundamentally to designers, it was not grounded in their knowledge but in that of disabled individuals themselves. Developed together with Berkeley students who conducted more than 800 interviews along with photographic and video documentation, the study engaged disabled individuals as “informants” and situated their designs in relation to their behaviors, skills, and organizational networks.

Different from the recording of diverse performances in the bathroom developed by Kira, the documentation produced for the study privileged the viewpoint of the informants, with cameras inventively attached to wheelchairs. Even more, while Kira characteristically hid the faces of the subjects participating in his studies, all the individuals interviewed in this study were represented, both in the text and in the images, as individuals with distinct personality and complex lifestyles. While the study sought to highlight that “the life story of each disabled individual [is] unique,” and engaged and represented individuals with diverse disabilities and racial backgrounds, they still emphasized a limited description of the plurality of experiences of disabilities, privileging the point of view of white wheelchair users, only one of whom was blind, and most of whom were linked to UC Berkeley.<sup>32</sup> Challenging this specific outlook would have contributed to the construction of what Mia Mingus discusses as “a model of disability that embraces difference, confronts privilege and challenges what is considered ‘normal’ on every front”—building the grounds of the pursuit for disability justice.<sup>33</sup>

And yet, despite this limitation, treating disability as a culture through an ethnographic lens was a radical proposition at the time. The study covered several activities and areas of life, ranging from grooming to storing and from socializing to excreting. Disclosing the private life of disabled individuals was a form of defiance in of itself, for often their lives were, at that time, constrained to medical institutions or within the family household and were rarely part of public life. In fact, the image of disabled individuals was often constructed both through stereotypes and taboos, both of which the book sought to challenge. In this unveiling, the study challenged the way in which “ableism has framed [disabled individuals] as unfit for grace, to be hidden from public view.”<sup>34</sup> This defiance was particularly significant as it concerned bathrooms, for, as the authors remarked, “the activities, devices, and techniques associated with grooming have traditionally been surrounded by an aura of mystery—the secrets used to produce the desired image are hidden, sometimes even denied.”<sup>35</sup> Unveiling and socializing the diverse practices taking place within the bathroom was not only a goal of the ethnographic study but also one pursued by disabled individuals themselves at that time—as we shall now turn to discuss.

### Open Bathrooms and Expanded Domesticities

Many of the transformations pursued by members of the Independent Living Movement in their spaces of residence led to the literal opening up of bathrooms, exposing them to the view of both those sharing the household and visitors. This unveiling of bathroom spaces and practices resulted in the disruption of traditional constructions of intimacy and privacy. For example, Carmen Anderson explains how she had to leave the bathtub exposed in making her restroom accessible, while Gary Peterson discusses the removal of the bathroom door in his house to allow him to enter with his wheelchair. And while he argues that this removal was never a problem for him—accustomed as he was to need the help of attendants in the bathroom—it was often a source of embarrassment for his visitors.<sup>36</sup> Making the bathroom “usable,” the study discussed, was often pursued at the expense of privacy.<sup>37</sup>

However, rather than framing this loss of privacy as a limitation, the study presented this key transformation of the bathroom as an opportunity for new socialities. Analyzing Carmen Anderson’s case, the authors of the study argue that:

bathing [turns into] a rather public event accompanied by conversations from room to room with attendants and friends .... Carmen plans to hang a net chair from the ceiling beside her tub; it will be out of the way and will provide a seat when needed, further emphasizing the acceptance of nudity in this household.<sup>38</sup>

Tom Dempsey’s bathroom, which was only separated from the hall of his house by a curtain, resulted in a similar disruption of normative constructions of privacy and intimacy. And these were even more significant in the rooming house in which he lived, for they incorporated individuals beyond the confines of the nuclear family (Figure 1.3).

If the introduction of the water closet as an independent and enclosed room had been a key mechanism for the ordering and disciplining of family dynamics since the mid-nineteenth century in Britain, the opening up of the bathroom was a manifestation of alternative networks of kinship—which the study celebrated.<sup>39</sup> The authors of the book regarded Dempsey’s living arrangement as “a stimulating living environment” and he celebrated the networks it triggered:

[It] exposes me to a constant flow of a wide variety of people .... There’s a cross section of types: college students and older people, long-term residents who are neighbors and have become friends. The result is a constant ebb and flow of various types of humanity through the place I live. Some



**FIGURE 1.3** An accessible bathroom featured in Raymond Lifchez and Barbara Winslow, *Design for Independent Living: The Environment and Physically Disabled People* (1979). (Photograph by Jane Scherr. Courtesy of Raymond Lifchez.)

have become friends and are supportive.... Because they are part of my house, they have become a part of my subject: the disabled existence.<sup>40</sup>

The so-called “disabled existence” was presented as a new form of subjecthood that challenged constructions of individual autonomy and presented an alternative form of sociality that questioned the nuclear family as a privileged form of association.

This alternative form of life was shared by many of the study’s informants, most of whom lived with roommates, many times also disabled themselves. Mary Ann Hiserman and Lennis Jones (both informants in the study) lived together as roommates, and their house was described as a “crossroads,” frequented by many people, including the nine to ten attendants that they shared.<sup>41</sup> These living arrangements might have resulted from the specific focus of the study (which included a high number of university students), but some of its characteristics were also shared by those in more affluent and stable

positions. Carmen Anderson, for example, lived with her three kids, but her house was also occupied by “an assortment of tenants,” the study argued.<sup>42</sup>

Attendants were significant members of these expanded arrangements and performed forms of labor often confined within the family or externalized to medical institutions. Their labor was fundamental for the life of disabled individuals, assisting in their functional needs, providing emotional and social support, and creating links with other individuals and organizations.<sup>43</sup> But the expanded kinship networks characteristic of these arrangements included diverse types of relations and forms of affiliation. Significantly, these networks did not preclude emotional relationships and the pursuit of these individuals to have their own families. For example, after living in an institution, John McLaughlin moved to live with a woman who was both his attendant and emotional partner.<sup>44</sup> In this regard, the study explicitly responded to “society’s unwillingness to view [disabled individuals] as sexual beings and potential mates” and included scenes of intimacy within the ethnography, even while challenging the normalization of the nuclear family and its ideologies as the only framework for intimate relationships (Figure 1.4).<sup>45</sup>

This pursuit takes on particular meaning considering the historical alliances between the nuclear family and ableism. As writer Jennifer Natalya Fink has recently explored, “Families continue to define themselves against disability.”<sup>46</sup>



**FIGURE 1.4** A scene of intimacy featured in Raymond Lifchez and Barbara Winslow, *Design for Independent Living: The Environment and Physically Disabled People* (1979). (Photograph by Jane Scherr. Courtesy of Raymond Lifchez.)

Fundamental to this exclusionary definition is the consideration of disability as a category of identity, but one that is not vertical—such as those derived from blood, as the family lineage—but horizontal—one that is “an inherent or acquired trait that is foreign to his or her [sic] parents and must therefore acquire identity from a peer group,” as culture and psychology scholar Andre Salomon has explained.<sup>47</sup> The nuclear family featured prominently in the study and was mostly regarded as a space of limited freedom, in which parents sought to protect disabled kids from risks at the expense of their independence and integration.<sup>48</sup> In some cases, those descriptions seem to illustrate the way in which social theorists Michèle Barrett and Mary McIntosh have described the family as “a trap, a prison whose walls and bars are constructed of the ideas of domestic privacy and autonomy”—both of which were challenged by these individuals’ life projects.<sup>49</sup> Allison C. Carey, Pamela Block, and Richard K. Scotch have argued that in lieu of autonomy, political consciousness, and cultural identity, even activist parents of disabled kids tend to pursue “cure and maximal normalization, striving to erase rather than embrace disability.”<sup>50</sup> However, while not featured in the study, the parents of some independent living activists played important roles as advocates of their causes. For example, Ed Roberts’s mother, Zona, was both a significant supporter of her son and a key ally of the movement and worked as a counsel at the CIL since its inception.<sup>51</sup>

In framing their transformation of bathrooms as a challenge to the family, I aim to highlight the disability community in Berkeley as a political movement and put it side by side with other activists who took on a similar project from anti-patriarchal and anti-racist stances. In this proposition, I locate disabled individuals amongst what feminist author Sophie Lewis calls “anti-genealogical fugitives” (in their challenge to genealogy as the privileged form of relatibility) and the pursuit of the Independent Living Movement as one of “provincializing the private nuclear household.”<sup>52</sup> A wide discontent with the family—with its limitations and exclusions—was contemporaneously shared by many, including intellectuals, the women’s liberation movement, and the queer community.<sup>53</sup> The latter was particularly significant in the Bay Area, leading what historian Stephen Vider calls a “re-invention of the household” with different strategies of communal living—regarded at the time as “an attempt to create new forms of extended family.”<sup>54</sup> These strategies responded to the diverse forms of exclusion that resulted from the growing normalization of the family following the hetero-patriarchal model. These exclusions were also grounded in racist bias, which were paradigmatically encapsulated in a 1965 report published by Daniel Patrick Moynihan (then Assistant Secretary of Labor under President Lyndon B. Johnson and later a senator), which dismissively referred to Black families, often led by women, as “a tangle of pathology.”<sup>55</sup> Some Black leaders, including Kay Lindsey and Hortense Spillers,

responded to this form of racial exclusion not in pursuit of inclusion but with what scholar Tiffany Lethabo King calls “a distinctly abolitionist critique of the family.”<sup>56</sup> Significantly, King detects in this work a pursuit of “non conventional modes of extending kin and care networks,” similar to the ways in which the expanded alliances of disabled individuals at Berkeley challenged the family in pursuit of alternative forms of interdependence.<sup>57</sup>

This pursuit was a challenge not just to the family but also to the single-family house as its architectural framework. Most significantly, the Independent Living Movement questioned the bounded condition of the home, with individuals frequently depending on networks of bathrooms located in neighboring structures—enacting what could be considered a communal toileting infrastructure. One of the cases discussed refers to a woman with muscular atrophy who regularly used bathrooms outside her home since hers was not accessible. Her own bathroom was far from useless; it became a key element when considered within the infrastructure, since it was used by the attendants that assisted her.<sup>58</sup> This paradigmatic shift in the relationship between the domestic bathroom and the family home links the transformations performed by the Independent Living Movement to other revolutionary transformations of domestic spaces and their values such as the introduction of collective kitchens and kitchenless houses since the nineteenth century.<sup>59</sup> If the home was rendered not as a “sanctuary” (following Imrie) but instead as a “prison,” the transformation of its bathrooms was a medium for liberation.<sup>60</sup>

These networks of bathrooms enacted what David Gissen has discussed as a “disability critique of property,” all the more significant considering the inscription of the family ideals not only into domestic typologies but also into urban patterns and property articulations in Berkeley since the beginning of the century (single-family home zoning has been operating in the area since 1916, the first in the country).<sup>61</sup> This exclusionary zoning, which has also been described through its racist origins, can be argued to be simultaneously ableist in its assumptions.<sup>62</sup> At stake in the development of a network of bathrooms amongst the households of disabled individuals was what Gissen describes as a strategy of “communalism” which “encourage[s] physical contact and communication between owners of separate parcels, and would advance ways of holding property in common.”<sup>63</sup> With these strategies, the bathroom became a site for the radical rehearsal of new forms of socialization and property articulation.

### **Networks of Interdependence and Assisted Architectures**

This challenge to the family house as both a social reality and a mediator of property framed architecture’s relation to the diverse networks of interdependence rehearsed by the Independent Living Movement. As Melinda Cooper has argued, the shift in family structures in the 1970s energized the

politics of neoliberalism and social conservatism in an effort to “reestablish the private family as the primary source of economic security and a comprehensive alternative to the welfare state.”<sup>64</sup> Welfare programs were fundamental to the life of disabled individuals in Berkeley at the time, including resources provided by county welfare offices, the California Department of Vocational Rehabilitation, and the federal Social Security Programs, in addition to nonprofit organizations such as Lighthouse for the Blind, the Cerebral Palsy Association, and the March of Dimes.<sup>65</sup> Informal networks, many of which were also facilitated by the CIL, were also fundamental to the agenda of disabled individuals—together shaping what organizer and filmmaker Jim Lebrecht describes as “a promised land ... where you could live independently.”<sup>66</sup>

While welfare support was key to facilitate independent living, at times its logics countered the pursuit for full integration into society and limited the options that disabled individuals in Berkeley had regarding work for fear of losing subsidies if they exceeded the amount of income allowed, even with the large medical expenses they had to incur.<sup>67</sup> In these challenges, they joined the struggles of other groups, such as those detected by the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), led by Black women at the time.<sup>68</sup> Their struggles fit within the “policy wasteland” that disability rights activist Marta Russell explored in her reflections on the relationship between capitalism and disability, given the spectrum of realities defined between dependence and independence in which diverse forms of assistance take place.<sup>69</sup>

The architectural transformations of bathrooms performed by independent living activists explored these forms of assistance and were transformed into a space of conviviality and care. The distribution of devices in the bathroom with which we started, for example, was characteristically planned to easily accommodate several individuals and their assisted performances of excreting and bathing, as were many others transformed by independent living activists at the time. And yet, this was not the only strategy developed contemporaneously in response to the concerns of disabled individuals. A paradigmatic alternative in the United States is seen in the research of Timothy Nugent, the director of the Rehabilitation Education Center at the University of Illinois, which led to the transformation of bathrooms to accommodate disabled individuals and culminated in the 1961 code “American Standard Specifications for Making Buildings and Facilities Accessible to and Usable by the Physically Handicapped.” And yet his proposals emphasized rehabilitation and autonomy, with guidelines for bathrooms expecting users to independently move from wheelchairs to toilet seats with the help of grab bars and other assistive technologies. And, as design historian David Serlin has argued, “assistive technologies” operate at the expense of “the exchange that otherwise might occur between human beings working with each other,” like many of the designs in Berkeley privileged.<sup>70</sup>

Some architects, such as Selwyn Goldsmith (who was disabled himself after contracting polio), were critical of Nugent's work, which they thought was solely focused on young and fit individuals and offered a limited approach to disabilities guided by a pursuit of normalization.<sup>71</sup> Goldsmith's own approach resulted from a broad survey of the experiences of disabled individuals and was published in the volume *Designing for the Disabled* (sponsored by the Royal Institute of British Architects and published in different versions in 1963, '67, and '76). Different from Nugent, his work emphasized assistance within restrooms and offered guidelines specifically catered for diverse forms of interdependence. Attending to the diverse ramifications of these practices, he challenged gender segregation of public restrooms in order to accommodate assistants, which were many times of a different gender. As Elizabeth Guffey has carefully analyzed, his approach was much more than a set of dimensional and technical definitions, implying a larger infrastructural operation of care that acknowledged differences under the umbrella of the welfare state. As Goldsmith stated: "Imbued as I was within the social welfare ethos of England, the way to help disabled people had to be 'for the disabled' way."<sup>72</sup> While Lifchez and Winslow's research did not mention Nugent's work, their publication referenced Goldsmith for, as Guffey has discussed, Nugent aimed to "'neutralize' the effects of disability," while Goldsmith challenged the "unquestioned assumptions about the value of normality and independence"<sup>73</sup>—a project with which the Independent Living Movement aligned.

Attendants played key roles in challenging these "unquestioned assumptions" and often formalized with their labor the performances of care that made bathroom performances possible. Still, some members of the Independent Living Movement had questions about their role, particularly regarding safety and formal training for their job, among others.<sup>74</sup> Others expressed concerns with depending on informal networks of support if one did not have access to them. More recently, Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha, a disabled Black femme author and activist, has powerfully encapsulated these latter concerns:

[If] someone drops me, if someone doesn't show up for a shift, I can die. I don't ever want to depend on being liked or loved by the community for the right to shit in my toilet when I want to.<sup>75</sup>

At stake was the fragile relation between dependence and care, which disabled individuals had to negotiate.

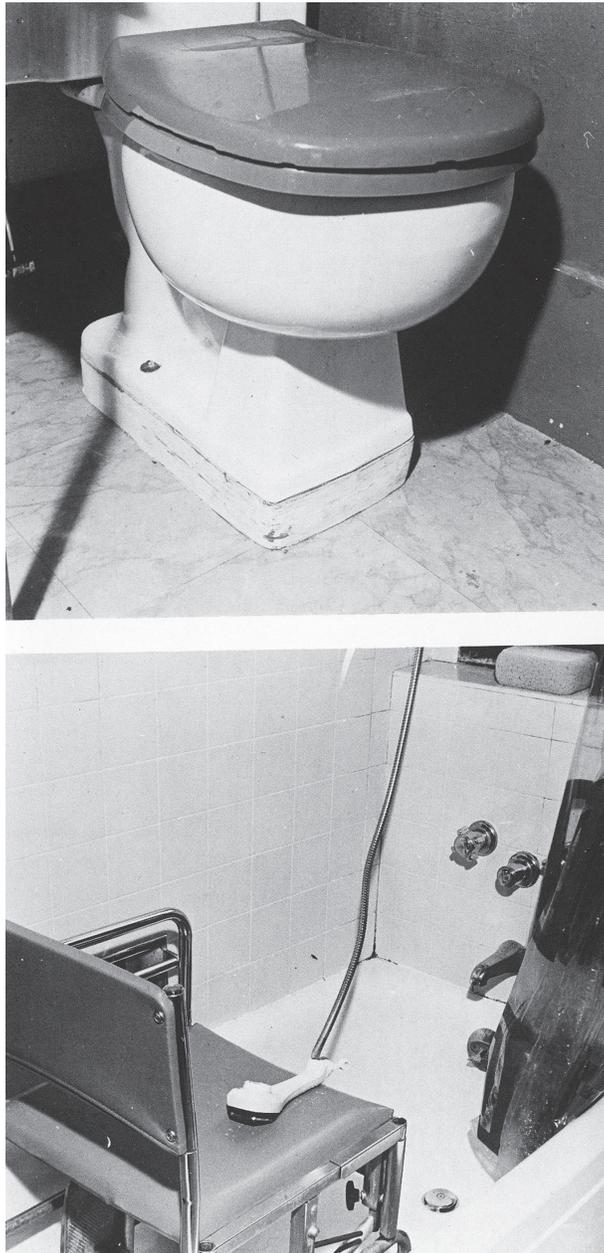
And yet, while the life of disabled individuals depended on diverse forms of assistance, they actively contributed to the life of others in multiple capacities within broad networks of care. John McLaughlin, for example, supported other individuals as a crisis counselor at the Berkeley Free Clinic and peer

counselor at CIL, assisting them in engaging and confronting institutional forms of assistance, such as those provided by the Department of Vocational Rehabilitation and Alameda County Welfare, while Gary Peterson was involved in peer counseling through a radio show he produced.<sup>76</sup> Operating within these networks, disabled individuals contributed to depathologizing assistance while also highlighting care as an essential feature of survival. As scholar Jina B. Kim has proposed, the framework of “interdependency allows us to understand dependency beyond the single register of pathology and, further, prompts us to recognize the webs of support that enable us to live.”<sup>77</sup>

While accommodating diverse forms of assistance was a leading motive for many design interventions, other transformations of bathrooms hosted the independent performances of diverse users. In fact, while bathrooms are often a dangerous space for disabled individuals (with their constrained spaces and slippery surfaces making it easier for one to trip), the study described different performances of those individuals challenging any limitation. Some, for example, included sinks and mirrors placed in a lowered or tilted position to support cleaning and grooming for those on a wheelchair. Others suggested the inclusion of sideboards to transfer into chairs off of benches fitted into showers or bathtubs (Figure 1.5).

In the presentation of those transformations, the concern of the publication was twofold: on the one hand, it rendered obvious the ways in which bathroom architectures actively disable the body or make the body unable to perform certain tasks—ways that these designs hoped to compensate. On the other hand, it also highlighted the capacity of those bodies to perform in inventive ways, sometimes with technologies that expanded their capacities and sometimes alone. That has been more recently the concern of artist and design researcher Sara Hendren; when highlighting how “bodies come up against stairs and sinks,” she suggests that the question does not necessarily need to regard how architecture can meet specific bodies, but rather ask, “What can a body do?”<sup>78</sup> As a matter of fact, the transformations implemented by Independent Living activists cannot be considered as merely functional or utilitarian design interventions, as they imply a more radical destabilization of architecture’s relation to use—considering, with Sara Ahmed, under which assumptions “usefulness became a requirement” in the first place.<sup>79</sup> These interventions can be read as a critique of the technocratic will of architecture and design, since they were never framed as assistive technologies but, otherwise, were situated along diverse forms of assistance and as assisted technologies in their own right.

In this book, many of these designs were represented as being operated with the assistance of both disabled and nondisabled individuals. Other times, these designs were featured along scenes of care not necessarily mediated by any technological aids—including, for example, an attendant helping a



**FIGURE 1.5** Documentation of environmental transformations in bathrooms collected in Raymond Lifchez and Barbara Winslow, *Design for Independent Living: The Environment and Physically Disabled People* (1979). Raised toilet bowl (above) and wheelchair inside a bathtub with shower hose (below). (Photographs by Andrea Bernstein and Multimedia Center. Courtesy of Raymond Lifchez.)

disabled woman get dressed or another one performing a massage. Designs also entered into dialogue with other technologies discussed in the study that assisted the body in diverse activities conventionally hosted in the bathroom, such as catheters and legbags—technologies that framed the body as assisted as well. Ultimately, these tools extend the networks of interdependence beyond individuals as “design practices that recognize the deep relations possible not only among the animate but the inanimate, tools that challenge the division of objects from subjects,” as scholar of disabilities Alison Kafer has proposed.<sup>80</sup> Building on Donna Haraway’s work, Kafer has defined these entanglements as “crip kin”—relations that are not limited to functional capacities but that also operate within aesthetic and affective realms.<sup>81</sup> The design interventions transforming the bathrooms of the Independent Living Movement were radically entangled within networks of interdependence, either through the performances they mediated or through the shared knowledge with which they were designed. They ultimately rendered not only the body but also the architecture as assisted—as a site of care.

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Following Judith Plaskow, “access to toilets is a prerequisite for full public participation and citizenship... [and thus] almost all the social justice movements of the last century in the United States have included struggles for adequate toilet facilities.”<sup>82</sup> And yet, accessible bathrooms did not complete the pursuit of disabled individuals. CIL leader Judy Heuman appealed to a larger quest at stake in the bathrooms we have explored, in her evaluation of the achievements of the 504 sit-in at the time: “I should say everything is wonderful ... [But] I am very tired of being thankful for accessible toilets. [If] I have to feel thankful about an accessible bathroom, how am I going to be equal in the community?”<sup>83</sup> Her question is valuable here in concluding this meditation on both the political dimension of disability beyond access as much as the socio-technical dimension of design artifacts: both are fundamentally entangled in the discussion of architecture and care.

The interventions enacted by the members of the Independent Living Movement situate design artifacts such as bathrooms within broad networks of interdependence that exceed design itself—opening up space for new constructions of kinship and new forms of care. These interventions unveil what disability scholars David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder describe, in their exploration of the biopolitics of disability, as “the active transformation of life that the alternative corporeality of disability creatively entail,” against expectations of integration in normative life frameworks.<sup>84</sup> These interventions ultimately serve as a model for a care revolution that, following the call of the Manifesto of Restroom Revolutionaries, might bring us together to the bathroom, once again.

*Where will you be when the revolution comes?*

*We’ll be in the bathroom—come join us there.*<sup>85</sup>

## Notes

- 1 As Harvey Molotch provocatively argues, “Using the facility ... involves intensely private acts.” See Molotch, “Introduction: Learning from the Loo,” in *Toilet: Public Restrooms and the Politics of Sharing*, ed. Harvey Molotch (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 1. My meditations on bathrooms have been critically enriched by conversations with Matilde Cassani, Ivan L. Munuera, and Joel Sanders in preparation of the projects “Your Restroom is a Battleground” and “The Restroom Pavilion” for the 2021 Venice Architecture Biennale. I have also benefited from discussing this subject matter with David Gissen, who offered important comments and references. Any mistakes or oversights in the argument of this chapter, however, are my own.
- 2 While this association stands true for the current moment, bathrooms have been characterized historically by different forms of sociability in diverse cultures around the world.
- 3 Raymond Lifchez and Barbara Winslow, *Design for Independent Living: The Environment and Physically Disabled People* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). I have addressed Lifchez’s teaching and his collaborations with disabled individuals in Berkeley in Ignacio G. Galán, “Unlearning Ableism: Design Knowledge, Contested Models, and the Experience of Disability in 1970s Berkeley,” *Journal of Design History* 36, no. 1 (2023), 73–92; and Kathleen James-Chakraborty and Ignacio G. Galán, “Every Body Needs Equal Access,” in *Radical Pedagogies*, ed. Beatriz Colomina, Ignacio G. Galán, Evangelos Kotsioris, and Anna-Maria Meister (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2022), 262–265.
- 4 Roberts was paralyzed from the neck down after contracting polio at the age of fourteen. On Ed Roberts and the Center for Independent Living more broadly, see Joseph S. P. Shapiro, *No Pity: People with Disabilities Forging a New Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Times Books, 1993), 41–58; Aimi Hamraie, *Building Access: Universal Design and the Politics of Disability* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 112–130; and Bess Williamson, *Accessible America: A History of Disability and Design* (New York: New York University Press, 2019), 96–128.
- 5 See Edward V. Roberts, “The UC Berkeley Years: First Student Resident at Cowell Hospital, 1962,” interview by Susan O’Hara [1994], in *University of California’s Cowell Hospital Residence Program for Physically Disabled Students, 1962–1975. Catalyst for Berkeley’s Independent Living Movement*, Disability Rights and Independent Living Movement Oral History Series (Berkeley: Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 2000), 9–15.
- 6 On curb cuts, see Bess Williamson, “The People’s Sidewalks: Designing Berkeley’s Wheelchair Route, 1970–1974,” *Boom* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 49–52 and Hamraie, *Building Access*, 95–103.
- 7 See, for example, David Serlin, “Pissing Without Pity: Disability, Gender, and the Public Toilet,” in *Toilet: Public Restrooms and the Politics of Sharing*, 167–185; and Phillippa Wiseman, “Lifting the Lid: Disabled Toilets as Sites of Belonging and Embodied Citizenship,” *The Sociological Review* 67, no. 4 (2019): 788–806.
- 8 Robert Imrie, “Disability, Embodiment, and the Meaning of Home,” *Housing Studies* 19 (2004): 749.
- 9 There are multiple accounts of the sit-in. See, for example, Corbett Joan O’Toole, *Fading Scars: My Queer Disability History* (Berkeley, CA: Reclamation Press, 2019), 30–41. On the role of the Black Panthers, see also Susan Schweik, “Lomax’s Matrix: Disability, Solidarity, and the Black Power of 504,” *Disability Studies Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (2011), <https://dsq-sds.org/article/view/1371/1539>.
- 10 The notion of prefigurative politics was articulated in this very context by different intellectuals, including Carl Boggs—who was involved in the Free Speech movements at Berkeley in the 1960s—and then Sheila Rowbotham—who mobilized

- it to refer by the women's movement of the period. See Carl Boggs, "Marxism, Prefigurative Communism, and the Problem of Workers' Control," *Radical America* 11–12, no. 6-1 (November 1977): 99–122; and Sheila Rowbotham, "The Women's Movement and Organizing for Socialism," *Radical America* 13, no. 5 (September–October 1979): 9–28.
- 11 Mary Lou Breslin, *Selections from Cofounder and Director of the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, Movement Strategist*, collection of interviews by Susan O'Hara [1996–1998], Disability Rights and Independent Living Movement Oral History Series (Berkeley: Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 2000).
  - 12 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 25.
  - 13 Shapiro, *No Pity*, 67.
  - 14 O'Toole, *Fading Scars*, 36.
  - 15 See, for example, Williamson, *Accessible America*, 97. Gary Peterson powerfully captured the movement's understanding of independence: "Sitting home as a younger kid, it was one of my fantasies that if I could learn to cook for myself or dress myself, then I'd really be on the road to independence. But for me, that's really not what independence is. For me, it's on a larger scale of knowing that I live in this apartment. It's my territory. I have a say. I don't have to ask anybody but me." Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 80.
  - 16 On the medical model, see Simon Brisendon, "Independent Living and the Medical Model of Disability," *Disability, Handicap & Society* 1, no. 2 (1986): 173–178.
  - 17 See Paul Abberley, "The Concept of Oppression and the Development of a Social Theory of Disability," *Disability, Handicap & Society* 2, no. 1 (1987): 5–19; and Michael Oliver, *The Politics of Disablement: A Sociological Approach* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990).
  - 18 See Alison Kafer, *Feminist, Queer, Crip* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 9.
  - 19 Paul B. Preciado has emphasized this alliance for architectural audiences in "Architecture as a Practice of Biopolitical Disobedience," *Log*, no. 25 (Summer 2012): 121–134.
  - 20 Robert McCruer, *Crip Theory: Cultural Signs of Queerness and Disability* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 3. The term "crip" was already popularized by activists in the 1970s, as Lifchez and Winslow highlighted in their publication; see Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 9. Some have questioned the use of the term. See Hamraie, *Building Access*, 268 fn 23; and David Gissen, *The Architecture of Disability: Buildings, Cities, and Landscapes beyond Access* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2022), 147, fn 1.
  - 21 Sami Schalk, *Black Disability Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2022), 5. See also Chris Bell, ed., *Blackness and Disability: Critical Examinations and Cultural Interventions* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2011), 5.
  - 22 Sally Swanson was a significant supporter of the movement, helping Ed Roberts in the redesign of his house and designing the offices of the CIL. Swanson, in conversation with the author, February 16, 2021.
  - 23 Alexander Kira, *The Bathroom: Criteria for Design* (Ithaca, NY: Center for Housing and Environmental Studies, Cornell University, 1966).
  - 24 See Barbara Penner, "Designed-in Safety: Ergonomics in the Bathroom," in *Use Matters: An Alternative History of Architecture*, ed. Kenny Cupers (New York: Routledge, 2013), 161.
  - 25 Kira, *The Bathroom*.
  - 26 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 150.
  - 27 Aimi Hamraie and Kelly Fritsch, "Crip Technoscience Manifesto," *Catalyst: Feminism, Theory, Technoscience*, 5, no. 1 (2019): 2.

- 28 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 80.
- 29 Irina Averkieff, “Aura Bath,” *WET: The Magazine of Gourmet Bathing* 14 (September/October 1978), 46.
- 30 “Nozzles,” *WET: The Magazine of Gourmet Bathing* 13 (July/August 1978), 48.
- 31 David Gissen, *The Architecture of Disability: Buildings, Cities, and Landscapes beyond Access* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2022).
- 32 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 23. While non-white individuals participated in the study, most of the main informants were in fact white, and thus the intersecting experiences of racialization and disability were not discussed in the study. This outlook was also aligned with the limited engagement of the CIL with other minorities living in the area, including people of color. See O’Toole, *Fading Scars*, 32.
- 33 Mia Mingus, “Changing the Framework: Disability Justice: How Our Communities Can Move beyond Access to Wholeness,” *Leaving Evidence* (blog), February 12, 2011, <https://leavingevidence.wordpress.com/2011/02/12/changing-the-framework-disability-justice>.
- 34 Sins Invalid, *Skin, Tooth, and Bone: The Basis of Movement Is Our People: A Disability Justice Primer*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: Sins Invalid, 2019), 7.
- 35 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 78.
- 36 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 36.
- 37 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 47.
- 38 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 79.
- 39 On the introduction of the water closet as a room in the context of the Great Exhibition in London (1951), see Barbara Penner, *Bathroom*, Objekt Series (London: Reaktion, 2013), 58–59.
- 40 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 47.
- 41 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 30.
- 42 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 43.
- 43 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 55.
- 44 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 32.
- 45 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 70.
- 46 Jennifer Natalya Fink, *All Our Families: Lineage and the Future of Kinship* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2023), 3.
- 47 Andre Solomon, *Far from the Tree: Parents, Children, and the Search for Identity* (New York: Scribner, 2012), 2, quoted in Fink, *All Our Families*, 7.
- 48 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 24–25, 27–29, 33.
- 49 Michèle Barrett and Mary McIntosh, *The Anti-social Family* (New York: Verso, 2015), 56.
- 50 Allison C. Carey, Pamela Block, and Richard K. Scotch, *Allies and Obstacles: Disability Activism and Parents of Children with Disabilities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2020), 4, quoted in Fink, *All Our Families*, xiii.
- 51 See Zona Roberts, “Counselor for UC Berkeley’s Physically Disabled Students’ Program and the Center for Independent Living, Mother of Ed Roberts,” interview by Susan O’Hara [1994–1995], in *University of California’s Cowell Hospital Residence Program for Physically Disabled Students, 1962–1979: Catalyst for Berkeley’s Independent Living Movement*, Disability Rights and Independent Living Movement Oral History Series (Berkeley: Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 2000).
- 52 Sophie Lewis, *Abolish the Family* (New York: Verso Books, 2022), 45.
- 53 Arlene S. Skolnick, *Embattled Paradise: The Family in an Age of Uncertainty* (New York: Basic Books, 1991).
- 54 Stephen Vider, *The Queerness of Home: Gender, Sexuality, and the Politics of Domesticity after World War II* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2021), 83; and Dennis Altman, *Homosexual: Oppression and Liberation* (New York: Outerbridge and Dienstfrey, 1971), quoted in Vider, *The Queerness of Home*, 84. See also

- Elisabeth H. Pleck, *Not Just Roommates: Cohabitation after the Sexual Revolution* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012).
- 55 Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (Washington, DC: Office of Policy Planning and Research, US Department of Labor, 1965), ch. 4, quoted in Lewis, *Abolish the Family*, 24.
- 56 Tiffany Lethabo King, “Black ‘Feminisms’ and Pessimism: Abolishing Moynihan’s Negro Family,” *Theory and Event* 21, no. 1 (January 2018): 69.
- 57 King, “Black ‘Feminisms’ and Pessimism,” 70.
- 58 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 26.
- 59 See Dolores Hayden, “Two Utopian Feminists and Their Campaigns for Kitchenless Houses,” *Signs* 4, no. 2 (1978): 274–290. See also the more recent work of Anna Puigjaner, including, among others, “Bringing the Kitchen out of the House,” *e-flux Architecture* (2019), <https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/overgrowth/221624/bringing-the-kitchen-out-of-the-house>.
- 60 Imrie, “Disability, Embodiment, and the Meaning of Home,” 749.
- 61 Gissen, *The Architecture of Disability*, 65–66. On the question of zoning, see Sonia Hirt, “Home, Sweet Home: American Residential Zoning in Comparative Perspective,” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 33, no. 3 (2013): 292–309; and Conor Dougherty, *Golden Gates: Fighting for Housing in America* (New York: Penguin Press, 2020). On single-family home zoning more broadly, see Michael Lens, Michael Manville, and Paavo Monkkonen, “It’s Time to End Single-Family Zoning,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 86, no. 1 (2020): 106–112.
- 62 Christopher Silver, “The Racial Origins of Zoning in American Cities,” in *Urban Planning and the African American Community: In the Shadows*, ed. June Manning Thomas, and Marsha Ritzdorf (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997), 23–42.
- 63 Gissen, *The Architecture of Disability*, 66. Gissen has particularly addressed these strategies in his own project Block Party, collaboratively developed with Irene Cheng, and Brett Snyder along with Javier Arbona, Rod Henmi, Jerron Herman, Georgina Kleege, and Chip Lord for the exhibition “Reset: Towards a New Commons” at the Center for Architecture AIA, New York, April 14–September 3, 2022.
- 64 Melinda Cooper, *Family Values: Between Neoliberalism and the New Social Conservatism* (New York: Zone Books, 2017), 9. A Marxist critique of the alliance between the state and the family as a framework of property accumulation dismissing other communal strategies of association was originally articulated in Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* [1884] (New York: Verso, 2021).
- 65 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 50. The CIL, which acted as a mediator directing disabled individuals to the resources provided by these organizations, was initially funded by a grant from the federal Rehabilitation Services Administration, but consequently operated on smaller grants, including university funds. See Hale Zukas, “CIL History: Report of the State of the Art Conference, Center for Independent Living, Berkeley, California.” (1975), <https://www.independentliving.org/docs3/zukas.html>.
- 66 Jim Lebrecht, “Crip Camp: An Interview with Jim Lebrecht,” interview by Ignacio G. Galán, in: *Normal*, special issue, *Ed* 3 (2020): 22–27.
- 67 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 30, 34.
- 68 As Johnnie Tillmon denounced: “Welfare is the most prejudiced institution in this country, even more than marriage, which it tries to imitate... A.F.D.C. (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) says if there is an ‘able-bodied’ man around, then you can’t be on welfare. If the kids are going to eat, and the man can’t get a job, then he’s got to go.” Johnnie Tillmon, “Welfare Is a Women’s Issue,” *Ms.* (Spring 1972), quoted in Lewis, *Abolish the Family*, 69.

- 69 Marta Russell, “Between Dependence and Independence: Rethinking a Policy Wasteland,” in *Capitalism and Disability: Selected Writings by Marta Russell* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2019), ch. 12.
- 70 Serlin, “Pissing Without Pity,” 174.
- 71 Penner, *Bathroom*, 217. On the relationship between Nugent and Goldsmith’s approaches, see also Elizabeth Guffey, “The Ideologies of Designing for Disability,” in *Making Disability Modern: Design Histories*, ed. Elizabeth Guffey and Bess Williamson (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020), 101–110. Nugent expected disabled individuals to live “independently and without distinction.” Timothy Nugent, “A National Attack on Architectural Barriers,” *New Building Research* (Fall 1961): 59 quoted in Guffey, “The Ideologies of Designing for Disability,” 105.
- 72 Selwyn Goldsmith, *Designing for the Disabled: The New Paradigm* (London: The Architectural Press, 1997), 25, quoted in Guffey, “The Ideologies of Designing for Disability,” 109.
- 73 Lifchez and Winslow included a list of relevant literature in *Design for Independent Living*, 133. Guffey, “The Ideologies of Designing for Disability,” 105; and Selwyn Goldsmith, “The Disabled: A Mistaken Policy,” *RIBA Journal* (1967): 387, quoted in Guffey, “The Ideologies of Designing for Disability,” 108.
- 74 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 67.
- 75 Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha, *Care Work: Dreaming Disability Justice* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2019), 47.
- 76 Lifchez and Winslow, *Design for Independent Living*, 34, 37.
- 77 Jina B. Kim, “Crippling the Welfare Queen: The Radical Potential of Disability Politics,” *Social Text* 39, no. 3 (2021): 83.
- 78 Sara Hendren, *What Can a Body Do? How We Meet the Built World* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2020), 3. The question “What Can a Body Do?” was earlier enunciated by Amanda Cachia in 2012, as the framework for an exhibition at Haverford College’s Cantor Fitzgerald Gallery.
- 79 Sara Ahmed, *What’s the Use? On the Uses of Use* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 10.
- 80 Alison Kafer, “Crip Kin, Manifesting,” *Catalyst: Feminism, Theory, Technoscience* 5, no. 1 (2019): 12.
- 81 Kafer, “Crip Kin, Manifesting,” 12.
- 82 Judith Plaskow, “Embodiment, Elimination, and the Role of Toilets in Struggles for Social Justice,” *Cross Currents* 58, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 52.
- 83 Interview with Judith Heumann in the film *Crip Camp: A Disability Revolution*, directed by Nicole Newnham, James Lebrecht, produced by Nicole Newnham, James Lebrecht, and Sara Bolder, with executive production by Barack and Michelle Obama’s Higher Ground Productions Company and Netflix (2020), 90 min.
- 84 David T. Mitchell with Sharon L. Snyder, *The Biopolitics of Disability. Neoliberalism, Ablenationalism, and Peripheral Embodiment* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015), 2.
- 85 Simone Chess, Alison Kafer, Jessi Quizar, and Mattie Udora Richardson, “Calling All Restroom Revolutionaries!” in *That’s Revolting! Queer Strategies for Resisting Assimilation*, ed. Mattilda, aka Matt Bernstein Sycamore (New York: Soft Skull, 2004), 229.

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