

# FEMINISMO/S 44

MONOGRAPHIC DOSSIER:

**Women and the Experience  
of/from the Outside: Peripheral  
Visions of Spanish Architectural  
Culture (1978-2008)**



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Peripheral Visions of Spanish Architectural Culture  
(1978-2008)

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# INTRODUCTION. WOMEN ARCHITECTS INFORMING FROM THE OUTSIDE: DISTANCES AND DIFFERENCES

## INTRODUCCIÓN. LAS ARQUITECTAS Y SUS CONTRIBUCIONES DESDE LOS MÁRGENES: DISTANCIAS Y DIFERENCIAS

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JOSÉ PARRA-MARTÍNEZ

Resulting from the research project «A Situated View: Women's Architecture in Spain from Peripheral Approaches, 1978-2008»<sup>1</sup>, funded by the Valencia Regional Government (AICO/2021/163) and based at the University of Alicante Institute of Gender Studies Research (IUIEG), this special issue is the third monograph that *Feminismo/s* devotes to studying the fields of architecture and urbanism from gender-based perspectives.

The two previous issues of the journal, numbers 17 and 32, both coordinated by María Elia Gutiérrez-Mozo—the principal investigator of the abovementioned project—represented substantial advancements in this subject matter within the Spanish context of the past

1. The objectives of the project and its main research and transfer results are available at <https://navegandoarquitecturasdemujer.ua.es/>

decade. The first, from 2011, prepared and published during the most difficult years of the 2008 global crisis that brought a major upheaval to the architecture profession, summarised the state of the art, becoming a true reference for later analysis. The second, from 2018, appearing at a time of relative economic recovery, which allowed a more ecological approach before subsequent crises—health, post pandemic inflation, war, among others—ended it, was dedicated to «Women, Architecture, and Sustainability: Environmental, Economic, and Social». This issue reflected the incorporation of new sensitivities and concepts, intrinsically linked to gender approaches to architecture and the city, delineating new sociopolitical landscapes and pointing towards new horizons of increasing complexity, interdisciplinary collaboration and cross-cutting challenges. With a temporal span similar to the two preceding issues, this new monograph emerges amidst a new overlay of geopolitical tensions and an unpredictable crisis of political credibility undermining democracies themselves and jeopardizing the freedoms and rights attained.

Looking back almost half a century and focusing on the exciting decades that followed the Spanish transition (1978-82)—certainly a much more optimistic period in the country's recent history, where everything still seemed possible—this monograph aims to delve deeper into the plurality and singularity of women's involvement in the architectural culture of the new democratic era. It explores how women, through apparently ancillary and often disregarded practices and places, played a pivotal role in shifting the architectural paradigm of Spain, with feminism being one of the most significant driving forces for change.

The purpose of this issue, as well as the research project that justifies and conceptually frames it, is to contribute to expanding the knowledge of the architecture and culture produced by women in the first generation of democracy, a time marked by their slow but unstoppable inclusion into a full range of practices and project scales, from landscape and urban planning to interior design, new construction to heritage intervention, as well as publishing, curating, university teaching and research, and public service. Compared to the years of Franco's dictatorship, during which a tiny group of women pioneers paved the way tirelessly and alone, the period from 1978 to 2008 generates enough critical mass to understand the true scope of the

legacy of women architects. The epoch, marked by historical milestones, legislative advances, social achievements, and the development of a new political order in line with the European context enables us to unravel in all its complexity the progressive consolidation of female trajectories in the Spanish architectural scene. We can also relate their emergence to the processes of decentralisation of power systems—corporate, academic, media, and institutional—that prevailed until the early years of the 21st century. Indeed, the research project’s time frame concludes with two fundamental events: firstly, the approval of Law 3/2007, which gave legal recognition to effective equality between women and men, and spurred a very active and hopeful period in the struggle for labour rights and opportunities; and secondly, the economic and financial crisis of 2008, which shattered the mechanisms of architectural practice as it was known until then, a practice almost exclusively focused on building activity. The crisis led to a new professional paradigm and a much more complex, sensitive, and inclusive understanding of the discipline itself, characterised by its diversity and mutability.

There are fundamentally two major axes that articulate this new monograph. Firstly, the period spanning from the democratic restoration in 1978 to the aftermath of the 2008 crisis, when social and cultural distress ultimately subverted the value system, hegemonies, and traditional ways of conceptualizing architecture in Spain. This era was defined by women’s efforts to access the practice and gain recognition within the profession. These were years of progress, more hesitant in the early decades, but steadily consolidating by the turn of the century. The gradual incorporation of women architects into all professional, academic, institutional, administrative, and media spheres of architecture allows reflection on the extent to which the ways women have emerged in one of the most paradigmatic and impermeable disciplines of modernity have contributed to decentering its own hierarchies.

The second axis of this issue is the very notion of the periphery from which women have resisted isolation, dissented from prevailing discourses and modernist ideals, introduced new priorities into the public debate, and offered alternatives to the patriarchal epistemology of Spain’s architectural agenda. Consequently, it is possible to speak of a broad understanding of the ‘outside’. From one perspective, it means remoteness, inhabiting subordinate territories peripheral to the centres of production of architectural culture.

Therefore, it is crucial to examine those non-canonical geographies, fringe areas, or outer bounds of the architecture system in which, precisely because of their distance from the main educational, editorial, or decision-making hubs—Madrid, and to a lesser extent, Barcelona—women have been allowed to enter and occupy certain positions at the cost of their visibility and recognition. In this regard, this monograph builds on the effort of the research project supporting it to identify the numerous biases against women in the architecture profession that have led to the disregard of their contributions. From another perspective, ‘outside’ also means outlying topics, less-considered knowledge, and supposedly minor activities such as landscaping, restoration, or interior design. Additionally, ‘outside’ refers to those inside-outside porosities through which women architects have managed to establish effective alliances among their practices and with other disciplines, build affective collaborations, develop new creative formats, and open up more sympathetic and caring ways of working with others (Álvarez Lombardero, 2022).

The call for papers welcomed submissions on case studies and comparative analyses addressing not so much *what* women architects produced during this period, but rather *where* and *how* their achievements were realised. In comparison with prevailing studies that have focused on historical and historiographical reviews, this monograph was conceived to investigate the circumstances and material conditions that women have had to overcome. It aimed to produce a ‘situated knowledge’—to put it in Donna Haraway’s (1988) words—which, due to the inequalities it highlights, is essential for understanding the contributions of women architects in all their complexity and, most importantly, for comparing them with those of their male counterparts. By inverting the traditional figure-ground relationship and bringing to the forefront the difficulties of accessing certain commissions, the asymmetries, if not outright labour abuses, the demands of balancing professional and family life, and many other obstacles, the context allows for a reconsideration of the abstract criteria that have traditionally (in)validated their work. This framework of analysis, in turn, would reveal the full resilience of women’s work, as only by focusing on their acts of resistance and sisterhood can the cultural, technical, and political value of their architectural production be truly understood.

Of particular interest was the exposure of how women have confronted prejudices arising specifically from distance and difference, and thus the disdain and/or indifference towards their work. In other words, authors were encouraged to investigate the irruptive/disruptive agency of women and their resilient experiences as new voices arising from the outside. Likewise, the purpose was to debate the role of women in weakening the exclusive and discriminatory centralities supporting the architectural paradigm prior to the impact of the fourth wave of feminism (Lange & Pérez-Moreno, 2020).

In short, contributors were invited to consider the periphery not only as a critical exteriority, but as the true place for encounters, relationships, and connections; and, therefore, to explore the opportunity offered by the historical margins to rethink contemporary architecture, as an urgent and relative question, inexorably linked to the challenges and commitments of the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs.

This call for papers has taken the form of ten articles presenting a diverse conceptual and geographical panorama, together with an interview requested *ad hoc*. These ten articles can be understood according to the following order and thematic blocks.

The issue opens with an article by Inés Novella and Inés Sánchez de Madariaga entitled «First Graduated Women Architects and Urbanists in Eastern Mediterranean Europe, 1900-2000. The Cases of Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey». It offers a view from outside the Spanish context and therefore a counterpoint to the national case studies that follow. The historical, political and cultural narration of the achievements of the first women graduates in architecture in these countries on the European periphery shows how the progress in terms of democratic gains and women's rights has had a decisive impact on architecture and urban planning in these countries. The article reveals the contributions of women architects when they have been able to exercise their profession and the areas in which they have left their mark, especially in collective housing and developing heritage projects. It also reveals the barriers, and, in response, the alliances forged between the first generations of women who studied architecture in Cyprus, Greece and Turkey. The parallels with other contexts in southern Europe, such as Spain, are noteworthy, as women architects found in public institutions a more propitious working environment from which to contribute to the society of their

time, especially through the planning and development of public facilities, residential programmes and regulatory frameworks that have enabled them to ameliorate spatial standards and build quality.

After this account set on the eastern edge of the northern Mediterranean, the monograph can be understood as a succession of three blocks. A first block is made up of two articles dealing with peripheral disciplinary fields and topics. Firstly, the research conducted by Daniela Arias and Zaida Muxí, «Women & Landscape. Pathways Through a Holistic Practice and the Catalonia Case Study», reconstructs a genealogy of the women who designed the landscape in Catalonia, their understanding of public space, of nature, the city and, in essence, the very life of its inhabitants as interdependent subjects. Their approach to landscape architecture from a gender and feminist perspective puts the environment at the centre of some of the most important contemporary proposals. The authors argue for the study of women's contributions to the discipline of landscape from a holistic approach, that is, from an approach to their work and thought that links their own experience of the environment with cultural, social and political aspects, and, especially, with their activism in favour of more democratising and caring practices in architecture and design. For Arias and Muxí, recognising that women architects offer a different vision of landscape design is essential for equality in the profession and, thus, recovering and valuing the idiosyncrasy of their landscape projects and their very memory is key to an inclusive and significant historiography.

The focus of the closing article of this first section is on caring. «Architectures and Spaces for Care: Recent Contributions to Spanish Postmodern Architectural Culture led by Women Architects», by María Isabel Alba Dorado, explains how feminisms have brought about some of the main paradigm shifts in the Spanish architectural scene in recent decades. Indeed, since the end of the 20th century, we can observe the emergence of a series of professional practices led by women architects, but also informed by other peripheral positions such as art or social action, emanating from the experiences and needs of women themselves and other non-normative subjects to foreground everyday life and care. Indeed, despite their undeniable economic and urban relevance, as Nancy Fraser (2016) complained in her essential study on the care crisis, the patriarchy has historically disregarded



the importance of these tasks which, because they are mostly carried out by women, have remained invisible and undervalued. The detection, therefore, from architecture and urbanism, of the forms of resistance, in addition to the techniques and socio-material ecologies that care mobilises, has been largely an achievement of women who have clearly been central to new proposals for communal living (Gutiérrez-Mozo et al., 2021).

A second block, the mid-section of the monograph, brings together three articles from and therefore situated in the place at the very heart of Spain's geography, politics, media, architectural culture and academia: Madrid. These articles explore several peripheral locations of this core, the outskirts, which, in their interconnections, have operated from both within the centre and without its centralities at the same time.

Josena Hervás and Eva Hurtado, in «Minority Narratives: The Voices of Women Architects from the School of Madrid in Early Democratic Spain (1975-1982)», look inside this key institution of the nation's architectural education to find the first generations of women architects who actively participated in its democratic transformation. Hervás and Hurtado show, through a sequential study of the various academic years, programmes and graduation classes of this period, the nature of the training and professional development of these women architects, both at the School, where they were still a minority, and in the workforce, and how they managed to deploy their agency, initially in isolation and later by forming small support networks. The interview as a research tool has made it possible to collect the testimonies of these women and revealed that they were not only forerunners, but also references and mentors for each other. Facing and overcoming difficulties from their numerical inferiority and gender gaps fostered relationships of friendship, complicity and sisterhood. Forged during their studies, they endured throughout their lives, which, as they state, can be traced in their professional collaborations and in clear memories of belonging to a true community.

Next, the article by María Elia Gutiérrez-Mozo and Sofía Parker, «Women Architects and Their Works in the Autonomous Region of Madrid, 1978-2008», explores, in the authors' own words, «the periphery of the very centre of the architectural system in Spain» in this time frame. Their ambitious approach, as they also explain, is threefold: a quantitative analysis that

provides a sample of more than a hundred case studies, whose collection and diagramming alone would justify the research; an examination of the presence of women architects in the specialised media; and, finally, a qualitative attempt to map the various characteristics of these publication instances to the architects' interests. The methodology, which mirrors and reinforces that of the research project «A Situated View» itself, is also threefold: a trawl of bibliographical sources; an invitation to women architects to send a list of their projects, offering the possibility of discovering unpublished works; and lastly fieldwork. One of the main project hypotheses, corroborated in this study led by its principal investigator, is that any research in architecture with a gender perspective must question the media itself, as architecture journals barely make even the slightest mention of any work of merit created by women architects. As Gutiérrez-Mozo and Parker underline, even in the centre itself, their output has been banished to the outskirts, from the very capital to its surrounding territory and from the pages of the most prestigious media to professional invisibility.

This raises questions about how much women have been concerned and preoccupied with the construction and projection of a public persona in such a totally masculinised profession. In this line of discussion, this and other case studies in this collection enable us to reflect on the way in which women architects have paid less heed to their own memory, that is, the relative attention paid, compared to other concerns, to the documents, images and stories that serve to underpin their reputation and survival of their legacy. For this reason, this research is essential because it problematises the media as the source, object and destination of the studies; and because these media expose what those interests, of all kinds, have mediated, that is, they have decided the shaping of the national architectural scene and its more or less critical externalities.

The article that closes this block, presented by Ángel Cordero, Paula Ruiz Usero and Marta Muñoz from the Polytechnic University of Madrid, is entitled «Domestic, Not Private: Feminine Proposals for Carabanchel PAU Expansion, Madrid, Spain». It proposes a gendered study of the community spaces of a selection of significant collective housing projects in Carabanchel, located in the south of the capital. Their analysis of several projects from the early 21st century investigates the role of women architects and the

importance of their work in their design. The article analyses the ‘in between’ spaces that, in these housing developments, have generated degrees of privacy, security and neighbourhood interaction halfway between the public and the domestic. The purpose of their research has been to try to understand how these transitional spaces encourage the exchange of caregiving beyond the private sphere, as well as the public representation of domestic life, which, as the authors state, yields encouraging results for the discipline, as it suggests that ‘feminine’ sensibilities can correct common mistaken assumptions in the design of public space.

After this second block, which shows the centre’s ongoing level of influence in today’s architectural discourses, the third and last section of the monograph is made up of case studies from peripheral regions: the Autonomous Region of Valencia, Murcia, the Basque Country and the Canary Islands.

The first of these, the Autonomous Region of Valencia and, specifically, one of its three provinces, Alicante, is the starting point for the «A Situated View» project. In their article «Unnoticed Women Architects in the Spanish (South)Eastern Mediterranean Region», Ana Gilsanz and Manuel Blanco report on the first results of this project in the territories around Valencia and Murcia. As with Gutiérrez-Mozo and Parker, the research also adopts the methodology of the over-arching project, also involving the authors, and combines a bibliographical study, a call to women architects and fieldwork based on visits to their works and conversations with their authors, many of whom, once again are unrepresented in the architecture magazines, prizes and architecture exhibitions that recognised and publicised the work of their male colleagues. Women’s architectural production in the «Levant» forms a mosaic of typologies and scales where the predominant uses are housing and buildings with an average surface area of between 1,000 m<sup>2</sup> and 10,000 m<sup>2</sup>. However, the research data also dismantles preconceived ideas and proves that, despite the hostility traditionally inherent in the environment and patriarchal attitudes on the construction site, women architects built projects comparable in number and surface area to those of male architects, and even on a much larger magnitude, as revealed by the infrastructure projects of the Valencian architect Lourdes García Sogo.

Furthermore, the fieldwork on which this and other research in this collection is based demonstrates not only that women architects and their

contributions are significantly more than those reported in the same journals that arbitrated the legitimacy of themes and the reputation of male architects of their generation, but also that this occurred both because of the general lack of interest and commitment to them or, simply, the lack of time of many women to make themselves known. It is therefore not possible to rely on gendered studies of architecture based solely on sifting through existing bibliographical sources, even less so if they aim to blow apart the canon, since such sources implicitly carry mechanisms of homosocial reproduction (Kanter, 1993). By their very nature, they do not allow us to investigate the logic of the systems (publications, competitions, prizes, etc.) that ensure architecture's symbolic capital and gatekeep access to the microcosm of its cultural field.

The Basque Country and the field of social housing is represented by Olatz Ocerin and Itziar Rodríguez-Oyarbide, who wrote the paper «Women Architects and Social Housing in the Basque Country (1978-2008). An Approach from a Feminist Perspective». Their article examines the presence of women architects in the design and construction of social housing in the Basque Country between 1978 and 2008 from a feminist perspective. This article is based on the case of Margarita Mendizábal, who graduated in 1956, to illustrate the difficulties in woman's professional practice in the heteropatriarchal and classist context of the dictatorship and how these conditions prevailed until the first female architects graduated from the School of Architecture of the University of the Basque Country joined the region's architectural scene. They made notable progress in the field, despite their small numbers, especially when, after the transfer of powers to the Basque Government, the region initiated its own policies for promoting subsidised public housing. Social and political changes, as reported by Inés Novella and Inés Sánchez de Madariaga's contribution to this collection, are again inseparable from advances in equality, as evidenced by the evolution of one of the reference regions in the introduction of a gender perspective in its habitability and collective housing design regulations and in its land-use planning guidelines.

Finally, within this third section, the ultra-peripheral region of Canary Islands, combined with youth as another common outsider of the profession, are the focus of attention in the research of David Delgado and Lucía

Pérez-Moreno. As the title suggests, their paper «Architecture Competitions as an Opportunity for Young Women Architects. The Case of the Competition for Rural Subsidised Housing and the Canarian Magüi González, 1981-85», looks back at the years of the Spanish transition and the construction of the new State of Autonomous Regions as the moment when architecture competitions with open and anonymous participation gradually began to be held, attracting a more diverse range of participants. This phenomenon coincided with the progressive incorporation of women architects into the profession, representing a true opportunity, especially when anonymity allowed women to compete on more equal terms with their male counterparts. Yet this equality was not fully realised, as the material conditions and additional time required for any competition were not always available to all, particularly when women's jobs and design work had to be balanced with their caregiving responsibilities. However, Delgado and Pérez-Moreno's study of this competition for designing rural public housing demonstrates that women architects in Spain's peripheral regions achieved greater success, with the Canary Islands particularly standing out, and with the architect Magüi González, being the sole recipient of a competitive commission before the age of thirty.

The article that concludes this monographic issue discusses, from interwoven and comprehensive approaches, the competition as a space for generational renewal and innovation in architectural thought, as well as a place of opportunities and connection, through disciplinary debate between the peripheries and the centre. The insightful research by Asunción Díaz and José Luis Oliver, entitled «Inclusion of Women Architects into the Cultural Field of Spanish Competitions: Struggling for Professional Recognition from the Periphery (1978-2008)», provides a broader sociological and historiographical framework for the analysis of a significant number of architectural competitions in Spain organised between the democratic transition and the end of the financial and economic crisis of 2008, showing the progressive inclusion of women in this traditionally masculine cultural field. The paper gives an account of how, after the end of the Franco regime and with the growing vitality of the Autonomous Regions, open and anonymous competitions held throughout the country facilitated the rise, on their own merit, of women architects, first as recognised participants and then as jury members.

However, as the authors explain, taking up one of the main arguments shared by other articles in this issue, despite the valuable contribution of these women to architecture, their recognition has been greeted with disinterest and reticence in a patriarchal professional and media structure not always given to granting legitimacy to secondary practices, territories and subjects. As a result, many Spanish women architects who regularly participated in these competitions managed to acquire agency and recognition through silent logic, far removed from flashy celebrity, an issue that has left a deep imprint on their ways of approaching the practice of their profession and of participating in the cultural field of the competition in particular, producing truly relevant results for the rest of society.

In the radiography of the centre-periphery tensions highlighted by the articles in this issue, despite the original aspirations of the call for papers, there are glaring absences of numerous Spanish regions, such as Aragon, Andalusia or the northern regions bathed by the Cantabrian Sea. Although researchers from these areas have participated, the regions themselves remain uncovered. It is to be hoped and desired that this initiative will encourage the exploration and vindication of these missing areas.

Moreover, there are peripheries, such as Galicia, where the contributions of women architects are impossible to ignore, as well as other professional fields where women have boldly applied themselves. For this reason, the monograph opens with an interview by Silvia Blanco with the architect María Luisa García Gil, who graduated in 1975 from the Madrid School of Architecture and has been based, since 1976, first in the municipality of Boiro in A Coruña and, later, in Santiago de Compostela. In her conversation with Silvia Blanco, «Memories from the Galician Periphery», García Gil describes aspects of her training and professional beginnings, her involvement in the Galician Architects Association and other associations of Galician businesswomen and professionals, as well as other women architects, such as Elena Arregui, who were her points of reference. She also looks back on the evolution of her work from collective housing to concern for local building traditions or heritage restoration, evidencing women's sensitivity towards the built environment and its meanings, a willingness to intervene to ensure the survival of a collective memory. The incentive for the interview also lies in giving a real voice, in the first person, to so many issues and problems

discussed in other articles from more abstract approaches or approached from the necessary distance demanded by the research.

Altogether, the contributions in the monograph show that women's input to contemporary architectural design and culture reflects their own necessarily different understandings (Pérez-Moreno, 2021), which has taken the form of more «diverse, inclusive, and egalitarian projects» (Gutiérrez-Mozo et al., 2020, p. 105). Despite their interest and quality, and despite years of quietly but tenaciously aligning themselves with the same values that are now being proclaimed as sustainable development goals—social, economic and environmental—because of their double condition of female authorship and peripheral location, most of these achievements have been forgotten by androcentric historiography and media interests that have nurtured disdain rather than dialogue. This lack of willingness to come together, much less to make amends, and, above all, the reluctance to let go of hegemonies and prejudices that hinder a common discourse are still, despite the progress made, glaring in the current panorama. Understanding the physical, conceptual and experiential distance from the centres from which canons emerge and the differences as opportunities and resources, and not as obstacles, is still a pending task in Spanish architecture.

It remains to be hoped that this collection will encourage new research focused on what has been hidden from our gaze because, if this monograph proves anything, it is that we only see what we want to see.

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# MEMORIAS DESDE LA PERIFERIA GALLEGA: ENTREVISTA A MARÍA LUISA GARCÍA GIL

## MEMORIES FROM THE GALICIAN PERIPHERY: IN CONVERSATION WITH MARÍA LUISA GARCÍA GIL

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El trabajo de María Luisa García Gil resulta relevante por su sensibilidad con el paisaje y el medio rural gallego. Nacida el 10 de octubre de 1949, esta arquitecta de origen madrileño se trasladó en 1976 a la periferia peninsular, en plena transición española, un período temporal caracterizado por la escasez de mujeres en el pleno ejercicio de la profesión, a pesar de su progresiva incorporación a los estudios reglados de arquitectura.

Con más de medio millar de intervenciones sobre el patrimonio, García Gil ha sido un referente en la restauración meticulosa de casas destinadas al turismo rural, siempre desde una perspectiva conservadora. En 2003, adquirió junto con su esposo, las ruinas de una antigua fábrica de papel del siglo XVIII, cercana a Santiago de Compostela, con el ánimo de crear un hotel diferente, comprometido con el entorno y con la sostenibilidad. Señalar también que desde 2021, esta arquitecta es delegada de Hispania Nostra, una asociación sin ánimo de lucro que tiene como finalidad la defensa y salvaguarda del patrimonio cultural y natural de España.

Con el objetivo de reclamar notoriedad para todas aquellas profesionales de la arquitectura que han sido olvidadas en la historiografía, o cuyo trabajo en el mundo de la rehabilitación no ha sido lo suficientemente valorado, se presenta esta entrevista. De hecho, el marco temporal del proyecto de investigación «Miradas situadas: Arquitectura de Mujer en España desde Perspectivas Periféricas, 1978-2008» al que se vincula este número monográfico coincide casi exactamente con la trayectoria profesional de María Luisa García Gil (Fig. 1), que se consideraba a sí misma como un técnico [sic] moviéndose en un mundo de técnicos.

Figura 1. María Luisa García Gil en la actualidad



Fuente: archivo personal de la arquitecta

Desde su descanso temporal en Jávea (Alicante), donde se dedica a escribir, realizar manualidades y sacudirse los líquenes que la humedad gallega parece fijar sobre nuestros cuerpos, responde a las preguntas formuladas para *Feminismo/s*. Se abordan cuestiones relativas a los estudios, a la disciplina y, en definitiva, a una vida con diversas oportunidades.

**Silvia Blanco (SB):** Hablamos de los orígenes, ¿de dónde procede su pasión por la arquitectura?

M.<sup>a</sup> Luisa García Gil (MLGG): Yo realmente quería estudiar medicina, fue mi padre quien decidió que estudiara arquitectura porque, al parecer, dibujaba muy bien y era muy creativa. De hecho, durante la infancia, ya era una niña muy curiosa y, ya entonces, apasionada de las antigüedades. Me gustaba mucho también la biología, el mundo de los seres vivos. La verdad es que todo llamaba mi atención. En el colegio –el Liceo Francés de Madrid–, editaba tebeos de forma artesanal, escribía con dos dedos en máquina de escribir con papel carbón para hacer varias copias y hacía los dibujos en original en cada ejemplar y los vendía a compañeras.

Yo desconocía la profesión como tal, fue mi padre quien me habló de ella. Realmente, llegué a la arquitectura por el dibujo, que sí que era mi pasión. Así que se puede decir que la elección de mi carrera fue empeño de mi padre, porque yo quería ser cirujana, pero él dijo que era la única de la familia que dibujaba bien, y que la arquitectura era un negocio rentable.

Mi hermana, por ejemplo, es ingeniera industrial. Acabó con veintidós años la carrera en Madrid, y tampoco era habitual ver mujeres en esa disciplina, especialmente en electrónica. Fíjate que una empresa fue a reclutar en 1966 talento a la universidad y la seleccionaron, pagándole 40,000 pesetas al mes, que era un dineral. Luego, acabó ejerciendo de analista de sistemas, pero ella por ser mujer, por tener hijos, nunca llegó al puesto al que podría haber llegado porque no podía viajar, desplazarse a Estados Unidos, por ejemplo, y dejar aquí a los hijos. No sé si llegó a plantear ese deseo de ascender, pero sabías que había cosas que eran inviables, que hay cosas que, por mucho que te pegues contra la pared, no van a ser posibles.

SB: Mercedes del Río Merino, catedrática de la UPM y especialista en la investigación de nuevos materiales, afirmaba en 2016 que algunas de las mujeres dedicadas a la práctica de la arquitectura en el territorio gallego lo hicieron excelentemente, entre otras cosas, porque tenían una alta autoestima y porque tuvieron padres que las animaron<sup>1</sup>.

MLGG: Mis padres fueron una gran influencia en mi vida. Mi madre era una señora de entonces, muy elegante, muy guapa, muy madre y con un gran sentido del humor. Mi padre era una 'mente renacentista' y una persona con grandes valores éticos y morales, a la vez que poseía una visión empresarial. Mi padre fue catedrático de Química Analítica en la Universidad de Valladolid y catedrático de Química Orgánica en la Escuela Técnica Superior de Ingenieros Industriales de la Universidad Politécnica de Madrid. Aunque era muy divertido, en la universidad estaba considerado un hueso tremendo, era muy serio y le tenían mucho respeto.

Cuando yo entré en la Escuela de Arquitectura de la Universidad Politécnica de Madrid corría el año 1968 (Fig. 2). Entonces teníamos servicio de guardarropas, del que se encargaban tres mujeres, que te cogían el abrigo y te daban un numerito, un casillero. También había un bibliotecario, que era un hombre increíble que había conocido a todas las élites de la arquitectura y que me decía: «María Luisa vas a tener un problema muy grande, porque eres mujer, porque eres muy sonriente y porque eres muy simpática, y en la obra hay que entrar a matar». Pues nada, me dije, yo me tengo que imponer. Porque esa es una verdad, como cedas te conviertes en el chico de los recados de la obra.

Ten en cuenta que yo llegué a Galicia en 1976. Comencé a trabajar en el Barbanza, abriendo mi primer estudio de arquitectura en Boiro<sup>2</sup>. Y me hice respetar muchísimo. Yo iba a la obra en un coche 2CV descapotable amarillo. Cuando llegaba, se me veía. Me tenían mucho respeto, era muy seria en las obras, iba siempre de traje de chaqueta, con falda, muy femenina.

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1. Véase Carreiro, M.<sup>a</sup>, y López, C. (Eds.). (2016). *Arquitectas pioneras de Galicia. Ocho entrevistas*. Universidade da Coruña, p. 11.

2. Ello sucedió en los ochenta del siglo pasado, en esta comarca gallega, situada al norte de la ría de Arousa, en el extremo suroeste de la provincia de A Coruña.

Figura 2. Carnet universitario de María Luisa García Gil, alumna oficial de la Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid en el curso 1973/1974



Fuente: archivo personal de la arquitecta

**SB: ¿No desmerecían tanto por ser mujer como por la inexperiencia o la juventud?**

MLGG: Yo recuerdo que, a mediados de los años setenta, había dos mujeres que ejercían como arquitectos [sic] en Galicia: María del Milagro Rey Hombre (Madrid, 1930-A Coruña, 2014) y Elena Arregui Cruz-López (Irún, 1929-Santiago de Compostela, 2018). La primera, a la que no traté, lo hacía en A Coruña; a la segunda, que trabajaba en Santiago, sí la conocí. Tú la veías con aquella falda impecable, aquel collar de perlas blancas, el pelo blanco impoluto. Elena Arregui llegaba a una obra y se le cuadraban. Yo, que era una cría, quería ser como aquella señora, o sea, yo quería ser mayor para que me tuvieran respeto. Yo la veía con una dignidad muy grande, imponía mucho y poseía muy buena presencia. Fue un referente para mí en un momento dado.

Luego aprendes que te respetan cuando das soluciones, o sea, que no puedes eludir la pregunta. Y en el peor de los casos les decía: «mire, el miércoles que viene le traigo la contestación, que tengo que mirar algunos libros...», demostrando humildemente que no lo sabes en ese momento, pero que tienes la intención de consultarlo. Yo siempre me tomé muy en serio lo que hacía y eso te da respeto. Lo importante es que te vean que vales para algo, porque en mi época el arquitecto era como una imposición administrativa para obtener licencia. Les demostré que era un valor añadido, que yo no andaba con rebajas de honorarios, que cobraba lo que me correspondía, y que enseñaba a los promotores cosas nuevas, porque muchas veces se veía al profesional de la arquitectura como un bueno para nada.

En cuanto a anécdotas por ser mujer, tengo para aburrir: un día llegó al estudio un paisano a encargar una casa y salí a abrir porque estaba yo sola. Me mira el hombre y me dice: «¡Nena, dille ao arquitecto que saia!»<sup>3</sup>

**SB:** ¿Cuándo se tituló? ¿Qué docentes dejaron mayor huella durante ese período universitario?

**MLGG:** Mi título es de Arquitecto, de 1975. Entonces, el título era indiferente al sexo... para mí sigue siendo así. Yo nunca tuve dudas o complejos por ser mujer ni la sensación de tener que nadar a contracorriente.

Durante la carrera tuve muchísimos amigos. Tenía como compañeras en el aula a Charo Gutiérrez, María Luisa Cerrillos o María del Carmen Leret. Era tiempo de grandes profesionales de la enseñanza. Me dieron clase, entre otros, Antonio Fernández Alba, Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza, Pedro Navascués Palacios o Alfonso López-Durán. Como profesoras, recuerdo a la señorita Rasilla, que enseñaba construcción. Para nosotras no eran tan importantes las referencias, no eras consciente de ello, te considerabas una más, y eso que éramos poquísimas (Fig. 3).

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3. «¡Niña, dile al arquitecto que salga!» [Traducción del gallego].

Figura 3. Toma de apuntes en Alcalá de Henares, ca. 1971



Fuente: archivo personal de la arquitecta

Admiré muchísimo las clases del profesor Chueca Goitia, era un gran maestro e impartía unas clases magistrales. Dibujaba con tiza en la pizarra y hacía perspectivas a vista de pájaro de conjuntos como la columnata de la plaza de san Pedro del Vaticano. Tengo grabadas sus clases en cinta de magnetofón. Él me encargó que hiciera los apuntes de la materia porque desde segundo curso yo ya asistía a sus clases de Historia de la Arquitectura, que se impartían en quinto; iba con los mayores en vez de acudir a la asignatura de instalaciones urbanas, donde no aprendías nada. Chueca, que andaba siempre todo digno, con pajarita, advirtió mi presencia: «señorita, año tras año la veo aquí, se ve que no progresa». Le tuve que explicar que yo asistía a sus

clases porque me gustaban, que aprendía mucho, pues cada año el temario iba progresando, no repetía siempre lo mismo. Me miró con curiosidad, no daba crédito, me solicitó que acudiera a su despacho y me propuso redactarle los apuntes y copiarlos con ciclostil. También le llevaba a las sesiones de la real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. Yo iba a su casa, ya que no conducía, lo recogía vestido de frac en la calle Barquillo y lo subía a mi 2CV amarillo descapotable y lo llevaba a la Real Academia. Era un espectáculo. Por el camino íbamos hablando del tema del día y me iba contando otras cosas, pues era un pozo de sabiduría.

¡Cómo no me iba a gustar el tema de la rehabilitación de edificios! Chueca, como historiador, tenía una mente prodigiosa. Me acuerdo de que un día andando por Argüelles, debajo de la Casa de las Flores, diseñada por Secundino Zuazo en 1931, que dijo que en arquitectura todo lo que sea gratuito es mala arquitectura. Y fue el primero que me lo explicó. En contraposición, había otros arquitectos como José López Zanón que nos decía a las alumnas: «arquitectitas, arquitectitas, no se esfuerzen, no se hagan ilusiones... acabarán limpiando culitos».

**SB: ¿Asistió a seminarios, congresos o viajes al extranjero durante su etapa de estudiante?**

MLGG: Fui becada por el profesor Chueca Goitia para ir a un Congreso del ICOMOS a Granada. Viajaba también mucho con un grupo de Historia del Arte que habíamos creado para hacer levantamientos de monumentos o estudiar hallazgos –dentro del tema de patrimonio– que llegaban a la Escuela a través de la Cátedra de Arte. Con la Cátedra de Historia viajamos a lo que entonces se llamaba el Benelux (Francia, Holanda y Bélgica).

Por otra parte, me responsabilicé de la catalogación del fondo de fotografía –clichés de cristal– de Leopoldo Torres Balbás, que había recorrido España registrándola en imágenes (Fig. 4). Asimismo, fui becada por el Ministerio de Educación para realizar un estudio sobre la arquitectura de Madrid de principio de siglo hasta la Segunda República, y tengo una muy interesante colección de clichés. Como verás, me decanté inmediatamente por el tema del patrimonio y su salvaguarda.



Figura 4. Levantando datos y planos en la Casa de las Torres, palacio de Tembleque (Toledo) como estudiante voluntaria en el seminario Torres Balbás de la ETSAM, 1970



Fuente: archivo personal de la arquitecta

**SB: Y al titularse, creó su primer estudio sola en Boiro...**

MLGG: Como decía anteriormente, me vine para Galicia en 1976 y creé mi primer estudio, yo sola, en Boiro. Fue una auténtica odisea: una chica joven, de Madrid, que monta un estudio de arquitecto. Resultaba una curiosidad, y mucho más en las obras, donde era casi un 'espécimen'. A principios de los ochenta, monté otra oficina en Santiago. Cerré ambas oficinas en 2008.

En Boiro tenía dos delineantes hombres, un aparejador y una mujer delineante que lo dejó cuando se casó. En Santiago tenía otros tres delineantes

y un aparejador. Especialicé el estudio de Boiro en el diseño de viviendas unifamiliares y de protección oficial, mientras que el de Santiago estaba muy volcado en la restauración y en la vivienda unifamiliar de alta gama, aunque también hacíamos edificios en altura.

**SB: ¿Formó parte activa del Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Galicia (COAG), tal como hizo su admirada Elena Arregui?**

MLGG: Fui presidenta de Cultura y secretaria de la Delegación del COAG en Santiago. También fui socia fundadora de la Asociación de Mujeres Empresarias y Profesionales de Santiago y Comarca, AMEP. Dicha asociación fue la respuesta de un grupo de mujeres, generadoras de riqueza y empleo, para que se reconociera nuestro derecho de ser madres y profesionales. Fue la respuesta a nuestra desesperación por buscar el reconocimiento social a través de sistemas de exenciones fiscales para proteger nuestros derechos. Hoy, cuarenta y cinco años después, seguimos igual. La mujer profesional y empresaria sigue sin encontrar respuestas sus demandas.

**SB: Algunos medios recogen su trabajo pionero en el ámbito de las viviendas de protección oficial ¿qué estrategias de trabajo guiaron su trayectoria profesional?**

MLGG: Creo que fui pionera en la reincorporación de elementos de la arquitectura tradicional en la nueva arquitectura, especialmente en los edificios donde integré la galería tradicional. También me siento responsable de la incorporación de los prefabricados en los edificios de viviendas de protección oficial (VPO), donde fue una manera de enriquecer las fachadas abaratando costes. Introduje elementos como balconeras prefabricadas, cornisas, paneles modulados de fachadas enteras de hormigón. Descubrí que, gracias a este sistema, se podía acometer muy bien el aislamiento térmico en el trasdós de la pared interior. Vi, en un viaje por Castilla, concretamente en la provincia de Valladolid, la utilización de estos elementos prefabricados en las viviendas unifamiliares y decidí buscar la manera de incorporarlo a mis diseños. Fui pionera y conseguí que una empresa de A Coruña empezara a fabricarlos. Los promotores comprobaron que era una buena solución y

adoptaron mis propuestas. En cuanto a la conservación del patrimonio, creo que la restauración de mi propia casa fue un detonante en la zona para la puesta en valor de la arquitectura tradicional.

**SB: ¿Cómo fue ese proceso de rehabilitación?**

MLGG: Mi marido y yo compramos las ruinas de una casa amurallada en las afueras de Santiago de Compostela y la restauré durante dos años. En aquel entonces, las casas se demolían y la piedra se usaba para la cimentación de la nueva. Como la casa estaba al borde de la carreta Santiago-Noia, la obra era muy visible y sirvió de ejemplo involuntario de lo que se podía hacer con una casa ‘vieja’, puesto que no existía el concepto de ‘antigua’. Estamos hablando de años en los que temas como el aislamiento o la impermeabilización eran entelequias.

Para mí, algo importante como arquitecto es que las obras ejecutadas no enfermen con el tiempo, de la misma manera que no enfermaban las calzadas romanas o las iglesias románicas o las catedrales góticas. No enfermaban, sencillamente, porque habían sido bien diseñadas, bien ejecutadas. Todos aquellos elementos que se incorporaban a su diseño eran necesarios o no hacían daño. Hoy en día pocos profesionales se plantean esto, la necesidad de que los edificios sean sanos y no enfermen. No soporto ver los chorretes parduzcos que supuran los forjados, o el efecto nocivo del acero corten sobre las cristaleras, o la carbonatación de los morteros de asiento de las piedras. ¿Qué pasa, ya no dan clase de construcción en las escuelas de arquitectura?

Desgraciadamente, se cometen muchos errores constructivos fatales para dar cancha al diseño, para pretender ser más vanguardistas... Al vanguardismo, hay que llegar después de una amplia praxis, después de un rotundo dominio de la tradición, no antes. Pasa lo mismo en la pintura o en la cocina. Y en arquitectura es igual, no puedes ponerte a hacer arquitectura supermoderna si no sabes solucionar los problemas constructivos, o ni siquiera los intuitos.

SB: Hablando de cocina, ¿qué razones la llevaron a convertir las ruinas de una antigua fábrica de papel de 1792 en un hotel *boutique* de lujo y ecológico? ¿Cómo fue el proceso de obra?

MLGG: El Hotel A Quinta da Auga ha supuesto una gran satisfacción como empresaria y también como profesional de la arquitectura y del patrimonio (Figs. 5 y 6). Se trata de una apuesta familiar por un producto novedoso y singular. Quisimos adquirir unas ruinas protegidas, en un paraje protegido, ubicadas en un fondo de saco, situadas en el extrarradio de la ciudad de Santiago, en una ciudad en la que –según el sector– sobraban hoteles y, encima, crear un hotel destino independiente; es decir que claramente apostamos por el riesgo de lo singular e inexistente en plena ‘crisis del ladrillo’.

La duración de las obras del hotel se demoró seis largos y duros años. Conseguimos integrarnos bajo la marca de lujo *Relais & Chateaux*, al ser un edificio emblemático, en un entorno singular, con un servicio exquisito y una cocina de referencia. En la actualidad, somos un ejemplo de lo que representan las 5C que defiende la marca *Relais & Chateaux*: calma, carisma, cortesía, cocina y carácter.

Estamos muy orgullosos del resultado conseguido, pues en ningún momento ha perdido su pasado, porque las restauraciones no tienen que olvidar sus orígenes. Ha recibido numerosos premios a lo largo de estos años y nos hemos convertido en todo un referente en la hostelería del lujo. Hemos ido paso a paso, siempre siguiendo nuestros ideales y nunca traicionando nuestro credo.

Figuras 5 y 6. A Quinta da Auga Hotel Spa Relais & Chateaux, Santiago de Compostela



Fuente: ©AQuintadaAuga

SB: Por su labor de restauración en el Pazo A Torre do Monte, consiguió uno de sus galardones más preciados, el Premio EUROPA NOSTRA 2002. El jurado tuvo muy en cuenta el empleo de técnicas tradicionales. Muestra de ello es la cubierta del torreón, ejecutada con ensamblados y sin un solo tornillo, por decisión suya ¿cuáles son sus estrategias generales de intervención sobre el patrimonio?

MLGG: En cuanto al premio, mi mayor satisfacción ha sido comprobar con el tiempo que la intervención ha sido sana para el edificio, es decir, que mi intervención saneó, que no hizo enfermar aquella antigua construcción, sino que le devolvió la dignidad perdida.

Para mí, los edificios son como personas y las ciudades como grupos de estas a las que hay que escuchar, que enferman y hay que curar; los edificios antiguos son ancianos con achaques sobre los que en ningún momento hay que actuar de forma agresiva, con cirugías estéticas excesivamente rejuvenecedoras. La piel debe seguir teniendo su edad, sus arrugas, sus pequeñas deformaciones, pues estas señales son las que nos hablan de su edad y sus vivencias.

Para mí, la restauración debe radicar en devolver a los edificios o conjuntos la dignidad perdida por las agresiones del paso del tiempo sin intentar, en ningún momento, engañar con la edad. La restauración debe ser una intervención en la que no se note que ha intervenido un técnico, y nunca, nunca, debe de servir como base para el lucimiento del restaurador, a base de modernizar el conjunto con materiales ajenos y agresivos que marquen impronta. La restauración debe ser tranquila y sosegada, y nunca ajena a su época, tanto en materiales visibles como en formas.

Entiendo que hay que aplicar soluciones constructivas que mejoren el nivel de vida, pero eso sí, no sacar de época, no modernizar en exceso, no deformar el aspecto, pues si modernizamos en exceso, los edificios como testigos de otra época desaparecerán y las generaciones futuras las desconocerán y solo podrán contemplarlas en publicaciones.

El Premio Europa Nostra me hizo sentir la satisfacción de ver reconocida mi labor como conservadora anónima del patrimonio. Sentí representar en este acto a los muchos arquitectos que hemos trabajado en y por el patrimonio construido con pasión, aunque de forma casi invisible para traspasar a generaciones futuras estos maravillosos legados.

# FIRST GRADUATED WOMEN ARCHITECTS AND URBANISTS IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN EUROPE 1900-2000. THE CASES OF CYPRUS, GREECE, AND TURKEY

## PRIMERAS ARQUITECTAS Y URBANISTAS TITULADAS EN LA EUROPA DEL MEDITERRÁNEO ORIENTAL (1900-2000). LOS CASOS DE CHIPRE, GRECIA Y TURQUÍA

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### Abstract

This paper provides an overview of the history of the first women graduates in architecture in Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey. Based on a review of digital archives and secondary sources written by local researchers, the aim of this research is to contribute to the dissemination and valorisation of women's work and contributions to the history of modern architecture. The three countries under study constitute one of the most interesting European peripheries from the point of view of architecture, but also from the point of view of gender studies and women's history. Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey, with their peculiarities and differences, condense in their recent history the political and cultural milestones that clearly show the direct link between the advance of democracy and women's rights. Similarly, all this has an impact on architecture and urban planning; from the type and focus of projects and plans that are developed as a priority, to the people who are recognised and validated by architectural culture and its historical narrative. The research reveals the barriers and

alliances of the first generations of women who studied architecture in Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey. It also reveals certain trends in the way the profession is practised, almost always linked to the sociopolitical context of the country and the percentage of women in the profession, among other considerations. Working for public institutions is seen as a priority working environment from which many of them have been able to make great contributions to their countries, developing infrastructures, public facilities and regulatory frameworks to improve spatial standards. Housing and heritage conservation are two areas in which these generations of women have been particularly active, some of them becoming international references in this field.

**Keywords:** women in architecture; Cypriot women architects; Greek women architects; Turkish women architects; gender equality; women's history; first graduated women architects; South-Eastern European women.

## Resumen

Este artículo ofrece una panorámica de la historia de las primeras mujeres graduadas en arquitectura de Chipre, Grecia y Turquía. A partir de la revisión de archivos digitales y de fuentes secundarias escritas por investigadoras locales, el objetivo de esta investigación es la de contribuir a la divulgación y puesta en valor del trabajo y aportaciones de las mujeres a la historia de la arquitectura moderna. Los tres países objeto de estudio constituyen una de las periferias europeas más interesantes desde la óptica de la arquitectura, pero también desde los estudios de género y la historia de las mujeres. Con sus particularidades y diferencias, Chipre, Grecia y Turquía condensan en su historia reciente hitos políticos y culturales que revelan con claridad la conexión directa entre el avance de la democracia y los derechos de las mujeres. Análogamente, todo ello tiene su impacto en la arquitectura y el urbanismo, desde el tipo y enfoque de proyectos y planes que se desarrollan de forma prioritaria, hasta quienes son las personas reconocidas y validadas por la cultura arquitectónica y su relato histórico. La investigación revela cuáles fueron las barreras y alianzas de las primeras generaciones de mujeres que estudiaron arquitectura en Chipre, Grecia y Turquía. Es posible observar también ciertas tendencias sobre el modo de ejercer la profesión, casi siempre ligadas al contexto sociopolítico del país, y al porcentaje de mujeres dentro de la profesión, entre otros aspectos. El trabajo desde las instituciones públicas se aprecia como un entorno laboral prioritario desde el que muchas de ellas lograron realizar grandes aportaciones a sus países, contribuyendo en el desarrollo de infraestructuras, equipamientos públicos y marcos regulatorios a favor de la mejora de estándares espaciales. La vivienda y la conservación del patrimonio constituyen dos ámbitos de trabajo donde estas generaciones de arquitectas se desempeñaron activamente, llegando algunas de ellas a ser referentes internacionales en la materia.

**Palabras clave:** mujeres en la arquitectura; arquitectas chipriotas; arquitectas griegas; arquitectas turcas; igualdad de género; historia de las mujeres; primeras arquitectas graduadas; mujeres de Europa sudoriental.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The history of European women shows considerable differences and peculiarities depending on the geographical, cultural and political context. As a consequence of the heterogeneity that has characterised the European reality over the last hundred years, the history of women in Europe is particularly diverse. The traditions and cultures of architecture and other fields of spatial planning reflect this diversity and have had a significant impact on the timing and nature of the gradual incorporation of women into these disciplines in each of the European countries. Similarly, each national context has determined the opportunities women have had in architecture, what kind of jobs they have accessed, as well as their progression, recognition and consolidation within the profession.

Despite this heterogeneity, it is possible to group the European countries into subregions that share certain similarities either in terms of their contemporary national history, architectural culture, or the situation of women in the 20th century. This article addresses the case of three Southeastern European countries (Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey), where the process of formal incorporation and consolidation of women in the fields of spatial planning and design took place in historical contexts and architectural cultures that were significantly different from those found in the rest of Europe.

Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey, despite their local particularities, could be considered a relatively homogeneous group within the context of Southern Europe, consistent with the political, cultural, and architectural context of the Eastern Mediterranean during the 20th century. While the history of women architects of these three countries also shares common traits with most of the rest of Southern Europe<sup>1</sup>, the experience of women architects

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1. Among other similarities, the history of women architects in Southern Europe in the 20th century was largely shaped by particularly conservative societies, with little



in the last century has undergone different realities, rhythms, and cycles. Spain and Portugal could form another possible cluster, both because of their geographical proximity and because of parallels in their recent history (Novas-Ferradás et al., 2020). Italy would be a unique case, not only among the Mediterranean countries, but also in Europe as a whole. The history of women in design and spatial planning in Italy is quite heterogeneous, depending on the region, the specific field within the disciplines related to architecture, or the historical period. In some fields, such as product design, the reality of Italian women has been closer to that of women in Scandinavian countries. However, in terms of achieving civil rights, such as access to university or women's economic emancipation, Italy is closer to other Southern European countries (Fernández et al., 2016).

Within the European, or even global, history of women in architecture, Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey can be considered as an interesting unit of study because of their main common feature: they constitute the South-Eastern periphery of Europe, which has significant implications beyond geographical aspects. On the one hand, this geographical characteristic has consolidated political and cultural differences between these countries and the rest of the region, which have influenced architectural culture in general and the trajectories of women in these disciplines in particular. On the other hand, the peripheral status and some historical periods of isolation have contributed to an additional lack of knowledge about the already invisible history of women in the fields of architecture.

Depending on the perspective or the historical moment in which they are analysed, Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey are part of a region that has operated as a frontier or as a bridge between Europe and Asia; in short, between Western and Eastern cultures. Situating research on the history of women architects in this region during the 20th century allows us to reflect on the impact of sociopolitical contexts on the advancement of equal opportunities between women and men, both in times of progress and in times of backlash.

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industrialisation, a strong influence of religion, and periods of dictatorship, some of which lasted for decades.

As an expression of the society of each time and place, architectural fields in Europe have been defined according to a great heterogeneity of successive artistic trends, economic cycles, and political contexts. This whole secular process has given rise to different ways of understanding what it means to be an architect, what training is required to become one, or even what the specific role and competencies of architectural fields are in society. The history of women in these disciplines has been shaped by these and other assumptions within local architectural cultures that have facilitated or hindered their incorporation into the profession. This article is therefore organised chronologically, with a kind of benchmark section on the first half of the twentieth century and a series of notes on the major historical milestones that have significantly influenced the reality of women in architecture in each historical period.

The research is based on a documentary review of primary and secondary resources on women in architectural fields in each of the countries that are part of the sub-region under study. Depending on the country, information was drawn from digital archives, literature written by local authors<sup>2</sup>, or a combination of both types of sources. Going deeper into the second half of the twentieth century, given the lack or scarcity of women architecture graduates in these countries before, the article aims at contributing to the dissemination of the history of women architects in Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey. Through notes of a selection of biographies and contributions of women related to the fields of design and spatial planning, this study provides visibility and outlines the history of the first graduated women architects in these three Eastern-Mediterranean countries.

The research results show that, despite the common characteristics mentioned above, the history of women in architecture is not homogeneous within this group of countries. Among others, there are significant differences in terms of when and how women enter formal education, their

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2. At large, and compared to other European countries, including the Mediterranean regions, there is hardly any local research and publications on the history of women architects in Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey. Most of the work of the local authors used as a documentary basis for this article has a pioneering character in their respective countries. Some of the documentation reviewed is only available in Greek or Turkish, and it was necessary to use AI translation applications to elaborate this research.

integration into the profession, the types of activities in which they excel or tend to be employed, or the degree of feminisation of the disciplines of spatial planning and design in each country.

## 2. FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century in Europe were characterised by important territorial and economic transformations. The decline of colonialism and of some monarchies or empires coincided with the advance of the industrialisation process, which already showed clear differences among European countries. In general, the countries of Southern Europe began this process later than Central and Northern Europe and, with the exception of certain regions of Northern Italy and Spain, industrialisation was either non-existent or very weak. However, the rise of the bourgeoisie and the growth of cities had an impact on architectural fields, from the appearance of new architectural styles<sup>3</sup> or new housing regulations<sup>4</sup> to the emergence of new disciplines such as urban planning, landscaping, or industrial design.

Although modernity brought major reforms to higher education in Europe, training for architectural practice remained particularly diverse (Garrouste, 2010). In some regions, traditional training through historic guilds or even informal training was still maintained. In others, the education of architects was institutionalised through schools or academies of fine arts, while in some countries architectural studies were incorporated into the new polytechnic schools, which often had their origins in military engineering training. Among other social and personal conditioning factors, the field of knowledge in which each country or region placed official architectural studies had consequences for women's access to such training.

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3. Eclecticisms and the *Art Nouveau* style had relevant national expressions in some Southern European countries: Spain (*Modernismo*), Italy (*stile Liberty*) and Portugal (*Arte nova*). These bourgeois styles were particularly prevalent in areas and cities with greater industrial development or greater contact with other industrialised regions of Europe, such as Istanbul and Thessaloniki (Pons & Cegarra, 2016).

4. The 1901 *Woningwet* in the Netherlands and the Housing of the Working Classes Act (1890) in the United Kingdom are two of the main representative ones.

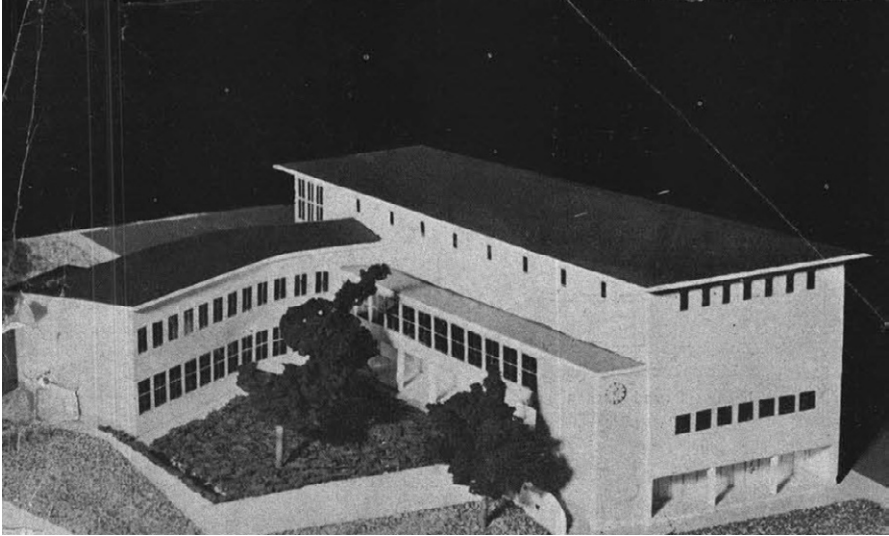
A period of internal reforming undertaken by the Ottoman Empire in 1908 made it common for well-off young women in Istanbul to study abroad, usually art or literature. However, the attainment of social and legal rights for women, as well as equal access to higher education, did not come to Turkey until 1923, with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and its ambitious plan to modernise the country. Women were admitted to formal architectural training in Turkey in 1928<sup>5</sup>, following a policy of coeducation and the establishment of the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. However, the number of women architects in the 1930s and 1940s was negligible because, despite reforms, women's education was still heavily influenced by ideological restrictions from the earliest stages of their education, and very few managed to gain sufficient training and knowledge to pass the admission exams (Erkarslan, 2007).

According to Meral Ekincioglu's research for the MIT Aga Kahn Documentation Centre (2016), Leman Tomsu (1913-1988) and Münevver Belen (1913-1973) became the first women architecture graduates in Turkey in 1934, followed by Leyla Turgut (1911-1988), who graduated in 1939 and soon became the first woman professor at the architecture department of the Academy of Fine Arts. These first graduated women architects received considerable support from the authorities, who were keen to promote the modern and professional image of Turkish women. They received many public commissions, although most of them were small buildings in rural areas or small towns, mainly in Anatolia (Figure 1).

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5. In 1914, the Inas Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi—the first university for women students in Turkey—was opened in Istanbul with a focus on the teaching of artistic disciplines. Unlike its male counterpart, it did not include the teaching of architecture (Erkarslan, 2007).

Figure 1. Photograph of the model of the Şehremini Community Centre designed by Leman Tomsu, 1938



Source: *Arkitekt*, (93), 1938, 253–256

The beginning of the professional careers of this first group of Turkish women graduates in architecture coincided with the period of exile of the Viennese architect Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky (1897-2000) in Istanbul between 1938 and 1940. Although she was not an architect born or trained in Turkey, and her stay in the country lasted only two years, the figure of Schütte-Lihotzky is appropriate in the context of this article, given her important contributions and the potential influence she could have had on the first generations of Turkish women architects. According to the Turkish-German researcher Burcu Dogramaci, Schütte-Lihotzky was commissioned by the Ministry of Education to develop a school building model for pre-school and primary education that would contribute to the process of promoting literacy and education in the more rural areas of the country, as promoted by the Government of the Republic of Turkey.

The Austrian architect transferred and adapted her experience in designing and planning school architecture—gained during the years of the Weimar

Republic and her stays in the Soviet Union and China—to the economic, cultural, climatic and architectural context of Turkey. Schütte-Lihotzky's contributions were innovative not only in terms of building design, but also in terms of the decision-making process itself, introducing methods such as direct observation or citizen consultation to Turkey in order to better integrate the needs of users into the design of buildings (Dogramaci, 2019). The noticeable presence of women architects in the design and planning of basic rural facilities would be a constant in the decades to come.

In the 1940s, a new group of women graduated in architecture, including Harika Alpar Söylemezoğlu<sup>6</sup> (1918-2020), Mualla Eyüboğlu Anhegger (1919-2009) and Celile Berk Butka (1915-1984), who got their diplomas in 1942, Cahide Tamer (1915-2005), who graduated in 1943, and Leyla-Firuzan Baydar (b. 1924), who graduated in 1945. From the 1940s onwards, women architects' academic or public service careers were more often combined with private sector work in collaboration with their spouses, who were also architects or engineers. In addition to public buildings, as part of the civil service, the first Turkish generation of graduated women architects were involved in the urban development of many of Turkey's towns, and some, such as Eyüboğlu Anhegger and Tamer, specialised in the conservation, and later became pioneers in the enhancement of Turkey's architectural heritage (Ekincioglu, 2016).

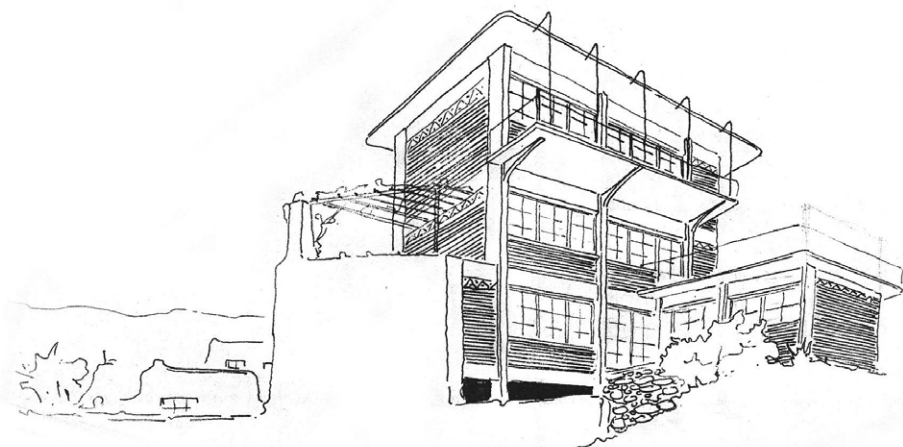
In Greece, the beginning of the 20th century was a time of major political changes with implications for higher education in technical disciplines. Engineering training was formalised as university studies and institutions gradually ceased to be controlled by the military (Chatzis, 2000). In 1917, the School of Architecture of the National Technical University of Athens became the first institution for formal architectural education in Greece. According to the Digital Archive of Greek Female Architect 1923-1981, women were admitted to study architecture from the beginning, but only ten managed to graduate before the start of the Second World War. The first woman to hold a degree in architecture in Greece was Eleni Kanellopoulou (1901-1980), who graduated in 1923 and served most of her career in the

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6. The name of this architect varies depending on the author; Erkarlan (2007) refers to her as Harika Söylemezo, while both Ekincioglu (2016) and the Harika-Kemali Söylemezoğlu Archive of the SALT Foundation use Harika-Kemali Söylemezoğlu.

Ministry of Transport. Other pioneers, such as Margarita Pipinopoulou, who graduated in 1927, and Alexandra Paschalidou-Moreti<sup>7</sup> (1912-2010), who graduated in 1936, also worked in the public sector, which became the main path of professional development for the first Greek women architects. The exception was Ethel Prantouna (1914-1970), who graduated in 1934 and is considered the first female freelance architect in Greece, working mainly in the private sector (Figure 2).

**Figure 2.** Sketch of the single-family house in Lycabettus, designed by Ethel Prantouna and Faidon Kydionatis in 1938



Source: Digital Archive of Greek Female Architects 1923-1981

The number of women architecture graduates in Greece grew slowly during the war and post-war years, reaching 52 by the end of the 1950s. Some of the most relevant names of this generation are Marika Zagorisiou (1921-2013), Elisaveth Vakalopoulou (1924-2021) and Elli Vasilikioti-Nikolaides (1923-2016), who graduated in the 1940s; Anastasia Tzakou (1928-2016), Ekaterina

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7. In the bibliographical sources consulted, the names of some of the first Greek women architects appear with a compound surname, the family name of these architects being joined to that of their husbands by means of a hyphen. Often the order of these two surnames is reversed, depending on the archive or document.

Doussi (1929-2016), Ioanna Benechoutsou (1934-2002), Fani Sotiraki-Aneroussis (1935–), Anastasia Diamantopoulou (1937–) and Souzana Maria Kolokytha-Antonakaki (1935-2020), who graduated in the 1950s. Like their predecessors, many of these women architects developed their careers in the public sector, where in the last third of the twentieth century they held important positions in the government, major city councils or other institutions involved in spatial planning (Figure 3). From the 1950s onwards, however, there was a slightly greater tendency for women graduates to work in the private sector, although almost never independently, but rather with their partners or as employees of large firms. In 1958, with the opening of the country's second school of architecture (School of Architecture of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, AUTh), the number of women graduates in architecture increased more rapidly, reaching 170 in 1965 (Digital Archive of Greek Female Architects 1923-1981, 2021).

**Figure 3.** Group of women architects from the Ministry of Transport and Public Works in the late 1950s. Standing from left to right: Sofia Devletoglou-Harisi, Ekaterina Doussi, Thais Roussou, and Fani Sotiraki. Seated from left to right: Aphrodite Tasoula, Olga Syggouriadou



Source: Digital Archive of Greek Female Architects 1923-1981



Until 2001<sup>8</sup>, all Cypriot architects had to be trained abroad, as Cyprus did not have its own school of architecture. Greece, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States have been, and still are, the main countries where Cypriot architects have traditionally been educated, or where they are currently supplementing their studies. There are no records of women practising architecture in Cyprus in the first half of the 20th century. Maro Efthimiadi Atzini<sup>9</sup> (1937-1997), who is considered to be the first female Cypriot architect, began studying in Greece in the late 1950s, and it was not until 1960 that she returned to Cyprus and began to develop her professional career (Cyprus Architects Association, 2023; Tourvas & Riza, 2021) (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Architect Maro Efthimiadi Atzini at her drawing board



Source: Goethe Institut Zypern

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8. See Faculty of Engineering at the University of Cyprus (<https://www.ucy.ac.cy/fae/?lang=en>)

9. The name of this woman architect appears in the sources consulted as both Maro Efthimade Atzini and Maro Efthymiades-Adjini.

### 3. SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

According to Erkarşlan (2007), one of the first researchers to study the history of women architects in Turkey, the year 1950 was a turning point for Turkish women. The more conservative wing of the Democratic Party came to power, intensifying and accelerating the trend that had begun years earlier to end or limit institutional support for women's rights and gender equality. The Turkish women's movement was silenced until the 1980s, although most women's associations and groups remained active in one form or another. The sociopolitical environment in Turkey in the second half of the twentieth century had a direct impact on the situation of Turkish women architects and also on the dominant discourse on gender equality in the profession. Erkarşlan (2007) notes that Turkish women architects have never been particularly involved in feminist demands and that the dominant idea of the supposed gender neutrality of the profession did not allow for debates on gender inequality to be opened until 2002, when the first studies on gender equality in architecture in Turkey were published in the press. Thus, while women will continue to practise architecture in various forms in the second half of the century, their contributions and trajectories will not receive fair attention or recognition from the profession.

The aftermath of social and political change in Turkey can be clearly seen in the careers of some of the first generation of graduated women architects, particularly those who sought to become more autonomous in their practice. Harika Alpar Söylemezoğlu, for example, left the professional practice of architecture and urban planning in 1959 to teach at Istanbul University, and eventually turned to the world of fashion, opening her own clothing store in Istanbul in 1964. In 1959, Celile Berk Butka emigrated with her husband to the United States, where she worked for large engineering consulting firms until 1972. Berk specialised in the design of large hotel, commercial and office buildings, and some of her work can be found in cities such as New York, Detroit, Baltimore, Toronto, and Karachi.

Figure 5. Cahide Tamer on the dome of the Hagia Sophia Grand Mosque, Istanbul



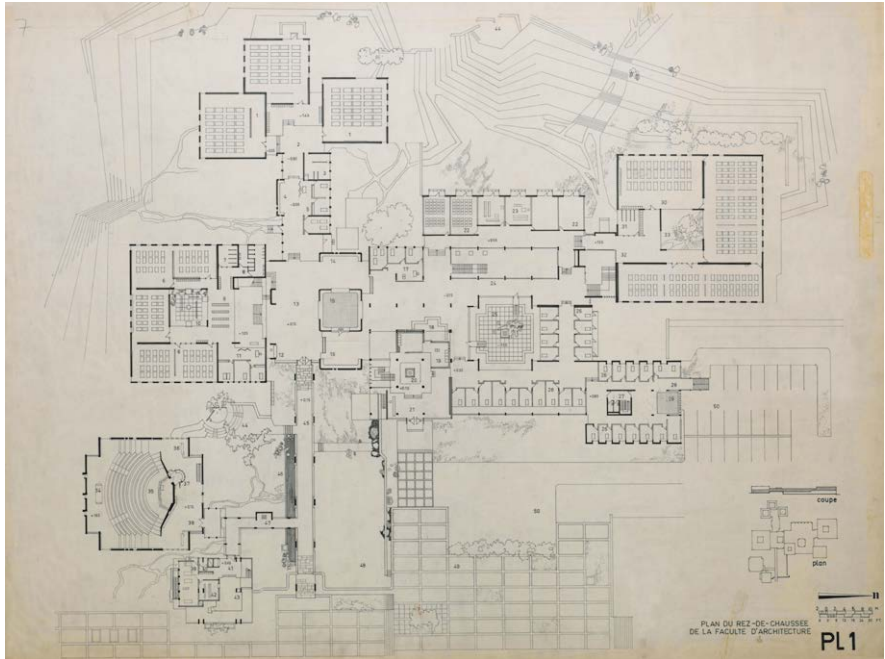
Source: Herstory Academic Database, İstanbul Kadın Müzesi

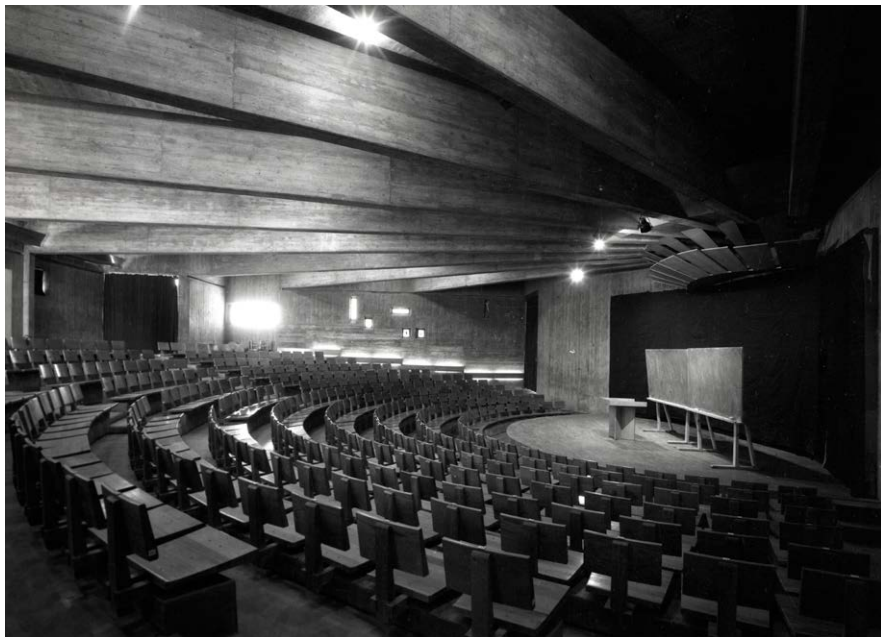
The impact was of minor importance for those first women architects who had more settled jobs, usually associated with national public institutions. Mualla Eyüboğlu Anhegger, who had trained in heritage restoration and conservation in the 1940s, was hired by the Supreme Council of Antiquities and Monumental Property in 1952, where she spent most of her professional career. From this institution, she was able to participate in the intervention of some of the country's most important heritage buildings, such as the Topkapi Sarayı Harem (1961-71) or the Hagia Sophia Grand Mosque in the 1980s. Cahide Tamer followed a similar career path at the Directorate General of Foundations, which she joined in 1956. Some of her most important projects include major monuments such as the Süleymaniye Mosque complex (1953-55) or the Fortress of the Seven Towers (1954-1970), for which she was awarded the Chevalier de L'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres in 1961 (Ekincioglu, 2016) (Figure 5).

The MIT Aga Khan Documentation Center's 'Women in Modern and Contemporary Territories of Turkish Architecture' collection, coordinated by Meral Ekincioglu since 2016, gathers the careers of a selection of women architects and urban planners, who could be considered the second generation of graduated women architects in Turkey, working in different fields

of spatial planning and design. Born between the second half of the 1930s and the 1950s, they all began their professional careers after the country's conservative drift had begun. One of the most representative architects is Altuğ Tanrıverdi Çinici (b. 1935), who graduated from Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ) in 1959 and set up an architectural practice with her husband, Behruz Çinici. Together they developed an important career that lasted well into the 2000s and included such major projects as the campus and buildings of Middle East Technical University (1961-1980) and the Ankara National Assembly Mosque (1986-1989), which won the Aga Khan Award in 1995. The Tanrıverdi-Çinici couple were innovators in residential architecture, taking the principles of the modern movement further in projects such as the Bin Evler Housing Complex (1971), incorporating a focus on sustainability and the participation of future tenants in decision-making (Figure 6).

**Figure 6.** Altuğ Tanrıverdi Çinici and Behruz Çinici's Middle East Technical University School of Architecture. Top: floor plan; middle: view of the main hall; bottom: view of the exterior spaces





Source: Salt Research Archive

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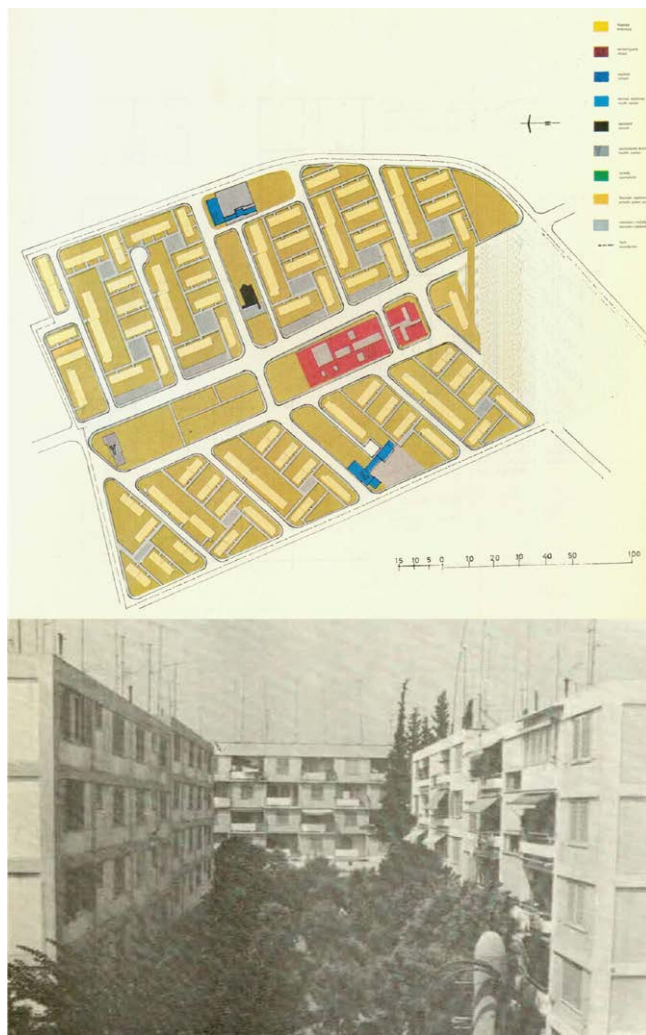
The university was a frequent working environment for this generation of women architects, where specialists in different fields of architecture can be found. Afife Batur (1935-2018), who graduated in 1958, developed her teaching and research career in the History of Architecture and Restoration Department at İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi until 1998, the same year she was appointed dean of the Istanbul District Chamber of Architects, a position she held until 2000. Ayla Ödekan (b. 1940) is also an eminent scholar in the field of history; after graduating in social sciences in 1965, she completed an MA in Art History at the University of Chicago (1967) and a PhD at İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi (İTÜ) in 1976. Focusing on research into Byzantine and Turkish architecture, Ödekan taught at several Turkish universities. Her career was recognised in 2006 with the Contribution to Architecture Award from the Turkish Chamber of Architects. In the field of architectural design, the figure of architect Gülsün Sağlamer (b. 1945), whose professional career is closely linked to Istanbul Technical University, stands out. In addition to being the institution where she graduated (1967), received her doctorate (1977) and taught (1977-2012); Sağlamer was its first and only female chancellor (1996-2004), and founder and first president of the European Association of Women Rectors (EWORA). Since her retirement in 2012, she has focused her activities on promoting gender equality in science and research, including providing expert advice to UNESCO and the European Commission, and is internationally recognised for promoting women's leadership in academia (Ekincioglu, 2016; EWORA, 2023).

Among this group of first graduated women architects identified by Ekincioglu (2016) are two female architectural historians who were pioneers in Turkey in addressing the gender perspective and equal opportunities in the fields of architecture and urban planning from an academic perspective. Aydan Balamir (b. 1953), who graduated in 1974, works as a professor in the Department of Architecture at Middle East Technical University and has received several national and international awards. With an extensive research career, she has been undertaking and supervising research on women in architecture since the early 1990s, and was one of the first Turkish academics to address this issue. Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu (b. 1956), educated in Turkey and the United States, began her research on the

gender dimensions of architecture and urban planning in the late 1990s, a line of research that she was able to develop mainly through international academic conventions and expert networks.

According to the Digital Archive of Greek Female Architects, the 1960s and 1970s in Greece were a period of reconstruction and modernisation of the country and of relative progress in terms of equality between women and men. These circumstances meant that women architects who had graduated earlier were able to pursue their careers in public administration, where they contributed to the improvement of urban areas, infrastructures, and facilities. Some even reached important positions, such as Ekaterina Doussi (1929-2016), who, from the late 1970s until her retirement, headed several departments in the Ministry of Spatial Planning, Settlements and the Environment. The contribution of the first Greek women architects to housing policy was also significant, including the role of Elli Vasilikioti-Nikolaides (1923-2016), who, in addition to her work as a high-ranking civil servant at the Ministry of Public Works, represented Greece on housing issues in various international bodies such as the UN Housing Committees, the International Union of Architects (UIA) and the European Economic Commission. One of her designs, the 'Asyrmatos' low-income apartment building in Petralona (1967), has become an icon of Greek housing architecture at the time. Vassilikioti-Nikolaides' work in housing policy has been recognised with several awards, including the United Nations Peace Medal (Figures 7 & 8).

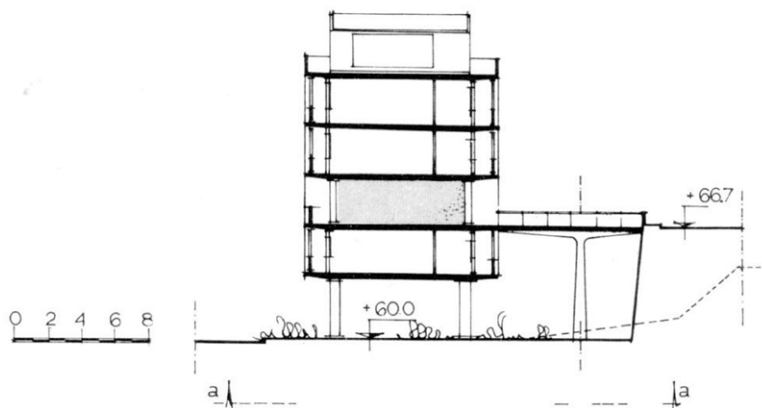
**Figure 7.** Elli Vasilikioti-Nikolaides's Phoenix-Votsi residential complex in Kalamaria (Thessaloniki), 1962-67. It consisted of 67 residential buildings, medical centre, church, schools and a commercial block with offices on the 1<sup>st</sup> floor. Top: general masterplan; bottom: view of the open-air spaces between buildings



Source: Digital Archive of Greek Female Architects 1923-1981



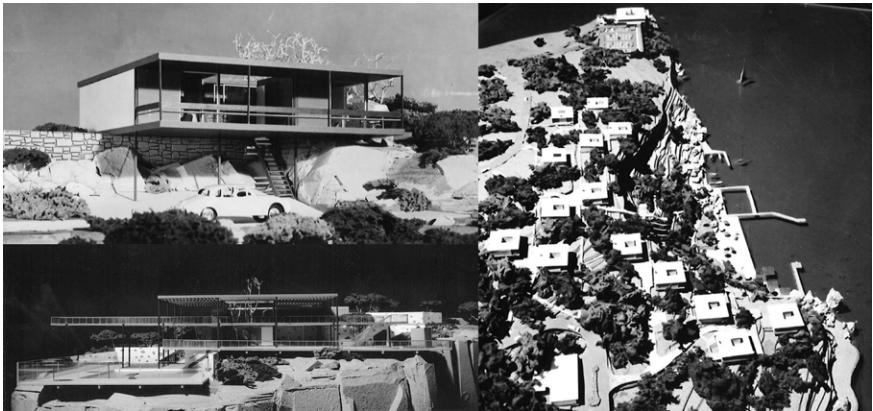
Figure 8. Elli Vasilikioti-Nikolaides's 'Asyrmatos' social housing apartment building in Athens, 1967. Top: view of the access footbridge from the lower corridor; bottom: cross section of the building



Source: DOMa Institution SA

Uniquely, due to the importance of tourism in Greece, many of the contributions of the first graduated women architects working to preserve and promote the architectural heritage came from departments related to tourism. Marika Zagorisiou (1921-2013) became head of the Department of Traditional Settlements of the Greek National Tourism Organisation (EOT) in the late 1970s. Elisaveth Vakalopoulou (1924-2021) worked as a consultant to the government from the 1970s, advising on the protection of archaeological sites, historical monuments and protected urban areas, transferring the experience she had gained in Italy. The earliest Greek women architects also made important contributions to other national institutions. Anastasia Tzakou (1928-2016) worked in the architecture department of the National Bank of Greece in the 1960s, where she designed relevant large-scale buildings, including the Astir tourist complex in Mikro Kavouri-Vouliagmeni (1961). Tzakou was also one of the few women to teach architecture in the 1960s. Although she never gave up the freelance practice of architecture, teaching at the National Technical University of Athens became her main occupation, and in 1981 she became the first female full professor of architecture in Greece (Figure 9).

**Figure 9.** Anastasia Tzakou's 'Astir' tourist facilities in Mikro Kavouri-Vouliagmeni, 1960-1961. Top left: model of one of the tourist accommodations; bottom left: model of the building with the restaurant and leisure centre; on the right: model of the masterplan of the complex



Source: Digital Archive of Greek Female Architects 1923-1981

Souzana Maria Kolokytha-Antonakaki (1935-2020) had a career that differed markedly from that of most of her peers, as she spent her entire professional life as an architect at Atelier 66, the architectural office she founded with her husband Dimitris Antonakakakis (b. 1933) in 1965<sup>10</sup>. Kololytha-Antonakaki's prolific work falls within the framework of so-called 'critical regionalism' and includes internationally acclaimed projects such as House in Oxylythos (1973). During the 1970s and 1980s, she held important positions in national and international institutions related to the professional practice of architecture, such as the Association of Greek Architects (SADAS) and the International Union of Architects (UIA), among others (Atelier 66, 2023).

Developing professional practice from the private sector was much more common among what could be called a second generation of graduated women architects in Greece, born in the 1940s and 1950s and graduating in the 1960s and 1970s. The Digital Archive of Greek Female Architects compiles interesting biographies of the women architects of this generation, revealing a variety of ways in which they pursued the liberal practice of the profession. Many of these women architects founded architectural firms with their husbands and were co-authors of important projects in Greek architecture over the second half of the 20th century. Among others, Sevasti Karakosta (b. 1938), who graduated in 1961 (Figure 10), Zoe Chatzi-Michalopoulou (b. 1940), who graduated in 1962, and Paraskevi Noukaki-Babalou (b. 1946), who graduated in 1970, developed most of their professional careers with their male partners. Some of these women architects began their careers in public institutions or combined independent practice with part-time university teaching.

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10. The firm was also founded by Efi Tsarmaki-Vrontesi, Denis Potiris and another pioneer of Greek architecture, Eleni Gousi Desilla (b. 1938). The architecture office was renamed A66 in 1986 under the sole management of the Antonakakis couple.

**Figure 10.** Sevasti Karakosta's Pomoni residential building in 11 Kapsampeli Street, Nea Filothei (Athens), 1963. Left: general floor plans and sections of the building; top right: view of the entrance and living area of the ground floor flat; bottom right: view of one of the facades of the building



Source: Digital Archive of Greek Female Architects 1923-1981

There were also some women architects who opened their offices with a group of colleagues, a formula that made it easier for them to access larger and more varied commissions. This was the case of Eleftheria Costopoulou-Paradelli (1942-2018) and Katerina Vei Spiropoulou (b. 1943), who graduated in 1966 and co-founded OMADA 1 Architects and Planners<sup>11</sup>. The office, which operated from 1976 to 2020, developed urban and architectural projects that were innovative for their time, in particular their proposals for collective and single-family housing, in which they were pioneers in Greece in introducing the principles of sustainability. From the 1970s, the presence of women teaching architecture in Greek universities was consolidated. Vilma Chastaoglou-Martinidis (b. 1945), educated in Greece and France,

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11. The firm was also founded by the architect Solon Xenopoulos, who worked there until 1987.

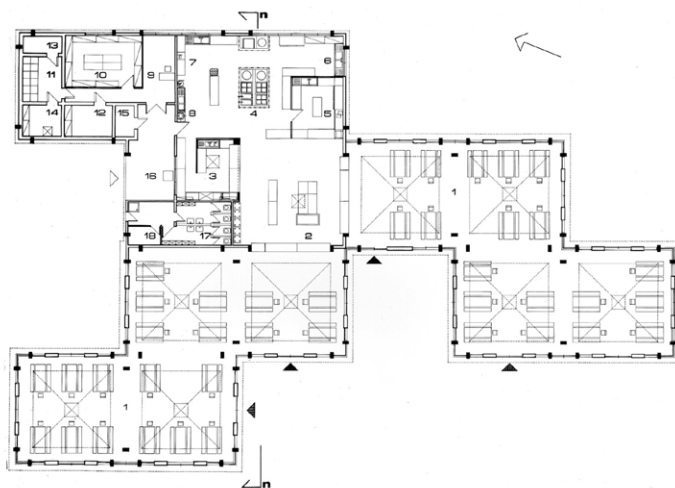
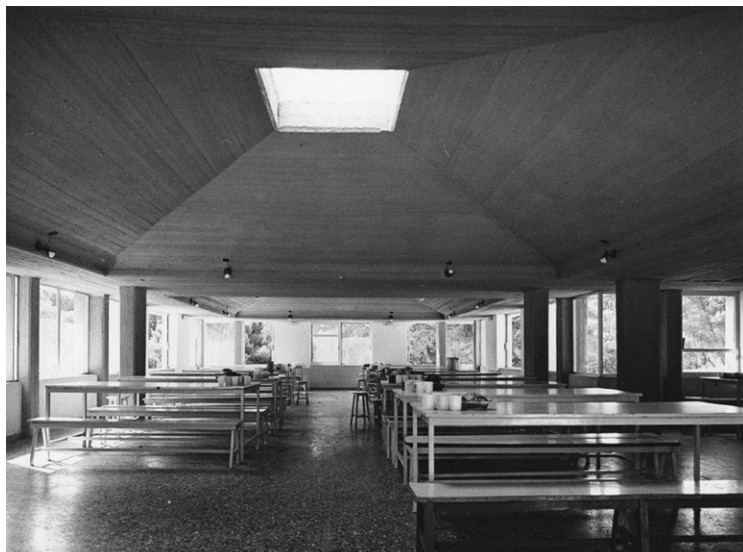
taught urban planning at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (Figure 11) and conducted extensive research on historical Mediterranean cities. Helen Fessas-Emmanouil (b. 1943) taught architectural history at the National and Capodistrian University of Athens. Both retired in the 2010s and have been recognised as emeritus professors by their respective universities. The architect Agnes Couvelas-Panagiotatou (b. 1943), who set up her own practice after graduating in 1966, is an exceptional case among this generation of women architects. With a prolific career (Figure 12), it was not until the 1990s that the work of this architect achieved definitive international recognition, with a nomination for the Mies van der Rohe Award in 1998 for the project for the In-Situ Archaeological Museum in Naxos (Digital Archive of Greek Female Architects 1923-1981, 2021).

**Figure 11.** Vilma Chastaoglou-Martinidis and her colleague Nikos Kalogirou in 1989 during their lectures on urban planning at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki



Source: Digital Archive of Greek Female Architects 1923-1981

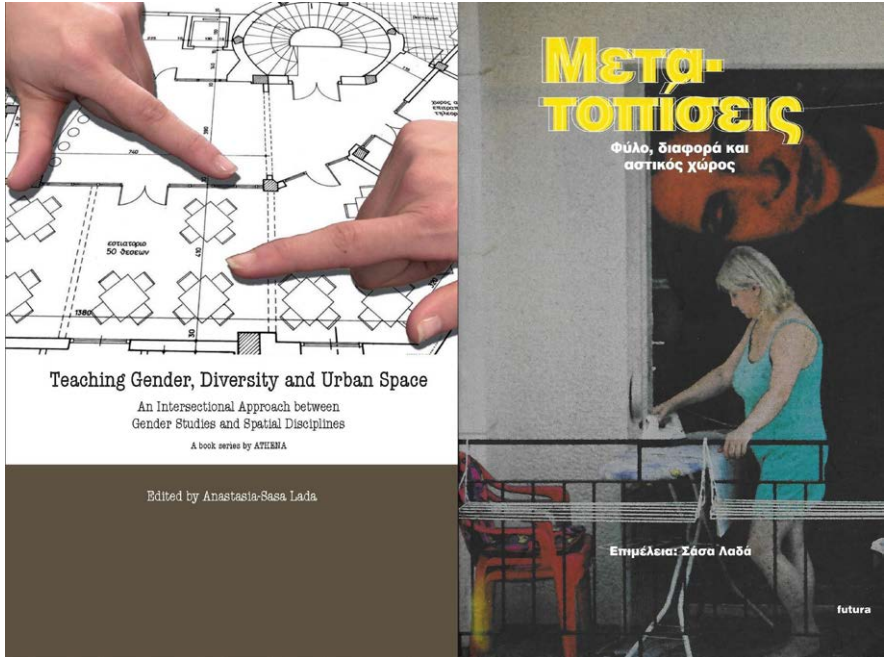
Figure 12. Restaurant at a children's summer camp in Penteli (Athens), designed by Agnes Couvelas and Panagiotis Kargados in 1975. Top: view of the interior of the dining hall; bottom: general floor plan



Source: DOMa Institution SA

In the 1980s, the professional careers of a group of slightly younger female architects began to take off, working in a wide variety of fields. One of the most outstanding careers is that of architects Morpho Papanikolaou (b. 1955) and Rena Sakellaridou (b. 1955), both internationally trained, who graduated in 1981 and founded the SPARCH studio a year later. The extensive work of this pair of architects has been the subject of numerous exhibitions and publications and has received national and international recognition, particularly since the late 1990s after their collaboration with Mario Botta on the design of the headquarters of the National Bank of Greece. Another representative of this group is Nelly Marda (b. 1954), who has combined the work at her own architecture office with teaching at universities in Greece and the United Kingdom, becoming a professor at the National Technical University of Athens in 2004. In the field of teaching architecture and urbanism, Constantina (Dina) Vaïou (b. 1951) and Anastasia (Sasa) Lada (b. 1946) were the first in Greece to introduce the gender perspective into their teaching and research work at the architecture schools of Athens and Thessaloniki, respectively, from the late 1980s onwards. According to the Digital Archive of Greek Female Architects 1923-1981, by the end of the 20th century, the majority of students in the Greek schools of architecture were women, with more than 70% at the School of Architecture of Athens (Figure 13).

Figure 13. Covers of two publications on gender in spatial planning edited by Anastasia Lada. Left: *Teaching Gender, Diversity and Urban Space* (2009); right: *Μετα-τοπίσεις. Φύλο, διαφορά και αστικός χώρος* (*Dis-Locations: Gender, Diversity, Urban Space*) (2009)



Source: Anastasia Lada

The 1960s and 1970s were a period of political instability for Cyprus. The country's declaration of independence in 1960 was followed by years of conflict between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, which ended with the partition of the island in 1974. For the first generation of Cypriot women architects, these two decades were the beginning and consolidation of their careers, although there is little documentation and still incipient research into the work of this group of women architects who opened the doors of the architectural profession to women in Cyprus (Cyprus Architects Association, 2023). According to the exhibition *Frau Architekt*, which was held at the Goethe Institute in Nicosia in 2021, the



first generation of graduated women architects in Cyprus consisted of a group of five foreign-educated women. In addition to the aforementioned Maro Efthimiadi Atzini (1937-1997), there would be Solmaz Feridun, who graduated in Turkey in 1961, Eleni Romanou Demetriadou, who graduated in 1969, Androulla Demetriou, who graduated in Greece in 1970, and Sevim Altan, who graduated in 1972.

In the course of this paper research, two digital records were found in which Androulla Demetriou developed educational architecture projects sponsored by the Ministry of Education and Culture in the 1990s: the Elementary Public School in Kiti (Optimumce, 2016) and the Nareg Armenian School in Larnaca (Wikipedia Foundation, 2023). More information about Solmaz Feridun can be found in her own statement on the website of her husband and partner, Arif Feridun (2021). Born and trained as an architect in Turkey, Solmaz Feridun and her husband set up an architectural practice in Cyprus and received several commissions during the early years of the Republic of Cyprus. However, the inter-communal conflict that began in December 1963 forced the couple to leave the country, settling first in Germany, then in the UK, and finally in Turkey. Solmaz Feridun developed her career from Ankara, combining work in the Ministry of Public Works, where she supervised the design and construction of educational facilities and became Deputy Director of the Department of Architecture, with freelance practice with her husband. After retiring, she conducted independent research on rapid construction technologies and was a lecturer at the Eastern Mediterranean University in Cyprus from 1992 (Feridun, 2021) (Figure 14).

Figure 14. Androulla Demetriou's elementary public School in Kiti, ca. 2000



Source: Δημοτικό Σχολείο Κιτίου

Among the first graduated women architects in Cyprus, there is a later group, those born between the late 1950s and early 1970s, who continue to be educated abroad and who have some of the most significant careers and contributions to contemporary Cypriot architecture. Margarita Danou (b. 1965), trained in London, established her office in Nicosia in 1990, becoming one of the first women in Cyprus to run a solo architecture practice. Danou's work has received awards and recognition since the beginning of her career. In the 1990s she was a runner up in the European Architectural Competition EUROPAN 3 for the city of Campi, Italy (1993), was distinguished in various local and international competitions, and won the first prize for the design of the museum and monumental complex at Liopetri Barn (1994). The author of numerous private residences, Danou has also designed public spaces and infrastructures, as well as commercial buildings. She has been nominated four times for the Mies van der Rohe Award (DANOS, 2020) (Figure15).

Figure 15. Margarita Danou's CYTA Footbridge in Limassol, 2013 (EU Mies Award 2015)



Source: European Union Prize for Contemporary Architecture

The conservation of Cyprus' historical heritage has been one of the fields of specialisation of several of the pioneers of this second generation of Cypriot women architects. A noteworthy example is that of the architects Antonia Theodosiou and Nasso Chrysochou (b. 1964) who, only a few years after graduating, were awarded the Europa Nostra Award for their joint work on the restoration of a traditional house built on Hellenistic tombs in Nicosia (1995). This heritage intervention project represented Cyprus in the field of architecture at the 1997 Biennale of European and Mediterranean Countries. Antonia Theodosiou, graduated in 1986, has developed her professional career around the conservation of architectural heritage and the enhancement of traditional building techniques such as drystone construction and earthen architecture. She is currently Board member of ICOMOS-Cyprus and expert member of the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Earthen Architectural Heritage. Nasso Chrysochou (b. 1964), who graduated in architecture in the United States in 1986, with specialised postgraduate training in heritage conservation in Italy and the United Kingdom, has run her own architectural practice since 1992, developing a large number of projects in the conservation of historic buildings and monuments, most notably the restoration of the Panagia tou Sinti Monastery, for which she received another Europa Nostra Award in 1997 (BRAUa, 2023; Frederick University, 2023b; Guérin, 2011) (Figure 16).

**Figure 16.** A view of the interior of the Panagia tou Sinti Monastery in Pentalia, which was restored under the supervision of Nasso Chrysochou between 1994 and 1998



Source: *Αψίδα*, Cyprus Tourism Organisation

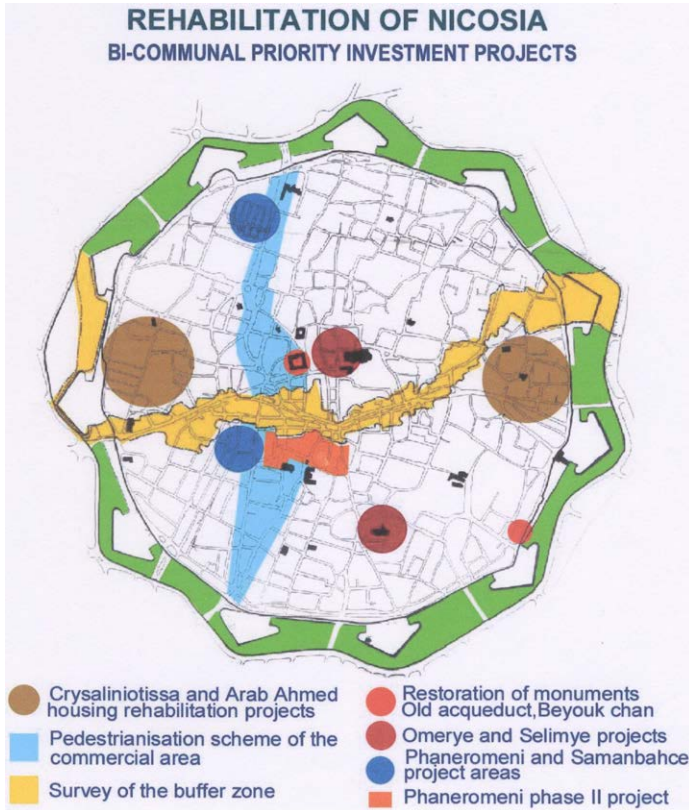
With regard to urban planning and public policies related to spatial planning, three women architects from this generation of Cypriot pioneers deserve special mention. Athena Aristotelous-Cleridou (b. 1954) qualified as an architect in 1977 and then studied town planning in the UK. Since 1978 she has worked for the Cyprus Ministry of the Interior, where she has been involved in the formulation of public policy on housing, urban planning and the protection of architectural heritage. In 1995 she was appointed head of the Conservation of Cultural Heritage Unit, from where she launched numerous initiatives and regulations aimed at protecting and enhancing the cultural heritage of Cyprus (EHHF 2018).

At the local level of public policy, Athina Papadopoulou (b. 1965) has been working in the Urban Planning Department of Nicosia Municipality since 1999, developing the city's master plan, a project she has been directing since 2010. Together with other professionals, including a number of women architects and planners such as İlkay Feridun or Angi Petridou<sup>12</sup>, she has contributed to the preservation of the architectural and urban heritage of the Cypriot capital. The Nicosia Master Plan, which was also developed as part of the peace and reconciliation process between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, won a Europa Nostra Award (2005) and an Aga Khan Award (2007) (BRAUb, 2023) (Figure 17).

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12. Agni Petridou led the Nicosia Master Plan team between 1996 and 2010.

Figure 17. Plan of the Bi-communal priority investment projects, Nicosia Master Plan



Source: European Heritage Awards Archive

Lora Nicolau (b. 1957), trained as an architect and urban planner in Greece and the UK, has worked on urban planning from both a professional practice and academic perspective. During the 1990s she worked in London as an urban planner for international consulting companies and as a lecturer and researcher at several universities. In the early 2000s she settled in Cyprus, where she works as a freelance urban planner and assistant professor at Frederick University (Frederick University 2023a). Despite the increase in the number of women architects pursuing independent careers,

the second generation of Cypriot graduated women architects still tended to work in couples or with male colleagues. This was the case, for example, with Margarita Kritiotti (1964-2022), Eleftheria Serghidou (b. 1965), Maria Charalampides (b. 1968), Elena Parouti (b. 1971) or Maria Akkelidou (b. 1970) (Brown & Burns, 2024).

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

This review of the trajectories of the first graduate women architects in South-Eastern Europe shows how sociopolitical conditions have had a particular influence on the advancement of women's rights, which in turn have allowed for the progressive participation of women in professions traditionally considered to be male domains. While this could be considered common to almost all countries, the specificity of the recent history of Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey makes it possible to see more clearly the direct impact of the sociopolitical context on the reality of women architects, on the architectural disciplines themselves and, more generally, on the principle of equal opportunities.

It is noticeable how the absence or weakness of democratic structures in the states hinders the advancement of women in the field of architecture. On the one hand, the creation of public schools of architecture seems to be associated with an increase in the number and diversity of women entering the profession. On the other hand, the establishment of government departments aimed at developing public policies related to spatial planning and design seems to contribute to the career paths of the first generations of women graduates in architecture.

Public administrations were not only the first working environment for many of the first generations of women graduate architects, but, unlike the private sector, they also offered them stability, a degree of autonomy—both with regard to their spouses and to sociopolitical circumstances—and the opportunity for professional development, with many of them reaching positions of the highest responsibility. One possible explanation for this may lie in the working conditions generally offered by the public sector. This is one of the conclusions of recent quantitative studies (Sánchez de Madariaga et al., 2022) on the situation of women architects, which show that flexible



working hours, maternity leave and other legal instruments that facilitate the reconciliation of work and family life are highly valued by female architects.

Although employment in the public sector offered certain advantages for early Greek, Cypriot and Turkish women architects, especially when processes of democratic deterioration or a reversal of women's rights policies were initiated, this research also concludes that there may have been a degree of gender segregation, both horizontal and vertical. Although the new democratic governments, especially in the case of Turkey, promoted the figure of the professional woman as a symbol of progress and modernity, women architects concentrated on and led certain types of projects and areas.

In all three countries, the relevance of some of the first women architects is common to departments more closely associated with cultural areas than with purely technical ones. The role of these first generations in the tourism promotion departments stands out, where they were responsible for studying, protecting, regulating and promoting the rich architectural and archaeological heritage of their respective countries. The Ministries of Education or Health were also departments in which the first female architects to graduate in Cyprus, Turkey and Greece carried out important work. Some worked as planners of health or education infrastructure, others developed regulations and standards for the design and construction of these and other facilities.

The local archives and authors consulted highlight that, even within the public administration, there was a tendency for women architects to be commissioned for less visible projects. It was common to assign them to design small and rural facilities. While this tendency may have led to a lower visibility of women architects' careers, it also highlights the importance of the work of the first generations of women architects in the development of democratic infrastructures and the emerging welfare state in Greece, Turkey and Cyprus.

It is also concluded that few Greek, Cypriot and Turkish women have managed to practise architecture alone in the private sector. Those who have done so tend to combine the free practice of architecture with other employment, usually university teaching, and have tended to focus on the design of private residential buildings. Within the private sector, large architectural or urban planning projects appear almost exclusively in the careers of those women architects who have developed their professional paths with their

male partners, through groups of architects, or working for large companies in the sector. The research also shows that the progress and consolidation of democracy is directly linked to a higher proportion of women architects working in the private sector.

As noted above, it is notable that a significant number of the first generation of female graduates in architecture have achieved high levels of professional recognition and advancement in a wide range of areas of professional practice, including at an international level. This could be related to the comparatively high socioeconomic background of many of these women, who were able to enter what was for most of the 20th century an elitist profession. It could also be connected to the significant number of Turkish, Greek and Cypriot women who were educated abroad, mostly in the UK but also in the US. While this would be expected in Cyprus, given the absence of national schools of architecture until the first decade of the 21st century, leaving the country to obtain a professional degree and postgraduate training at a prestigious English-speaking university abroad seems to have been a common route for many generations of architects in these countries throughout the 20th century.

A certain tendency to develop professional careers in certain areas can be seen in the careers of both those architects who have worked in the public sector and those who have worked in the private sector. In any case, there is a relationship between many of these women architects and areas of architecture and urban planning that are directly related to the quality of life of citizens and the support of everyday life. Among other areas, the first generation of graduated women architects in Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, tended to specialise in housing policy and design, heritage preservation and regulation, university teaching, planning and design of everyday life public facilities, and urban planning.

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# MUJERES Y PAISAJE. RECORRIDOS POR UNA PRÁCTICA HOLÍSTICA Y EL CASO DE CATALUÑA

## WOMEN & LANDSCAPE. PATHWAYS THROUGH A HOLISTIC PRACTICE AND THE CATALONIA CASE STUDY

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### Resumen

Históricamente, las mujeres han encontrado diversas maneras para redefinir y revalorizar los entornos naturales. Propuestas que han estado caracterizadas por la representación, recalificación o resignificación de la naturaleza, trascendiendo a la cuestión de forma, belleza o al puro aprovechamiento visual para enfocarse en una comprensión real y compleja: la necesaria interacción y dependencia que tenemos los seres humanos como especie, con otras especies, y con el ecosistema. Conceptos como la simbología, el bien común, la memoria, la participación, los espacios propios para la creación y el entendimiento, y también para el desarrollo personal y colectivo, hilvanan la primera parte del presente artículo a través de distintas formas de aproximación a la naturaleza, la mayoría de ellas no reconocidas en absoluto por la historiografía de la arquitectura y el paisajismo, que las ha relegado de sus discursos hegemónicos y, por tanto, a una condición periférica. Se trata, sin embargo, de una selección histórica de posiciones políticas a través del paisaje: proyectos pensados desde la experiencia y desde la práctica de mujeres paisajistas, arquitectas, artistas o activistas

motivadas por valores integrales y de fondo para un uso igualitario de los espacios naturales. Se propone un segundo apartado que arriba en el caso concreto del diseño del paisaje realizado por mujeres en Cataluña. Una breve antología, con el propósito de reivindicar actuaciones y protagonistas para ser analizadas desde claves comunes con los relatos históricos de la primera parte. La arquitectura del paisaje en Cataluña es actualmente un ámbito consolidado y reconocido profesional y académicamente. Existen estructuras y mecanismos al servicio de su especialización, así como ofertas educativas, observatorios institucionales y organismos internacionales enfocados en el ámbito del paisaje y los retos futuros. De la denominada Escuela de Barcelona y su posterior contexto sociopolítico y académico, surgieron relatos y expresiones arquitectónicas de mujeres egresadas o influenciadas por dicha Escuela que son origen y legado de la práctica y la teoría sobre el paisaje.

**Palabras clave:** mujeres; género; paisaje; naturaleza; historia; invisibilidad; genealogías del paisaje; holismo; igualdad; derecho a la ciudad; diseño del paisaje; arquitectas; Cataluña.

### Abstract

Throughout history, women have found different ways to redefine and revalorize natural environments. These have been proposals that have been shaped by the representation, requalification or resignification of nature, which have transcended the issue of appearance, aesthetics or pure visual use to focus on a real and complex understanding: the necessary interaction and dependency that we humans have as a specie, with other species, and with the environment. The first part of this article is threaded through different ways of interacting with nature, most of them completely unrecognised by the historiography of architecture and landscaping, through concepts such as symbology, the common weal, memory, participation, spaces for creation and understanding, as well as personal and collective growth. Being neglected by prevailing discourses and, therefore, relegated to a peripheral status, it is, however, a historical selection of political positions across the landscape: projects based on the experience and practice of women landscape designers, architects, artists, and activists driven by integral and fundamental values. A second section is proposed that focuses on the specific case of landscape design in Catalonia and carried out by women. A brief anthology is collected in order to vindicate actions and protagonists capable of being analyzed from common keys with the historical stories of the first part. Landscape architecture in Catalonia is nowadays consolidated and recognized as an academic and professional field. There are structures and mechanisms for its specialization, as well as educational offers, institutional observatories and international organizations focused on the field of landscape and addressing future challenges. From the so-called Escuela de Barcelona and its later sociopolitical and academic context, other

architectural narratives and expressions emerged from women graduates or influenced by this School, which are part of the origin and legacy of landscape practice and theory.

**Keywords:** women; gender; landscape; nature; history; invisibility; landscape genealogies; holism; equality; right to the city; landscape design; women architects; Catalonia.

## 1. INTRODUCCIÓN

El proyecto del paisaje como el ejercicio capaz de incorporar la naturaleza al espacio público y al espacio propio, democrático y transversal, puede ser objeto de un análisis amplio y diverso. Conectores y articuladores, lúdicos, sostenibles o efímeros, estos espacios también son los patios de nuestras casas o las piezas urbanas que unen entornos fragmentados y hacen ciudad. La naturaleza vegetal, lumínica, material, mejora nuestras vidas porque nos acerca como colectivo, nos conecta con el territorio y con nosotras mismas.

La recuperación reciente de documentación sobre historias del paisaje como las expuestas en *Women, Modernity, and Landscape Architecture* (2015) editado por Sonja Dümpelmann y John Beardsley; o la omisión del reconocimiento de las prácticas profesionales y de publicaciones como las de Gertrude Jekyll, Sylvia Crowe o Lady Marjory Allen of Hurtwood dan cuenta de una larga trayectoria silenciada. Estas últimas autoras, cuya actividad se desarrolló a finales de siglo XIX y durante el XX, son fundamentales por su trabajo divulgativo y de resignificación del proyecto de paisaje<sup>1</sup>. En *Women, Modernity, and Landscape Architecture* los proyectos analizados en distintas geografías ponen de manifiesto la importancia crítica que tuvo la modernidad en la formación y la evolución de la arquitectura paisajística y la desatención histórica a las autoras rescatadas.

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1. La obra de Gertrude Jekyll (1843-1932), quien diseñó y construyó más de cuatrocientos jardines entre Inglaterra y Estados Unidos, se caracterizó por un alto sentido estético vinculado a las artes pictóricas y al movimiento Arts & Crafts. Sylvia Crowe (1901-1997), por su parte, fue precursora en resignificar el diseño paisajístico como espacio estético productivo vinculado a la subsistencia de la segunda posguerra; o Lady Marjory Allen of Hurtwood (1897-1976) quién volcó su actividad profesional como paisajista en la planificación para el derecho de niños y niñas en las ciudades.

La fragilidad que han tenido los reconocimientos de las propuestas y los méritos de las mujeres arquitectas, en general, y la de las paisajistas, en particular, hunde sus raíces en los distintos mecanismos de exclusión de los relatos orales e historiográficos, como analizan las distintas publicaciones de las autoras de este artículo. Narrativas sustentadas en valores patriarcales y homogeneizadores. En el imaginario del colectivo profesional y académico y en consecuencia en sus representaciones sociales, el paisaje, al igual que el diseño de interiores o de mobiliario, ha sido considerado un ejercicio periférico, una práctica fuera del canon asociada históricamente con desempeños menores o de poco impacto.

El propósito de este artículo es poner en valor el proyecto del paisaje desde distintas perspectivas y a su vez desde una mirada holística. Se propone un recorrido conceptual a través de algunos ejemplos históricos internacionales que enlazan distintas formas de ver y hacer paisaje. Por otra parte, se busca recalcar en la práctica impulsada por mujeres arquitectas en Cataluña, como caso singular y pionero dentro del territorio español. Si bien en la actualidad el paisajismo en esta región goza de un alto grado de reconocimiento nacional e internacional, su consolidación no llegó sino a través de un largo proceso desde la segunda mitad del siglo XX y hasta la actualidad, en el que muchas mujeres hicieron del diseño del paisaje un espacio propio de desarrollo profesional. Desde las distintas áreas de su actividad como arquitectas (en la enseñanza, la investigación, la difusión, el diseño, la materialización y renaturalización de los espacios urbanos y rurales), el paisajismo catalán ha tenido una fuerte impronta de autoría de mujeres, comenzando por Rosa Barba i Casanovas.

Este artículo propone una breve compilación de distintas aproximaciones a los entornos naturales con el fin de reforzar una doble genealogía; la del diseño del paisaje, y la de las mujeres y arquitectas protagonistas de aportes relevantes en esta materia.

## **2. UN ESPACIO SECUNDARIO ES UN ESPACIO ABIERTO. ES UN ESPACIO PROPIO**

La relación que las mujeres han establecido con el paisaje ha tenido a lo largo de la historia muchas vertientes, intereses y orígenes. Por una parte,



están las aportaciones que han realizado al paisajismo desde el proyecto y el diseño, pero también existe otra lectura que implica al propio paisaje como vehículo y espacio de creación.

Pero, para la mujer, pensé mirando los estantes vacíos, estas dificultades eran infinitamente más terribles. Para empezar, tener una habitación propia, ya no digamos una habitación tranquila y a prueba de sonido, era algo impensable aún a principios del siglo diecinueve, a menos que los padres de la mujer fueran excepcionalmente ricos o muy nobles. (Woolf, 2008, p.39)

Los textos que componen el ensayo *Una habitación propia* de Virginia Woolf, publicado en 1929, son una respuesta a la necesidad de independencia económica y personal de las mujeres. Una habitación propia, ese espacio de reflexión, creación y autonomía, indispensable y de difícil acceso para las mujeres, es la representación de muchos otros ejemplos de espacios contruidos, por y para mujeres, con el objetivo de obtener una independencia intelectual. El vínculo con la naturaleza y el entorno es otra de las vías a través de la cual las mujeres han podido desarrollarse e interactuar con otras mujeres, otras especies y con el ambiente. Tal es el caso de las beguinas, mujeres que, en el siglo XII, se agruparon en espacios comunitarios al margen de las estructuras del dominio patriarcal religiosas y civiles. Los beguinajes fueron esa 'habitación propia', lugares autónomos, autosuficientes, propios, donde ocuparse, cuidar y desarrollarse, trabajando en el mundo productivo al exterior y en el ámbito de la reproducción, la subsistencia y los cuidados al interior, sin distinciones en el tipo de contribución. El conjunto arquitectónico del beguinaje, generalmente rodeado por una muralla con un acceso al exterior, se concebía como una ciudad del cuidado dentro de la trama urbana. La gestión comunitaria de los cuidados tuvo su incidencia en la forma del espacio, principalmente en los beguinajes de Lovaina, Brujas y Ámsterdam, donde todas las casas se ubican alrededor de un patio central o de pequeños patios interiores, resultando una ordenación distributiva que refuerza los valores de proximidad y ayuda mutua.

El proyecto de la casa La Ronde constituye otro buen ejemplo de espacio alternativo vinculado a la vida y también gestionado por mujeres. Diseñado y construido por las primas Jane y Marie Parminster en el siglo XVIII, es uno de estos lugares que simboliza mucho más que un espacio para vivir. Luego

de casi cuatro años de viaje por Europa<sup>2</sup> construyeron en Devon, Inglaterra una casa de 16 lados estructurada a partir de un octógono interior, un espacio central, un corazón a partir del cual se distribuyen las habitaciones por las que entra el sol en las diferentes horas del día. Espacios de guardado se esconden entre las paredes, asientos que se bajan en los umbrales de las puertas, escondites secretos y seguros, son algunos de los mecanismos domésticos diseñados por estas dos mujeres cuyo claro propósito fue la construcción de un entorno, interior y exterior, propio y apropiado. Esta casa erigida para poder estudiar y trabajar, organizaba las habitaciones de acuerdo con las actividades y el sol.

La Ronde se ubica en una bahía sobre el mar, y el tratamiento que se le dio al paisaje exterior también fue diseñado por ellas. Muy cerca de allí, en Point in View, proyectan y construyen un pequeño conjunto de edificaciones siguiendo su visión sobre la educación y derechos de las mujeres. Preocupadas por una buena vida y una vida productiva, así como una concepción ética religiosa y humanista naturalista de la existencia, construyen además de una pequeña capilla (que tienen mucha similitud con la casa) una casa para mujeres. Un espacio propio para otras, que, como en su caso, aspiran a tener otra vida y otra formación más allá de los cánones establecidos. Actualmente queda la pequeña capilla como memoria de lo que fue. Al morir las propietarias, según su testamento, la casa sería utilizada solamente por mujeres de la familia que no contrajeran matrimonio. Este hecho señala la importancia que tenía para Jane y Marie Parminster tener una opción alternativa a los roles y las vidas socialmente asignadas y poder desarrollarse en un espacio adecuado alejado de los mandatos sociales de la época.

Cabe recordar que la arquitectura se ha forjado, además de en sus espacios formativos y de ejercicio, sobre las desigualdades basadas en la clase, la raza y los sesgos de género como parte de la estructura social. Desigualdades sostenidas por el sistema patriarcal y reforzadas por valores como la individualidad, la genialidad heroica y la obra construida como principal objeto de

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2. Jane, junto a su hermana Elizabeth, de 28 años, y su prima Marie Parminster realizaron el *Grand Tour* a Europa que duró al menos cuatro años. Este viaje, cuyos primeros registros datan de 1670, era parte de la educación de jóvenes aristócratas, principalmente británicos y varones, quienes eran beneficiarios de los privilegios educativos.

valoración. Fuera de los discursos quedaron otras manifestaciones espaciales, que, por razón de escala, ámbitos de acción y desarrollo o carácter de obra inmaterial no objetual supusieron la otredad. 'Lo otro' se ha constituido como el conjunto de prácticas disidentes y periféricas a la considerada principal y, por lo tanto, llevadas a cabo por sujetos alternos. Así, la arquitectura de interiores, el paisajismo, el diseño de mobiliario, la enseñanza y la atención a la pequeña escala fueron espacios de creación denostados. La decoración, la jardinería, los cuidados y la educación pertenecían al área de lo doméstico y lo natural, que como nos recuerda el pensamiento de Simone de Beauvoir, no era el ámbito de lo cultural, público y político, sino el asignado por razón de la esencia de lo femenino (de Beauvoir, 2017).

Ese espacio, al margen del predominante, fue ámbito de conocimiento, desarrollo y especificidad en manos de mujeres conocedoras y portadoras de una experiencia por asignación de rol. Un espacio secundario según la experiencia dominante del género masculino, sí, pero un espacio que fue apropiado, un espacio propio.

### 3. NATURALEZA Y PAISAJE. EL VALOR DE LO SIMBÓLICO

En La Ronde, detalles como el hotel de aves colocado en la fachada de la casa, o la plantación de flores en un sector específico del jardín, cuyo fin era el de atraer abejas para la polinización y, por tanto, tener conciencia del *continuum* de la vida, nos acercan a la concepción y sentido de la existencia de estas mujeres en términos amplios e inclusivos. Principios del ecofeminismo actual y pioneros para el siglo XVIII, que relacionan el vivir cotidiano, con el paisaje, el jardín, la naturaleza. Un pensamiento más complejo e inclusivo que se aleja del binarismo patriarcal público-privado, espacio abierto-espacio cerrado. Tal y como señala la filósofa Alicia Puleo, el «jardín-huerto ecofeminista» no predica el retiro del mundo, sino un compromiso histórico contra las formas patriarcales de insaciable voluntad de dominación (Puleo, 2019).

Del mismo modo, el acercamiento a la naturaleza y su simbología socio política se puede encontrar en el proyecto del jardín de Eagle House, en Bath, en el cual la sufragista Rose Lamartine Yates plantó, en 1909, un pino negro en honor a la activista de clase trabajadora Annie Kenney, quien había sido arrestada por manifestarse en favor del voto femenino.

En el jardín transformado en el bosque de las sufragistas, también conocido como el 'Arboretum de Annie', se llegaron a plantar hasta 47 árboles y coníferas a modo de homenaje a las activistas y en honor a las mujeres encarceladas. De este modo, el bosque se convirtió en lugar de peregrinación y encuentro por parte de las feministas sufragistas. Durante los años setenta esta zona fue urbanizada, y hoy, más de cien años después, el proyecto artístico y ecofeminista Walking Forest<sup>3</sup> aspira a lograr en 2028 un 'bosque intencional' como homenaje a las mujeres que defienden y protegen el mundo natural. El símbolo de lo natural está también enraizado en la idea de que el bosque siempre perdurará a la vida humana, nos trasciende y nos recuerda.

Otro ejemplo histórico del paisaje natural como elemento simbólico puede encontrarse en el ejercicio profesional de la arquitecta paisajista Marjorie Sewell Cautley (1891-1954), egresada de la Universidad de Cornell, Estados Unidos, en 1917. Si bien sus primeros encargos fueron junto a la reconocida arquitecta Julia Morgan (1872-1957), los trabajos en solitario como el parque público Roosevelt Common en Tenafly, Nueva Jersey, o en colaboración con Clarence Stein y Henry Wright, estuvieron sustentados en una fuerte convicción de que la naturaleza, intrínseca al ser humano, es capaz de consolidar dinámicas colectivas y de reforzar identidades. En el caso del Roosevelt Common, usaron plantas nativas para imbuir el paisaje con un fuerte sentido del lugar. Según Cautley, los paisajes vecinales debían aportar carácter al sitio, proponer diversidad de acuerdo con las preferencias de cada grupo o núcleo de convivencia, y proyectar las plantaciones en etapas. Las fases en la arquitectura del paisaje atienden en un sentido amplio a los ciclos y tiempos de la naturaleza, también a las personas en su interacción e interdependencia, porque prevé los desarrollos y transformaciones de la comunidad a largo plazo, así como la atención a las estaciones y al mínimo mantenimiento.

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3. Walking Forest (<https://www.walkingforest.co.uk/>) es una iniciativa artística de más de 10 años de antigüedad que se desarrolla en lugares de todo el Reino Unido y explora los vínculos con el activismo, las redes de bosques naturales y las comunidades.

#### 4. PROTECCIÓN DEL ENTORNO NATURAL COMO BIEN COMÚN

En 1902, Henrietta Barnett (1851-1936), reformadora social y educadora, se puso al corriente, de manera casual, de que se planeaba la extensión del metro de Londres desde el centro de la ciudad a Hampstead y Golders Green. Esta obra implicaría la desaparición de unos de los espacios naturales abiertos más bellos en las cercanías de Londres. Un desarrollo especulativo del área, con bloques anodinos y repetitivos de viviendas bajo el sistema *bye-law*, que, si bien proponía la higiene de estas, no aseguraba ninguna calidad urbanística, ni paisajística, ni humana. Su medida fue recaudar dinero para comprar 80 hectáreas que le permitieran resguardar este espacio natural. La idea original era donar el terreno a la ciudad para que fuera un espacio público abierto, aunque las dificultades para conseguir el dinero y la burocracia le llevaron a optar por la creación de un suburbio jardín en «el que todas las clases pudieran vivir juntas, en condiciones adecuadas de belleza y espacio» (Barnett, 1918, como se citó en Creedon, 2006, p.130). Cabe mencionar que en esta apertura a la diversidad espacial y de condición de clase, origen y modos de habitar, se incluían viviendas para mujeres solteras.

Para Henrietta Barnett, el modelo de suburbio era la ciudad jardín, pero el énfasis estaba en el campo más que en la ciudad. Con su propuesta quería mostrar que personas de diferentes estratos y opiniones podían convivir y que esto era posible en barrios con vistas al paisaje, a los parques y al campo lejano<sup>4</sup>.

Así se construyó Hampstead Garden Suburb, en 1909, junto a la estación de metro de Golden Greens y al gran espacio verde que logra ser protegido y que hoy conecta con otro parque natural a poca distancia de la ciudad de Londres.

Cerca de este enclave y casi cuatro décadas antes, en 1875, Octavia Hill (1838-1912) había propuesto, sin suerte, proteger otro paraje natural en los alrededores de la zona de Swiss Cottage. La preexistencia de una calle planificada ya en los planos del Londres de 1861 dio el derecho para la construcción de viviendas en los terrenos lindantes. Viviendas en hilera

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4. Véase la historia del lugar en el sitio web de Hampstead Garden Suburb: <http://www.hgs.org.uk/history/index.html>

sobre vías de gran longitud, sin diversidad alguna ni espacios de encuentro, distanciadas de todo vínculo con el entorno natural y el paisaje rural. A esta forma de hacer ciudad es a la que Henrietta Barnett buscó anticiparse años después en su Plan de Hampstead Garden Suburb en 1905.

Octavia Hill defendía que las personas no solamente requieren satisfacer sus necesidades más básicas, sino que también necesitan de la naturaleza como un espacio de crecimiento y creación. En 1876, junto a su hermana Miranda, impulsó la Sociedad para la Difusión de la Belleza, que, en 1877, se llamaría Kyrle Society. El objetivo de esta entidad era proteger los espacios naturales y concienciar a las personas de su importancia, así como de los beneficios de la belleza de la naturaleza, especialmente en aquellas áreas naturales cercanas a la ciudad.

Octavia Hill y Henrietta Barnett, protagonistas del Londres del siglo XIX a quienes se las ha llamado, no sin cierto desdén, benefactoras, fueron verdaderas revolucionarias sociales que pusieron su capacidad económica, sus redes sociales y su conocimiento para a partir del conocimiento y la confianza mutua mejorar la vida de las personas, la calidad de los barrios y la protección de la naturaleza. Reconocidas desde el ámbito del trabajo social, sus aportes son aún poco valorados y visibilizados en el campo de la arquitectura y el urbanismo.

Fue precisamente la mencionada Kyrle Society la que dio lugar, en 1894, a la formación del National Trust inglés, la primera entidad creada para la protección y regulación de parques y paisajes naturales. La protección y preocupación por la conservación de parques naturales que hoy en día asumimos desde el Norte Global como un hecho normalizado, tiene poco más de 100 años de existencia en estos contextos. El diseño del paisaje ligado a la protección medioambiental, tal y como lo conocemos actualmente, surge a partir de los conflictos naturaleza-sociedad fruto de la Revolución Industrial. Pero no es sino hasta la segunda mitad del siglo XX, a raíz de la conciencia ecológica y los límites ambientales, que se produce el momento clave en esta materia y que hoy resurge ante la actual crisis climática.

## 5. LA NATURALEZA DE SUBSISTENCIA Y RECREACIÓN EN LA CIUDAD

La industrialización se encuentra directamente vinculada al crecimiento de las ciudades de finales del siglo XIX y principios del XX, a las malas condiciones de vida para las clases populares, la contaminación y las enfermedades de ella derivadas, así como a la alienación de la naturaleza. La alimentación en la ciudad industrial es artificial, depende del dinero y no tiene vías de autoabastecimiento. En la depresión que sigue a la crisis del 29 esto se hizo aún más palpable, especialmente en las grandes ciudades de la costa este norteamericana. Ante la necesidad del autoabastecimiento alimentario encontramos dos respuestas. La primera, la ideación de nuevas ciudades-suburbio en las que cada parcela de un acre permitiría a la población urbana industrial producir su propio alimento, tal como planteó Frank Lloyd Wright en Broadacre City (1932). Por supuesto que esta propuesta se puede entender derivada de formulaciones teóricas y prácticas previas, como la ciudad o el suburbio jardín, de Ebenezer Howard o Frederick Law Olmsted respectivamente, o como Radburn de Marjorie Sewell Cautley, Clarence Stein y Henry Wright. También la teoría y práctica de Patrick Geddes con la incorporación de una mirada urbano-territorial pluridisciplinar y participativa. Una segunda aproximación más pragmática y realista fue liderada por mujeres que, desde una visión de mejora de la infraestructura existente, propusieron que las ciudades pudieran ser reacondicionadas para sostener espacios de producción hortícola, así como para el juego, el ocio y el encuentro. Estas mejoras del entorno existente fueron catalizadas a través de huertos en cubiertas de escuelas o edificios públicos como parte del movimiento del Municipal Housekeeping, llevado adelante por mujeres involucradas en las luchas sufragistas a principios del siglo XX o el movimiento Relief Gardens a partir de 1929. Respecto a la dimensión pública de la alimentación y su vínculo con las ciudades, fueron estos periodos de anomia a los que se refiere Daphne Spain como escenarios de crisis, pero también de oportunidad para cambiar la realidad, la recuperación y creación de instrumentos que permitan actuar en la esfera pública (Spain, 2001). Allí, en el abordaje urbano ambiental, de manutención y subsistencia de los impactos de la pobreza o la catástrofe, es donde las mujeres han estado organizadas.

La idea de utilización de los espacios vacantes y uso de los entornos existentes se asocia a la creación de un nuevo paisaje vinculado al bienestar para las personas, especialmente para niños y niñas, siendo además soluciones prácticas, sostenibles y de transformación a corto plazo.

Ligada a esta idea de la ciudad como espacio de juego y recreo de la infancia, la paisajista implicada y preocupada por la infancia en la ciudad de posguerra Marjory Allen of Hurtwood (1897-1976) sostenía que las experiencias de vida de las infancias en las ciudades modernas eran muy pobres emocionalmente (Allen of Hurtwood, 1968). Su posición era sumamente crítica con el desarrollo moderno, ya que consideraba que no dejaba ni creaba lugares para la independencia y el juego como aprendizaje desde la experiencia. Después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial llevó a cabo su primera propuesta de cubierta jardín para el ocio en un centro comercial: la cubierta jardín de los almacenes Selfridge. Lady Allen of Hurtwood fue una influyente promotora de la idea de los parques infantiles de aventuras o del *junk park* danés<sup>5</sup>, y se dedicó a investigar y difundir experiencias sobre los espacios de juego, siendo una de sus publicaciones más influyentes el libro *Planning For Play* de 1968.

La naturaleza y la aventura en la ciudad se enlazan en lo que ella misma definió como el juego libre, sin preconditionamiento, con cierto riesgo, invención y descubrimiento. Lady Allen of Hurtwood basó en su capacidad de observación directa de la realidad y, especialmente del comportamiento de niños y niñas, las ideas y propuestas para otorgarles espacios propios. A través de esta mirada atenta, descubrió, visualizó e hizo visible a la niñez con discapacidad física o neurológica, para la que propuso espacios de juego de aventura específicos.

Luego de recorrer en los años sesenta los Estados Unidos observando las diferentes propuestas de juegos infantiles en este país, señaló que estos no estaban pensados para las infancias sino para facilitar la administración. Y declaró que era el momento de decidir si nuestros parques infantiles debían

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5. Los *junk parks* daneses de C. Th Sorensen eran un lugar donde los niños podían crear y construir todo lo que su imaginación les permitiera. Los niños podían jugar con el agua, con la arena, haciendo realidad su imaginación. Lady Allen of Hurtwood llevó esta experiencia a la ciudad de Londres, sobre la cual teorizó, adecuó y, posteriormente publicó.



ser diseñados para adultos, que quieren todo ordenado, o para los niños y niñas que disfrutaban de estar sucios (Allen of Hurtwood, 1968). Ante las preocupaciones por potenciales peligros de los parques de aventura infantiles, expresó que es mejor arriesgarse a una fractura en la pierna que a un espíritu quebrantado, porque una pierna cura, pero un espíritu no.

Siguiendo con esta mirada sobre la infancia y sobre los espacios que incorporan naturaleza y recreo en las grandes ciudades, los aportes de la urbanista holandesa Jakoba Mulder (1900-1988) son un referente ineludible, aunque invisibilizados por la historiografía del urbanismo. Mulder se graduó en 1926 y, en 1930, se incorporó en el equipo de Cornelis Van Eesteren en la Oficina de Urbanismo de Ámsterdam, como segunda jefa encargada del Departamento de Planificación. Su primer gran proyecto dentro de la administración pública fue el desarrollo del Bosque de Ámsterdam (Boschplan) orientado más hacia el modelo de jardín inglés, que al funcionalismo alemán. El resultado fue una zona verde de 80 hectáreas con espacios muy diversos para el ocio, deportes y equipamientos públicos. La crisis económica también repercutió en las decisiones del proyecto, lo cual llevó a reinventar las posibilidades productivas en la ciudad creándose espacios específicos para la producción de alimentos y viveros en este parque urbano. Un proyecto que generaba trabajo a la vez que se preparaban árboles para nuevos parques.

Abierto en 1937, fue el parque más grande de los Países Bajos, con 200.000 árboles plantados, varios lagos artificiales y 116 puentes construidos en los canales. Las piscinas públicas de poca profundidad ideadas y diseñadas por Mulder para el Bosque fueron replicadas en emplazamientos urbanos en los años 50 en plazas como Bellamyplein y Gibraltarstaat. Durante la guerra, el Amsterdamse Bos –nombre acuñado en 1942– sufrió un gran deterioro a causa de las instalaciones bélicas, la tala de árboles y los campos de cultivo utilizados para la subsistencia. Finalizada la guerra continuaron las obras de mejora y ampliación, completando el plan original del parque en 1964. Jakoba Mulder diseñó además otros parques de Ámsterdam, como el de Beatrixpark, en 1936, cuya innovación estuvo en que la superficie estaba enteramente cubierta de arena; o el de Spaarnwoude en los años setenta.

A partir de 1947 comenzó el desarrollo de los parques infantiles denominados *pocket park*, una idea que, de acuerdo con Liane Lefavre, según la propia Mulder surgió a raíz de ver a una niña de su vecindario cavando con

una pala y jugando con la arena que extraía (Lefavre, 2007). Eran tiempos donde el panorama urbano dejado por la guerra era desolador y los pocos parques de juegos para niñas y niños eran de acceso restringido por su ubicación. Mulder generó un protocolo para que cualquier ciudadano pudiera identificar un vacío en la ciudad, así como las personas potencialmente usuarias y comunicárselo a la municipalidad para solicitar la construcción de una zona de juegos. Estos vacíos podían ser solares entre medianeras, terrenos desescombrados o aceras, públicos o privados. Con esta información el ayuntamiento realizaba las gestiones de cesión del solar y ponía en marcha la construcción del espacio lúdico, configurando así una herramienta y un modelo de participación *bottom-up*. Aldo van Eyck, que había comenzado a trabajar en la oficina de planeamiento urbano ese mismo año, se ofreció de voluntario para el diseño de los parques infantiles. El arquitecto conjugó austeridad económica con creatividad; una serie de elementos de geometrías simples, metálicos o de hormigón, conformaban espacios de juegos adecuados a distintas superficies, con una gran variedad de formas, texturas y posibilidades para la imaginación de niñas y niños. En definitiva, juegos no condicionantes. La gestión de estas intervenciones urbanas y sociales promovidas por Jakoba Mulder resultaron en microcentralidades barriales que favorecieron el acceso equitativo al derecho a la ciudad. Entre 1947 y 1978 se diseñaron más de 700 parques infantiles. Luego del primero, en el barrio de Bertelmanplein, la estrategia pasa a formar parte de los planes de desarrollo urbano previstos para Ámsterdam oeste.

Los casos descritos son ejemplo de la materialización de un ideario público de los espacios urbanos: abiertos a la ciudadanía; basados en satisfacer necesidades fundamentales como los cuidados; haciendo uso de recursos económicos ajustados; usando materiales o sistemas para la renaturalización y regulación de las condiciones climáticas. Un recorrido por distintas experiencias que recogen los valores ecofeministas de respeto y convivencia con el ecosistema y entre las personas como espacio para la igualdad. Prácticas de «jardín-huerto ecofeminista», como nombra Alicia Puleo a aquellos espacios que cuestionan los modelos del paisajismo establecidos y que en la actualidad están plenamente vigentes en el pensamiento ecosocial y en la coyuntura urgente de transición energética y climática.

## 6. CATALUÑA REFERENTE DEL PAISAJE. ORIGEN Y CONTEXTO

En este último apartado se busca establecer conexiones entre la arquitectura del paisaje que las mujeres arquitectas desempeñaron en Cataluña y los valores que se extraen del recorrido histórico por los ejemplos mencionados. Un breve trayecto por algunas intervenciones que en modo alguno pretende ser exhaustivo, sino representativo de las formas de aproximación e incorporación del paisaje a la arquitectura. Como escribió la mencionada arquitecta e investigadora del paisaje Rosa Barba:

Los paisajes se construyen por capas de deseos, voluntades y acciones, y se debaten para permanecer entre el desgaste del tiempo y el ímpetu de las catástrofes, mayores y menores, a través de la memoria que los legitima en imágenes. Por ello, cada paisaje trae impresa la huella del que lo ha precedido y deja para el futuro las señales de las culturas que lo han atravesado, o se lo han apropiado. (Barba, 1995, p.25)

Si hablamos sobre las huellas, las identidades y las capas que moldean las acciones paisajísticas y urbanas en el territorio catalán de los últimos cincuenta años, la presencia de las mujeres es un hecho indiscutible. Cuenta de esto dan algunos de los primeros resultados que arrojan los registros de la herramienta de investigación NAM, *Navegando Arquitectura de Mujer*<sup>6</sup>, que geolocaliza y registra la producción de las mujeres arquitectas desde los primeros comicios municipales en 1978 hasta la crisis de 2008. De las cien obras registradas en la Comunidad de Cataluña, el proyecto de paisaje y espacio público supera el 25%<sup>7</sup>.

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6. NAM, *Navegando Arquitecturas de Mujer* (Gutiérrez-Mozo et al., 2022) es una aplicación para dispositivos móviles de descarga gratuita, que geolocaliza y documenta obras de arquitectura de mujer en España. Se trata de un recurso abierto resultado del proyecto de investigación «Miradas Situadas: Arquitectura de Mujer en España desde Perspectivas Periféricas, 1978-2008» (Generalitat Valenciana, 2021-2023) desarrollado en la Universidad de Alicante (<https://navegandoarquitecturasdemujer.ua.es/navegando-arquitecturas-de-mujer>).

7. Una de las formas de organizar las obras registradas en la aplicación es por razón de uso. Las dieciséis tipologías son: administrativo, alojamiento, asistencial, comercial, cultural, deportivo, docente, dotacional, espacio público, industrial, infraestructural, memorial, religioso, residencial, sanitario y vivienda unifamiliar. Estas, a su vez, responden a siete categorías: ampliación, espacio público, paisaje, nueva planta, reforma, rehabilitación y restauración.

El impulso del paisaje en la región como área específica de la práctica profesional se vio retroalimentada por la formación académica. Una nueva visión de la arquitectura del paisaje y su vínculo con el espacio urbano en Cataluña que cobró impulso con la preparación del nuevo Plan de Estudios de 1964. Su implementación, que incluía Jardinería y Paisaje dentro de la especialidad de Urbanismo, se realizó con una comisión mixta entre representantes del Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña y Baleares y de la Escuela de Arquitectura de Barcelona (ETSAB), e incorporó también materias sociales como economía y sociología. Esta apertura de la disciplina arquitectónica a otras áreas del conocimiento no es un hecho menor por, al menos, por dos motivos: por una parte, sería el reflejo de los tiempos y de una sociedad, que una década más tarde, buscaría despegar y desplegarse en plena consciencia de su transición política; por otra, generaría el espacio propicio para el desarrollo de otros relatos y expresiones arquitectónicas de las mujeres en la profesión. En efecto, el contexto histórico es relevante, tal y como menciona Josep Maria Montaner:

La opción que el urbanismo democrático ha hecho a favor de los espacios públicos y los parques ha potenciado la generación de nuevas maneras de abordar el paisaje, libres y creativas, que recuperan el hilo que se había perdido después de Nicolau Maria Rubió i Tudurí. (Montaner, 2005. para. 3)<sup>8</sup>

El proyecto del paisaje en Cataluña es uno de estos aportes a la arquitectura y la ciudad surgido desde la diversidad de enfoques, prácticas y áreas de estudio. Las mujeres arquitectas fueron protagonistas en el impulso de este nuevo abordaje al problema urbano. Quizás, porque, como se ha mencionado, supuso un área de trabajo alternativo a las maneras tradicionales, vinculado simbólicamente a la jardinería y plausible de ser ocupado por cuerpos alternos. Otra posible respuesta puede hallarse en que el paisaje y la naturaleza no fueron temas mediáticos ni centrales durante el siglo XX, sino un ámbito de trabajo secundario que dio cabida a investigaciones y proyectos periféricos por parte de las mujeres dentro de la enseñanza y la administración pública. Espacios de acción omitidos, pero de larga trayectoria, como se ha visto en

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8. En 1933, Nicolás María Rubió i Tudurí, uno de los máximos promotores del paisaje vinculado a la creación de parques y jardines de la Barcelona de la primera mitad del siglo XX, fundó la Escuela Municipal de Aprendices Jardineros.

los ejemplos históricos de los apartados anteriores, ya que las mujeres han estado presentes en la profesión de la arquitectura antes que comenzaran las titulaciones universitarias o registros profesionales. (Muxí, 2013).

Recordemos que fue a partir de 1964 cuando las mujeres comenzaron a graduarse en la Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Barcelona. Pero no será hasta los años ochenta, en plena transición política española, que el ejercicio profesional femenino y la especialización sobre los espacios públicos y la gestión del paisaje cobraron impulso. Esta nueva visión académica y profesional iría acompañada del trabajo de Rosa Barba (1948-2000), titulada en 1971<sup>9</sup>. Como explica Verónica Rosero, Rosa Barba fue reconocida por medios e instituciones como «el motor del paisajismo en España», fue pionera como docente e investigadora, con una carrera prolífica en publicaciones, y como creadora de una escuela de interpretación y proyecto del paisaje mediterráneo (Rosero, 2015). En 1992 fue nombrada directora del Máster de Paisajismo de la Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya (UPC), para el que obtuvo la homologación de la European Federation for Landscape Architecture.

Como colofón a una década marcada por el proyecto europeo a todos los niveles, se organizó en 1999 la Primera Bienal Europea de Paisaje. Fue una iniciativa pionera que recogía el entusiasmo de generar un lugar para la comunicación y el intercambio sobre el paisaje en Europa. Cataluña fue parte de la consolidación y el crecimiento de este espacio mediante la implicación del Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña, la UPC y el Máster de Arquitectura del Paisaje. La Bienal de Paisaje se ha desarrollado por más de un cuarto de siglo bajo la consigna de ser un espacio de apertura a reflexiones teóricas y prácticas que potencien y faciliten el debate interprofesional.

Entrado el siglo XXI y como deriva de los avances académicos y la Bienal, el Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña puso en marcha en el año 2005 la Oficina del Paisaje, una plataforma creada con el objetivo de generar servicios a los y las colegiadas en coordinación con la Bienal Internacional de Paisaje y el Observatorio del Paisaje. En 2014, se instauró, vinculado a la

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9. En el año 1987 obtuvo su doctorado con la tesis titulada *La abstracción del territorio*, dirigida por Manuel de Solà-Morales, siendo calificada de *cum laude* y por la que recibió el premio extraordinario de la UPC.

Bienal, el Premio Rosa Barba en homenaje y memoria a una de las referentes y promotoras de la Bienal Europea del Paisaje.

## 7. ARQUITECTAS DEL PAISAJE

Como definía Rosa Barba, los tres elementos constitutivos del paisaje: la intervención, el soporte y esa mutua relación que se establece entre ambos, serán la característica distintiva del lugar (Barba, 1982). La noción de permanencia del paisaje, su fragilidad y su valor estético también están en juego en su diseño y gestión. Alguno de los ejemplos más destacados en Cataluña, en cuanto a la consideración ambiental de mínimo impacto y la manera de atrapar la esencia del paisaje, lo encontramos en el Paseo Fluvial sobre el río Llobregat de la arquitecta Anna Bofill (1944), en sus tres primeras fases de 1984 a 1988. La intervención, que consistió en la reforma y ampliación de la zona peatonal adyacente a la carretera en La Pobla de Lillet, denota una gran sensibilidad con el entorno natural. También las obras de la arquitecta Imma Jansana (1954). Una de sus intervenciones en el paisaje a escala territorial más notable es el Paseo Marítimo de Gavá, situado en la zona más occidental del Delta del Llobregat. La intervención se realizó en un reducto de ecosistema dunar, incorporando y controlando los elementos naturales en el propio diseño<sup>10</sup>. O el Mirador de los Humedales del Delta del Llobregat, una torre diseñada para conseguir la observación del territorio de una manera amable e incorporada al entorno sin interferencias con el paisaje natural<sup>11</sup>. Ambas actuaciones fueron realizadas a principios de los años noventa y con base en la protección del entorno natural como bien común, un criterio de diseño irrenunciable para esta arquitecta y de alto contenido ecosocial.

La consideración del entorno y sus preexistencias se recoge en la torre mirador, construida más de una década después (2005-2006), superpuesta a una infraestructura hidráulica, también en los Humedales del Río Llobregat. Imma Jansana, junto a Conchita De La Villa (1961), diseñaron este espacio

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10. Se aprovechan los vientos para la formación de dunas y favorecer así la protección del pinar, utilizando materiales drenantes y solamente vegetación autóctona dunar.

11. Hoy hay cinco torres mirador: dos en la desembocadura del río Llobregat, una en la playa del Prat junto a la laguna de La Ricarda, otra en la laguna del Remolar y otra en la salida al mar de la riera de Sant Climent.

aprovechando la construcción existente destinada a la gestión de aguas de la zona, su concentración y cauce. El proyecto propone en una única geometría el disfrute de la observación del entorno natural, así como la puesta en valor del agua y su gestión.

Otro ejemplo del diseño de paisaje para la recreación en la ciudad, que es a su vez pieza urbana intermedia y conectora de usos, es el Parque de la Solidaridad de 1999, también obra de Imma Jansana. Uno de los parques emblemáticos de la ciudad del Prat de Llobregat con casi 2 hectáreas de superficie, una vegetación diversa y una morfología topográfica que le caracteriza. Accesible en todo su perímetro, se sitúa al borde del tejido residencial, junto al área industrial de la ciudad como espacio de transición entre ambas zonas. Volcado en sí mismo, funciona de protección sonora y ambiental frente al entorno viario inmediato.

Las actuaciones de arquitectas en el diseño de parques y jardines urbanos como espacios democráticos de acceso universal se consolidaron en la década de los noventa y principios de los dos mil. Destacan una serie de arquitectas tituladas por la ETSAB en la década de los ochenta, como Beth Galí (1950) quien, como técnica de la administración municipal, desarrolló proyectos relevantes de espacios públicos en Barcelona, entre los cuales están el Parque Joan Miró (1982-89), con Màrius Quintana y Joan Miró, y el del Túnel de la Rovira. Desde ese mismo puesto fue encargada de las áreas olímpicas de Montjuïc, la Diagonal y Vall d'Hebron; el Parc y del Sot del Migdia (1988-92), la fachada y nuevo acceso al cementerio de Montjuïc (1991-92) y el conjunto de nuevos accesos a la montaña (1991-92)<sup>12</sup>. Proyectos como las pasarelas peatonales de Montjuïc, así como la zona de baños del Forum 2004, son ejemplos que caracterizan su interés y fomento de zonas peatonales y accesibles para el uso y disfrute del espacio público sin condicionantes.

La recreación y el bienestar urbanos también son objetivos sociales en actuaciones como el Parque de Les Corts de 1988. Diseñado por la arquitecta Carme Fiol i Costa (1956) es referente por la incorporación del agua como

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12. De 1982 a 1988 trabajó como arquitecta municipal en el equipo de Elementos Urbanos y Proyectos en el Departamento de Urbanismo del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona y, desde 1988 a 1992, fue Subdirectora del Instituto Municipal de Promoción Urbanística y los Juegos Olímpicos (IMPU'92).

elemento central del diseño, así como por su carácter abierto que recupera la memoria del barrio, además de configurarse como un pequeño pulmón verde en un entorno residencial.

En esta misma línea de tratamiento del paisaje como integrador socio espacial a escala urbana es pertinente la mención del Parque del Milenario de Sant Just Desvern, comenzado en 2002 por Maria Isabel Bennasar (1963). La obra consistió en la ordenación de una zona forestal de los bajos de la sierra de Collserola para propiciar actividades diversas. Una intervención integral en la que se proponen nuevos accesos al parque con el fin de conectar la pineda con la ciudad; las calles, los comercios, servicios y la zona residencial<sup>13</sup>.

La renaturalización del espacio urbano como herramienta revitalizadora de las ciudades puede observarse en el Parc Torrent d'en Farré en Esplugues de Llobregat. Una operación de gran escala construida en dos fases, desde 2002 a 2006, también de la arquitecta paisajista Isabel Bennasar. Esta obra consistió en un paseo lineal y verde que dibuja el fondo del torrente respetando la topografía de los taludes mediante una mínima antropización. Una lectura poética del recorrido, reinterpretando los propios de la naturaleza. Surge en este sentido otra lectura posible en cuanto al valor simbólico otorgado a los proyectos y obras, anclada en el respeto a los ecosistemas. El cuidado, que se pone en evidencia también en las formas de aproximación al diseño del paisaje mediante un profundo conocimiento de la naturaleza; la concepción integral y, a la vez, interescalar del paisaje; así como la relación, interacción y dependencia de las personas con su entorno. Así lo expresa Josep Maria Montaner en un artículo dedicado a Bet Figueras (1957-2010), a raíz de su fallecimiento en 2010, sobre su desempeño en el Jardín Botánico de Barcelona<sup>14</sup>:

Buena muestra de su concepción del paisaje: un pulcro diseño del espacio libre, en proximidad con las corrientes artísticas del *land art*, con un

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13. Las obras se realizaron en dos fases, ya que, de manera simultánea a la ordenación del parque, se llevaron a cabo la ampliación de un aparcamiento existente y la transformación del antiguo convento en viviendas tuteladas y centro para la tercera edad. Al igual que el aparcamiento, el centro social lleva el mismo nombre que el Parque.
  14. La obra del Jardín Botánico de Barcelona fue realizada entre 1989 y 1999 en equipo con Carlos Ferrater y Josep Lluís Canosa.



preciosismo cercano al diseño de joyería, un cuidado conocimiento de las características de los árboles y plantas autóctonas, fiel a su conciencia ecológica y al estudio del ecosistema local, y potenciando un paisajismo que acompañe a la arquitectura. (Montaner, 2010. para. 5)

Bet Figueras, quien fuera profesora del Máster de Paisaje en la Escuela de Arquitectura de Barcelona, perteneció a esta generación pionera de arquitectas paisajistas que supieron leer el momento histórico de renovación urbana de la región. En solitario o en asociación realizaron propuestas de paisaje que atravesaron todas las escalas, desde el ordenamiento territorial al diseño del mobiliario urbano, desde la sensibilidad ambiental a la social.

## 8. REFLEXIONES HOLÍSTICAS

... intervenciones que proyectan en el vacío, que definen los espacios entre edificios, que cosen los intersticios, que establecen corredores verdes, que articulan los barrios con espacios públicos, que rehacen frentes marítimos y que convierten ejes fluviales, como el del Besòs, en magníficos parques, se han convertido en emblemáticas. (Montaner, 2005. para. 8)

Igual que la visión de género y los feminismos, el medioambiente es eje transversal y estructurador de cualquier propuesta propia de nuestro siglo. Es necesaria una mirada a las contribuciones al paisaje realizadas por mujeres en el pasado desde un enfoque integral que analice la obra situando también su pensamiento y experiencia como objeto de estudio.

Los resultados físico-espaciales responden a distintos propósitos: conectar, reconectar, regenerar entornos o proteger la naturaleza. Pero también los aspectos culturales, sociales, antropológicos o políticos, la experiencia, el activismo, la enseñanza o la investigación, forman parte de la práctica arquitectónica si queremos interpretarla desde una mirada holística.

Otorgar reconocimiento a las mujeres arquitectas propulsoras de 'otra' mirada respecto del diseño y de la concepción del paisaje es parte de los retos futuros en cuestión de igualdad y resarcimiento dentro de la profesión. Como también lo es incorporar estas visiones del espacio democratizador; social y ambiental. Recuperar los proyectos y las obras del paisaje para una reconstrucción de la historiografía es tan fundamental como rescatar las dimensiones de la memoria, la semiótica y los aspectos más identitarios del lugar. En este sentido visibilizar las aportaciones de las mujeres a través de

la nominación de calles y plazas es una herramienta fundamental. Por ello, en 2023, en el marco del Día Internacional de las Mujeres, la ponencia del nomenclátor de Barcelona aprobó la nominación de dieciséis espacios en memoria de otras tantas mujeres protagonistas de la identidad ciudadana, dedicando uno de esos espacios a la arquitecta paisajista Rosa Barba<sup>15</sup>.

Reconstruir una genealogía de las mujeres que diseñaron el paisaje en el territorio catalán implica difundir su obra y desentrañar la concepción que estas arquitectas han tenido y tienen sobre los espacios públicos, sobre la naturaleza y la ciudad, la obra de arte, el conocimiento detallado del reino vegetal o los vínculos de las personas con lo vivo. Ver más allá del entorno diseñado, verlas como mujeres sujetos activos, y abordarlas desde una mirada holística y cuidada, como la que ellas mismas han tenido para y con el paisaje.

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# ARCHITECTURES AND SPACES FOR CARE: RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO SPANISH POSTMODERN ARCHITECTURAL CULTURE LED BY WOMEN ARCHITECTS

## ARQUITECTURAS Y ESPACIOS DEL CUIDADO: APORTACIONES RECIENTES A LA CULTURA ARQUITECTÓNICA ESPAÑOLA DE LA POSTMODERNIDAD LIDERADAS POR ARQUITECTAS

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**Abstract**

Nowadays we observe how many of our cities and other inhabited spaces have been conceived by and for a subject that represents an androcentric model that focusses on the productive, with the result that aspects of architecture such as assistance and care have been underestimated. Faced with this neglect of issues that are considered by society as feminine, a series of feminist struggles have, over the course of decades, been demanding more equitable, inclusive spaces and cities that take into consideration tasks relating to care and reproduction in architectural practice. With regard to the Spanish architectural scene, since the end of the 20th century it has been possible to observe the emergence of a series of professional practices led by women architects that have used the concept of femininity as a creative argument in an effort to approach the profession from different perspectives and open up new areas of activity and debate within which they are free to develop their professional careers. These are based around

a critique of modern architectural positions associated with an idealistic vision of society that takes as a reference a neutral gender far from all complexity and excludes the differences between people to establish a paradigm shift from and with feminisms. In this regard, this article aims to present a series of recent professional practices led by Spanish women architects during the period 1978-2008 who, from architecture and urban planning, as well as other peripheral positions such as the arts and social action, have worked around women's experiences and lent prominence to day-to-day life and care. Its purpose is to determine some of the singular aspects of the contributions made by women to Spanish postmodern architectural culture. This study will allow us to observe how many of these contributions take shape in a series of actions, attitudes and ways of working that envisage the beginning of a shift in how the profession is practised; a shift that departs from the predominant canon to define new strategies and ways of approaching architectural practice that are more in line with the needs of women and non-normative subjects.

**Keywords:** architecture with a gender perspective; architectural culture; postmodernism; spaces of care; feminist practices; Spanish architecture; feminism; women architects.

## Resumen

En la actualidad observamos cómo muchas de nuestras ciudades y espacios en los que habitamos están pensados por y para un sujeto que representa un modelo androcéntrico centrado en lo productivo. Esta práctica ha hecho que aspectos de la arquitectura como la asistencia y los cuidados hayan sido subestimados. Frente a este olvido de las cuestiones consideradas por la sociedad como femeninas, son numerosas las luchas feministas que durante décadas han venido reivindicando espacios y ciudades más justas e inclusivas, que atiendan las labores relacionadas con los cuidados y la reproducción en la práctica arquitectónica. En el panorama arquitectónico español, desde finales del siglo XX, es posible observar el surgimiento de una serie de prácticas profesionales que, lideradas por arquitectas, utilizan el tema de la feminidad como argumento creativo para aproximarse de un modo diferente a la profesión y abrirse a campos de trabajo y debate en los que poder desarrollar su carrera profesional. Estas parten de una crítica a los posicionamientos arquitectónicos modernos, vinculados a una visión idealista de la sociedad que toma como referencia un género neutro alejado de toda complejidad y abstrae las diferencias entre las personas para instaurar un cambio de paradigma desde y con los feminismos. En este sentido, este artículo tiene como objetivo dar a conocer diversas prácticas profesionales conducidas por arquitectas españolas representativas del periodo 1978-2008 que, desde la arquitectura y el urbanismo, pero también desde otras posiciones periféricas como el arte o la acción social, han trabajado desde las experiencias de las mujeres, poniendo en primer plano la vida cotidiana y los cuidados. Su finalidad es determinar algunos aspectos singulares de la aportación de las mujeres a la cultura arquitectónica española

de la postmodernidad. Este estudio nos permitirá observar cómo muchas de estas aportaciones se concretan en una serie de acciones, actitudes y modos de trabajo que vislumbran el inicio de un cambio en el modo de ejercer la profesión que se aleja del canon predominante para definir nuevas estrategias y formas de aproximarse a la práctica arquitectónica más acordes con las necesidades de las mujeres y de sujetos no normativos.

**Palabras clave:** arquitectura con perspectiva de género; cultura arquitectónica; postmodernidad; espacios del cuidado; prácticas feministas; arquitectura española; feminismo; arquitectas.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

For many years now, women's work has been confined to the world inside the home, to reproductive, or care-related tasks, and women have not been recognised as having an active role in productive society (Novas, 2017). Throughout history their integration into the labour market has taken place slowly and progressively. At first, this was limited to the performance of tasks relating to the professionalisation of household chores such as cleaning, dressmaking, health care, etc. As a result, access to professions considered 'masculine', and which required technical training, was forbidden to them.

It would require the entire 19th century, with all its disputes and struggles, for women to not only become active professionals in sectors hitherto considered male but also for them to gain access to higher education. These incidents defined one of the most important events relating to Modernism in the last century (Espegel, 2008; Yanguas, 2009); an event which resulted in, among other things, the emergence of the first pioneering women architects.

While in recent decades the integration of women into the various fields of science and culture has taken place globally and extensively, in the field of urban planning and architecture this integration has been far slower. In addition, women's access to architectural studies has taken place in a context of belittlement and discrimination on the part of architects practising the profession and, as Espegel (2008) points out, in the absence of clearly defined rules, given that their education was considered a private matter that only concerned them and their families.

In Spain, moreover, this incorporation took place late in time, partly due to the loss of civil and legal rights that women suffered during the Franco's regime. So, the pioneering women of the 1930s and 40s, which included María Cristina Gonzalo, Rita Fernández-Queimadelos and Matilde Ucelay, the latter being the first woman architect to be qualified in Spain, were followed by the next generation of women architects, namely those who entered the architecture schools of Madrid and Barcelona in the 1950s and 1960s.

Few of these first-generation women architects went on to practise the profession, however, and those who did were employed either in public Administration or in partnership with male colleagues, and their work was never valued or recognised. They were considered mere collaborators.

The end of the dictatorial regime and the arrival of democracy in Spain marked the beginning of a new political, cultural and social period in which most Spanish women were afforded the opportunity to advance. These first years of the democratisation process brought about socio-political changes that were important for society as a whole, but especially for women, such as the increased presence of women in Spanish universities and other institutions.

The establishment of various public universities meant that many women were able to choose their education freely, and this process of emancipation was reflected in the increase in the number of women entering architectural studies (Pérez-Moreno & Santos Pedrosa, 2020; Pérez-Moreno, 2021). With the advent of democracy, this growth took place in a stable, sustained manner, with the result that, from the 1980s to 2007, the number of female students enrolled in the first year of degree courses increased from 15% to 52.3% (Agudo & Sánchez de Madariaga, 2011; Sánchez de Madariaga 2008, 2010, 2014, 2015), exceeding 50% for the first time. This percentage remains above this value today.

Faced with a male-dominated history, this increase in the number of women architects graduating from architecture schools marked one of the principal shifts in the Spanish architectural scene. However, while this steady increase in the number of women studying architecture could be seen as an indication of progress in terms of their integration into the professional sphere, the reality is quite different. A disparity remains between female graduates and those who turn professional, due to the progressive



disappearance of women in the period between academic studies and the professional sphere; a disparity that becomes even more acute as one scales the employment hierarchy towards management, positions requiring a high level of qualification, or positions of responsibility in businesses, institutions, etc.

Resulting from this disparity is the high rate of women who quit professional practice, the reason for which can be found in reduced vertical integration, in the difficulties that women encounter in terms of continuing the profession, and in the fact that their salaries are significantly lower than those of their male colleagues (Yanguas, 2009). All this leads to an increase in the demotivation of women architects due, in part, to the paternalistic nature that continues to characterise architectural practice today, an issue that prevents their participation in positions of responsibility and decision-making (Álvarez, 2015, 2022).

This scant presence of women in management and decision-making positions, in conjunction with traditional historical bias, has steered the profession towards purely male interests, with the result that a significant part of the theoretical and practical discourses that have guided the profession in recent decades, the working methodologies, structural organisation and professional practices, have shifted away from women's ways of working and their requirements. Consequently, issues that directly affect women, such as care, the reconciliation of work with family life, maternal support, the difference in professional salaries or the possibility of exercising their profession without limitations simply because they are women, have not been considered with the requisite degree of seriousness (Alba, 2018).

Since the end of the 20th century, however, it is observable within the Spanish architectural panorama the emergence of a series of professional practices in the field of architecture and urban planning that, led by female architects, resort to the concept of femininity as a creative argument in order to approach the profession from a different perspective and open up areas of practice and debate within which they are free to develop their professional careers. These practices address issues traditionally considered by society as feminine and, as such, reviled, for example reproduction and care, in an effort to lend them new meaning in terms of the design of new strategies and ways of approaching architectural practice and further the connection

between this practice and the vital reality of the society in which we live (Álvarez, 2022; Pérez-Moreno, 2021).

Faced with traditional ways of conceiving and designing cities and architecture that are based on markedly androcentric models and focussed on the productive, and in which women have been systematically excluded and made invisible and the reproductive has been increasingly forgotten, these architectural practices seek to establish a paradigm shift that is both based on and in line with feminisms.

The vast majority of these actions have been and are being promoted by women and are based on a critique of modern architectural positions that are associated with an idealistic vision of society that takes as a reference a neutral gender that is far removed from any degree of complexity and excludes the differences between people in an effort to introduce gender perspectives into the field of architecture and urban planning with the aim of responding to the needs of those who do not respond to this model, among these, women. As a result, care constitutes a key element in feminist studies.

In this context, the aim of this article is to present a series of professional practices that have been led by Spanish women architects who, from the perspective of architecture and urban planning, but also from other peripheral positions such as the arts and social action, have based their work around women's experiences and lent prominence to day-to-day life and care. The purpose of this study, then, is to characterise and understand the specific features of these architectural practices to determine some of the singular aspects of the contributions made by women to Spanish postmodern architectural culture.

In the development of this study the focus was not so much on quantifying these practices as it was on approaching their relevance from a critical perspective in an effort to determine their singular nature and contribution to the architecture produced in Spain over the last decades. In this sense, this research does not aim to address an exhaustive sample of these professional practices, but rather the contrary, to examine just a few of the most representative cases. The selection has been limited to the Spanish territory and the period 1978-2008, a time characterised by the restoration of democracy in Spain. This brought significant socio-political changes, including a gradual increase in the presence of women in professional architecture

careers, which would continue until the first decade of the 21st century and coincide with the aftermath of the financial and economic crisis of 2008. During this period, the incorporation of women to the field of architecture introduced changes in the traditional way of conceptualising and carrying out professional architectural practice in Spain; changes involving a paradigm shift that departed from the predominant canon in an effort to define actions and ways of exercising the profession that were more in line with the needs of women.

Likewise, the selection of the case studies has tried to ensure that these were representative of the development of architectural practices that contemplated inclusivity and the desire to achieve gender equity in diverse environments through the creation of new ways of developing architectural practice that were not derived from androcentric canons that only deal with these normative subjects, but rather to lend priority to activities that are part of everyday life, especially those related to domestic and care-giving work. As such, the relevance of this research lies in the possibility it offers in terms of revealing, via the analysis of the work of several women architects, some of the principal changes that the incorporation of women into the field of architecture has brought about in recent years, not only in the methodology and the process of design itself, but also in relation to the subject matter of the project, opening up new possibilities that contemplate alternative ways of exercising the profession that are more in keeping with the needs of female architects and non-normative subjects, the latter being understood as masculine, white, western and heterosexual.

## 2. CITY, ARCHITECTURE AND CARE

The configuration of many of our cities today, which is based on the legacy inherited from the principles of the modern movement and on a social and spatial conception inherited from the division of labour within a patriarchal system, is based on the paradigm of a symbolic and hierarchical dichotomy between the public and the private, the masculine and the feminine, the productive and the reproductive (Murillo, 1996; Muxí, 2009; Ruiz de Gopegi, 2021; Sánchez de Madariaga, 2004; Valdivia, 2018). The public sphere, which is overseen principally by men, has been associated with the productive

sphere, i.e. the place where economic, political, cultural and other activities take place, while the domestic, or private, space has been linked to the reproductive sphere, for which women have been primarily responsible (Murillo, 1996).

This dichotomous conception, inherited from the Industrial Revolution and the sexual division of labour, is the one that currently prevails in most of the cities we inhabit, and from which many of the decisions regarding the planning and design of urban centres, the distribution of uses in public space, the investments in infrastructure and transport, the conception of domestic spaces, etc. are derived, prioritising the productive sphere over the reproductive (Ruiz de Gopegi, 2021; Sánchez de Madariaga, 2004).

This separation and disconnection of the public and the private, the productive and the reproductive, constitutes one of the basic problems of today's cities (Arias & Muxí, 2018) insofar as it produces a segregation of spaces according to gender, resulting in the design of spaces designed and conceived by and in response to the experiences and needs of the male gender. This contributes to the exaltation of the functioning of the productive system rather than facilitating reproductive tasks and the organisation of everyday life (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2004; Valdivia, 2018), which have been made invisible (Federici, 2018).

The allocation of reproductive activities to the domestic, interior and private sphere, and the exclusion of the inter-spatial links that are a requirement for daily life, has meant that our cities have not been designed to cater for care. As a result, we find that many spaces in our cities are inefficient and discriminatory towards caregivers, the majority of whom are still women (Arias & Muxí, 2018), with the resulting negative impact on their daily lives and quality of life (Valdivia, 2018). This has also led not only to a social construction that devalues domestic and care work (Carrasco et al., 2011), but also to relegating these activities to the domestic realm, despite the fact that many of them take place in public spaces, such as accompanying children to school, accompanying the elderly and the sick to health centres and hospitals, shopping, going to parks, administrative centres and other services, etc.

Many of our cities have not been designed to serve as physical supports for the development of these care-related activities. They have been conceived and designed with a false neutral reference point that is far removed from

any degree of complexity and based on markedly androcentric models that contemplate a sectoral approach based on traditional roles that prioritise male employment and place men in a central position in the architectural and urban landscape, but which is incapable of contemplating the combination of roles that many women play as wives, mothers and workers.

This has led to urban environments in which everyday activities the likes of work, family life, leisure and shopping constitute separate spheres that are only linked by extensive transport systems (Jaeckel & Van Geldermalsen, 2006). This makes the performance of day-to-day activities difficult and prevents most women who carry out these activities on a daily basis from being able to reconcile them without perceiving this segregation (Darke, 1998; Valdivia, 2018). This compartmentalisation of public, domestic, private and other spaces is also too artificial, given that human existence unfolds in a far more fluid fashion. Women's lives are interrelated in a continuum of far more complex experiences, a fact that corroborates the permeability of these spaces and questions their treatment as delimited spaces that exist independently (Carrasco, 2007; Valdivia, 2018).

Depending on the type of tasks, responsibilities and roles they perform on a daily basis, women and men make different uses of space and the city (Greed, 1997). These, moreover, vary over time according to the interests and needs that appear at different stages of their lives and in accordance with diverse family and community contexts. Urban planning, however, has always been modelled on man as the *average human being* on whom to focus with a view to satisfying his needs, a fact that has resulted in women being systematically excluded and made invisible in these areas.

This androcentric perspective, which places man in a central position in society and culture and, therefore, in our way of thinking, is reflected and transmitted not only in the urban landscape, but also in architecture and building design, both in the interior configuration of these and in the spaces that separate them (McDowell, 1999).

Regarding such gender-biased hierarchies, there are a number of authors who, from a feminist perspective, have denounced the androcentric character present in the cities and spaces we inhabit, a fact that both makes invisible and ignores the requirements associated with reproductive tasks by excluding women's daily lives from the design of these spaces while raising

awareness regarding the problems involved in not taking into account this plurality of needs (Campos, 1996; Levy, 2003; Moser & Levy, 1986; Valdivia, 2018; Walker et al., 2013).

### 3. FEMINIST APPROACHES TO URBAN PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE

Research into feminist-oriented urban studies began to develop in the 1970s and placed the question of gender as one of the basic foundations not only of urban studies, but also in terms of the development of alternative planning proposals (McDowell, 1983). The work of activist and thinkers like Jane Jacobs, Dolores Hayden, Silvia Federici and Nancy Fraser, among others, laid the foundations for many feminist theories focussing on the importance of achieving gender equality and inclusivity in a wide range of settings. These theories were subsequently translated into the field of architectural practice in the search for new forms of urban planning and design that were far removed from existing androcentric canons. Despite the time that has elapsed since the beginning of these currents of thought, however, numerous situations of exclusion regarding activities linked to the reproductive sphere in territorial planning and the design of public space still remain.

This limited inclusion of a gender perspective in planning is partly justified by the fact that many urban planning actions are gender-neutral (Larsson, 2006). This focus on the interest of the public has meant that many of the needs related to the performance of daily life activities such as childcare, care for the elderly and the sick, etc., which are mostly carried out by women, have been forgotten. In this sense, as Izaskun Chinchilla states, it is possible to see how «the male tradition has meant we have forgotten how to create welcoming places and understand gender problems and those of children and the elderly in our cities» (Chinchilla, interviewed in Ávalos & Sánchez, 2014, para. 4).

Faced with this traditional way of conceiving and designing cities, it is necessary to establish a paradigm shift in both urban and architectural planning that is both derived from and in line with feminisms and that implies a diversified use of the city and of space (Arias & Muxí, 2018). Only from a feminist perspective is it possible to explore and transform this model of

the city to construct more multifaceted narratives that can address new and distinct realities that have not, as a rule, been paid attention to, but which are essential in terms of building a world of equal opportunities. That is to say, a complex city that includes facilities for the care of children, the elderly and the sick, etc. and the performance of all activities related to hygiene, food, emotional care, etc., efficient public transport, local routes that link the numerous activities that are fundamental in terms of sustaining life, and safe public spaces that make it possible to choose how one uses the city, etc.

The feminist perspective emphasises the importance of the performance of reproductive and care-related tasks by highlighting the quantitative and qualitative impact they have on the maintenance of any society and the essential role they play by making visible the fact that it is principally women who carry out these associated tasks. In fact, care has long been a key issue in feminist studies from a variety of perspectives in the field of urban planning and architectural practice.

A number of approaches to the field of architecture and urban planning that have dealt with the introduction of the gender perspective into urban planning have existed in Spain since the 1980s. This makes it possible for us to outline some relevant deliberation and dissemination actions, such as the celebration in Barcelona in 1980 of the *1st Conference of Independent Feminists*, which offered the possibility of not only lending visibility to the feminist movements of the time, but also of defending the incorporation of everyday life into urban planning practice. At the conference the Catalan architect Anna Bofill, one of the principal references in feminist urban planning, gave a lecture entitled «Woman and Architecture» in which she demonstrated the relationship between the configuration of our cities and the patriarchal structure (Bofill, 2013; Giocoletto et al., 2019). These lectures constituted the starting point for other conferences that were held throughout Spain in subsequent years, and which sought to initiate the study of the use of space in everyday life.

In the mid-1990s, Anna Bofill and Isabel Segura, together with Rosa Dumenjó, carried out the European-funded project «Women and the City», the objective of which was to offer a response to the needs of women in urban planning. The result was the publication of the guide *Women and the City*, in 1998, and the homonymous *White Paper* in 1999, which compiled

a series of recommendations for the drafting of policies for the transformation of Catalan cities based on the incorporation of the gender perspective in urban issues.

This project marked a milestone in the history of feminist urban planning in Catalonia and the rest of the country and influenced the development of many of the policies and laws that began to be drafted in the early 2000s (Muxí, 2019). In particular, the *Catalan Law 2/2004, on the improvement of neighbourhoods, urban areas and villages requiring special attention*—informally known as the ‘Neighbourhood Law’—was the first urban rehabilitation regulation in Spain that introduced gender as a parameter in urban planning (Muxí & Ciocoletto, 2011; Muxí, 2019). Among the points, or areas of action, proposed by this law was «Gender equity in the use of urban space and facilities». This neighbourhood law was also a precursor to the implementation of gender perspective in urban planning in many local governments.

Likewise, in the field of urban planning, it is worth highlighting other initiatives that were pioneering in terms of incorporating the gender perspective and placed people’s daily lives at the centre of attention. This is the case of the *Everyday Agoras* project in Girona, promoted by the geographer Isabel Salamaña when she was councillor for Territorial Planning and Mobility in this municipality and which had the support, among others, of the architect M. Mercè Corominas in advising on and designing the various urban planning projects. This project is the result of a long process that arose from neighbourhood demands for the improvement of children’s play areas in 1994. Consequently, a study-diagnosis of the 52 play areas existing in the city at that time was carried out and, on the basis of this, a progressive renovation of these areas was completed in 2000.

This renovation of the old play areas, however, led to an increase in general demand for play areas, with the result that, in 2002, a proposal was introduced to use the children’s play areas as the basis for creating small urban centres that would facilitate encounters, promote spaces for relationships and diversity in the city and allow everyday spaces to be reclaimed. Therefore, taking as a basis the fact that streets, pavements, squares, corners, parks and gardens, etc. are places that we use to move around and interact, this project sought to improve the interdependence of these by creating itineraries that would enhance encounters, experiences, etc. and strengthen



public space as a place of proximity in everyday life. The project aimed to establish children's play areas close to nurseries, kindergartens and primary schools, at an average distance of 200 m, and to create itineraries that would facilitate access to services, facilities and shops and enable people to meet and interact in everyday life, in line with the principle of the plural city (Muxí, 2019; Salamaña, 2012; Valdivia & Ciocchetto, 2012).

Regarding this introduction of the gender perspective into urban planning, the work carried out by architect Inés Sánchez de Madariaga since the end of the 1990s is worth highlighting. Her book *Urbanism with a Gender Perspective*, published by the Andalusian Institute for Women in 2004, is both a pioneering book and a reference point in the development of subsequent studies, investigations, regulatory frameworks, etc. that seek to address the presence of the gender perspective in urban and territorial planning in this country. The book develops an initial compilation of themes, core concepts, experiences, etc. from a variety of fields of knowledge at an international level with the aim of developing support material for professionals and technical teams in an effort to enable them to integrate the gender perspective into urban planning (Giocchetto et al., 2019; Gutiérrez et al., 2021). It is also worth highlighting its contribution to the integration of the gender perspective in policies such as the *Land Act 8/2007*, which incorporates the notion of equality in territorial development.

Likewise, in the field of gender urbanism, it is possible to highlight approaches which, apart from the development of proposals based on the questioning and repudiation of many of the founding precepts of modern urbanism, urge that women be heard and given a voice through their collaboration in the different stages of the urban planning project by means of participatory processes of recognition and improvement of their own everyday environment. Architects and feminist activists such as Zaida Muxí and the Col·lectiu Punt 6 collective, which consists of women architects, town planners and sociologists from different backgrounds, are among others who feature in this line of work. For them, «the processes of participation are an essential step forward in the democratisation of society» (Muxí et al., 2011, p. 123) insofar as they make visible the needs of the tasks assigned to the female gender in the city, hitherto ignored, with the aim of incorporating

everyday life and the needs of reproduction into urban design and planning (Giocoletto et al., 2019; Muxí & Ciocoletto, 2011).

The development of the practices examined, which were until then peripheral, began introducing the gender perspective as a category within the urban project, giving priority to everyday activities, especially those relating to domestic and care-giving work, and placing the focus of reflection on people, establishing inclusive work objectives that cater for the diversity of opinions and are directed towards non-normative subjects. These practices have made it possible to initiate a line of work within the urban project that, from an integral perspective on the processes and dynamics of the city, questions modern urban universalist approaches to urban planning and tries to contemplate the needs of the daily life of the majority of women in relation to urban planning on its various scales. Some of these practices also define a work ethic that transcends the established canons and advances in the development of new, more understanding and supportive ways of working that contemplate the participation of other groups, principally the more vulnerable social groups, such as women, via the development of participatory collaboration and discussion processes designed to both address and highlight the physical and vital experience of these groups as a creative weapon in the improvement of our cities (Pérez-Moreno, 2021).

The interest in the work developed by these architects in relation to feminist urban planning has grown exponentially in recent years, which has undoubtedly improved and changed the priorities of many of the urban projects that attempt to incorporate everyday life and the needs of reproduction on an equal footing with those derived from production.

If we focus on the architectural field, it is possible to highlight the professional practice of several women architects who, from a critical position, question the way in which different spaces have been designed from a perspective that is alien to women's needs, such as the case of housing.

Throughout history the home has been associated with women, while urban spaces have belonged to men (Amann, 2005), so while urban spaces have been designed to respond to the needs of the productive sphere, their design has not considered the satisfaction of those needs associated with the reproductive sphere and care, since these activities have traditionally been carried out exclusively by women in domestic environments. The truth is

that while women have nowadays by and large conquered the public space and exchanged unpaid domestic work for paid work outside the home, even today a traditional family model and type of femininity to which these tasks per se correspond is still revered (Reus et al., 2022). Likewise, in the design and use of domestic space it is possible to observe how tradition, culture, society, etc. have impregnated the design of these spaces with imposed roles that do not respond to the habitability needs required by contemporary conditions. This has meant that:

A large part of the property constructed in recent decades in Spain has been designed from a traditionalist viewpoint regarding how daily life is approached and inhabited, with the result that care-related tasks have been habitually relegated to residual spaces, i.e. to those places with poor spatial quality, poor orientation, poor lighting and/or far from the central points of the house, a fact that has clearly contributed to their invisibilisation. (Reus et al., 2022, p. 172)

We can, however, highlight a number of projects led by women architects who have taken an interest in care, in particular in the domestic arrangement of care. This is the case of Anna Renau and Sara Bartumeus's social housing project for the elderly and young people in Poble Nou (Barcelona, 2004-2008). The complex, which consists of 168 dwellings, 80 for the elderly and 88 for young people, is developed in five volumes that are linked in such a way as to form, on the one hand, an extensive façade that is aligned in one section with the old boundary of the site and, on the other, a series of courtyards and interstices in the interior of the block where activity is concentrated and which relate to the surrounding open spaces. These interior courtyards have been carefully designed between the public realm and the private interiors and rupture the public-private division to define two different landscapes: one being an urban courtyard that is accessible from the street and the adjacent public spaces, the other defining a more landscaped space that offers greater privacy and is intended for the elderly, where they can carry out semi-domestic activities such as tending an urban vegetable garden. These outdoor community spaces complement the indoor spaces located on the ground floor, these consisting of a day centre, a library, study

rooms, etc. for the use of residents and the entire neighbouring community and encourage interaction between people and foster intergenerational relationships.

The vertical communication cores are located at the junctions between buildings and allow access to the interior courtyards of the block. These constitute collective spaces where residents are invited to interact with each other, thereby fostering a sense of community. The horizontal circulations that link the various volumes and give access to the properties are diverse and give rise to hybrid spaces located between the interior and exterior, straddling the line between the private and the collective. These are organised in such a way that the exterior routes are used for homes for young people and the interior galleries facing the courtyards for the elderly.

Another project conceived along the same lines is the Mare de Deu del Port residential building in Barcelona (2005-2006), by architect Blanca Lleó. The project includes 97 rental properties for young people and is developed in a single longitudinal volume of 102 m and five floors above ground level that forms the façade of Carrer Mare de Deu del Port. On the ground floor, the programme is completed with a nursery and an occupational centre. Along its length the volume is sponge-like in form and includes terraces, covered courtyards and community premises that define a diagonal sequence of voids that form intermediate spaces designed for collective use, transition areas between public and private spaces that encourage meeting and interaction between residents and integration with the surroundings. The housing units have a surface area of 40 m<sup>2</sup> and include a bathroom and kitchen that are arranged towards the interior, leaving the rest of the space free so that it can be organised according to the interests of each user. Adjoining the properties on the second and third floors are two collective multi-purpose rooms with laundry facilities, contributing to the collectivisation of domestic tasks and encouraging communication and exchange among the residents.

Likewise, it is worth highlighting architect Débora Domingo's elderly housing and social centre in L'Alcora, Castellón (2008). The project houses 40 two-person affordable dwellings and a series of common services shared by the residents, including a day centre and garage. The building is located on an irregularly shaped corner plot with a significant slope and consists of three blocks of five levels with varying depths and takes advantage of the

unevenness of the terrain to include an underground car park. Above this, a plaza with pedestrian access not only allows the residents to enjoy the views, but also defines a transition space between the public and the private that encourages meeting and interaction between the residents. The day centre is located on the ground and first floors while the properties are raised above street level to guarantee privacy.

These three examples evidence the concern of these women architects with issues of care. In their development, they faced the challenge of making architecture an active participant in care. The projects examined reveal a marked interest in ensuring that the buildings would constitute models that were capable of meeting the needs of people in all their diversity. They also foster the development of community relations via the creation of collective spaces (common squares, terraces, patios, etc.) that encourage contact and interaction between people and foster intergenerational relations.

The relevance of the architectures examined lies in how they take into consideration everyday life in the design of space and attempt to offer a response to all its constituent spheres: the productive, the reproductive, the communal and the personal. The projects also present a number of innovations, both in the interior design of the property and in the interior and exterior common spaces. From a feminist perspective and methodology, these architectures seek to blur the boundaries between the private sphere of the home and the collective space, moving domestic and care tasks to common, intermediate spaces in an effort to consider these as a social responsibility. In this manner, these architectures contemplate the creation of community support and care networks around the property, networks that involve different people sharing collective spaces, thereby contributing to the collectivisation of domestic, care and community tasks. Likewise, the issue of bringing together different uses and different ways of living in different time slots guarantees social sustainability and community coexistence.

The objective of the practices examined was to create spaces that actually meet the needs of their users, and their aim was to achieve inclusivity and gender equity through new ways of defining architectural space that do not conform to prevailing discourses and modernist ideals and offer alternatives to those derived from androcentric canons.

Looking beyond the professional practices examined so far, since the beginning of the 21st century we have been able to observe the emergence of other lines of work that, led by women architects, approach the professional practice of architecture and urban planning in a different light. These feminist approaches and design strategies that differ from those used prior to the end of the 20th century while developing new creative formats that lead them to consider new ways of practising the profession in Spain (Álvarez, 2022). Many of these alternative lines of work share design criteria, work methodologies and structural organisation with certain feminist theories, a fact that leads them to define their own way of working outside the established canons. On examination of some of these practices it is possible to observe how, from a feminist perspective, they attempt to establish new ways of defining space that depart from the androcentric canons that cater only to normative or prototypical subjects to position themselves creatively when it comes to redefining care and its naturalised association with women. Likewise, rather than, from the perspective of modernism, focusing on the production of space as a central theme, they shift the focus of attention towards the definition of spatialities that respond to human needs and their corporeality, mainly those of the female body. These practices seek to explore the limits of the architectural discipline itself in an effort to establish alliances with other professionals from the fields of art and design in order to draw on new *modi operandi* and means of expression that differ from those traditionally used in architecture in an effort to generate new spatial experiences.

In light of this, it is worth highlighting the work that the architect María Mallo has been developing along these lines since she graduated in 2006. Her work is situated at the intersection between non-hegemonic architecture, design and art, and blurs the limits of these disciplines. Her proposals, mostly spatial installations, emerge from a hybrid, experimental *modus operandi* that merges the handmade and the digital, the intuitive and the scientific. They seek to blur the boundaries between space and the body by working with fluid and soft spaces, deformable and soft materials that deviate from modernist abstraction in an effort to approach that which has historically been associated with the feminine, such as ornamentation, colour,

textures, etc., and define an architecture for care that is flexible, curvilinear, feminine and kinder to both the body and the emotions.

In a manner consistent with this line of work, and exploring the traditional limits of architecture, the interior and the exterior, real and virtual space, the individual and the collective, with the aim of establishing new relationships that allow space to be considered and defined in a manner that breaks with convention, it is worth highlighting the work developed by architect Nerea Calvillo from the agency *C+Arquitectas*, founded in 2004 and based in Madrid and London. Her research addresses feminist technoscience studies and explores the material, technological, political and social dimensions of environmental pollution. Similarly, architect María José Marcos, from the *Magiarch* agency, founded in 2008, develops her work with an emphasis on the value of atmospheric design, transforming the relationship between the body and the environment and visualising new ways of understanding the scenarios of the city and the domestic.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

The selection of professional practices led by Spanish women architects that have been developed in the field of urban planning, architecture, and other peripheral fields such as the arts or social action and presented here insist on the need to prioritise the world of reproduction and care, generally linked to the female gender, over the productive world, traditionally linked to the male gender. The work of these architects is aimed at non-normative subjects and seeks to address plurality with the aim of designing more equitable, inclusive cities and spaces for a more equitable society in which the obligations that continue to be assumed by the majority of women today are shared (Muxí et al., 2011).

The examination of specific aspects of the practices reviewed in this article reveals a transformation in the way the profession is practised in Spain from the way it had been understood up until now. In recent years, the work of these architects has been the driving force behind the initiation of change not only in methodology and in the design process itself, but also in relation to the subject of the project, which has opened up new possibilities. As a result, we are currently witnessing a growth in ways of working that

no longer refer to the predominant canon but contemplate other ways of exercising the profession that are more in keeping with the needs of women architects and non-normative subjects.

In the field of urban planning, the practices examined have fostered the introduction of gender perspective in urban design and advocated the creation of an urban space in which the care of citizens constitutes the principal design criterion. They have also brought about legislative changes in the field of urban planning and design through their influence on policies and laws that began to be developed in the early 2000s and that included the introduction of gender as an urban planning parameter. Similarly, they have introduced new working methods that offer alternatives to the ways in which the profession has traditionally been practised, i.e. based on the hegemony of the figure of the architect as a creative genius who can impose his or her ideas on a client and who carries out his or her work in solitary as a self-employed freelance professional. In this sense, we find that some of the practices examined advocate a different way of understanding the profession that opens up new possibilities. This is based on an inclusive ethic based on the use of participatory methodologies and collaborative processes that even go so far as to include the subjects to whom their projects are aimed in the decision-making process. These approaches have allowed women to be heard and given a voice in urban project decision-making by incorporating women's everyday lives and reproductive needs into urban design and planning.

In the field of construction, the projects examined, which are the result of the recent work of several Spanish women architects, constitute a conscious critique of spaces designed from a male perspective that omit issues considered feminine. In their projects, these architects vindicate tasks relating to care and reproduction, and defend the importance and incorporation of these into architectural practice. By doing this, these projects approach the domestic sphere from a feminist position that seeks to establish a re-signification of care and the association of this with women and the private sphere, positioning these as the focus for consideration.

Likewise, the practices reviewed in this article, which, from positions peripheral to architecture such as the arts, have been based on women's experience and used the question of femininity as a creative tool and have led to the creation of new areas of action for architectural practice that offer



design options that are free from existing social conventions and that help establish an alternative approach to the profession that differs from the norm.

In the development of these architectural practices, the feminine becomes a driving force for reflection. These works take a critical stance on the way in which many spaces have been designed from a male perspective that is alien to the needs and life experiences particular to women. Offering a response to these questions considered feminine both from the perspective of and in line with feminisms constitutes a creative, powerful weapon for architecture that is capable of opening up new debates and frameworks for reflection that depart from those traditionally used in architecture and bring everyday life and care to the foreground.

The projects examined show how the inclusion of feminist thinking in architectural practice gives rise to diverse fields of action for both male and female architects. By taking into consideration plurality, offering a response to diversity, and including these within the project process raises the question of finding new ways and methodologies of working that promote a change in the contemporary design process. This points to a transformation of the assumptions currently established in professional practice, academic work and the collective imaginary. In most of the professional practices addressed, it is possible to observe how they contemplate actions, attitudes and ways of working that envisage the beginning of a change in the way of exercising the profession that departs from the predominant canon to define new ways of designing that are more in line with the needs of women and non-normative subjects. In order for this change to take place, however, there needs to be a major structural transformation of professional practice that contemplates greater inclusivity for women architects (Álvarez, 2017).

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# MINORITY NARRATIVES: THE VOICES OF WOMEN ARCHITECTS FROM THE SCHOOL OF MADRID IN EARLY DEMOCRATIC SPAIN (1975-1982)

## RELATOS EN MINORÍA: LA VOZ DE LAS ARQUITECTAS DE LA ESCUELA DE MADRID EN LA PRIMERA ESPAÑA DEMOCRÁTICA (1975-1982)

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### Abstract

Since the mid-19th century and until the 1964 study programme, students at the Madrid School of Architecture had to undergo various entrance exams for university. Women architects in Francoist Spain represented a mere 5% of the profession, a gender gap only overcome many years after the democratic restoration. Yet most of them did not consider feminism as a matter major concern, since the lack of freedom in Spain held greater importance for women that gender issues, which were relegated to a secondary position in public discussions. Starting in 1985, with the development of the Autonomous Regions in Spain and its accession to the European Economic Community, the country underwent a profound transformation. Former generations of women architects would then play a relevant professional role. This paper aims to expose, through the chronological sequence of their graduation—initially in a testimonial and isolated manner and later forming small networks—how their professional careers developed. This chronological approach, as well as a study of their links from a series of conversations with several women architects

that studied and/or set their practice during the years of the democratic transition allows us to conclude that they were not only pioneers but also role models and mentors to each other. Their status as a determined minority is reflected in the relationships they established, with friendships and student complicity that accompanied them throughout their lives, as confirmed by their professional collaborations, comments, and vivid memories of their belonging to a group or community.

**Keywords:** architecture and gender; Madrid School of Architecture; pioneering women; women architects; Francoist Spain; Spanish transition; professional women networks; intergenerational support; underrepresentation; community.

### Resumen

Hasta la llegada del plan de estudios de 1964, el alumnado de la Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid tenía que pasar por distintas pruebas de ingreso en la carrera, como venía ocurriendo desde mediados del siglo XIX. En la España franquista, las mujeres arquitectas representaban un escaso 5% de una profesión, cuyos porcentajes de género se fueron equilibrando tardíamente, ya en la etapa democrática. Estas arquitectas no se plantearon el feminismo como tema central del debate público, ya que la falta de libertad en España era algo más importante para el colectivo femenino y las cuestiones de género quedaban en un segundo plano. A partir de 1985, cuando se desarrolla el sistema autonómico en España y se firma el tratado de adhesión a la Comunidad Económica Europea, el país sufre una gran transformación. Las primeras generaciones de arquitectas son las que participan como profesionales en dicha transformación democrática. Este artículo pretende exponer a través de la secuencia temporal de su graduación —primero de forma testimonial y aislada, y más adelante formando pequeñas redes— cómo se desarrollaron sus carreras profesionales. Este recorrido cronológico, así como el estudio de sus vínculos a partir de entrevistas con algunas de aquellas mujeres que se formaron o comenzaron a ejercer durante los años de la Transición, permite concluir que fueron, no solo pioneras, sino referentes y mentoras unas de otras. Su condición de esforzada minoría tiene reflejo en la relación que se establecía entre ellas, con unas amistades y complicidades estudiantiles que las han acompañado toda su vida, como confirman sus colaboraciones profesionales, comentarios y nítidos recuerdos de pertenencia de grupo o sentimiento de comunidad.

**Palabras clave:** arquitectura y género; Escuela de Arquitectura de Madrid; pioneras; arquitectas; España franquista; Transición española; redes profesionales de mujeres; apoyo intergeneracional; infrarrepresentación; comunidad.

## 1. THE STUDY PLANS OF THE MADRID SCHOOL, FROM 1914 TO 1957

The Escuela de Arquitectura de Madrid (Madrid School of Architecture or ETSAM) was established in 1847 under a first study plan of 1844. Initially located at the Colegio Imperial, also known as the Instituto San Isidro, it remained active there until 1936. From this time until the present day, it has been in a building by Pascual Bravo, created for this purpose in the University City of Madrid.

The Colegio Imperial was not the first architectural school. As early as 1774, lectures were given at the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando) on Alcalá Street. The key distinction was its exclusive focus on teaching, unlike the Real Academia, which was linked to the instruction of painting and sculpture, the three noble arts. In the initial study plan (1844), there was already an admission exam and a preparatory course covering subjects such as mathematics, physics, and chemistry.

Preparation requirement was—except for the academic year 1956-57—compulsory at the Madrid Architecture School until the implementation of the 1964 plan. The need for a vast technical workforce during the years of Spanish developmentalism led to the temporary elimination of this initial requirement<sup>1</sup>. Throughout the various study plans developed during the first half of the 20th century, we will elucidate the experiences of the few female students who enrolled in the ETSAM during those years and trace their professional careers from the second half of the 20th century onwards.

The years 1914, 1932 and 1957 mark the three study plans under which the first women architects graduated from the Madrid School. More than fifty women became architects during this initial period, and the majority continued working or started their professional careers during the decades spanning from 1978 to 2008.

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1. The Architecture School of Madrid, currently the ETSAM, is the oldest in Spanish territory, with the second school founded in Barcelona in 1875 (the current ETSAB building was inaugurated in 1961). The School in Seville was founded in 1958, with classes beginning in 1960. In 1964, the School of Navarra was founded, followed by Valencia in 1966 and Valladolid in 1968. Finally, in 1973, the schools of La Coruña and Las Palmas de Gran Canaria were founded.



## 2. THE VERY FIRST ONES

Research on the first women architects who studied and joined the profession in Madrid is still ongoing<sup>2</sup> (Hurtado, 2024). The admission of women into the School did not occur until 1931, but as early as 1922, at the X International Congress of Architects, Spanish representative Luis María Cabello y Lapedra discussed the possibility of including women in the profession in the *Arquitectura* magazine:

In the United States there are already several women architects; in France, the case is also repeated. Something has been said about Italy and some of the American Republics in this regard. In Spain, we have women draughtsmen—the Compañía Telefónica of Barcelona has them for the layout of its lines and the drafting of corresponding plans, with excellent results. What are we waiting for? However, the Congress did not provide a concrete solution. It believed that this would happen without the need to officially recognise ‘woman architects’ and decided to pass the matter for study and deliberation by the Central Committee of the International Congresses. (Cabello, 1922, p. 426)

According to the established curriculum, students were required to pass six admission exams. The preparatory stage consisted of two years with technical and artistic modules. Therefore, the two preparatory years plus the four years of the degree course were the minimum necessary to become a licensed architect (García Gener, 2016).

Under this study plan, Matilde Ucelay Maortua (1912-2008) and María Cristina Gonzalo Pintor (1913-2005) enrolled in the school. Ucelay completed her studies in June 1936 (passing two courses in a single year), when ETSAM headquarters were inaugurated. Due to the Spanish Civil War, Gonzalo Pintor graduated in 1940. The third female student, Lali Urcola, left the program without graduating after marrying a fellow student.

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2. Since 2021, «ArquitectAs», a lecture series organised by the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid (Architects Association, or COAM) contributes to giving a voice to senior women architects and aims to document the encounters and conversations that are still possible. Since its inception, Eva Hurtado has been the curator responsible for its organisation and dissemination.

The graduation of the first Spanish woman architect in 1936 ended a period of 184 years without any female student at the School, counting from the date architectural education was regulated in Spain after the creation of the Real Academia de San Fernando in 1752 (Ocerin-Ibáñez, 2020; Ocerin-Ibáñez & Rodríguez-Oyarbide, 2022).

Matilde Ucelay and Cristina Gonzalo began their studies just before the Second Republic, under the 1914 study plan. Coming from wealthy families in progressive Spain, they were pioneers, and their presence paved the way for women to study architecture, although they remained a significant minority in later graduating classes. Ucelay managed to avoid the Civil War as a student. Yet she could not escape the immediate professional purge process, which she suffered for having belonged to the Governing Board of the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid (Architects Association of Madrid or COAM) for a few months (Martínez Verón, 2022, p. 217).

Matilde Ucelay grew up in a family of progressive thinkers and professionals—her mother, Pura Maortua, was a member of the Lyceum Club and founder of the Anfistora theatre group. In 1937, Ucelay married Javier Ruiz-Castillo, who had inherited the family's Biblioteca Nueva publishing house, linked to *Revista de Occidente* magazine. In the fall of 1933, they embarked on a study trip to Paris, Berlin, and Moscow with colleagues (Ruiz-Castillo, 1972, p. 10). She worked at her own office, even during the long initial decade when she needed other colleagues to sign her projects due to her disqualification, and built single-family homes, such as the house for her sister on Long Island in 1970, industrial structures and many other facilities, totalling 120 works, of which 65 were newly built (Vilchez, 2013). Her career continued until 1981, with some works already in democratic Spain, including the commercial premises on Alcalá Street where she lived and worked. She received the Premio Nacional de Arquitectura de España (Spanish National Architecture Prize) in 2004, leading her to participate in the 2006 Venice Biennale.

They are already inside: here are the most courageous, the first to enter the Architecture School of Madrid. Are women qualified to be architects? Imagine a young lady on a building site, with her dress and face covered in plaster, huh? (Anasagasti, 1932)

Like Matilde Ucelay, in Cantabria, Cristina Gonzalo collaborated with the local Architects Association from 1946 and, like her, had a long and prolific solo professional career when women had no civil or legal rights, but knew how to assume the responsibilities involved in architecture (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2008). She continued her studies until obtaining a doctorate in 1937, worked at the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas (General Directorate of Devastated Regions), and served as the municipal architect of Los Corrales de Buelna, balancing these responsibilities with her work as a meteorologist by entering the Cuerpo Superior del Instituto Nacional de Meteorología (Higher Corps of the National Meteorological Institute) through a competitive exam with the military rank of aviation commander, stationed in Santander.

### 3. THEY ARE ALREADY INSIDE

Five women architects followed, as a new study plan came into effect in the 1932-33 academic year, imbued with the progressive philosophy of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (Free Institution of Education), where most of our pioneers would participate in one way or another. This plan, inspired by a well-established education system in various Western countries, still included an admission exam. The preparatory year began to be called the complementary course and became compulsory, with subjects such as calculus, mechanics, geometry, drawing and copying of elements. The module of design studio was officially established and would be taught in the three intermediate courses.

Students such as Rita Fernández Queimadelos (1911-2008), Juana de Ontañón Sánchez Arbós (1920-2002), Margarita Mendizábal Aracama (1931-2023), M.<sup>a</sup> Eugenia Pérez Clemente (1926-1978), Elena Arregui Cruz-López (1927-2018), and Milagros Rey Hombre (1930-2014) graduated in the 1940s and 1950s under the 1932 study plan. Rita Fernández Queimadelos was no stranger to the models of emancipation and economic independence of the Galician matriarchal culture, which must have influenced her decision: an organization of family life with «many mothers»<sup>3</sup>. Educated in the secular

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3. According to her daughter Rita Iranzo, also an architect, in an interview with the authors on July 7, 2023.

education system in her native Galicia, her move to Santiago de Compostela, accompanied by her maternal grandmother, confirmed her aptitudes. When she came to Madrid in 1930, she settled in the Residencia de Señoritas (Young Ladies Residence), directed by María de Maeztu, and completed her degree in 1940.

Juana de Ontañón was educated at the Institución Libre de Enseñanza, where her mother, the pedagogue María Sánchez Arbós, worked as a teacher. Her father, Manuel Ontañón, was also a teacher. She obtained her architecture degree in 1949 and developed a fruitful career along with her husband, the architect Manuel López-Mateos. Their professional collaboration reveals her explicit autonomy, at times taking on a more prominent social role—a recurring theme in many professional couples during these early years. They collaborated with Luis Moya on the Paraninfo of the Universidad Laboral de Gijón; with Bidagor on the Madrid Development Plan; with Vázquez de Castro on the Unidad Vecinal de Absorción in Pan Bendito; and on more than 200 projects at their own office. Notable works from 1978 include the Escuela de Formación de Profesorado de EGB (EGB Teacher Training School) in Ronda de Toledo and the Viviendas de la Urbanización Serrat Gimeno (housing complex) in Madrid.

Ontañón is the only woman signatory to the «Alhambra Manifesto» (1953), alongside twenty-three men. Her strong interest in sports, particularly rugby, is evident in her founding of the *Arquirugby* magazine and her honorary presidency of the Rugby section of the Club Deportivo de Arquitectura de Madrid (Madrid Architecture Sports Club) in the 1970s. In the realm of rugby, she crosses paths with Milagros Rey, who also played rugby during her years as an architecture student in Madrid. In Juana's office worked the younger architect Margarita de Luxán (born in Santander in 1945), who recalled Ontañón as a role model and mentor. They jointly built the Pérez Lobo residential building in 1969.

The fifth woman graduated from the School of Architecture of Madrid got her diploma in 1956. She was Margarita Mendizábal, a student of Anibal Alvarez in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Design Studio, who submitted a project published in the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* (Mendizábal, 1955). She collaborated with Juana Ontañón on projects for the Cooperativa El Madroño, worked

on the interior design of the Club de Amigos de la UNESCO (UNESCO Friends Club) in Madrid, and undertook other projects in the capital as well as in Gerona, Valencia and Vizcaya, extending into the 1980s. She participated in the competition with Fernando Higuera and Antonio Miró for the Opera Theatre in AZCA, which was never built (Higuera et al., 1970). Housing projects, schools, and industrial buildings appear to be the types of commissions she had access to, like in Matilde Ucelay's case. As part of her teaching and research activity at the Technical University of Madrid, she published *El Tratado de una ventana* and *Manual de accesibilidad* in 1988 and 1998, respectively. She also joined the so-called Comisión de Hombres Buenos (Good Men Commission) which had to be convened during the strike of the 1980-81 academic year.

Since then, every year, at least a woman has graduated from the ETSAM, with M.<sup>a</sup> Eugenia Pérez Clemente in 1957, who moved to Washington, Elena Arregui Cruz-López, in 1958, and M.<sup>a</sup> Milagros Rey Hombre in 1959. The latter two developed their careers in Galicia and were awarded the Castela Medal in 2003 and 2005, respectively.

Elena Arregui worked in Madrid until 1972. She authored a dozen projects certified by the COAM, including social housing complexes in Vallecas. She attended the First Women's Congress on Urban Planning held in Bonn, where she travelled to represent the Ministry of Housing. Arregui later moved to Santiago de Compostela, where she dedicated herself to teaching mathematics and became the president of the Santiago branch of Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Galicia. She collaborated with the architects Ricardo Magdalena, Mitjans, and her husband Arturo Mas Aznar. Together, they built, among other projects, the San Ignacio de Loyola housing group in Santiago de Compostela in the 1970s (Carreiro, 2011; Vilchez, 2013).

Milagros Rey's father was Santiago Rey Pedreira, a renowned rationalist architect in Galicia, but they did not work together. Milagros moved to Madrid in 1952 and completed her degree with the best academic record and an outstanding achievement award, despite her father's initial reluctance. During an end-of-studies trip to Brazil, she established contact with Lucio Costa (Fernández-Gago, 2016). She set practice in A Coruña, where did simultaneous work at her own office and as municipal architect for

seven years, being the head of the technical section of the City Council and responsible for the fire brigade. From the City Council, she managed land for important social housing operations, such as the Polígono de Elviña, the Barrio de las Flores and the city's refinery, as well as the intervention in the Cuatro Caminos Fountain, among others. She became professor of History of Construction at the Escuela de Arquitectura de A Coruña and served as the head of department for ten years<sup>4</sup>. Milagros Rey designed relevant buildings such as the Torre Dorada skyscraper, the Local Social del Pescador in Finisterre, described by Rey as «a work entirely built by women» (Opus Dei, 2012, para.10), the renovation of the Chapel of the Compañía de María and the Hotel Santa Cristina in Oleiros, among other commissions. She did not marry and always maintained her own office (Gutiérrez, 2014).

#### 4. THE WOMEN ARCHITECTS OF THE 1957 STUDY PLAN

After the long duration of the 1932 study plan, with the exception of 1956-1957 academic year, the 1957 plan maintains, in a lighter form, the admission exams and introduces new specialties. The preparatory course was eliminated, but a structure similar to that of 1932 was kept, with new subjects and a necessary preliminary course. This was the first plan that introduced five specialties: urban planning, economics and construction techniques, structures, conditioning and facilities, and monument restoration.

The increasing presence of women was consolidated, even though slowly but significantly, surpassing fifty female architects. Yet it was not until the 1964 study plan that the academic conditions would multiply the number of women students in Madrid (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2008).

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4. «In 1968, a colleague and I attended a conference in Prague, and they asked us how many women architects there were in Spain. We told them five; they thought we were referring to 5%, and even then, it seemed very few to them. So, we did not clarify that we were only five in total». Milagros Rey's observation, published by Gutiérrez (2014, p. 8) when the architect passed away. According to the ETSAM registry books: from 1940 —it being the first female application for the issuance of a degree in architecture—, until 1964, only 10 women had applied for it. From 1940 to 1967, 19 female applicants were registered.

Teresa Capdevilla Bermejo graduated in 1964, set practice in Pamplona alongside her husband and was daughter and mother of architects; M.<sup>a</sup> Encarnación Casas Ramos graduated in 1965; Carmen Mostaza Martínez and María Aroca Hernández-Ros in 1966; Emilia Checa Morán, Helena Iglesias Rodríguez, M.<sup>a</sup> Pilar Ferichola Martín and Pilar Ferrándiz Josa in 1967. The latter became professor at the Technical University of Madrid in 1986, eventually becoming vice-chancellor.

The passion for architecture awakened in Helena Iglesias during her high school years when she had the opportunity to visit Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza and the frescoes of Arezzo in Italy. A brilliant student, in 1983, she became the first woman to become full professor in Architecture in Spain<sup>5</sup>. As an educator and a traveler, she published several academic articles in the *Arquitectura* magazine edited by the COAM between 1994 and 1999. The same department of the ETSAM, now called Ideación Gráfica (Graphic Expression), was joined by her colleague and friend Emilia Checa, along with Julio Villarroel, Javier Ortega, and Ignacio de Las Casas.

Emilia Checa balanced teaching with a highly prolific and versatile professional career. Like many other women of these generations, Checa came to Madrid to prepare for admission to school and spent her university years at the former Residencia de Señoritas on Fortuny Street. She graduated as an architect, started a drawing academy, travelled to Italy with fellow students, and married one of them, with whom she began the work at the studio. However, her independence and leadership capacity soon led her to establish her own company based in Madrid. The dual aspects of her work, that she defines as heritage rehabilitation and management architecture—with documentation and cataloguing—are represented in projects such as the Corralas de Miguel Servet (1980-1985) and Instituto Homeopático and Hospital de San José restoration (until 2007), both built in Madrid<sup>6</sup> (Figure 1).

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5. Eva Hurtado's interview with Professor Helena Iglesias, September 20 and 22, 2023.

6. «If rehabilitation is combined with management, everything must go together. If you only do rehabilitation in an empty building, there is no problem, but in occupied buildings or in urban interventions, the management process cannot be separated from the creation process». Comment by Emilia Checa in a conversation with Paula Bozalongo at COAM on December 13, 2021.

Figure 1. Emilia Checa's rehabilitation and restoration of the Homeopathic Institute and Hospital of San José, 2007



Source: Courtesy of the architect

Architects like López Jaén, Miquel, Mangada or Bardají trusted her from the Madrid public institutions, adopting a pioneering approach focused on community participation characteristic of Checa's guidance (Checa, 2021). It was under the mayorship of Tierno Galván in the early 1980s when the *Oficinas Comarcales de Rehabilitación de Edificios* (OCRE, Regional Offices for the Rehabilitation of Buildings), were organised in Madrid. Emilia Checa worked there with Teresa Arenillas, establishing the foundations of a committed and conscious approach to heritage and equity where, for the first time, a participation agenda was ritualised. Their membership in the *Club de Debates Urbanos* embodies this commitment, which Checa defines as one of her affiliations. A colleague of M.<sup>a</sup> Antonia González-Valcárcel, they both participated in the Cadiz Rehabilitation Conference, among other shared activities.



## 5. THE WOMEN ARCHITECTS OF 1968

Under the slogan «Under the cobblestones, there is a beach», echoing the May 1968 uprisings in France, a student movement of demands and protests spread, leaving its mark in many other countries. At the Architecture School of Madrid, the 1964 study plan was already in effect and the number of students had increased significantly. However, the women architects graduating in 1968 and up to the early 1970s belonged to very cohesive and minority groups that stem from the 1957 study plan.

Among the women architects who graduated in 1968, we find the names of María Pérez Sheriff, Adriana Bisquert Santiago, Concepción Fernández-Montesinos García, María Luisa Sotos Ucar, Gloria Alcázar Albajar, María Pilar Amorós Pérez, Emma Ojea Carballeira, Ángeles Coig-O'Donnell Durán, María Elvira Adiego Adiego and Raquel Martínez de Ubago y Fernández Calleja.

We observe how most of them pursued multiple professional roles simultaneously, but it is worth noting that María Pérez Sheriff's specialization in the design and planning of hospitals, following her urban planning studies in the United States through a Fulbright scholarship. She worked for the Dirección General de Salud (Directorate-General for Health) and for the Instituto Nacional de Previsión (National Pension Institute); travelled across Europe and lectured at the WHO, which led to her role as a delegate of the Consejo Superior de los Colegios de Arquitectos de España (Higher Council of Architects Associations in Spain, or CSCAE), where she contributed to the introduction of new health trends in Spain. Her last project was the University Clinical Hospital of Santiago de Compostela, opened in 1999, alongside Gerardo Calviño. Prior to this achievement, they had collaborated on the Maternity and Children's Hospital in Santiago de Compostela and the Instituto de Ciencias de la Salud (Institute of Health Sciences) in Talavera de la Reina (1976-2001), among other projects<sup>7</sup>. She was a professor in Urban Planning Practices with Francisco Fernández Longoria in the Larrodera Chair, and the author of specific publications such as the *Guía de programación y diseño de centros de salud*, published in 1989.

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7. DOCOMOMO Catalogue information provided by J. A. Herce Inés in March 2023.

Gloria Alcázar got her degree in Madrid and continued her studies in Rome, at the Istituto Centrale del Restauro. Becoming a widow with a son, at the age of 27, she worked as a salaried architect at the Ministerio de la Vivienda (Ministry of Housing) and in the Area of Rehabilitation Projects at the City Council of Madrid. Despite her many roles, she always wanted to pursue independent professional practice, which she could do intermittently. She built single-family houses, including the one catalogued in the Piovera neighbourhood in 1987<sup>8</sup>.

Alcázar's work on the restoration of historic centres and her contribution to the Plan General de Madrid (Urban Development Plan), employing a methodology based on a planimetric surveys and detailed study of the city, takes on a pioneering character that remains valid to this day. Particularly noteworthy in this regard is her article *La protección de los cascos históricos como herramienta de diseño urbano* (Alcázar, 1990). She participated as a jury member in important competitions for the restoration of monuments, such as the Cuesta de la Flor in San Lorenzo de El Escorial (1984), alongside Amparo Berlinches. As part of her duties in official divisions in the late 1980s, she collaborated with other colleagues in the rehabilitation projects of the current Ministerio de Medio Ambiente, Medio Rural y Marino (Ministry of the Environment, Rural and Marine Affairs)<sup>9</sup>, as well as in the Juan Bravo Theatre in Segovia. Starting in 2000, she contributed to the comprehensive rehabilitation of Guillem Sagrera building and to the restoration and expansion of the Orihuela Lonja for its adaptation to a Conservatory of Music. She conducted the Stability Report of the Lonja de Palma de Mallorca (2008). Her multifaceted nature led her to become a member of the Governing Board of the COAM with Fernando Chueca and Eleuterio Población and to participate in the 2000-2008 period of the *Arquitectura COAM* magazine closely with Amparo Berlinches and Juan García Millán.

The Galician woman architect Emma Ojea collaborated professionally with the architect Walter Lewin. They specialised in educational architecture and created projects for schools and university residences for the Ministry of Education. They use the spatial module of the classroom as a configurative

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8. Building L3.160. <https://guia-arquitectura-madrid.coam.org/#inm.L3.160>

9. Building F1.194. <https://guia-arquitectura-madrid.coam.org/#inm.F1.194>

element for organic geometries of Nordic influences, which they extend to the urbanisation of the surroundings. They were also involved in the restoration of the Lope de Vega Museum and the Real Academia Española. Additionally, they designed the building of the National Congress of Paraguay<sup>10</sup>.

Elvira Adiego recalls that in the Escuela de Madrid, everyone knew each other, and they were very visible to both students and professors, for the better or worse. Alongside Raquel Martínez de Ubago, they were the first women architects to work in Zaragoza, where they later relocated. Regarding the latter, who was the daughter and sister of architects, an architect and painter in the early 1970s, we have information about her involvement in the parish of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, in partnership with Manuel Ramos Martos (Martínez, 2000, p. 6).

Adiego was a member of the collective Equipo Z/7, a group of young architects that met around José Romero and Saturnino Cisneros and disbanded around 1973. In 1971, she began working as a municipal architect for the city council, referring to a good relationship with the Dirección General del Ministerio de la Vivienda (Ministry of Housing) under Emilio Larrodера, who was originally from Zaragoza. She was responsible for the Servicio de Planes Integrales y Estudios Urbanos (Division of Integral Plans and Urban Studies) of the city, when the historic ensemble file was initiated, and the first catalogues of buildings of interest were created. Adiego advocated for the defence of the historic district as a reflection of the city, particularly emphasising rehabilitation to preserve and care for experiential spaces. This commitment aligns with the enthusiasm for citizen participation during the transition period. Many of her arguments have been captured in various publications (Adiego, 2009). In 1988, she carried out the project for the construction of 53 dwellings in Jerónimo Cáncer Street in Zaragoza, and in 2007, she curated the Mateo Soteras Biennial at the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Aragón. The graphical expression of the architects included Raquel Martínez's exhibits of her minimalist collages.

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10. Ojea and Lewin are represented in the COAM Library database with eleven entries and two buildings in the Architecture Guide. They bequeathed their archive to the Servicio Histórico del COAM in 2004. Available at: <https://www.coam.org/media/Default%20Files/fundacion/servicio-historico/documentacion/docs/2020/DONACION%20Ojea-Lewin%20-%20web.pdf>

Among the architects who graduated in 1969, we find Teresa Domínguez, a municipal architect in Illescas. She conducted maintenance works for the Guardia Civil buildings and travelled alone by car to oversee projects throughout Spain. Also graduating in the last year of the decade was Concepción Maestro Díaz, the first member of the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Castilla-La Mancha, where she held various positions on the governing board. She was highly active until her passing, supervising a great deal of projects that were completed by other colleagues.

## 6. THE PRELUDE TO THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

This overview of a little-known group of women architects concludes with those who graduated in the early 1970s, closing the promotions of the 1957 study plan. Some of those who obtained their degree in 1970 include Teresa Bonilla Lozano, Cecilia Bielsa Príncipe, Margarita de Luxán García de Diego, M.<sup>a</sup> Antonia González-Valcárcel Sánchez-Puelles and Teresa Arenillas Parra. They form a network of professionals who recall shared experiences, travels, and other academic and professional events. In their early years of professional development, they remain a significant minority in a male-dominated profession, but their attitudes and achievements attest to an equality they fought to uphold, despite the gender gaps that the Spanish cultural moment did not allow to ignore.

Cecilia Bielsa and M.<sup>a</sup> Antonia González-Valcárcel had an intense and extensive professional career, in partnership with Zacarias González, husband of the former, and Francisco Landínez, husband of the latter. However, their emphasis on the part of the work they carried out individually reaffirms their independence and determination to differentiate from them. In 1995, Cecilia Bielsa transformed the Quintana Garage in Ferraz Street to adapt it into a building for university use. Alongside her partner, they also undertook the restoration of the Casa del Conde de Bugallal, an original work by Antonio Palacios, renovated by Bernardo Giner de los Ríos, which they transformed into a luxury hotel in 2001.

M.<sup>a</sup> Antonia González-Valcárcel specialised in both restoration and urban planning. She began her professional career in Panama, where she relocated to draw up the Master Plan for Old Panama, an urban archaeology system

that she later conveyed in her restoration classes for the OAS (Organization of American States) in Quito and Spain. Subsequently, in their shared office, they worked on urban plans and restoration projects, such as those for Caravaca de la Cruz, the churches of Colmenar de Oreja (Europa Nostra Award), Belmonte de Tajo, San Esteban in Fuenlabrada, or San Fermín de los Navarros in Madrid. In 1982, she participated in the European Year of Rehabilitation with exhibitions, lectures, and various articles. As she likes to emphasise, she worked on the restoration of the museums: Cerralbo (from 1980 to 1992), Nacional de Artes Decorativas and Cervantes House-Museum in Alcalá de Henares, as well as the Ermita de la Virgen del Puerto in Madrid (González-Valcárcel, 2022) (Figure 2).

Figure 2. M.<sup>a</sup> Antonia González-Valcárcel visiting a work site with her colleagues, ca. 1975



Source: Courtesy of the architect

Margarita de Luxán has developed a career deeply rooted in collective work, leading initiatives across various fields. She got her doctorate in 1986 with a dissertation on architecture in science fiction literature. She has been professor of Graphic Expression at the ETSAM since 1999. Her commitment to bioclimatic construction has paved an unquestionable path today, positioning her in both the realms of research and professional practice. Close to her team, she has won numerous awards for projects and works in national and international competitions (Paris 1980, Tokyo 2005, etc.) and has been involved in significant research projects. She served as a general speaker for Spain at the United Nations in 1992, 1996, 2014 and 2016; as an expert in Sustainable Architecture and Urban Planning for the Ministerio de Obras Públicas and the Ministerio de Fomento (Ministries of Public Works); head of Environmental Integration Studies for the Andalusian Empresa de Suelo Público (Public Land Company) in 2001 and for the Mediterranean Games in 2005 (de Luxán, 2022) (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Bioclimatic window designed by Margarita de Luxán and architect's portrait in 2014



Source: Courtesy of the architect

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Teresa Arenillas belongs to the 121<sup>st</sup> graduating class<sup>11</sup>. She served as head of the Oficina Comarcal de Rehabilitación de Edificios (OCRE) of San Lorenzo de El Escorial (1985-95) and was a member of the Consejo para la Sostenibilidad, Innovación y Calidad de la Edificación del Ministerio de la Vivienda (Council for Sustainability, Innovation and Quality in Building of the Ministry of Housing), as an expert advisor (2007-10). She organised and published the encounters between modernity and postmodernity, inviting Jacques Derrida as one of the guests. Additionally, she participated in four UIA congresses (Arenillas, 2023). In her extensive professional biography, she stands out for significant works on general, territorial and regional planning, as well as projects such as the environmental and landscape adaptation of the Madres del Rao and its surroundings, in Granada (2006), and the restoration of the old mill and light factory of Salto de Casillas, in Córdoba (2009), for its conversion into a museum of energy from the late 19th to the early 20th century. She was a member of the Governing Board of the COAM (2001-02) (Figure 4).

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11. Regarding the 121<sup>st</sup> graduating class, according to a 1968 yearbook: out of a total of 230 students, nineteen of them were women (8.26%). M.<sup>a</sup> Teresa Arenillas Parra, M.<sup>a</sup> del Mar Benito Pallares, M.<sup>a</sup> Isabel Cámara Guezala, M.<sup>a</sup> Amada Celaya Errazu, M.<sup>a</sup> del Pilar Contreras Merino, M.<sup>a</sup> Mercedes Fernández Urrialde, Amalia García Díaz, M.<sup>a</sup> de las Nieves García Iñesta, M.<sup>a</sup> Mercedes García Roldán, M.<sup>a</sup> Antonia González Valcárcel, Estrella Gutiérrez López, M.<sup>a</sup> Agustina Herrero Molina, Margarita Luxán García de Diego, M.<sup>a</sup> Rosa Méndez Martínez, Elena Menéndez Jaquotot, M.<sup>a</sup> José Rodríguez-Tarduchy Díez, M.<sup>a</sup> Ángeles Ruiz-Escrivá de Romaní, M.<sup>a</sup> Pilar Sancho Marco, and M.<sup>a</sup> Dolores Vivanco González.

Figure 4. «Mothers of Rao» project by Teresa Arenillas, 2006



Source: Courtesy of the architect

## 7. THE FEMALE STUDENTS OF THE 1957 STUDY PLAN LAST GRADUATING CLASS

### 7.1. The subject of Project Design

It is noteworthy to mention that, in the 1957 study plan, the design studio module was already present in the first academic years, moving to the third and subsequent years in the 1964 study plan. This meant that students had to start designing early on and dedicate many hours to it each week.

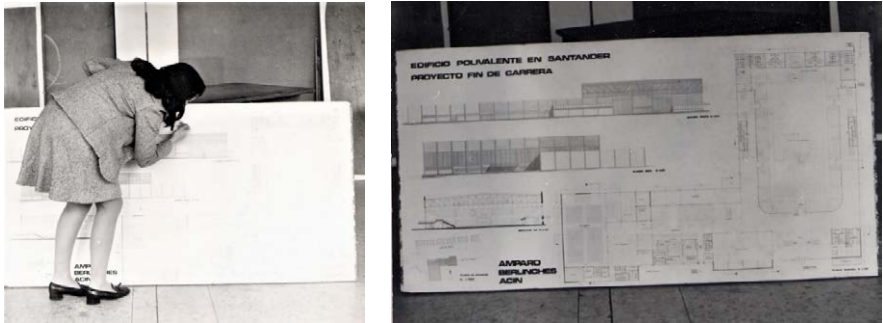
In the 1966-67 academic year report, Carmen Bravo Durá is mentioned as the representative for project design and as the administrator of the Council, both positions elected by her peers. As design delegate, Bravo was the liaison with the professors, who in this academic year were Alejandro de la Sota with his assistants Francisco González, Carlos Trabazo, José Carlos Laredo and Juan Navarro Baldeweg. They worked on projects related to housing, phytopathological station, a beach hut, a restaurant, and a motel, some in teams of ten people, as well as a project on Le Corbusier (Memoria, 1966, p. 3).



Regardless of the sections, as they were called in the syllabus, the Final Year Project was a new work that each student had to develop. In 1971, students María Victoria Laffón and Maruja Gutiérrez Díaz presented a hotel, while Amparo Berlinches and María Jesús Zueco developed a multi-purpose building in Santander. Zueco still remembers that her project was chosen among the twelve best works, being the only female student. She travelled with her eleven colleagues to Santander, where they were received by the mayor and exhibited their projects<sup>12</sup>.

A couple of years later, Carmen Bravo presented a museum inspired by Mies van der Rohe's Neue Nationalgalerie in Berlin, whose way of organising the space impressed her<sup>13</sup>. Bravo had married a fellow student during her studies and already had two daughters when she submitted her project. Rita Iranzo was also a mother of two girls when she submitted her Final Year Project in 1975: a home for the elderly (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Amparo Berlinches retouching the presentation of her Degree Final Project, 1971



Source: Courtesy of the architect

12. Josenia Hervás's interview with architect María Jesús Zueco Royo, August 29, 2023.

13. Josenia Hervás's interview with architect Carmen Bravo Durá, September 16, 2023.

## 7.2. Cultural activities

The last graduating class of the 1957 study plan, known as the 122<sup>nd</sup> promotion, was very close-knit and participated in numerous extracurricular activities. Departments of music, theatre, painting, and architecture were established in 1966. Ana Iglesias González, whose father was a renowned pianist, oversaw organising activities related to music, and it is not surprising that she managed to arrange a concert with Narciso Yepes, Odón Alonso and the Madrid Philharmonic, among other events. In the painting section, there was a committee consisting of three female and three male students: Amparo Berlinches, Maruja Gutiérrez, Isabel G.<sup>a</sup> Elorza, Fernando Colomo, Luis Pangua, and Fernando Tudela. This group was responsible for providing information about exhibitions in Madrid, such as those of Miralles and Zobel at Juana Mordó's, or Vela Zanetti at the Biosca gallery. They also brought a short film on Picasso to the school, facilitated by the French Institute. Extracurricular activities related to architecture were handled by student Fernando Tudela, who reported on various lectures offered that year, such as the one given by the architect André Wogenscky on Le Corbusier, which aroused great interest among his peers. The theatre group was very active, and the performance of Federico García Lorca's *Bodas de Sangre* at San Agustín College is remembered. During the 1967 academic year, student M.<sup>a</sup> Teresa Rodríguez, along with Juan Valera and Gonzalo Fernández, organised a study trip through Andalusia (Memoria, 1966, p. 7) (Figure 6).

Figure 6. The 122<sup>nd</sup> graduating class of the ETSAM at the door of the School, ca 1965



Source: Courtesy of the architect Ana Iglesias

### 7.3. Female protagonism

The female students of the 122<sup>nd</sup> graduating class accounted for less than 6% in percentage compared to the male peers<sup>14</sup>, however, it is evident that they were active participants and organisers of most cultural activities and study trips offered at the school. This means that their involvement with architectural culture went beyond achieving good grades. Architects Berlinches, Iglesias and Zueco recall those years similarly: they were aware that it had been challenging for them to get there, and they felt a profound sense of responsibility.

There was a spirit of equality that we imposed. I would not let them pay for my sandwich, or if they did one day, the next day I was already paying.

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14. Out of a total of 207 students, twelve of them were women.

I also did not like everyone to stepping aside for me to pass through the door first. My surname helped me; I always said that Zueco is the last one on the class list... so the last one to enter. They laughed and understood; it only had to be explained once<sup>15</sup>.

Many of these female students formed intense friendships that they still maintain today. Their studies concluded in the first half of the seventies, and they were active participants in the architectural profession during the transition period, becoming experienced architects in the following decades.

#### 7.4. Professional activity

The twelve women who began their studies at the Escuela de Madrid became twelve architecture professionals with a multifaceted dedication. María Jesús Zueco founded her own studio with her design colleague from school. After graduating in 1971, they got married in 1972 and set up their office in Mondragón. She recalls being a multitasking architect, to whom the entire town turned for housing and premises. As the head of a building site, she was introduced to the trades as: «M.<sup>a</sup> Jesús, the architect's wife; she will tell you how she wants things done, and after correcting the good man and making things clear, I thought, thank goodness my husband is not a surgeon» (Zueco, 2023, p. 196).

Carmen Bravo also established an office with her husband and other professional colleagues. During the Spanish transition and throughout the 1980s they, along with several offices, shaped the new neighbourhood of Palomeras (Bravo, 1983, pp. 50-54), south of Madrid (Cordero, 2020, p. 8) (Figure 7).

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15. Josenia Hervás's interview with architect María Jesús Zueco Royo, August 29, 2023.

Figure 7. Carmen Bravo with the Palomeras Sureste team, 1981.



Source: Courtesy of the architect

The importance of communal spaces in this type of multifamily housing was evident in a lecture given in 2023 (Bravo, 2023). In her extensive career, notable works include restoration projects such as the Sinagoga del Tránsito in Toledo and the refurbishment and commissioning of the new López de Ayala Theatre in Badajoz, which was of special relevance to her and presented great management challenges (Verissimo, 2016). Bravo's and her associates' work has been widely published both in Spain and abroad.

Ana María Fernández Puentes fondly remembers her former colleagues Rita Iranzo and M.<sup>a</sup> Teresa Rodríguez. Upon completing her degree, she worked in the office of César Portela and later set up an independent studio with Pascuala Campos (the pioneer and first professor of Architectural Design in Spain who graduated from the School of Barcelona). The most noteworthy projects from that time were the nine cooperative housing and

studios in the old town of Pontevedra, known as Cooperativa San Martiño (1990-1998). After years of collaboration between the two women, Fernández became independent and currently runs an office actively seeking funding for the rehabilitation of several collective houses in Cotobad, Pontevedra<sup>16</sup>.

Isabel García Elorza, along with a group of architects educated around Saturnino Cisneros (Juan Carmona, Manuel Fernández and Jesús Heredia), won the first prize in the 1978 competition for the planning of the new university in Zaragoza (Martínez, 2001, pp. 122-123). She subsequently built the Faculty of Law new lecture hall between 1983 and 1996 (Lus-Arana & Pérez-Moreno, 2021). This was not her only award; in 1987, she won the Ideas Competition for Temporary Removable Wooden Shelters, organised by the MOPU, and in 1995, the preliminary project for the rehabilitation of the Canal Imperial de Aragón. Along with Manuel Fernández, she renovated the Palacio de los Torreros in 1978 for the new headquarters of the Aragón and La Rioja Architects Association, which in 1982 became a historic-artistic monument (García & Fernández, 1982). Between 1992 and 1997 she worked in the municipal office of Plan General of the Zaragoza City Council, later collaborating with the Regional Government of Aragón.

Not all the women architects of the 122<sup>nd</sup> promotion dedicated themselves to new construction or rehabilitation within a studio. Maruja Gutiérrez Díaz, through a postgraduate research scholarship at the University of Edinburgh, encountered the field of computing. In the 1980s she was appointed head of Centro de Información y Documentación del Área Metropolitana de Madrid (Information and Documentation Centre of the Metropolitan Area of Madrid), in charge of regional information systems. In her article in the *Ciudad y Territorio* magazine, she was already demanding greater transparency in urban planning information so that urban planning would be understandable to the entire population (Gutiérrez, 1981). She joined the European Commission in 1988 as a specialist in modern technologies, eventually becoming head of the Innovation Unit at the European Commission's Directorate-General for Education and Culture. The highlights of her European career include updating and networking the Commission's

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16. Josenia Hervás's interview with architect Ana María Fernández Puentes, July 18, 2023.

libraries, the *eLearning* initiative, and the successful *eTwinning*, which continues today as a platform for twinning between European schools. However, there is a transcendental work in which she is immensely proud: the creation, along with three other people, of the official website of the European Union (Europa.eu)<sup>17</sup> (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Maruja Gutiérrez in the North Sea during her directorship at the European Commission, 1996



Source: Courtesy of the architect

After retiring, she returned to Madrid to work as an independent consultant in the fields of new technologies and education. Her book *Formación innovadora, Nuevos modelos para la formación en la Administración pública*, addresses both aspects focused on public entities (González & Gutiérrez, 2013).

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17. Josenia Hervás's interview with architect Maruja Gutiérrez Díaz, September 23, 2023.

Amparo Berlinches and Ana Iglesias have also worked for various public administrations<sup>18</sup>. Until 1985, both architects collaborated with the Instituto de Restauración y Conservación del Ministerio de Cultura, with numerous interventions in churches, town halls, monuments, and historic areas in Spain (Hervás, 2021) (Figure 9).

Figure 9. Ana Iglesias on the vault of the Church of Santa María de Alaejos (Valladolid), 1975.



Source: Courtesy of the architect

They were already specialists in rehabilitation and restoration, but continued their training after completing their degree, taking various courses in France, Germany, and England. Berlinches won the Premio Nacional de Restauración y Rehabilitación de Edificios (National Prize for Building Restoration and Rehabilitation) in 1980 for her work on the Mudejar Church of San Martín de

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18. Josenia Hervás's joint interview with architects Amparo Berlinches and Ana Iglesias, January 16, 2020.



Valdilecha (Madrid), where she supervised the restoration of structural and decorative elements, mural paintings, and archaeological research (Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1980).

1985 was a year of vital importance for Spain and Portugal due to the signing of their accession treaties to the European Economic Community. The *Operation Welcome* was organised, and professional women from both countries were invited on a trip to strengthen relations with their counterparts in Italy and Ireland. European authorities aimed to extend these trips for women to different countries so that «the other half of society» could carry out joint actions<sup>19</sup>. Berlinches participated in this delegation as an award-winning architect. These were the first steps to encourage joint exchange of experiences within the EU framework (Hervás & Blanco, 2020). The same year, Ana Iglesias requested voluntary transfer to the Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid (CAM) as Arquitecta Jefe de la Inspección Técnica (chief architect of the Technical Inspectorate), where she worked for five years alongside archaeologist Pilar Mena in excavations linked to the sites in the historic center of Madrid. Berlinches also moved to the CAM in 1985, as directora del Centro de Restauración del Patrimonio (head of the Heritage Restoration Centre), becoming deputy director general of Architecture from 1987 to 1995. It was during this period that, together with the COAM, the architecture guides of Madrid were written. Since then, Amparo has not stopped working on the monitoring and cataloguing of the built heritage in Madrid (Berlinches, 2023).

Ana Iglesias took on the role of head of rehabilitation of the Empresa Municipal de la Vivienda (EMV) of Madrid in 1992. During her tenure, the institution received two Europa Nostra awards in 1998 (special mention for the rehabilitation of the historic center) and 2003 (special mention for the tourist and cultural pedestrian axis in the Paseo del Prado-Bailén). As head of Residential Innovation Projects (2005-2012), within the EMV, she was involved in national and international projects (Manubuild, INVISIO, CETICA I3CON, BALI) that emphasised user participation, housing flexibility, application of new materials, and energy efficiency. She participated

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19. European Commissioner for the Environment Carlo Ripa di Meana's letter to Amparo Berlinches, December 12, 1985. Amparo Berlinches's professional archive.

in the development of Madrid's first eco-neighbourhood, where a district heating system was constructed for cogeneration of heating and DHW using fuel cells. Additionally, she installed, for the first time in the city, a pneumatic waste collection system (Hervás, 2021).

Rita Iranzo Fernández's professional career focused on teaching from the very beginning. She completed her studies in 1975, and in 1976, she joined the Architectural Graphic Expression department. Iranzo followed in the professional footsteps of her mother, Rita Fernández Queimadelos, one of the pioneers of Spanish architecture. However, Iranzo's student life was interrupted by her social and political commitment during the Franco dictatorship. Her partner, Luis Erik Clavería, who would later become the first democratic mayor of the Real Sitio de San Ildefonso-La Granja, was a significant figure against the Franco regime. Faced with serious threats, they decided to move to England.

In the early 1970s, Iranzo had to balance her distance studies with a part-time job in London at the Easton, Robertson, Preston & Partners office. She maintained close contacts with her study companions and had a strong connection with Ana María Fernández Puentes due to their family backgrounds related to the Residencia de Señoritas in Madrid, a cultural reference point in the 1930s with a solid network of connections between Europe and the United States (Lemus, 2022, p. 15). While mother and daughter never worked together, Rita's daughter recalls accompanying her mother on inspections related to her role as an architect for school buildings:

I have heard my mother say many times, it must be done tonight... I have also folded blueprints and had to check that the seven copies were in order before taking them to the appropriate institutions or to the Architects Association<sup>20</sup>.

Rita Iranzo, from her position as an architect and professor, participated in the seminar *Urbanismo y Mujer. Nuevas visiones del espacio público y privado*, first held in Málaga in 1993 and the following year in Toledo. These encounters were funded through the European program NOW (New Opportunities for Women) by the newly created women's institutes (Blanco & Hervás, 2023,

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20. Josenia Hervás and Eva Hurtado's interview with architect Rita Iranzo Fernández, July 7, 2023.

p. 408). They were organised by the Ph. D. architects Rosa Barba Cánovas and Adriana Bisquert Santiago (then professors at the ETSAB), Pascuala Campos de Michelena (then professor at the ETSAC), along with the sociology professor M.<sup>a</sup> Ángeles Durán Heras, pioneers in addressing the relations between gender and architecture. Isabel León García, the secretary of the CSCAE, coordinated the courses, being their target public registered women architects throughout Spain. Iranzo contributed two chapters to the proceedings book *Color y Ciudad* (Iranzo, 1995a) and *Habitar: Habilitar y Rehabilitar* (Iranzo, 1995b), as well as numerous published articles. She continued teaching at the ETSAM until her retirement, obtaining her doctorate in 2015 at the age of seventy with the doctoral thesis *Color y arquitecturas revocadas de La Granja de San Ildefonso: urbanismo mano-nido*, with Pascuala Campos, who then had become full professor, as a member her thesis committee.

María Victoria Flórez Laffón was a friend of Rita Iranzo since early age. Both studied at Colegio Estudio and shared classrooms again during their architecture studies. María Victoria's aunt was also an architect, like Iranzo's mother, but in addition, her father and her illustrious grandfather, Antonio Flórez Urdampilleta, were architects. Antonio Flórez was recognised, among other merits, for systematising the design and construction of school groups between the 1920s and 1930s. Flórez Laffón participated in the catalogue and exhibition on her grandfather's work held at the Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid, and in 2017, she donated the project's graphic documentation for the renovation of the Royal Theatre to the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. Her professional career has developed in the public company Aena, which manages airports in Spain.

María Teresa Rodríguez-Carrascal Rosado was admitted in September 1979 to the selective exams to apply for a position as Arquitecto del Servicio de Extensión Agraria (Agricultural Extension Service architect), where eleven candidates competed, including another woman architect, M.<sup>a</sup> Sonsoles Albi García (Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1979). She is listed as an active entrepreneur, and her children continue the family legacy as the third generation of architects. They have worked on various projects, but one particularly notable for being a family project: the transformation of an old building into a hotel, the *Posada del Agua*, located at El Burguillo reservoir in 2007 (Jaen, 2023).

## 8. CONCLUSIONS

The seven pioneering woman architects who graduated under the 1914 and 1932 ETSAM study plans were aware of their uniqueness. Their determination to achieve excellence is evident, an inevitable condition of this new minority, and it served as a testimonial example that influenced the evolution in the polytechnic classrooms.

The number of women architects graduating under the 1957 plan exceeds fifty. Women in Francoist Spain represented a mere 5% of the architecture profession (Agudo Arroyo & Sánchez de Madariaga), a gender gap only overcome years later. During the decline of the dictatorship and over the democratic transition, they did not consider feminism as the main theme for debate. The lack of freedom in Spain held greater importance for women's collectives so gender issues were usually envisioned as ancillary concerns (Cuesta, 2003).

Yet they were the first professionals active during the Spanish transition. In a strongly hierarchical and centralised landscape, they contributed to modernising it from relevant leadership positions in several fields. Twelve of them made up the 122<sup>nd</sup> graduating class, closing the stage of architectural studies with admission exams predating the 1964 study plan.

Besides, the majority of them came from affluent backgrounds with progressive spirit which gave support, not always easy, to the unusual decision to enter a male-dominated profession. An advanced mindset for women of their time is confirmed by their shared interests in sports, music, and particularly their passion for travel and stays abroad.

The drop-out rate from studies or the profession was virtually non-existent, despite a context that encouraged women to quit their jobs when they got married. Their commitment to balancing family life and managing the chosen new professional role stands out, despite the prevalence of a very traditional social and legal status still applicable to them.

Such determined effort during their time at the university continued in long and fruitful careers as architects, often working alone, as well as in collaboration with their husbands and other colleagues. This is precisely a typical feature of the architect profession, its endogamous nature, which all

these women explain from their undeniable role as authors and responsible for their works<sup>21</sup>.

Being part of a struggling minority, this condition generated a network of friendships and complicity among them, a ‘network of women’ that accompanied them, punctuating their work with meetings, travels, collaborations, and vivid memories of belonging to a group. A fact that, however, they do not easily explicit.

A relevant example of sorority can be found in the relationship between a woman already experienced as an architect and an aspiring one. This is the case of Matilde Ucelay and Elena Arregui, whose respective graduation dates are more than twenty years apart. Yet it can be stated that one woman was a mentor to the other, since Ucelay accompanied Arregui in the search for a drawing academy to prepare his entry into the Madrid School (Novas-Ferradás et al. 2020, p. 5). For her part, Professor Margarita de Luxán recognised Juana de Ontañón, twenty-five years older than her, as her reference, since de Luxán began her career as an architect hired by Ontañón’s office. Similarly, Margarita Mendizábal, who joined the Architectural Design Department of the ETSAM in 1965, must also have been a mentor for Emilia Checa, eleven years younger than the former, when the latter began teaching alongside her in 1968.

Amparo Berlinches, in a lecture given in 2018, highlighted the role played by those women architects who preceded her—Matilde Ucelay, M.<sup>a</sup> Cristina Pintor and Rita Fernández Queimadelos—and recounted her experience as an architect (Berlinches, 2018). Moreover, Berlinches made explicit that she decided to study Architecture because of her elder sister, Isabel, who was already a student at the ETSAM before she joined the School and graduated in 1969. Years later, Carmen Rojas took part in a round table of women architects where publicly acknowledged that «I owe a lot to Amparo Berlinches, she truly was my teacher, my mirror in which I had to look at myself to see if I could ever look like her», getting from Berlinches a loving gesture of

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21. There are two research projects with maps that locate the built works of many of these women architects. The MUWO website (<https://muwo.unizar.es/>) and the NAM app (*Navegando Arquitecturas de Mujer*: <https://navegandoarquitecturasdemujer.ua.es/navegando-arquitecturas-de-mujer>).

complicity (Berlinches, 2023). Thus, we can see how the figure of Berlinches is a generational link between the pioneering female architects and the later promotions of women architects still working actively.

The multifaceted nature of professional careers, being an inherent condition of the architect profession, is particularly remarkable in the ones of the first women practitioners. In almost all cases, they worked at or run their own offices, but there are also many who hold other positions of responsibility in the Administration, University, professional associations, or elsewhere. A multiplication of tasks that was related to survival and the difficulty for them to access more significant commissions, but also to their own culture as women who took on political responsibilities and were committed to change during the democratic transition in Spain.

These women architects also confirm another characteristic of the vocation for architecture in general, which is the tendency to prolong the moment of retirement. They maintained, until advanced ages, certain public, and participatory activity in professional forums, such as some work in the studio and on projects that often result in connection and continuity with younger generations<sup>22</sup>.

They are authors of significant architectures but also general directors, heads of departments, advisors, businesswomen, municipal architects, doctors, professors, experts, and participants in international forums, among other proportionally numerous achievements. With their work, they represent the female references that precede and shape the generations that witnessed the transition from the dictatorship to the 21st century. They themselves contributed to the beginning of studies on architecture and gender, whose true dimension is still to be properly known and valued.

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22. The ACE 2021 survey carried out by the Architects' Council of Europe reflects that over 40% of architects state they have no intention of retiring or plan to do so after the age of 70.

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# WOMEN ARCHITECTS AND THEIR WORKS IN THE AUTONOMOUS REGION OF MADRID, 1978-2008

## LAS ARQUITECTAS Y SUS OBRAS EN LA COMUNIDAD DE MADRID, 1978-2008

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### Abstract

This paper explores the periphery of the very centre of the architectural system in Spain, considering the work of women architects in the Autonomous Region of Madrid (Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid), the province of its capital, in the period 1978-2008, i. e., between the democratic restoration and the global financial crisis. The approach is three-fold. Firstly, a quantitative analysis, according to various parameters, of a sufficiently representative sample (more than a hundred cases) of this female-authored production, either solo or in collaboration with other women colleagues. Secondly, an analysis of the presence of women and their works in the architectural media in terms of the prestige they represent. Thirdly, an evaluation based on a qualitative approach of these works, the account of their differential features, and the identification of the very interests that women architects expressed through them. To this end, a methodology is implemented that includes the collection of bibliographic sources, a call to the architects to invite them to submit their projects and field work, by visiting and collecting data from most of the works. The results reveal that most of their professional

practice that solo and is mainly based on residential works—the most recognised—followed by interventions in public spaces. Most of the works correspond to new construction and are concentrated, in time, in the 1990s and, in space, to the south and east of both the capital and the wider Madrid Region. The work of women architects has hardly been reported in professional journals, although it has been more widely disseminated in institutional publications, especially in the case of female civil servants. Qualitatively, the attention paid to the programme, especially to the common and intermediate spaces, the suitability of the technical means to the ends and the context, the care taken in the design of inclusive public spaces and the commitment to sustainability are striking. All this speaks volumes about the value of authors and architectures that, even in the center itself, are relegated to the periphery. It is a political and cultural system, which gender-based research challenges to propose hopeful alternatives for the discipline.

**Keywords:** women architects; Madrid; Spain; architecture; urban planning; media; architectural press; sustainability; gender approach; feminist perspectives.

## Resumen

Este artículo explora la periferia del centro mismo del sistema arquitectónico en España, considerando el trabajo de las arquitectas en la Comunidad de su capital, Madrid, en el periodo comprendido entre la restauración democrática y la crisis global, 1978-2008. El enfoque es triple. Primero, el análisis cuantitativo, según diversos parámetros, de una muestra suficientemente representativa (más de un centenar de casos), de esa producción de autoría femenina, en solitario o en colaboración con otras compañeras. Segundo, el análisis de la presencia de mujeres y sus obras en medios de divulgación de la arquitectura en función del prestigio que estos representan. Tercero, la caracterización de esas obras en sus rasgos diferenciales, mediante una aproximación cualitativa a los intereses de las arquitectas. Para ello se implementa una metodología que contempla el vaciado de fuentes bibliográficas, la llamada a las arquitectas para invitarlas a postular sus proyectos y el trabajo de campo mediante la visita y toma de datos de la gran mayoría de obras. Los resultados revelan un modo de ejercicio profesional mayoritariamente en solitario que se nutre principalmente del uso residencial —el más reconocido—, seguido de la intervención en el espacio público. La mayoría de obras son de nueva planta y se concentran, en el tiempo, en la década de los noventa y, en el espacio, al sur y al este tanto de la capital como de la comunidad. Las revistas profesionales apenas se han hecho eco del trabajo de las arquitectas que, sin embargo, ha encontrado más difusión en publicaciones institucionales, sobre todo en el caso de las funcionarias. Cualitativamente, destaca la atención prestada al programa, especialmente a los espacios comunes e intermedios, la adecuación de los medios técnicos a los fines y al contexto, el cuidado en el diseño de espacios públicos inclusivos y el compromiso con la sostenibilidad. Todo

ello evidencia el interés de unas arquitecturas que, incluso en el mismo centro, son relegadas a las afueras. Se trata de un sistema político y cultural que, desde la investigación con perspectiva de género, se cuestiona con objeto de plantear alternativas esperanzadoras para la disciplina.

**Palabras clave:** mujeres arquitectas; Madrid; España; arquitectura; urbanismo; medios; revistas de arquitectura; sostenibilidad; enfoque de género; perspectivas feministas.

## 1. INTRODUCTION: ONGOING RESEARCH AGENDAS ON GENDER AND ARCHITECTURE IN SPAIN

In Spain we are currently witnessing a veritable effervescence of women, feminist, and gender studies in relation to architecture and urban planning. Works such as Inés Sánchez de Madariaga and Inés Novella-Abril's «Género y urbanismo en España: experiencias y perspectivas» («Gender and Urbanism in Spain: Experiences and Perspectives») (Sánchez de Madariaga & Novella-Abril, 2020), gather and reflect the main focuses of research activity on the subject and its precedents, promoted by collectives and associations. In the monographic issue of the research journal *Ciudad y Territorio. Estudios Territoriales*, on «Urbanism and Gender» (2020), the article by María-Elia Gutiérrez-Mozo et al. constructs the background of this intense activity in the country, beginning in 1998, and distinguishes between contributions in the form of manuals and guides, with an eminently practical vocation, academic research and spaces for the exchange of professional experiences, such as seminars and conferences (Gutiérrez-Mozo et al., 2020).

Likewise, Lucía C. Pérez-Moreno, in her article «Prácticas feministas en la arquitectura española reciente. Igualitarismos y diferencia sexual» («Feminist Practices in Spanish Recent Architecture, Equality and Sexual Difference») (Pérez-Moreno, 2021b), summarises the most relevant published works and orders them along the three lines formulated in the aforementioned article: «historical and historiographical reviews», «the implementation of gender perspective tools to the analysis of architecture and urbanism» and «the conception of complex, diverse, inclusive and egalitarian projects» (Gutiérrez-Mozo et al., 2020, p. 105). Since then, contributions to the subject have continued to grow and, above all, to make a quantitative shift from urban planning, a field in which they were pioneers (Echarte, 2023, p. 64),

towards architecture, so that today research is mainly carried out in the knowledge areas of composition and architectural projects.

An indicator of its contemporaneity and interest is the monographic issues of journals that have recently been devoted to the topic. Hence, *VAD. Veredes. Arquitectura y Divulgación*, entitled «Las precursoras» («Women Precursors») the 6th issue of December 2021, coordinated by Inés Novella-Abril. With a clear international vocation, the monograph features pioneering women and their work in the Netherlands (housing), France (landscape), Austria (city), Italy (alternative genealogies to the canon), the United States (Vera Jansone at the IIT of Mies), Germany (Wera Meyer-Waldeck and Hilde Weström at the Interbau Berlin 1957) and Spain (Inés Sánchez de Madariaga).

In turn, the academic publication *ZARCH. Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in Architecture and Urbanism* dedicated its 18<sup>th</sup> issue, of September 2022, edited by Lucía C. Pérez-Moreno and Ann E. Komara, to «Women, Feminist Practices and Professional Alternatives in Architecture», grouping the articles under the three headings that make up the title, preceded by contributions from the principal investigator of two European projects and followed by an interview with the architect Izaskun Chinchilla.

As the editorial states, this issue is based on five papers (out of fourteen articles) presented at the First National Conference «Women and Architecture. Towards an Egalitarian Profession», «a space for debate on the state of the profession in Spain from a gender perspective that took place between 27 and 19 [sic] October 2021» (Pérez-Moreno, 2021a; Pérez-Moreno & Komara, 2022, p. 4). In 2020, the «4<sup>th</sup> Gender Perspectives in Architecture» conference had been held, also online, and in 2022 the V conference would take place in person. Likewise, the «5<sup>th</sup> International Congress on Architecture and Gender» was held in Lisbon—online due to the pandemic—in 2021 (Santos et al., 2021) and the «6<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Architecture and Gender» held in Valencia, in October 2023 under the call 1973-2023 (*International*) *Archive of Women in Architecture*.

For its part, the Fuenlabrada School of Engineering of the Universidad Rey Juan Carlos has been holding the «Women in Architecture» conference every year since the 2018-2019 academic year, whose papers and reflections have been collected in the book *Arquitectura con arquitectas*, edited by Fermina Garrido, Elena Escudero, and Raquel Martínez (Garrido et al.,

2023). In addition, the publication coordinated by Zaida Muxí *Antología de pensamientos feministas para arquitectura (Anthology of Feminist Thought on Architecture)* (Muxí et al., 2022) as well as the book authored by María Novas-Ferradás *Arquitectura y género. Una introducción posible (Architecture and Gender. A possible Introduction)* (Novas-Ferradás, 2021).

Politically and socially, the event that sparked the interest in placing the gender perspective at the heart of the Spanish agenda was the Organic Law 3/2007, of 22 March, for the effective equality of women and men. However, the subject's academic prestige—essential to be included in scientific journals and, consequently, to develop an academic career—in architecture, comes from competitive research projects of which, in this area as in so many others (Gutiérrez-Mozo et al., 2021), Inés Sánchez de Madariaga has been a pioneer. Leaving aside those related to urban planning, her project «Mujeres en la arquitectura española. De Matilde Ucelay a la primera promoción universitaria paritaria» («Women in Spanish Architecture. From Matilde Ucelay to the First Graduating Class with Parity»)¹ (2009-2010), which inspired, *inter alia* (Agudo & Sánchez de Madariaga, 2011), the book *Matilde Ucelay Maórtua. Una vida en construcción* (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2012), is a reference point for the initiatives that have followed.

Two of them are noteworthy, the former for being the most recent and for its media impact and the latter for knowledge transfer through the mobile application *NAM, Navegando Arquitecturas de Mujer* (Navigating Women's Architecture) (Gutiérrez-Mozo et al., 2022): «Mujeres en la cultura arquitectónica (pos)moderna española, (Women in Spanish (post)Modern Architectural Culture), 1975-2000»² (2019-2021) (<http://muwo.unizar.es/>) and «Miradas Situadas: Arquitectura de Mujer en España desde Perspectivas Periféricas (A Situated View: Women's Architecture in Spain from Peripheral

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1. CSO200805308E/SOCI, Technical University of Madrid. Principal investigator: Inés Sánchez de Madariaga. Number of participants: 2. Amount granted: €20,000.00. Funded by the Ministry of Science and Technology. Plan Nacional de I+D.
  2. PGC2018-095905-A100, University of Zaragoza. Principal investigator: Lucía C. Pérez-Moreno. Number of participants: 5. Amount granted: €27,830.00. Funded by the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities of the Government of Spain, State Plan for Scientific and Technical Research and Innovation 2012-2020.

Approaches) 1978-2008»<sup>3</sup> (2021-2023) (<https://navegandoarquitecturasdemujer.ua.es/>). The latter emphasises the places, situations and conditions marginalised by the hegemonic discourse that dictates the norms in the evaluation, awareness and dissemination of architecture in Spain, making the peripheries (geographical, but also cultural, professional, etc.) the new focal points from which to review and respond so triumphantly to this narrative. This paper adopts the theoretical framework and approach of this project, intending to contribute to its objectives and insights from a specific territory.

In this regard, in view of the apparent paradox, we should explain the hypothesis of our study, whose general objective is to show how the geographical, political, economic and cultural centre in terms of the dissemination of architecture has not only regarded the Spanish territorial peripheries with disdain, but has created peripheries in its own immediate surroundings, within the city and the region of Madrid. The lack of interest in what was happening outside—with the exception of episodes of media frenzy over stellar architecture, usually prompted by foreign actors—is reproduced, perhaps even more blatantly, within its own boundaries, where architecture created by women has been systematically ignored, overlooked or silenced, with very few exceptions.

In Spanish public universities, in the 1985-86 academic year, women who graduated in architecture (143) represented 19% of the total; in 1995-96, 39% (577); and, in 2005-06, 46% (955)<sup>4</sup>. In 1998, registered women architects in Spain (4.572) represented 17% of the total and, in 2008, 28% (13.267). This last year, in Madrid, there were 3.481 registered women architects and they represented 32% of the total (Molina & Laquidáin, 2009, pp. 23, 27).

However, in the *Architecture* magazine, run by the Architects Association of Madrid (COAM), between 1965 and 2000, of the 3914 «index entries», only 115 correspond to works made by women (2.94%). In *Architects* periodical publication by the Higher Council of Architects Associations in Spain (Consejo Superior de Colegios de Arquitectos de España, CSCAE),

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3. AICO/2021/163, University of Alicante. Principal investigator: María-Elia Gutiérrez-Mozo. Number of participants: 11. Amount granted: €85.853,72. Funded by the Department of Innovation, Universities, Science and Digital Society of the Generalitat Valenciana (Valencia Regional Government).

4. Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística (Spanish Statistical Office).



the percentage is 4.95% and in *Urban Planning*, a journal also belonging to COAM, 6.28%, all figures well below the representation of women in the profession (Pérez-Moreno & Delgado-Baudet, 2023, p. 455).

This article aims, therefore, to show how it is not only distance that produces rejection of difference, but, above all, the gender biases that have permeated and still permeate a traditionally highly masculinised profession, whose feminisation in the classroom does not displace the status quo but generates alternative ways of understanding it (Álvarez, 2015). In particular, it possesses a guild-mentality, zealously guarding its particular class consciousness which, in *Bourdieuian* terms (1986), mobilises its cultural, social, symbolic and economic capital, and its corresponding transfers of funds, to perpetuate its supremacy (Echarte, 2023).

Consequently, we have set out several specific objectives of our research. Firstly, a quantitative analysis, based on various parameters, of the architectural production of exclusively female authorship, solo or in collaboration with other women, in the Autonomous Region of Madrid, in the period between 1978-2008, the first generation of Spanish democracy, from its restoration until the global financial and economic crisis that changed, irrevocably, the way of conceiving, producing and valuing architecture. Secondly, an analysis of the presence of women and their works in the architectural media in terms of the prestige they represent: professional journals, company and institutional publications and websites. Thirdly and finally, a characterisation of these works in their various features, through a qualitative approach to the architects' interests: their relationship with the physical and cultural environment; the programmatic aspects and the dialectic between the common and the particular, highlighting the attention given to people, the concern for access and accessibility and the transitions between the public and the private; the selection and application of materials, technological and structural ingenuity, commitment to sustainable design, focusing on energy efficiency and costs, both in execution and maintenance; and formal and typological issues—compositional patterns, regulatory layouts, geometric bases and types; concavity versus convexity and dispersion versus concentration; inside-outside interaction and the intermediate spaces.

## 2. MATERIALS AND METHODS: AN EXPLORATION OF PERIPHERICAL ‘CENTRALITIES’

The methodology for carrying out this work considers three main lines that respond to the threefold purpose set out above: first, an exhaustive and systematic bibliographical survey of all the publications that might contain information on works of architecture authored exclusively by women, alone or in collaboration with other women colleagues, in the period under study (1978-2008) and in the Region of Madrid. Secondly, a series of calls, channelled through the professional associations, to invite women architects to send from among their works those that met the conditions of the research in terms of authorship, chronology and geography; thirdly, the fieldwork, namely our visits to the sites to directly experience the majority of the works previously identified.

The bibliographic search begins with the professional journals, through which architectural production in Spain has traditionally been disseminated. We have examined the following journals and magazines (Table 1):

**Table 1.** List of architecture periodicals surveyed indicating the issues consulted

Journal/Magazine	ISSN	Start-End	Frequency	Issues surveyed (years)
<i>A+T. Quarterly journal of Architecture and Technology</i>	1132-6409	1992-	Irregular	1-32 (1992-2008)
<i>Arquitectos. Higher Council of Architects Associations in Spain (CSCAE)</i>	0210-0673	1975-1980	Four-monthly	12-40 (1978-1980)
<i>Q. Higher Council of Architects Associations in Spain (CSCAE)</i>	0214-1108	1980-1983	Monthly	41-73 (1981-1983)
<i>Arquitectos. Information from the Higher Council of Architects Associations in Spain (CSCAE)</i>	0214-1124	1984-2011	Irregular	108-185 (1989-2008)

<i>Arquitectura. Journal of the Architects Association of Madrid (COAM)</i>	0004-2706	1959-	Quarterly	210-354 (1978-2008)
<i>Arquitectura Viva</i>	0214-1256	1988-	Bimonthly	1-123 (1988-2008)
<i>AV Monografías</i>	0213-487X	1985-	Bimonthly	1-134 (1985-2008)
<i>AV Proyectos</i>	1697-493X	2004-	Bimonthly	1-30 (2004-2008)
<i>El Croquis</i>	0212-5633	1982-	Bimonthly	1-143 (1982-2008)
<i>Tectónica. Architecture, technology and construction monographs</i>	1136-0062	1996-2013	Half-yearly	1-27 (1996-2008)

Source: Authors

*a+t architecture publishers* is a «publishing house specialised in architectural publications, independent and not linked to any institution or professional group. Founded in 1992 in Vitoria-Gasteiz» (Fernández et al., undated). The reason for choosing this journal is to be found in the statements contained in its *Manifiesto*, which allow us to believe that the works we are looking for could be found there: «Since 1992 we have been looking for engaged projects. We are concerned about collective housing, land use, public space...». (Fernández et al., undated).

The journals of the CSCAE, an institution based in Madrid, theoretically represent the association throughout Spain, however, the weight of both the Architecture School of Madrid (Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid, or ETSAM) and COAM is in the capital. The COAM magazine, and the eloquent title of its predecessor, *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* (1941-1958), has the mission and intention to cover works from all over Spain.

*Arquitectura Viva* was founded in Madrid under the direction of ETSAM professor Luis Fernández-Galiano, who is still at the helm today. Although it «reflects current architectural and cultural issues from a plural and critical perspective. In addition to dedicating its main theme to the latest buildings

constructed by important national and international studios» (Fernández-Galiano, 2023a), the editorial staff has always had a strong presence of academics from ETSAM, whose departments of Architectural Theory and Architectural Design have also served as a recruiting ground, starting with its dean. *AV Monographs*, from the same publisher and under the same management, specialises in the detailed analysis and documentation, especially graphic, of the works it presents. *AV Proyectos* is «focused on students and young professionals» (Fernández-Galiano, 2023b), with special attention to the construction processes of the works it covers.

*El Croquis*, «one of the most relevant and prestigious architectural publications in the world, presents bimonthly the most interesting projects and works produced in the field of architecture, in careful monographs that analyse the work of the most outstanding architects» (University of La Rioja, 2001-2023). The magazine was founded by architects Fernando Márquez and Richard Levene in Madrid, and is aimed at a professional audience.

*Tectónica* «was born with the mission of being a useful instrument to simplify the enormous task of finding the most appropriate solution to each specific construction problem» (Marzo & Blasco, 2023). It was directed by the architects José María Marzo, Carlos Quintáns and Berta Blasco.

The so-called peripheral magazines—see listing in Díaz-García (2022)—(usually published by the architects associations of each autonomous region) have not been surveyed precisely because they originated—and, for the most part, unfortunately disappeared due to the effects on the profession of the 2008 crisis—to provide a forum for the works of their respective regions, which did not usually find a place in the previously mentioned magazines.

In addition to the journals, we surveyed three websites: *Plataforma Arquitectura* (<https://undiaunaarquitecta.wordpress.com/>), *Un día | una arquitecta* (<https://undiaunaarquitecta.wordpress.com/>) and *Guía Arquitectura de Madrid* by COAM (<https://guia-arquitectura-madrid.coam.org/#map.webM>). The first, created in 2006, is a website dedicated to disseminating projects, publications and events on an international scale, describing and attaching photographs and plans of the works. Its search engine allows you to filter results by year and by country of location. Thus, the search is carried out with the tag «Spain», with years from 1978 to 2008. The second, launched online in 2015, focuses on disseminating the presence of women architects

through events and articles. It disseminates the life and works of internationally renowned women architects and designers, briefly describing their biography, achievements and most outstanding works. The platform provides various search methods. The filtering is done through the chronology of birth (according to nationality), establishing a logical search range from 1912 to 1982.

The *Guía Arquitectura de Madrid*, created in 2014 and especially relevant for this study, allows a search by author, so that all the production of women architects was accessed and those that met the parameters of the research were selected. Their records contain basic information on location, dating, bibliography, authorship and description. Also, graphic and/or photographic information depending on the agency's access to the project in question.

The above surveys generate a list of works that meet the research conditions, as well as names of women architects, which are used for a specific web search. We have found web pages of their practices and some institutional and private publications in which they disseminate, for transparency but also for propaganda purposes, works undertaken or awarded by different administrations, companies and collectives. These books are particularly relevant for the knowledge of the works of female civil servant architects.

The second methodological resource used was to reverse the process, inviting the architects to send their work directly to the research team. To this end, and on the occasion of 8 March 2023 (International Women's Day), CSCAE broadcast to its regional presidents the call to join the project. In addition, COAM sent a circular to its female members explaining the objectives and the way in which they could participate with their works, as a complement to their reminders about International Women's Day.

Finally, in order to appraise each work, we have visited most of them. The data and experience are recorded in files containing their main characteristics, as well as graphic and photographic information and a brief commentary on the most relevant aspects of the work (relationship with the environment, use and function, materials and techniques, formal observations), in addition to the bibliography, credits and authorship of each file.

The quantitative analysis of the works takes into account the following aspects: name of the work; author/s; collaborations; category (extension, intervention in the public space, intervention in the landscape, new build,

renovation, rehabilitation, restoration); use (administrative, accommodation, social care, commercial, cultural, sports, educational, facilities for children/elderly people, public space, industrial, infrastructure, monument, museum, religious, residential, healthcare, single-family housing); location; coordinates; dates (of project and/or work); decade (197X, 198X, 199X and 200X); scale (S: <100 m<sup>2</sup>; M: 100-1,000 m<sup>2</sup>; L: 1,000-10,000 m<sup>2</sup>; XL: >10,000 m<sup>2</sup>; XXL: landscape/territory); surface area; recognitions (awards or nominations obtained); visitable (yes/no) and type (private building, public building, public space).

The qualitative analysis focuses on the spatial, material and contextual quality of the works. Given its exposure over some time since its inauguration, it is possible to appreciate the degree of acceptance, use, enjoyment and maintenance of the work. The visit allows the public to experience the building from a personal perspective, and to form a personal opinion unmediated by the journals and other publications. The aim is to capture and contrast the collected observations and characteristics with the appraisals (or lack thereof) of women architects' work in the media.

### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: SITUATED ANALYSES

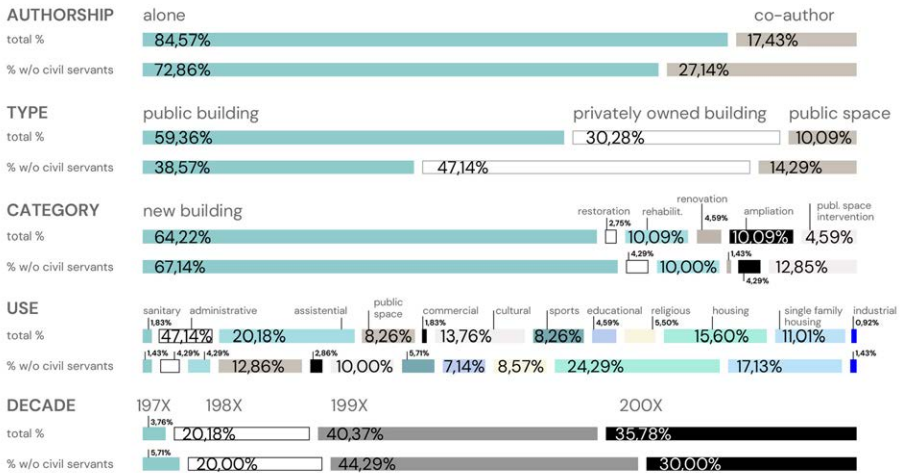
#### 3.1. Quantitative Analysis of Works by Women Architects in the Madrid Region

The methodology described above and applied to the aforementioned material yields, in the first place, a tally of 109 works of exclusively female authorship in the timescale (1978-2008) and territorial scope of the study. Although we cannot state what percentage this sample represents out of a possible unquantifiable total, we can say that, given the large volume of records that make up the sample, it is significant enough to be able to draw conclusions based on it. The names of 66 women architects—53 signing alone and 13 appearing as co-authors—some of whom are recognised references in the profession, have been collected. Thus, Matilde Ucelay, first female graduate in Spain, enters with 4 of her later works, the only examples from the first decade (197X) of the four decades that this research covers. Four female professors are also on the list: Pilar Chías from the University of Alcalá de Henares (1 work) and Carmen Espegel (5 works), Blanca Lleó (1 work) and



In order to ensure that their inclusion does not bias the results, where appropriate, we will present the results by separating their works from the rest, so that we can also assess the differential impact of professional practice in the service of the administration versus the private sector (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Comparative linear diagrams of the results with and without the civil servant architects



Source: Authors

Of the 109 works, 90 were signed by a solo woman architect (82.57%) and 19 were designed in collaboration with other women architects (17.43%). If we remove the cases of Gil and Huete, for the reasons mentioned above, the percentages change to 72.86% and 27.14% respectively, which allows us to affirm, that the majority of women work alone, which has consequences both in terms of the wear and tear suffered in the profession and in the capacity to take on commissions and, above all, in the ability to devote time to social relations, whether physical or virtual, which in turn has a negative influence on the generation of new contacts and possible recognition.

Most of the women architects (40) have only one work in the list, six have 2, three have 3, one has 4 (Ucelay) and one has 5 (Espegal). If we take Gil



and Huete into account, public buildings (65) represent 59.63% of the total, compared to 30.28% of private buildings (33) and 10.09% of public space projects (11), a distribution far removed from realities such as in Catalonia, where the activity of women has not only been concentrated mainly in landscape architecture, but has also reached levels of excellence in their field<sup>5</sup>. In our case, only the remodelling of calle Dulcinea where it meets calle Artistas (Cristina Hernández, Patricia Leal and Lucila Urda, 2003-2006) has received recognition (Madrid City Council, 2007).

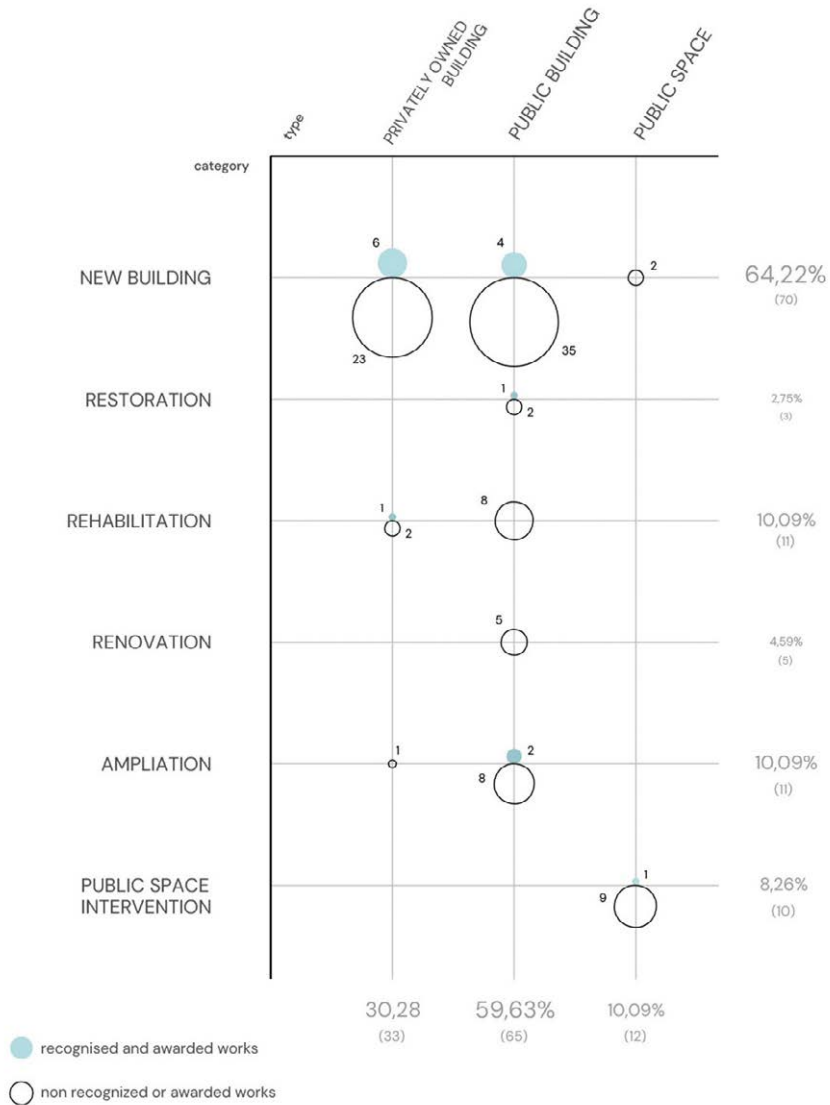
However, subtracting female civil servants from the sample, leaves private buildings (33) as the main activity of women architects with 47.14%, compared to 38.57% for public buildings (27) and 14.29% for interventions in public spaces (10). We also note that the Administration's commissions in this area, as regards the Autonomous Region of Madrid, have not been directed towards its personnel—except for one, the Media Amposta sports area in Huete, 1990-1991—(Area of Works and Infrastructures, 1991), but have been undertaken by women architects practicing independently.

Regarding the category of the interventions, the majority of the interventions are of new construction considering Gil and Huete (64.22%, 70 works) or not (67.14%, 47 works). For the reasons mentioned above, the percentage of actions in the public arena does vary, being 8.26% in the first case, occupying fourth place—second and third place are for extensions and renovations; and 12.85% in the second case, occupying second place (third place is occupied by renovations). In restoration, appear reference projects in the field such as the Church of San Martín Obispo in Valdilecha, 1980, winner of the Spanish National Architecture Prize for restoration in 1981 (Berlinches, 1980a, 1980b, 1981), and the presence of women in restoration is corroborated (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2021), a good example of which is the case of Alicia González, winner of the *Europa Nostra* 1998 prize (Church of Ntra. Señora de Los Remedios in Estremera, 1998-2005) (Figure 3).

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5. The European Landscape Prize, instituted in 1999, has been named after Rosa Barba (1948-2000) since 2001, in her memory, for her outstanding career and for being a Spanish reference in the discipline.

Figure 3. Diagram of recognitions according to category and type of work



Source: Authors

In terms of uses, if we look at the Gil and Huete buildings, the most common use is healthcare (22 buildings), which represents 20.18% of the total, followed by residential with 15.60% (17 works) and cultural with 13.76% (15 works). This situation is turned upside down when excluding their work; residential use stands out with 24.29%, followed by single-family housing with 17.13% (12 houses) and public space with 12.86%. Evidently, the presence of the municipal architects boosts the count of cultural centres, facilities for the elderly, young people, children, libraries, etc., so that the uses that could be termed social amount to more than a third of the total. Another third is accounted for by administrative and residential, collective or single-family. The remaining 30% is divided among the remainder, with sports and public space being the most important.

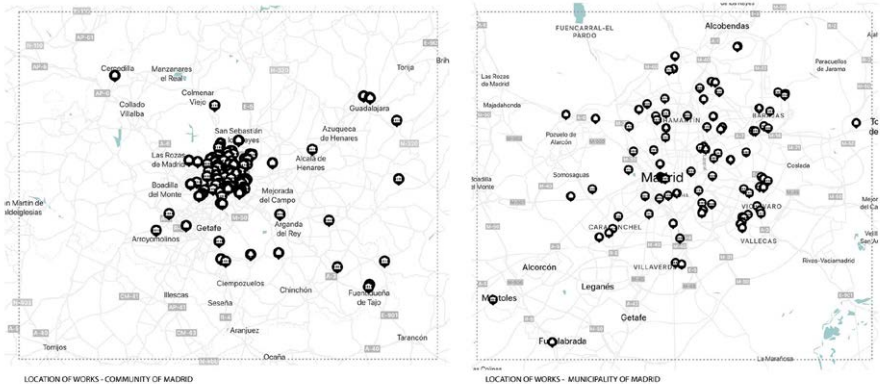
The profile we obtain by solely analysing the works of women architects in private practice confirms that their main source of work relates to housing, whether single-family or collective, followed by projects in public spaces and cultural buildings. Among the single-family houses, the Casa Pajares-Bausá (Espiegel, 2002, 2003a, 2003b) has been recognised by the COAM awards in 2003 and the Quality, Architecture and Housing awards of the Autonomous Region of Madrid in 2005, as well as the Casa Pyp (Garrido, 2011), listed by the jury of the 2008-2009 Arquia/Próxima Biennial. Women architects' collective housing has been widely celebrated in comparison to other project types. Thus, the 23 reaccommodation dwellings (Espiegel & Fisac, 2005) have received three honourable mentions and the COAM 2005 award; the 122 rental dwellings in the Urban Development Programme (PAU) of Carabanchel (Alberola & Martorell, 2002, 2005, 2006) have been awarded two prizes; and the 114 subsidised dwellings (Espiegel Arquitectos, 2023b) and the rehabilitation of 28 dwellings in San Cristóbal de los Ángeles (de Luxán & Gómez, 2006, 2012) were both awarded prizes by private construction companies.

Over the four decades covered by this study, the number of works carried out increases from 4 in 197X to 22 in 198X, doubling in 199X but falling to 39 in 200X. The same pattern is repeated, but amplified, by removing the works of Gil and Huete. That is to say, the majority of projects are concentrated in the 1990s, when the incorporation of women into the profession is already considerable, but followed by a worrying decline in the 2000s, which leads

us to believe that women architects did not benefit as much as their male colleagues from the effects of the so-called «prodigious decade» in the real estate sector (Burriel, 2008).

In our research subject area, the works are highly concentrated in the municipality of Madrid: 78.88% of the total when considering those of Gil and Huete and 67.11% otherwise. In the rest of the territory, we find at most three projects in Fuentidueña de Tajo. It is striking that they are mostly located to the south and east of Madrid municipality. Moreover, within this district, the highest number of works (10 out of 86) are located in the district of Villa de Vallecas, followed by Hortaleza (8), which, absent the works of Gil and Huete, lies in first place together with Vicálvaro and Ciudad Lineal (all three with 5 works out of 47) (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Location of the works in the Region and Municipality of Madrid



Source: Authors' work based on NAM surveys

Finally, in relation to this quantitative analysis, 86.25% of the works did not receive any recognition, a figure that changes little (85.71%) without the municipal architects, although 11 works merited at least one recognition. To those mentioned here should be added the 6 social housing and 1 commercial premises (Pilar García and Aurora Herrera, 1999-2001) (Various, 2004) as well as the prize for Amparo Berlinches (Berlinches, 1980a, 1980b, 1981). Carmen Gil has received awards for 5 of her works, 4 of them by the

Region of Madrid. The Casa de Juventud (Youth Centre) in Tres Cantos (Silvia Babsky, 1987) was selected for the *Premio Internazionale di Architettura Andrea Palladio 1989* (Various, 1989).

### 3.2. Analysis of the Presence of Women and their Works in the Architectural Media

Of the 109 works recorded, 21 (19.27%) cannot be found in any bibliographical reference, which is a fundamental contribution of this work. They have been found on the authors' websites (18), sent by the authors (2), or have been found indirectly through other websites (1). Half (50.46%) appear in at least one reference, and 16.52% in two. The work with the greatest 'critical fortune' is the 122 rental dwellings in the PAU of Carabanchel, which has been mentioned in up to 8 publications (Alberola & Martorell, 2002, 2005, 2006), as well as the extension for the Centro de Mayores (Senior Citizen Centre) of the Centro Cultural Huerta de la Salud by Isabel Huete in 1990, although, in the latter case, this is because the site where it is located has been the subject of several studies, in addition to having been rehabilitated by José María García de Paredes (1985-1987) (COAM, 2014c).

Another work published in up to 6 texts is the 28 social housing dwellings in Vallecas (COAM, 1989; Peláez, 1994), after receiving an honourable mention in the 1988 edition of *European*. Something similar happens with the dwellings in the Madrid-Sur operation, both the 74 units by Carmen Callizo (1990-1999) and those by Lilia Maure (1990) (COAM, 2014e; Madrid, 1988), or the rehabilitation of 28 dwellings in San Cristóbal de los Ángeles (COAM, 2014d; de Luxán & Gómez, 2006, 2012), all 3 with 5 honourable mentions. With 4, of an institutional nature, we have 2 works in Huete (COAM, 2014a, 2014b; Housing Area, Works and Infrastructure, 1991, 1992, 1995; Huete, 2002) and, with 3, 7 works. If we disregard the work by Gil and Huete, the percentage of works without citations drops to 12.85% (10) and the percentages corresponding to a single publication (54.29%) and two (20%) also improve.

In books (the *Guía Arquitectura de Madrid* of COAM, 2014, which has provided or also mentioned 32 entries out of 109, and has been essential to our research) 78 works are listed (71.56%) and in journals 22 (20.18%),

although two are only mentions in a news item. In both, books and magazines, 12 (11.01%). The matter of journals deserves special attention because of their impact on the professional world and the prestige that comes with being published in them. We can classify the 22 entries precisely on the basis of this merit, although it is not easy to quantify, as it is not measured as in the case of scientific and academic journals. Even so, we will use MIAR (Information Matrix for the Analysis of Journals) to establish a ranking order (Table 2) (Figure 5):

**Table 2.** List of journals/magazines in which mentions of architectural works of exclusively female authorship, sole author or in partnership, have been found in the Region of Madrid, between 1978 and 2008, indicating number, pages, works and architects

Journal/ Magazine				
Year	Number	Pp.	Work	Author(s)
<i>Arquitectura Viva</i> magazine (present in Dialnet, Avery, ICONDA and CARHUS)				
2002	86 Casas materiales: Experimentos europeos y experiencias ibéricas (Material houses: European experiments and Iberian experiences)	44-45	Carmen Espejel [sic]: manifiesto metálico (metallic manifesto): casa Pajares-Bausá, Guadarrama, Madrid	Carmen Espejel
2006	107-108 Madrid metrópolis: La construcción insomne de un territorio acelerado (Rapid and sleepless construction of an area)	154	122 Dwellings in Carabanchel, Madrid	Mónica Alberola and Consuelo Martorell
Journal <i>Arquitectura</i> of COAM (present in Dialnet, ICONDA and CARHUS)				
1980	226	22-25	Restoration of the Church of S. Martín in Valdilecha, Madrid	Amparo Berlinches
1981	232 (News)	7	Vallecas-Villa Park	Nora Alicia Bozzini
1989	278-279 (News)	7	28 social housing units in Vallecas	Mercedes Peláez

2002	329	46-47	Parish Church in Móstoles, Madrid. calle Arroyomolinos	Mónica Alberola and Consuelo Martorell
		48-51	Parish Church of Arroyomolinos, Madrid	
		52-55	Apartment block for rent in Carabanchel, Madrid	
2003	334	36-39	Detached house Pajares-Bausá	Carmen Espegel
2005	340	44-49	Apartment building for the EMV, Ensanche de Carabanchel, Madrid	Mónica Alberola and Consuelo Martorell
		50-55	Apartment building for re-housing. Embajadores 52	Carmen Espegel and Concha Fisac
2006	344	72-75	Nursery School 'La corita', Valdemoro, Madrid	Auxiliadora Gálvez and Izabela Wiczorek
		76-77	Nursery School 'El caracol', Valdemoro, Madrid	
2007	347	44-45	Apartment building, social housing units in Vicálvaro	Pilar García
2007	348	38-41	Nursery School in Arganda del Rey	Elena de las Moras and Blanca San Martín
2008	353	38-39	Remodelling of the Chamartín market	Carmen Espegel and Concha Fisac
Journal <i>Urbanismo</i> of COAM				
1984	23	84-87	Gardening and ancillary works on the slope of Av. de los Toreros	Sara de la Mata

Journal <i>Bia</i> of the Colegio de Aparejadores (Association of Quantity Surveyors) of Madrid (present in Dialnet and CARHUS)				
1988	118	52-64	74 subsidised housing units in the Madrid-Sur Operation	Carmen Callizo
			Dwellings in the Madrid-Sur Operation, Plaza Asamblea Block	Lilia Maure
2001	211	40-48	Francisco de Goya Municipal Day Centre for the Elderly	Isabel Huete
Journal <i>Arquitectos</i> of CSCAE (present in Dialnet and Avery).				
1980	38	30-37	Restoration of the Church of San Martín, in Valdilecha Madrid	Amparo Berlinches
1994	133	60	28 social housing units in Vallecas. Madrid	Mercedes Peláez
Other journals <sup>6</sup>				
2002	16 <i>Equipamientos culturales</i> ISSN: 1136-8896	95	Cultural centre in calle Arroyo Belincoso, Moratalaz	Isabel Huete
		97	Francisco Ayala Cultural Centre and Municipal Public Library	Beatriz Barrachina
2006	17 <i>ConArquitectura: architecture with fired clay</i> (Dialnet)	23-28	Subsidised apartment block: Plot TR24-a of PAU Sanchinarro, Madrid	Eva Aldeanueva
2006	Vol. 58, issue 502 <i>Informes de la Construcción</i> (JCR Q4, SJR Q2)	5-16	Two blocks of flats and commercial premises in San Cristóbal de los Ángeles, Madrid	Margarita de Luxán and Gloria Gómez

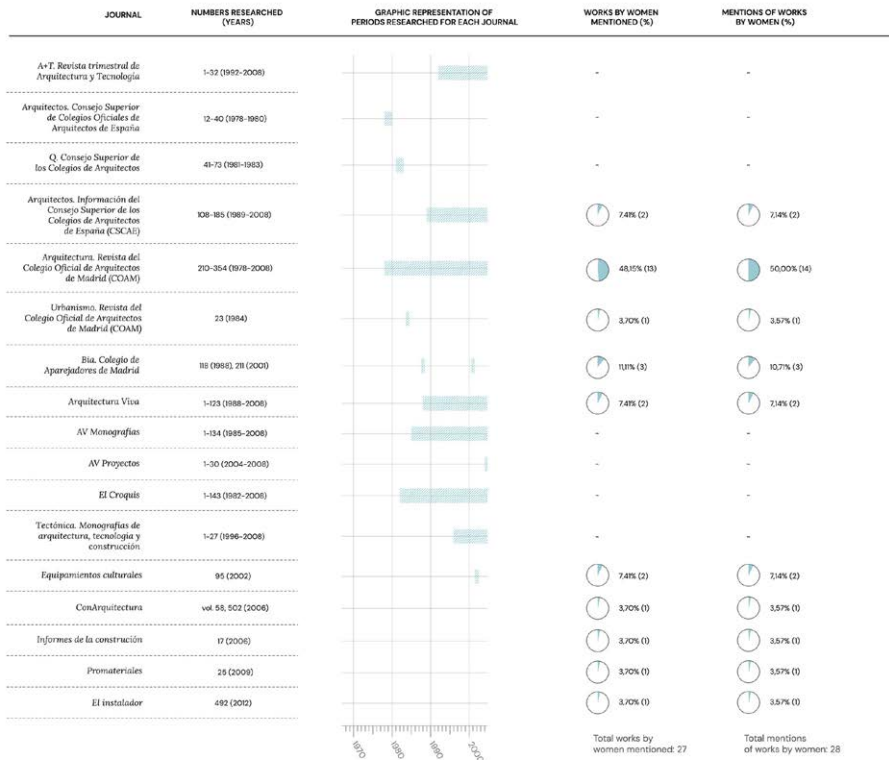
6. With the exception of *Informes de la Construcción*, a leading scientific publication, the rest are commercial (*ConArquitectura*, *Promateriales*, *El instalador*) or informative (*Equipamientos culturales*).



2009	<i>Promateriales</i> ISSN: 1888-8410	38-45	José de Villarreal Social Services and Day Centre. Contribution to society and architecture	Carmen Gil
2012	492 <i>El instalador</i> (Dialnet)	14-19	Refurbishment of a block of 28 dwellings in San Cristóbal de los Ángeles, Madrid.	Margarita de Luxán and Gloria Gómez

Source: Authors

Figure 5. Graphical representation of Table 2



Source: Authors

Even taking these latest magazines into account, the picture is bleak. In the third most populated autonomous region of Spain, the first in GDP per capita, with three public and five private schools of architecture, home of the CSCAE and of the governmental institutions with powers over architecture, between 1978 and 2008 only 22 distinct works of female authorship were published—which represent between 0.14% and 0.18% of the total—and as many names of women architects were publicised. In total, they did not merit more than 118 pages. It is obvious that the quantity and quality of women's work is disproportionate to its dissemination in the professional media. As is the fact that COAM's journal, *Arquitectura*, has given women the best and warmest welcome. If we add to this the efforts made in its *Guía Arquitectura de Madrid* (2014) then we can affirm that research not only protects and safeguards heritage (Lasso de la Vega, 2023), but also brings justice in situations that really lack it.

### 3.3. Qualitative Approach to Women Architects' Interests and Work Features

From a clearly situated research position (Haraway, 1995, pp. 313-346) and as a counterpoint to the 22 works published in journals (actually, 20), we will focus our analysis on the 9 that are not included in any bibliographical reference and do not belong to the municipal architects (11 by Gil and 1 by Huete), taking them as a representative sample of the whole. The sample includes works by the professors (2 by Espejel and 1 by Lleó), an award *Europa Nostra* 1998 (1 by González), 2 by 'cloroarquitectura' (Celia López and Laura Rojo, graduates of ETSAM in 2004), 2 for 'Acordes Arquitectónicos' (María Luisa López, graduated from ETSAM in 1972) and 1 by Raquel Tundidor (a retired architect based in Guadalajara). We see, then, that gender discrimination does not distinguish either by generation, or by academic rank, or by mode of professional practice.

However, it is striking that no single-family dwellings form part of this group, which reaffirms the 'critical fortune' of this typology. The 114 subsidised housing units in Fuenlabrada (Espejel Arquitectos, 2023b) do appear, a volume of strict geometry and materiality where the commitment is to

individual or family and social life—the pass-through housing units have proven their usefulness and, in this case, they also bring their day areas to the interior of the block. The large indentations in the volume generate collective spaces to create community and expand domesticity, promoting coexistence and locating more green areas in new strata. Moreover, there are plenty of cultured references.

The same thing happens on a different scale and with a distinct Anglo-Saxon feel, extolling the domestic and, at the same time, the collective, in the 32 subsidised housing units in Vicálvaro by María Luisa López in 1989-1994 (*Acordes Arquitectónicos*, 2023b). Here, the entrances to the houses on the ground floor are located in a central, interior neighbourhood square, and on the first floor, privacy is maintained by blind brick walls composed with great volumetric sensitivity. The complex opens onto an urban square at ground level and to the rest of the streets through generous openings in the facade. By the same author, the Sports Centre in Pinto from 1990-1994 (*Acordes Arquitectónicos*, 2023a), displays a timeless lesson in geometry and materiality. A facing brick envelope generates the box that contains and protects the court space covered with seven round-arched steel ribs with a perimeter skylight inserted in the separation of the walls. The adjoining services and the entrance porch replicate the layout of the wide radius curve in the northwest corner, which is topped by a small cubic volume (Figure 6).

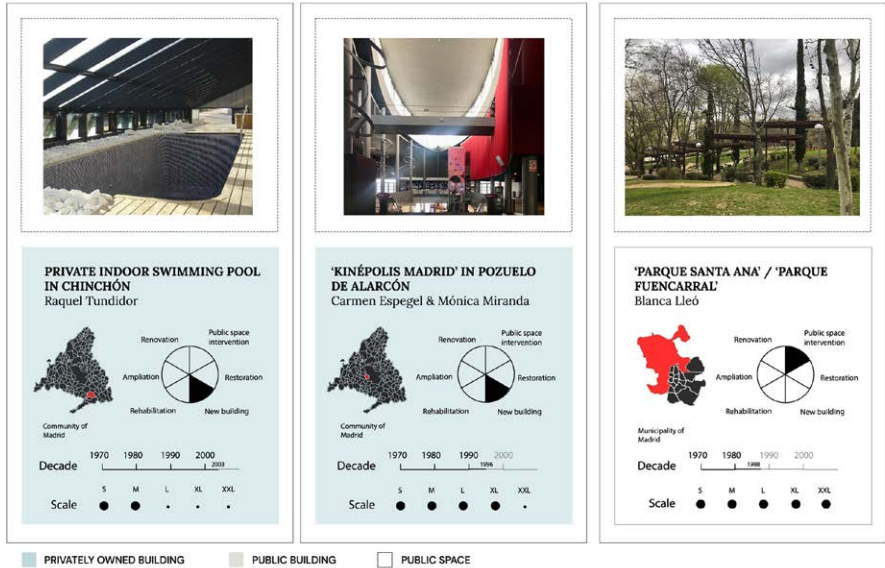
Figure 6. Analysis sample: works by Carmen Espegel & Concha Fisac; María Luisa López Sardá



Source: Authors

A similar commitment, which uses the most suitable construction techniques to achieve its purpose without compromising on aesthetics, can be found in the private indoor swimming pool in Chinchón by Raquel Tundidor in 2003-2004, a small-scale exercise (110.50 m<sup>2</sup>) of great sensitivity to respect pre-existing features and the surrounding landscape. The palette of materials, textures and colours celebrates the bathing experience, both water and sun, in all its dimensions. At the opposite extreme in terms of scale (32,000 m<sup>2</sup>), Espegel and Miranda's Kinépolis in 1996 (Espegel Arquitectos, 2023a), in Pozuelo de Alarcón, dignifies one of those «non-places» (Augé, 1993) by designing its two long façades as two curved screens that hide, literally and metaphorically, what is going on behind them. Inside, the entrance hall is conceived as an active sculptural space. Its character as a meeting and gathering place is accentuated by the integration of a skylight in the roof (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Analysis sample: works by Raquel Tundidor; Carmen Espegel & Mónica Miranda; Blanca Lleó



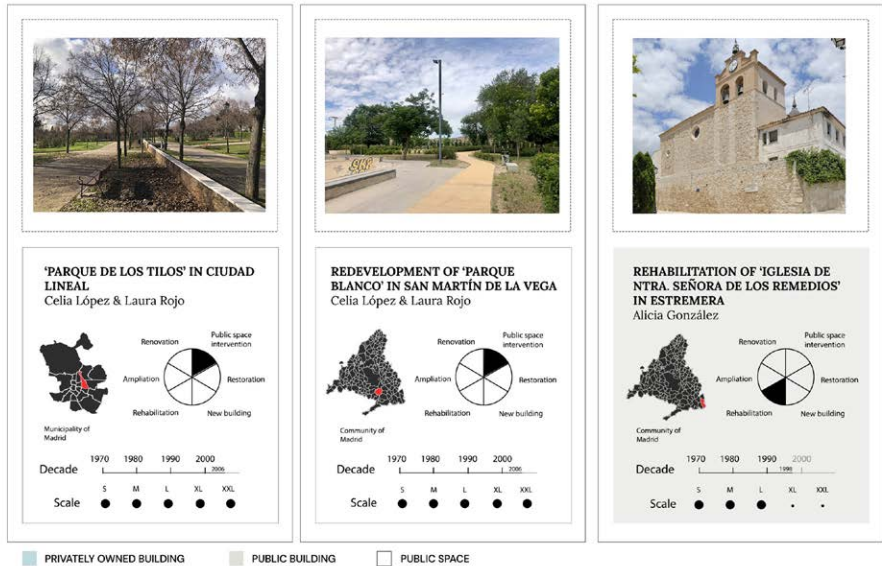
Source: Authors

One of the most unfairly treated episodes in the bibliography, and yet of interest and attractive, is that of parks and gardens, an important field of activity for women architects who practised privately. Thus, the treatment of the Fuencarral Park by Blanca Lleó in 1988-1994 (Lleó, undated) proposes, in the words of the architect, a «palliative to the very high density of surrounding buildings» while at the same time acting as a connector between «the old town» and «the new industrial estate» by means of stairs that run under a wooden pergola (Figure 7). This element was also used in the Parque de los Tilos by Celia López and Laura Rojo in 2006, which varies from its interior to its border where a screen of vegetation alleviates the dense traffic. Facing the crossing, the interior offers a walk with a variety of environments. From the same architects and in the same year comes the redevelopment of Parque Blanco, in San Martín de la Vega, really an urban regeneration project of calle Gabriela Mistral and its surroundings through the treatment of the

paving in the public areas surrounding it, with a clear showcasing, even in the surface parking, of the green areas.

The architects' dedication to rehabilitation is also represented in the Church of Ntra. Señora de Los Remedios in Estremera by Alicia González in 1998-2005, whose intervention solved the lack of exterior homogeneity, the deteriorated access with little vegetation, and the worn interior, incorporating new elements such as the symbolic paving or the kestrels' nests on the roof (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Analysis sample: works by Celia López & Laura Rojo; Alicia González

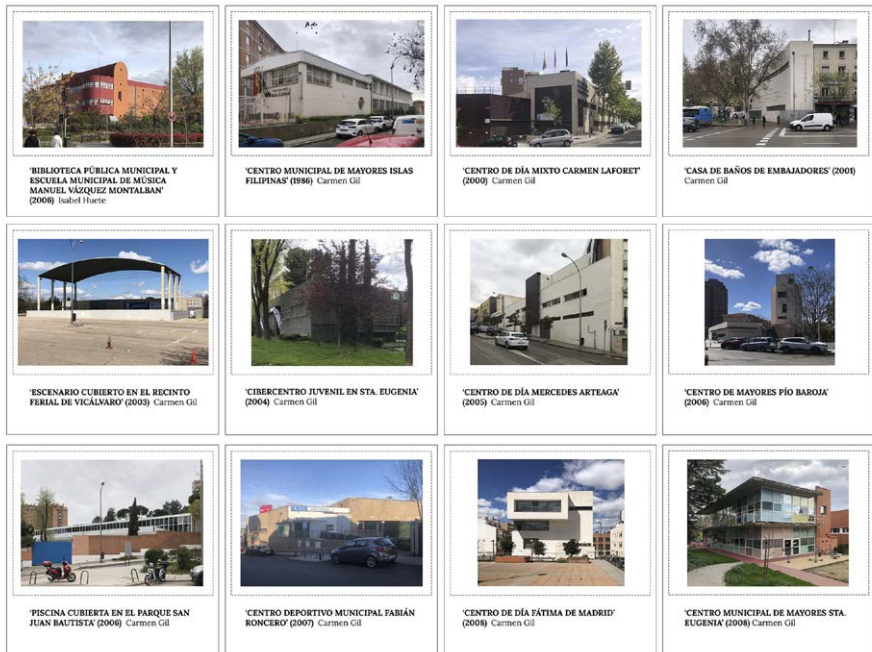


Source: Authors

As mentioned above, Huete has only one unpublished work and Gil has 11 (Figures 9 and 10). It seems clear that the public works produced at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s—where those of Huete are included—were disseminated through institutional publications that ceased to appear in the mid-1990s, just when the Popular Party seized control of the Presidency of the Autonomous Region of Madrid. They also controlled

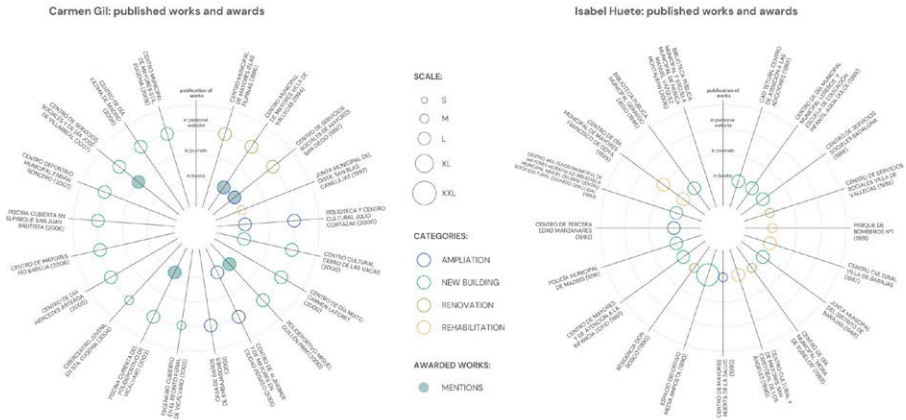
Madrid City Hall from 1991. The new administration introduced a call for prizes, with their publication, a dynamic which disadvantaged women, in contrast with competitions, such as those of the Empresa Municipal de la Vivienda y Suelo de Madrid, EMVS (Madrid Municipal Housing and Land Company).

Figure 9. Unpublished works of the municipal architects Gil and Huete



Source: Authors

Figure 10. Published works and recognitions of the municipal architects Gil and Huete



Source: Authors

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS: SCATTERED, INVISIBLE AND YET NOT ISOLATED WORKS

From the results presented and discussed in the previous section, the following conclusions can be drawn:

The majority of women appear in the category of working alone, which, as mentioned above, has negative consequences for their careers. This is probably due to the fact that the need to reconcile personal and family life with their work life leads them towards arrangements in which they do not feel committed to third parties (Echarte, 2023). We know that, outside the hypotheses of our research, women architects usually collaborate with their partners, also architects, or join their parents' practice (Hervás & Blanco-Agüeira, 2021). This apparently gentler context facilitates the comings and goings in the profession, for example, in the context of motherhood. However, as the 2008 crisis has shown, it ends up pushing them out of the world of work or relegating them to an ancillary level.



The commissions they receive are mostly for private buildings, although the number of projects awarded that relate to public buildings and interventions in the public space, usually commissioned by the administration, are greater. It reaffirms the idea that public projects, usually awarded through the competition procedure, favour the professional development of female architects (Agudo & Sánchez de Madariaga, 2011). In this respect, it is important to distinguish between competitions and prizes for completed works, where gender biases persist, as can be seen in the publications that report their results.

New construction is the most common type, followed by public space and renovation work, a frequent niche among women architects because it is generally associated with a post or position in the administration, a place they prefer because of the employment contracts it offers (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2021). Housing, whether single-family or collective, represents the main source of women's work, for which they are most recognised, although these prizes or honourable mentions do not have a proportional impact in prestigious publications (journals), which, except for monographs on housing, continue to focus on «heroic» episodes in architecture that systematically leave women out.

It is worrying that, despite the fact that more women architects are practising, the last decade of this study shows a downward trend in the number of their works, which leads us to believe that a professional crisis had begun even before the global crisis. Also significant is the geographical distribution of their work in the less economically and socially favoured areas, both in the municipality (where most work is concentrated) and in the Autonomous Region of Madrid.

But much more flagrant than this territorial periphery is the way women architects have been relegated in the most prestigious professional journals, which inevitably calls into question editorial decisions and processes based on networks of contacts and, above all, on spectacular collections of images. Neither seem in general to benefit or assist women architects who are consequently left out.

Although they have a testimonial value and, on occasions, an incontrovertible publicity value, the books published by public and private institutions have collected the works of women architects, in this case, civil

servants or winners of competitions and/or prizes. This study also demonstrates the importance of undertakings such as by the COAM and its *Guía Arquitectura de Madrid* (2014) to record, publicise, disseminate and highlight the work of women.

Situated and in situ knowledge of the works of women architects in the Autonomous Region of Madrid, between 1978 and 2008, allows us to highlight some of their specific features. The most relevant and characteristic features of each work have been graphed and grouped in Figure 11. These are works that are only revealed from an experiential approach; silent, far from the media noise, which is why the values they treasure, many and vital for the discipline, can scarcely be captured in the images that inundate and overwhelm the vanity fair of the professional world.

Indeed, photogenic is not one of their main qualities, although brilliant photos can undoubtedly be taken of them, especially if they are commissioned to gurus in the field, whose blogs feed the entries in professional journals and other media disseminating architecture. Neither is graphic documentation particularly appealing unless it has resulted as a proposal for a competition. The plans, if they have been found, have a purely instrumental function for the essential communication established between the designer, her client and, especially, the executor of the work, the construction company. Their mission accomplished, they literally disappear.

Where we have been able to study them, they show an exquisite attention to the resolution of function without functionalist dogmatisms. For example, the single-family dwellings addressed in this section, are full of details revealing an intimate and profound knowledge of family life, protected and cared for in spaces that are reserved and warm, bright (full of light, but also logical, orderly) and spacious. In the apartment blocks, the firm commitment is to the collective and cohabitation: where domesticity is outgoing and expands to meet other people to cultivate its civic and social dimension. Never was it truer than in the residential works of women architects that the house is a «minimal city» (Alberti, 1485).

The fact that the artefact is not exhibited does not mean that no attention is paid to its manufacture: technology, in the hands of our «heroines of space» (Espiegel, 2006), is a medium that is understood and used skilfully and prudently. The constructive and material solutions of this architecture,

without showing off, but without inhibition, dismantle the prejudice that women are not interested in building. On the contrary: the work is the moment of truth, and they are there to carry it out. This does not detract from the fact that it has been and still is a hostile world, especially in terms of respect, or rather the lack of it, towards women.

A relevant aspect, which relates to use, is the care given to questions of access, which goes beyond compliance with regulations, as a vital, inclusive attitude. Even if formally resolving it causes certain inconsistencies. Another aspect, related to technology, is the concern to facilitate the cleaning and maintenance of the buildings. In general, the visit to these sites does not disappoint in this sense of appealing to the common good and to their commitment to a well understood sustainability—social, economic and environmental.

Their parks and gardens, for example, literally bring into play a sensitivity for the creation of attractive and diverse environments, capable of welcoming and offering, with freedom, multiple experiences. They stand out for their mastery of gradients, those devices which, on a building scale, are called ‘in between’ spaces. They ritualise and dignify human life, proposing intermediate and nuanced situations that set the mood for intense enjoyment and understanding.

Without modern (or postmodern) formal, functional or technological maximalism, with discretion, these works, relegated to the periphery of their own territory, «hidden, reviled, belittled» (Garrido et. al., 2023, p. 9), show that another architecture is not only possible but desirable. But for this to happen, the feminisation of schools is not enough: among other measures, it is necessary to strengthen feminist and gender research on women that will bring about a real paradigm shift.



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# DOMESTIC, NOT PRIVATE: FEMININE PROPOSALS FOR CARABANCHEL PAU EXPANSION, MADRID, SPAIN

## DOMÉSTICO, NO PRIVADO: PROPUESTAS EN FEMENINO PARA EL PROGRAMA DE ACTUACIÓN URBANÍSTICA (PAU) DE CARABANCHEL, MADRID (ESPAÑA)

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### Abstract

This paper offers a gender-based analysis of collective space in the domestic realm, beyond privacy, produced in significant social housing case studies in the urban expansion of Carabanchel neighbourhood (Carabanchel PAU, Madrid, Spain). Designed at the beginning of the 21st century, this period involves the incorporation of women into young architectural teams. Thus, this study seeks to delve into the significance of this role through the detailed study of eleven cases. Focussing on the common spaces of housing buildings, these small elements seem to recall the passage from the safe to the unsafe environment, from the space of the reproductive labour to that of the intersectionality. Following this finding, we propose an incipient study of the transitional spaces between the private and the public, where contacts between neighbours and the exchange of care beyond the private sphere are celebrated, as well as the public representation of domestic life. The methodological approach has established four meaning

aspects to analyse, related to inhabitants' life and intended as architectural parameters: spaces for neighbourhood flows, both for residents and visitors; areas of activity and leisure, available for resident daily life; connections between these areas of activity and leisure and, finally, connections of the common areas with the dwellings. The aim is to investigate the extent to which the participation of women architects makes these spaces more effective for care giving—or simply, more suitable for the expansion of intimate life and socialisation with neighbours. The results provide optimistic data for the discipline and its capacity, through this type of sensitivity, to correct some of the errors in the system of production of public space.

**Keywords:** architecture; gender perspective; city; urban design; urban planning; townscape; public space; architectural analysis.

### Resumen

Se plantea un análisis con perspectiva de género sobre el espacio colectivo, de carácter doméstico, pero no estrictamente privado, producido en una selección de casos significativos de vivienda colectiva en el Programa de Actuación Urbanística (PAU) de Carabanchel (Madrid, España). Proyectados a principios del siglo XXI, un periodo clave para la incorporación de la mujer a los jóvenes equipos de arquitectura, este estudio pretende profundizar en el significado del papel de las arquitectas. Se ha incidido en los espacios comunes, estos pequeños elementos que recuerdan el tránsito del entorno seguro al inseguro, del espacio del trabajo reproductivo al de la interseccionalidad. Se propone, por tanto, un estudio incipiente de los espacios de transición entre lo privado y lo público, donde se celebran los contactos entre vecinos y el intercambio de cuidados más allá de la esfera privada, así como la representación pública de la vida doméstica. Para ello se analizan cuatro aspectos, relacionados con la vida de los habitantes y concebidos como variables arquitectónicas: espacios de flujos vecinales, tanto para residentes como para visitantes; zonas de actividad y ocio, disponibles para la vida cotidiana de los residentes; conexiones entre estas zonas de actividad y ocio y, por último, conexiones de las zonas comunes con las viviendas. Se trata de investigar hasta qué punto la participación de arquitectas hace más eficaces estos espacios para los trabajos reproductivos o, simplemente, más aptos para la expansión de la vida íntima y su socialización con el vecindario. Los resultados arrojan, por otra parte, datos esperanzadores para la disciplina y su capacidad, a través de este tipo de sensibilidad, de corregir algunos errores del sistema de producción del espacio público.

**Palabras clave:** arquitectura; perspectiva de género; ciudad; urbanismo; diseño urbano; paisaje urbano; espacio público; análisis de la arquitectura.

## 1. INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

The city is such a complex phenomenon that, often, a study of it ends up lost in a maze of prospective fields, cultural, socioeconomic and political determinants, even contradictory disciplines and analytical tools. Moreover, if the city as a consolidated form is a crystallisation of all its original multiplicity, developing urban processes adds indeterminacy, to the point that only pure speculation is able to brazenly face the complexity of the changes. With the objective of clarifying some parameters, this article proposes a disciplinary reading of the form of the collective landscape in its most intimate scale, capable of accepting urban diversity, including sprawl (Heidari, 2021), but focusing on interpreting the architectural facts that are designed from and towards daily public spaces or, properly, common spaces as understood, characterised and defined by Gutiérrez-Mozo et al. (2021).

The study is immersed in the evolution of the architecture and the city of Madrid over the last forty years—those of the latest Spanish democracy. In that time and place, but also that cultural setting, the most emblematic developments have been called Programas de Actuación Urbanística (Urban Intervention Programmes) or PAU (Dioni, 2021). To give an idea of the size of these operations, we should note that the first six proposals collected in the 1993 Avance de Plan General de Ordenación Urbana de Madrid (Pre-General Urban Plan of Madrid) currently includes more than 160,000 inhabitants (Madrid City Council, 2021), that is, almost 5% of the total population of the city of Madrid. The multiple deficiencies in this phenomenon have already been thoroughly analysed from numerous scientific standpoints (Díaz Orueta, 2012; Naredo & Montiel, 2011; Zárata, 2006). From the point of view of urban studies in particular, it is perceived as a failure of the discipline, including «municipal management, urban design and architecture» (López de Lucio, 2013, p. 243). For others, «it is not a mistake in itself, but the problem is the model» (Dioni, 2021, p. 85). However, intentional or not, the systemic collapse of the multiple agencies is evident; agencies that should have ensured physical spaces compatible with the natural environment and optimal for human life, consistent with a democratic society and sensitive to the needs of everyone, especially the most vulnerable. And within this latter collective, two very significant groups are worth remembering: children and

the elderly. Plus, one more that represents half of the population—women—who, in the demographic environment we are discussing, have been the ones mainly dedicated to caring for their children, a situation that has exacerbated since the 2008 financial crisis (European Parliament: Women's Rights and Gender Equality Committee, 2012).

In this social, economic and political environment, it is possible to rethink the last frontier between the public and the private: the space that is still inhabited as a social—even communal—place but is already perceived as domestic. Between intimacy and socialisation, in this last space that «a modicum of public responsibility for each other» (Jacobs, 1961, p. 82) that seems to have disappeared beyond the limit of the property still exists, in the deserted streets and the oversized avenues of the PAUs. Thus, this collective space on a domestic scale may mean the last disciplinary resistance, where architecture is able to help people to share their own cosy memorable place, their serene haven in comparison with the anguish of the jungle. This study, therefore, aims to establish a series of necessary—or, at least, recommended—conditions so that these common spaces with a domestic scale, vestibules before the intimate space of the homes themselves, authentic *in-between spaces* (Hertzberger, 2009), are effective when it comes to hosting the «marvel of balance between its people's determination to have essential privacy and their simultaneous wishes for differing degrees of contact, enjoyment or help from the people around» (Jacobs, 1961, p. 59).

In addition, this research proposes to cross reference the analysis by looking at the influence of the gender perspective on urbanism and architecture. In a professional environment where female architects were already the norm<sup>1</sup>, it is interesting to demonstrate whether their contributions—or those of architects that share this sensitivity—were significant. Or, if on the contrary, these spaces linked to reproduction have not benefitted from female authorship of the architecture, whether singular or plural.

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1. In the course 2000-2001, 1,456 women architects graduated from Spanish universities, a total of 49% of the new professionals, according to Pérez-Moreno (2021b). This data can be compared to the conclusions by Agudo and Sánchez de Madariaga (2011).

## 2. CONTEXT AND CASE SELECTION

The tool of the already famous PAU as a possible development of Suelo Urbanizable No Programado (SUNP; Unplanned Developable Land)—at the exceptional discretion of the municipality—dates back to the 1976 Land Act (*Ley sobre el Régimen del Suelo y Ordenación Urbana*, 1976), which began to be applied in Madrid with the 1985 Plan, explicitly contemplated for the possible urbanisation of this SUNP. However, the 1997 Plan—as already announced in its 1993 Pre-Plan—used the tool of the PAU as a mere reminiscence of the previous ones, to justify «the classification of land at the maximum capacity of the municipal area» (López de Lucio, 2013, p. 243). Thus, the normative tool that had been created as a control mechanism for the territory was subverted by the city council itself, even before the approval of the 1998 Land Act, to make it easier for all unprotected land to be quickly developed. In short, the 1997 Plan General de Ordenación Urbana de Madrid (PGOUM; General Urban Plan of Madrid) already incorporated six isolated interventions known as PAUs. Five of them were defined as Suelo Urbanizable Programado Incorporado (UZI; Incorporated Planned Developable Land): 1) Arroyo del Fresno—still to be developed, but already urbanised; 2) Montecarmelo; 3) Las Tablas; 4) San Chinarro; and 5) Carabanchel; plus one defined as Suelo Urbanizable Programado (UPZ; Planned Developable Land); 6) Ensanche de Vallecas (Figure 1). A total of 2,000 hectares—3.3% of the municipality of Madrid—for almost 70,000 housing units.

Figure 1. New urban plans (PAUs) incorporated in 1997 PGOUM



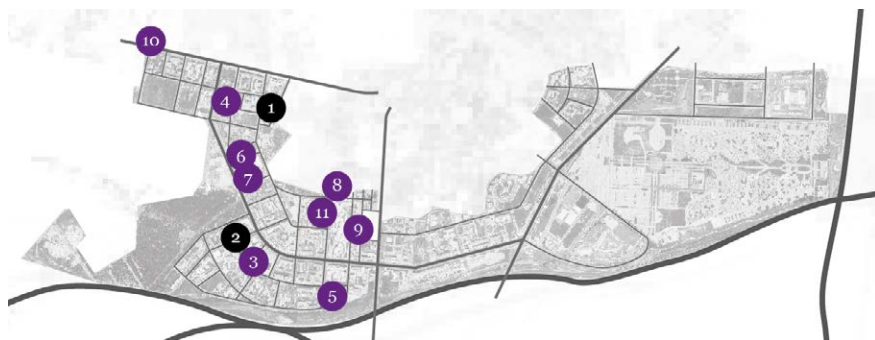
Source: Authors

Of the six planned PAUs between the 1993 Pre-Plan and the 1997 PGOUM, the PAU in Carabanchel offers the «most interesting design of this generation of developments, thanks to its continuity with the historical fabric» (López de Lucio, 2013, p. 262). That is, it is not just an island amid the sprawl. This, however, does not save it from the desertification of the collective public space just like in the other developments, nor even from the «desire for order and tranquillity» (Dioni, 2021, p. 142) that materialises in the obsession with daily security. However, larger doses of public housing—coherent with less real estate speculation—and, above all, the generalisation of a less conventional— less commercial or, simply, better—architecture promoted

by the Empresa Municipal de Vivienda y Suelo (EMVS; Municipal Housing and Land Company), have made this PAU an interesting laboratory for the possibility «to create city and generate quality public spaces with public buildings» (Pizarro & Rueda, 2009, p. 89). In short, it seems to stand out among its contemporaries as an example to verify if, indeed, an architecture of a certain interest has been able to alleviate the effects of the failure of the PAUs or, formulated in another way, if architecture can still create the sense of a city, or, at the very least, a neighbourhood.

The Carabanchel PAU occupies an area of more than 350 hectares for a total of some 11,350 housing units. In order to undertake a qualitative study, different works were selected that have enjoyed greater and better critical fortune, defined by their appearance in the specialist media and their longevity in architectural publications. In this sense, it is important to point out that the eight projects documented by Pizarro and Rueda have been analysed for their disciplinary impact. While the other three chosen projects correspond to cases that, in addition to being published in various media on the dates of their inauguration, have remained active in the COAM architecture guide (Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, 2014) and EMVS publications. Two have been selected that were realised collaboratively between international teams and local architects: one signed by the Chilean, José Cruz Ovalle with Enrique Nuere, and the other by the New York firm Morphosis, led by Thom Mayne, with Begoña Díaz-Urgorri (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Selected works and locations in Carabanchel PAU



Source: Authors



### 3. METHODOLOGY

In general, typological investigation and innovation do not seem relevant in the housing projects designed for the Carabanchel PAU as we will discuss in more detail later<sup>2</sup>. Many other aspects of architectural experimentation, which justify the critical fortune of the selected examples, have also been left out of the present work: the architectural language and the composition of elements, the volumetric compositions, the spatial sequences, the construction systems, materials and sustainability.

This study focuses, therefore, on the spaces defined as domestic, but not private, that is, those places designed in the residential projects that do not belong to the house, but to the community, and that, given their nature and scale, are likely to host a part of everyday activity, as socialised extensions of family life. It is about establishing parameters, shared in the architectural discipline for other types of priority fields, and observing how and how much they have been considered in the configuration of these spaces and if the projects were successful in generating places to meet basic functional needs or, simply, if they have been sensitive to their existence. We should not forget that, in terms of strict productivity or efficiency, these spaces only play a role in terms of circulations. That means that their design focus on maximum economic optimisation and are dimensioned with the minimum legal standards as they are considered unqualified for any other use.

Key concepts in the generation of places for other scales and constructive typologies were used, from cities to institutional architecture. The effort on this small scale is to «perceive the beneficial dimension of architecture» (Fernández Alba, 1989, p. 22) to prevent the iconographic—and mandatory—consumption of the inhabited space and, with it, the inevitable abhorrence of the place. Thus, when in a 1962 essay Aldo van Eyck appealed to the «medicine of reciprocity» in his celebrated orphanage, he proposed a house that accommodated the relation between the domestic and the public, between its hierarchies and spatial compositions. In fact, one of his notable objectives was the proposal of a transition space between the public exterior

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2. An important exception is the flexible housing designed by María José Aranguren and José González Gallegos, studied in detail as a typological experiment by Soler Montellano (2022).

and the private interior, that «in-between domain [...] helping to mitigate the anxiety that abrupt transition causes» (van Eyck, 1999, p. 89). In collective housing, this «idea of creating public and semi-public spaces that favour the relationships between residents» (Montaner, 2015, p. 169) continues, most times dependent on the quantity and quality of the space designed for this function, which is often ignored and disdained.

According to these conditions, the following parameters, corresponding to both the relationship between the residents and the expansion of the domestic space beyond the limits of the house itself, were established for the analysis:

- a. Resident flows: this is about identifying the spaces prepared to host these flows, and check if they favour the «sum of causal, public contacts at a local level [that makes] a web of public respect and trust, and a resource in time of personal or neighbourhood need» (Jacobs, 1961, p. 56). This web must guarantee a relevant balance between «a comprehensive «coming and go» traffic [and] outdoor stationary activities—specially short-term and spontaneous activities» (Gehl, 1987, p. 186).
- b. Environments of activity and meeting: together with the dynamic spaces for the resident flows, we studied if there are also «meeting and exchange spaces, versatile in their use and animated by all kinds of individual or collective appropriations» (Delgado, 2011, p. 16). While this quote clearly refers to the street, community needs for interaction are relatively comparable at this reduced scale, as they are to the fact that «social activities are indirectly supported whenever necessary and optional activities are given better conditions in public spaces» (Gehl, 1987, p. 14).
- c. Connections between environments: the study analysed the connection between the spaces for activities, for leisure and the areas dedicated to flows. That is, how they configure an inner urban landscape, an «art of the relationship [...] to take all the elements that go to create the environment [...] and to weave them together in such a way that drama is released» (Cullen, 1971, p. 10). These connections can configure a «physical structure with communal spaces at various

levels permits movements [...] from the more private to the gradually more public spaces, giving a greater feeling of security and a stronger sense of belonging to the areas outside the private residence» (Gehl, 1987, p. 61). On the other hand, this sense of community should be in accordance with the decision of the inhabitants to conserve their intimacy (Rapoport, 1977), in a way that allows options for a certain balance between domesticity and socialisation.

- d. Connections with the housing: this section looked at whether these semi-public domestic-scale spaces have «a constant succession of eyes» (Jacobs, 1961, p. 50) that guarantee «nearly all children and a considerable proportion of other age groups to maintain closer more frequent contact with friends and acquaintances» (Gehl, 1987, p. 21). In turn, this identification of common spaces as belonging to the community allows «a better and more useful framework for everyday activities» (Gehl, 1987, p. 53). This aspect is of particular interest in social housing, given the usual restrictions of the sizes of the properties, so that «the activities in the house can flow freely outside» (Gehl, 1987, p. 189).

#### 4. WOMEN ARCHITECTS AND ARCHITECTURE TYPES

The professional evolution of women as architects in Spain has been thoroughly studied from different perspectives, including some sections of the Zaida Muxí's retrospective work *Women, Houses and Cities* (2018) and the multiple efforts of numerous researchers focusing on «looking at the history of architecture from a gender approach and [...] giving voice to outstanding women architects within the architectural culture of our country» (Pérez-Moreno, 2021b, p. 19). This was also the focus for the different articles published in the 17th issue of *Feminismo/s* journal, whose introduction insisted on the need to advance «in the construction of an effective and real equality» (Gutiérrez-Mozo, 2011, p. 9). Yolanda Agudo and Inés Sánchez de Madariaga's seminal contribution to the study of the particularities of women architects' careers in Spain, its authors remembered that with the transition to democracy, the number of women grew from «a scarce 15% in 1980 to exceed 50% of the students enrolled in the first year for the first

time in 2007» (Agudo & Sánchez de Madariaga, 2011, p. 160). Specifically, at the School of Architecture of Madrid (ETSAM) exceeded this with significantly linear growth, from 15% in 1978 to 57% in 2011. That is, towards the mid-90s there was already a significant number of young women architects who either decisively participated in architecture competitions (including in some of the case studies chosen), or, in other cases, they were part of the teams—either as qualified designers or as students—of other professional offices and consultancies as well as engineering, building and real estate companies. This confirms that the construction of the PAUs counted on the intervention of a good number of women architects, some more and others less known.

By looking at the confirmed authorship of the projects, the comparison between the number of women architects involved in the early 1980s in the projects in Southeast Palomeras (Cordero, 2020) and those in the selected projects for the Carabanchel PAU, shows that, in effect, the incorporation of women was already a consolidated fact, at least in the most innovative practices. Among the eleven selected cases, only two are signed by all-male teams. One of them was commissioned from the international figure, José Cruz Ovalle, associated with the local architect Enrique Nuere, while the other was a young solo architect, Jacobo García-Germán. For the other nine teams with female participation, a man headed the design team in six cases: Sergio de Miguel, accompanied by Cristina López, Blanca San Martín, Jesús Ulargui and Eugenio Vivas; Foreign Office Architects (FOA), international team led by Alejandro Zaera Polo and Farshid Moussavi; Morphhosis, the firm based in New York led by Thom Mayne, associated for the Carabanchel project with the architect Begoña Díaz-Urgorri; the office of Andrés Cánovas, Nicolás Maruri and Atxu Amann; Dosmasuno Architects, founded by Ignacio Borrego, Néstor Montenegro and Lina Toro; and the partnership formed by Juan Carlos Sancho and Sol Madrideo. In the other two projects signed by mixed teams, women headed the list: María José Aranguren with her partner José González Gallegos and Beatriz Matos with Alberto Martínez Castillo. Finally, one of the teams was led by two women architects, Mónica Alberola and Consuelo Martorell.

In general, in almost all the proposals, disciplinary experimentation dominates over formal and/or constructive issues, which are usually the

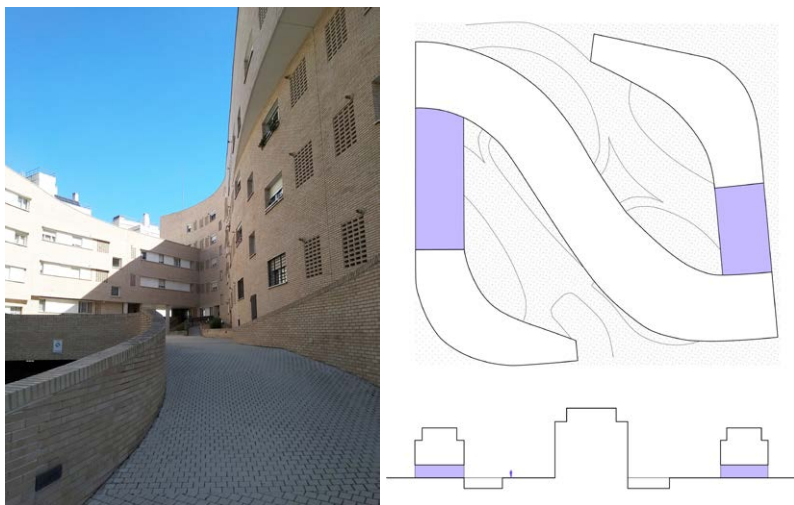
core that gives conceptual and/or technical support to a project. In terms of architectural types, only María José Aranguren and José González Gallegos's project focused on the ways of life of the residents, who «dedicate their free time at home to communal activities» (Soler, 2022, p. 10) with the rest of the family members. The other selected cases do not show any significant differences in terms of typological investigation, and they even seem to represent a crystallisation of the social housing laboratories undertaken in Madrid in the previous decades through the operations, Remodelación de Barrios (Neighbourhood Remodelling) and Nuevos Ensanches (New Extensions).

## 5. ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDIES AND RESULTS

What follows next are the analysed case studies and the results obtained from the four parameters of this study:

1. **Complex of 101 social housing units**, designed by José Cruz Ovalle in collaboration with Enrique Nuere: the resident flows were considered when designing the circulations on the ground floor, which link the streets and the adjacent park to the entrances in sinuous curves that contrast with those of the facades. However, these flows are not articulated with activity or meeting spaces, not on the ground floor or, even less, in the circulations of the entrances and exits to the housing units. The same can be verified in the design of the common spaces and the connections between the areas of communication—both horizontal and vertical—and the private spaces of the housing. The building, in this way, brings two interesting triangular courtyards to the semi-public space with notable undulating facades in pale brick but does not manage to achieve complex articulation between these two spaces or with the housing on the ground floor (Figure 3).

**Figure 3.** 101-unit social housing complex (José Cruz Ovalle, Enrique Nuere). Connections and ground floor schemes (floor plan and section) of common spaces



Source: Authors

**2. Complex of 78 social housing units**, designed by Jacobo García-Germán. The resident flows on the ground floor are conceived as free space within the plot combining the covered places with the open-air ones that are bigger and partially landscaped with a children's playground. These spaces under the blocks, which open to the two adjacent streets, lead to the vertical communication cores and so allow the spontaneous appearance of areas for conversation—in shade in summer and under the sun in winter—or for the playground protected from the rain. In return, no links are established, beyond the horizontal continuity of the ground floor, between the common daily spaces, in just the same way that these connections with the private space of the houses are not created either. However, it should be noted that the galleries that open to kitchens and other rooms behind the practical shutters that give continuity to the entire inner facade, produce interesting relations with the outdoor spaces of the community, from a sculptural point of view, as well as for climate control and domestic life. In this sense, although this project did not focus on the semi-private spaces, visual control

and communication were considered between the collective ground floor, which works as a resident courtyard, and the intimacy of the housing units (Figure 4).

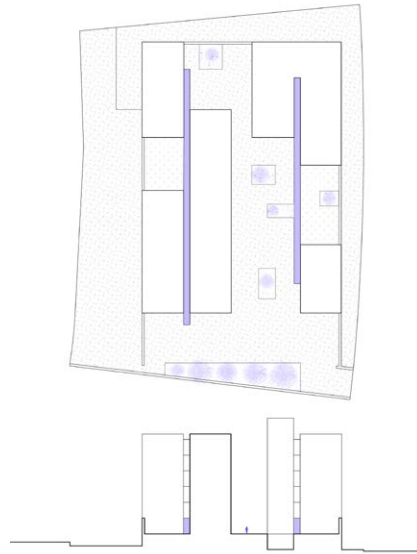
Figure 4. 78-unit social housing project (Jacobo García-Germán). General courtyard and ground floor schemes (floor plan and section) of common spaces



Source: Authors

**3. Complex of 60 social housing units**, designed by Sergio de Miguel in collaboration with Cristina López, Blanca San Martín, Jesús Ulargui and Eugenio Vivas. The resident flows materialise in the sets of galleries that are inserted between the housing units or are revealed, supported by their structural framework, to create a communal courtyard. Thus, this narrow area of connection on the ground floor is isolated from the urban environment by the perimeter walls and the metal frames, emphasising the volumetry of the complex and the vertical composition of the openings on the facade. This design priority is incompatible with the domestic character of the collective space, even more when avoiding—for the sake of the homogeneity of the rhythms—the direct connections between the ground floor housing and the resident courtyard (Figure 5).

**Figure 5.** 60-unit social housing complex (Sergio de Miguel, Cristina López, Blanca San Martín, Jesús Ulargui, Eugenio Vivas). Ground floor schemes of common spaces

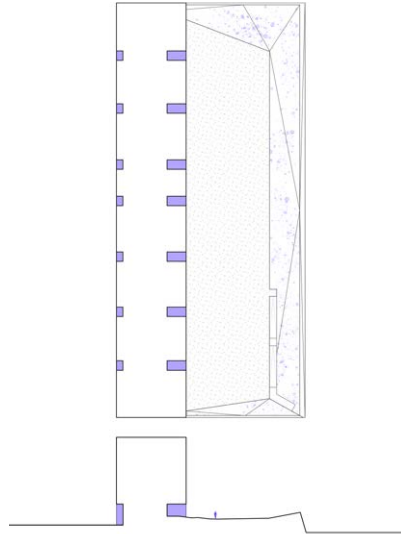


Source: Authors

**4. Complex of 88 social housing units**, designed by Foreign Office Architects, the firm founded by Alejandro Zaera Polo and Farshid Moussavi. The spaces for resident flows are sized for mere circulation with a strict economic criterion that contradicts the number of doors and vertical communication cores. There are, therefore, no areas for activities or meeting up. The structure of the common spaces has been reduced to the effectiveness of circulation and, finally, the connections with the dwellings are not contemplated beyond the threshold of the entrance door. The design effort instead focuses on the creation of balconies—closed with continuous bamboo shuttering—private spaces, that are related to the external public space with a suggestive environmental richness. Nevertheless, the building does not address collective domestic spaces (Figure 6).



Figure 6. 88-social housing complex (Foreign Office Architects). Ground floor schemes of common spaces

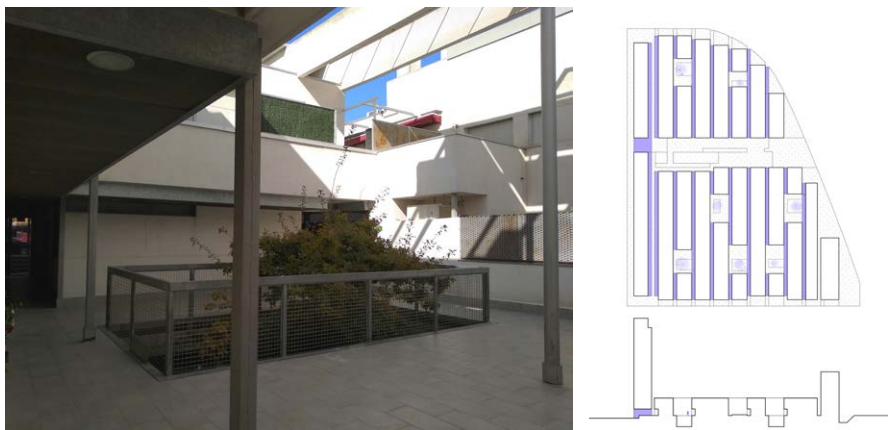


Source: Authors

5. **Complex of 141 social housing units**, signed by Morphosis (led by Thom Mayne) in collaboration with Begoña Díaz-Urgorri. The project presents a typological mixture between a higher rise block to the north and the horizontal extension of single-family housing, composing a kind of interconnected village. The resident flows are supported by a significant network of routes somehow convoluted and insufficient, but because of the sheer numbers they manage to promote encounters between residents. Moreover, groups of housing units gather around environments at an intermediate scale, which communicate two interior streets and allow a wide diversity of activities and common spaces for neighbours. Unfortunately, these are interrupted by the vegetation that grows up from the underground parking floor, protected by a parapet from possible falls and, therefore, preventing the continuity of games or other interactions. In addition, the structure that could have connected these semi-private spaces with the general courtyard in various hierarchies, is limited to the circulations of entries and exits to

the housing units and prevents spatial or functional interconnection between these areas, which are therefore removed from their ability to transform into places for domestic expansion. Finally, and reinforcing this idea, despite its adequate dimensions and proportions, these connecting spaces do not open to private life either, beyond the minimum threshold of each home. Not even the possible opening up of the private courtyards towards these small communal courtyards, even by means of a medium-height fence, ended up being formalised. The courtyards are completely isolated so any interconnection between the domestic and collective sphere is definitively cancelled. Thus, the ideas that could have rendered this work a model of transitions between the public and the private, an authentic architectural model around the creation of places, are lost in purely formal aspects of very little interest (Figure 7).

**Figure 7.** 141-unit social housing complex (Morphosis and Begoña Díaz-Urgorri). Inner courtyard and ground floor schemes (plan and section) of common spaces



Source: Authors

**6. Complex of 82 social housing units**, projected by Andrés Cánovas, Nicolás Maruri and Atxu Amann (*temperaturas extremas* team). The spaces designed for resident flows start in the accesses from the heads of the blocks, where they are alternatively oriented to the interior free space and the vertical

communication cores, the latter on a much tighter scale. The spaces for casual encounters are reinforced by two areas on the ground floor large enough to house covered activities, complemented with those offered by the carefully looked after inner courtyard, which, in addition to the character of a domestic-scale park, includes a play area for children. It is more complicated to establish spatial relations, let alone functional ones, within these complexes which, on the other hand, do not provide programmatic solutions on the upper levels, despite the openings created by the container aesthetic with alternating colours to identify each individual home. Rather, the collective spaces are reduced to the communication cores, while each housing unit looks onto the inner courtyard and the street through these interstices transformed into balconies, guaranteeing an interesting gradation between the interior and exterior spaces, always in the private sphere. Thus, the domestic expansion of the common spaces of the block is not possible here either, not even on the ground floor, where a row of shrubs separates the housing from the landscaped community area, without allowing more access than through the communication cores (Figure 8).

Figure 8. 82-unit social housing project (*temperaturas extremas*). General courtyard and ground floor schemes (floor plan and section) of common spaces



Source: Authors

7. **Complex of 102 social housing units** for rent, designed by the team *dosmasunoarquitectos*, founded by Ignacio Borrego, Lina Toro and Néstor Montenegro. In this case the flows have been strictly dimensioned as circulation spaces, beyond the need to cross a covered access to the block to reach the vertical communication cores. However, the need to cross the open space again to reach much of the housing, enables the establishment of a communal courtyard, which includes a playground<sup>3</sup>, as well as a large area for chance encounters, activities or leisure, in optimal climatic conditions. Unfortunately, the continuity of this tapestry is often broken by the vegetation that rises from the underground floor, which make parapets necessary and affects some spontaneous activities. In other areas, the collective ground floor spaces have not been arranged as an interconnected network. Moreover, not even the ground floor housing opens on to this communal open space beyond its entrance doors, which reduces the domestic life to the strictly private environment (Figure 9).

Figure 9. 102-unit social housing project (*dosmasunoarquitectos*). General courtyard and ground floor schemes (floor plan and section) of common spaces



Source: Authors

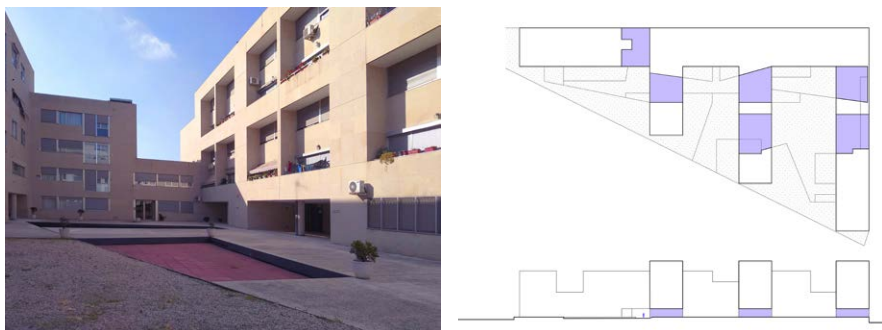
8. **Complex of 66 social housing units**, designed by Juan Carlos Sancho and Sol Madrudejos. The resident flows on the ground floor are organised

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3. Some authors as Parra-Martínez, Stutzin and López-Carreño (2021) have studied the neglected design and lack of architecture qualities of this type of spaces, which is striking in this case study.

by a succession of reduced-size courtyards, which guarantee the possibility of chance encounters with neighbours, with their broad dimensions and ample height, appropriate to the climatic conditions. In fact, it is these same spaces that establish communal areas for recreational activities, although too conditioned by sculptural surfaces and level changes. These collective places are connected transversely through covered areas, which in turn lead to access portals, so they generate interesting relations on the ground floor. Unfortunately, these places disappear on the upper floors, where only strict circulation spaces are designed. Thus, domestic life does not expand beyond the limits of the private enclosure, except for the ground level floors, where the housing units try to interact, with little success, with the community courtyards (Figure 10).

**Figure 10.** 66-unit social housing complex (Juan Carlos Sancho and Sol Madrಿದೆjos). General courtyard and ground floor schemes (plan and section) of common spaces



Source: Authors

**9. Complex of 64 social housing units**, designed by María José Aranguren and José González Gallegos. In this housing project, after passing the two entrance areas to the block, the resident flows are strictly foreseen as communication spaces, linked closely to the vertical communication elements and an entrance space to the housing. However, the presence of two generous covered spaces, diagonally inserted into the crisp composition of the volumes of the project allow some contact between neighbours and offer a space for casual conversation, rather than activities each with a character

differentiated by its position in respect to the central courtyard. These areas, however, are only connected in a sculptural way within the composition of volumes and voids, but they do not manage to weave a hierarchical structure between the common spaces. In the same way, there is no connection between the scarce communal circulation space and the private areas, beyond the threshold of the entrance door. Additionally, these latter two conditions are decidedly reinforced on the ground floor of the complex, where the articulation of the volumes with the courtyard—which is exquisitely landscaped—prevents any spatial, visual or live contact beyond the careful circulation towards the communication cores. In fact, according to the post-occupancy evaluation, only five owners of a total of 18 surveyed use the courtyard (Soler, 2022, p. 3). As well as the impressive volumetric composition, this project offers façades that are articulated with subtlety from the urban perspective, where grey precast glass reinforced concrete, in an admirable state of conservation, is combined in perfect harmony with continuous black metal framework (Figure 11).

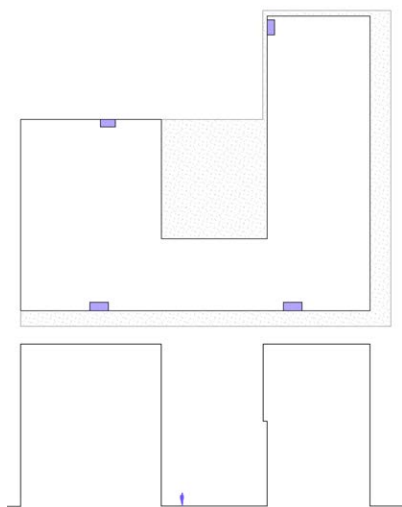
Figure 11. 64-unit social housing project (María José Aranguren and José González Gallegos). General courtyard and ground floor schemes (plan and section) of common spaces



Source: Authors

10. **Complex of 68 social housing units**, designed by Beatriz Matos and Alberto Martínez Castillo. The flows are reduced to the minimum space necessary for the entry and exit of residents, enabled by the careful design of the access portals. Beyond this circulation structure, no spaces for meeting up or activity have been provided, not even on the ground floor. There are no connections between the different areas or housing units, which are accessed, whether on one floor or in duplex, from a walkway. The latter, however, represents an interesting exercise in light and climatic control through its lattice work, which establishes quality spatial connections with the surrounding urban space, prior to the PAU (Figure 12).

**Figure 12.** 68-unit social housing complex (Beatriz Matos and Alberto Martínez Castillo). Ground floor schemes of common spaces



Source: Authors

11. **Complex of 122 social housing units** for rent designed by Mónica Alberola and Consuelo Martorell. The resident flows in this project, especially in the accesses to the lower blocks, are of a fundamental importance that seems to persist from the project idea to the way the project is lived. Beyond the critics it received for being oversized—which is necessary to guarantee sufficient space for resident meetings—this system of flows is perceived as both a clear and a complex organisation, identified by the other transition spaces that are organised by it. Thus, beyond the vertical flows, the galleries on the upper levels occur in transverse order to the main flows, outdoors, and maintaining the link to both the indeterminate spaces of circulation and the rest of the lateral spaces, which serve as places for leisure, calm chatting or other informal activities for adults and children, protected by the shade of the balconies and by the proportion of the widths and heights of each sub-patio. The succession of small courtyards, therefore, also becomes the connection system of the places, identified by the signals of the inhabitants, who have subtly colonised the communal spaces. This ampliation of private spaces, evident on the ground floor, also occurs in the upper levels, thanks to the width of the walkways, which allow domestic life to expand to the communal areas of the wide thresholds, where the domestic merges organically with collective life. Furthermore, when qualifying places by different domestic or community intensity, some of the spatial nuances are reduced to simple but subtle gestures through the materials, like small paving cobblestones; light and shadows, where the shadows also provide shelter on rainy days; and the textures themselves, which are most dramatic in the collective spaces and gentler as we enter the domestic environments. The project, in short, has become a model of how architecture is capable of creating common places in unfavourable conditions, where «the useable space of small-scale housing is extended and the intermediate spaces are promoted to enrich the variety of free urban space and encourage social relationships» (Montaner, 2015, p. 179) (Figure 13).



**Figure 13.** 122-unit social housing project (Mónica Alberola and Consuelo Martorell).  
Courtyard and ground floor schemes (floor plan and section) of common spaces



Source: Authors

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions have been established with a certain playful approach. The following properties were identified after the detailed analysis of the case studies and according to the four proposed parameters of study (Table 1):

**Table 1.** Case studies comparison, according to the parameters of study

		Neighbourhood flows	Areas of activity and leisure	Connections between areas	Connections with houses
1	Cruz Ovalle/Nuere (101)	●	-	-	-
2	García Germán (78)	●	●	●	-
3	De Miguel/López/San Martín/Ulargui/Vivas (60)	●	●	-	-
4	FOA Zaera/Moussavi (88)	-	-	-	-
5	Morphosis/Díaz-Urgorri (141)	●	●	●	-
6	Cánovas/Maruri/Amann (82)	●	●	-	-
7	Dosmasuno Borrego/Montenegro/Toro (102)	●	●	-	-
8	Sancho/Madrirdejos (66)	●	●	●	-
9	Aranguren/Gallegos (64)	●	●	-	-
10	Matos/Castillo (68)	-	-	-	-
11	Alberola/Martorell (122)	●	●	●	●

Source: Authors

- Commutative property: *The order of the factors does not alter the product.* Regarding the participation of women architects, the order of signature in the design teams does not seem to provide any differentiating factor with respect to the criteria studied related to a gender perspective focus on care and reproductive labour. Thus, the Matos-Castillo team (where the surname of its female architect, Beatriz Matos appears in the first place), does not appear to address these aspects with greater intention than its contemporaries Sancho-Madrirdejos, where, on the other hand, the male architect appears as the first author.

- Associative property: *The result does not depend on how the terms are grouped.* Again, associations between female and male architects, or only male architects, do not seem to yield different results regarding the aspects of this study. The only project signed by one person, that of Jacobo García-Germán, does not seem more insensitive to a gender perspective than his ETSAM companions Cánovas-Maruri-Amann, despite the latter group including a woman architect who is especially active in research on care<sup>4</sup>.
- Distributive Property: *Two or more multiplied summands equal the sum of their products.* In this case, distribution has a more literal meaning, since it has been shown that its sum produces an important multiplicative effect. Thus, when the circulation network is not reduced to a minimum legal size and is dimensioned to be able to assume the informal uses of meeting, leisure and community activity, the results are usually optimal for the development of domestic life beyond the limits of the communal property. When, in addition, all these spaces are organised in a joint system—one more to add to the complexity of the discipline—the result can become that last resistance that architecture provides to people to have a fuller existence.

In summary, a network of domestic and non-private spaces in residential complexes, implies the possibility of social relationships and the expansion of intimacy into community space. However, this quality was observed especially in the only case study signed by two women architects, so it is up for continued research to identify to what extent it is a characteristic of the professional work of women or a specifically feminine sensitivity. Beyond this intuition, which must be confirmed or refuted in further research, it is evident that architecture that concentrates on reduced, liminal spaces, at the borders between the domestic and the public, aligns itself with a gender-based perspective that is absent in projects that focus on the symbolic and representative functions of the mechanisms of power (Montaner

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4. Atxu Amann was the organiser, along with Mara Sánchez-Llorens, Sálvora Feliz Ricoy and Flavio Martella, of «Cuidados» (2021), First International Feminist Conference about Architecture and Care.

& Muxí, 2011). It is a sort of feminine architecture, which designs places for care giving (Figure 14) or, rather, for the life of the people who inhabit it.

Figure 14. 122-unit social housing project (Mónica Alberola and Consuelo Martorell).  
Common spaces



Source: Authors

## 7. FUNDING

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# UNNOTICED WOMEN ARCHITECTS IN THE SPANISH (SOUTH)EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN REGION

## ARQUITECTAS DESAPERCIBIDAS EN LA REGIÓN MEDITERRÁNEA DEL (SUR)ESTE ESPAÑOL

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### Abstract

This paper reveals the first results of the study carried out within the framework of the research project «A Situated View: Women's Architecture in Spain from Peripheral Approaches, 1978-2008», in the context of the regions of Valencia and Murcia in Eastern and Southeastern Spain. It deals with the architectural production effectuated exclusively by women architects—alone or together with other women—in the period spanning from 1978 to 2008, i. e., between the democratic transition and the global financial and economic crisis beginning late in 2007. The research brings together bibliographical survey and fieldwork based on direct contact and conversations with women architects, many of whom were absent from the specialised media. Works of different type, use and scale are explored to reveal their increasing production in the last decade of the study, a record of diversity of uses in which residential buildings and works with an average surface area between 1,000 m<sup>2</sup> and 10,000 m<sup>2</sup> prevail, as well as new buildings as opposed to renovations or refurbishments. This research vindicates the names of women architects, such as Pilar Amorós, Lola Alonso, Lourdes



García Sogo, Anna Bofill, and Rufina Campuzano, among other women architects from several generations, and architecture from the Spanish geographic periphery, with the aim of exposing and highlighting a plurality in the ways of making and understanding architecture that completes the historiography. This paper thus consists of a historiographical review open to new contributions and to fill the gaps detected to date.

**Keywords:** unnoticed women architects; historiographic voids; excluded architectures; architecture historiography; Eastern Spain; Southeastern Spain; Mediterranean Coast; Valencia Autonomous Region; Murcia Region.

### Resumen

El artículo refleja los primeros resultados de la investigación llevada a cabo dentro del marco del proyecto de investigación «Miradas Situadas: Arquitectura de Mujer en España desde Perspectivas Periféricas, 1978-2008», en el contexto de las comunidades autónomas de Valencia y Murcia en el este y sureste español. Aborda la producción arquitectónica registrada realizada por arquitectas —en solitario o en compañía de otras mujeres— en el periodo temporal comprendido entre 1978 y 2008, es decir, entre la transición democrática y la gran crisis económica y financiera desencadenada a finales de 2007. La investigación conjuga un estudio bibliográfico y un trabajo de campo basado en el contacto directo y las conversaciones con las arquitectas estudiadas, muchas de las cuales estaban ausentes en los medios de comunicación especializados. Sus obras, de distinta tipología, uso y escala, demuestran el aumento de producción en la última década del estudio. Todas ellas componen un registro de diversidad de usos donde predominan los edificios residenciales y donde prevalecen edificios con una superficie media entre los 1.000 m<sup>2</sup> y los 10.000 m<sup>2</sup>, así como arquitectura de nueva planta frente a reformas y rehabilitaciones. La investigación recupera nombres propios de arquitectas, como Pilar Amorós, Lola Alonso, Lourdes García Sogo, Anna Bofill o Rufina Campuzano, entre otras autoras, y obras de la periferia geográfica española, con el fin de visibilizar y mostrar una pluralidad en los modos de hacer y entender la arquitectura que complete la historiografía. El artículo aporta, pues, una revisión historiográfica abierta a nuevas contribuciones que colmen las lagunas detectadas hasta la fecha.

**Palabras clave:** mujeres arquitectas desapercibidas; ausencias historiográficas; arquitecturas excluidas; historiografía de la arquitectura; este español; sureste español; costa mediterránea; Comunidad Valenciana; Región de Murcia.

## 1. ON THE SHORES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN COAST

A trip along the east coast of Spain is an invitation to journey along a coastline bathed by the Mediterranean Sea. If we enter the regions that have been given the names of ‘Costa Blanca’ and ‘Costa Cálida’, located in the administrative regions of the Valencian Autonomous Region and Murcia Region, respectively, we will find that they both share the same seductive quality that lies in the enjoyment of its beaches and gastronomy, activities linked to tourism, which has been the great economic driving force of the littoral development. A collective imaginary to whose construction architecture has contributed in not always positive ways: on the one hand, it has accompanied the destruction of the coastline through unbridled urban development and the proliferation of unsustainable golf courses (Greenpeace, 2019); on the other hand, one of its most celebrated and controversial figures, Santiago Calatrava (Moix, 2016), with works in both autonomous communities. However, this paper aims to contribute to unveiling other architectures and meanings of designing and buildings made by women, practising alone or in the company of other women architects, in this geographical context. The reassessment of their works is one of the results of the research carried out within the framework of the research project «A Situated View: Women’s Architecture in Spain from Peripheral Approaches, 1978-2008» whose aim is finding, registering and examining the architectural production by women architects in the period from the democratic transition to the 2008 global crisis in order to understand the values they put forth.

The Valencian Autonomous Region and the Region of Murcia can be understood as a single context due to their geographical proximity and the organisational unity of their professional architects associations. Until 1981 they formed the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos (Architects Association) of Valencia and Murcia, with its capital in Valencia and provincial branches<sup>1</sup>. However, they are currently two autonomous communities with unique characteristics and their own identity, distinguished by their size, provincial

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1. By Royal Decree 2743/1981 of 30 October, the Architects Association of Murcia (COAMU) was created by separating it from the Architects Association of the Valencian Autonomous Region (COACV) including the provinces of Alicante, Valencia and Castellón.

organisation, population density and language, among other features. Both share a peripheral location with respect to Madrid, the political and media publishing centre and the main focus of architectural activity. The centre-periphery dichotomy has served to classify the various types of architecture (Ruiz Cabrero, 2001) in which projects outside the main hubs of architectural activity and culture (Madrid and Catalonia) have been ignored. This article therefore intends to vindicate the notion of «fertile periphery» articulated by Paola Zellner, who reminds us that «there is an unmeasurable wealth of knowledge in the periphery needing to be brought forth and confirmed as such, both in substance and kind» (Zellner, 2022, p. 131), as well as the need to challenge or broaden the canons.

In these regions, during the period under study (1978-2008), architectural activity has been intense, reflected in specialised publications, exhibitions and prizes awarded by professional associations and public administrations. In the Valencian Autonomous Region, architectural practice has been especially active and widespread, both in regional and provincial publications and exhibitions and in national publications. At the national level, at the end of the 1990s, a couple of architectural guides were published *Guía de arquitectura de España, 1929-1996* (Flores López & Güell Guix, 1996) and *Guía de arquitectura, España 1920-2000* (Rispa Márquez, 1997) which, as a collection, registered a series of essential works, including some in these regions herein referred to. At the beginning of the 2000s a great effort was made to focus on all the architecture of the Mediterranean coast in a book, already a reference, *La Arquitectura del Sol (Sunland Architecture)*, published by all the professional associations of the Mediterranean arc (Granell March et al., 2002). However, in these and in the main publications on the historiography of Spanish architecture in the 20th century, such as those written by Miguel Ángel Baldellou and Antón Capitel (Baldellou & Capitel, 1995), Gabriel Ruiz Cabrero (Ruiz Cabrero, 2001) and Ángel Urrutia (Urrutia, 2003), among others, show an absence of reflections on female figures (Pérez-Moreno, 2021).

At the regional level, especially in the last years of the 20th century, there was a particular desire where architectural and political interests met to search for their own identity and a need for external projection (Gutiérrez-Mozo et al., 2022a). Exhibitions such as *Arquitectura valenciana. La década*

*de los ochenta (Valencian Architecture. the Decade of the Eighties)* (1991), *Arquitectura del Mediterráneo (Mediterranean Architecture)* (1991), *Jóvenes Arquitectos (Young Architects)* (1997a) or *20x20. Siglo XX. Veinte obras de arquitectura moderna (20x20. 20th Century. Twenty Works of Modern Architecture)* (1997b) bear it witness, highlighting the architectural production of the autonomous region and its provinces. In addition, the local architects associations published details of their prizes awarded in the 1990s (Jordá Such, 1998) and in 2019 a new volume was published that includes all the award-winning projects (COACV, 2019). In addition to these publications, the *Registro de Arquitectura del s. XX. Comunidad Valenciana (Register of 20<sup>th</sup> Century Architecture. Valencian Autonomous Region)* (Colomer, 2002) and *Arquitectura moderna y contemporánea de la Comunitat Valenciana, 1925-2005 (Modern and Contemporary Architecture of the Valencian Autonomous Region, 1925-2005)* (Jordá Such et al., 2012) evidence the interest in disseminating architecture. Moreover, at the provincial level, various guides and other specific publications are published, such as the architecture exhibitions of the delineated territories, which expand the discourse and the regional selection: Castellón (CTAC, 2020; Llop Vidal, 1996); Valencia (Dauksis & Taberner, 2000; Jordá Such et al., 2012; Murad, 2020; Peñín & Taberner, 2022; VV. AA., 2007) and Alicante (Bevià i García & Varela Botella, 1994; Calduch Cervera & Varela Botella, 1979; CTAA, 2006; Jaén i Urban, 1999; VV. AA., 1993; VV. AA., 2017).

To this research should be added the effort to share information about the first women architects of the region in the blog *Arquitectas en Comunidad Valenciana (Women Architects in the Valencian Autonomous Region)* (Álvarez & Gómez, 2018a), extracted from the exhibition *A Contratiempo. Medio siglo de artistas valencianas (Against Time. A half Century of Valencian Artists)* (1929-1980) that took place at the Valencian Institute of Modern Art (IVAM) (Álvarez & Gómez, 2018b). As well as the recent exhibition *arquitectEs de València*, an initiative of the local division of the Architects Association of Valencia (CTAV) promoted by its president Marina Sender, to give visibility to the women architects of the province (VV. AA., 2021).

Finally, it is worth highlighting the significant role played by the journal *ViA Arquitectura*<sup>2</sup> promoted by the regional Architects Association (COACV). A bilingual (Spanish-English) four-monthly publication that was launched in 1997 and which disseminated, *inter alia*, the works and projects of the autonomous region, including some exclusively authored by women such as Lola Alonso, Lourdes García Sogo, Lidón Lara, Blanca Lleó, Carme Pinós, Carmen Rivera, Cheluca Sala, and Carla Sentieri.

In the Region of Murcia, in the 1980s, the Architects Association of Murcia (COAMU) and the administration published a couple of publications that featured its architecture (Hervás Avilés, 1982; Hervás Avilés & Segovia Montoya, 1989) and where the inclusion of women architects is reduced to the Park in Cieza by Rufina Campuzano (Hervás Avilés, 1982, pp. 162-163). Since 1981, the Architecture Awards of the Region of Murcia have been held every two years and are now in their 22<sup>nd</sup> edition, organised by the Regional Government in collaboration with the COAMU and the local bank foundation Caja Murcia. Honors are bestowed according to various categories and are usually associated with exhibitions and the publication of a catalogue listing the prizes and distinctions awarded<sup>3</sup>. These publications have become, since the beginning of the last century, one of the main means of publicising architecture in the region, together with the Associations' journals that have gone through various stages and names *Arquimur* (1985-1991), *Catálogo de Arquitectura* (1997-2007) and *Cuadernos*, at the present time. Also worth mentioning are the *Memorias de Patrimonio: Intervenciones en el Patrimonio Histórico de la Región de Murcia* (*Heritage Reports: Interventions in the Historic Heritage of the Region of Murcia*) of the Historical Heritage Service, which compiles the interventions and research grants, from 1984 to 2005. Here we find some women architects who are included in the research, such as Rufina Campuzano (VV. AA., 1992) or María José Peñalver (VV. AA., 1999; VV. AA., 2002) and others that help to understand the work of

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2. At present, its website is still active; there all its issues are digitalised and the printed edition of some of them can be purchased (Papeles de Arquitectura, 2009).

3. The first edited volume dates from 1988 (VV. AA., 1988) and the XVII, XVIII and XIX editions were grouped in a single book (VV. AA., 2018).

architects such as María Teresa Gómez Romero or María Pura Moreno (VV. AA., 1999) in those years.

However, a review of these materials reveals the absence of women architects, which correspondence, conversations and meetings with some of the actors have helped to remedy. An ‘edited oral record’ that allows us to reconsider and reveal untold or unheard stories and repair omissions in the theory and history of architecture (Cantero Vinuesa & Toro Ocampo, 2022). The combination of a bibliographical survey and fieldwork makes it possible to complete the historiographical account in this temporal and geographical context with other women architects and architectures that are presented below, and which have been included in the mobile application *NAM, Navegando Arquitecturas de Mujer*<sup>4</sup> (*Navigating Women’s Architectures*) as a digital archive that invites the public to discover and visit the works (Gutiérrez-Mozo et al., 2022b).

## 2. THE VALENCIAN AUTONOMOUS REGION, A VIBRANT GEOGRAPHY

This region is made up of three provinces that follow one another in a vertical sequence from north to south (Castellón, Valencia and Alicante), with the capital in Valencia. The architectural activity carried out by women in the area has been intense, with a growing number of works from north to south, Alicante being the territory where the greatest number of works have been registered. In total, some 80 works were undertaken by women architects, working solo or in partnership with other women between 1978 and 2008. All of them are displayed in tables, showing their location, date and decade of construction, use, category (new construction, refurbishment, renovation, intervention in public space), scale (S: <100 m<sup>2</sup>; M: 100-1,000 m<sup>2</sup>; L: 1,000-10,000 m<sup>2</sup>; XL: 10,000-20,000 m<sup>2</sup>; XXL: >20,000 m<sup>2</sup>) and the number of times it appears in architectural publications—catalogues, specialised media and books.

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4. Available at: <https://navegandoarquitecturasdemujer.ua.es/navegando-arquitecturas-de-mujer>

## 2.1. Castellón

In the province of Castellón, a total of 10 works by nine women architects have been documented, as shown in Table 1. On the one hand, there are those who have mainly worked in this region, such as Débora Domingo Calabuig, María José (Pepa) Balaguer Dezcallar and Antonia Clèrig Arnau. Domingo Calabuig is a Ph. D. architect and Associate Professor at the Technical University of Valencia (UPV). She has combined teaching, intense research activity and management positions at the university with architectural projects such as the Centre for Rural Development CDR 'Alt Maestrat' in Albocàsser (2002-04) or the 40 subsidised rental units for the elderly and day centre in L'Alcora (2008) (Figure 1), a project won by public competition promoted by the Valencian Housing Institute (IVVSA, 2009), among other projects.

Balaguer Dezcallar, a partner of the Balaguer Vicén office, is a Ph. D. architect specialised in restoration, as well as a lecturer at the UPV. The urban restoration project for the Plaza de les Caseres and the area around the walls of Peñíscola (1996-98), which won a mention in the COACV Architecture Awards, 1997-1998 and was published in *ViA Arquitectura* (Balaguer Dezcallar, 1999) is included in this study.

Clèrig Arnau (UPV, 1990) has developed her professional career as a municipal architect in towns of the Castellón province, and has also worked as a freelance architect. The research includes the La Balaguera Nursery and Primary School in La Pobla Tornesa (1993-94), published in the book *Arquitectura escolar pública: obres i projectes 1985-1995 (Public School Architecture: Works and Projects 1985-1995)* by architects Pilar de Insausti Machinandiarena and Armando Llopis (Llopis & Insausti Machinandiarena, 1995).

In this first group, Concepción Valero and Lidón Lara should be mentioned. Valero (ETSAB, 1969) began working in Barcelona with other colleagues and in 1981 she returned to Castellón, her native town, to work in the Directorate of Urban Planning and Land Use. There she developed several projects such as a blueprint for 75 dwellings in Moraria and other dwellings in Torre Bellver (Álvarez & Gómez, 2018b, p. 220). Lara has worked on various projects, including the now defunct changing rooms of a sports

complex in Benicàssim (1997), which were published in the magazine *ViA* (Lara, 1997).

On the other hand, there are architects from other parts of Spain who have built in this area, such as Blanca Lleó, Rita Lorite, Carmen Espegel, Concha Fisac and Carme Pinós. Lleó, who teaches Design Studio at the School of Architecture of Madrid (ETSAM) and with an architecture office in Madrid, won first prize in the national competition for ideas for lighthouses and maritime signals (1988) with her proposal for the Nules lighthouse (1989-1991), which *ViA* magazine published (Lleó,1999) (Figure1). This lighthouse, together with that of Irta, also in this province, and built under the 1985-89 Maritime Signals Plan by Rita Lorita, an architect from the Spanish General Directorate of Architecture, are the only ones in Spain designed by women (Figure1).

ETSAM professor Carmen Espegel together with Concha Fisac (Espegel-Fisac Arquitectos) won first prize in the restricted competition for the Casa Cuartel (Barracks) of the Guardia Civil in Oropesa del Mar (2008-11), which was selected for the 2012 FAD Awards for Architecture and Interior Design (Figure 1). In addition, Espegel has built the Kinopolis leisure complex (1999) together with Mónica Miranda in the province of Valencia (Table 2).

Carme Pinós supervised the work on the Colegio y Escuela Hogar in Morella (Morella Boarding College and School) (1986-1994) on her own after the dissolution of the office she shared with Enric Miralles. This work was awarded the Spanish Architecture Prize by the Higher Council of Architects Associations in Spain (Consejo Superior de Colegios de Arquitectos de España, CSCAE) in 1995 and was covered by the specialist architecture media.

The Murcian architect Rufina Campuzano should also be added to this selection, a figure who will be discussed below, and who in 1983-84 worked in Castellón as a municipal architect carrying out works such as the kiosk in the city's Plaça Real.



**Table 1.** Women architects and works located in Castellón registered in NAM (PUB=publications)

ARCHITECT	PROJECT	LOCATION	DATE	DECADE	USE	TYPE	SCALE	PUB.
Pepa Balaguer Dezcallar	Urban restoration of the Plaza de les Caseres and the area around the city walls	Peñíscola	1996-1998	199X	Urban intervention	Rehabilitation	L	4
Rufina Campuzano Banegas	Kiosk and square	Castellón	1984	198X	Commercial Intervention in public space	New building	S	-
Antonia Clèrig Arnau	Infant and Primary School La Balaguera	La Pobla Tornesa	1993-94	199X	Education	New building	M	1
Débora Domingo Calabuig	Alt Maestrat' CDR	Albocàsser	2002-2004	200X	Social	New building	M	-
Débora Domingo Calabuig	40 Sheltered housing for rent for the elderly and Day Centre	L' Alcora	2008	200X	Residential	New building	L	1
Carmen Espejel Concha Fisac	Guardia Civil Barracks	Oropesa del Mar	2008-11	200X	Residential-Social	New building	L	1
Blanca Lleó	Nules Lighthouse	Nules Beach	1989-1991	198X-9X	Social	New building	M	2
Rita Lorite Becerra	Irta Lighthouse	Alcossebre	1985-89	198X	Social	New building	M	1
Carme Pinós	CEIP and Home School	Morella	1986-1994	198X-9X	Education and Residential	New building	L	6

Source: Authors

**Figure 1.** From left to right: 40 social housing units for rent for the elderly and Day Centre in L'Alcora by Débora Domingo Calabuig; Guardia Civil Barracks in Oropesa del Mar by Carmen Espejel & Concha Fisac; Nules Lighthouse by Blanca Lleó; and Irta Lighthouse by Rita Lorite



Source: Courtesy of Débora Domingo (IVVSA, 2009); David Frutos; Blanca Lleó's web site; Faros Port de Castelló website

## 2.2. Valencia

In the province of Valencia there are 15 works by seven women architects that *NAM* has researched (Table 2). In first place, with a large number of works, stands out Lourdes García Sogo (UPV, 1989) who in 1992 opened her architecture office Sogo Arquitectos, from which she has developed projects of all scales, from single-family houses such as the Casa Murta (2003) (Figure 2), the Casa Maestro Ribera (2004) or the Casa Libertad (2006) to infrastructures such as the Camp Túria II wastewater treatment plant (1993) (Figure 2), the Villena solid urban waste treatment plant (Alicante, 1999) (Table 3 and Figure 3) and interventions on the bridges of Ontinyent (1994) and Villanueva de Castellón (1994). A list that includes residential buildings such as the Mas del Rosari housing (2004) (Figure 2), the Infant and Primary School in Picassent (2008, currently under construction), refurbishment of premises such as Electopura nightclub (2008-09) or interventions in nature such as the Viewing Platform in Pedreguer (Alicante, 1995) (Table 3) and the Traffic Island in Náquera (1994) (Figure 2).

Also graduating in the 1980s from the Valladolid School was Pilar de Bustos García-Salmones (ETSAVA, 1986), a Cantabrian architect who set practice in Castellón between 1992 and 2009, where she coordinated the pioneering *NOW project* of the European Social Fund at the Jaume I University on equality and specialised in participation workshops on the binomial space and gender. In addition, she was responsible for the first master's degree on gender in a Spanish university, the Jaume I University, with some 800

women beneficiaries of training and employment initiatives. She combined this work with her professional practice, carrying out projects such as the Access Plaza to the Picanya cemetery (1999) (Figure 2), a public space for meditation included in NAM.

In the 1990s, Cheluca Sala Palau (UPV, 1992) began to work as an architect and built residential projects, as well as industrial buildings in Alcoy and Ibi; she also devoted herself to urban design and regeneration projects thorough suburban planning and urban development plans. Her works include the Casa Sala Franch (1997-1998) in Sagunto (Sala Palau, 1999). In addition, the research also records the refurbishment of a dwelling in the centre of the Valencian capital by Carla Sentieri Omarrementería (UPV, 1996), with her own practice since 2003, after years of work in partnership with Marta Orts and Carlos Trullenque, which she combined with university teaching.

This selection is completed by Silvia Alonso de los Ríos and Inés García de Clariana who graduated at the beginning of this century. Alonso de los Ríos is a Ph. D. architect from the Technical University of Madrid (UPM, 2016) and a graduate architect from the University of Alicante (UA, 2002). She runs her architecture office since 2007 and has mainly developed single-family housing projects in the Valencian Autonomous Region. She has combined this work with collaborations with architectural firms in Switzerland and with teaching and research. In Valencia she carried out a small intervention of a dry sauna as a kind of graft on a house and in the province of Alicante she has built two houses, one in Villafranqueza (2008-10) and the other in Jávea (2008-13) (Figure 3), both selected in the *Exhibition of Recent Architecture in Alicante* (Table 3).

Finally, there is García de Clariana (Dame d'Architecture office) who, with her intervention in the Grao cemetery in Valencia (2008-09)—selected for the Venice Biennale 2016—completes this selection (Figure 2). She is a Ph. D. architect from the European University of Madrid, an architect and building engineer from the UPV and also a specialist in art and photography.

**Figure 2.** Top from left to right: Cemetery Plaza by Pilar de Bustos; Intervention in the Grao Cemetery by Inés García de Clariana; Casa Murata by Lourdes García Sogo. Bottom from left to right: Wastewater treatment plant Camp Túria II; Traffic Island; and Mas del Rosari housing complex, all three projects by Lourdes García Sogo



Source: Courtesy of Pilar de Bustos; Mariela Apollonio; and Lourdes García Sogo

**Table 2.** Women architects and works located in Valencia registered in NAM (PUB=publications)

ARCHITECT	PROJECT	LOCATION	DATE	DECADE	USE	TYPE	SCALE	PUB.
Silvia Alonso de los Ríos	Sauna graft	Valencia	2008	200X	Sauna	Product design	S	1
Pilar de Bustos García-Salmones	Cemetery plaza	Picanya	1999	199X	Intervention in public space	Public space	L	-
Carmen Espejel Monica Miranda	Kinepolis	Valencia	1999	199X	Commercial	New building	XL	-
Inés García de Clariana	Intervention in the Grao cemetery	Valencia	2008-09	200X	Social	Renovation	M	1

Lourdes García Sogo	Wastewater treatment plant Camp Túria II	Riba-roja de Túria	1993	199X	Infra-structure	New building	XXL	-
Lourdes García Sogo	Traffic Island	Náquera	1994	199X	Intervention in public space	Public space	L	-
Lourdes García Sogo	Santa Maria Bridge	Ontinyent	1994	199X	Infra-structure	Reform	L	-
Lourdes García Sogo	Villanueva de Castelló Bridge	Villanueva de Castelló	1994	199X	Infra-structure	Renovation	L	-
Lourdes García Sogo	Casa Murta in Benimaclet,	Valencia	2003	200X	Residential	New building	M	-
Lourdes García Sogo	Casa Maestro Ribera	Silla	2004	200X	Residential	New building	M	-
Lourdes García Sogo	Mas del Rosari	Valencia	2004	200X	Residential	New building	XL	-
Lourdes García Sogo	Casa Libertad	Silla	2006	200X	Residential	New building	M	-
Lourdes García Sogo	Electropura	Valencia	2008-09	200X	Commercial	Renovation	M	-
Lourdes García Sogo	Infant and primary school	Picassent	2008-act.	200X	Education	New building	L	-
Cheluca Sala Palau	Casa Sala Franch	Sagunto	1997-98	199X	Residential	New building	M	1

Source: Authors

### 2.3. Alicante

In the south of the region is Alicante, a province where NAM has registered 54 works by a total of twenty-two women architects, shown in Table 3. They can be organised into 5 groups according to their decade of graduation.

We begin our overview with Pilar Amorós Pérez (Elche, 1940-2020, ETSAM, 1968), the first woman architect in the province, who set practice in her hometown by opening her own architecture firm in 1972. In 1973, she began to work in the local administration and promoted, among other

projects, the General Plan for Elche (1982), the Palmeral Protection Plan, the creation of the Miguel Hernández University, the Municipal Library and Archives (1979-82) (Figure 3) and the Casa de la Festa (1984-88), the latter two included in NAM, together with a Secondary School (1992-94) in El Campello.

Nine women architects graduated in the 1970s have built a large part of the works registered in this area. They are Anna Bofill Levi, Carme Pinós, Pilar Vázquez Carrasco, Elena Albajar Molera, Lola Alonso Vera, Consuelo Argüelles Álvarez, María José Fuster Guillo, Carmen Pérez Molpeceres, and Carmen Rivera Gallego.

Two projects have been located by the Catalan architect and composer Anna Bofill (ETSAB, 1972) who, after her participation in the Taller de Arquitectura in 1981, opened her own office in Barcelona, from which she built the Casa Tulloch (1983) in Calpe and the intervention on the facades of the buildings facing LAigüera Park (1987) in Benidorm (Figure 3). Another Catalan architect, Carme Pinós (ETSAB, 1979) has developed three projects linked to landscape and public space, such as the Seafront (1996-99) and the Torreblanca Aromatic Park (2000-10) (Figure 3), both in Torrevieja, and the Pedestrian Footbridge in Petrer (1991-98), which have been widely published. Also, the Madrid architect Pilar Vázquez Carrasco (ETSAM, 1977) settled in Alicante from 1975 to 1998, designed the Office for the local Ministry of Education, Research, Culture and Sports (1982), the Faculty of Sciences I and II (1982) and the Social Club I (1987) of the University of Alicante (UA), as well as a school in Pego (1991-95).

Likewise, works of women architects based in Alicante and running their own offices are of utmost interest. This is the case of Lola Alonso (UPV, 1976), who has created numerous projects, many of them being award-winning and widely disseminated buildings—like the eight works included in the monograph devoted to her, *Documentos de Arquitectura*, published by the Architects Association of Almería (Alonso, 2004). She has built collective housing projects such as the social housing in the Santo Domingo neighbourhood (1990-93)—with a mention in the COACV Awards 1992-1993—, housing in the historic quarter of Alicante (1997-2000)—included in the local Architects Association of Alicante (CTAA) *Architecture Exhibition 2000-2003* and for the exhibition *Habitar el presente (Living in the Present)* (Sala

La Arquería de Nuevos Ministerios, Madrid 2006-07)—or the apartment building in Villajoyosa (2004-06) (Figure 3). Yet she is also renown for her educational buildings, among which the Virgen del Remedio Nursery School (1994-2003)—selected in the *Alicante Architecture Exhibition 2000-2003*—, the Polytechnic School IV of the University of Alicante (1997-99)—first prize in the international competition for preliminary projects organised by the university—and the Enric Valor Institute in El Campello (1997-2002) stand out. To these should be added other works for commercial use such as the Such Serra printing house (1989) (Figure 3), which was awarded the COACV 1989 prize, or the refurbishment of the Caja de Arquitectos Headquarters (2005-06), which was distinguished by the COACV 2005-2006 awards. She was also a member of the CTAA's culture committee during the period of Carmen Rivera Gallego's presidency.

Rivera Gallego (ETSAM, 1979) has practised privately as an architect and has held many positions at the local Architects Association—she was a member of the CTAA's culture committee (1999-2002) and then its president from 2002 to 2008. Moreover, she set up the now defunct Valencian Autonomous Region Competitions Office, of which she was president. Among her many works, we have mainly chosen residential projects such as the dwellings in Cabo de las Huertas (1989), apartment buildings in the historic city centre (1994-98) and the Calapalmera single-family house (2003-07) (Figure 3). In addition, the restoration of the Tabarca Lighthouse (1984), the Mutxamel Health Centre (1988-90) and a refurbishment of offices in the city centre (2004) are noted. All of them were disseminated in specific architectural publications (CTAA, 2017; Gutiérrez-Mozo et al., 2022a; Jaen i Urban, 1999; Llopis & Insausti, 1991; Rivera Gallego, 2006, 2009; VV. AA., 1991).

Similarly, Consuelo Argüelles Álvarez (ETSAM, 1978) has worked solo and in collaboration with other colleagues in Alicante, Málaga and for some years now in Madrid. Among her most important works are the Benijófar Town Hall (2002)—Juan Vidal Prize 2004, awarded by the Diputación (Provincial Council) of Alicante—three residences for the elderly in the comarca of Vega Baja del Segura (2003-2005), a school in Torrevieja (2006) and the Campoamor Health Centre and the Plaza América intergenerational apartment building, the latter designed together with Carmen Pérez Molpeceres (Figure 3). Pérez Molpeceres (ETSAM, 1973) began working for

the Alicante City Council's Municipal Housing Board in 1996, combining her public work with her firm until 2008, when she dedicated herself exclusively to the Board. Her work includes leading the Rehabilitation and Architecture Plan for the Historic Centre of Alicante and one of the two teams created by the Ministry of Public Works in Alicante to investigate and set guidelines for the drafting of the Technical Building Code. She has also built rented housing for the Housing Board in the historic centre (1991) and the public school also located in the city centre (2008-13), the latter in partnership with Miriam Jarreño, among other projects.

The selection of this generation of women architects and their works is completed by Elena Albajar Molera and María José Fuster. Albajar Molera has worked for the Administration and also run her own architecture office where she has developed projects such as the Pedreguer Cultural Centre (2005-10), a family house in the Benalúa neighbourhood (2004-09) and the monument to the victims of the bombing of 1938 in the city's central market (2008-13). Fuster, who has practised in the city of Elche, has worked on restoration and rehabilitation projects, such as the one she carried out in the Jorge Juan Palace (1994-97), which was included in the guide to architecture in the province (Jaen i Urban, 1999).

Among the women architects who graduated in the 1980s, two other registered works by García Sogo are the abovementioned in Pedreguer and Villena, and a third work, a social housing complex in Alcoy (2005-07) by the Belgian architect Inge Crokaert (EstudioA3).

In 1990s, the architects Carla Sentieri (1996) and Marta Pérez Rodríguez (1998) graduated from the UPV. Both run offices in Valencia. Sentieri, mentioned above, built two family houses in Tibi, «Entre pinos» (2006-07) and an extension to an existing house in the same area (2006-07). Both works were selected in the *Exhibition of Recent Architecture of Alicante, 2006-07* and the extension received a mention in the COACV Awards 2005-2006 (Sentieri, 2007). For her part, Pérez Rodríguez works in her MaZz office and has been teaching at the UPV since the early 2000s. In Alicante, she won the IVVSA pre-project competition with her proposal for 172 social housing units (IVVSA, 2009), which were selected in the *Exhibition of Recent Architecture of Alicante, 2006-07* (CTAA, 2017).



They are joined by Adriana Figueiras Robisco (ETSAC, 1993), Elena Velasco Román (UPV, 1998) and María Jesús Mora Miquel (UPV), with offices in Alicante. Figueiras Robisco has worked in Caracas, Madrid, Vigo and Alicante and teaches at the UA. In 2000 she founded the Figueiras y Mejías Arquitectos firm and has been running her own architecture office since 2008. Her solo works include the Lycée Français Sports Centre in Alicante (2008-10)—selected in the *Exhibition of Recent Architecture of Alicante 2008-11*—as an extension to the school she built during her association with Mejías.

Velasco Román has been self-employed and has worked in international organisations and humanitarian sectors in Europe, Asia and Africa. The advertising agency in San Vicente del Raspeig (2003-04)—selected in the *Alicante Architecture Exhibition 2004-05*—a single-family house in Benimantell (2005-07) and the refurbishment of her own office in Alicante (2005-08) have been registered in NAM.

Mora Miquel is an architect, landscape architect and photographer who has worked solo and in the company of other architects such as Lola Pérez Payá in the Inland office, dedicated mainly to residential projects and renovations with a special focus on the landscape. At the beginning of her career, Mora Miquel created the Xixona Music School (2000), which was a finalist in the Juan Vidal Awards, given by the Diputación de Alicante and included in NAM.

The selection is completed with the first woman architects graduated from the University of Alicante: Sonia Miralles Mud (2004), Silvia Alonso de los Ríos, abovementioned, and Regina Martínez Quiralte (2006). Miralles Mud has been part of the Noname29 firm and also her current office, Miracle, but she has also worked alone. As an example, the Casa La Marseta (2007-09), which won a mention in the COACV 2008-09 awards, is presented. Martínez Quiralte also founded her own firm MQR Arquitectura, from which she carried out projects such as the refurbishment of the old Payá toy factory (2008-11) in Ibi. Also included is the renovation of a house (2007) by Nazaret Gil (UPV, 2004), who belongs to the same generation and has an office in Alicante specialised in commercial architecture.

**Table 3.** Women architects and works located in Alicante registered in NAM  
(PUB=publications)

ARCHITECT	PROJECT	LOCATION	DATE	DECADE	USE	TYPE	SCALE	PUB.
Elena Albajar Molero	Family house in Benalua	Alicante	2004-09	200X	Residential	New building	M	-
Elena Albajar Molero	Espai Culural	Pedreguer	2005-10	200X	Cultural	New building	L	-
Elena Albajar Molero	Monument to the victims of the bombing	Alicante	1999	199X	Monument	Intervention in public space	S	-
Silvia Alonso de los Ríos	Dwelling De blau i blanc in Villafrancaqueza,	Alicante	2008-10	200X	Residential single-family	New building	M	2
Silvia Alonso de los Ríos	Single-family house	Xàbia	2008-13	200X	Residential single-family	New building	L	2
Lola Alonso Vera	Such Serra Printing Works	Alicante	1989	198X	Commercial	New building	L	6
Lola Alonso Vera	Social Housing Santo Domingo	Alicante	1990-93	199X	Residential	New building	L	5
Lola Alonso Vera	Virgen del Remedio Nursery School	Petrer	1994-03	199X-200X	Education	New building	L	4
Lola Alonso Vera	5 dwellings in El Barrio	Alicante	1997-02	199X-200X	Residential	New building	M	4
Lola Alonso Vera	Polytechnic School IV	San Vicente del Raspeig	1997-99	199X	Education	New building	L	8
Lola Alonso Vera	Enric Valor Secondary School	El Campello	1997-02	199X-200X	Education	New building	L	2

Lola Alonso Vera	Dwelling	Villajoyosa	2004-06	200X	Residential	New building	L	-
Lola Alonso Vera	Caja de Arquitectos Headquarters	Alicante	2005-06	200X	Commercial	Renovation	S	3
Pilar Amorós Pérez	Municipal Library and Archives	Elche	1979-82	197X-8X	Cultural	Renovation Refurbishment	L	1
Pilar Amorós Pérez	Casa de la Festa	Elche	1984-88	198X	Cultural	Renovation Refurbishment	M	1
Pilar Amorós Pérez	Secondary school	El Campello	1992-94	199X	Education	New building	XL	1
Consuelo Argüelles	City Council	Beniófar	2002	200X	Social	New building	M	-
Consuelo Argüelles	Residential care home for the elderly and sheltered accommodation	Almoradí	2003	200X	Residential Social	New building	L	-
Consuelo Argüelles	Residential care home for the elderly and sheltered accommodation	Guardamar del Segura	2005	200X	Residential Social	New building	L	-
Consuelo Argüelles	Residential care home for the elderly and sheltered accommodation	Pilar de la Horadada	2005	200X	Residential Social	New building	L	-
Consuelo Argüelles	Las Culturas School	Torrevieja	2006	200X	Education	New building	XL	-

Anna Bofill Levi	Casa Tull-och	Calpe	1983	198X	Residential Single-family	New building	M	-
Anna Bofill Levi	Facades of L Aiguera Park	Benidorm	1987	198X	Urban facade interventions	Renovation	L	-
Inge Crockaert	51 Social Housing	Alcoi	2006-08	200X	Residential	New building	L	1
Adriana Figueiras Robisco	Lycée Français Sports Centre Alicante	El Campello	2008-11	200X	Education Sport	New building	L	1
María José Fuster Guillo	Jorge Juan Palace	Elche	1994-97	199X	Commercial and administrative	Renovation Refurbishment	M	1
Lourdes García Sogo	Viewing Platform	Pedreguer	1995	199X	Intervention in public space	New building	M	1
Lourdes García Sogo	Urban Solid Waste Treatment Plant	Villena	1999	199X	Infrastructure	New building	XXL	-
Nazareth Gil	Looking out to sea	Alicante	2007	200X	Residential	Renovation	S	-
Regina Martínez Quiralte	Rehabilitation of the old Payá factory	Ibi	2008-10	200X	Cultural	Renovation	M	1
Sonia Miralles Mud	La Marseta	Mutxamel	2007-09	200X	Residential single-family	New building	M	3
Maria Jesús Mora Miquel	Music school	Xixona	2000	200X	Education Cultural	New building	M	-
Carmen Pérez Molpeceres	Housing in the historic centre	Alicante	1991	199X	Residential	Renovation Refurbishment	M	-

Carmen Pérez Molpeceres and Consuelo Argüelles	Health centre and intergenerational housing	Alicante	2003-09	200X	Residential Social	New building	XL	2
Carmen Pérez Molpeceres and Miriam Jarreño	Villavieja Nursery School	Alicante	2008-13	200X	Education	New building	L	-
Marta Pérez Rodríguez	172 Social Housing	Alicante	2003-07	200X	Residential	New building	XL	1
Carme Pinós	Pedestrian footbridge	Petrer	1991-98	199X	Landscape space intervention	Public space	L	4
Carme Pinós	Seafront promenade	Torreveija	1996-99	199X	Landscape space intervention	Public space	L	5
Carme Pinós	Torreblanca Aromatic Park	Torreveija	2000-10	200X	Landscape space intervention	Public space	XXL	2
Carmen Rivera Gallego	Restoration of Tabarca lighthouse	Tabarca	1984	198X	Social	Restoration Renovation	M	1
Carmen Rivera Gallego	Health Centre	Mutxamel	1988-90	198X	Healthcare	New building	L	2
Carmen Rivera Gallego	8 dwellings in Cabo de las Huertas	Alicante	1989	198X	Residential	New building	L	2
Carmen Rivera Gallego	Housing in the historic centre	Alicante	1994-98	199X	Residential	Rehabilitation Renovation	M	2
Carmen Rivera Gallego	Calaplamera House	Alicante	2003-07	200X	Residential single-family	New building	M	2

Carmen Rivera Gallego	Offices	Alicante	2004	200X	Administrative	Renovation	S	1
Carla Sentieri Omarremetería	Entrepinos	Tibi	2006-07	200X	Residential single-family	New building	S	1
Carla Sentieri Omarremetería	House extensions	Tibi	2006-07	200X	Residential single-family	New building	M	2
Pilar Vázquez Carrasco	Faculty of Science I and II	San Vicente del Raspeig	1982	198X	Education	New building	XXL	2
Pilar Vázquez Carrasco	Ministry offices educ. research, culture	Alicante	1982	198X	Administrative	New building	L	-
Pilar Vázquez Carrasco	Social Club I	San Vicente del Raspeig	1987	198X	Restoration	New building	M	-
Pilar Vázquez Carrasco	Ausias March School	Pego	1991-97	199X	Education	New building	L	1
Elena Velasco Román	Advertising Agency	San Vicente del Raspeig	2003-04	200X	Administrative	New building	M	1
Elena Velasco Román	Architecture office	Alicante	2005-08	200X	Administrative	Renovation	S	-
Elena Velasco Román	Single-family house	Benimantell	2005-07	200X	Residential single-family	New building	M	-

Source: Authors

**Figure 3.** Top from left to right: single-family house in Xábia by Silvia Alonso de los Ríos; Such Serra printing house by Lola Alonso; apartment building in Villajoyosa by Lola Alonso. Middle from left to right: Elche Municipal Library and Archives by Pilar Amorós Pérez; urban solid waste treatment plant in Villena by Lourdes García Sogo; facades of L'Aigüera Park in Benidorm by Anna Bofill Levi; Bottom from left to right: health centre and intergenerational housing by Carmen Pérez Molpeceres and Consuelo Argüelles; Torreblanca Aromatic Park by Carme Pinós; Calapalmera House by Carmen Rivera



Source: Courtesy of Silvia Alonso de los Ríos; Pepa Balaguer (Such Serra printing house); Lola Alonso; authors (Elche Municipal Library and Archives); Lourdes García Sogo; authors (Anna Bofill Levi's park); Rafa Arjones (Molpeceres and Argüelles's building); David Cabrera (Pinós's work); Joan Roig (Calapalmera House)

### 3. THE MURCIA REGION AND ITS UNNOTICED WOMEN ARCHITECTS

In this single-province region, the presence of women architects working alone or in the company of others in specialised publications is minimal from the late 1970s to the early 2000s. However, since the first decade of this century, there has been a considerable increase in the number of offices led by women and with a greater media projection, such as those headed by

Laura Ortín, Pepa Díaz, María José Climent, María José Marcos (Magicarch), Helia de San Nicolás and Ana Conesa, to name just a few. Furthermore, many women architects—around forty—have participated in the COAMU activity since 1983, forming part of the Architects Association's boards and showing their commitment to architecture.

The research compiles about twenty works by eight women architects from three generations in this region (Table 4). Firstly, and with a large portfolio of built work is Rufina Campuzano Benegas (ETSAM, 1976), with a long career as a civil servant who worked for various administrations and also developed projects from her own practice. She has worked as a municipal architect in Cieza and Castellón and, in the mid-1980s, she became head of the Historical and Artistic Heritage Service in the General Directorate for Culture (1986-87 and 1988-89) and the General Directorate for Town and Land Planning (1987-88 and 1990-96). She was also manager of the COAMU Town Planning Office and, in her last professional stage, she was an architect in the Regional Government Department of Education and Culture (2002-06 and 2007-14) and in the Regional Government Department of Health for Murcia (2006-07). Among her projects developed alone from various administrations and included in NAM are the Auditorium and Municipal Park (1981-2006) (Figure 4), the Cultural Centre and Auditorium (1986-98) and the Health Centre (1981-82) all of them in Cieza, the Ceutí Auditorium (1995-2002) (Figure 4) and the secondary schools of Algezares (2002-05) (Figure 4) and Torres de Cotillas (2002-08), to name but a few. The Auditorium and Municipal Park of Cieza was awarded the European Campaign for Urban Renaissance, promoted by the European Council and the Ministry of Public Works and Town Planning (1982). Between 1989 and 1991, she also worked with other colleagues from technical services on *inter alia* the restoration of the coastal towers in La Azohía, Puerto de Mazarrón and Águilas, the project and work to transform the Church of El Salvador from the Verónicas Convent into the Sala de Verónicas cultural space (Murcia, 1988-91) and the restoration of the Monastery of Santa Clara (1988-90).

In addition to Campuzano Benegas, members of this generation of women architects include Ester Gilma Monasterio Navarro and María Isabel (Marisa) Gil Vera. The trio were winners of the Professional Career Award at the 22<sup>nd</sup> edition of the Regional Architecture Awards for making a significant



contribution to architecture and promoting equality within the profession, being the first women to receive such recognition, most likely after the effort to make their work visible made by the NAM research group.

Ester Gilma Monasterio Navarro is an architect from the Catholic University of Cordoba (Argentina, 1972) and a Ph. D. architect from the UPV (1992). She has worked as a lecturer in Technical Drawing and Design (1983-1992) and at the Technical University of Cartagena in the Department of Architecture and Construction Technology (2001-07), being responsible for its summer courses (2002-11). From 1997 to 2013 she was a civil servant at the Institute of Social Services of the Region of Murcia (ISSORM) and was president of the group of town planners. Her production includes the San Andrés Mental Health Centre in Murcia (2000-01) and an Occupational Centre in Cartagena (2001-02) (Figure 4), which are part of the NAM records.

Marisa Gil Vera (ETSAM, 1978) began working in Madrid, but moved to Murcia where she opened her architecture office and, in 1983, she obtained her position as an architect in the civil service in Lorca City Council. In this Murcian municipality, she has developed projects such as the swimming pools and changing rooms in La Torrecilla, a nursery school, primary care centres, the transformation of the prison into a municipal archive or the refurbishment of the Teatro Guerra—the latter, together with Ignacio Mendaro Corsini and Jesús Higuera, was awarded the Murcia Region Prize. She has led the Lorca General Plan and has carried out various urban and planning works. She was also a member of the COAMU ethics committee in 1983. Since 1991, she has worked exclusively in her architecture firm. Her works include *inter alia* many residential projects, the Casa de los Niños de Porcelana in Yecla (1992) (Figure 4), the Asilo (Nursing Home) de San Diego in Lorca (2008-15), the Juan Gil building (2000), the Hotel Luzón (1998), the Juan Gil (2002) and El Nido (2002) wineries, all in Jumilla. She received the ‘Culture and Women’ award in 2008, for her example of reconciling work and family life, and worked as a businesswoman in the Juan Gil family winery. Three of her works have been included in this research: the Casa de los Niños de Porcelana (1992), the Hotel Luzón (1998) and a residential building at the Plaza de las Flores (1995).

The Alicante architect Lola Alonso has also carried out projects in this region, such as a fertility clinic in Cartagena (2002-03), which is included in the NAM research.

The next generation is represented by María José Peñalver (ETSAM, 1992) with an active office since 1993. She has specialised in refurbishment and restoration projects and works, such as the Restoration of the Convent of the Augustinian Sisters of Murcia (1998-2020) and the remodelling of the Archaeological Museum of Murcia (2004-07), but has also developed other kinds and sizes of projects such as a car dealership in Lorca (2003) and the Child Care Centre in Alcantarilla (2008) (Figure 4). Peñalver has combined her work in her office with the General Directorate of Culture (1998-2017) and since 1997 has been involved in COAMU. First, as a member of the ethics committee and, since 2010, on the Governing Board, as secretary (2010-13). She has been president of the COAMU and since 2020, treasurer of the CSCAE.

The architects Lola Jiménez Martínez (UPV, 2000), Luz de la Villa Batres (ETSAM, 2002) and María José Climent Mondéjar (UPV, 2003), with one work each, complete the sample and represent the third generation. Jiménez Martínez (Ohlalola) has carried out solo many renovations and transformations of residential space, such as the project of her own home in the Vistabella neighbourhood of Murcia (2003-04). She has also developed her professional career as a member of the Murcian firms batBA and Xpiral. De la Villa Batres has carried out, on her own, the renovation of a small house in Murcia (2002) and since then has been working in the family office from where they develop building and urban planning works. Finally, Climent Mondéjar's career combines work in her office (Urbigrama) with research (Ph. D. from UPM, 2012) and teaching. Particularly noteworthy are her award-winning temporary interventions, akin to art installations. Since 2006, she has developed and executed projects for collective housing, and public and institutional buildings, including the extension of the Isabel Bellvis Infant and Primary School in Corvera (2008).

**Table 4.** Women architects and works located in the Murcia Region registered in NAM (PUB=publications)

ARCHITECT	PROJECT	LOCATION	DATE	DECADE	USE	TYPE	SCALE	PUB.
Lola Alonso Vera	Fertility and Gynaecology Clinic	Cartagena	2002-03	200X	Health-care	Renovation	M	1
Rufina Campuzano Banegas	Gabriel Celaya Park and Auditorium	Cieza	1981-2006	198X-200X	Cultural	New building Intervention in public space	L	2
Rufina Campuzano Banegas	Aurelio Guirao Cultural Centre and Auditorium	Cieza	1986-1998	198X-199X	Cultural	New building	L	-
Rufina Campuzano Banegas	Health Centre	Cieza	1981-1982	198X	Health-care	New building	L	-
Rufina Campuzano Banegas	Auditorium	Ceuti	1995-2002	199X-200X	Cultural	New building	M	1
Rufina Campuzano Banegas	Secondary School La Florida	Las Torres de Cotillas	2008	200X	Education	New building	L	-
Rufina Campuzano Banegas	Secondary School Algezares	Murcia	2002-05	200X	Education	New building	L	-
María José Climent	Isabel Bellvis School	Corvera	2008	200X	Education	Extension	M	-
Marisa Gil Vera	Casa de los Niños.	Yecla	1992	199X	Residential	Renovation and Refurbishment	M	-
Marisa Gil Vera	Pza. de las Flores Housing	Murcia	1995	199X	Residential	Renovation and Refurbishment	L	-

Marisa Gil Vera	Hotel Luzón	Jumilla	1998	199X	Residential	Renovation and Refurbishment	L	-
Lola Jiménez Martínez	Renovation of a house in Vistabella	Murcia	2003-04	200X	Residential	Renovation	M	-
Ester Gilma Monasterio Navarro	Occupational Centre	Cartagena	2001-02	200X	Social	New building	L	-
Ester Gilma Monasterio Navarro	San Andrés Mental Health Centre	Murcia	2000-01	200X	Health-care	New building	L	-
María José Peñalver	Restoration of the Convent of Augustinian Sisters	Murcia	1998-20	199X-200X	Religious	Rehabilitation	L	-
María José Peñalver	Car showroom and dealership	Lorca	2003	200X	Commercial	New building	L	-
María José Peñalver	Refurbishment of MAM, Murcia Archaeological Museum	Murcia	2004-07	200X	Cultural	Rehabilitation	L	1
María José Peñalver	Child Care Centre	Alcantarilla	2008	200X	Social	New building	M	-
Luz de la Villa Batres	Renovation of house «Azul Azafata»	Murcia	2002	200X	Residential	Renovation	S	1

Source: Authors

**Figure 4:** Top from left to right: Gabriel Celaya Park and Auditorium, Cieza; Auditorium in Ceuti; Secondary School in Algezares, all three by Rufina Campuzano Banegas. Bottom from left to right: los Niños de Porcelana by Marisa Gil Vera; Occupational Centre by Ester Monasterio; Child Care Centre by María José Peñalver



Source: Courtesy of Rufina Campuzano, Marisa Gil, Ester Monasterio and María José Peñalver

#### 4. SOME READINGS ON ABSENCES

From the research carried out, several readings can be made that help to understand the diversity of the works of all these women architects in this geographical and temporal context. The largest sample of works is concentrated from 2000 onwards, followed by those from the 1990s (Figure 5). In other words, there is a clear increase in production over time, showing the full and inexorable inclusion of women into the profession. As an example, the first work registered is the Municipal Library and Archive in Elche by Pilar Amorós, the only project begun in the years of transition, as opposed to the fifty or so started in the new century. At the same time, other conclusions can be drawn, such as the need for women architects of the latest generations to make their work visible, compared to those women with works in the 1980s who worked actively, but who were preoccupied with reconciling work with their home life, discriminated against (Novas-Ferradás, 2021),

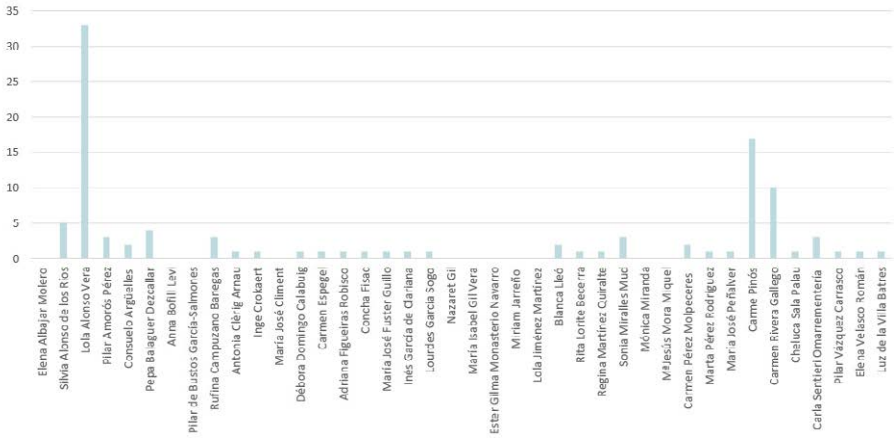
without the need to document what they did and, practically, without access to the specialised media for dissemination and publication. In this sense, it should be noted that the presence of these works by women architects in the architectural press is minimal, with the exception of the works by Lola Alonso (33 publications) and Carme Pinós (17 publications) (Figure 6). When they do appear, it is only once in almost all cases and the most published projects were those of Alicante through the COACV's Alicante-based magazine *ViA Arquitectura*.

Figure 5: Graph of registered works by decades.



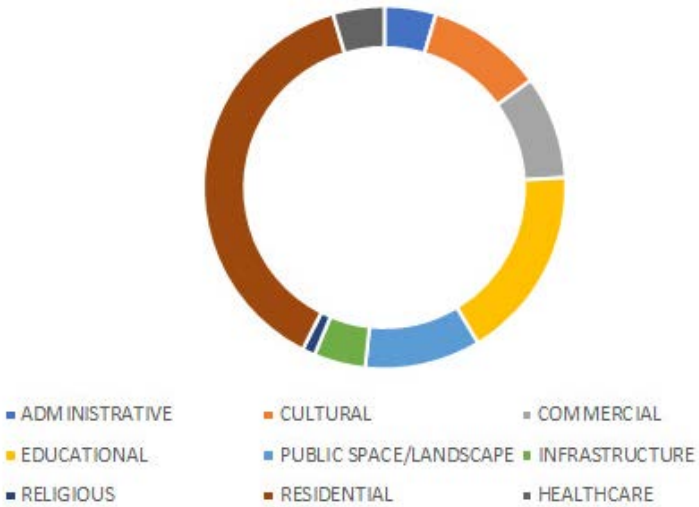
Source: Authors

Figure 6: Graph of women architects and publications



Source: Authors

Figure 7: Graph of registered works by uses

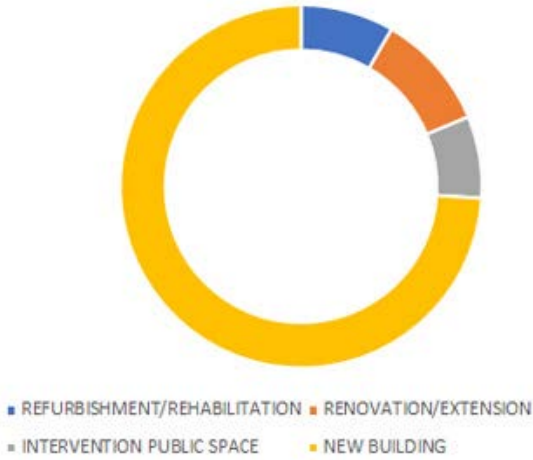


Source: Authors

If we analyse the uses of the works (Figure 7), residential (single-family and collective) predominates, where the women architects deploy their ways of understanding and inhabiting the domestic space, followed by education. But many types of programmes are revealed where cultural buildings and interventions in the public space take on relevance. However, with regard to the category of intervention (Figure 8), the number of new buildings is significantly higher than the number of renovations, refurbishments and interventions in public space. While, if we look at their size (Figure 9), projects with a large surface area predominate, between 1,000 m<sup>2</sup> and 10,000 m<sup>2</sup> (L), followed by projects smaller than 1,000 m<sup>2</sup> (M). Yet the size of intervention varies widely, as shown in some works by García Sogo, Pinós or Vázquez Carrasco (XXL). These results are far removed from a common stereotype, where women architects intervene in small-scale projects or in practices considered minor such as interior design or furniture design (Gutiérrez-Mozo et al., 2021). Similarly, most of the women architects have worked in their immediate and familiar surroundings, the Mediterranean arc, in places with a vital connection, as opposed to a few who work locally but arrive, mainly through architectural competitions, such as Lleó or Espegel, among others. In this sense, Alicante emerges as a particularly fertile area for women architects, compared to other territories with less representation. Furthermore, these women have worked intensively in private practice and in various public administrations in search of employment opportunities.



Figure 8. Graph of registered works by type of intervention



Source: Authors

Figure 9. Graph of registered works by scale.



Source: Authors

## 5. WORKING ALONE IS NOT BEING ALONE

Carmen Alborch stated in one of her most popular works that «to live alone is not to be alone» (Alborch, 1991, p. 9) and this reflection can be adapted to architecture through an equally significant message. Many women architects, like «lone rangers» (Alborch, 1991, p. 109), have contributed significantly to the generation of our built environment. We intend to extract from the margins women architects, many of them unknown, and invisible, architectures absent from much of the specialised media and anonymous works in order to celebrate and vindicate their diversity and to be able to construct a public memory as voices demand in other contexts (Hayden, 1995). It is evident that the architectural press has shown a clear lack of attention to many of these works located on the periphery of the centres of knowledge production, given that most of the publications in which they appear belong to the local sphere. On the other hand, many of the women architects have not had easy access to the media due to this peripheral and invisible condition for the main architectural focus. However, it should also be noted how regional architecture exhibitions have opened up the field of visibility and tried to generate equal opportunities, through calls for the reception of works by their authors. Possibly, (geographical) distance and (in)difference have caused and continue to cause a lack of interest to these architectures. However, this research demonstrates a plurality of architectural actions and visions that dismantles preconceived ideas, showing that women have led projects of all sorts and vastly contributed to society since the late 1970s.

It is indeed an unfinished and open historiographical review, to which new works and names will be added, enriching an emerging and unstoppable global project to make visible and disseminate a great deal of new, alternative ways of practising, within and outside of the mainstream, since, as Estrella de Diego (Oñoro, 2022) states, the real history, the one that matters, is usually written by revealing what is missing.

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# WOMEN ARCHITECTS AND SOCIAL HOUSING IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY (1978-2008). AN APPROACH FROM A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

## ARQUITECTAS Y VIVIENDA SOCIAL EN EL PAÍS VASCO (1978-2008). UN ACERCAMIENTO DESDE UNA PERSPECTIVA FEMINISTA

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### Abstract

This article addresses the presence of women architects in social housing in the Basque Country between 1978 and 2008 from a feminist perspective. To this end, the first section of the paper is devoted to the figure of the architect Margarita Mendizábal, in order to display the unequal and male-dominated professional context that the Basque architect found after her graduation in 1956. In 1978, after two decades in the profession, Mendizábal designed a project to build a hundred social housing units in Madrid, in fact, the largest social housing project that she developed during her professional career. Until the early seventies there is no woman working as freelance architect in the Basque Country. In 1977, the School of Architecture of the UPV/EHU (University of the Basque Country) was created; this fact worked as an activating agent for the presence of women architects after the beginning of the nineties. In this regard, the last section of this article provides statistical data to quantify the presence of women architects in the Basque Country. This data gathers information related to women architects teaching at the School of Architecture of the UPV/EHU,

in the professional sphere as freelance architects belonging to the Basque-Navarre Architects Association (COAVN) and, finally, in designing social housing developed by the Basque Government after taking over this area in 1981. The quantification of women out of total social housing developments shows that there are many fewer female than male architects working in this field. Furthermore, we provide a series of social housing cases authored or co-authored by women architects that show a relevant contribution to architecture and architectural culture in the Basque Country.

**Keywords:** women architects; social housing; Basque Country; feminist perspective; architecture; Basque-Navarre Architects Association; School of Architecture; University of the Basque Country.

## Resumen

Este artículo realiza una aproximación a la presencia de arquitectas en el proyecto y construcción de la vivienda social en el País Vasco entre 1978 y 2008 desde una perspectiva feminista. Para ello, en el primer apartado se parte de la figura de Margarita Mendizábal con el objetivo de exponer el desigual y masculinizado contexto profesional que la arquitecta vasca encontró tras su titulación en 1956. En 1978, tras dos décadas en la profesión, Mendizábal realizó un proyecto para la construcción de un centenar de viviendas sociales en Madrid que fue el mayor encargo residencial de carácter social que la arquitecta desarrolló durante su carrera profesional. En el País Vasco, hasta principios de los años setenta, no hubo mujeres que trabajaran como arquitectas liberales. No obstante, la creación, en 1977, de la Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de la Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (UPV/EHU) ejercería, a partir de principios de los años noventa, de agente activador de la presencia de arquitectas en el panorama arquitectónico vasco. En este sentido, en el último apartado de este artículo se aportan tablas estadísticas que permiten la cuantificación de arquitectas en el País Vasco. Estos datos recogen información relativa a la presencia de mujeres en el ámbito formativo de la Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de la UPV/EHU, en el ámbito profesional como arquitectas colegiadas en el Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos Vasco-Navarro (COAVN) y, finalmente, en el proyecto y construcción de viviendas de protección oficial promovidas por el Gobierno Vasco desde la asunción de las competencias en esta materia a partir de 1981. La cuantificación de arquitectas sobre el total de viviendas de protección oficial refleja que hay menos mujeres que hombres trabajando en este campo. Por último, se incluye una selección de casos de vivienda social de autoría o coautoría femenina que refleja diferentes aportaciones relevantes a la arquitectura y a la cultura arquitectónica de Euskadi.

**Palabras clave:** arquitectas; vivienda social; País Vasco-Euskadi; perspectiva feminista; arquitectura; Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos Vasco-Navarro; Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura; Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea.



## 1. INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

In 1752, since the Spanish Enlightenment system established the obligation to train and obtain a diploma in architecture, with the creation of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando in Madrid, the regulation of the architectural profession has assigned in parallel exclusive competences and functions to architects. These functions were essentially related to construction technology, such as the execution of public buildings, the construction of military buildings, the reconstruction of defence elements in the event of war or the management of the fire brigade of any municipality, among others.

These scientific-technical functions derived from the sexual division of trades and professions established by the Enlightened state and reinforced «the cultural stereotype that enshrines technology as an activity suitable for men» (Wajcman, 2006, p. 29). There was, as known, no place for female training on equal terms with that of men.

After the mid-19th century, with the creation of the Schools of Architecture in Madrid and Barcelona (the only two schools of architectural training in Spain until the mid-20th century) the access to formal training in architecture was not specifically forbidden to women (Prieto González, 2004, p. 481). Nevertheless, the high percentage of female illiteracy prevented, among other reasons, access to training in architecture to women, whose study required scientific-technical knowledge<sup>1</sup>.

At the beginning of the 20th century, new laws allowed proper access to university education and to the professional practice granted by the study of these degrees<sup>2</sup>. From 1931 onwards, the first enrolments of women started at the School of Architecture of Madrid. However, architectural studies were not considered appropriate for women (Núñez Pérez, 1989, p. 327).

The outbreak of the civil war in Spain, and the subsequent installation of the Franco's dictatorship in 1939 created a social-political order that

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1. It was required to have taken several high school subjects such as Physics and Chemistry, Geometry and Trigonometry or Arithmetic and Algebra, among others (Prieto González, 2004).
  2. On March 8, 1910, the Royal Order allowing women to enrol in the university on equal terms with men was approved, and on September 2, 1910, the corresponding Royal Order authorising women to exercise professions related to the Ministry of Public Instruction was passed.

identified the feminine with the domestic, which did not favour women's access to architectural studies. Indeed, since Matilde Ucelay, the first Spanish woman architect, graduated in 1936, there were only ten women architects in Spain until 1964<sup>3</sup>, two of whom stand out for their Basque origin: Margarita Mendizábal (Vitoria-Gasteiz, 1931-Madrid, 2023) and Elena Arregui (Irún, 1929-Santiago, 2018). Both women graduated at the School of Architecture of Madrid in 1956 and 1958, respectively.

At the beginning of the Spanish transition to democracy, at the end of the seventies of the last century, the activation of the presence of women architects started, both in the Schools of Architecture and in the professional sphere (Agudo & Sánchez de Madariaga, 2011; Pérez-Moreno & Santamera, 2018). Also in the Basque Country, the first women architects enrolled at the Basque-Navarre Architects Association (COAVN)<sup>4</sup> began to practise as freelance professionals in 1971 (Acasuso, 2023b). At that time, the beginning of the democratic process after Franco's dictatorship brought the need for social, administrative and cultural facilities<sup>5</sup> that boosted architectural production in the Basque territory (Mas, 1990, p. 11). Among the public facilities, the housing projects promoted by the Administration shaped «the evolution of architecture in the Basque Country» (Mas, 1990, p. 12). In this way, the need to build social housing became «the main element of attention to refer [...] the renewal of ideas in terms of urban planning and architecture» in the Basque Country (Galarraga, 1985, p. 3). Therefore, approaching the evolution of the presence of women architects in design and construction of public housing—which is a relevant field in architecture—provides a limited framework from which we can quantify the evolution of women's

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3. Matilde Ucelay, Rita Fernández Queimadelos, Cristina Gonzalo, Juana de Ontañón, Margarita Mendizábal, Maria Eugenia Pérez Clemente, Elena Arregui, Milagros Rey Hombre, Margarita Brender and Mercedes Serra were the ten only women holding a degree in architecture until 1964 in Spain.

4. Note that in Spain all architects that work as freelance have to be registered in at least one Architects Association. For the Basque Country and Navarre's case, there is the COAVN (Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos Vasco-Navarro), the Basque-Navarre Architects Association.

5. «The transfer of power from the central government made possible the creation and re-establishment of different public and private entities» whose objective was to spread Basque culture (Lekuona, 2021, p. 166).

access to architecture, as well as to analyse this access from a critical feminist perspective.

This article is organised through two different sections linked to methodological orientation, on the one hand, and to obtaining results on the other. The first section provides background in order to depict the professional architectural context in the mid-1950s, characterised by unequal conditions in architectural production as experienced by the first women architects in Spain. To this end, this section will focus on the first woman architect of Basque origin, Margarita Mendizábal, who graduated in 1956 and belongs to the first generation of women architects in Spain. Originally, the methodology we followed was based on a broader project initially focused on tracking—by consulting specialised bibliography, and architectural journals in the Basque Country—the first generation of women architects registered in the Basque-Navarre Architects Association (COAVN)<sup>6</sup>, who practised in the Basque Country as freelance architects. Due to their Basque origin, genealogy on first women architects in Spain highlighted Margarita Mendizábal and Elena Arregui. While the architect Elena Arregui, who was born in Irún (Gipuzkoa-Basque Country) in 1929, has already been the object for research in Galicia—the region where she developed practically her entire professional life (Carreiro & López, 2016)—there was little information about Margarita Mendizábal beyond her birth in Vitoria-Gasteiz in 1931, the year of her graduation, 1956, and a few published projects. From late 2022 until her death in June 2023, access to her personal professional archive and subsequent interviews with her allowed us to explore her professional career, as well as to discover the projects on social housing that were signed by Mendizábal on her own, unknown until now.

The second section of this article provides a quantified approach to the presence of women architects in the Basque Country, based on three areas: education (School of Architecture of the UPV/EHU<sup>7</sup>), the Basque-Navarre Architects Association, and the field of social housing. The first two areas

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6. The Basque-Navarre Architects Association (Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos Vasco-Navarro, COAVN) was founded in 1931. Since then, it includes the region of the Autonomous Communities of the Basque Country (with a delegation in each one of the provinces: Araba/Álava, Biscay/Bizkaia, and Gipuzkoa), and Navarre.

7. University of the Basque Country.

provide the context and timeline for women in architecture in the Basque Country. The third quantifies<sup>8</sup> the presence of women architects in the development of social housing (chronologically and based on single or shared authorship) since the Basque Government took control over Housing and Town Planning in 1981.

## **2. BACKGROUND: WOMEN ARCHITECTS DESIGNING SOCIAL HOUSING PROJECTS THROUGH ARCHITECT MARGARITA MENDIZÁBAL (1956-1978)**

According to statistics kept since the end of the Spanish civil war (July 1936-April 1939), in September 1956, the 106<sup>th</sup> class of the School of Architecture of Madrid<sup>9</sup> graduated. It was composed of thirty-eight architects (Figure 1). One of them was Margarita Mendizábal, a twenty-five-year-old young woman born in Vitoria-Gasteiz. Immediately after her graduation, she opened her architecture office on her own, without associating with other partners. Thus, on one hand, she became one of the approximately one-thousand five hundred practising architects in Spain and enrolled in the Architects Association, and, on the other hand, one of the ten first women with a degree from a School of Architecture in the country. Consequently, in the mid-50s, the profession was male-dominated. Moreover, about five hundred practising architects had their office in Madrid. Mendizábal could have established her office in Vitoria, her hometown, where not only were less than ten architects practising but, she could have been helped from the well-known architect José Luís López de Uralde, who was her uncle (Figure 2).

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8. Data provided by the Directorate of Housing, Land, and Architecture of the Basque Government and by the public company under the Basque Government VISESA (Vivienda y Suelo de Euskadi, S.A.).

9. The annual average for new graduates between 1940 and 1945 is only 33 architects in all of Spain. Later, between 1945 and 1950, the average remained at 35 students. Between 1950 and 1955, the number rose to 51 graduates (Gómez & Vélez, 1975, p. 157).

**Figure 1.** Image of 106<sup>th</sup> graduated class of the School of Architecture of Madrid (1956)



Source: Margarita Mendizábal's personal archive

**Figure 2.** Tribute to Margarita Mendizábal by the COAVN Delegation in Álava (1957)



Source: VV. AA., 2012.

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The construction context that Mendizábal found after graduation was mainly characterised by huge social housing developments whose purpose was to rehouse the population crowded in unsanitary self-built shacks<sup>10</sup>. Housing had been one of the leading issues for the architects of the Modern Movement since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Lampreave, 2003, p. 251; Lleó, 2003, p. 8). Francoist institutions promoted social housing projects, such as *Poblados Dirigidos* (New Towns) and *Unidades Vecinales de Absorción* (Neighbourhood Absorption Units), whose volume tended to encompass a plan with one thousand homes<sup>11</sup>. This type of commission fell on freshly graduated architects (Aman, 2021, p. 127) who built «in a few years, over 20,000 homes» (Sambricio, 2004, p. 329). None of the ten first women architects had access to leading such projects developed by Francoist institutions, which meant huge residential architectural projects, great emoluments, and great professional prestige (Ocerin-Ibáñez & Rodríguez-Oyarbide, 2022, pp. 169-170). Indeed, the constrictive social and professional order that Francoism had imposed on women identified femininity as «the model for women at home, the backbone of the family» (Blanco Herranz, 2005, pp. 56-60). Consequently, for these women, access to large public construction projects of government buildings would have meant an effective way for professional, public, and social presence, far from the domestic feminine image imposed by the regime.

Mendizábal started to receive social housing commissions in the late sixties with her first twenty-four social housing units in Moratalaz, Madrid. This commission came from a workers' cooperative although the plot to be built belonged to the National Institute of Housing; hence, the dwellings became social housing (Ocerin-Ibáñez, 2023b). In parallel, while still a minority, women gradually began to study at the schools of Architecture, with almost forty women enrolled in the mid-sixties (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2012, p. 22).

The same workers' cooperative commissioned Mendizábal another social housing project. She designed some apartments following the rules

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10. A focus was placed on developing housing, for which different national and regional regulations were approved which, in general, planned «to build a total of 550,000 homes in a 5-year period» (Cánovas et al, 2021, p. 9).

11. For example, it is worth mentioning that for the *Poblado de Entrevías*, in Madrid, 2,144 homes were built, and 1,723 in Fuencarral (Cánovas et al., 2021, pp. 18, 42).

established in the 1976 Housing Act in Official Protection (*Ley de Vivienda de Protección Oficial de 1976*), which were developed in 1978, in the midst of a political transformation and social and cultural liberalisation. At that time, some Spanish women architects, such as Anna Bofill and María Teresa Muñoz, participated in international monographic feminist debates (Hervás & Blanco, 2020, pp. 6-8). This was also a time when women architects began leading large collective housing projects. In this regard, it is relevant the Palomeras neighbourhood in Madrid, led in 1979 by architect Carmen Bravo Durá (along with another three male architects), where over ten thousand homes were built (Cordero et al, 2022, p. 101). Mendizábal's project, one hundred nine social housing units in ACTUR<sup>12</sup> in the new town of Tres Cantos in Madrid, is certainly smaller in volume, but still the largest projects that the architect designed.

Moreover, within architecture, new approaches stood out with proposals such as the Experimental Homes by Rafael Leoz in Torrejón de Ardoz. At this time, Mendizábal was immersed in teaching the theories of Amos Rapoport, John F. C. Turner, and Nicholas John Habraken, in a doctorate course she taught at the School of Architecture of Madrid where she had worked since 1966. Consequently, Mendizábal proposed a participatory design process for those homes, based on meetings and assemblies with the clients, but mainly by sending a large survey, which helped to plan and establish the desires and needs of users (Ocerin-Ibáñez, 2023b). Thus, both the interior of the homes, the collective spaces (Figures 3 and 4), as well as the environmental symbolic role of the buildings within the neighbourhood were determined based on participatory architecture. In this regard, we can assert that Margarita Mendizábal's architecture became part of the architecture of Madrid in the late seventies, where women architects from the first generation «demonstrated that they could be determining factors in proposing new residential models» (Cordero et al., 2022, p. 107).

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12. Acronym for «*Actuaciones Urbanísticas Urgentes* (Urgent Town Planning Actions)» The city of Tres Cantos was one of the first ACTUR developed in Spain. It was created from scratch in a location between the municipality of Colmenar Viejo and the city of Madrid, with the objective of relieving the demographic pressure that Madrid was suffering (Egea, 1993).

**Figure 3.** Exterior of the 109 social housing units in Tres Cantos, Madrid, designed and built by Margarita Mendizábal (1978)



Source: Margarita Mendizábal's personal archive

**Figure 4.** Exterior of the 109 social housing units in Tres Cantos, Madrid, designed and built by Margarita Mendizábal (1978)



Source: Margarita Mendizábal's personal archive



### 3. WOMEN ARCHITECTS IN PLANNING AND BUILDING PUBLIC HOUSING IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY (1982-2008)

The professional architectural context in the Basque Country was characterised by a very low number of registered architects—in the COAVN—and the almost absence of women architects (Ocerin-Ibáñez, 2023a, p. 39). Architectural culture<sup>13</sup> was barely noticeable compared with the two main traditional centres of architecture in Madrid and Barcelona, although the well-known architect Oriol Bohigas—and later driving force behind the School of Architecture of the Basque Country—speculated with the Basque region as a «possible third cultural hub, together with Catalonia and Madrid»<sup>14</sup> (Fullaondo, 1970). Nevertheless, architecture reflected the transformation process of the «social and political shift, the result of moving from an authoritarian to a democratic regime» (Guasch, 1980, p. 255). The activating and driving spotlights of architectural culture—specialised journals, congresses, exhibitions, and conferences—were carried out almost exclusively in Madrid and Barcelona until the creation of new Schools of Architecture, with the goal of graduating the necessary architects that the developmental market was demanding (Ocerin-Ibáñez, 2017). From that moment onwards, graduate architects, and consequently professionals, experienced exponential growth (Fernández Alba, 1975). However, the number of women at schools of Architecture was still scant<sup>15</sup>.

Decentralisation of architectural education—despite the proximity of the School of Architecture of Pamplona, created in 1964, and the one in

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13. The lack of suitable cultural platforms for cultural dissemination and discussion was one of the main issues in the lack of architectural culture in the Basque Country, according to the renowned architect and critic Juan Daniel Fullaondo (1970).
  14. Fullaondo considered that the Basque Country could be an architectural culture spot providing that it promoted architectural discussion and criticism, not only by the mere existence of a School of Architecture, but also by the publication of magazines, organisation of conferences or critical debate sessions like those that took place in Madrid and Barcelona. The absence of adequate cultural platforms for cultural discussion was one of the main problems of the absence of an architectural culture in the Basque Country for the architect Juan Daniel Fullaondo (1970).
  15. The School of Architecture of Seville graduated 5% of women between 1965 and 1968 (Trillo de Leyva, 2010, p. 302); the School of Navarre, founded in 1964, graduated three women architects in the second class of 1970 (VV. AA., 2015, pp. 4-5).

Valladolid, created in 1968— did not have, at least not initially, the effect of mass graduates and professionals in the Basque Country as it happened in Madrid and Barcelona.

Regarding the presence of women architects in the Basque region, while opening the school in Pamplona led to a relative increase in women architect graduates, it was still a far cry from being the equivalent to men. While in 1974—ten years after its creation—nearly 300 students in total graduated, of which only 30 were women (VV. AA., 2015, pp. 4-5). However, the presence of women architects in the Basque Country was hardly influenced by the number of women architects graduated in Navarre, as most of them settled in that region to practise their profession<sup>16</sup>. These women architects were part of the «progressive and growing incorporation of women in architecture studies, such that during these years of ‘transition,’ we find a first generation of women architects» (Pérez-Moreno & Santamera, 2018, p. 33) in the architectural field. As we will see in the next section, the creation in 1977 of the School of Architecture in Donostia/San Sebastián will boost the graduation of women architects in the Basque Country.

### 3.1. Brief Overview of the Evolution of the Presence of Women Architects in the Basque Country (1978-2008)

While the foundation of the School of Architecture is considered a milestone in the history of architecture in the Basque Country, as it activated the local architectural culture of the time, the positive effect that the creation of this educational institution had on women joining architecture is hardly mentioned. Initially this school was dependent from the School of Architecture of Barcelona<sup>17</sup>. In 1978, its second year of existence led to the graduation of

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16. The Gipuzkoan Maite Unzurrunzaga and Cristina Fontán, and the Biscayan Guruzne Arroitia and Maivi Morrás, are some of the first women graduates of the School of Architecture of Navarre (AA.VV., 2015, pp. 4-5) who returned to the Basque Country to work as architects and who, therefore, became members of the respective COAVN Delegations in Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia.

17. The diplomas of the first graduates were issued by the School of Architecture of Barcelona until the 1981-82 academic year, when the School of Architecture officially joined the University of the Basque Country/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (UPV/EHU).

the first woman architect in the Basque Country, the Catalan Montserrat Ruiz Fabr . As shown in the following table (Table 1), after Ruiz Fabr  graduated, women’s registration continued rising, reaching 19% on average at the Basque school; while the proportion at the schools of Architecture in Spain was around 15% (Agudo & S nchez de Madariaga, 2011, p. 160). In the late eighties, this number exceeded 30%, and in the late nineties, it was over 50%, anticipating the widespread feminisation of Schools of Architecture from 2007 onwards (Agudo & S nchez de Madariaga, 2011, p. 160).

**Table 1.** Enrolments in the 5<sup>th</sup> year at the School of Architecture UPV/EHU

Women enrolments. School of architecture UPV/EHU			
(5th Year)			
Year	Whole enrolments	Women	Percentage
1978	27	1	3%
1981	26	3	12%
1982	23	4	17%
1983	<i>no data</i>	<i>no data</i>	<i>no data</i>
1984	35	5	14%
1985	31	6	19%
1988	28	9	32%
1990	65	16	24%
1992	76	27	35%
1999	148	83	56%

Source: Table prepared by Olatz Ocerin-Ib n ez in collaboration with Erika Morcillo  
 Fuentes based on data provided by School of Architecture UPV/EHU

The number of women architect graduates swiftly increased in the Basque Country, maintaining from 2001 until at least 2011 a proportion greater than 54% of female graduates in relation to total graduates (Table 2). Thus, this is similar (in the same period) to other schools of Architecture, such as the University of Alcal  de Henares (Ch as, 2011, p. 98), the School of Madrid (Agudo & S nchez de Madariaga, 2011, p. 163), and the School of A Coru a (Novas, 2021, p. 127).

Table 2. Graduates from School of Architecture UPV/EHU (1995-2011)

Graduates in the School of Architecture UPV/EHU				
	Women	Men	Total	% Women
1995-2000	133	184	317	42%
2001-2006	469	404	873	54%
2007-2011	360	287	647	55%

Source: School of Architecture UPV/EHU

These data on access to education in architecture in the Basque Country contrast with the scant presence of practising women architects. While, in the early eighties there were only fourteen women architects registered<sup>18</sup> in the Basque-Navarre Architects Association, in the early nineties there were still fewer than fifty women architect members (Table 3). It is relevant to know that the province of Álava was characterised by the fact that María Paz Larrumbide was the only practising architect from the time she joined the COAVN in 1974 until 1980 (Acasuso, 2023b, p. 107; Larrumbide, 2023, p. 197). Also in Spain, in the mid-nineties, according to data from the Higher Council of Architects Associations in Spain (Consejo Superior de Colegios de Arquitectos de España or CSCAE), there were only about three thousand five hundred women members, which meant that they signed projects and led their own architectural works (Urrutia, 1997, p. 712).

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18. Teresa Unzurrunzaga, Maite Zelaia, Raquel Martínez de Ubago, Belén Galdós Tobalina, Pilar Riocabo, Guruzne Arroitia Astelarra, María Jesús Zueco Royo, Juana María Freixedas Estebanez, María Paz Larrumbide, Ana María Fernández Alday, Isabel Cámara, María Isidra Busturia, Cristina Fontán, and Maivi Morrás (Acasuso, 2023b).

**Table 3.** Number of registered women architects in the delegations of Álava, Biscay, and Gipuzkoa of the COAVN (1971-2016)

Total women architects				
	COAVN- Álava	COAVN- Biscay	COAVN- Gipuzkoa	Associate members the Basque Country
1970			1	1
1971-1975	1	4	5	10
Until 1980	1	8	7	16
Until 1990	6	26	12	44
Until 2000	20	79	60	159
Until 2010	60	260	256	576
Until 2016	37	185	152	374

Source: Acasuso, 2023a, p. 183

### 3.2. Presence of Women Architects in Social Housing Projects in the Basque Country (1982-2008)

The early eighties in the Basque Country were marked by the Spanish transition process to democracy along with the creation of the autonomous regions' legal frames. Thus, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of November, 1981, powers over construction, town planning, and housing were transferred to the Basque Government, taking all responsibility for public construction (Unzurrunzaga, 2018, p. 35). The transfer of assets in public housing—oriented toward new policies that left values from the dictatorship behind and assumed new social values—meant that, during the eighties, most construction in the Basque Country fell under the shape of social housing (Montero, 2018, p. 23). Architects such as Ana María Fernández Alday, Matxalen Fuldain Iturri, and María Paz Larrumbide, who had been practising the profession since the mid-seventies, were some of the first<sup>19</sup> women to design and construct social housing

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19. Others such as Maivi Morrás Zuazo, who was graduated at the School of Pamplona in 1976, and who was a grandniece of the architect Secundino Zuazo, became the first president of the COAVN in 2008.

projects in the Basque Country. Indeed, in 1983, one year after the Basque Government received the transfer of power over town planning and housing, the first two projects of social housing whose design team included at least one woman architect were submitted (Table 5).

Upon analysis of general data from the first decade after receiving authority over social housing, we observe that over 35% of projects executed included at least one woman architect in the design team. Notwithstanding, upon observation of this data broken down by number of homes, it decreases by more than ten points, with the result that a woman architect participated in approximately 25% of total homes (Table 4).

**Table 4.** Social housing projects built between 1983 and 1993 where at least one member of the design team was a woman architect

Social housing between 1983 and 1993 (Basque Government/Eusko Jaurlaritza)				
	Gipuzkoa	Biscay	Álava	Total
Number of homes	1180	1820	423	3423
Total projects	10	11	16	37
Num. wom. arch. homes	42	775	38	855
Total wom. arch. projects	1	12	1	14
Percentage of women arch homes	3.56	42.58	8.98	24.98
Percentage of women arch. projects	10	109.09	6.25	37.84

Source: Table prepared by Olatz Ocerin-Ibáñez in collaboration with Erika Morcillo Fuentes based on data provided by VISESA and the Directorate of Housing, Land, and Architecture of the Basque Country and (Unzurrunzaga, 2018, pp. 34-37)

**Table 5.** Social housing projects by architecture firms with at least one woman among their members

Social housing in the Basque Country. Developed by the Directorate of Housing and VISESA (Basque Government)			
Period	Number of projects by women architects	Total number of projects	Percentage of projects executed by women
1982-1988	1	57	1.75%
1989-1996	22	106	20.75%
1997-2002	30	80	37.50%
2003-2008	31	176	17.61%
2009-2013	11	59	18.64%

Source: Table prepared by Olatz Ocerin-Ibáñez in collaboration with Erika Morcillo Fuentes based on data provided by VISESA and the Directorate of Housing, Land, and Architecture of the Basque Government

Regarding the timeline, it is noteworthy the significant increase in the number of projects designed by teams including a woman architect among their members during the 1997-2002 period, coinciding with the ‘construction boom’ in all Spain. Also beginning in this period, authorship of social housing projects is set under the title ‘architects’ and sometimes by a section called ‘collaborators’, naming architects who worked and collaborated, at some point, in the development of the project. In these sections, we can find more a balanced data in regard with female presence.

**Table 6.** Social housing projects with at least one woman architect on the team, organised by provinces

	Social housing projects designed in the Basque Country by architects or teams including at least a woman architect				
	Num. of projects				
	Gipuzkoa	Biscay	Álava	Total projects	Total Wom. archs.**
1982-1988		2		2	3
1989-1996	1	19	2	22	14
1997-2002	7	14	7	28	21
2003-2008	2	25	6	33	21
2009-2013	3	6	1	10	14

\* Social housing developed by the Directorate of Housing and VISESA (Basque Government)

\*\* Considers the architect only once, even if she executed several social housing projects.

Source: Table prepared by Olatz Ocerin-Ibáñez in collaboration with Erika Morcillo Fuentes based on data provided by VISESA and the Directorate of Housing, Land, and Architecture of the Basque Government

In terms of region, it should be noted that the province of Biscay was the region with the most projects executed by women architects, as opposed to Álava or Gipuzkoa; the latter being the province with the fewest projects with women architects on their teams (Table 6).



Table 7. Social housing design teams led by women architects

	Public housing. Developed by Directorate of Housing and VISESA (Basque Government)		
Period	Projects led by wom. archs.*	Equal teams**	Majority male arch. teams***
1982- 1988	0	0	1
1989- 1996	4	5	13
1997- 2002	3	13	14
2003- 2008	2	10	19
2009- 2013	4	5	2

\* Team with one or several women architects

\*\* Teams with 50% women and 50% men

\*\*\* Teams with at least one woman architect, a minority as opposed to men

Source: Table prepared by Olatz Ocerin-Ibáñez in collaboration with Erika Morcillo Fuentes based on data provided by the Directorate of Housing, Land, and Architecture of the Basque Government

Finally, it is worth mentioning that social housing projects carried out alone by women architects occur very rarely, not exceeding four projects in periods of five years. However, it is also noteworthy that, during the ten years prior to the 2008 crisis, the number of teams that drafted social housing projects promoted by the Basque Government was very similar to that of teams made up solely of men (Table 7).

### 3.3. Sample of Social Housing Projects Authored or Co-authored by Women Architects in the Basque Country (1982-2008)

Of all the social housing projects studied, we would like to shine the spotlight on a few cases, due to their singularity. In this regard, the first social housing projects built in each one of the three provinces with a woman architect in their team are noteworthy, because they set the timeline for the participation

of women in public housing. The first in the Basque Country was designed by Ana María Fernández Alday and Matxalen Fuldain Iturri (Ocerin-Ibáñez, 2023a, p. 56) who were part of the design team alongside Andoni Acedo, Eduardo Múgica, and Joseba Escribano in 1982. The commission consisted of fifty social housing units in Barakaldo (Biscay) (Figure 5). The next project was in late 1989 in Vitoria-Gasteiz, the capital of Álava, with a team composed of the architects Isabel Martí and Juan Adrián Bueno (Figure 6).

Figure 5. 50 social housing units, Bilbao, Ana María Fernández Alday, Matxalen Fuldain, and others



Source: Alberto Pinilla Oroz's personal archive

Figure 6. 38 social housing units, Vitoria (1989), Isabel Martí and Juan Adrián



Source: Alberto Pinilla Oroz's personal archive

In Gipuzkoa we have to wait until 1993 for a social housing project developed by the Basque Government with the participation of a woman architect. It was the Navarre native architect Gloria Aríztegui Huarte who, along with architects Antxon Martínez Salazar and Lucas Etxebeste, led the design of forty-two single-family attached homes in the Intxaurreondo neighbourhood of Donostia-San Sebastián (Ocerin-Ibáñez, 2023a, pp. 62-63) (Figure 7). This dwellings stood out because they were selected to form part of the exhibition entitled *Construir desde el interior (Building From the Inside)*<sup>20</sup>, whose curators were architects Cristina García Rosales and Ana Estirado in 2000 (Figure 8). This exhibition was relevant in Spain's architectural culture, since it was the first exhibition devoted to the work designed and built by women architects. After its inauguration in 1999 in Alcalá de Henares, the exhibition toured in Madrid in 2000, passed through Donostia-San Sebastián in 2001, and then travelled to Vitoria-Gasteiz that same year, where works by the Basque women architects Gloria Iriarte and María Paz Larrumbide were included (Ocerin-Ibáñez, 2023a, p. 64).

Figure 7. 42 social housing units, Donostia/San Sebastián, Gipuzkoa (1993), Gloria Aríztegui, Antxon Martínez de Salazar, and Lucas Etxebeste



Source: Alberto Pinilla Oroz's personal archive

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20. The exhibition was structured around different themes, such as the home, everyday life, the school, co-existence, work, and others. It was promoted by the Directorate of Housing, Architecture, and Town Planning under the Ministry of Development.

Figure 8. Gloria Aríztegui (left) along with Cristina García-Rosales and Ana Estirado (right)



Source: Cristina García-Rosales's personal archive

Moreover, we should highlight a project from 1990 by well-known woman architect Beatriz Matos, along with her partner Alberto Castillo, who built two 80-social housing unit building in Basauri, Biscay (Ocerin-Ibáñez, 2023a, pp. 59-61) (Figure 9). This project was one of the first to win the second European Biennial Housing Competition<sup>21</sup> for young architects. The project has been featured in several exhibitions and publications since then. The architect María Paz Larrumbide, who was the only registered woman architect in Álava until the mid-nineties, executed her first social housing project in 1992 in Biscay (Figure 10).

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21. EUROPAN is a European competition for architects younger than forty. Its purpose is to give life to periodical research and experimentation in contemporary housing, where winning architects receive a construction and execution award for their project. This competition was a veritable catalyst for architectural culture in Spain in the nineties.

**Figure 9.** 80 social housing units, Basauri, Biscay (1990), Beatriz Matos and Alberto Castillo



Source: Alberto Pinilla Oroz's personal archive

**Figure 10.** 64 social housing units, Abanto and Zierbana, Biscay (1992), María Paz Larrumbide



Source: Alberto Pinilla Oroz's personal archive

Finally, the four projects executed solely by women architects working alone between 1995 and 2008 are of note. The first of them, chronologically, develops 23 social housing units in Ermua, Biscay, designed and built after 1995 by architect Otilia Otxoa—one of the first female students of the School of Architecture at the UPV/EHU) (Figure 11). Additionally, that same year, María Paz Larrumbide, built 36 social housing units in Ortuella, Biscay (Figure 12). In addition, at the end of that year, Teresa Segura Trujillo began the project for 32 social housing units in Muzkiz, Biscay (Figure 13). Lastly, the architect Ana Eguia Solaun was commissioned with designing 18 dwellings in Okondo, Álava, although site management was awarded to another team with male architects among its members (Figure 14). After the completion of these buildings, there were no more projects or works carried out solely by women architects until 2013.

Figure 11. 23 social housing units, Ermua, Biscay, Otilia Otxoa



Source: Alberto Pinilla Oroz's personal archive

Figure 12. 36 social housing units, Ortuella, Biscay (1995), María Paz Larrumbide



Source: Alberto Pinilla Oroz's personal archive

Figure 13. 32 social housing units, Muskiz, Biscay (1995), Teresa Segura



Source: Alberto Pinilla Oroz's personal archive

Figure 14. 18 social homes, Okondo, Álava (1999), Ana Eguia Solaun



Source: Alberto Pinilla Oroz's personal archive

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

In the first section of this article, Margarita Mendizábal, the first woman architect of Basque origin, showed us the male-dominated and unequal professional practice in the 1950s that the first-generation of women architects had to face. Mendizábal had to practise for twenty years to receive a commission in 1978 for over one hundred social housing units in Tres Cantos. This commission is the largest social housing project she was granted in her professional career.

In the second section, the study presents an overview of the evolution of women's presence in architecture in the Basque Country, focusing the analytical framework on public housing between 1982 and 2008. A previous study in higher education showed that the School of Architecture of the UPV/EHU became a relevant agent for female agency in architecture in the Basque Country. Nevertheless, this fact was not reflected in professional practising



by reviewing the number of enrolments at the Architects Association—and therefore in the professional sphere—where the presence of women remained very low from the early eighties until 2010, approximately.

The timeline for designing the first public housing projects where at least a woman architect belonged to the design team began in 1982 in the province of Biscay, shortly after the Basque Government received power over housing and town planning. Álava was the next province in the late eighties, and Gipuzkoa did not have a social housing project with female co-authorship until 1993.

On one hand, it should be noted that women's participation in social housing projects increased considerably between 1997 and 2002 (Table 3), precisely before the 2008 crisis. However, the number of women architects keeps on being barely lower than men architects developing social housing projects in the Basque Country during this period.

On the other hand, it is remarkable that there are few social housing projects exclusively designed by women architects working alone. This trend changed over the following years, especially after the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but the numbers were still lower than projects drafted by mixed teams or by male architects.

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it should be also noted that projects by women architects in the Basque Country were part of a pioneer initiative in displaying the specific contributions of women architects through the exhibition on architecture by women called *Construir desde el interior (Building From the Inside)*. The work of architects Gloria Aríztegui, Beatriz Matos, Gloria Iriarte, and María Paz Larrumbide figured among the exhibitors.

Finally, it can be concluded that women architects in the Basque Country have been present in the design and construction of public housing since the transfer of powers to the Basque Government (1982) once Franco's dictatorship ended and the Spanish transition period to democracy advanced in the territory.

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# ARCHITECTURE COMPETITIONS AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR YOUNG WOMEN ARCHITECTS. THE CASE OF THE COMPETITION FOR RURAL SUBSIDISED HOUSING AND THE CANARIAN MAGÜI GONZÁLEZ, 1981-85

## LOS CONCURSOS DE ARQUITECTURA COMO OPORTUNIDAD PARA JÓVENES ARQUITECTAS. EL CASO DEL CONCURSO DE VIVIENDA PROTEGIDA EN EL MEDIO RURAL Y LA CANARIA MAGÜI GONZÁLEZ, 1981-85

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### Abstract

The Spanish democratic transition (1975-1982) was a time when architecture competitions with open and anonymous participation gradually began to appear, a phenomenon that coincided with the progressive incorporation of women architects into the discipline. The first part of this article analyses the situation of these competitions by studying their repercussions in 16 Spanish professional architectural journals belonging to both consolidated and emerging Spanish Architects' Associations. The participation of women architects is also analysed in order to assess whether these competitions were a source of professional opportunities for them. In the second section, the article studies the Competition for Architectural Solutions for Officially Subsidised Single-Family Housing in Rural Areas (1981-83), a nationwide call with the most significant participation of

architecture professionals (more than 1.000) and with a notable number of selected proposals by women architects. This study shows that women architects working in peripheral areas of the Spanish territory had a special presence in this competition, with the Canary Islands being the most remarkable case, for both the good results of its female participants and its ultra-peripheral location. Among the participating women architects, Magüi González stands out for the quality of her proposal and for being the only female professional who eventually obtained a commission from this competition. Finally, the investigation focuses, from a compositional, constructive and design culture perspective, on González's final built project: 30 dwellings in Juan Grande in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (1983-85), which was, indeed, her *opera prima* and was eventually awarded an important regional architecture prize.

**Keywords:** history of women; women architects; architectural journals; architecture competitions; rural housing; social housing; Spanish democratic transition; Spanish architecture; Canary Islands.

## Resumen

En España, la transición democrática (1975-1982) fue el periodo en el que poco a poco comenzaron a convocarse concursos de arquitectura con participación abierta y anónima, un fenómeno que coincidió con la progresiva incorporación de las mujeres arquitectas a la disciplina. La primera parte de este artículo analiza la situación de estos concursos valorando, para ello, su repercusión en 16 revistas profesionales de arquitectura españolas vinculadas a los Colegios Oficiales de Arquitectos tanto consolidados como emergentes. También se estudia la participación de las mujeres arquitectas en ellos para valorar si los concursos publicados supusieron un área de oportunidad profesional para ellas. En su segunda parte, el artículo profundiza en el Concurso de Soluciones Arquitectónicas de Viviendas Unifamiliares de Protección Oficial en el Medio Rural (1981-83), el certamen de ámbito nacional con la mayor participación de profesionales (más de un millar) y que también contó con un notable número de propuestas realizadas por arquitectas. Este estudio demuestra que las mujeres arquitectas que trabajaban en zonas periféricas del país tuvieron una especial presencia en el concurso, siendo Canarias el territorio más destacado, tanto por los buenos resultados de sus arquitectas como por su condición ultraperiférica. De entre las diversas participantes, la arquitecta Magüi González destaca por la gran calidad de su propuesta y por ser la única que logró obtener un encargo derivado de dicho concurso. Por último, la investigación se centra, desde una perspectiva compositiva, constructiva y proyectual, en la obra finalmente construida por González: 30 viviendas en Juan Grande, en Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (1983-85), proyecto que de hecho fue su *opera prima* y que acabó recibiendo un importante premio regional de arquitectura.

**Palabras clave:** historia de las mujeres; arquitectas; revistas de arquitectura; concursos de arquitectura; vivienda rural; vivienda social; transición democrática española; arquitectura española; Islas Canarias.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Architect Magüi González García (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1953) is one of the pioneer Spanish women architects from the Canary Islands. She graduated from the School of Architecture of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria in 1978 and developed her professional career in parallel with her academic activity as a design studio professor at the School.

Magüi González started working in the transition period, from the end of the Francoist regime to the current democracy (1975-1982). Her case is an example of how young women architects began to work at a time when new job opportunities were opening up thanks to the new impetus that anonymous and open architecture competitions were getting in Spain. Her *opera prima*, 30 Social Housing Units in Juan Grande (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1983-1985), was a commission derived from the most relevant architectural competition in the democratic transition, the call for Architectural Solutions for Officially Subsidised Single-Family Housing in Rural Areas, in 1981.

This article analyses the situation and evolution of architecture competitions in Spain during the change brought about by the arrival of democracy, and studies whether this change was a real opportunity for new generations of women architects to start practising the architecture profession.

## 2. ARCHITECTURE COMPETITIONS IN SPAIN, 1969-1996

In the Spanish architectural context, the years of transition from the end of Franco's dictatorship to the consolidation of a democratic state (1975-1982)<sup>1</sup>

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1. For this period of Spanish history, historians determine different chronologies according to certain relevant milestones, choosing in this case the one that runs from the death of the dictator on 20 November 1975 to the elections of 28 October 1982, when a party from the democratic opposition rather than from the Franco regime came to power. However, for the chronological study by year included in the graphs of this text, the transition is framed between 1 January 1976 and 31 December 1982.



were the stage for numerous changes, including a significant increase in the number of calls for architecture competitions, which coincided in time with the progressive incorporation of women into the architectural profession. As is well known, the number of women architects has grown enormously since the 1970s, being 19% of the new female graduates in public schools of architecture in the 1980s and reaching parity in the mid-1990s (Pérez-Moreno & Santos Pedrosa, 2020).

Architecture competitions became an opportunity for young architects to get commissions. Different kinds of calls were usually published in professional architectural journals. These competitions helped to alleviate shortcomings detected in Spain, like the provision of schools<sup>2</sup>, to resolve critical points in the urban layout<sup>3</sup> or to meet new programmes of needs, like the headquarters of the emerging Colegios Oficiales de Arquitectos, (Professional) Architects' Associations, or simply AAs<sup>4</sup> and other administrative headquarters of regional and state public bodies. Many architects in the profession, therefore, hoped that architecture competitions would become not only an occasional job opportunity, but also a regular source of work<sup>5</sup>.

In parallel, architecture professional journals experienced a real flowering, which peaked at the end of the 1980s. These journals were ideal for announcing competition calls and further comments on proposals, award

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2. The most relevant was the Competition for Architectural Solutions for Schools, held in 1979 to implement school prototypes throughout the country (Concurso de Centros Escolares (I), 1979; Concurso de Centros Escolares (II), 1979).

3. Like the Competition for the Development of the Sector of the Basilica of *San Francisco el Grande*, *Puerta de Toledo* and the Fish Market, in Madrid (Ezquiaga, 1982), or the Seafront Promenade in Sada, Galicia (Concurso de estudios de Remodelación..., 1978).

4. Numerous competitions were held regarding this type of institution: headquarters for Autonomous Communities, like Valencian Community and Murcia (1978), Galicia (1980) or Extremadura (1981), and branch offices, like the ones in the provinces of Barcelona (1976) and Burgos (1979).

5. In an article in the journal *El Croquis* in 1982, Antonio Vélez Catrain (1944–) lists the virtues and obstacles that plagued the few architecture competitions existing at the time, expressing his wish that more of them be promoted in order to turn them into a real source of work for young architects (Vélez, 1982).

submissions, and authors. Gradually, a growing number of women architects joined these competitions. With the publication of the juries' opinions and the best-evaluated proposals in specialised journals, they began to make their work visible. However, submissions to architecture competitions rarely turned into official commissions. Hence, the research question is: Did the growth of architecture competitions turn into real opportunities for women architects?

The professional journals of architecture are a relevant source for assessing the presence of women architects in competitions. In Spain, there was a period from 1975 to 2008 when the professional journals belonging to the AAs were numerous, reaching the peak of publications in 1989, with 13 different journals coexisting simultaneously<sup>6</sup>. Before 1975, the only existing ones were the long-established *Arquitectura* (1918) of the AA of Madrid and *Cuadernos de Arquitectura y Urbanismo* (1944) of the AA of Catalonia. Figure 1 presents the progressive increase of professional architectural journals from 1969 to 1996, when the number of publications stalled at eleven and started to decline<sup>7</sup>. It can be noted that the number of journals published simultaneously rose to seven publications in the democratic transition and to thirteen in the 1980s. Journals like *Obradoiro* (1978), of the AA of Galicia, *Aldaba* (1980), of Aragon, *AQ Arquitectura* (1981), of Eastern Andalusia, *Basa* (1982), of the Canary Islands, and *Oeste* (1983), of the COA of Extremadura, among others, belonged to peripheral areas of the country.

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6. This singular phenomenon was associated with the new Spanish territorial model adopted in the democratic years, which brought the progressive decentralisation of the AAs into minor entities in each region. Almost every new AA had its professional journal.

7. From 1996 to 2008, these journals only decreased to 9. However, after six years of economic crisis, in 2013, the only remaining professional journals were the ones that first appeared, those of the AAs of Madrid and Catalonia.

Architecture Competitions as an Opportunity for Young Women Architects: The Case of the Competition for Rural Subsidised Housing and the Canarian Magüi González, 1981-85

Figure 1. List of the 16 professional architectural journals analysed from 1969 to 1996 and percentages of women architects whose published work is a competition entry

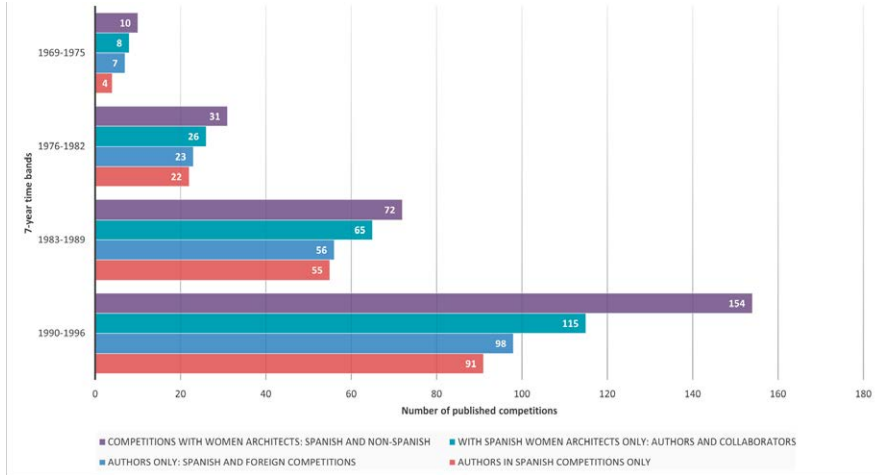
JOURNALS FROM THE OFFICIAL ASSOCIATIONS OF ARCHITECTS (OAA)	LATE FRANCOISM					TRANSITION					LAST 7 YEARS OF THE EIGHTIES					FIRST 7 YEARS OF THE NINETIES												
	1969	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	1996
<b>ARQUITECTURA</b> OAA Madrid	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
<b>CUADERNOS DE ARQUITECTURA (QUADERNS)</b> OAA Catalonia	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey
<b>ARQUITECTOS</b> Higher Council of Architects Assoc. in Spain							Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
<b>OBRADOIRO</b> OAA Galicia																												
<b>ALDABA/BLOC</b> OAA Aragon & La Rioja												Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
<b>A.Q. ARQUITECTURA</b> OAA Oriental Andalusia																												Red
<b>BASA</b> OAA Canary Islands															Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
<b>OESTE. Revista de Arquitectura y Urbanismo</b> OAA Extremadura																												Red
<b>COTA CERO</b> OAA Asturias																Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
<b>ARQUIMUR</b> OAA Murcia																												Red
<b>URBANISMO</b> OAA Madrid																												Yellow
<b>DOCUMENTOS DE ARQUITECTURA</b> OAA Oriental Andalusia - Almeria Branch																												Grey
<b>BAU. Revista de Arquitectura, Urbanismo, Arte y Diseño</b> COA Castile and León																												Yellow
<b>IP'A. Revista balear d'arquitectura</b> OAA Balearic Islands																												Red
<b>CATÁLOGOS DE ARQUITECTURA</b> OAA Murcia																												Yellow
<b>DAU. Debats d'Arquitectura i Urbanisme</b> OAA Catalonia - Llerida Branch																												Grey
<b>PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ARCHITECTS IN THESE JOURNALS WHOSE PUBLISHED WORK IS A COMPETITION ENTRY</b>	<b>33%</b>					<b>39%</b>					<b>38%</b>					<b>43%</b>												

Source: Authors, 2023

Architecture competitions were relevant in these professional journals, as did the women architects who participated in them. From the democratic transition on, at least 38% of the women whose works appear in these journals did so through architectural competitions. A quantitative analysis of the competitions in which women took part published in professional journals shows that the participation of women architects in these competitions increased over time. In the last decade of Franco's regime (1965-1975), professional journals published ten architecture competitions where women architects took part. This number increased to 31 during the years of democratic transition (1976-1982), and to 226 in the following years —72 competitions from 1983 to 1989 and 154 from 1990 to 1996 (Figure 2). Some of these

competitions were for building in Spanish territory, others were abroad, and both Spanish and foreign women architects participated.

**Figure 2.** Architecture competitions published in Architects Associations professional journals with female participation, 1969-1996



Source: Authors, 2023

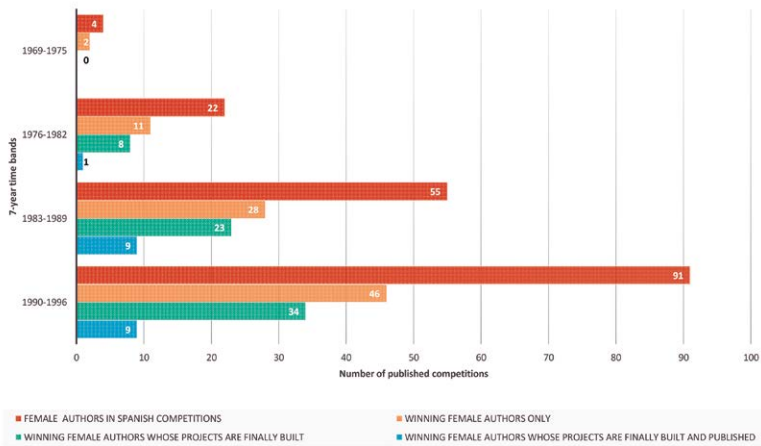
As Figure 2 presents, the democratic transition was a turning point for women architects who participated in architecture competitions and showed their proposals published in professional journals. It was a period with many competitions that called for the participation of hundreds of architects, Spanish and foreigners, men and women. The competition with the highest participation rate was for Architectural Solutions for Officially Subsidised Single-Family Housing in Rural Areas, celebrated in 1981<sup>8</sup>. It had 772 proposals submitted, all of them by Spanish architects. At that moment, the country had around 12,000 registered architects (CSCAE, 1986), which implies that 9% of the country’s architects (men and women) participated in it.

The following architecture competitions with the highest participation were: the competition for the Madrid Islamic Cultural Centre (1979), with

8. From now on, we refer to this architecture competition as ‘Rural Subsidised Housing’.

461 proposals (219 by Spanish architects); the aforementioned Competition for Architectural Solutions for Schools, with 142 proposals; the Ideas Competition for the Civic Centre of *La Vaguada*, in Madrid (1980), with 129 proposals; and the fifth one, the Competition for Preliminary Designs for the New Building of the Association of Architects in Burgos, known as the *Casa del Cubo* (1979), with 120 proposals.

**Figure 3.** Architecture Competitions published in Architects Associations professional journals with female authors and winning-participation, 1969-1996

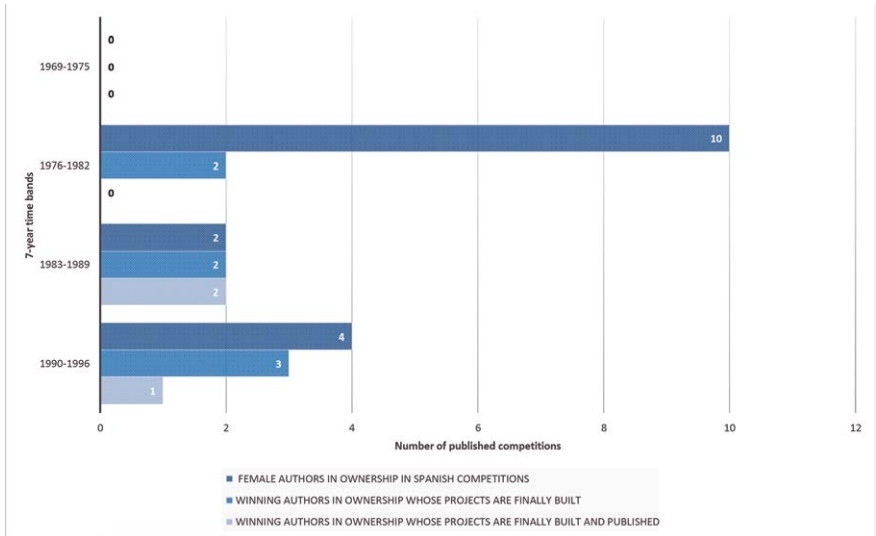


Source: Authors, 2023

In these years, around half of the submissions with women in the teams won the calls, in particular, 11 out of the 22 architecture competitions of this period (Figure 3). This trend continued in the following years, where 28 out of 55 architecture competitions celebrated in the 1980s were won by teams with women architects in them, and 46 out of 91 in the 1990s. Indeed, most of them were finally built: 73% of the winning proposals in the democratic transition, 82% in the 1980s and 74% in the 1990s. Moreover, the democratic transition is the historical period when women architects who led their private architectural practices (without male architect colleagues) won

more architecture competitions<sup>9</sup>. Of all the winning submissions designed by women architects working in ownership, ten were celebrated from 1976 to 1982, two from 1983 to 1989 and four from 1990 to 1996, even though the number of women in architecture steadily increased. However, of the ten winning submissions between 1976 and 1982, only two of them were finally built, other two were built between 1983 and 1989, and three between 1990 and 1996 (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Architecture Competitions published in Architects Associations professional journals with female winning-participation working in ownership, 1969-1996



Source: Authors, 2023

9. From now on, we use the term ‘in ownership’ to refer to those women architects who ran their private architectural practices alone or in the company of a female partner, excluding those who shared leadership with other male architects. The term ‘female authors’ includes both women working in ownership and those sharing leadership with male architects. These two terms do not comprise those men and women who worked as salaried employees or collaborators and, as such, do not participate as co-owners of the practice or appear as co-authors of the projects.

Of the ten winning proposals in the transition years, eight of them responded to the most popular architectural competition of the period: the competition for Rural Subsidised Housing—the other two were proposals submitted to the Garden Competition held in the Community of Madrid in 1981 (Noticias, 1982, p. 7)<sup>10</sup>. This competition called for proposals for housing designs in multiple locations along all the Spanish territory. Magui Gonzalez's proposal was one of the winning submissions for the Canary Islands. Although the project was not finally built, it was decisive for her first commission and built project.

### 3. A MASSIVE COMPETITION: THE CASE OF THE RURAL SUBSIDISED HOUSING

The competition of the Rural Subsidised Housing was created after the Royal Decree 1614/1981 of July 3, 1981, on the public promotion of subsidised housing in rural areas and the complementary measures of Royal Decree 1156/1982 of May 14, 1982. With these documents, the Spanish State recognised that the uniqueness of the rural environment, its architecture and the lives of its inhabitants, required singular regulatory measures to differentiate its subsidised housing developments from those in the city. The Directorate General of Architecture and Housing, the ministerial body responsible for housing and organiser of the competition (DGAV), recognised that «the current situation of rural settlements [was] the consequence imposed by a social, architectural and town planning policy, aimed at achieving interests alien to those of the men and women affected»<sup>11</sup> (Mingo & Velasco, 1983a, p. 28), and that the competition could be an ideal starting point to halt a

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10. In June 1982, the City Council of Madrid called for an open competition to construct and consolidate 35 garden areas in the city. Two of the 30 winning entries (5 areas were declared void) were designed by women architects: the park Vallecas Villa, by Nora Alicia Bozzini Bacigaluppo (who also participated in the competition for Rural Subsidised Housing) and the Plaza de las Regiones gardening, by María Luisa Bujarrábal Fernández.

11. Translation by the authors. Original quotation: «La situación actual de los asentamientos rurales es la consecuencia impuesta por una política social, arquitectónica y urbanística, dirigida al logro de unos intereses ajenos al de los hombres y mujeres afectados».

process of modernisation without criteria, which was leading to the deterioration and «homogenisation of the traditional habitat [...] alien to the social and cultural singularities» (p. 28)<sup>12</sup>. The basis of the competition was to enhance and update the traditional type of rural single-family housing to adapt it to the new needs, even aspiring to stop the exodus of the population from rural areas to the cities.

### 3.1. Competition Rules and Rewards

The competition was a public, open and anonymous call. Anonymity allowed the selection of submissions on equal terms for all participants, which implied a fair opportunity for architects who were not linked to the promoting bodies with decision-making power. The anonymous competition contributed to an equal evaluation of the submissions by emerging professionals and, among them, to the growing number of women architects. It represented, therefore, a change concerning the Franco's years, when the non-regulation of the question of anonymity coexisted with the frequent appeal to direct commissioning (Muñoz, 2000)<sup>13</sup>. It was not until 1984 that the anonymity of those participating in competitions became compulsory, thanks to the Internal Regulations of the Architects Associations (Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, 1984).

The proposals were not linked to a specific site, as the competition sought to set the typological guidelines for future residential housing interventions in the selected rural areas throughout Spain<sup>14</sup>. The authors of the winning submissions got 100,000 pesetas and the commission fees for a

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12. Translation by the authors. Original quotation: «La homogeneización del hábitat tradicional es ajeno (sic) a las singularidades sociales y culturales».

13. After Franco's regime, in the transition years, there were also counterexamples, such as the Competition for Architectural Solutions for Schools (1979), where anonymity was dispensed with by requiring the work teams to include a curriculum showing their previous experience in the construction of school architecture—according to Lluís Domènech Girbau in an opinion article in the journal *Arquitectura*, of the AA of Madrid, on the occasion of the decision and publication of the chosen proposals (Domènech, 1979).

14. The 50 provinces that make up the 17 autonomous communities of Spain. The autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla are attached to the province of Malaga, in Andalusia.



basic design. However, there was no compromise to build the winning projects. Still, the organisers celebrated the event, curating modest regional exhibitions, publishing a catalogue depicting the winning designs (DGAV, 1983) and explaining the whole competition process<sup>15</sup>. As this call covered the entire national territory, the response was tremendous, mobilising 772 Spanish architectural firms. The organisational efforts implied the creation of 50 provincial juries and one national jury. The selected proposals were 178 out of the 772 ones submitted after a complex selection process. In the first phase, the provincial juries had to choose between 6 and 12 of the submitted entries for their respective region; in that phase, the number of the shortlisted proposals was 393<sup>16</sup>. Of these, the national jury had to choose up to four proposals per province: they finally selected 141 of them, awarding mentions to a further 23 (two of which were out of competition). Finally, the DGAV awarded 14 additional preliminary designs. All these resulted in the 178 proposals commissioned for further development into base designs and consequently published in a catalogue of housing solutions for rural areas.

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15. This is the case, for example, in the Autonomous Community of the Canary Islands, whose AA hosted the corresponding exhibition with the submitted proposals for this area in June 1982.

16. The lists of the provincial juries were not published, so it is impossible to know if they had female participation in them. What is known is that every province had a jury of at least five members each. As for the national jury, a committee of 8 members chaired it, all men: Antonio Vallejo Acevedo, managing director of the DGAV, Gerardo Mingo Pinacho as secretary and José Carlos Velasco López (both representatives of the DGAV), Francisco Riesgo Paesa (of the Instituto para la Promoción Pública de la Vivienda), Joaquín Cores Uría (from the Higher Council of Architects Associations in Spain or CSCAE), Efrén García Fernández (Ministry of Territorial Administration) and, by appointment of the participants of the competition, Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza (2nd in votes) and Antonio Vázquez de Castro (7th in votes). They were chosen after five of the architects most voted by the participants in the competition excused from attending or resigned; the ones that did not want to be part of the jury were the architects Rafael Moneo, Alejandro de la Sota, Antonio Fernández Alba, Julio Cano Lasso and Luis Peña Ganchequi. This fact is striking, although it could be interpreted as a possible sign of disaffection with the type of competition.

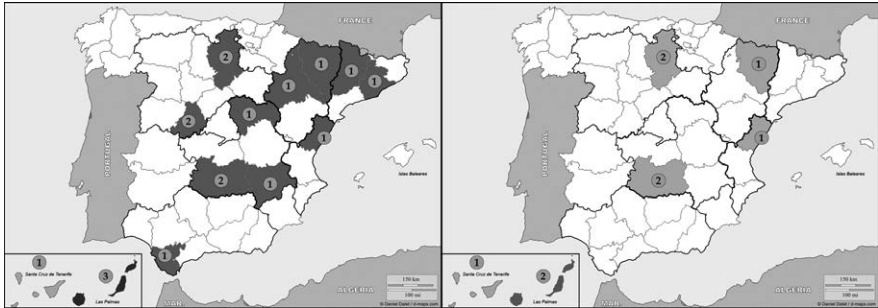
### 3.2. Women Architects' Participation and Excellence

The exact number of women architects who officially attended the competition is still undetermined, as a complete list of the participants was never published. Nevertheless, the exhibition catalogues are relevant for analysing female and male participation. More than 1000 architects submitted 772 entries. The catalogue includes the names of 248 authors of the 178 selected submissions, of which 10,1%, 18 submissions, have female architects in the team. Half of these entries were submitted by women working with men, and the other half by women working in ownership, eight by independent architects and one by two architects working in an all-female team: these constitute 5.05% of the selected entries. By contrast, the 113 participating freelance male architects constitute 63.5% of the selected entries, and 47 (26.4%) were designed by all-male teams. These data illustrate the huge gender difference of the participants.

Notwithstanding, the participation of women working in ownership, working alone or in association with other women, was remarkable. A comparison with the second biggest competition of the democratic transition, the Madrid Islamic Cultural Centre (Notas Breves, 1980; Union Internationale des Architectes, 1980), provides interesting data. The call for the Madrid Islamic Cultural Centre gathered 400 Spanish architects belonging to 219 firms. In this case, the percentage of women architects working in ownership descends to 0.99%, a value 5.66 times lower than the Competition for Rural Subsidised Housing. The latter attracted the participation of firms from practically all over Spain. The criterion of selecting a maximum number of four proposals according to provinces leads to a higher number of selected entries in the autonomous communities composed of more provinces: Castile and León, and Andalusia. Figure 5 presents the geographical distribution of the selected entries in which women architects participated. The scenario shows that the areas where women architects excelled were decentralised. No proposals for women architects in the Madrid region were selected. In contrast, the interior regions of Castile La-Mancha, Castile and León and Aragón stood out with ten women architects, the peripheral regions of Catalonia, the Valencian Community and Andalusia with four, and the ultra-peripheral region of the Canary

Islands also with four proposals designed by women architects, three of them working in ownership. This data, indeed, made this region the most successful one in terms of female leadership.

**Figure 5.** Geographical location of the selected entries with female authorship, grouped by provinces. Left: women + men architects; right: women architects in ownership



Source: Authors, 2023

This geographical pattern resonates with the media coverage of the competition in professional architectural journals. While the national journal of the CSCAE, *Arquitectos* (Concurso de Anteproyectos..., 1982), published the list of architects selected by the national jury, grouping them by provinces, the journals of the rest of the AAs published articles about the proposals related to their territories. It is the case of the journals of the AA of Aragon and *Aldaba* (Concurso de soluciones arquitectónicas para viviendas situadas en medio rural, 1982), the Canary Islands and *Basa* (Concurso de la vivienda rural, 1982), Extremadura and *Oeste* (Concurso: Vivienda rural, 1983) and Eastern Andalusia and the journal *AQ Arquitectura* (Proyectos premiados en el concurso sobre vivienda rural en Andalucía Oriental, 1984)<sup>17</sup>. Indeed, the journals of the main focuses of architectural debate,

17. It should be noted that this topic is published in the first issues of these journals, when in some cases, they still needed a definitive name, as in the case of the journals *Basa* in the Canary Islands and *AQ Arquitectura* in Eastern Andalusia. Outside the strictly architectural field, the preliminary projects of several provinces were collected in the journal *Informes de la Construcción*, belonging to the Higher Centre for

the cities of Madrid and Barcelona, did not devote a single article or review to the competition for Subsidised Rural Housing—the winning women architects, therefore, found in the non-historical and non-central journals a more favourable environment for the visibility of their work.

In 1983, the final catalogue of solutions comprised a total of 178 proposals, including ‘selected’ and ‘distinguished’ submissions throughout Spain, which had been developed by the architects up to the level of the base design. In the terms and conditions of the competition for Subsidised Rural Housing, the aim was to encourage the continuity of the commitment of the chosen architectural firms so that the awarded authors would be involved in the transition from the base design to the executive design and construction management to achieve their architectural solution. Figure 6 shows the identity, region and the women architects who participated in the competition. It also shows that almost 80% of the women involved in the competitions with good results—with selected proposals and proposals with mentions—were under 30 years old; this is relevant data which indicates that the competition was an opportunity for young women architects that were aiming to build and develop a career in the country.

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Scientific Research (Centro Superior de Investigaciones Científicas) [CSIC] (Mingo & Velasco, 1983b).

Figure 6. List of Spanish women architects in the competition for Subsidised Rural Housing

Competition for Subsidised Rural Housing							
	Name and surname <i>(male colleagues)</i>	Age (Oct. 1981)	Graduation year	Result	Level	Autonomous Community (AC)	Projects per AC
Women architects in ownership	Maria Isabel Correa Brito	≤ 25	1981	Selected	2	Canary Islands	3
	Maria Luisa González García	≤ 30	1978	Selected	1	Canary Islands	
	Dolores Figueredo Delgado Beatriz Mariño Casillas	≤ 30 ≤ 30	? 1978-9	Selected	4	Canary Islands	
	Emilia Bisquert Santiago	≤ 45	1965	Selected	4	Castile La-Mancha	3
	Nora A. Bozzini Bacigaluppo	≤ 45	1966	Selected	3	Castile La-Mancha	
	Elvira Garrido-Lestache	≤ 30	1977	Selected	3	Castile-and León	1 (+1)
	Marina Escribano Negueruela	?	?	Distinguished (out of competition)	-	Castile and León	
	Isabel Gandarias Carmona	≤ 25	1980	Selected	4	Valencian Community	1
Carmen Vielba Cuerpo	≤ 30	1980	Selected	4	Aragon	1	
Women architects working with male colleagues	Carme Pinós i Desplat <i>(Enric Miralles Moya)</i>	≤ 30	1979	Selected	4	Catalonia	2
	Gemma Tarragó i Sala <i>(Jordi Bellmunt I Chiva)</i> <i>(Eduard Bru i Bistuer)</i>	≤ 30	1979	Selected	1	Catalonia	
	Nieves Calvo Burgas <i>(Santiago Cristóbal Porras)</i>	≤ 35	1974	Selected (out of competition)	-	Castile and León	2
	Ana Estirado Gorriá <i>(Fernando Magdalena Layos)</i>	≤ 25	1981	Selected	3	Castile and León	
	Adelaida Esteve Campillo <i>(Francisco G<sup>o</sup> Germán Cruz)</i>	?	?	Distinguished (out of competition)	-	Castile La-Mancha	1(+1)
	Ángeles Gonzalo Refusta <i>(Vicente Bernaldo de Quirós)</i>	≤ 30	1977	Selected	4	Castile La-Mancha	
	Bárbara Carolina Petrimi Glez. <i>(Manuel Jesús Martín Hdez.)</i>	≤ 30	1980	Selected	4	Canary Islands	1
	María Rosa Navarro Ariza <i>(José Luis Pérez Sanz)</i>	≤ 30	1977	Selected	3	Andalusia	1
Isabel García Elorza <i>(Manuel Fernández Ramírez)</i>	≤ 35	1971	Selected	3	Aragon	1	

Source: Authors, 2023

Gerardo Mingo Pinacho and José Carlos Velasco López, architects of the DGAV and technical directors of the competition, concluded that «the architect culturally trained in the Modern Movement [assumed] better the maritime and Mediterranean typologies than those of the inland plateau, signifying the Mediterranean origin of modern architecture» (Mingo & Velasco, 1983a, p. 29)<sup>18</sup>. In this sense, the prior evaluation of the provincial juries allowed the selection of proposals through a better knowledge of their capacity to adapt to each local rural environment. The evaluation criteria established in the competition rules prioritised the functional, environmental, climatic, socio-economic, cultural and constructive suitability, the flexibility-adaptability achieved by the solutions, and their aesthetics (Mingo, 1983, p. 42). In their final selection, the national jury applied a rating system for the submissions, assigning 0 to 100 points depending on their quality<sup>19</sup>. Those submissions below 50 points were not selected or mentioned as they did not reach the minimum suitability criteria. Level 4 was for those submissions between 50 and 60 points; Level 3 was for those between 61 and 70; Level 2 was for submissions between 71 and 80; and Level 1 was for those with a score higher than 80 points; which was only achieved by 10% of the submitted entries.

Among all the regions in Spain, the case of the Canary Islands stands out: having two provinces with four selected submissions each, they included the participation of women architects in 50% of these submissions, 75% of them designed by women architects working in ownership (even including one exclusively female team): in the province of Santa Cruz de Tenerife, the proposal by Maribel Correa and, in Las Palmas de Gran

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18. Translation by the authors. Original quotation: «El arquitecto culturalmente formado en el movimiento moderno asume mejor las tipologías marítimas y mediterráneas que las de la meseta interior, significando el origen mediterráneo de la arquitectura moderna».

19. The scoring system implemented by the national jury left as many as 30 provinces with less than the four eligible proposals per province established by the competition rules. There were 10 of these provinces with only one selected proposal.

Canaria, those of Magüi González, Bárbara Petrini and the all-female team of Dolores Figueredo and Beatriz Mariño. Among them, the entry by Magüi González stands out as it was the only assigned Level 1. On the official date of publication of the competition notice (October 1, 1981), all these women architects were under 30 years old and had graduated no more than three years earlier (Figure 6).

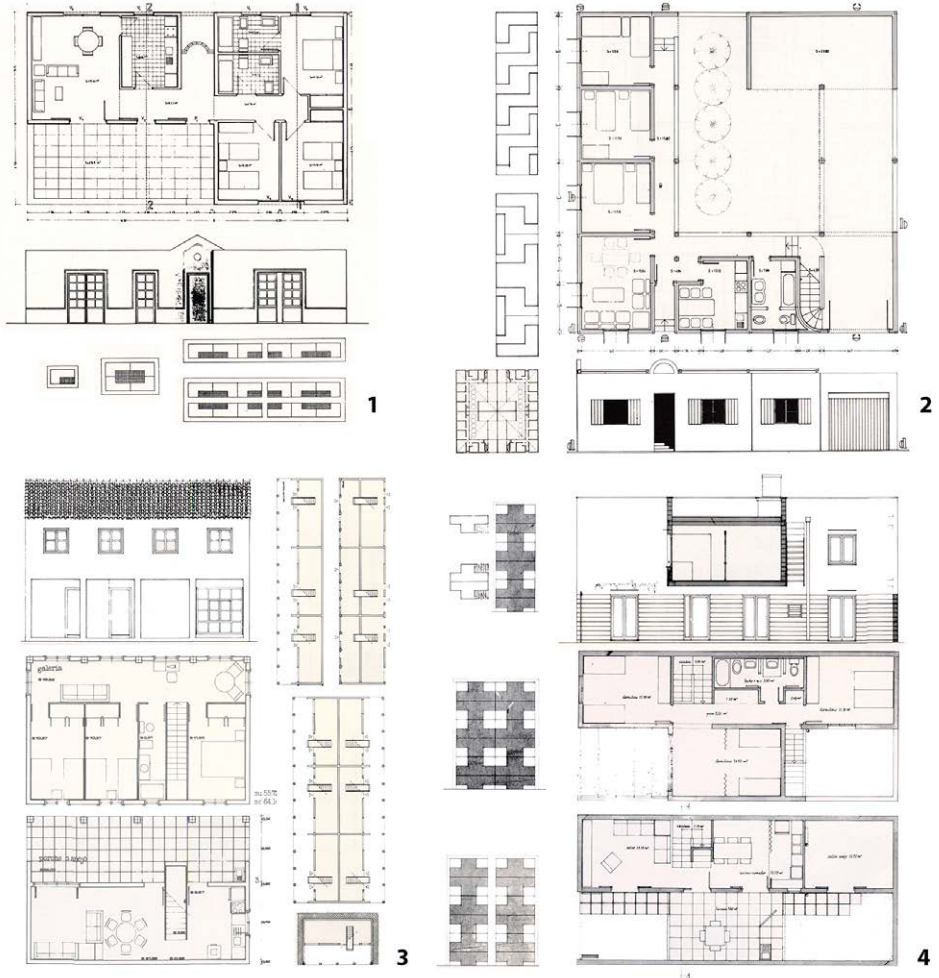
### 3.3. Selected Preliminary Designs in the Canary Islands

The four Canarian solutions with female authorship are diverse: the housing units are resolved on one or two floors, with linear or L-shaped distributions, with different compactness and flat or sloping roofs. Nevertheless, it is possible to find similar features in all (Figure 7). The constructive and structural simplicity stands out, adapted to the local availability of certain materials (proposing, for example, vibrated concrete load-bearing walls in all four cases), with remarkable control over the spans, in the case of Maribel Correa's proposal, and assuming the possibility of self-construction, in the cases of Correa and González's designs.

All of them proposed versatile configurations or groupings, considering the different combinations of housing units (detached, semi-detached, in rows or various blocks) and the different topographical situations in the islands, with proposals adapted to sloping terrain, in the case of Petrini's proposal, and local typological variants in González's alternative version with cave-houses.

The proposals share a particular concern for the relationship between the interior and exterior of the housing unit, resolved with the figure of a patio-terrace in Mariño and Figueredo and Correa's designs, a porch with an upper gallery in González's proposal, or without it in Petrini's one, as well as with the study of the discontinuities of the building envelope—both the patio and the porch abound in local rural architecture references and are the scene of meeting and social activity. Likewise, all the proposals resort to joinery for doors and windows whose configuration, material and proportion recall the vernacular types of the Canary Islands.

**Figure 7:** Selection of Canarian proposals with authorship by women architects in the competition for Subsidised Rural Housing: All-female team of 1) Beatriz Mariño Casillas and Dolores Figueredo Delgado; Tandem of 2) Bárbara Petrini González; and independent proposals of 3) Magüi González García and 4) Maribel Correa Brito



Source: DGAV-MOPU, 1983



In such tight solutions in terms of constructed area and cost, the articulation and significance of these openings serve as an identifying feature for the housing units. This is why the main access is underlined with some gesture: using a formal postmodern nod, in the cases of Petrini, Mariño and Figueredo's proposals; a discontinuity in the volumetric organisation in the case of González's one; the projection of the staircase volume at right-angles to the facade and the overhang of the upper floor above the entrance in the case of Correa's. Some proposals also included a volume destined for typical activities of the rural environment in the form of a shed in Petrini's design, an optional annexe in González's, or an 'agricultural hall' in Correa's. The inclusion of green elements in the courtyards, expressed with trellises for climbing plants in Correa's and rows of trees in Petrini's design, or even the control over the chromatism of some aspects in González's proposals are also strategies for better identification with traditional rural solutions in the islands.

Magüi González's proposal was to implement interior areas of Gran Canaria, her native island. Its archetypal aesthetic echoed the agricultural sheds or barns commonly used in the Canarian archipelago, called *alpendes*. The traditional residential unit had two floors, with a maximum usable area of 90 m<sup>2</sup>, a limit imposed by the competition rules and intended for a family of six people. The housing units were grouped in linear patterns with two different configurations: single rows of houses and pairs of rows facing opposite directions. Her proposal also allowed local typological variants, like the aforementioned cave house type, which was very common in mountainous areas of the island, like Tejeda and Artenara. She showed her concern about the interaction between the inside and outside of the house without losing the ability to control the temperature: she addressed these concerns by including a porch topped by an upper gallery—a feature also found in Canarian rural architecture—and by exploring discontinuities in the envelope, whose configuration, size, materials, and techniques were reminiscent of Canarian vernacular solutions. The covered walkway served as a space for social gatherings and activities, encouraging children to play, sew, and do other handicrafts, as the architect explained in her project description (González, 1983). However, the proposal also offered the option to omit the porch if an annexe for rural activities was required instead.

Given their small surface area and the tight budget set by the competition rules, the structure and prominence of the main entrance served as an identifying feature for the dwellings: González disrupted the continuity of the envelope by designing a staircase that protruded from the facade, determining the position of two direct access routes to the living room and kitchen. The project description set out the architect's intention to seek chromatic solutions—green, red ochre, light brown and white on walls and carpentry—that would allow the houses to blend into the rural environment more convincingly.

Unfortunately, none of the proposals was finally built in the Canary Islands or the Spanish Peninsula. Once the initiative was delegated to each province's regulatory bodies, the continuity of the process was interrupted. However, there were two exceptions, in Granada and the Canary Islands.

The former benefited two male architects, and the latter benefited one young female architect.

The council and municipal housing board from the province of Granada «commissioned projects by the conditions of the competition, with only one prototype of the selected ones being developed», as mentioned in *AQ Arquitectura*, the journal of the Association of Architects of Eastern Andalusia (*AQ Arquitectura*, 1984, p. 11)<sup>20</sup>. We have located this project, consisting of 51 dwellings in Alhama de Granada, designed by the men architects Francisco Ibáñez Sánchez and José Ibáñez Berbel and completed in 1989: the main characteristics of the dwellings correspond to the selected entry in the competition by these same authors (Ibáñez & Ibáñez, 1994). Meanwhile, the government of the province of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria decided to develop a social housing project two years after the competition, and the same year, the catalogue was published. To do that, they commissioned a project similar to the winning proposal designed by Magüi González, which turned out to be her *opera prima* (Delgado Baudet, 2022): 30 social housing units in Juan Grande, a rural town in an undeveloped and agricultural area in the south of Gran Canaria, which she began to design in 1983. According to the architect herself, this was to compensate for the failure to build her winning project in the competition.

#### 4. A BUILDING BY A YOUNG WOMAN ARCHITECT: 30 SOCIAL HOUSING UNITS IN JUAN GRANDE (LAS PALMAS DE GRAN CANARIA), 1983-85

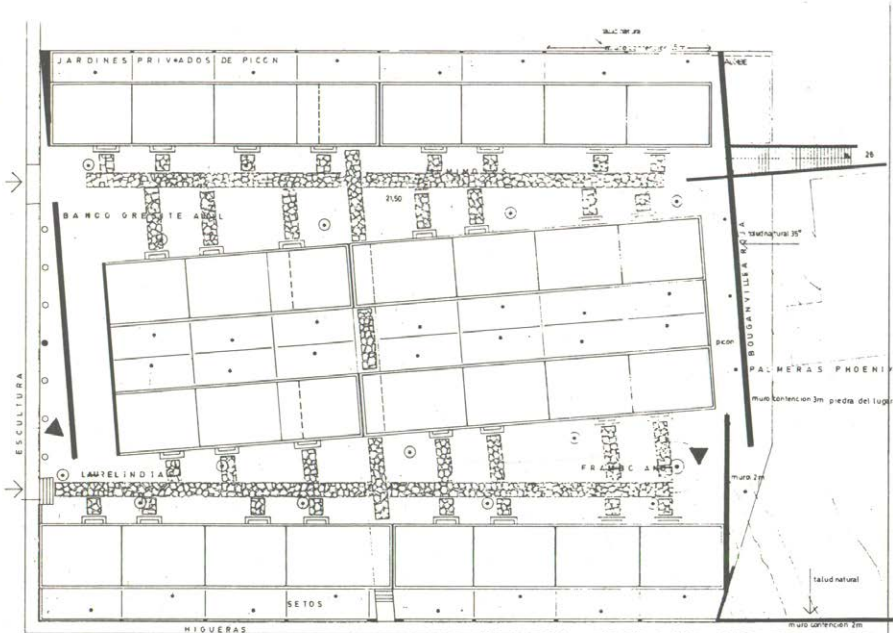
The villa of Juan Grande extended from the former road, which linked the east coast towns to the north and south poles of Gran Canaria, the capital city and the main touristic area of the island. The site revealed an impoverished and barren interior land, 30 metres above sea level and exposed to

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20. Translation by the authors. The initiative of Granada is also mentioned in *Informes de la Construcción*, a journal published by the CSIC (Mingo & Velasco, 1983b, p. 9). Original quotation: «realizó el encargo de unos proyectos, acogándose a las condiciones del concurso, desarrollándose sólo excepcionalmente algún prototipo de los seleccionados».

wind and sun. There was no immediate context, as the plot was located on the town's border, limited by a street on the western side and a slope on the eastern side. In her design, Magüi González revisited the layout of two-storey houses in the kind of rows she proposed in the competition and paid particular attention to the connections between the interstitial spaces separating each row, as well as to the boundaries of the site. This time, a flat foot replaces the gable roof with the Arabic tiles of the competition proposal. The final project also added rear courtyards and gardens for each housing unit.

Figure 8. 30 social housing units in Juan Grande, province of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, by Magüi González: general plan



Source: Architects Association of the Canary Islands, 1987

The layout of the development (Figure 8) featured four housing rows: two rows with eight houses each were positioned on an NNE-SSW axis and flanked the remaining two central rows of seven houses each. The courtyards in the exterior rows were oriented towards the landscape at the northern and southern borders of the site. The central rows were attached by their courtyards and were positioned at a slight angle to the other rows. This diagonal orientation created tension between the central and the exterior rows, preventing the emergence of deep parallel corridors between them. They also promoted large, landscaped passageways which linked to the access routes. Besides, the rows and the eastern slope protected these areas from the frequent winds. A transverse passageway, running from side to side, disrupted the continuity of the rows and linked opposite ends of the development.

The eastern side was flanked by a retaining wall made from local stone. At the opposite end, the houses met the access road: to give this 'main entrance' a representative character, the central rows were recessed to give space to a square, where the paths between the housing rows met despite the harsh conditions of the area. González revisited the former idea of creating a gathering space for social activity. The covered walkway proposed in the competition was replaced by an open square, protected on three sides by the housing rows and enclosed on the west side by a continuous stone bench with a colonnade of seven cylindrical concrete columns (Figure 9). These columns were topped with 'guardian' steel sculptures made by the artist Carlos Peleteiro, who frequently collaborated with González. This sum of features dignifies the space in connection to the street and the rest of the town.

**Figure 9.** 30 social housing units in Juan Grande, province of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, by Magüi González: gathering area at the entrance. Left: as published in 1987; right: as photographed in 2023

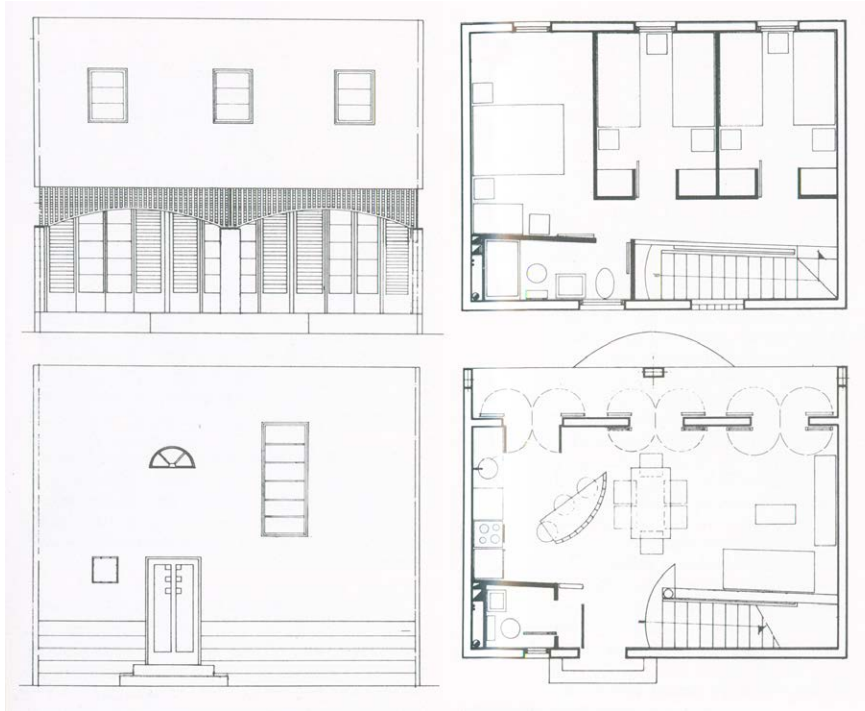


Source: Architects Association of the Canary Islands, 1987 (left); María Rodríguez Cadenas, 2023 (right)

The elongated volumes of the housing rows, with ochre facades featuring controlled, uniform voids, blended satisfactorily into the surrounding landscape. Here, González had the opportunity to develop her interest in establishing green spaces and using local plant species. The eastern end of the development was finished off with Canary Island palms, and the retaining wall was topped by red bougainvillea, which served as a backdrop for the passageways. In the access areas, the architect alternated Indian laurels and Royal Poincianas, which grew very tall and shaded the gathering area and paths. Finally, González enclosed each rear courtyard with a lower wall reminiscent of the windbreaks used in local banana plantations and inserted a fig tree inside each one to enable or prevent direct sunlight from the south, depending on the time of year. Except for the access routes, Magüi Gonzalez

selected flagstones for the ground and *picón* stones for the courtyards. This very inexpensive local volcanic aggregate retained moisture and protected the substrate.

**Figure 10.** 30 social housing units in Juan Grande, province of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, by Magüi González: standard model floor plans and front and rear elevations



Source: Architects Association of the Canary Islands, 1987

The Spartan layout of the houses (Figure 10), with three bedrooms on the first floor and a single living, dining and kitchen space linked to a porch on the ground floor, did not preclude the use of subtle strategies to streamline the interiors. One example is the slightly slanted line of the staircase—no longer free-standing as in the competition but attached to the entrance—and the partitioning of the bathrooms, which broke the monotony of the

interior divisions. It allowed the bathrooms to be made larger and avoided the excessive narrowness of the upper floor corridor. The articulation of the entrance to the ground-floor bathroom mitigated its position next to the house's front door. A curved partition highlighted the visual separation between the kitchen and the living room, replacing the task assigned to the staircase in the competition. This opaque curved partition, which in the published plans seems to be solved with glass bricks, also served as furniture (Figure 11). The ground floor was connected to the enclosed courtyard via large voids in the facade, which was set back from the first-floor volume to create a shaded outdoor porch. The configuration of the houses in the development enabled cross ventilation in the indoor spaces. Meanwhile, sunlight reached the entrance through a grid of small square glass holes in the main door but was attenuated in the opposite facade with louvred shutters in front of the glazed access doors and an 'arcade' of indigo-tinted wooden latticework, which was reminiscent of the vernacular architecture.

**Figure 11.** 30 social housing units in Juan Grande, province of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, by Magüi González: streamlined interior spaces, despite the tight budget in social housing. Left: entrance area; right: curved partition with integrated furniture



Source: Architects Association of the Canary Islands, 1987



The low budget for the social housing development did not stop Magüi González from successfully adopting solutions that produced a more prosperous result, such as the inclusion of small artworks—like Peleteiro's proposals—the interplay of voids and colours on the facades and the evocation of vernacular elements in the carpentry or the courtyard lower walls. In this sense, it is also worth mentioning the improvement of the interior and exterior areas of the houses with specific details that enrich the otherwise monotonous layout solutions, such as the whole treatment of the foot of the staircase (landing steps, handrails, newel posts and caps) and the partition between the kitchen and living room (Figure 11); the curved landing step to the courtyard; the balanced pattern of diverse windows in the front facades; and the latticework on the rear ones. Currently, as part of a self-building process similar to that observed at the PREVI houses in Lima, the uniformity of the elevations, the spaces between the rows, and the courtyards have disappeared and been colonised by successive extensions that have altered the volumetry of the development and transformed the access routes into narrow open corridors (Figure 12).

Figure 12. 30 Social housing units in Juan Grande, province of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, by Magüi González. Top: Southern facade with the latticework arcade as published in 1987; bottom: the current state is determined by the self-construction process



Source: Architects Association of the Canary Islands, 1987 (top); María Rodríguez Cadenas, 2023 (bottom)

In 1985, Magüi González won first prize for her *opera prima* in the II Manuel de Oráa y Arcocha Architecture Prize, a regional award by the local AA. The prize was awarded *ex-aequo* with Canarian architect Maribel Correa for her stationery and press logistics centre, a family-run business called *García y Correa S. L.* (Edificio García y Correa, 1987)—Maribel Correa was also selected in the competition for Rural Subsidised Housing among 32 other applicants. The jury of the Manuel de Oráa Awards included one woman, Maisa Navarro (professor of Art History at the University of La Laguna, specialised in architecture), together with Carlos Guigou (dean of the AA of the Canary Islands), Manuel Martín (professor of Architecture at the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria) and guest architects Álvaro Siza and Lluís Clotet. In the final report, the jury valued:

The adaptation of the work to the place, the landscape, the way of life and the local architectural culture, without falling into mimicry, as well as the ability to achieve a worthy work of architecture, appropriate to the limited constructive and economic means<sup>21</sup>. (Acta del Jurado, 1987)

Accordingly, Magüi González's award-winning project was published in the sixth issue (October 1987) of the professional journal from the islands, *Basa*, which gave visibility to her name and work (Pérez-Moreno & Delgado Baudet, 2023).

## 5. CONCLUSION

This article raises the question of whether open and anonymous competitions were a source of opportunity for women architects. The first part of the article gives an overview of the situation of architecture competitions in the Spanish democratic transition, as well as in the years before and after, through the publication of these competitions in professional architectural journals. Its analysis confirms that there was a growing number of calls throughout Spain with the participation of women architects, so the possibility of considering it as a source of opportunity is accurate.

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21. Translation by the authors. Original quotation: «la adecuación de la obra al lugar, el paisaje, la manera de vida y cultura arquitectónica local, sin caer en mimetismos, así como la habilidad para conseguir una obra de arquitectura digna, adecuada a los medios constructivos y económicos limitados».

The second part of the article analyses a specific case, the most relevant competition of the Spanish transition period, which mobilised more than 1,000 architecture professionals and with numerous institutions involved in its development. Its study shows that the participation of women in it was high and excellent, as several projects designed by young women architects were rated as examples of good practices. It also shows that the excellence took place in decentralised areas of the Spanish territory, far away from its capital, Madrid, and, therefore, from the historical powers linked to architecture. In this situation, the Canary Islands was the most remarkable case, both for the good results of its female participants (three of them in ownership) and its ultra-peripheral location. However, the analysis also shows that the competition failed in a way. The construction of the 178 selected prototypes for Subsidised Rural Housing would have meant a clear advance in the planning and adaptation of rural areas in the 50 provinces of Spain. However, of the dozens of potential projects initially planned, only two turned out in actual buildings.

The third part of the article reflects the personal success of an outstanding woman architect, Magüi González who, despite the difficulties and complexity of the competition, had the possibility of developing her *opera prima* thanks to it. Her situation, although minoritarian and perhaps anecdotal, is an example of how a young woman architect, working in a peripheral region of the country, was able to start her professional career because of the existence of open and anonymous architecture competitions.

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# INCLUSION OF WOMEN ARCHITECTS INTO THE CULTURAL FIELD OF SPANISH COMPETITIONS: STRUGGLING FOR PROFESSIONAL RECOGNITION FROM THE PERIPHERY (1978-2008)

## INCORPORACIÓN DE LAS ARQUITECTAS AL CAMPO CULTURAL DEL CONCURSO ESPAÑOL: LUCHANDO POR EL RECONOCIMIENTO PROFESIONAL DESDE LO PERIFÉRICO (1978-2008)

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### Abstract

A retrospective look at the architecture competitions held and reported in Spain between the years of transition to democracy and the aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2008 allows us to verify, from a sociological and historiographical approach, the progressive inclusion of women into the complex and traditionally patriarchal cultural field of the architecture competition. The end of Franco's dictatorship, and the growing vitality of the Autonomous Regions prompted the call of numerous open consultations throughout the country. These calls continued throughout the last third of the 20th century, until eventually experiencing a decline in the new millennium. These open and anonymous competitions provided a framework in which many women architects were able to ascend through merit, even attaining important positions within the process: firstly, as recognised participants and later as jury members. Highlighting the value

of these women's contribution to architecture has always been subject to disinterest, hesitancy or even outspoken reticence, typical of an eminently patriarchal structure, to which were added those inherent to any competitive structure where the struggle for the domination of symbolic power is inescapable. On the basis of architectural journal articles and illustrative case studies, this paper reviews the published media conditions of this difficult ascent in which the subordinate territories peripheral to the centres of production of architectural culture—Madrid and Barcelona—proved to be a space of opportunity and competition in which to build professional legitimacy. A great deal of Spanish women architects who were regular contestants achieved their recognition through silent logic, far removed from flashy celebrity, an issue that has left a deep imprint on their ways of approaching the practice of their profession, in general, and of participating in the cultural field of the competition, in particular. From this common thinking, this article aims to pay them a well-deserved tribute.

**Keywords:** women architects; Spain; architecture competitions; professional recognition; symbolic capital; cultural field; media; architecture magazines; periphery.

## Resumen

Una mirada retrospectiva a los concursos de arquitectura convocados y difundidos en España entre los años de la transición democrática y el impacto de la crisis financiera global de 2008 permite comprobar, desde un enfoque sociológico e historiográfico, la progresiva incorporación de las mujeres a la estructura competitiva de este complejo campo cultural, entonces todavía demasiado masculinizado. El fin de la dictadura franquista unido a la efervescencia del Estado de las Autonomías favorecieron la convocatoria de numerosas consultas abiertas repartidas por todo el país. El fenómeno se prolongó con oscilaciones coyunturales durante todo el periodo finisecular, hasta alcanzar su ocaso a principios del nuevo milenio. Estos concursos, abiertos y anónimos, constituyeron un andamiaje fundamental a través del cual muchas arquitectas españolas pudieron ascender meritoriamente hasta conseguir posiciones relevantes en los procedimientos: primero como participantes reconocidas, posteriormente como miembros de jurados. La puesta en valor de las aportaciones de estas mujeres a la arquitectura siempre ha estado sometida a ciertas resistencias, incluso a resistencias ciertas, propias de una estructura tradicionalmente patriarcal, a las que también se sumaban las inherentes a cualquier sistema competitivo donde la lucha por la dominación del poder simbólico es ineludible. A partir de vaciados de revistas de arquitectura y estudios de caso ilustrativos, este trabajo revisa las condiciones mediáticas de este difícil ascenso, en el que los territorios subordinados periféricos a los centros de producción de la cultura arquitectónica —Madrid y Barcelona— se revelaron como espacios de oportunidad y competencia donde construir su legitimidad profesional. Muchas arquitectas españolas fueron asiduas concursantes —incluidas también todas aquellas que no alcanza a mencionar este texto— lograron su reconocimiento según



unas lógicas silenciosas, ajenas a las de la ruidosa celebridad, cuestión que ha dejado una profunda impronta en sus modos de abordar el ejercicio de su profesión, en general, y de participar en el campo cultural del concurso, en particular. Desde este pensamiento coral, el presente artículo pretende asimismo rendirles un merecido tributo.

**Palabras clave:** mujeres arquitectas; España; concursos de arquitectura; reconocimiento profesional; capital simbólico; campo cultural; medios; revistas de arquitectura; periferia.

## 1. SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITION: *HABITUS*, FIELD AND CAPITAL

Currently, several critical historiographical reviews highlight the contributions of exceptional women architects of the past to the discipline, i. e., of those «pioneering women» (McLeod & Rosner, 2014), acting as authentic «heroines of the space» (Espiegel, 2018). Sociological studies also abound on the situation and perspective of today's women architects in professional practice—many of them anonymous, but equally heroines of their own stories. The contents of these two types of research pay special attention to both the life and work of these women architects, regardless of the professional field in which they were involved: *inter alia* architecture, landscape architecture, art, design, and criticism. In this research, both disciplines, historiography and sociology, (con)fuse their epistemological limits, and dilute the opposition between past and present. Perhaps because, as the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu pointed out to historians, «the present is not the temporal present, it is what is still sufficiently alive to be the object of struggles» (Bourdieu & Chartier, 2015, p. 16). Highlighting the value of these women's contribution to architecture has always been subject to certain reluctance, even outspoken unwillingness, typical of a traditionally patriarchal structure, to which were added those inherent to any competitive structure where the struggle for the domination of symbolic power is inescapable.

In this sense, power becomes authority only when it manages to legitimise itself, indeed, in sociology, the three types of legitimate authority are traditional, rational, and charismatic (Weber, 1978). There is no doubt that architecture competitions have been a significant aspect of the social

legitimation process in any architect's career. Research such as that carried out by H el ene Lipstadt (2000, 2003, 2005) has explored this sociological aspect of the architectural competition in greater depth, based on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural fields. The French sociologist applies a model of analysis to society in which it is observed as a series of interrelated and, at the same time, relatively autonomous social fields such as economic, political, and cultural. Each of these fields is a dynamic social space of action, and influence in which a network of power relations of the agents that inhabit them converge, in constant struggle for a type of effective symbolic capital within the field. The individuals who possess this capital become the forgers of symbolic power, and therefore of the symbolic violence that allows its perpetuation. Moreover, all agents participating in the field are governed by the same *habitus* or forces inscribed within it, durable and transferable, which will integrate the historicity of the field's past practices, but, in turn, will also shape its future practices (Bourdieu, 1993).

Bourdieu's seminal work (1993, 1995, 1996) on cultural fields points to the role of relevant audiences as agents of 'consecration' with authority to produce symbolic capital. The ability to impose judgements of symbolic legitimacy, or the power to consecrate, in cultural fields allows participants to reproduce their positions. The autonomy of a cultural field (artistic or scientific) is greater to the extent that it generates its own rules to evaluate its works, leaving aside questions, *a priori*, alien to the field. However, this autonomy historically achieved by the different fields of cultural production is relative and never definitive. In particular, the public meaning of an architectural competition, together with that of the projects presented, originates in the process of their circulation and consumption as symbolic goods dominated by the objective relations between the agents involved in the process. Therefore, the autonomy of the contest, like that of any field of cultural production, also runs the risk of being relativised due to the growing capacity of direct and indirect media pressure on the symbolic capital generated, which adulterates the logic of consecration with that of celebrity. Bourdieu (1993) associates symbolic capital with consecration, distinction or prestige, traditionally gained from a professional's peer circle. It is the key differentiator between consecration and celebrity: consecration relies

on gaining the recognition of peers, whereas celebrity relies on gaining the recognition of a broader public audience.

Although Bourdieu approached literature and the plastic arts as cultural fields, he never tackled architecture, as he considered it too dependent on other fields such as economics, politics and the media. However, Lipstadt (2003) has been defining a line of research based on Bourdieu's theory that shows that when architects participate in competitions, their practice ceases to conform to that of other professions such as doctors, lawyers, and engineers, coming closer to the autonomous practices and pure research of the arts or sciences. Therefore, in this field of the profession, architecture configures a field of cultural production in the genuine Bourdieusian sense. Assimilating the hypothesis put forward by Lipstadt, the architectural competition, understood as a field of cultural production, would obey a particular law that is unique to all autonomous production: a 'supposed disinterestedness' detached from the logic of economic profit. Certainly, in an open call with a hundred or so participants, the chances of getting a commission are extremely low; the effort of the participants is disproportionate to the likely chances of winning, so that there is a certain economic irrationality latent in the whole process. Therefore, why compete?

According to Lipstadt, the answer to the question encapsulates one of the key elements of any Bourdieusian cultural field: the relative freedom implicit in the participant's creative process. Certainly, the wide spectrum of solutions to the same call for proposals provides a good insight into the degree of autonomy of the project design for a competition. Indeed, a survey conducted by *Architectural Record* and Van Alen Institute (2015) under the title *Design Competitions Fair or Unfair?* gathered opinions on the method among more than 1,400 architecture professionals from 65 different countries. Its results revealed that for most respondents the attraction of the competition lay in the possibility to work freely, while the lack of financial compensation was identified as the biggest drawback. Moreover, many of the most internationally recognised works of architecture have emerged from a process of competition of ideas, and therefore, as a field of cultural production, it seems to offer proven results.

However, the symbolic capital associated with the winning project is not everything, and it is not always the case that the winning project is more

valuable than one that has not won or is the only one with value. Finalist proposals, which were never built, can be as influential as the winners, and this prestige or symbolic capital gained by the architect as a participant can become, in turn, another form of capital. If we investigate the historicity of the procedure, we can see how the competition, by making itself known through different media—from *Le Vite* of Vasari onwards—set in motion a complex mechanism for the construction of legitimacy. The values associated with the competition constitute a transhistorical substratum in which a whole series of experiences that have shaped and consolidated its construction as an institution in the present day are condensed. Today, the competition is an institutionalised social construction linked to equal opportunities. In turn, it is sustained by a series of cultural meanings related to the emancipation of architecture as a profession in the Academies; and whose original imprint is found in the civilising archetypes of virtue, merit, and effort found in the myth of *Agon* in Greek competition. All this work composes a systemic social imagery whereby the ways in which knowledge generated by the results of these consultations has been disseminated and managed have been decisive.

## 2. THE BOURDIEUSIAN CULTURAL FIELD OF THE SPANISH COMPETITION FROM A GENDER APPROACH

In the case of Spain, although from the mid-19th century, the training of architects was separated from the Academies of Fine Arts and structured according to the French model of polytechnic training, in the context of an architectural competition, the figure of the architect continued to be analogous to that of the artist. The disposition of the *habitus* of Spanish architects turned the act of competing into a virtuous activity, although always at the mercy of the conditions of a Bourdieusian cultural field with changing rules of the game. A first important turning point was the inclusion of tendering in Spanish contract law in the early 1950s, a procedure that broke with the general rule of awarding contracts to the best economic offer by auction. Tendering became a historically constituted play/fighting space with its laws and operating regulations. Since then, in Spain, the architectural competition

has gone through different phases that can be summarised in four stages in relation to the way it is disseminated in the Spanish professional magazines.

To identify and explore these four stages (1950-196X; 196X-198X; 198X-199X; and 199X-200X), the research has been conducted according to a quantitative and qualitative methodology based on the characterisation of each magazine, and the selection of a hundred case studies from among the thousand contests gathered from indexes of more than 2,000 issues published in Spain between 1950 and 2010<sup>1</sup>. It is only a small part of a wider-ranging doctoral dissertation whose investigation has provided the first evaluation of the entire Spanish competition system (Díaz-García, 2022). Indeed, there were no works to date that had focused exclusively on the Spanish competition system and its media, let alone from a gender perspective.

Between 1950 and the 1960s, years of autarchy and subsequent development of a country subjected to a dictatorial regime, the media coverage of the competitions was oriented towards the significant advances in architecture, especially the abandonment of historicism and the key encounter with

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1. Over these decades, some Spanish architecture magazines were the primary medium for reflection, production, and dissemination of the country's contemporary architectural culture: *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* (1948-1958); *Arquitectura: Revista del Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid* (1959-); *Cuadernos de Arquitectura: Revista del Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Cataluña y Baleares* (1944-1970); *Cuadernos de arquitectura y urbanismo: Revista del Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Cataluña y Baleares* (1971-1980); *Quaderns d'Arquitectura i Urbanisme: Revista del Col·legi Oficial d'Arquitectes de Catalunya* (1981-); *Hogar y Arquitectura* (1955-1977); *TA-Temas de Arquitectura* (1958-1967); *Temas de Arquitectura y Urbanismo* (1968-1980); *El Inmueble, arquitectura, decoración y hogar* (1966); *Forma Nueva-El Inmueble* (1967); *Nueva Forma* (1967-1975); *Arquitecturas Bis: Información gráfica de actualidad* (1974-1985); *Jano Arquitectura & Decoración y Humanidades* (1972-1973); *Jano Arquitectura & Humanidades* (1973-1975); *Jano Arquitectura* (1975-1978); *B/CSCA* (1975-1976); *Consejo Superior de los Colegios de Arquitectos* (1976-1980); *Q: Consejo Superior de los Colegios de Arquitectos* (1981-1983); *Revista del Consejo Superior de los Colegios de Arquitectos* (1984); *Arquitectos: Boletín informativo de la profesión* (1984-1985); *Boletín Arquitectos* (1986); *Arquitectos: Información del Consejo Superior de los Colegios de Arquitectos de España* (1987-); *El Croquis* (1982-); *A&V Monografías de Arquitectura y Vivienda* (1985-1994); *AV Monografías* (1995-); *Arquitectura Viva* (1988-); *av proyectos* (2004-); *TC Tribuna de la Construcción* (1992-1993); *TC Cuadernos* (1993-); *Pasajes de Arquitectura y Crítica* (1998-2019); *Future Arquitecturas: Periódico de concursos de arquitectura* (2006-2017); and lastly, a series of peripheral magazines (1978-201X) which are too many to be listed in this article.

modern architecture. From the early 1960s to the late 1980s, in the face of the crisis of the principles of modernism, the competitions were interpreted in the media as spaces for research in a period of progressive openness and political transition. With the end of Franco's regime, the adoption of social democratic policies and the move towards a State of Autonomous Regions, isolation was abandoned and, between the late 1980s and the mid-1990s, the competition method entered fully into international forums. These were the years in which calls were issued for the most iconic events to symbolise the great changes that were occurring in the country. Gradually, through the media's treatment of these competitions, the architects became celebrities, and their public image began to surpass their architecture. This trend reached a tumultuous peak between the late 1990s and the first decade of the new century, a period of neoliberal policies in which Spanish competitions were transformed into perfect stage sets for the global spectacle of architecture. This last stage ended abruptly with the economic crisis of 2008, ushering in a time of uncertainty that also introduced important paradigm shifts in the media treatment of the competition.

Applying Bourdieu's social model to these four stages, we can see how in each of them the cultural field of the contest defined a competitive system of relations between the positions of all its agents—whether dominant or more subordinate—according to the accumulation of the symbolic capital that was at stake in that field, such as legitimacy, prestige or transcendence, that is to say, cultural consecration itself. The architectural competition constituted a basic framework through which many young Spanish architects were able to rise to important positions, not only in the cultural and professional panorama, but also in the competition procedures themselves, first as recognised participants, and later as members of the juries with accredited competence. In the specific case of Spanish women architects, this rise presented a series of particularities that invite us to consider the possibilities (and limitations) of appropriating Bourdieu's social theory to approach the cultural field of architectural competition from a gender perspective.

Bourdieu's social model—*habitus*, field and capital—offers numerous points of connection with contemporary feminist theory (Adkins & Skeggs, 2004). For example, Judith Butler (1999) has established relations between gender performativity and *habitus*, since, in both concepts, the norm is

materialised through its reiterated repetition. Another case is that of Toril Moi (1991) who has also mobilised Bourdieu's theoretical resources to think through the dynamics of gender in the field of literary cultural production. Specifically, Moi suggests that just as Bourdieu himself defined 'class' as a structuring category of the general social field, within his sociological model, 'gender' could also be understood as a dispersed and deeply structuring category, i. e., as a «particularly combinatory social category, one that infiltrates and influences every other category» (Moi, 1999, p. 288). For the topic at hand—the architecture competition and the woman architect—Moi's reflections on the literary field and what she has called «Beauvoir's dilemma» (Moi, 2008) faced by the female writer are particularly interesting.

Moi draws on the beginning of *The Second Sex*, in which Simone de Beauvoir (2011) exposes through a simple example the tension between the forced elimination of her gendered subjectivity and the forced imprisonment within it<sup>2</sup>. Transposed to the literary field, Moi explains how a woman writer—in contexts of provocation—is forced to 'eliminate' her gendered subjectivity under a categorical 'I am not a woman writer' to disguise herself under the skin of a kind of universal being, thereby devaluing her real experiences as a human being embodied in the world. This dilemma was already evident in Virginia Woolf's classic *A Room of One's Own*, a 1929 essay that is a plea for women's access to literature in which, however, the author herself praised a fictional young writer who wrote as a woman who has forgotten that she was a woman (Woolf, 2005). Moi (2008) suggests that, regardless of theories of how such gender arises, is produced or constructed, for Simone de Beauvoir's dilemma to be triggered it is sufficient that the author in question has been designated by another as a woman. Conversely, situations in which a man denies his gender, even when working in a profession associated with women, are more anecdotal.

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2. In the Introduction to her influential *The Second Sex*, first published in 1949, Beauvoir claims: «I used to get annoyed in abstract discussions to hear men tell me: 'You think such and such a thing because you're a woman.' But I know my only defence is to answer, 'I think it because it is true,' thereby eliminating my subjectivity; it was out of the question to answer, 'And you think the contrary because you are a man,' because it is understood that being a man is not a particularity; a man is in his right by virtue of being man; it is the woman who is in the wrong» (de Beauvoir, 2011, p. 5).

In the face of this gendered subjectivity and inescapable bodily presence of the woman who is designated as such, anonymity has been an effective strategy for positioning herself in the literary cultural field: «Anon [Anonymous], who wrote so many poems without signing them, was often a woman» said Woolf (2005, p. 49). If one breaks down the Greek etymology of the word *anonymous*, it is composed of the prefix *an-* as negation, and the word *-onoma* meaning name, i. e., absence or deprivation of name. The woman writer, in abandoning her name, was abandoning her gender subjectivity and her body because both were considered obstacles to positioning herself in the literary cultural field. This strategy of anonymity has presented variations ranging from the ambiguity of the initials of a pseudonym to the use of an explicitly male pseudonym, and even hiding behind the specific name of the husband or partner. According to Moi (1991), from a Bourdieusian perspective, gender is always a socially variable entity that has different values of symbolic capital (class, race, age, among other things) depending on the context, however, «in most contexts, maleness functions as positive and femaleness as negative symbolic capital» (p. 1036).

Obviously, Beauvoir's dilemma posed by Moi for literature is accentuated in cultural fields historically associated with men, so it is easy to find examples that allow us to extrapolate it to architecture. When in 2017 Danish architect Dorte Mandrup (graduated in 1991) was included in *Dezeen's* list of 50 inspirational female architects and designers (Frearson, 2017), she responded to this recognition with a controversial opinion piece published a few weeks later in the same magazine and entitled: «I am not a female architect, I am an architect» (Mandrups, 2017), erasing at a stroke her gendered subjectivity by seeing herself being imprisoned in it. There is no right solution to this dilemma, but there is the option of pointing it out as such and refusing to choose between two options that seem to be equally uncomfortable for women in a profession originally associated with men. Therefore, during the second half of the 20th century, for a woman architect participating alone or in a team with other women in the cultural field of open competition, the anonymity linked to the procedure could add an extra value to the obvious guarantee of equal opportunities and creative freedom perceived by a male architect: the concealment of her status as a woman.



If, for centuries, women writers, artists, and composers had to use a male pseudonym or simply not name themselves to successfully publish and/or market their works, it is not unreasonable to think that the condition of anonymity required in the consultations was reassuring for those early women architects who decided to participate in the proceedings. This situation was reflected in Spain, where Spanish women architects found in the architecture competition a field of equal opportunities for their career advancement. The primary aim of this paper is to address the media conditions of the Spanish women architects' promotion through the architecture competitions' field and the role that the subordinate territories peripheral to the hegemonic centres of production of architectural culture—Madrid and Barcelona—had as spaces of opportunity and competition in which to build legitimacy and professional recognition, i. e., symbolic capital.

### 3. THE SLOW AND OVERDUE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN ARCHITECTURE COMPETITIONS IN SPAIN

In the specific case of Spain, a survey conducted in 2009 by the Higher Council of Architects Associations in Spain (Consejo Superior de Colegios de Arquitectos de España, CSCAE) showed that architectural competitions were a more important field of work for women architects (34.8%) than for men architects (25.5%) (Agudo Arroyo & Sánchez de Madariaga, 2011). Evidently, for Spanish women architects the process of structuring the *habitus* associated with the cultural field of the competition was not identical to that of their male colleagues. An exploration of the most discussed competitions published in professional journals throughout the second half of the 20th century shows the gradual increase in the presence of women and the consequent production of circumstances that led them to participate regularly in the proceedings until they became a preferred field of work. However, this dissemination also reveals biases in the treatment that should be qualified, as they will be crucial in understanding the particularities of their *habitus*. Obviously, like any summary, this article has selections and omissions due to its limitations, but it attempts to provide a sufficiently representative sample of cases to support the argument.

### 3.1. Pioneering Women Architects in the Competitions of the Late Franco Era

In Spain, until the early 1960s, there were only two Schools of Architecture (Madrid, which was founded in 1844, and Barcelona, which opened in 1875), so access to them involved all kinds of difficulties with onerous admission processes restricted by *numerus clausus*. At the beginning of the 1950s, the number of students was around 1,600, a figure that did not change until the beginning of the next decade. From this point onwards, the trend was upwards, reaching 4,000 students in the mid-1960s, a number on a par with that of practising professionals (Consejo Superior de Colegios de Arquitectos de España, 1986a; Martín Moreno & De Miguel, 1976). Thus, the figure of the professional architect in this period was elitist, privileged, and eminently associated with men, as at the end of the 1950s there were only eight women graduates in the country<sup>3</sup>. Even if this number increased to forty in the 1960s, conservative ideology, and the dominant patriarchy continued to keep women out of higher education whilst giving them a one-way path toward caregiving (Agudo Arroyo & Sánchez de Madariaga, 2011).

In this context, although during the 1950s there was no evidence of Spanish women architects taking part in the competitions published in national professional journals, this situation changed in the calls for entries published at the end of the following decade, when pioneering women did occasionally participate. Some of the names found in the most publicised calls for entries published in journal issues of the 1960s (*Arquitectura del COAM*, *Cuadernos de Arquitectura del COACB*, *Nueva Forma* or *Temas de Arquitectura*) are: Margarita Brender Rubira (ETSA Barcelona, 1962), a solo architect, and the only woman among the 15 participants in the competition for the creation of a new neighbourhood in Sardanyola in Barcelona in 1966; María Aroca Hernández Ros (ETSA Madrid, 1966) who, in collaboration with José Luis Arana Amurrio, was awarded a runner-up prize in the competition for a cultural building on the site of the Teatro Principal in Burgos

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3. Matilde Ucelay (ESA Madrid, 1936), Cristina Gonzalo (ESA Madrid, 1940), Rita Fernández Queimadelos (ESA Madrid, 1941), Cruz López Miller (ESA Madrid, 1945), Juana Ontañón (ESA Madrid, 1949), Margarita Mendizábal (ESA Madrid, 1956), María Eugenia Clemente (ETSA Madrid, 1957), and Elena Arregui (ETSA Madrid, 1958).

in 1967, this being the only mixed team of the 17 entrants; and Carmina Mostaza Martínez (ETSA Madrid, 1966) who, in team with Andrés Perea Ortega and Gabriel Delgado López, was also awarded a runner-up prize in the competition for the Autonomous University of Bilbao in 1969, in which 20 teams participated. Also worth noting is the case of Eulalia Marques Garrido (Universidad de Córdoba, Argentina, 1973; ETSA Madrid, 1978), employed in the studio of Fernando Higuera and Antonio Miró, who was given a certain amount of coverage in the professional magazines of the time; among her achievements were the runner-up prize in the competition for the University of Madrid, which had 27 entries, and her acknowledged participation in the international competition for the Montecarlo Leisure Centre, both in 1969. However, with these exceptions, the media presence of women architects was hidden under the initial letter of a female name that was difficult to decipher or lost among the names of their male colleagues because of poor billing. This small number of women architects, and their limited presence as participants in competitions, inevitably meant that they were totally absent from the juries, whose members were supposed to have a certain amount of experience and prestige.

However, this professional landscape was inexorably changing. Social movements that rebelled against the authoritarianism of the political and military elites of 1968 had reached a global scale. In Spain, Franco's regime was beginning to decline at the same time as the increasingly numerous and more politically articulate workers and university students were rising. The prevailing need for professionals to serve the model imposed by the developmental policies of the State was translated into successive reforms of technical training that facilitated access to higher education. Added to this was the creation of new Schools of Architecture (Seville, 1958; Pamplona, a private School, 1964; Valencia, 1966; Valladolid, 1968; Las Palmas, 1968; A Coruña, 1973; Sant Cugat del Vallès, 1973; San Sebastián, 1977) which resulted in a considerable increase in the number of architecture students, and consequently the number of graduates. Schools were losing their elitist character of the previous decade, as opportunities to enter the higher education system were becoming more democratic.

By the late 1960s this increase was a palpable reality. The number of students in the schools exceeded 9,000, a figure that would rise even higher

in the mid-1970s to almost 13,000 enrolments, doubling the number of practising professionals at the same time (Consejo Superior de Colegios de Arquitectos de España, 1986a; Martín Moreno & De Miguel, 1976). The transformation of ideologies and mindsets was also beginning to favour women's access to technical education; the proportion of women started to become significant, although still far from parity. In years marked by the second and third feminist waves, an increasing number of Spanish women architects were practising architecture during the debate on the crisis of modernism and the beginning of post-modernist culture. However, their presence as participants in open competitions remained like the previous decade, i. e. very occasional and in mixed teams, as did their presence on juries, which was almost non-existent until the 1970s, and relegated to the status of secretary. It would be over the following decades that Spanish women architects would begin their steady path toward legitimisation through the competition.

### 3.2. Transition (197X-198X): Competing from Anonymity for Legitimisation

At the commencement of the decade, architecture and the architectural profession had lost prestige, having left in its wake the furious speculative development of the urban peripheries and tourist complexes, as well as irreparable damage to historic centres. Architecture journals also began to develop a critical awareness that continued throughout the following decade regarding tendering methods in public procurement because of their lack of safeguards. With a professional landscape that showed signs of a surfeit of architects, the restricted competition started to appear to which only a small number of renowned national architects—all men—were invited to enter by the initiative of mainly private institutions. Established male figures would see in these restricted calls a response to a nostalgia for their privileges, an exclusive sphere of work whose access was unattainable for women architects, still subjected to the symbolic violence of the patriarchal system. In fact, it was not until the mid-1970s that Law 14/1975 of 2 May reformed certain articles of the Civil Code and the Commercial Code on the legal status of married women, and their rights and duties, including obedience to the

husband and the abolition of marital '*licencia*', which required the husband's permission to sign deeds and other legal instruments, and finally allowed every woman to open a bank account independently.

In contrast to the restricted competition, the open competition formula was beginning to acquire other connotations; it required added enthusiasm on the part of the younger applicants, as it still entailed serious problems of guarantees for the winners. However, the economic oil crises of the 1970s, together with the uncertainties caused as a result of the assassination of President Carrero Blanco and the subsequent passing of Franco, were not conducive to promoting calls for public proposals. Faced with this dearth, groups of architects made a virtue out of necessity and, through successive competitions for their own collegiate headquarters, organised the necessary spaces to debate new approaches after the break with the project of modernity.

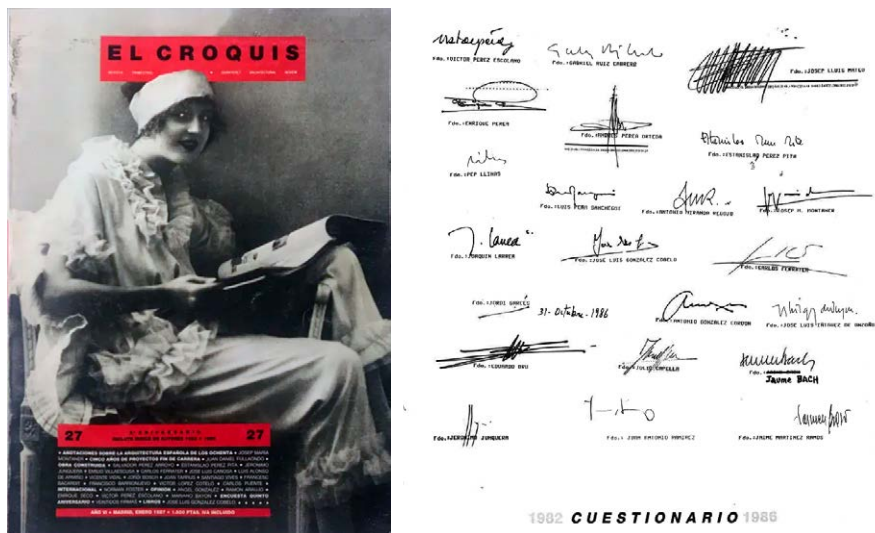
In these invitations to tender, widely published in professional journals, some women architects in mixed teams were found to participate, for example, Roser Amadó Cercós (ETSA Barcelona, 1968) associated with Lluís Domènech Girbau in the competition for the extension of the Official Architects Association of Barcelona in 1976. Another case is that of Cristina Grau García (ETSA Valencia, 1976) who, together with her brother Camilo, and EVV group (Antonio Escario, José Antonio Vidal y José Vives), won third prize in the competition for the new headquarters in Valencia of the Official Architects' Association of Valencia and Murcia in 1977. Another regular participant in the competitions of this period was Lola Artigas Prieto (ETSA Madrid, 1975) who, together with Rafael Pina Lupiáñez and Vicente Patón Jiménez, won a mention in the competition for the Burgos branch of the Official Architects' Association of Madrid in 1979. Looking deeper into the records of the many responses to the call (Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, 1980) among the 120 participants, 14 mixed teams could already be found, although only two were made up exclusively of women: Esther Pérez Hernando (ETSA Madrid, 1978) solo architect; and the team composed of Celia Barahona Rodríguez (ETSA Madrid, 1979) and Sara Pérez Urizarna (ETSA Madrid, 1977).

These percentages were very similar to those of the international competition coordinated by the UIA for the Madrid Islamic Cultural Centre also held in 1979 (Secrétariat Général de l'Union Internationale des Architectes, 1980), with a total of 455 entries of which 212 were Spanish; 24 mixed teams could be found among the proposals, but only two were made up exclusively of women: Carmen Barbero Sánchez (ETSA Barcelona, 1973) and Margarita Colorado Hernández (ETSA Madrid, 1976), both solo architects.

The 1980s brought with it the definitive mass development of Architecture Schools and the profession. In 1985, the number of students was close to 19,000, a figure higher than the number of practising professionals of 14,600, which, in turn, was more than double the required target number of architects recommended for Spain by the UIA (Consejo Superior de Colegios de Arquitectos de España, 1986b). Although at the beginning of the decade the percentage of women in the student body of Architecture Schools was only 15%, the growth reflected a clear upward trend (Agudo Arroyo & Sánchez de Madariaga, 2011). Certainly, after the death of the dictator and the establishment of the 1978 Constitution, reforms were completed that eliminated the traces of discrimination against women from the Civil Code, with its consequent positive effects, although they still experienced more social and caregiving burden than men.

More women architects began to enter competitions than in the 1970s, an upward trend that continued steadily over the next decade. However, they generally continued to compete in teams or in pairs with male colleagues who, in the latter case, might be in a relationship or have family ties. Some women's names began to appear on the juries as members and chairpersons, but mainly linked to the political sphere or because of delegations from their initially appointed male colleagues. Many of the magazines of the time (*Arquitecturas Bis*, *Arquitectura-COAM*, *Quaderns-COAC*, *El Croquis* or *A&V Monografías de Arquitectura y Vivienda*) still reflected a professional panorama dominated by male architects, who were greater in number, and logically reflected in the selection of the juries (Figure 1).

Figure 1. From left to right: cover of *El Croquis*, 27 (Jan 1987) on its 5th Anniversary entitled «Annotations on the Spanish architecture of the eighties»; inner page with the 22 critic participants in the questionnaire, all of them Spanish male architects



Source: Cuestionario 1982-1986 (1987, cover and p. 19)

At the same time, the establishing of the first Autonomous Regions and the establishment of the first social democratic government set in train so many initiatives and projects in their administrations that their technical staff were unable to take on the task, an issue that encouraged the calling of numerous public tenders. Among the teams that received recognition in these competitions, the young Catalan couple Enric Miralles and Carme Pinós (ETSA Barcelona, 1979) stood out, who won second prize in their first joint participation in the competition for a building in the Plaza España in Alcañiz (Teruel) in 1983. The couple's efforts culminated in numerous awards, including the 1984 competition for the Igualada Municipal Cemetery Park (Barcelona). In parallel to all these peripheral competitions, entry into the EEC and the two major events planned for 1992—the Olympic Games in Barcelona and the Universal Exhibition in Seville—led to a succession

of restricted competitions in which only national and international male architects were invited—except in the case of mixed foreign teams. These restricted competitions laid the foundations, not without a certain enlightened despotism, of the concept of ‘value added’ by a renowned architect, and more specifically, if the firm was foreign. While the established national figures maintained their privileges by competing with ideas in a restricted way and trying to preserve and strengthen their hegemonic positions, the emerging generations struggled to break into the same field, mainly through open competitions held in the peripheries. If participation in the latter was sufficiently assiduous and coherent, it could help shape its own trajectory. The prestige and legitimacy acquired thereby could open access to the field of restricted competition by invitation.

In the case of young Spanish women architects, we can highlight some figures who began to promote their careers through the mechanism of the competition during the 1980s. Today many of them have excellent professional and/or academic careers. In 1987, Carmen Espejel Alonso (ETSA Madrid, 1985) and Concha Fisac de Ron (ETSA Madrid, 1984), together with a mixed team won third prize *ex aequo* in the competition of ideas for the development of the left bank of the river Tormes in Salamanca, the first of many subsequent awards won as a pair (Figure 2). In the open national competition for the construction of lighthouses at different points along the Spanish coast in 1988, which had a total of 300 entries, Blanca Lleó (ETSA Madrid, 1983) won first prize as solo architect for her lighthouse at Nules in Castellón (Figure 3). In the same competition Carme Pigem (ETSA Vallès, 1987) in tandem with the other members of RCR won another first prize for her horizontal lighthouse at Punta Aldea in Gran Canaria. That year, the first European was also held, whose winners could include teams composed exclusively of women architects: Anna Noguera (ETSA Barcelona, 1987) together with Isabel Benassar (ETSA Barcelona, 1988) with their project for 140 dwellings in Asturias (Figure 4); and, as solo architect, Mercedes Peláez López (ETSA Madrid, 1978) with her residential project in Vallecas, Madrid. The publicity for the achievements of these women architects was reduced to an editorial with images of the winning project in magazines or books published by the promoters and the provincial professional associations in



which the competition had been held, or simply to brief reviews in the main professional magazines<sup>4</sup>.

**Figure 2.** Carmen Espegel Alonso, Concha Fisac de Ron, Margarita de Vicente Rodríguez, Fco. Javier Fernández Clavé, J. Ignacio Ferrando Álvarez, and J. María Rubio Moreno's competition entry for the left bank of the river Tormes in Salamanca

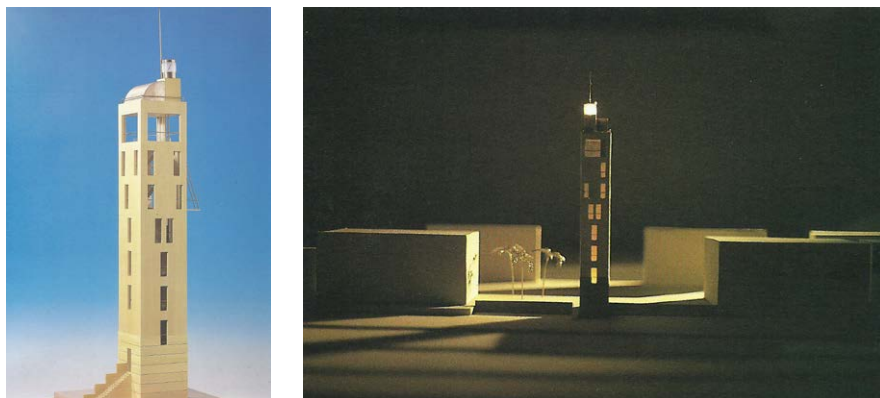


Source: Patón (1988, p. 48)

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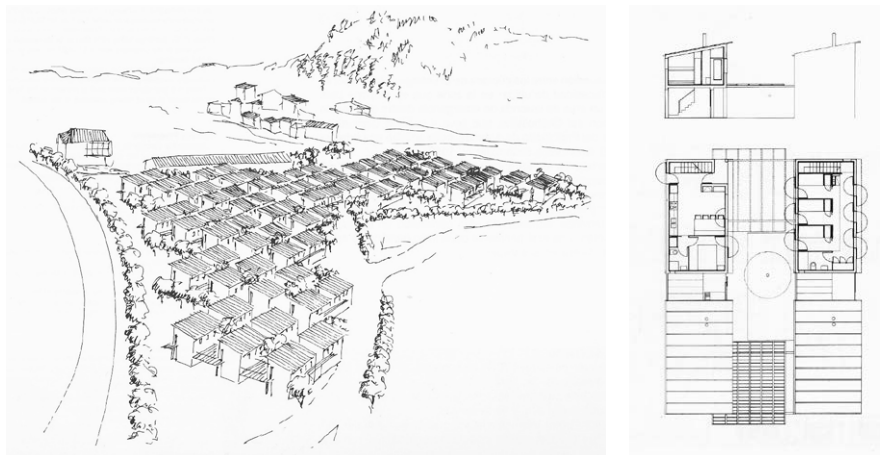
4. In the article that the magazine of the CSCAE devoted to the celebrated lighthouse competition, Blanca Lleó's proposal was not published despite being one of the winners. See «Concurso de ideas para la construcción de faros en distintos emplazamientos de la costa de España» (CSCAE, 1988, pp. 32-45).

Figure 3. Blanca Lleó's faros 88 competition entry



Source: Dirección General de Puertos y Costas (1989, pp. 88-89)

Figure 4. Anna Noguera & Isabel Benassar's European 88 entry



Source: de la Mata, Nieto & Sobejano (1989, pp. 68-69)

Despite the scant publicity given to the achievements of Spanish teams led exclusively by women architects in the Spanish architecture media of the time, during the 1980s there were international cases that did manage to

contribute to the construction and strengthening of their *habitus* concerning competitions. In 1980, the 53-year-old Italian Gae Aulenti was the winner of a restricted competition for the renovation of the interior of the 19th century Gare d'Orsay in Paris as a museum. A year later, 22-year-old American Maya Lin, a recent art graduate, won the open competition for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., which attracted 1,441 entries. In 1983, the Anglo-Iraqi Zaha Hadid at the age of 32 won first prize in the international competition for the design of the Peak Leisure Club in Hong Kong, with 539 entries. Competing anonymously, women architects of different nationalities and generations won competitions as solo architects and managed to accumulate symbolic capital through the international media. Although competition adjudications in Spain also began to recognise the work of Spanish women architects, their potential symbolic capital would remain on 'standby', accumulating quietly for decades compared to that of their male counterparts.

### 3.3. Globalisation (199X-200X): Resisting from Legitimisation against Celebrity

In the early 1990s the architecture profession in general was starting to become fiercely competitive, especially in competitions. Open competitions were attracting hundreds of entries, a testament to an overpopulated landscape, in which the number of practising professionals in Spain in the mid-1990s was already close to 25,000, a figure that, in 2012, would double to 51,000 (Consejo Superior de Colegios de Arquitectos de España, 2017; Mirza & Nacey, 2015), driven by the creation of new Architecture Schools (Reus, 1991; Granada, 1993; Alicante, 1996; Alcalá de Henares, 1999; Málaga, 2005; Cartagena, 2009; Toledo, 2010; Zaragoza, 2011; as well as the group of private schools). It also reflected the gradual increase in the presence of women. In fact, in 2007, for the first time, 50% of the students enrolled in the first year of Spanish architecture schools were women. Five years later, this translated into a significant increase in the total percentage of women architects in the country, which reached 25% (Agudo Arroyo & Sánchez de Madariaga, 2011; Mirza & Nacey, 2015). This was contemporaneous with the processes of globalisation, which had already taken hold in the professions and universities. The advent of the Internet and the mobility programmes of

the new European Higher Education Area had completely effaced borders. The system of local masterships, which had established the hierarchy of the local professional scene, was rapidly weakening.

Indeed, in Spain, those invitation-only competitions of the post-transition years that limited participation to prestigious Spanish male architects widened the battlefield to the international 'happy few', a select group of architects, also male, or very exceptionally in mixed teams. The only woman architect ever invited was Zaha Hadid, who had become a celebrity in the international media after accumulating symbolic capital through her participation in open competitions. The traditional formula of the competition by invitation to the country's local elite became obsolete and its application was effectively reduced to Spanish pavilions for universal exhibitions, such as the construction for the Universal Exhibition Hanover in 1998. In this last case, for the first time, the call featured a mixed team: the couple composed of Enric Miralles and Benedetta Tagliabue. Indeed, despite 14 years of successful partnership, after the dissolution of the Miralles-Pinós studio in 1991, the professional legitimacy of Carme Pinós (ETSA Barcelona, 1979) was unjustifiably reduced—a common phenomenon for women after their emancipation from mixed teams. It took two decades for Pinós to regain the level of recognition achieved in the eighties, mainly through her participation in open, international and national competitions<sup>5</sup>.

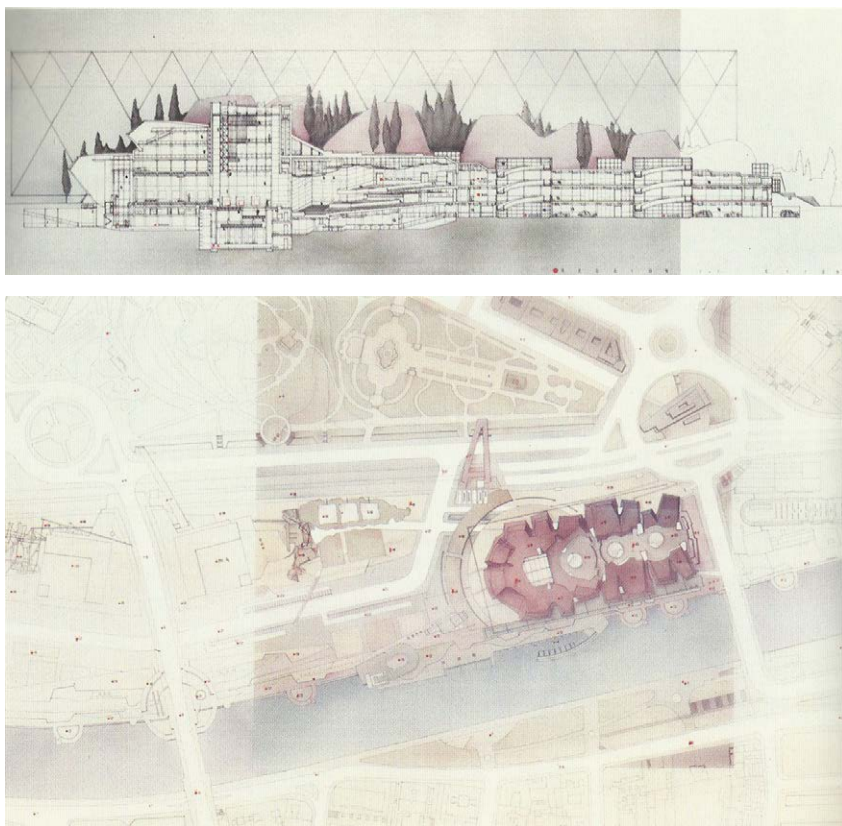
In this period, the Spanish open competitions for major works appealed strongly to architects who did not belong to the *star system* and offered a panoramic view of the cultural field of competition in Spain. In the records of the national open consultation for the Palacio Euskalduna (Conference Centre and Concert Hall) in Bilbao in 1992 with 94 entries (Sanz Fernández de Retana, 1993), three belonged to solo women architects: Concha Lapayese Luque (ETSA Madrid, 1988), María Ángeles Negre Balsas (ETSA Barcelona, 1986), and the interesting proposal submitted by María Teresa Muñoz Jiménez (ETSA Madrid, 1972). The latter, a regular participant in competitions since

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5. Finally, three decades later, Carme Pinós was awarded the National Architecture Prize in 2021, the highest Spanish recognition that values the work of a person who has made an extraordinary contribution to the enrichment of Spanish architecture or urban planning within and beyond Spanish borders.

the 1970s, was also one of the most relevant women architects specialising in architectural thought and criticism in the country (Figure 5). Moreover, of the 11 mixed teams that took part, three were awarded prizes: the couple Federico Soriano and Dolores Palacios (ETSA Madrid, 1986) were awarded first prize; Fuensanta Nieto (ETSA Madrid, 1981) and Enrique Sobejano were selected as first runner-up; and the second runner-up was Beatriz Matos (ETSA Madrid, 1985) with Alberto Martínez Castillo.

**Figure 5.** María Teresa Muñoz's Palacio Euskalduna competition entry submitted under the motto 'Global Village'



Source: Sanz Fernández de Retana (1993, pp. 60-61)

Women architects in practice continued to increase, as did their success in competitions. The 1991 European II competition, in which Ángela García de Paredes (ETSA Madrid, 1983) and Ignacio García Pedrosa won first prize, testified to this. Other examples were the international open competition for the Prado Museum in Madrid in 1996 with 154 Spanish entries, in which Beatriz Matos and her partner won one of the only two runners-up prizes; or the decision of the national open competition for the Congress Centre and Auditorium in Badajoz in 1999, which awarded its trio of prizes to mixed teams: first prize to Lucía Cano Pintos (ETSA Madrid, 1992) together with José Selgas Rubio; second prize to María José Aranguren (ETSA Madrid, 1983) and José González Gallegos; and third prize, again, to the Matos-Castillo pair. Also noteworthy is Atxu Amann's (ETSA Madrid, 1987) participation as a member of the mixed team *Temperaturas Extremas*, winning awards in open residential housing competitions such as the international housing competition for 400,000 dwellings in Catalonia in 2003 or the national competition *Hacemos Ciudad* for 5,688 state-of-the-art subsidised housing units in 2006, with 256 and 341 entries respectively.

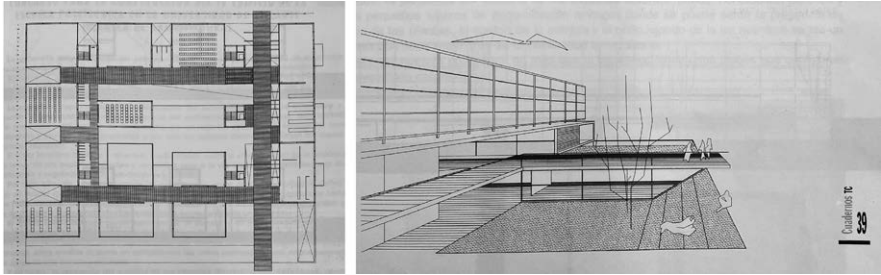
By the mid-1990s, the presence of women from the political arena on jury panels was already commonplace. Carmen Alborch, the socialist Minister of Culture had been the president of the jury panel in the first competition for the Prado Museum, and it was common to find women councillors in public competitions in peripheral regions of the country. Moreover, women architects were finally included more regularly as full jury members. At the turn of the millennium, architects such as Blanca Lleó (ETSA Madrid, 1983) or Carmen Espegel (ETSA Madrid, 1985), with two decades of professional and academic achievements, began to be considered as jury members for important open competitions such as European IX (Spain), in 2006, or the consultation for the headquarters of the Francisco Giner de los Ríos Foundation in Madrid, in 2004, respectively.

Many of these open competitions of the 21st century achieved great media coverage in the Madrid professional magazines (*El Croquis*, *Arquitectura Viva*, *AV Proyectos*, *Arquitectura del COAM*, *Arquitectos del CSCAE* or *Pasajes de Arquitectura y Crítica*) and a new generation of women architects, mainly graduates of the ETSA Madrid, began not only to win prizes in their first anonymous competitions but also to visibly accumulate greater legitimacy and symbolic capital than in previous decades.

Many of them participated in mixed teams such as *inter alia* Victoria Acebo (ETSA Madrid, 1995) associated with Ángel Alonso with her first prize in the open competition for the Centro de las Artes de A Coruña, in 2001, to which 75 entries were submitted; Belinda Tato (ETSA Madrid, 1997) and her studio *Ecosistema Urbano* with her first prize in the competition for the Vallecas Eco-boulevard in Madrid in 2004; Clara Murado (ETSA Madrid, 1997), together with Juan Elvira, finalists in European VI, was awarded second prize in European VIII and first prize in European IX; Cristina Díaz (ETSA Madrid, 1998), together with Efrén García, took part in the competition for the Francisco Giner de los Ríos Foundation's headquarters in 2004 mentioned above. To a lesser extent, they were joined by leading women architects from their own studios, such as Izaskun Chinchilla (ETSA Madrid, 2001), winner of European VII in 2003.

Apart from the dominant media of the cultural poles of Madrid and Barcelona, the magazines of the various regional architects' associations that began to be (re)published from the 1990s onwards, as well as province-based publishing houses—the so-called cultural media periphery—reveal the fact that other less-renowned competitions were becoming an important mine of work and experimentation for women architects, who practised the profession alone or in teams with other women. This is illustrated by a brief survey of the media in the Valencian Community and the province of Alicante (Gutiérrez-Mozo et al., 2022); in these publications we find cases such as the winning proposal by Lola Alonso (ETSA Valencia, 1976) for the 1997 Alicante University (UA) School of Architecture competition (Figure 6); the first prize in the II Competition of the Valencian Housing Institute (IVVSA) in 2000 by Marta Pérez Rodríguez (ETSA Valencia, 1998); the Silvia Alonso de los Ríos's (EPSA Alicante, 2003) distinction in the 2003 Final Degree Project competition organised by the Valencian magazine *ViA Arquitectura*—she was the first woman to graduate from the UA Architecture School and recipient of several prizes, such as the European 10; the award-winning design by Elena Albajar Molera (ETSA Madrid, 1977) and Ruth Céspedes de Pablo (ETSA Valencia, 2004) for the 2007 Alicante Market Memorial competition; the first prize in the 2007 Social Housing in San Antón-Alicante competition by Sonia Miralles Mud (EPSA Alicante, 2004) and Maribel Requena Barbellido (EPSA Alicante, 2006); and others.

Figure 6. Lola Alonso's University of Alicante School of Architecture competition entry



Source: Alonso (1997, p. 39)

Certainly, the cultural and geographical periphery has always been fertile territory for the growth of women's careers, evidenced by the participation of Carme Pinós (ETSA Barcelona, 1979) in Alicante competitions such as the Benidorm Cultural Centre in 1997, the Santa Pola Seafront Promenade in 2002, the Faculty of Education of the UA in 2005, or her invitation to the restricted competition for the failed 'La Sangueta' Congress Centre in Alicante in 2006. In addition, Pinós's works for Alicante city councils have been awarded prizes such as the Footbridge and Landscaping in Petrer in 1991 (Finalist VI BEAU, 2001) or the Torrevieja Seafront Promenade in 1996 (Premio COACV, 1999-2000). The latter was one of the first major solo works of the Catalan architect, who, after two decades of excellent career and external/peripheral recognition, was invited to the heavily mediatised restricted competition of the *CaixaForum* Zaragoza in 2008. She decided to participate—and won—despite her manifest distaste for the hackneyed game-playing between celebrities. A similar search through the peripheral Spanish media would reveal more names of women architects who participated and were recognised in regional competitions. They include, *inter alia*, in Galicia, Pascuala Campos de Michelena (ETSA Barcelona, 1968); in the Canary Islands, Magüi González (EA Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1978); in the region of Navarra, Maite Apezteguia (ETSAU Navarra, 1979); in Andalusia, Blanca Sánchez Lara (ETSA Sevilla, 1988), and also Elisa Valero Ramos (ETSA Valladolid, 1996).



#### 4. SYNTHESIS OF A SILENT CONSECRATION

A look back at the architecture competitions organised in Spain and published in architecture magazines during the late Franco era exposes the gradual incorporation of Spanish women architects into the competitive structure of this complex cultural field belonging to a traditionally patriarchal profession. While the presence of women in mixed teams was very low, their presence on their own was almost non-existent, resulting in zero representation on the jury panels. After the death of Franco, over the democratic transition, despite the progressive increase in women's participation in competitions in mixed teams, the presence of women alone or in women's teams remained equally low until the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. Furthermore, in this latter period, women from the political sphere were included on the jury panels much earlier than those from the architectural profession.

At the height of the burgeoning Autonomous Regions, favoured by the cultural investment plans promoted by the socialist government, the new communities began to compete to offer an attractive image capable of boosting their identity and economy. Architecture became a symbol of renewal, formalised through direct commissions or competitions—open and restricted—which, with accession to the European Economic Community, were opened to the international arena. During these years, there were already many mixed teams who were successful in major open competitions, widely publicised in the main media compared to teams led by women architects whose visibility was confined to the peripheral media. This contrasted with the restricted competitions that continued to mainly promote male architects. Gradually, the architects' personalities extended beyond their works, ushering in the future architecture of the *auteur* and the increasingly frequent invitations to the so-called *star system*.

Indeed, in Spain, the prolific decade of restricted competitions dates back to the mid-1990s, continuing in all its plenitude until the first decade of the new millennium, a time when the indulgence of iconic 'white elephant' architecture seemed to reach its peak, and the first signs of crisis appeared in the cultural import formula of the late-capitalist and neoliberal apothecosis before the financial crisis of 2008. During these years, most mixed

teams, especially Spanish women architects working alone or in pairs, were systematically excluded from the typical institutionally organised invitation-only competitions. Women graduates of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s did not participate in the celebrity game until the 21st century, and in very small numbers. However, most of them were able to add to their *curricula vitae* by participating in numerous competitions, open and anonymous, with or without recognition, making this one of the most important areas of their practice.

At present, critical reviews that feature the work and contributions of women architects to the discipline show that many of those women who built their legitimacy from the anonymity of competitions and began to enjoy a certain celebrity in the new millennium, have shown themselves reluctant to see their work become merchandise in a global cultural market, from which they were excluded in the past. Especially when the objective of this market seems to be to achieve a media-friendly iconic and/or politically opportunistic architecture. This question raises an open discussion between those who defend the need to problematise the link between the embodied experience of the woman architect and architecture, and those who erase the author's body or replace it with an exclusively architectural corporeality. The two propositions, contrary and disjunctive—and even paradoxical—relate back to Beauvoir's dilemma for women writers referred to at the beginning of the article. Nevertheless, it is not a secret that caregiving was—and still is—one of the main barriers for women architects to fully develop their professional careers, since it reduced their involvement in the architecture labour market and, as a consequence, their participation in architecture competitions, which entails lots of extra work hours conflicting with their also unpaid care work.

Besides these controversies, it is worth noting that the 'consecration' analysed by Pierre Bourdieu for the literary cultural field is of a different status to that of 'celebrity'. Consecration comes from the merits and achievements of individuals in open competition in the public sphere, which recognises them as unique individuals with singular talents. However, celebrity is explicitly commercial, rather than the work, it is the *auteur* who becomes the fetish. The cases investigated speak volumes about the fact that Spanish women architects who were regular contestants—including all those who are not

mentioned in this article—achieved their consecration according to a silent logic, far removed from flashy celebrity, an issue that has left a deep imprint on their ways of approaching the practice of their profession, in general, and of participating in the cultural field of the competition, in particular. From this very approach, this paper can also be read as a well-deserved tribute to these women.

## 5. FUNDING

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## **II. Miscellaneous section / Sección miscelánea**

# ECOFEMINIST KITCHENS: REIMAGINING PROFESSIONAL KITCHENS AS SPACES OF SUSTAINABLE FOODWORK

## COCINAS ECOFEMINISTAS: REINVENTANDO LAS COCINAS COMO UN ESPACIO DE TRABAJO SOSTENIBLE

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### Abstract

Professional kitchens are both producers and consumers of food and many operate through unsustainable practices which have significant social and ecological impacts. Socially, they are spaces of low paid, high-pressured work, where gendered occupational discrimination is common. Ecologically, food production in these spaces contributes significantly to the demand for unethical meat production and the commodification of nature globally. The main aim of this article is to reimagine professional kitchens as spaces of sustainable and equitable foodwork. To this end, this research combines an empirical analysis of the relation between gender, power, and sustainability in professional kitchens in Glasgow with a theoretical examination of ecofeminist scholarship. In Glasgow, data were collected through semi-structured interviews with both male and female head chefs on the everyday (un)sustainable practices and norms of professional chefs and the ways they intertwine with gender. This research found that kitchens are organised in ways that normalize toxic masculinity, disempower women, and seriously harm non-human others. Furthermore, the absence of ecological literacy in professional

kitchens is shown to be a significant driver of unsustainable behaviours. Drawing on ecofeminist scholarship, this article goes on to envision what changes are needed for a sustainable and equitable transformation in professional kitchens. Based on this theoretical engagement, I argue that transforming professional kitchens requires a redistribution of power across genders to eradicate sexist hierarchies. Furthermore, there is a need to decenter economic profit to make space for an ethic of compassion which fulfils our moral obligations to both human and non-human others.

**Keywords:** ecofeminism; gender; foodwork; sustainability; professional chefs; professional kitchens; animals.

### Resumen

Las cocinas profesionales son tanto productoras como consumidoras de alimentos y muchas operan mediante prácticas insostenibles con un importante impacto social y ecológico. Socialmente, son espacios de trabajo mal remunerado y bajo condiciones de presión, donde la discriminación ocupacional por género es común. De una perspectiva ecológica, la producción de alimentos en estos espacios contribuye significativamente a la demanda de producción de carne poco ética y a la mercantilización de la naturaleza a nivel mundial. El objetivo principal de este artículo es reimaginar las cocinas profesionales como espacios de trabajo alimentario sostenible y equitativo. Para ello, esta investigación combina un análisis empírico de la relación entre género, poder y sostenibilidad en las cocinas profesionales de Glasgow con un examen crítico desde la perspectiva ecofeminista. En Glasgow, se recopilaron datos a través de entrevistas semiestructuradas con jefes de cocina, hombres y mujeres, sobre las prácticas y normas cotidianas (in)sostenibles de los chefs profesionales y las formas en que se entrelazan con el género. Esta investigación encontró que las cocinas están organizadas de manera que normalizan la masculinidad tóxica, quitan el poder a las mujeres y dañan gravemente a los demás seres no humanos. Además, se ha demostrado que la falta de conocimientos ecológicos en las cocinas profesionales es un factor importante de comportamientos insostenibles. Basándose en estudios ecofeministas, este artículo continúa imaginando qué cambios se necesitan para una transformación sostenible y equitativa en las cocinas profesionales. Con base en este compromiso teórico, sostengo que transformar las cocinas profesionales requiere una redistribución del poder entre los géneros para erradicar las jerarquías sexistas. Además, es necesario descentrar el beneficio económico para dejar espacio a una ética de la compasión que cumpla con nuestras obligaciones morales hacia los demás, tanto humanos como no humanos.

**Palabras clave:** ecofeminismo; género; gastronomía; sostenibilidad; cocineros profesionales; cocinas profesionales; animales.



## 1. INTRODUCTION

Ecofeminist scholarship has long demonstrated that societies, organizations and households founded upon masculine values generate detrimental impacts on both women and the environment (Merchant, 1996; Plumwood, 1986). The theoretical contribution of ecofeminism lies in shedding light on the relationship between environmental and gendered exploitation by unpacking both the historical and contemporary hierarchical relationships between genders and gender and non-human nature (Gaard, 1993; Merchant, 1996; Plumwood, 1986). Given that food production and consumption contribute towards environmental exploitation and the (re)production of social and gendered inequalities, ecofeminism offers a fruitful lens to examine the food service industry.

The food service industry has been well researched across disciplines to explore everyday practices, pleasure, ethics, nutrition, and inequalities in consuming food (Bezerra et al., 2012; Finkelstein, 1989; Salmivaara & Lankoski, 2021; Wood, 2017; Wylie, 2020). Sociologists have analyzed the food service industry from a variety of perspectives, including that of the consumer (eg. Warde et al., 1999; Warde & Martens, 1998, 2000), and the restaurant workers (eg. Fine, 1996, 2008; Harris & Giuffre, 2010a, 2010b; Meriot, 2006). Geographers, on the other hand, have explored the industry through celebrity chefs as well as the discourses around food and celebrity (see, for instance, Barnes, 2017; Bell & Hollows, 2011; Goodman & Barnes, 2011; Slocum et al., 2011). Concurrently, sustainability debates surrounding the food service industry explore sustainable food supply chains through food waste mitigation and innovation driven sustainable solutions (Dhir et al., 2020; Hennchen, 2019; Martin-Rios et al., 2018; Pirani & Arafat, 2016). Yet, there is an absence of consideration for approaching sustainability in the food service industry through dismantling the toxic everyday practices it is built upon.

In this paper, I examine the relation between gender, power and sustainability with a focus on professional kitchens. Professional kitchens are both producers and consumers of food and many operate through unsustainable practices with devastating social and ecological impacts (Gössling & Hall, 2021; Wylie, 2020). Moreover, they can be controversial spaces, characterized

by the reproduction of social inequalities driven by high-pressure work conditions, gendered occupational discrimination and low salaries (Harris & Giuffre, 2010b; Swan, 2020; Wylie, 2020). If, I argue, professional kitchens are embedded within processes and structures which contribute towards unsustainable outcomes, they can also become agents of sustainable transformations. Therefore, this article draws ecofeminism to explore what sustainable transitions in professional kitchens could look like.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. Feminist food ethics

Eating has long been identified by feminist scholars as being intertwined with politics (Gaard, 1993; Ketchum, 2016; MacKendrick, 2014). Ketchum (2016) examined the self-identified feminist restaurants of the 1970's and 80's, conceptualizing them as spaces carved out by women, for women, to share art, music, politics and environmentalism. In examining the menus – which ingredients were included or not, and the food prices – Ketchum finds evidence that the food reflected the political values of the business owners and were an integral part of what made a restaurant feminist. Ketchum (2016) highlights that feminist restaurants were mostly vegetarian, reflecting the grounded ideology of the business owners, who sought to «undermine oppressive sexist structures in the United States and Canada» (p. 4). Over time, as feminist ideology evolved, so did feminist restaurants. As environmental issues rose to the forefront of feminist activist concerns, ecofeminist values began to forge new ideologies and values, encompassing concerns of ecological and species oppression alongside gendered and racial oppression (Gaard, 2011). This led to the establishment of businesses like the Bloodroot Collective who founded an ecofeminist vegetarian restaurant and bookstore in 1977 that still exist today.

Politicizing our food choices, Gaard (1993, 2002), alongside Carol Adams (1975, 1990), were first to conceptualize ecofeminist vegetarianism. Gaard (2002) notes that the rationale for vegetarianism differs between feminist and ecofeminist activists and scholars. Ecofeminists saw treating non-human animals with equal moral consideration as humans, and politicizing food consumption as essential. Rather than focusing on the moral obligation to

animals, vegetarian feminists related the violence oppression and suffering associated with the consumption of non-human animals to the oppression of women, people of colour and nature itself (Adams, 1990; Gaard, 1993; Spiegel, 1988). Meat eating was regarded as an extension of the patriarchal power and vegetarianism became a form of empowerment through the application of non-violence principles. More recently, ecofeminist concerns of ecology and society have shifted further into mainstream food trends as vegan and vegetarian lifestyles are increasing. Nevertheless, more animals are now being slaughtered for food than ever before (Holmes, 2021).

## 2.2. Ecofeminism, food, and sustainability

Ecofeminism is deeply rooted in feminist and ecological goals to liberate nature and society from oppressive patriarchal powers and to allow life to flourish free from exploitation (Cohoon, 2014; Gaard, 2017; Plumwood, 1986). Given this focus, it seems appropriate to apply ecofeminist philosophy to debates on food and sustainability. Ecofeminism considers normative dualisms between humans and non-human nature and masculine and feminine as key drivers of ecological degradation and social exploitation in Western cultures (MacGregor, 2021; Plumwood, 2004). According to Gaard (2011) and Bertella (2020) in the face of global crises such as climate change and environmental degradation, the sustainability discourse, which is shaped by rich white men in an industrial North context (MacGregor, 2003), would benefit from ecofeminist perspectives. Gaard (2017) interrogated the literature surrounding the sustainability discourse and she found the dialogue to be blind to gender, race, class, sexuality and non-human species, and over representative of non-marginalized groups.

Bertella (2020) discusses the anthropogenic framing of sustainability in food tourism, arguing that we must change the narrative that non-human animals are resources for humans to manage. Bertella (2020) argues there is a moral and ethical obligation to recognize the exploitation of sentient beings in food tourism, and recognising this will broaden the anthropocentric focused understanding of sustainability to include the consideration of non-human animals. Cohoon (2014) draws on the work of Adams (1991) to emphasize that the suffering and domination of animals for food production

and consumption should not be separated and viewed in isolation from the unsustainable environmental and ecological impacts of the commodification of animals for meat. Adams (1991) connects the ecological consequences of meat production to the patriarchal dualisms and the systems of oppression which ecofeminists aspire to dismantle, highlighting the need for ecofeminists to contest animal consumption and production processes. Similarly, Bertella (2020) uses the COVID-19 outbreak as an example of the consequences our unsustainable consumption and commodification of animals has for ecological well-being. The author sees tourism as the key driver of unsustainable food production and consumption, and advocates for an ecofeminist perspective to promote sustainable transformations that recognize the intrinsic value of human and non-human animals.

### 2.3. Sustainable professional kitchens

As mainstream concerns of climate change, sustainability and animal welfare continue to reshape contemporary food practices through dietary changes, there is potential for professional kitchens to become spaces of environmental stewardship (Wylie, 2020), with chefs as mediators of change (Pereira et al., 2019). Emerging literature around professional chefs and kitchens has emerged within sustainable tourism scholarship (Gössling & Hall, 2021) socio-ecological science (Pereira et al., 2019) and feminists food studies (Wylie, 2020), which share a vision of professional foodwork and practices as playing a key role in sustainable transformations.

In their book *The Sustainable Chef*, Gössling and Hall (2021) recognise restaurants as key consumers within the global food supply chain play and co-responsible for mass food production and its environmental consequences. The authors identify restaurants as potential sites of sustainable transformation and frame sustainability as a win-win scenario for both food businesses and the environment. A resource efficient kitchen, they argue, can be good for a company's «bottom line» whilst minimizing its environmental impact (2021, p. 18). Given the environmental costs of food production such as land degradation, fish stock depletion and greenhouse gas emissions, the authors stress the importance of increasing the interest in vegetarian and vegan food in restaurants. However, they highlight that what is understood as

environmentally and ecologically sustainable is not uniform across different food geographies and the transformations required must be context specific. Surprisingly, this book's careful reflection on chefs and professional kitchens does not delve into any gendered dynamics, thereby overlooking key insights regarding masculinity and gendered inequities and their social and environmental consequences (Harris & Giuffre, 2010b Koch, 2019; Nilsson, 2013; Wylie, 2020).

Bridging the gap between food preparation and the environment, Pereira et al. (2019) describe chefs as potential innovators who can utilize ecological traditional knowledge (ETK) to create sustainable food innovations. The authors speculate that «ways for innovation and tradition to meet in the kitchen are countless; the only restriction is the creativity of cooks» (2019, p. 3). Given that professional kitchens are spaces of stress, harsh working conditions and gendered inequalities (Harris & Giuffre, 2010b Nilsson, 2013; Wylie, 2020), Pereira et al. (2019) may imagine these innovations and creative practices taking place away from traditional kitchen settings. Overall, these studies invoke imaginaries of sustainable food transitions where chefs are mediators of change. However, ensuring inclusive transformations requires further interrogation of the power dynamics intertwined with food production and consumption, and their consequences. An ecofeminist perspective can provide crucial insights to unpack visible and non-visible power dynamics driving oppressive relations such as speciesism or gendered oppression (Adams, 1975, 1990, 1991; Bertella, 2018, 2020; Cohoon, 2014; Gaard, 2002, 2017).

### 3. METHODOLOGY

An inquiry into the everyday practices of head chefs was selected to explore, through an ecofeminist lens, the treatment of women and non-human animals in masculine and profit driven environments; and the transformational potential of these spaces if feminist environmental values were embedded in them. A qualitative case study of head chefs from restaurants in Glasgow, Scotland, was selected as the appropriate methodological approach to analyze i) factors shaping the (un)sustainable practices and behaviours of chefs ii) how chefs perceive the role of gender in their professional experiences.

Glasgow was selected as a case study because the city has a growing food industry. Moreover, the researcher was embedded in the restaurant networks of Glasgow.

Semi-structured interviews were identified as the most suitable method to address the analytical questions above as they provide an in-depth insight into the participants' interpretations of the topics (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The participants consisted of ten head chefs (6 x male; 4 x female) with an average professional experience of 16 years each. The participants were selected through snowball sampling (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). The researcher identified three initial participants from their network who then referred other chefs from their own networks.

The interviews encompassed explanatory and clarificatory questions to capture the motivations and perceptions of the chefs (Legard et al., 2003). Questions were informed by feminist scholarship concerned with gender and labour (Cockburn, 1983; Morrison et al., 1987; Steinberg, 1992), and ecofeminist scholarship on the masculine domination of women and non-human animals; food; and sustainability (Gaard, 1993; Merchant, 1980; Plumwood, 2004). The questions encompassed four themes: sustainability; kitchen practices; organization and hierarchy; gender. The interviews were held in the workplace of each participant, lasting between 20 to 90 minutes. The researcher's previous experience as a chef helped build a rapport with the participants and recognize certain nuances within the discussions that needed further probing and exploration.

The data analysis followed an inductive process (Kelle & Erzberger, 2003) where commonalities, differences and patterns were extracted as codes from the empirical data. These codes were generated first amongst participants and then across genders. Gender was the only variable applied to the data analysis. Age was ruled out as a variable as the chefs were all aged between early 30's to early 40's and this was not deemed a significant enough generational difference. Going forward, in the face of looming socio-political and climate crises (MacDonald, 2021), which are intersectional in nature (Sultana, 2021), and in the face of a sustainability discourse that has a tendency to be blind to gender, class and race (Gaard, 2017), research on sustainable and equitable professional kitchens would benefit from exploring the intersectional dimensions of paid foodwork. However,

given that the participants in this study were all White, Scottish, and of mostly working-class backgrounds, the data did not lend itself to an inter-sectional analysis.

A thematic analysis extracted the following key themes from the interview data: everyday (un)sustainability; toxic masculinity; and gendered discrimination. Given my own positionality as the researcher with experience as a chef I maintained a reiterative process of reflexivity during the coding process to ensure that what was being extracted from the data was representative of the participants experiences and perceptions and not a reflection of my own subjectivities. Participants were assigned a pseudonym to ensure anonymity. The pseudonyms for male chefs began with an M and F for female chefs, followed by a number: F1, F2, F3, F4. M1, M2, M3, M4, M5, M6.

#### 4. FINDINGS

This section will illustrate the lived experiences and perceptions of the chefs. They discuss toxic masculinity and gendered discrimination; the stigma surrounding the well-being of chefs; and what sustainability means to them in the kitchen. These themes are relevant in making theoretical connections between professional kitchens and the broader societal and ecological issues of animal welfare, gendered discrimination and sustainability.

##### 4.1. Everyday toxic masculinity

The chefs disclosed incidences when masculine characteristics and traits had detrimental impacts on women, animals, and the environment. M6 recalled witnessing physical fights between chefs and waiters, a chef throwing fish at him, working with sexist chefs, and witnessing bullied junior chefs «becoming a bully themselves». He specified that some female chefs also behave aggressively: «my first head chef was female, and she was crazy, she used to throw frying pans around the kitchen». In contrast, F1 believes that men and women take different approaches to leadership: «I'm sure I can bare my teeth with the best of them, but I think women rule with respect in the kitchen and men rule with fear».

Both M2 and M6 feel that celebrity chef Gordon Ramsay has «ruined the industry» by glorifying kitchens as places of aggression. Whilst some

believe that kitchens are beginning to «change» as «you wouldn't get away with the things now that took place before». M5 felt «fortunate» to avoid spending much time in «old school kitchens» with toxic environments. M3 however, chose to work in «military-style» kitchens: «when I first started out it was hard-core, I've had some experiences». Reflecting on what he enjoys about being a chef, M6 mentioned masculine characteristics such as the «adrenaline» of a busy service and the pleasure of «suffering like in the military» when having to «push physically and mentally to get through a shift». F1 believes that masculinity thrives from a need for male chefs to compete with one another:

guys want to prove they are tougher and can take more of a punishment, and they can lose sight of the end goal which is to produce good food. I think there is a difference of aggression. Even down to the music that gets played in the kitchen, women will play something everyone can sing along to. With men, it's always too loud and nobody can hear what's happening in the kitchen around them and they take dominance over the music and speakers [...] it's like sensory deprivation.

M2 reflected on reproducing toxic masculinity in kitchens, he remembers being on edge, argumentative and «doing some bad things.» He feels kitchens can become «a little bit more harmonious» when there is a gender balance. Similarly, F1 mentioned that she feels kitchens benefit from a gendered balance as it «dilutes the chest beating that happens».

One participant highlighted that animals are also vulnerable to kitchen violence as she witnessed unethical treatment of live lobsters. Her male colleagues had removed elastic bands from the claws of the live lobsters to enable them to «fight» one another. F1 covered the lobsters with a kitchen towel to stop them moving. F1 recalled that when she challenged the chef's actions, he «picked up one of the female lobsters and began to eat the eggs off her belly whilst she was still alive. [...] why would you treat something like that», F1 recalled emotionally. MacDonald (2021) argues that our disregard for other species caused and worsened the Covid-19 pandemic. In the face of the climate emergency and mass biodiversity loss, they argue, there is need to forge new relationships with non-human nature. Similarly, Taylor and Taylor (2020) have argued that «our conception of solidarity must cross the species barrier» (p.105).



With words such as punishment (F1), suffering (M3) and military style (M3; M6) hardcore (M3) being used in the interviews to describe the everyday, it is unsurprising that mental health and substance abuse were a common theme. F1 discussed her own sense of struggling: «I think the mental is far more wearing than the physical and the physical strain is huge. I think I got to a point that I was so stressed that it changed my personality». Whilst M2 believes that «the mental health issues within the industry are more recognized now», F2 disagrees:

I think this [mental health] is not spoken about enough and I think it should be. There is a stigma surrounding it and I think people underestimate how much pressure is involved in running a kitchen.

M2 recognizes the need to look out for others, however, as a senior chef himself he appears to lack empathy for those he believes have brought exhaustion on themselves:

it is constant and physically it is hard. If you don't take care of yourself nutritionally then your emotional side dwindles [...] You need to have the right people around you to say go take a break, have a drink, take a bite to eat and go rest. I say do not come in here hungover and give up the fags<sup>1</sup> (M2).

F1 reflects on the same problems more sympathetically:

I've seen chefs work 70 hours a week and spend four hours of the day taking drugs and drinking alcohol to calm themselves down from the natural adrenaline that we get from a busy service. [...] I don't think people realize how badly they are hurting themselves (F1).

The chefs have raised concerns about the fragility of many colleagues trying to cope with the pressures and stress of work. Yet, there is no support in place. In this work environment, it is difficult to focus on environmental sustainability: chefs struggling with their well-being will surely lack motivation to consider the ecological consequences of kitchen practices. In their ecofeminist vision of the future, MacDonald (2021) highlight that societies which prioritise the health and well-being of its citizens and which

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1. The word «fag» is often used in the West of Scotland as a colloquialism when referring to a cigarette.

«compensates all its citizens commensurate with their value» (p. 370), will be both more equitable than what we have today and stronger in the face of impending future crises.

#### 4.2. Everyday gendered discrimination

Both male and female chefs recognized signs of gendered discrimination in professional kitchens. Some female chefs described their own professional experiences and pressures as different from their male colleagues. They felt they had to meet greater expectations than men and continuously prove their abilities. F2 felt that as a woman «you need to have a thick skin» and «you don't have to prove you can do the same job, you have to prove you can do it better». In her opinion, male chefs should take responsibility to be «more welcoming and make the kitchen environment a lot less hostile». This perception is echoed by F4 who thinks there are «no female chefs out there» as «female chefs work harder to get their position». She feels that «it is hard for a woman; you have to be quite a strong personality» and the job role which requires working long and anti-social working hours can leave «no flexibility for a family life».

In contrast, male chefs perceived that their gender had no impact on their career and many associated questions of gender with the experiences of women. M1 and M2 touched upon the topic of chefs who are working mothers and implied that their reduced ability to be flexible is a «hindrance» for other chefs (M1), and if mothers cannot commit to more hours, they will be unable to undertake or secure more senior positions (M2). The under-representation of female chefs is rationalized as a lack of interest in the chef lifestyle: «from the outside, the perspective might be that this is a very rock and roll job, and a lot of women are not particularly interested in this» (M2). M4 believes that female chefs knew «what the (kitchen) environment was like before taking the job». Here, women are blamed for not integrating properly, there is no consideration for the gendered barriers they face.

Food suppliers reproduce these gendered discriminations. Both F1 and F4 mentioned their discomfort when male suppliers and delivery drivers

refer to them as «darling» and «hen»<sup>2</sup>, and many suppliers have dismissed female head chefs whilst looking for the assumed man in charge. F4 mentioned times where she felt she had to push back against the performative femininity expected of her from food suppliers who request that she «smile» or «cheer up», a request she believes would not be asked of a male head chef. In response she «badly emasculated» a delivery driver in front of her junior male chefs, believing that if she didn't, it would send the wrong message to the junior chefs. F4 initially complained to the restaurant owner regarding the negative comments she continuously received and was told to «man up». It is evident through these stories that foodwork is intertwined with gendered discrimination, and the detrimental impacts on women have been normalized within the workplace. Brownhill and Turner (2020, p. 7) use the term «workplace ecology» to apply an ecofeminist meaning to ecologies of those of us who reside and work within built environments. As Brownhill and Turner (2020) argue, pushing back and resisting the «gendered struggle» of women in the workplace, is a fight for «agency and control over the ecologies they inhabit» (p.7).

### 4.3. (Un)sustainability in the everyday

Perceptions of sustainability differed significantly amongst participants. Some perceived sustainability as a personal rather than professional practice (F2, F3, M1, M6); some perceived it as non-financially viable from a business perspective (M2, M5, F1, F4), whilst others had never given it much consideration (M3, M4).

When asked whether they considered sustainability when designing menus, the chefs emphasized that making a profit must come first. Many felt that it was almost impossible to simultaneously buy local, meet customer expectations and generate profit. For example, F1 only sources vegetables from local small-scale farmers when her «budget allows», even though she considers the quality far exceeds that of vegetables «grown in a poly tunnel all year round in the Netherlands». For M2 «there are a lot of people [suppliers] coming in with really good stuff but it costs a lot of money and usually

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2. The word «hen» is often used in the West of Scotland as a colloquialism when referring to a woman or girl.

comes from Britain. Whereas the cheap stuff comes from abroad». He goes on to say, «we are able to buy local because we have a loyal customer base». Yet, many of his so-called local products come with substantial carbon emissions, as they are transported by plane, boat, and trucks from the Scottish Hebridean Islands. M2 also indicated that meeting the demand for high-end produce is prioritized over environmental concerns and that chefs struggle to purchase sustainably, even when the customers are paying high prices.

F4 revealed a lack of transparency and communication between chefs and their supplier's concerning sustainability. She feels the relationship is largely based on an economic understanding:

you don't actually know where the veg comes from that the suppliers pick up at the veg market. They will buy what is cheap to give you a good price. I guess maybe they could provide me with a list of what is British or Scottish and I could work my menu around that. But a lot of time and effort is needed for that and what would be the cost?

Other chefs echo the idea that «the suppliers don't talk to us about it [sustainable options]. They just look at it as someone is going to buy their fish and that's kind of how it goes (M5)». Some chefs have highlighted that suppliers purchase products from overseas when they are no longer in season in Scotland, as they are under pressure to supply a large variety of unsustainable products all year round:

I had an argument with a chef one day who was freaking out because he couldn't get a hold of a breakfast radish from a supplier in December in Scotland. What must happen for this to change (F1).

Concurrently, chefs face pressures from customers. The empirical data shows that meeting customer expectations is driving unsustainable practices: F1, F2, F4, M2, M3, M5 and M6 feel the pressure to maintain a certain standard at an affordable price, which crucially determines what products are sourced and at what cost. According to M2:

the customer dictates to the whole industry. Winter in Britain is very difficult, so for us to be sustainable in winter everything has to be from a cabbage family or a root veg, shellfish or stuff that is killed in Scottish abattoirs. But to stick solely to that is difficult because the customer wants a varied choice.

Moreover, customer's price expectation has led to what F1 calls a «cheapening of the product». She provides an example of gas flushed chicken:

it makes me absolutely sick to think about it [...] the breasts are yellow, huge and full of water. The minute it comes into contact with a frying pan it explodes everywhere, that's not what a chicken is.

The expectations and needs of customers are also shifting: «Glasgow seems to be such a big place for vegans now. The vegan capital of the UK at the moment» (M3). Paradoxically, as mentioned by F1 and M3, these food trends and ethical food choices contribute towards unrealistic customer expectations, further burdening chefs who need to constantly adapt their menus:

I don't mind vegetarians, but I am not a fan of the other ones (vegans). It's not that I am discriminating against them because I am not, it's just a hassle. It is almost like the customers are now dictating to the chefs what is going on the menu, no longer the other way about (M3).

I think people are treating their dinner being in a relationship they no longer want to be in; always looking over their shoulder for the next best thing (F1).

Despite this, all the chefs provided both vegan and vegetarian options to their menus and some notice a financial benefit:

we provide a vegan and veggie menu in each of our places, so they are around 30% of our market. So, they bring a lot of money to this company so are well catered for (M2).

This shows that both the demand and supply of vegetarian and vegan diets are increasing and that professional kitchens will and can adapt for financial benefits. In some instances, chefs are faced with evidence of unsustainable human activities. One participant, M2, bore witness to the impact of human activities on non-human animals whilst preparing fresh seafood:

I never thought I would see this. I was cleaning mussels from the Isle of Barra and inside the digestive tract which I remove so customers don't eat it was lots of plastic, hundreds of plastics. So, it is like a bulbous sac, usually full of seaweed, and in it plastic, tiny tiny little bits of plastic.

It is evident here that the everyday foodwork of chefs is intertwined with a dualism between making a profit, meeting customer and meeting the expectations of the chefs themselves. Some chefs have been confronted with the

consequences of profit driven human activities that are unsustainable such as gas flushed chicken and plastic filled bivalves. Yet, they do not make the connections between these problems and their own kitchen practices or perceive themselves as potential mediators of change.

## 5. DISCUSSION: ENVISIONING SUSTAINABLE ALTERNATIVES

Ecofeminism as an ideology is deep rooted in feminist ecological goals which aim to liberate nature and society from oppressive patriarchal powers such as exploitation and speciesism (Gaard, 1993, 2002; Plumwood, 1986). According to Martin (1990, p. 191) ideologies are beliefs which make sense of certain social realities and present a notion for the way the world could be. Martin suggests that within organisations an ideology exists whether it is evident or not and it shapes an organisation's purpose and practices. The empirical data above has shown that at present, the purpose and practices of professional kitchens are profit orientated without any ethical or moral basis. The consequences of this – violence, exploitation, and oppression – are felt mostly by women, the environment, and non-human animals.

### 5.1. Social Sustainability: gendered redistribution of power

The chefs described working conditions which intensify gendered discrimination, substance abuse, poor mental-health, and violence. The data implied that gender, mostly in the form of toxic masculinity, is performed (Butler, 1990) in kitchens through a series of gendered norms and stereotypes (such as male chefs discussing the thrilling aspects of punishment, adrenaline, the military, etc). Gendered assumptions and expectations, especially on female chefs, are not only embedded within the organisation and hierarchy of kitchens, but also reproduced in the broader discourse on professional kitchens. To illustrate, when considering the well-being of chefs, both Raynor (2017) and Gössling and Hall (2021, p. 333) draw the upon restaurateur Jeremy King as an «interesting example». King has reorganized his kitchens to minimise noise, provide flexible shift patterns to accommodate working parents, and he claims to «employ older cooks and women to improve the work atmosphere». King claimed that «all masculine environments are harsh. Women are a simple way to destress them». In their analyses and support

of King's approach, both Raynor, and Gössling and Hall reproduce the idea that women are a «simple solution» to creating a «nice» atmosphere to calm male chefs. In this way, they fail to acknowledge the value of women's labour and the skills which they bring to their roles and inadvertently reproduce gendered discrimination towards female chefs. The undervaluing of women in the workplace has been an ongoing struggle for feminists and according to Benschop and Verloo (2011), the differences associated between genders such as emotions, behaviour and biology, and the assumptions that go along with these stereotypes, undervalues the economic and social benefits that women can bring to an organisation.

The idea that a gender balance improves the atmosphere of toxic kitchens was also mentioned by participants who believe women can make a «more harmonious» kitchen (M2), and «dilute the chest beating» (F1). I argue that the solution lies beyond making essentialist assumptions about the characteristics of women (Carlassare, 1994) and that kitchens need to tackle the deep-rooted causes of the toxicity and eradicate the negative work dynamics for the benefit of everyone. From an ecofeminist perspective, concerned with liberating the oppressed from exploitative powers (Chen, 2014), eradicating the gendered discrimination and reshaping the toxic hierarchy would entail making foodwork more accessible. In kitchens, shift patterns are a form of power as they dictate who can be hired and who can then secure and maintain the more senior roles. Gender is a limitation to women, especially working mothers, and a source of power to men. Overall, a gendered balance in kitchens will not eradicate gendered discrimination if women remain in lower ranking and lower paid positions. It would only reproduce gendered discrimination. Redistributing power is essential to alleviate many female chefs from being in constant subordination to male colleagues and from sacrificing career progression to maintain a job and a family.

## 5.2. Ecological literacy and an ethic of compassion

The chefs emphasized that their main priorities are generating profits whilst meeting the expectations of the customers. There were no significant considerations for the impacts of kitchen practices on «non-human others» (Curtin, 2021, p. 85), nor any indication that the chefs perceive themselves as

facilitators of change. This emphasizes the need for ecological literacy within kitchens. An ecological literate person, according to Pitman et al. (2018, p. 1), is «aware of the interconnected nature of the Earth and its systems, has the skills to understand and respond to the ecological relationships». If chefs were equipped with ecological literacy, they would be more motivated to make more sustainable choices, pass down knowledge to junior chefs and mediate sustainable changes in kitchen spaces. Ball and Milne (2005) highlighted that for businesses to operate sustainably there must be a flow of information within a workplace regarding the wider environmental implications of their work-related actions. If individuals within an organization are informed, then transformation can occur quicker. However, the authors found it may take coercion by external influences such as government policies before managers engage with issues of sustainability.

More recently, the UK government passed the Animal Welfare (sentience) Bill, in response to a report by the London School of Economics and Political Science (Birch et al., 2021) which highlighted that lobsters, crabs and octopuses are sentient beings, able to feel pain and distress. The Bill aims to protect these animals from cruel food preparation practices such as being boiled alive. Once this Bill is put into practice within kitchens it will provide chefs with incremental knowledge of the non-human others – a good example of ecological literacy. Deane Curtin draws on the work of the ecofeminist Carol Adams to highlight that our food is complex, political and embedded in our identities through gender, class, race, and caste. Through an «ethic of compassion», Curtin (2021, p. 85) argues, it is possible to change the relationships with «non-human others» and food, and over time, food practices can become non-violent and an expression of both knowledge and emotion. This requires a balance between ever evolving competing factors such as exploited food workers, food miles, fair trade, environmental degradation, cruelty to sentient beings. Therefore, Curtin (1991, 2021) proposes this as a direction to work towards rather than a destination to reach. This resonates with the struggles of the chefs. Like everyone, they have to navigate emerging and conflicting narratives surrounding food and sustainability whilst working under pressure and meeting financial targets. However, as Curtin (1991, 2021) argues, they can begin by making incremental informed changes in behaviour and in vision.



The empirical data showed how the relationships between chefs and suppliers is reproducing unsustainable practices. Chefs appear to undervalue their relationships with food suppliers, almost disregarding their own needs as a customer. Whilst some female chefs experienced misogynist treatment from suppliers. We can assume such masculine dynamics are reciprocated between male chefs and suppliers and this itself could be a barrier to sustainability. Many debates on gender and sustainable consumption consider sustainable motivations and behaviours as gendered (Bloodhart & Swim, 2020). This extends to food sustainability where meat eating is commonly characterised as a masculine trait (Adams, 1990; Greenebaum & Dexter, 2018) and healthy sustainable diets are associated with the feminine (Aavik & Velgan, 2021). Given the gendered norms currently associated with sustainability and food, we can infer that sustainability may not be perceived as masculine enough to be openly discussed between male chefs and suppliers. Therefore, work needs to be done to normalise sustainability in foodwork. If chefs, suppliers and consumers shared similar social and ecological philosophies, they could achieve more sustainable outcomes. Pereira et al. (2019) provide evidence of what a constructive dialogue between local chefs and suppliers can do. They found it forged localized sustainable food networks as the suppliers could focus on quality locally rather than quantity at a multi-regional level. Creating transparent food networks through knowledge sharing amongst chefs, customers, and suppliers generates the much needed information flow to build ecological literacy throughout the food networks.

Menu design is a key part of integrating sustainability and consideration for the non-human into kitchen practices. Bertella (2020) emphasises that applying an ecofeminist lens to consider the ethical dimensions of animal derived food produce can expand our mainstream understanding of sustainability to include human – non-human animal relationships and our moral obligations. Restaurants are far from being free from animal-based produce, but it can be argued that it is time for chefs to connect their choices and practices to their broader moral obligations to non-human nature. As highlighted by Adams (1991), dissociation from suffering is possible if we identify with the aggressor and with those in power. This argument resonates with the exploitation and oppression occurring in professional kitchens where masculinity is performed, and aggression is the norm. The empirical evidence

pointed towards such behaviour as the majority of the participants (F1, F2, F4, M1, M2, M5, M6) recalled witnessing or experiencing toxic masculinity through aggression and bullying at work (the lobsters for example). If chefs are no longer disassociated from the violence, suffering, and degradation associated with food consumption, they may be inclined to produce menus that reflect an ethic of compassion.

### 5.3. Decentering profit for sustainability

Drawing upon ecofeminist thought to reimagine professional kitchens as spaces of sustainability and equality inevitably means a reevaluation of what is acceptable in the name of profit. Ecofeminism reminds us that exploitative practices are the cause of contemporary ecological crises, and scholars argue that neither food workers, animals nor the environment should be exploited for capital gains (Adams & Gruen, 2021; Bertella, 2020; Merchant, 1996; Plumwood, 2004). In 1990, ecofeminist Françoise d'Eaubonne (1999) imagined what an eco-feminist society could be. Over 30 years later, her concerns about women and the environment are the same: «it is impossible, within patriarchy, to suppress a market economy. And it is impossible, in a market system, to not devastate the planet» and the «misogynistic disgrace which enslaves women will cease only with a rise in the standard of living» (p.4). These issues reflect the problems associated with professional kitchens and emphasise the need to continue imagining ecofeminist futures.

Given the racist and sexist nature of capitalism which favours men in the labour hierarchies, and profits from the exploitation of women and harmful treatment of non-human nature, it is no surprise that ecofeminism has been applied as a lens to imagine post-capitalist futures (Brownhill & Turner, 2020; Giacomini et al., 2018). It is clear that forging sustainable alternative kitchen norms will require decentering financial profit as the priority to make space for the social and ecological obligations. The harm caused by the current economic norms was reflected in the data. On one hand the chefs face economic barriers in buying local products, yet, the demands for customer bargains is «cheapening the product» (F1) and driving unethical meat production. At times, the chefs were perplexed as to whether sustainable alternatives were financially viable, asking «what would be the cost»

(F4), «what would have to happen for things to change» (F1), highlighting that the «cheap stuff comes from abroad» (M2).

More recently, the Covid-19 pandemic reiterated that the economic norms of professional kitchens are unsustainable. To illustrate, the Covid-19 pandemic was the biggest disruption to the food supply chain since the 2007 global recession (Ozili & Arun, 2020), highlighting the financial and social vulnerability of the hospitality industry and its food workers to shock events. Following the implementation of national lockdowns, mass unemployment and job insecurity ensued (Lea, 2020; Richardson, 2020) and many food workers relied on government payments, whilst others faced unemployment. Studies by Alon et al. (2020a, 2020b) revealed that in the US food sector women were disproportionately affected by pandemic induced unemployment, due to pre-pandemic gendered inequalities. In a UK context, food workers in Scotland were amongst the second highest group of deaths, as of April 2021 (NRS, 2021). Overall, Covid-19 exposed the exacerbation of pre-pandemic exploitation on food workers and emphasized the unsustainable social and economic nature of foodwork (Swan, 2020).

Authors such as Blay-Palmer et al. (2020, p. 1), believe the pandemic represents a window of opportunity for transformational change, that we have an opportunity to «learn from past weaknesses and create food systems that are more healthy, sustainable, equitable and resilient». I argue, the pandemic has also presented an opportunity to imagine what professional kitchens could look like if they adopted a more solidarity approach to foodwork. For example, many social enterprises and professional chefs turned their attention to supplying food to vulnerable groups and essential workers, during lockdowns (Batat, 2020; Blay-Palmer et al., 2020). Professional kitchens forged new community networks when donating surplus food to food banks and charities, and many allowing their unused kitchens to be transformed into temporary community kitchens. The sentiments of food aid mutualism, where professional kitchens and their communities formed non-capitalist and mutually beneficial relationships opened up a «new ethics of compassion» (Curtin, 2021, p. 85) in the «kitchen conscience» (Wylie, 2020, p. 104) and this could reflect a step in the direction asked for in this paper.

## 6. CONCLUSION

Ecofeminism prioritises those who are most exploited in capitalist societies (Giacomini et al., 2018). According to Giacomini et al. (2018) ecofeminist visions and direct actions are gaining traction, promoting a transformation towards a «post-fossil-capital epoch» (p. 4) where control over the natural resources essential for life is collective. In the meantime, ecofeminism can be applied to envision potential transformations throughout society to mitigate harm and exploitation. This paper has applied an ecofeminist lens to professional kitchens to highlight the harm being done to women and non-human nature in the everyday, and to reimagine them as spaces of sustainable and equitable practices. A redistribution of power, I argued, is essential to eradicate the sexist hierarchies (Brownhill & Turner, 2020) that exclude female chefs from the higher paid, leadership roles, especially women with caring responsibilities. Overall, as highlighted by MacDonald (2021), compensating food workers for their value will be the foundation for more equitable and resilient societies in the face of looming crises.

Imagining the transition to sustainable foodwork in professional kitchens also means consideration for the «non-human others» (Curtin, 2021, p. 85) and extending our compassion and solidarity across species (MacDonald, 2021; Taylor & Taylor, 2020). This paper has argued that chefs equipped with ecological literacy would be better placed to apply an ethic of compassion to their foodwork, potentially leading them to reshape their everyday practices and menu design to reflect their moral obligations to human and non-human others (Bertella, 2020). This requires in first instance transparency and a sustainable dialogue between chefs and suppliers as a means to normalize sustainability in everyday foodwork.

I drew upon the Covid-19 pandemic to show how current economic logics of restaurants made food workers vulnerable during the crisis. The pandemic has also shown what lies ahead for food workers if we do not forge sustainable and equitable alternatives. At the same time, the crisis revealed that kitchens can adopt an ethic of compassion when needed, providing hope for sustainable futures.

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# LA ÉTICA DEL CUIDADO EN EL PARLAMENTO ESPAÑOL: ANÁLISIS DEL USO DEL TÉRMINO *CUIDADOS* EN EL DISCURSO PARLAMENTARIO

## ETHICS OF CARE IN THE SPANISH PARLIAMENT: ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF THE TERM *CUIDADOS* (CARE) IN PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSE

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### Resumen

En las sociedades occidentales la división sexual del trabajo resultante del sistema patriarcal y capitalista dejó los cuidados a cargo de las mujeres. En las últimas décadas el movimiento feminista ha reivindicado el valor de los cuidados y ha denunciado su relegación al ámbito privado. Investigar cómo se posicionan las formaciones políticas respecto a los cuidados en el debate parlamentario español del primer semestre de la XIV legislatura (diciembre de 2019 a junio de 2020), que comprende la primera ola de la pandemia de la COVID-19, permite analizar cómo su discurso fomenta el reconocimiento del valor de los cuidados y el avance en políticas que permitan mejoras en este ámbito. Para el presente estudio se han seleccionado las formaciones de izquierdas de la cámara –que tradicionalmente se han alineado con los avances feministas– con el objetivo de analizar el uso del término *cuidados* que hacen en el debate parlamentario español. La metodología combina un análisis cuantitativo del conjunto de discursos de las sesiones plenarias del periodo estudiado, que ha permitido recoger una muestra de 114

intervenciones con 202 ocurrencias del término *cuidados*, con un análisis cualitativo basado en el análisis crítico del discurso. Los resultados permiten comprobar que el uso del término se concentra en los puntos del debate sobre COVID-19, economía, empleo, salarios y pensiones, y violencia de género y abuso sexual, y que se emplea, sobre todo, para reivindicar la importancia de los cuidados, agradecer a las personas cuidadoras y denunciar la feminización de los cuidados, lo que por el momento no activa la fuerza política del término ni conduce a una acción transformadora.

**Palabras clave:** análisis crítico del discurso; COVID-19; cuidados; debate parlamentario; discurso político; ética del cuidado; feminismo; XIV legislatura.

### Abstract

In western societies, the sexual division of labour resulting from the patriarchal and capitalist system assigned women the role of caregivers. In recent decades, the feminist movement has asserted the value of care and denounced its relegation to the private sphere. We investigate the stance taken by political formations regarding the concept of care in Spanish parliamentary debate during the first semester of the XIV legislature (from December 2019 to June 2020), which includes the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic. We analyse how their discourse promotes or hampers recognition of the value of care and the progress in policies that can lead to improvements in this area. For the present study, we have selected the left-wing formations –which have traditionally aligned themselves with feminist advances– with the aim of analysing their use of the term *care* in the Spanish parliamentary debate. The methodology combines a quantitative analysis of all speeches from the plenary sessions of the studied period, with a sample of 114 interventions and 202 occurrences of the term *care*, and qualitative research based on critical discourse analysis. The results provide evidence that the use of the term is concentrated at the points of the debate on COVID-19, economy, employment, salaries and pensions and gender-based violence and sexual abuse, and that it is mainly used to claim the importance of care, thank caregivers and denounce the feminization of care, which for the moment does not activate the political force of the term nor does it lead to transformative action.

**Keywords:** care; COVID-19; critical discourse analysis; ethics of care; feminism; parliamentary debate; political speech; XIV legislature.

## 1. INTRODUCCIÓN

Como se indica desde la ética del cuidado y desde el ecofeminismo, los cuidados son esenciales para la vida, pero durante siglos el sistema capitalista

y patriarcal, ligado a la división sexual del trabajo, ha invisibilizado los cuidados, que han sido desvalorizados, se han asignado a las mujeres y han quedado relegados al ámbito privado. A partir de la década de los ochenta del siglo pasado el movimiento feminista ha ido denunciando esta relegación de los cuidados y ha reivindicado el valor que tienen (Camps, 1998; Carosio, 2007; Carrasco et al., 2011; De Miguel, 2000; Federici, 2013; Gilligan, 1982; Herrero et al., 2018, 2019; Pérez-Orozco, 2006, 2019; Puleo, 2011; Velasco, 2016, 2020).

El presente estudio realiza un análisis cuantitativo y cualitativo del uso del término *cuidados* por parte de las formaciones políticas de izquierdas en el debate parlamentario español del primer semestre de la XIV legislatura, de diciembre de 2019 a junio de 2020, un periodo sensible que comprende la primera ola de la pandemia de la COVID-19, en el que los cuidados cobran una relevancia especial en el debate social y político. Es por eso por lo que resulta interesante analizar cómo se posicionan las formaciones de izquierdas –que tradicionalmente se han alineado con los avances feministas– respecto a esta cuestión, cómo justifican sus posicionamientos y cómo conforman sus discursos.

En el ámbito de la academia, el concepto de los cuidados se ha abordado desde distintos enfoques y no hay acuerdo a la hora de definirlo y establecer sus límites (Carrasco et al., 2011, p. 29). Para la presente investigación partimos de la definición que propone Pérez-Orozco (2006):

Los cuidados se refieren al mantenimiento y gestión diarios de la vida, la necesidad más básica y cotidiana que permite la sostenibilidad de la vida, con su faceta material y afectiva indisolublemente ligadas, que es imprescindible para todas y cada una de las personas. (p. 167)

Los trabajos de cuidados engloban las labores asociadas a la reproducción humana, a la crianza y a cubrir las necesidades básicas, de salud y emocionales que todas las personas tenemos en las distintas etapas de la vida (Herrero et al., 2019). Los cuidados se entienden desde dos perspectivas: desde la noción de la posibilidad de la vida, con la que se hace referencia a las actividades concretas de atención a los cuerpos, y desde el concepto de la sostenibilidad de la vida, con el que se plantea si el cuidado de la vida y la preocupación por la vida ajena es una prioridad para el conjunto del sistema

socioeconómico, de modo que se contraponen la lógica del cuidado a la lógica del capital (Pérez-Orozco, 2019).

A partir de la pandemia se ha estudiado el gobierno de los espacios de cuidado y las contradicciones que existen entre los espacios de actividad productiva y los de cuidados (Vallejo, 2020); los movimientos de politización de los cuidados, como el de Las Kellys (López-González y Medina-Vicent, 2020), o las redes de cuidados que con la pandemia proliferaron, también como procesos de politización de los cuidados, en barrios de ciudades españolas (Martínez, 2022) o francesas (Daquin, 2022). Por otra parte, también hay propuestas para impulsar medidas desde las administraciones (Espai Zero Vuit, 2022a, 2022b) y construir un nuevo paradigma político en el que los cuidados estén en el centro (Pérez Francesch, 2021). Asimismo, es de interés para la presente investigación el estudio de Chatzidakis et al. (2020), en el que se analiza la explosión discursiva del cuidado con la pandemia: ante iniciativas de *carewashing*, que no son más que un bálsamo, se apela a la necesidad de una política de cambio profundo que reconozca la interdependencia y la vulnerabilidad, un modelo de cuidado universal que impulse formas innovadoras del cuidado colectivo en todas las escalas de la vida y que tenga por objeto mejorar los procesos democráticos en todos los niveles de la sociedad.

Partiendo del análisis del proceso por el cual los cuidados pasan de ser una tarea invisibilizada y relegada al ámbito privado a ser un tema de debate en la esfera política que lleva a la aprobación de leyes y el impulso de medidas, el presente artículo se adentra en el debate parlamentario para investigar cómo el bloque de izquierdas aborda los cuidados.

## 2. LOS CUIDADOS: DE LA INVISIBILIZACIÓN AL DEBATE PÚBLICO

Autoras como Federici (2013), Herrero (2019), Mies (2014) o Puleo (2011) consideran los trabajos de cuidados puntales de la vida y de la sostenibilidad: el ser humano, que es vulnerable e interdependiente, solo puede sobrevivir si cuenta con relaciones que garanticen cuidados a lo largo de toda la vida y, sobre todo, en los momentos de mayor vulnerabilidad.

Dada la importancia de los cuidados para la reproducción y el mantenimiento de la vida, cabe preguntarse los motivos por los que han sido

invisibilizados y desvalorizados, considerados irrelevantes y asignados en exclusiva a las mujeres.

En las sociedades occidentales el sistema patriarcal asigna y jerarquiza los espacios sociales según el género, lo público y lo privado quedan separados y se constituyen las siguientes dicotomías: la esfera pública, que tiene mayor reconocimiento, se asocia con lo masculino, con la razón, la universalidad, la mente, la producción de ideas, la competitividad, la autonomía, la libertad, el pensamiento abstracto y la ética de la justicia. En cambio, la esfera privada o doméstica se asocia con lo femenino, con los sentimientos, la necesidad y particularidad, el cuerpo, la producción de cuerpos, la compasión, la interdependencia, la contextualización y el cuidado, cuestiones tradicionalmente desvalorizadas (Amorós y De Miguel, 2005; Carrasco et al., 2011; De Miguel, 2000; Herrero et al., 2018, 2019; Mies, 2014; Pérez Orozco, 2006; Velasco, 2020). Es así como el trabajo de cuidados, no monetarizado, se aísla en el ámbito privado, se asigna a las mujeres y se califica como no-trabajo, contrapuesto al empleo asalariado, considerado el único trabajo relevante (Pérez Orozco, 2006); eso permite, además, que el orden patriarcal y capitalista se apropie de este trabajo de cuidados necesario para producir la fuerza de trabajo (Federici, 2013; Herrero et al., 2019; Mies, 2014). En esta línea, los cuidados se definen como trabajos invisibilizados que permiten que el mercado funcione y que reconstituyen diariamente el desgaste que este produce. En palabras de Federici (2013, p. 15): «Lo que mantiene el mundo en movimiento es la inmensa cantidad de trabajo no remunerado que las mujeres realizan en los hogares».

Como indica Velasco (2016), en los años ochenta del siglo XX numerosas pensadoras iniciaron una crítica a esta jerarquización tradicional y se empezaron a reivindicar valores como los sentimientos o, muy especialmente, los cuidados. Concretamente, en 1982, con la publicación de *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*, de Carol Gilligan, se inicia la teorización de la ética del cuidado, que Velasco (2020) resume como una corriente de la filosofía moral que se basa en el hecho de que las personas son vulnerables e interdependientes y necesitan compasión, ayuda y cuidados, y también exige el cuidado de una misma y de las personas cuidadoras. Subraya que los valores del cuidado se han menospreciado porque son propios de la experiencia histórica de las mujeres en el ámbito doméstico, lo que



explica también la desigualdad en la división sexual del trabajo, basada en la educación diferencial y los roles de género. Los cuidados son esenciales para la vida y, como asevera Velasco (2020, p. 115): «Cuidar es una actividad humana, no femenina; cuando los cuidados se universalizan y son llevados a la práctica también por los hombres, la ética del cuidado pasa a ser una ética feminista y democrática».

Asimismo, la ética del cuidado entabla un diálogo con el ecofeminismo, y autoras como Herrero et al. (2019, p. 181) manifiestan: «La visibilización, politización y dignificación del cuidado es una tarea necesaria para la sostenibilidad y al tiempo antipatriarcal y anticapitalista»; antipatriarcal, porque se opone a la división sexual del trabajo impuesta por el patriarcado, y anticapitalista, porque debilita el valor que el mercado da al trabajo y denuncia la dependencia que tiene de los cuidados.

Frente a la tradicional ética de la justicia, actualmente, la ética del cuidado se considera el enfoque alternativo de mayor relevancia y fuerza a la hora de plantear alternativas políticas (Comins, 2007, 2015), puesto que implica una reflexión crítica sobre cómo entendemos la política, las leyes, la economía, la familia y las relaciones interpersonales.

En el contexto político español, autoras como Caravantes (2018), Díaz (2020), Ochoa (2021), Palop (2019) o Quevedo Redondo (2022, 2023) han analizado cómo la llegada de las mujeres a puestos de poder político se asocia a una feminización<sup>1</sup> de la política y su extrapolación al discurso. Se trata de una nueva forma de ejercer el poder en la que los derechos de las mujeres se ponen en el centro, los temas considerados del ámbito privado, como los cuidados, y los denominados *women's issues* (Pastor Yuste, 2002) entran en la agenda política y también se diversifican los estilos de liderazgo y estrategias de comunicación y en ellos cobran relevancia la ética del cuidado, el *soft power*, la empatía y la colaboración.

En esta línea, es relevante observar cómo desde la política se intenta dar respuesta a la crisis de cuidados que se está produciendo en las últimas décadas a escala global. Autoras como Herrero et al. (2018, 2019) y Pérez-Orozco (2019) advierten de la insuficiencia de la conciliación y ponen énfasis

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1. Para una mirada crítica del término *feminización* véase, por ejemplo, Caravantes (2018, pp. 469-473).

en la corresponsabilidad, no solo de hombres y mujeres sino también de los hogares y el sector público. Más allá de prestaciones y servicios públicos, Carrasco et al. (2011, p. 36) señalan que el Estado de Bienestar debe trabajar en la organización social del cuidado, igual que se hizo con el derecho a la educación y a la sanidad. Como manifiesta Pérez-Orozco (2019):

Se trata de poner los cuidados y la sostenibilidad de la vida en el centro. Si la política (en el ámbito público) y la economía productiva son la vanguardia y los cuidados y el mundo de la reproducción la retaguardia, ¿qué hay en medio? ¿La nada? La apuesta es hacer estallar esta visión dicotómica entre la amorosa retaguardia y la testosterónica vanguardia. (p. 236)

En los informes de Espai Zero Vuit<sup>2</sup> (2022a, 2022b) se propone, en cuanto a los trabajos de cuidados no remunerados, mantener la intransferibilidad de los permisos de maternidad y paternidad, incrementar plazas en escuelas infantiles y reformar la educación infantil y el sistema de pensiones, y, en cuanto a los trabajos de cuidados remunerados, combatir su precarización con un aumento del salario mínimo, más contratación pública, convenios colectivos y reformas de la seguridad social.

En España algunos ejemplos de políticas sociales en torno a los cuidados son la Ley 39/2006, de 14 de diciembre, de Promoción de la Autonomía Personal y Atención a las Personas en Situación de Dependencia, que Carrasco (2011) indica que supone el reconocimiento de la actividad de cuidados, pero no resuelve su organización social. Más recientemente, el Ministerio de Igualdad ha impulsado el Plan Corresponsables (Gobierno de España, 2021) con el objetivo de garantizar el cuidado como un derecho. Asimismo, el Plan de recuperación, transformación y resiliencia del Gobierno español, para canalizar los fondos europeos en el contexto de la COVID-19, incluye el Plan de choque para la economía de los cuidados (Gobierno de España, 2022a), y, en mayo de 2022, se aprobó en Consejo de Ministros el Proyecto estratégico de la economía social y de los cuidados (Gobierno de España, 2022b).

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2. Espai Zero Vuit es un espacio interdisciplinario que estudia la economía y las políticas públicas desde una perspectiva progresista y transformadora (<https://www.espaize-rovuit.com/>).

Se observa así cómo los cuidados pasan de ser una cuestión relegada al ámbito privado a debatirse en la esfera política, lo que lleva a la implementación de medidas y la aprobación de leyes. Para teóricas políticas como Sevenhuijsen (2003), es importante trabajar por una *ciudadanía cuidadora* que introduzca como preocupación democrática no solo la justicia sino también el cuidado. Y, como indica Camps (1998, p. 93), «es en el ámbito de la política donde las exigencias feministas se traducen en políticas públicas».

En esta línea, la presente investigación se centra en la esfera política y, concretamente, se interroga por los significados del término *cuidados* en el discurso de las formaciones de izquierdas en el debate parlamentario español –donde se exponen y justifican las posiciones e ideologías de cada formación política y se proponen y se aprueban leyes– durante el primer semestre de la XIV legislatura, que incluye la primera ola de la pandemia.

En definitiva, el objetivo de la investigación es analizar el uso que las formaciones de izquierdas hacen del término *cuidados* en el debate parlamentario español en el período de diciembre de 2019 a junio de 2020; es decir, cómo hacen suyo el concepto de los cuidados, en qué sentido y con qué fines emplean el término en los distintos puntos del orden del día del debate.

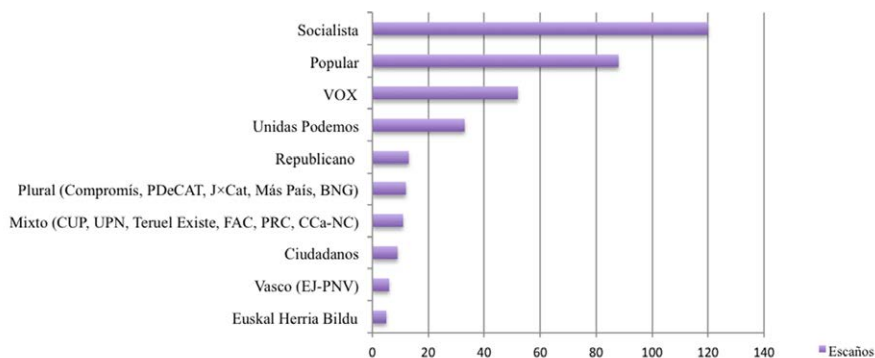
### 3. MÉTODO

#### 3.1. Muestra de estudio y criterios de selección

El objeto de análisis son los discursos de las sesiones plenarias de la XIV legislatura en el Congreso de los Diputados, recogidos en el *Diario de Sesiones*, en el período de diciembre de 2019 a junio de 2020, que incluye la etapa de constitución de la cámara, la investidura del presidente Pedro Sánchez y el primer semestre de la legislatura. Se trata de un período temporal sensible en cuanto a las temáticas del cuidado porque comprende la primera ola de la pandemia de la COVID-19, cuando la dependencia que tenemos de los trabajos que cubren necesidades biológicas y afectivas, de baja valoración social y económica, se hizo especialmente patente (Espai Zero Vuit, 2022a).

En esta legislatura componen el Congreso de los Diputados los grupos parlamentarios del gráfico 1:

Gráfico 1. Grupos parlamentarios en el Congreso de los Diputados (XIV legislatura)



Fuente: elaboración propia a partir de <https://www.congreso.es/grupos/composicion-en-la-legislatura>

Para el análisis se tienen en cuenta las formaciones de izquierdas que han empleado el término en el periodo estudiado: Partido Socialista Obrero Español, Unidas Podemos, Grupo Republicano, Euskal Herria Bildu, Más País (Grupo Plural), Coalició Compromís (Grupo Plural) y Candidatura d'Unitat Popular (Grupo Mixto). Se han tenido en cuenta también el Partido Nacionalista Vasco y Teruel Existe (Grupo Mixto) porque votaron a favor de la coalición de Gobierno de izquierdas.

Además del discurso de estas formaciones, se analiza el del Gobierno, formado por la coalición del PSOE y Unidas Podemos, porque, tal como marca el *Diario de Sesiones*, cuando en el debate parlamentario intervienen el presidente, los vicepresidentes y vicepresidentas y los ministros y ministras no lo hacen en nombre de sus formaciones políticas sino en nombre del Gobierno. Por eso, a pesar de que el presidente, los vicepresidentes y vicepresidentas y los ministros y ministras pertenezcan al Grupo Socialista o al de Unidas Podemos, su discurso se analiza como discurso del Gobierno. Cabe destacar que el Gobierno de esta legislatura se ha autodefinido como «el ejecutivo más progresista de la historia» (por ejemplo, El Socialista, s.f.), y las dos formaciones que lo componen se autoidentifican y reivindican como feministas.

En un interés por analizar los cuidados tal como se han reivindicado desde el movimiento feminista, en el presente trabajo se opta por centrar la investigación en el uso del término que hacen los partidos de izquierdas, que son los que tradicionalmente más se han alineado con los valores feministas. Sin embargo, en una investigación preliminar (De Luis-Rosell et al., 2022) ya pudo observarse que el uso que hacen del término los partidos de derechas no se alinea con los valores feministas, no ahonda en las nociones de posibilidad y sostenimiento de la vida y no impele a situar los trabajos de cuidados en un punto destacado del debate.

### 3.2. Técnicas metodológicas

Para responder al objetivo de la investigación (analizar el uso que las formaciones de izquierdas hacen del término *cuidados* en el debate parlamentario español en el período de diciembre de 2019 a junio de 2020), la metodología combina un análisis cuantitativo y un análisis cualitativo, siguiendo los trabajos, por ejemplo, de Korkostegui et al. (2016) o de Pando-Canteli y Aurrekoetxea-Casaus (2020), y se divide en tres fases:

1) En primer lugar, se ha aplicado un análisis cuantitativo del término *cuidados* en el conjunto de las sesiones plenarias del Congreso de los Diputados español, recogidas en el *Diario de Sesiones*, del período de diciembre de 2019 a junio de 2020.

Se ha realizado una búsqueda automática de la raíz, *cuid-*, y se han seleccionado las ocurrencias del propio término, *cuidado* y *cuidados*, el verbo *cuidar*, con todas sus formas, y el nombre *cuidador*, con todas sus formas. Se han descartado manualmente las ocurrencias del término cuando se emplea como advertencia ('tener cuidado') o con sentido ponderativo ('cuidado con'), cuando aparece dentro de las expresiones *unidad de cuidados intensivos* y *cuidados paliativos* y cuando se emplea en expresiones metafóricas (*cuidador de lobos*).

Esta selección ha permitido formar una muestra de 114 intervenciones en las que aparece el término *cuidados*, con un total de 202 ocurrencias. Debe tenerse en cuenta que la ética del cuidado y los temas relacionados con el cuidado pueden estar presentes también en intervenciones que no contienen explícitamente el término *cuidados* o la raíz *cuid-*; sin embargo, el

análisis del uso del término permite dar cuenta de la posición que adoptan las distintas formaciones. Adaptando al presente estudio la propuesta de Alonso et al. (2011), para cada ocurrencia del término *cuidados* se ha seleccionado la proposición concreta en la que aparece junto con la secuencia de proposiciones (las proposiciones anteriores y posteriores) necesaria para poder interpretarla semánticamente. Asimismo, se ha anotado el nombre del representante político que la enuncia, su formación política, la fecha y el número de la sesión y el punto del orden del día del debate parlamentario en el que tiene lugar dicha intervención (véase la tabla 1).

**Tabla 1.** Tabla de análisis cuantitativo

Ocurrencia	Secuencia de proposiciones	Representante	Formación	Datos sesión (fecha y n.º)	Punto del debate
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Fuente: elaboración propia, a partir de Helbling et al. (2010, p. 508) y Alonso et al. (2011, p. 18)

2) En segundo lugar, se ha aplicado un análisis cualitativo de las 202 ocurrencias del término *cuidados*, enmarcado en el Análisis Crítico del Discurso (ACD), que identifica las relaciones entre discurso e ideología (Fairclough, 2003; Van Dijk, 2009a). En el marco del ACD esta investigación sigue el enfoque sociocognitivo (Van Dijk, 2009b), que estudia la relación entre sociedad y discurso a través de la cognición (Chilton, 2004, 2005) y que permite comprender el mapa ideológico de las formaciones políticas en torno al concepto de los cuidados.

Siguiendo la metodología de investigaciones como las de Rubio-Carbonero (2010), Arrieta-Castillo (2017) o Pando-Canteli y Aurrekoetxea-Casaus (2020), el presente artículo analiza las macroestrategias semánticas que permiten comprender las representaciones que hacen las formaciones políticas sobre los cuidados. El análisis de las macroestrategias semánticas consiste en identificar las macroproposiciones: a partir de una lectura crítica del corpus se identifican las proposiciones más recurrentes, que, a partir de las reglas de supresión, generalización, selección e integración (Van Dijk, 1977), se sintetizan en macroproposiciones (Van Dijk, 1980), que

son reconstrucciones de la analista que resumen el contenido semántico del discurso y que dan cuenta de su interpretación global, respetando en la medida de lo posible las expresiones lingüísticas originales. Estas macroproposiciones son las que construyen modelos mentales e influyen en la formación de actitudes e ideología. A su vez, para analizar las líneas generales sobre las que se articula el discurso sobre los cuidados y para una mayor identificación de las diferencias temáticas entre las macroproposiciones, se propone clasificarlas en agrupaciones temáticas. Por lo tanto, las macroproposiciones (realizaciones concretas), agrupadas por temas (generales y abstractos), permiten ver la representación que hacen los partidos políticos del concepto de los cuidados.

3) En tercer lugar, se combinan el análisis cuantitativo y el análisis cualitativo, concretamente, se relaciona el número de ocurrencias del término *cuidados* en los distintos puntos del debate parlamentario (fase 1) con los temas en los que se han agrupado las macroproposiciones (fase 2) para analizar cómo se emplea el término.

#### 4. RESULTADOS

A continuación se presentan los resultados de la investigación. En primer lugar, se muestra la distribución cuantitativa del uso del término en los puntos del orden del día de las sesiones del debate parlamentario y en relación con las formaciones analizadas y el Gobierno (apartado 4.1). En segundo lugar, se exponen los resultados del análisis cualitativo a partir del análisis de las macroproposiciones, agrupadas en temas (apartado 4.2). En tercer lugar, se relacionan y se analizan dichos temas según los puntos del debate en que aparecen (apartado 4.3).

##### 4.1. Fase 1: distribución del uso del término *cuidados* entre los distintos puntos del orden del día del debate parlamentario y en relación con las formaciones analizadas y el Gobierno

El término *cuidados* se emplea un total de 202 veces en el periodo estudiado, que se distribuyen del siguiente modo: Gobierno (57 ocurrencias), Unidas Podemos (40), EH Bildu (34), Plural-Más País (25), PSOE (18), Republicano

(11), Mixto-CUP (6), Vasco (5), Mixto-Teruel Existe (4) y Plural-Compromís (2)<sup>3</sup>.

Se ha relacionado cada ocurrencia con el tema del orden del día del debate parlamentario en el que aparece, según los puntos del orden del día de las sesiones parlamentarias, con los siguientes resultados: COVID-19 (87 ocurrencias), economía, empleo, salarios y pensiones (41), violencia de género y abuso sexual (30), demografía y España vaciada (9), medio, agricultura y ecología (8), política nacional (7), investidura (5), sector cultural (5), eutanasia (4), legislación penitenciaria (2), política exterior (1), turismo en Canarias (1), Guardia Civil (1) e informe del defensor del pueblo (1).

**Gráfico 2.** Ocurrencias del término *cuidados*: puntos del orden del día del debate y formaciones políticas

	Gobierno	PSOE	Unidas Podemos	Republicano	Vasco	EH Biltzu	Més País	Compromís	CUP	Teruel Existe
COVID (87)	23	2	12	7	3	18	18	1		3
Economía, empleo, salarios, pensiones (41)	7	7	13	2	1	4	2		4	1
Violencia de género y abuso sexual (30)	22		3			5				
Demografía y España vaciada (9)	3	2	4							
Medio, agricultura, ecología (8)		1	2			1	3	1		
Política nacional (7)	1	1				4	1			
Investidura (5)		2				2			1	
Sector cultural (5)	1	1	2				1			
Eutanasia (4)		2			1				1	
Legislación penitenciaria (2)				2						
Política exterior (1)			1							
Turismo en Canarias (1)			1							
Guardia civil (1)			1							
Informe defensor del pueblo (1)			1							

Fuente: elaboración propia

3. Debe tenerse en cuenta que los partidos políticos que forman parte de los grupos Plural y Mixto disponen de menos tiempo para intervenir en el debate.



Como puede observarse en el gráfico 2, el uso del término *cuidados* se concentra en los temas relacionados con la COVID-19 (87 ocurrencias), economía, empleo, salarios y pensiones (41 ocurrencias) y violencia de género (30 ocurrencias).

Teniendo en cuenta el sistema de dicotomías, visto en el marco teórico, entre los conceptos tradicionalmente asociados a lo masculino (que incluyen, por ejemplo, economía, defensa o política exterior) y los tradicionalmente asociados a lo femenino (más vinculados a cuestiones de género, salud y educación), los resultados permiten concluir que los cuidados se introducen también en puntos del debate tradicionalmente asociados a la esfera masculina: hay un total de 41 ocurrencias al tratar economía, empleo, salarios o pensiones, y el término aparece, aunque con pocas ocurrencias, en diversidad de temas (demografía, ecología, política nacional, investidura, sector cultural, eutanasia, legislación penitenciaria, política exterior, turismo, Guardia Civil e informe del defensor del pueblo).

Por otra parte, también puede observarse que, mientras hay formaciones que emplean el término de manera puntual casi exclusivamente al tratar la COVID-19 (Compromís, Teruel Existe), el PSOE, el Gobierno, EH Bildu y, sobre todo, Unidas Podemos son quienes emplean el término en más diversidad de puntos del debate, de modo que los cuidados atraviesan distintos ámbitos y adquieren cierta transversalidad en el discurso parlamentario. Por ejemplo, como puede verse en (1), en una moción sobre la Guardia Civil, el diputado de Unidas Podemos aprovecha su intervención para reivindicar los cuidados:

(1) que somos vulnerables, que somos interdependientes y que el eje de los cuidados debe ser un eje de construcción social fundamental para poder salir de esta crisis (Rafael Mayoral, 24/6/20)

La mención de los cuidados en distintos puntos del debate puede ser un primer paso para que los cuidados adquieran carácter transversal y tengan incidencia como eje de decisión. Para poder comprobar este hecho, el análisis cuantitativo se complementa a continuación con un análisis cualitativo, que permite ver cómo y con qué fines se emplea el término.

#### 4.2. Fase 2: análisis cualitativo del uso que el Gobierno y las formaciones analizadas hacen del término *cuidados*: temas y macroproposiciones

A continuación se exponen los resultados del análisis cualitativo. A partir de la lectura crítica y el análisis de las 202 proposiciones en las que aparece el término *cuidados*, se han extraído las macroproposiciones y se han clasificado en temas, que permiten ver en qué sentido y para qué se emplea el término. Los resultados son los siguientes:

**Tabla 2.** Temas y macroproposiciones (Gobierno y formaciones analizadas)

TEMAS	MACROPROPOSICIONES
A. Definición e importancia de los cuidados y personas que necesitan cuidados	A1. Los cuidados son el pilar de la sociedad A2. Los niños, las personas mayores, enfermas o dependientes requieren cuidados A3. Hay que cuidarse A4. La lucha por el cuidado de la vida es impulsada por el feminismo A5. En el confinamiento el trabajo de cuidados se multiplica A6. Es necesario preservar los cuidados también después de la pandemia
B. Agradecimiento a las personas cuidadoras	B1. Agradecemos a profesionales que cuidan B2. Agradecemos a personas que cuidan
C. Necesidad de cuidar a quien cuida	C1. Hay que cuidar a quien cuida
D. Feminización de los cuidados	D1. Son las mujeres las que se ocupan de los cuidados D2. Que las mujeres asuman los trabajos de cuidados es discriminación de género D3. Los hombres tienen que asumir su responsabilidad en los cuidados D4. Se requiere un reparto igualitario de los cuidados D5. Hay mujeres que se ven obligadas a renunciar al trabajo para cuidar a hijos o dependientes D6. Las mujeres que han dedicado su vida al cuidado no han cotizado D7. Las mujeres en prisión muchas veces son cuidadoras de su red familiar

E. Remuneración de los cuidados	E1. La mayoría de los trabajos de cuidados no son remunerados E2. Hay que remunerar el cuidado E3. Hay que impulsar un permiso retribuido para el cuidado de familiares
F. Economía de cuidados	F1. Hay que apostar por una economía de cuidados F2. La economía de cuidados es revolucionaria
G. Sistema de cuidados públicos	G1. El sistema de cuidados es frágil y hay que reformarlo o reforzarlo G2. El de los cuidados es un sector maltratado G3. Hay que reconocer el valor de los servicios de cuidados G4. España es el cuidado sanitario público G5. España es el pacto social para cuidar a través de lo público G6. Los trabajadores públicos son los garantes del cuidado G7. Las instituciones y los trabajadores públicos cuidan
H. Cuidados y lo común	H1. Vivir en sociedad es cuidar el bien común H2. Hay que trabajar en el cuidado de lo común
I. Legislación, presupuesto y programas para los cuidados	I1. Hay que promover leyes, medidas, programas y presupuesto para los cuidados I2. Se necesitan medidas que aseguren los cuidados I3. Hay que situar los cuidados en el centro de la legislación laboral I4. Se trabaja en un decreto para paralizar la actividad y cuidar a los trabajadores I5. Hay que homologar los títulos de profesionales del cuidado migrantes
J. El Gobierno y las instituciones como agentes cuidadores	J1. España y la política cuidan J2. El Estado debe cuidar
K. Las fuerzas de seguridad como agentes cuidadores	K1. Las fuerzas de seguridad cuidan las infraestructuras
L. Cuidado del medio	L1. Es importante cuidar la biodiversidad, el medio, el territorio, el campo L2. Hay que asegurar ingresos a quienes cuidan el medio

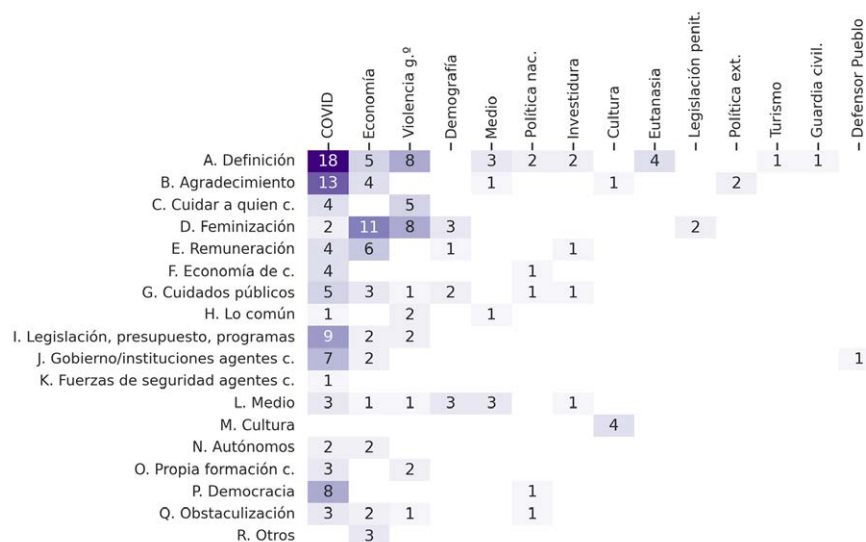
M. Cuidado de la cultura	M1. Hay que cuidar la cultura M2. Hay que cuidar a los creadores
N. Cuidado de autónomos y empresas	N1. Hay que cuidar a los autónomos N2. Los autónomos son un sector especialmente cuidado
O. La propia formación como cuidadora	O1. El Gobierno cuida el sistema de salud, el país, a las víctimas de violencia, las infraestructuras O2. La izquierda soberanista vasca cuida a las clases trabajadoras
P. Necesidad de que el Gobierno cuide a aliados políticos o la democracia	P1. El Gobierno debe cuidar a la mayoría progresista, a los aliados políticos y la democracia
Q. Sectores que obstaculizan el cuidado	Q1. Las banderas no cuidan Q2. Los bancos, grandes empresas y Casa Real deben aportar para sufragar los cuidados Q3. Los cuidados han sido relegados de lo público por la derecha Q4. Hay que cuidar a las personas frente a criterios productivistas y neoliberales
R. Otros	R1. Hay que cuidar el sistema de pensiones R2. Hay que cuidar y redistribuir la riqueza

Fuente: elaboración propia

#### 4.3. Fase 3: relación de los temas con los puntos del orden del día del debate

A continuación, los temas de la tabla 2, «Temas y macroproposiciones», se analizan en relación con los puntos del debate vistos en el gráfico 2, «Ocurrencias del término *cuidados*: puntos del orden del día del debate y formaciones políticas», lo que permite entender mejor la distribución y el uso del término en los distintos ámbitos del debate parlamentario.

Gráfico 3. Ocurrencias del término *cuidados*: puntos del orden del día del debate y temas del discurso



Fuente: elaboración propia

Como puede observarse, el uso del término *cuidados* está concentrado, sobre todo, en la parte superior e izquierda del gráfico 3, es decir, en los puntos del debate que tratan la COVID, economía, empleo, salarios y pensiones y violencia de género, y, especialmente, se emplea para definir y reivindicar el valor de los cuidados (tema A), para agradecer a las personas que cuidan (tema B) y para denunciar la feminización del ámbito de los cuidados (tema D).

A continuación se presenta en detalle el uso de los temas siguiendo los puntos del debate: COVID (apartado 4.3.1), economía, empleo, salarios y pensiones (apartado 4.3.2), violencia de género y abuso sexual (apartado 4.3.3) y otros (apartado 4.3.4).

#### 4.3.1. *Uso del término cuidados al tratar la COVID*

En los puntos del debate más relacionados con la COVID, especialmente los relativos al estado de alarma y los decretos de medidas extraordinarias, los temas más frecuentes son la definición de los cuidados (tema A, 18 ocurrencias) y el agradecimiento a los profesionales y las personas que cuidan (tema B, 13 ocurrencias). Asimismo, el Gobierno y Unidas Podemos hacen referencia a la necesidad de cuidar y proteger a las personas cuidadoras (tema C, 4 ocurrencias), y el Gobierno y el Grupo Republicano plantean el problema de la feminización de los cuidados (tema D, 2 ocurrencias).

El Gobierno también emplea el término *cuidados* en referencia a medidas legislativas, presupuestarias o programas e iniciativas (tema I, 9 ocurrencias), como el Real Decreto-ley para conciliar cuidado, la regulación de la prestación para el cuidado de menores enfermos graves o la declaración de los servicios sociales como servicios esenciales, así como un aumento del presupuesto para el cuidado a domicilio.

En cuanto a la remuneración de los cuidados (tema E, 4 ocurrencias), el Grupo Vasco solicita una renta de garantía pública a personas cuidadoras y EH Bildu solicita permisos retribuidos para el cuidado de menores y una renta básica para el cuidado.

También se da importancia al sistema de cuidados públicos (tema G, 5 ocurrencias), y a la obligación del Gobierno y las instituciones de cuidar (tema J, 7 ocurrencias). Se menciona la economía de cuidados (tema F, 4 ocurrencias) como algo revolucionario, aunque sin detallar en qué consiste.

Por otro lado, en cuanto a los sectores que obstaculizan el cuidado (tema Q, 3 ocurrencias), EH Bildu señala a los bancos, las grandes empresas, la casa real y el neoliberalismo.

Por último, cabe destacar el uso del término para exigir al Gobierno que cuide la democracia y a la mayoría progresista de la cámara (tema P, 8 ocurrencias) que hace especialmente Más País.

#### 4.3.2. *Uso del término cuidados al tratar economía, empleo, salarios y pensiones*

En los debates sobre cuestiones relacionadas con la economía, el empleo, los salarios y las pensiones, el tema con más ocurrencias es la feminización de

los cuidados (tema D, 11 ocurrencias): se insiste en que son las mujeres las que soportan las tareas de cuidado y en la discriminación que esto supone.

En cuanto a la remuneración del cuidado (tema E, 6 ocurrencias), son Unidas Podemos, el Grupo Republicano y la CUP las formaciones que hacen uso del término, y es especialmente la CUP la que de una manera más directa solicita que se remunere el cuidado.

El término se emplea puntualmente para hacer referencia a otros temas, como la necesidad de cuidar (tema A, 5 ocurrencias), el agradecimiento a las personas que cuidan (tema B, 4 ocurrencias), el valor del sistema de cuidados público (tema G, 3 ocurrencias) o la necesidad de que el Estado cuide a los trabajadores (tema J, 2 ocurrencias).

Cabe destacar que la ministra de Trabajo y Economía Social afirma que apuesta por «situar los cuidados en el centro de la legislación laboral» y por el derecho a adaptar la jornada para el cuidado de familiares (tema I, 2 ocurrencias).

También en estos debates EH Bildu critica la mercantilización de los cuidados (tema Q, 2 ocurrencias).

#### 4.3.3. *Uso del término cuidados al tratar violencia de género y abuso sexual*

En el periodo estudiado se debate una proposición no de ley sobre medidas para reforzar los protocolos ante situaciones de abuso, agresión y explotación sexual y un decreto ley de medidas de protección y asistencia a las víctimas de violencia de género.

En estos debates el término *cuidados* se emplea para reivindicar el valor de los cuidados como pilar de la sociedad (tema A, 8 ocurrencias). También se hace referencia a la feminización de los cuidados (tema D, 8 ocurrencias) y la necesidad de cuidar a quien cuida (tema C, 5 ocurrencias). Hay alguna referencia al valor de los servicios públicos de cuidado (tema G, 1 ocurrencia) y a la lógica de cuidados de proteger lo común (tema H, 2 ocurrencias). El Gobierno también presenta el programa Mecuida (tema I, 2 ocurrencias) y afirma su voluntad de cuidar de las víctimas (tema O, 2 ocurrencias). Por último, como en el resto de puntos del debate, EH Bildu reivindica el cuidado de las personas frente a criterios productivistas (tema Q, 1 ocurrencia).

#### 4.3.4. *Uso del término cuidados en el resto de puntos del debate*

En el debate sobre demografía el Gobierno hace referencia al cuidado del medio y del territorio (tema L, 3 ocurrencias). El PSOE y Unidas Podemos critican que VOX coloca a las mujeres como cuidadoras de los niños en su hogar y reivindican la responsabilidad de los hombres en los cuidados (tema D, 3 ocurrencias). Unidas Podemos también insta a reconocer el trabajo de cuidados remunerado y no remunerado (tema E, 1 ocurrencia) y disponer de servicios públicos que garanticen los cuidados (tema G, 2 ocurrencias).

En los debates sobre medio y agricultura, se hace referencia a la necesidad de asegurar ingresos a quienes cuidan la biodiversidad (Unidas Podemos) y a la importancia de cuidar la tierra (Compromís) (tema L, 3 ocurrencias). Unidas Podemos también establece una relación con el cuidado de lo común (tema H, 1 ocurrencia).

Al tratar cuestiones de política nacional, el término lo emplean el Gobierno, para tratar el sistema de cuidados público (tema G, 1 ocurrencia), y EH Bildu, que destaca la importancia de los cuidados (tema A, 2 ocurrencias) y de la economía de los cuidados (tema F, 1 ocurrencia) y critica que los cuidados son relegados de lo público y la política por la derecha (tema Q, 1 ocurrencia). También Más País reclama al Gobierno que cuide la democracia (tema P, 1 ocurrencia).

En el debate de investidura, el PSOE señala que España es el cuidado sanitario público (tema G, 1 ocurrencia) y enfatiza su ambición climática de cuidar la biodiversidad (tema L, 1 ocurrencia). EH Bildu define la importancia de los cuidados (tema A, 2 ocurrencias) y la CUP señala que las mujeres que han dedicado su vida al cuidado deben tener remuneración y pensiones dignas (tema E, 1 ocurrencia).

En cuanto al debate sobre las medidas para el sector cultural, se hace referencia a la necesidad de cuidar a la cultura (tema M, 4 ocurrencias).

En el debate sobre la ley de la eutanasia, el PSOE y el Grupo Vasco mencionan a personas que cuidan a seres queridos enfermos, y la CUP dice que el cuidado de la vida es una lucha impulsada por las mujeres y el feminismo (tema A, 4 ocurrencias).



En el debate sobre política penitenciaria, el Grupo Republicano menciona que no se tiene en cuenta que hay mujeres en prisión que son cuidadoras de sus familiares (tema D, 2 ocurrencias).

En debates sobre política exterior el término se emplea para agradecer a las personas que cuidan (tema B, 2 ocurrencias).

Por último, Unidas Podemos, como se observa en el ejemplo (2), introduce el término *cuidados* en debates sobre turismo, sobre la guardia civil y sobre el informe del defensor del pueblo para poner en valor los cuidados (tema A, 2 ocurrencias) y para reivindicar una política que cuida (tema J, 1 ocurrencia).

(2) Tenemos que poner en valor los cuidados [...] si no, no habremos aprendido nada de esta pandemia [...]. Convertir los trabajos invisibles en empleos de una vez por todas, que sean reconocidos, remunerados y que tengan derechos (Alberto Rodríguez, 16-6-20)

## 5. DISCUSIÓN Y CONCLUSIONES

Como nos recuerda Victoria Camps (1998), la ética del cuidado es una ética relacional por la que las personas pasan a situarse en el centro de las decisiones, las leyes se entienden desde los contextos particulares y las situaciones concretas de aplicación, se da valor a la emoción y la empatía a la hora de tomar decisiones y se reivindica el compromiso con los demás. Dando importancia moral al lugar que ocupa el otro en la relación, no se circunscribe dicha importancia moral al ámbito privado e individual, sino que se sitúa en el centro de la reflexión política. Por eso resulta relevante analizar cómo se habla de los cuidados en el espacio de debate político y, en esta línea, el objetivo que ha guiado esta investigación es el de analizar el uso que las formaciones de izquierdas hacen del término *cuidados* en el debate parlamentario español en el período de diciembre de 2019 a junio de 2020. Se ha optado por situar el análisis en el nivel léxico, concretamente en el término *cuidados*, porque permite dar cuenta de la posición que adoptan los grupos políticos en torno al concepto de los cuidados. Debe tenerse presente que la ética del cuidado puede aparecer en el debate parlamentario en intervenciones que no contienen explícitamente dicho término, que requerirían otra metodología de análisis, y que, por tanto, trascienden los límites de la presente investigación.

Los resultados cuantitativos de la fase 1 de la investigación muestran que el término *cuidados* se emplea especialmente en los puntos del debate sobre la COVID-19 (87 ocurrencias), economía, empleo, salarios y pensiones (41 ocurrencias) y violencia de género (30 ocurrencias). Asimismo, el término se emplea, aunque con pocas ocurrencias, en otros puntos del debate. Unidas Podemos es la formación que emplea el término en más diversidad de temas. Esta mención de los cuidados en distintos puntos del debate puede ser un primer paso para que los cuidados adquieran carácter transversal en el discurso y como eje de decisión.

Sin embargo, los resultados de la combinación del análisis cuantitativo con el análisis cualitativo (fase 3) demuestran que aún se está lejos de que esta transversalidad sea profunda y transformadora: no solo porque el uso del término *cuidados* queda bastante limitado y restringido a los puntos del debate sobre COVID-19, economía y violencia de género, sino, sobre todo, porque en la mayoría de los casos se emplea para afirmar que los cuidados son importantes y para agradecer a las personas cuidadoras, pero el uso del término al tratar medidas o proponer modelos de acción es muy reducido.

El Gobierno, Unidas Podemos, EH Bildu y Más País son quienes más aprovechan sus intervenciones para reivindicar el papel del feminismo como impulsor de la lucha por el cuidado de la vida y el uso que hacen del término remite a la reflexión sobre el cuidado: hacen referencia a la vulnerabilidad y la interdependencia de los seres humanos, con citas explícitas a feministas como Yayo Herrero o Margaret Mead, e insisten en ideas de la ética del cuidado de Carol Gilligan, como la necesidad de cuidar a quien cuida.

Por otra parte, destaca el análisis que hace EH Bildu de los sectores que obstaculizan el cuidado (la derecha y el neoliberalismo) y de la incompatibilidad entre los criterios productivistas y el cuidado de la vida. En el caso de la CUP, aunque con pocas ocurrencias del término, también destaca su radicalidad en cuanto a la necesidad de remunerar el cuidado y de que las pensiones, en referencia a las mujeres que han dedicado su vida al cuidado, se vinculen a la vida y no al mercado.

En cuanto a programas y medidas legislativas y presupuestarias para el cuidado, el Gobierno presenta un real decreto-ley para conciliar cuidado, regula la prestación para el cuidado de menores enfermos graves, declara los servicios sociales de cuidado a mayores como servicios esenciales, aumenta

el presupuesto para el cuidado a domicilio y trabaja en el derecho a adaptar el horario para el cuidado de familiares y el programa Mecuida. Asimismo, la ministra de Trabajo y Economía Social manifiesta su voluntad de «situar los cuidados en el centro de la legislación laboral». Y, por ejemplo, el Grupo Vasco y EH Bildu proponen una renta básica para el cuidado.

Por lo tanto, es relevante subrayar cómo el término *cuidados* se introduce en el debate parlamentario y aparece en algunos discursos de una manera amable y que invita a la reflexión. El uso del término incluye también matices de reivindicación y de denuncia de la feminización o de los sectores que obstaculizan los cuidados, así como la necesidad de remuneración y regulación y el impulso de algunas medidas.

No obstante, y a modo de conclusión, el uso del término queda limitado a los puntos del debate sobre la COVID-19, economía y violencia de género, y se emplea, sobre todo, para reivindicar la importancia de los cuidados, agradecer a las personas cuidadoras y denunciar la feminización de los cuidados, lo que por el momento no conduce a una acción transformadora; es decir, mayoritariamente se apela al cuidado de una manera que, en realidad, desactiva la fuerza política transformadora que implica la ética del cuidado. Su uso político –el cuidado como una acción política– es escaso y, sobre todo, por partidos políticos con poca representación parlamentaria. De modo que por ahora la acción es escasa y el discurso sobre los cuidados no ha llegado a materializarse en auténtica práctica política ni logra avanzar en una nueva organización social que ponga el cuidado en el eje central de las decisiones políticas.

Se hace necesario el seguimiento del uso del término por parte de las fuerzas de izquierdas para comprobar si se acompaña de medidas políticas reales que aterricen la ética del cuidado en la práctica política o se inclina a un *carewashing*. Este seguimiento es necesario también más allá de la época pandémica para observar las diferencias y la vigencia del discurso sobre el cuidado en el contexto de normalidad pospandémica y comprobar si se producen avances en políticas que permitan mejoras en el ámbito de los cuidados.

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# EL CIBERESPACIO PORNOGRÁFICO: UNA REFLEXIÓN CRÍTICA, GEOGRÁFICA Y FEMINISTA A PARTIR DEL CASO ONLYFANS

## THE PORNOGRAPHIC CYBERSPACE: A CRITICAL, GEOGRAPHIC AND FEMINIST REFLECTION DRAWN FROM ONLYFANS

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### Resumen

En este artículo se plantean algunas líneas de reflexión sobre el espacio virtual que crea la pornografía contemporánea, a partir de argumentos teóricos del feminismo y de la geografía crítica. Utilizamos un procedimiento hermenéutico, es decir, empleamos la lectura y la interpretación de literatura académica sobre la temática para examinar el caso de la plataforma y *app* OnlyFans. Por un lado, nos aproximamos al ciberespacio como territorio prioritario de la cultura pornográfica en el marco de interpretación crítico feminista sobre la pornografía. El ciberespacio dedicado a la pornografía se identifica como parte del proceso de consolidación de la pornificación de la sociedad y de la cultura y su intrínseco reflejo en el mundo digital. Por otro lado, se analiza el significado de la pornografía digital desde el concepto de capitalismo escópico de Illouz (2020). También se discuten y se plantean objeciones a la conceptualización de uberización de la pornografía en referencia al formato de OnlyFans. En conclusión, el ciberespacio pornográfico, en rasgos generales, tiene como elemento intrínseco y fundamental la idea de complacer el deseo y la demanda sexual de

otros mediante la representación ajustada al gusto construido desde la mirada masculina. De modo que, se observa una reproducción de pautas sociales, culturales y productivas presentes en nuestra cotidianidad, proyectando su propia racionalidad espacial bajo la lógica predominante de la acumulación capitalista, de las relaciones patriarcales y de la dominación de grupos de poder económicos altamente masculinizados. Así, mediante el análisis de OnlyFans, hemos captado la existencia de sinergias tecnológicas que sirven de estructura para la articulación de un negocio que utiliza viejas dinámicas patriarcales de explotación sexual. Finalmente, la selección del tema analizado, la metodología y el marco de interpretación empleado permiten establecer un punto de inicio de trabajo geográfico y feminista sobre el ciberespacio pornográfico desde una perspectiva crítica, con la finalidad de abrir nuevas líneas de discusión e innovación en la disciplina.

**Palabras clave:** ciberespacio; pornificación; OnlyFans; feminismo; pornografía; geografía feminista; sociedad digital; capitalismo escópico.

### Abstract

In this paper, we propose some reflections about the virtual space that contemporary pornography creates, drawing from a feminist theoretical background and critical geography. Using the hermeneutic method, we interpret academic literature. We take as an examination case the platform and *app* OnlyFans. On the one hand, cyberspace is approached as a priority territory of pornographic culture departing from a feminist theoretical framework which is critical with pornography. Cyberspace dedicated to pornography is identified as part of the consolidation process of the pornification of society and culture and its intrinsic connection to the virtual world. On the other hand, Illouz's (2020) scopic capitalism is used to analyze the meaning of digital pornography. We also object to conceptualizing OnlyFans as the uberization of pornography. In conclusion, the pornographic cyberspace, generally speaking, has both an intrinsic element and a fundamental idea of satisfying other's sexual demands and desires. To do so, the representation implemented must adjust to the male gaze. Additionally, we observe a reproduction of social, cultural and productive patterns present in everyday life that projects its own spatial rationality under the predominant logic of capitalistic accumulation, of patriarchal relations and of the supremacy of highly masculinized economic powerful groups. Furthermore, through analyzing the OnlyFans case, we detected the existence of technological synergies that serve to structure the articulation of a business that uses ancient dynamics of patriarchal sexual exploitation. Finally, the theme selection, together with the methodology and the theoretical framework set a critical point of departure for geographic and feminist work around the pornographic cyberspace, with the aim of opening new areas of discussion and innovation within the discipline.

**Keywords:** cyberspace; pornification; OnlyFans; feminism; pornography; feminist geography; digital society; scopic capitalism.

## 1. INTRODUCCIÓN

Con el despegue y la consolidación de las sociedades de la información y la comunicación (Castells, 1995, 2003), la geografía incorporó el espacio virtual o ciberespacio como objeto de estudio y como ampliación necesaria del concepto de espacio social (Lefebvre, 2000), del espacio entendido como un todo interrelacionado (Santos, 2009) sobre la estrecha relación entre el espacio geográfico, la técnica y el tiempo (Santos, 2008), o también sobre la concepción dialéctica del espacio del capital (Harvey, 2007).

En la sociedad digital contemporánea se puede observar que la cultura de la pornografía, la industria pornográfica y la economía basada en la dominación sexual, se han instalado *territorialmente* en el ciberespacio de una manera más generalizada desde la década de los noventa (Barton, 2021; Boyle, 2010; Jensen y Okrina, 2004; Smith, 2010; Tyler y Quek, 2016). Ha sido a través del avance de la técnica y de la(s) tecnología(s) que se ha venido estableciendo también una configuración social de nuestro espacio geográfico actual, identificándose fundamentalmente con el espacio virtual. De modo que se puede llegar a considerar al ciberespacio, de manera particular, como una parte más (un subespacio) del espacio entendido como un todo. Un espacio que no es neutral, un espacio que se estudia científicamente como una instancia social y cultural más, conjuntamente con el abordaje económico y político, y que se desarrolla dialécticamente bajo unas determinadas relaciones de poder.

Estas relaciones de poder se materializan, generan racionalidad espacial, mediante la reproducción de ciertos hábitos, usos, y acciones de los sujetos sociales que se proyectan en la propia producción espacial. Y, de manera más concreta, estas mismas relaciones de poder se proyectan igualmente en el proceso de producción social del espacio virtual.

Sumado a ello, el desarrollo teórico de la geografía feminista ha demostrado las múltiples formas en las que el patriarcado ejerce como principio rector de la organización espacial y de los usos que los grupos sociales –de

manera diferenciada, hombres y mujeres— hacen de los espacios y de los territorios, como se aprecia, por ejemplo, en la reciente recopilación de artículos titulada *The Routledge Handbook of Gender and Feminist Geographies* (2020).

Así, el ciberespacio no se encuentra ajeno a la lógica espacial del capital ni tampoco a las relaciones patriarcales de poder, que genera una veloz y compleja circulación de datos, y a su vez intensifica los intercambios de flujos, la densidad y el consumo de información.

Las líneas de investigación que surgen a raíz del estudio del ciberespacio pueden ser cuantiosas y suponen un campo de innovación en la disciplina geográfica. Para una aproximación reflexiva sobre el ciberespacio, hemos seleccionado el fenómeno de la pornografía digital como caso de estudio. El motivo de esta selección se debe a los elevados porcentajes de contenido pornográfico presentes en el ciberespacio (ver Ballester Brage et al., 2020; Iglesias y Zein, 2018), así como a las numerosas evidencias de la influencia que tiene la cultura pornográfica en las sociedades, como muestran algunas publicaciones recientes (Boyle, 2010; Favaro y De Miguel Álvarez, 2016; Illouz, 2020), que, a su vez, nos informan de los avances sin precedentes de la pornificación cultural que ha venido aconteciendo en las últimas décadas (Menéndez Menéndez, 2021; Tyler y Quek, 2016), fenómeno también referido con las expresiones *porno chic* (McNair, 2013) y sexualización de la cultura (Evans et al., 2010; Gill, 2012).

La selección también se debe a la necesidad de seguir planteando líneas de investigación que aborden los retos que presenta la sociedad digital, como es el caso de las problemáticas derivadas de la pornografía (Cobo, 2020; De Miguel Álvarez, 2015a; Dworkin, 1981/2015; Dworkin y Mackinnon, 1988; Frye, 1983; Jeffreys, 1993, 2009; Puleo, 2015) y de realizarlas a partir de la lectura de la teoría feminista como máxima exponente del trabajo intelectual crítico analítico con la pornografía.

En la disciplina geográfica no ha habido una línea consolidada que haya estudiado en profundidad la pornografía o la configuración de su espacio específico, es decir, la temática permanece aún por explorar. No obstante, destacan los trabajos de Casaglia (2022), que investiga el género pornográfico *border sex* y señala la importancia de la pornografía en la configuración de los imaginarios colectivos; McCahey (2022), que examina la convivencia simultánea de la exclusión de las mujeres en la base científica británica Halley en

la Antártida y la producción de revistas elaboradas por los científicos varones allí presentes, que albergaban contenido que objetualizaba sexualmente a las mujeres; Farries y Sturm (2019), que construyen una propuesta para combatir legamente el abuso perpetrado a través de la distribución no consentida de imágenes sexuales de mujeres en el ciberespacio; Wilkinson (2011), que elabora una línea discursiva para defender la legitimidad del espacio virtual dedicado al sadomasoquismo y a la pornografía extrema; Longhurst (2006), que presenta una exploración sobre la existencia o no de límites morales en un caso de estudio asociado a la retransmisión de un parto como material pornográfico; o Papayanis (2000), que analiza la cuestión de la zonificación espacial de la pornografía en Nueva York.

Como se puede observar, la ausencia de estudios geográficos españoles sobre la pornografía llama la atención y es por ello que nos resulta interesante y necesario abrir paso a esta temática dentro de la disciplina en España.

A través de este artículo se proponen unas líneas de reflexión sobre el espacio virtual que crea la pornografía contemporánea. La metodología aplicada se fundamenta en la lectura e interpretación de bibliografía temática a partir de los postulados de la geografía crítica y de la teoría feminista. Como caso paradigmático se analiza la plataforma y *app* OnlyFans, en el marco de la consolidación de la pornificación de la sociedad y la cultura y su intrínseco reflejo en el mundo digital.

Finalmente, se aporta un argumentario teórico y práctico que permite establecer un punto de inicio de trabajo geográfico y feminista sobre el ciberespacio pornográfico desde una perspectiva crítica.

## 2. APROXIMACIÓN AL CIBERESPACIO COMO TERRITORIO PRIORITARIO DE LA CULTURA PORNOGRÁFICA

En un primer momento, a través de la revisión teórica de la bibliografía existente sobre la producción social del espacio, se pretende efectuar una aproximación al proceso de pornificación de la sociedad desde una perspectiva geográfica, lo que implica, por ende, el estudio de la reproducción del espacio pornográfico en los territorios del ciberespacio. En este sentido, la conceptualización de una *espacialidad* concreta supone la identificación de unos comportamientos y dinámicas complejas, y de unas relaciones de

poder específicas, que en este caso quedan estrechamente vinculadas a todo aquello que se identifica con el ciberespacio.

El llamado ciberespacio ha sido analizado desde diferentes ámbitos científicos de una manera multidisciplinar, con contribuciones trascendentales para su entendimiento procedentes de las investigaciones feministas, el derecho, la sociología, la economía y las ciencias políticas, entre otras. Desde los estudios feministas sobre el espacio digital, autoras que han abierto camino y que son habitualmente citadas son Haraway (1991) y Wacjman (2006). Podemos destacar las aportaciones de Núñez Puente y Fernández Romero (2019), Roqueta (2015), Zafra (2011, 2018) o Núñez Puente (2008). En el ámbito de los estudios culturales y los medios de comunicación digitales desde la perspectiva feminista, cabe señalar los trabajos de Barton (2021), Penny (2011) y Levy (2005), que abordan críticamente la hipersexualización femenina y la objetualización sexual en la representación de las mujeres en los *mass media*.

Durante los últimos años, algunas obras se han referido de forma más explícita a estudios de la geografía sobre el ciberespacio o la construcción de un espacio digital, tales como Beltrán López (2019), Barbachán (2009) o Buzai (2001, 2012). Es importante resaltar aquí los aportes que se han gestado desde la geografía feminista en relación con el ciberespacio, como son los textos de Drüeke y Zobl (2016), McLean et al. (2016), De Jong (2015), o Leszczynski y Elwood (2015), que analizan las redes sociales. También, los trabajos geográficos feministas de McLean et al. (2019), Richardson y Bissell (2019), que indagan el trabajo digital, o la perspectiva feminista de las geografías digitales de Elwood y Leszczynski (2018) y Jarrett (2016); o aquellos estudios sobre los métodos de investigación feministas que se aplican en las geografías digitales (McLean et al., 2020). Sobre el desarrollo tecnológico en el pensamiento geográfico cabe mencionar igualmente a Oropeza y Díaz (2007), que aportan nuevas concepciones sobre la evolución y perfeccionamiento del mismo.

Sin embargo, es a partir de la concepción del espacio geográfico de Milton Santos (2008, 2009), de su análisis sobre el papel histórico e integral de la tecnología y de su contribución científica sobre el desarrollo de la técnica en la producción (socioeconómica) del espacio geográfico, un proceso denominado por el autor como una «revolución técnico-científico-informacional»,

que se consigue una apreciación inédita sobre la relevancia social y cultural del espacio, en los términos planteados en su obra. Es decir, la racionalidad espacial se encuentra íntimamente ligada a un determinado estado de las técnicas, a un sistema de objetos y un sistema de acciones, que transmiten un significado al espacio producido y que además suponen un control del tiempo, cuyo resultado es la instantaneidad, universalidad y acercamiento (Santos, 2009).

Las relaciones patriarcales, la cosificación del cuerpo de las mujeres, aunque no solo, la cultura de la pornografía, y el propio consumo (virtual) del porno, se territorializan en el que podemos denominar como el *territorio del ciberespacio*, entendido este como un subespacio virtual integrado en el marco de un proceso más complejo de reproducción sociotécnica globalizada. La cultura pornográfica encuentra en este ciberespacio del capital la forma de manifestación cotidiana a través del desarrollo de la tecnología digital, y de la generación de nuevas economías digitales. Todo ello contribuye, por otro lado, a la consolidación de la fase escópica del mercado capitalista (Illouz, 2020), mediante un ciberespacio dotado de intencionalidad y significado, que además proyecta una realidad extremadamente violentada de un subespacio social, el ciberespacio, con un alto índice de ingobernabilidad y sin regulación concreta.

Estaríamos, en ese caso, en disposición de identificar el ciberespacio como un subespacio o territorio específico que reproduce, si no agudiza, la reproducción de una serie de pautas sociales y culturales concretas, en este caso de marcado carácter pornográfico, en el marco del espacio del capital y de su deriva de expansión geográfica de la acumulación capitalista (Harvey, 2007). Una deriva espacial que incluye al ciberespacio o espacio digital como un territorio más del espacio del capital, el espacio de la globalización. En definitiva, se trataría de una primera línea de fundamento que caracteriza al ciberespacio pornográfico no como algo aislado sino como parte del mismo espacio total, integrado directamente en una lógica socioespacial capitalista y patriarcal.

### 3. EL MARCO DE INTERPRETACIÓN CRÍTICO FEMINISTA SOBRE LA PORNOGRAFÍA

Para continuar con la investigación de los elementos que componen el ciberespacio pornográfico, acudimos, en esta sección, al estudio de las fuentes teóricas críticas feministas que han tenido la pornografía como objeto de análisis. Así, Dworkin (1981/2015) definió la pornografía como una clara geografía del poder. Hasta ese momento, la teoría feminista no contaba con referentes que hubiesen conceptualizado las múltiples formas en las que el ejercicio de la dominación masculina y la subordinación femenina estructuran la sexualidad que constituye el relato pornográfico. Dworkin y MacKinnon (1988) propusieron legislar para abolir la pornografía, debido a su carga explícita de violencia (sexual) contra las mujeres y a la capacidad de reproducción infinita de la estructura patriarcal.

En *Woman Hating*, Dworkin (1974) adoptó una postura muy seria frente a la crueldad y la violencia de la pornografía, señalando que las prácticas que se ejercen en ella no son inocuas. El odio perpetrado contra las mujeres mediante agresiones sexuales no es ficción sino realidad, especialmente para aquellas involucradas en la producción de la misma. La cuestión de presentar a las mujeres reducidas a objetos sexuales, mientras que, sobre ellas se vierte un lenguaje vejatorio e insultante, es algo que ha preocupado a las intelectuales feministas durante décadas.

Así, la crítica a la sexualidad patriarcal y, en particular, a la industria sexual, ha sido una de las grandes áreas de investigación del feminismo radical, desde que Millett (1969/2017) publicase su libro *Política Sexual*, pionero en el estudio de cómo el poder, el privilegio de los varones y la cultura falocéntrica, estructuran la construcción social de la (hetero)sexualidad. Dicha sexualidad viene marcada, principalmente, por la acción que los hombres realizan con sus genitales. Esto no solo es una reducción androcentrada de lo que podría significar la sexualidad, sino la marginación de la figura femenina a todos los niveles, dentro del universo sexual.

Para Dworkin (1981/2015), Frye (1983), Jeffreys (1993, 2009) y Cobo (2020), en el relato pornográfico la mujer no está autodefinida, es hetero-diseñada (Amorós, 2008) por otros y para otros. En esta narración, el uso del falo en ellas es un ejercicio de control y una muestra de superioridad, de



dominio. Tanto la representación masculina como la femenina suponen una pedagogía para que la figura masculina aprenda a crear desafección hacia las mujeres y a producir actos coitocentrados maquínicos, sin trascendencia emocional ni comunicación real con la figura femenina, que acepta su subordinación con agrado, incluso si se ubica en el espectro de la extrema violencia.

Por su parte, Jensen y Okrina (2004, p. 1) definen la pornografía como «material que describe el sexo en un contexto de dominación y degradación», al tiempo que Dines (2010, 2014) enfatiza que la pornografía secuestra la sexualidad, ejerciendo una influencia de tal calado, que ha logrado imponerse como modelo sexual internacional y promocionar la erotización de la violencia en las mujeres como un proyecto sexual liberador (Cobo, 2020). también observa un proyecto muy bien estructurado en la pornografía actual, que tiene el objetivo de reforzar la masculinidad y la feminidad para dar soporte a las relaciones patriarcales. Para Cobo (2020), la pornografía es el mayor proyecto de re-sexualización para las mujeres que se ha venido dando desde que se han evidenciado las reacciones patriarcales más bárbaras, cuando los patriarcados actuales reaccionaron a los avances que se percibía que podrían tener las mujeres (Faludi, 1993), especialmente tras las conquistas feministas en las décadas de los ochenta y los noventa, con el desarrollo de las políticas de igualdad estatales e internacionales (Cobo, 2011).

Sobre las mujeres recae una sobrecarga de sexualidad (Cobo, 2015), y una de sus formas de manifestación es a través de la objetualización sexual. Sexualizar es objetualizar, es reducir a una persona – en este caso, a las mujeres– a un instrumento para el uso o la satisfacción sexual de otros. Objetualizar, por lo tanto, es inferiorizar (Cobo, 2020), porque implica subordinación sexual y deshumanización. La dinámica patriarcal requiere de este mecanismo para seguir manteniendo sus estructuras de poder.

La degradación de las mujeres en la pornografía ha ocupado parte de la teorización feminista al respecto de esta institución socio-sexual. Whisnant (2016) examina en profundidad el significado de la humillación de las mujeres como uno de los argumentos centrales de la industria. Los videos etiquetados con la palabra «humillación» o derivadas son frecuentes en las plataformas de pornografía. Cuando la pornografía se comercializaba de

manera analógica, también se encontraba dicha palabra en la sinopsis de las películas y en los relatos de las revistas. Efectivamente, la prevalencia de actos de humillación en el contenido de la pornografía se ha constatado en diversos estudios, destacando los realizados por Alario Gavilán (2018), Bridges et al. (2010), Donevan (2019) y Seida y Shor (2021).

La crítica al sadomasoquismo sexual ha sido, igualmente, otra de las temáticas de interés en la teoría feminista, pues esta comprende que los actos relacionados con la tortura, el dolor, la humillación y la creación de jerarquías, son intrínsecamente violentos e indeseables y que entran en directa colisión con el proyecto feminista, es decir, con lograr un trato, una representación, una valoración y un reconocimiento igualitario para mujeres y hombres (Jeffreys, 1993; Linden et al., 1982; Puleo, 2015).

Aun habiendo tomado como referencia interpretativa para esta aproximación conceptual del espacio pornográfico toda la genealogía feminista visitada en los párrafos anteriores, es importante dejar constancia de que dentro de la producción teórica de los estudios feministas ha habido otras formas de leer y entender el significado del imaginario pornográfico. La disparidad de visiones se ha venido nombrando como *sex wars* y tuvo un carácter más enfrentado en la década de los ochenta, especialmente en la literatura anglosajona (véase Cornell, 2000; Jeffreys, 2003; Rich, 1986). No obstante, algunas autoras consideran que más que enfrentamiento de visiones sobre la pornografía, lo que se produjo en aquellas denominadas *sex wars* fue un ataque al feminismo (Jeffreys, 1990/2012; Long, 2012).

En la actualidad, el acuerdo sigue sin alcanzarse y ambas líneas de pensamiento e indagación continúan sus aportes divergentes: una que lee los fundamentos y desarrollos de la pornografía como una reproducción de las servidumbres sexuales de las mujeres hacia otros, enmarcada en una industria de corte neoliberal controlada por varones que defienden su propia hegemonía y que promueven la inferiorización de las mujeres mediante los mecanismos de la objetualización y que, por lo tanto, comprende que la mercantilización de la sexualidad está circunscrita al poder de otros (Bartky, 1991; Cobo, 2020; Delicado-Moratalla, 2021c; De Miguel Álvarez, 2015b; Long, 2012; Penelope, 1992;). Y otra que entiende que la pornografía es un terreno en el que expresar y confirmar lo que describen como libertad sexual mediante diversas formas que identifican con el trabajo asalariado

—pero sin cuestionar la estructura económica y social que lo determina—, la expresión de opciones sexuales no normativas o la defensa de la intimidad sexual como un lugar que no debe ser cuestionado porque supondría un ataque a la autonomía de las personas (Attwood, 2006; Califia, 1994, 1996; Cruz, 2015; Duits y van Zoonen, 2011; Ogien, 2005; Preciado, 2010; Rubin, 2012; Smith y Attwood, 2014).

#### 4. LA PORNIFICACIÓN DE LA CULTURA Y DE LA SOCIEDAD

La creación de un amplio ciberespacio dedicado a la pornografía debe encontrar explicación, necesariamente, en un proceso social, económico y cultural. Por ello, en este apartado, nos aproximamos a la conceptualización de la pornificación de la cultura y de la sociedad, incluso como actividad económicamente productiva.

Internet ha sido capaz de crear nuevas tendencias sociales, culturales y, en particular, ha sido el territorio de acogida de novedosos emprendimientos y negocios, es decir, se han desarrollado economías específicas vinculadas al espacio virtual. Internet, por lo tanto, es un motor de construcción social y espacial, siendo al mismo tiempo un lugar que refleja los hechos sociales que acontecen en nuestra cotidianidad. Efectivamente, la expansión sin precedentes de la pornografía no habría podido tener lugar de no haber sido por el desarrollo de la tecnología e Internet (Cobo, 2020; Iglesias y Zein, 2018; Jeffreys, 2009). Así, la convergencia entre la tecnología y la pornografía ha sido llamativamente fructífera. En solo una década, el contenido pornográfico en Internet pasó de veintiséis millones de páginas a más de un billón (Gabriel, 2017).

Este crecimiento de la pornografía ha dado lugar a un importante proceso social y cultural, denominado pornificación, también referido como *pornographication*, *porn-chic* o el *mainstreaming* de la pornografía (Smith, 2010; Tyler y Quek, 2016). La pornificación es un proceso por el cual la pornografía se ha convertido en un auténtico producto de consumo de masas y ha creado comportamientos, gustos, deseos y conductas sexuales pornificadas, con capacidad de ejercer influencia en todos los aspectos y espacios de la vida cotidiana. Favaro y De Miguel Álvarez (2016) y Jeffreys (2005) explican cómo el canon de representación de la pornografía, sus valores, su relato y

sus lógicas, han sido asimilados por casi toda la expresión cultural de forma masiva. El canon pornográfico se encuentra implícito en la representación de las mujeres, especialmente en todas las grandes industrias capitalistas de entretenimiento, como la música, el turismo, el cine, o la moda, en términos generales.

Con base en dicho marco de interpretación, podemos observar que un caso paradigmático actual de la asimilación de la mirada y la representación pornificada en la cultura de masas es el conjunto de coreografías, vestuarios, escenarios y los contenidos de las canciones de las actuaciones femeninas en los premios Grammy de la música en sus últimas ediciones. Saturación de relatos pornográficos en las coreografías, presentación de escenarios con decoración de imitación pornográfica y conductas que cumplen con la tradición performativa porno en las artistas, han protagonizado las ediciones de estos prestigiosos premios de la música comercial. Efectivamente, en el ámbito de la música pop comercial y *mainstream*, se encuentran multitud de ejemplos similares al citado (Barton, 2021; Menéndez Menéndez, 2021). Además, cabe señalar cómo se evidencia el proceso de asimilación de los códigos de la pornocultura en las formas de autorrepresentación de las artistas culturales, lo cual no implica negar su capacidad de agencia personal o profesional, ni tampoco supone denostar su selección por explotar su capital erótico (Hakim, 2012), sino que tratamos de conectar el conjunto de similitudes repetidas y comunes en todas ellas con el devenir estructural de la cultura (hetero)sexual patriarcal (De Miguel Álvarez, 2015a; Ghodsee, 2019; McVey et al., 2022; Tyler, 2011).

En la industria de la moda y de la estética también es frecuente el uso del discurso visual pornográfico. La depilación del pubis completo en las mujeres se ha generalizado en el mundo global (Jeffreys, 2005). En Australia, una marca de lencería que publicita sus productos en pantallas digitales dentro de sus tiendas en los centros comerciales fue señalada por utilizar un vídeo en el que una chica era asfixiada con un cinturón en una escena sexual en la que aparecía muy excitada por dicha acción (Roper, 2021). Otros ejemplos podrían encontrarse en el cine, como es la película *The House Bunny* (Wolf, 2008), cuya protagonista, despedida de la mansión de Playboy, enseña a las jóvenes universitarias cómo emplear el espíritu pornográfico para alcanzar

popularidad en el campus y, en particular, las formas de satisfacer a los varones (Favaro y De Miguel Álvarez, 2016).

La popularización del *lapdancing* o *pole dancing* en los gimnasios, como una actividad deportiva para las mujeres y los éxitos de ventas en libros escritos por actrices porno (Gill, 2012), conforman también prácticas de las últimas décadas, asociadas a la llegada del *mainstreaming* de la cultura pornográfica.

La pornificación ha sido fuertemente extendida gracias al auge de las redes sociales y a la multiplicación de lugares de contenido virtual personalizado en el ciberespacio, como los blogs, los perfiles de Instagram, de Facebook, o de YouTube, pues todos estos espacios proyectan una gran influencia en la cultura popular, especialmente en la población joven. Una influencia que se puede comprobar con los resultados que los últimos estudios revelan: el 90% de los jóvenes universitarios cree que el porno es fiel a la sexualidad real (EFE, 2020).

La pornificación se ha producido, en gran medida, por el acceso fácil, gratuito e ilimitado a la pornografía presente en el ciberespacio. Las cifras de navegación por Internet constatan que las páginas pornográficas están en los primeros puestos. Por ejemplo, en la primera mitad de 2018, xvideos.com ocupó el puesto número seis en el listado de páginas más visitadas en Estados Unidos, aproximadamente con más de tres billones de visitas (Bridges, 2019).

El volumen de producción de películas pornográficas es indicador del éxito de la industria y la distribución digital por Internet es partícipe de ello. Solo en Estados Unidos las cifras apuntan a que se producen entre diez mil y once mil películas pornográficas al año (Gabriel, 2017). Para tener una perspectiva de contraste, Hollywood graba unas cuatrocientas películas anualmente (Gabriel, 2017). Una de las corporaciones gigantes en el negocio es MindGeek, empresa dueña de las plataformas de videos pornográficos Pornhub, RedTube y YouPorn, además de poseer unas ciento cincuenta páginas web asociadas a la pornografía (Bridges, 2019).

La academia, por su parte, se hizo eco de la relevancia social y cultural del fenómeno de la pornificación (Favaro y De Miguel Álvarez, 2016). En 2014 comenzaron a publicarse los primeros números de la revista británica *Porn Studies*, de la editorial Taylor & Francis Ltd., que se enmarca en las posiciones favorecedoras a la industria pornográfica. Los debates académicos en

torno a la conceptualización del fenómeno de la pornificación adquirieron una gran importancia en los años 2000, cuya relevancia continúa hasta la actualidad (McNair, 2002, 2013; Tyler y Quek, 2016).

No obstante, las investigaciones críticas sobre la pornografía y su relación con la sociedad y la cultura ocuparon una importantísima línea de indagación y de producción intelectual en el seno del feminismo radical de la década de los ochenta (Dworkin, 1981/ 2015; Dworkin y McKinnon, 1988; Jeffreys, 1993; Linden et al., 1982). La constatada pornificación contemporánea ha hecho que la crítica hacia la pornografía y el análisis de su extenso contenido sobre violencia explícita y extrema contra las mujeres y las niñas vuelva a ser objeto de investigación en los estudios feministas (Alario Gavilán, 2018; Cobo, 2020; Delicado-Moratalla, 2021a, 2021b, 2021c; De Miguel Álvarez, 2020; Walter, 2010; Whisnant y Stark, 2004).

## 5. ONLYFANS, EL CAPITALISMO ESCÓPICO Y LA UBERIZACIÓN DE LA PORNOGRAFÍA

En su libro *El fin del amor. Una sociología de las relaciones negativas*, la socióloga Eva Illouz (2020, p. 160) elabora el concepto de capitalismo escópico, que define como «un capitalismo que crea un valor económico formidable con la exhibición de los cuerpos y la sexualidad, con su transformación en imágenes que circulan en distintos mercados». Entendemos, pues, dentro de la argumentación teórica que estamos defendiendo aquí, que los mercados a los que se refiere Illouz (2020) utilizan el ciberespacio pornográfico como territorio de desenvolvimiento y consolidación.

Como paso previo al desarrollo de esta forma concreta de capitalismo, ha sido necesario normalizar la explotación sexual de las mujeres y la sexualidad como mercancía comercializable y ello ha podido tener lugar gracias a la articulación de la prostitución y de la pornografía en una industria global desde las últimas décadas del siglo XX hasta la actualidad (Jeffreys, 2009).

Dice Illouz (2020, p. 161) que las mujeres han sido «reasignadas a relaciones de dominación económica a través del cuerpo sexual». Esto se vincula a lo que apunta Amorós (2005), en relación a que las mujeres en las sociedades patriarcales son entendidas como objetos transaccionales. También, a lo que explica Cobo (2020, p. 177) refiriéndose a que uno de los rasgos

característicos de las sociedades actuales es que «el patriarcado propone la sexualización extrema de las mujeres y el capitalismo las convierte en mercancías», lo que nos lleva a considerar que los cuerpos femeninos han adquirido un valor de mercado, se monetizan en imágenes, vídeos y espacios de consumo de sexualidad.

Así, el capitalismo escópico encuentra una fuerte alianza con la sociedad patriarcal, y juntos, habrían consolidado las economías vinculadas a la pornografía, indiscutiblemente, impulsadas por la tecnología. Atendiendo a las cifras conocidas, la pornografía, dentro del circuito del capitalismo escópico, ocuparía un espacio prominente: «en Estados Unidos, el porno por Internet mueve unos 2.840 millones de dólares al año. En el mundo entero genera unos ingresos de 4.900 millones de dólares anuales» (Cobo, 2020, p. 181).

Para abordar esta conjunción de intereses entre el capitalismo escópico, el patriarcado y la tecnología hemos considerado oportuno acudir al análisis de uno de los casos más paradigmáticos, que vendrían a confirmar la tesis de Illouz (2020) y que versa sobre OnlyFans.

OnlyFans es una plataforma virtual y una *app* que consiste en alojar perfiles de personas que crean contenido y establecen un precio de suscripción para quienes deseen acceder y navegar por el mismo. Dentro de cada perfil, quien se suscribe recorre fotografías, visualiza vídeos y tiene la opción de conversar virtualmente, a través de un chat, con quien posee el perfil. La característica principal de esta plataforma es que alberga contenido para un público adulto con pornografía explícita, mayormente ofrecida por mujeres o en la que se utilizan mujeres, aunque también se aloja pornografía masculina. No obstante, no todos los perfiles tienen este cometido, la aplicación está abierta a contenido variado.

Creada en 2016, tuvo un rápido crecimiento en 2020, favorecida por el contexto que generó la pandemia COVID-19, en el que la vida social, laboral y cultural se desplazó masivamente al ciberespacio. Las suscripciones subieron estrepitosamente durante el periodo de confinamiento, de veinte mil a un millón, según el documental *The OnlyFans boom: the girls making millions on X-rated websites* (60 Minutes Australia, 2021). En diciembre de 2020, el número de suscripciones alcanzó los cien millones. La cifra continuó aumentando y, en abril de 2021, sumó más de ciento veinte millones, siendo un total de algo más de un millón las personas que ofrecen un perfil con contenido.

Su irrupción en el mercado ha acumulado tanto éxito que OnlyFans ha sido incluida entre las cien empresas más influyentes del mundo (Time, 2021).

Conseguir un número considerable de seguidores requiere de una eficaz estrategia de posicionamiento, por lo que resulta necesario crear sinergias ciberespaciales: quienes ofrecen contenido en OnlyFans deben tener una especial destreza para posicionar su perfil y conseguir o mantener los suscriptores, por lo que utilizan distintas redes sociales para realizar sus campañas de marketing.

Una creadora de contenido pornográfico en OnlyFans, residente en San Francisco, comenta los detalles en una entrevista publicada en *Business Insider* (Stenberg, 2020): publica regularmente en Twitter, Reddit, Instagram, Snapchat y Twitch, que son, al mismo tiempo, motores de promoción y captación de suscriptores. El empleo de estos recursos como estrategia se comprueba si escuchamos la información que proporcionan las usuarias de OnlyFans en sus contenidos promocionales dentro de YouTube, a los que es fácil acudir, simplemente tecleando la palabra OnlyFans en el buscador de la aplicación de vídeos.

Las redes sociales, tanto las mencionadas como, por ejemplo, los grupos de Telegram, no son el único canal que otorga visibilidad en este negocio, pues suelen emplearse, adicionalmente, las plataformas pornográficas para alojar canales propios con vídeos *hardcore* y contenido subido a otras plataformas de vídeos, como TikTok, con discursos e imágenes de captación y promoción.

Otra destreza digital que se ha de sumar a la actividad es el manejo de programas y/o aplicaciones de edición y mejoramiento de fotografía y vídeo. Las *streamers* –como comúnmente se llama a las creadoras de contenido en esta plataforma (León y Vierna Carrasco, 2021)– comentan en los reportajes televisivos (BBC, 2020), que a menudo contratan servicios profesionales de fotografía para tomar las imágenes, pero, en otras ocasiones, son ellas quienes realizan dicha producción a través de *software* específico.

Un servicio tecnológico imprescindible para el uso de la plataforma es el sistema de *banking*. Las opciones para la gestión de los ingresos generados son variadas, entre ellas, se encuentran algunos procesadores de pagos como Skrill, Paxum, Cosmo Pago, Epay Service o una transferencia bancaria en moneda local. Estos servicios, a su vez, tienen conexión con



otras plataformas virtuales. Por ejemplo, la verificación de la identidad en la aplicación Skrill se puede realizar mediante Facebook. La utilización de estas aplicaciones permite a OnlyFans desentenderse tanto de las gestiones como de los costes bancarios de los perfiles que aloja en su plataforma. Es la *streamer* quien se ha de hacer cargo de aprender, costear y de manejar los monederos electrónicos para recibir el dinero que ha generado su contenido.

Para algunos autores y autoras, OnlyFans es «la uberización del porno» (León y Vierna Carrasco, 2021). La uberización está asociada a los últimos procesos de flexibilización y precarización del trabajo (Felix, 2018). La empresa estadounidense Uber ha sido la pionera en diseñar una nueva forma de negocio que se basa en el necesario uso de tecnologías digitales de comunicación o aplicaciones que ponen en contacto a las personas usuarias con quienes proveen los servicios (Franco y Ferraz, 2019; Nunes Pires, 2021). Según León y Vierna Carrasco (2021) la uberización supone la supresión de los intermediarios en un negocio. Sin embargo, como vemos al desentrañar los detalles de OnlyFans, se aprecia la existencia de distintos terceros en toda la red tecnológica que abarca. Es importante señalar que la empresa percibe el 20% de las ganancias generadas por cada perfil. Otras compañías y servicios son imprescindibles para el verdadero posicionamiento, desarrollo y funcionamiento de la plataforma de contenido de suscripción, ya sea de manera directa o indirecta.

El auge de OnlyFans ha impulsado, simultáneamente, la aparición de otros emprendimientos. Algunas empresas, como hubite.com, han sabido sumarse a la tendencia. Esta compañía creó el portal OnlySearcher, que, entre los servicios ofrecidos, está el de promocionar los perfiles y crear estadísticas bajo demanda. Utilizan inteligencia artificial para clasificar los perfiles y las ganancias medias de los mismos. «Con tan solo 6 meses de antigüedad, OnlySearcher se ha convertido en la web de referencia en el sector y ya supera las 200.000 visitas mensuales de usuarios de todos los rincones del mundo» (Europa Press, 2021).

Las redes de negocios y servicios que se han creado al albor de OnlyFans han supuesto también la activación de formatos digitales de proxenetismo, al que se le refiere internacionalmente como *e-pimping* o *e-pimps* (Ezra, 2022). Se trata de un proxenetismo que actúa bajo la forma jurídica de empresas que proveen servicios externalizados para los perfiles de OnlyFans, que se

componen de la estructura deslocalizada proporcionada por las redes de Internet que se han sucedido con el desarrollo de la globalización neoliberal.

Estos servicios se hacen cargo de la gestión de la captación de suscriptores, de su mantenimiento y de sus subsiguientes demandas de contenido personalizado. La matriz de estas empresas se localiza en el Norte Global, pero contrata mano de obra abarata en regiones del Sur Global, donde distintas personas se hacen pasar por la creadora de contenido del perfil de OnlyFans en la gestión de los chats con los suscriptores (Ezra, 2022).

Entre los servicios, también ofrecen estrategias de posicionamiento digital. Con todo ello, este proxenetismo se caracteriza por acumular ingresos a partir de la intermediación entre los demandantes de contenido pornográfico y la *streamer*. Le solicitan la creación de un contenido específico, que previamente ya se han encargado de moldear a través de la manipulación del interés y la demanda del suscriptor. El contenido que finalmente demande el suscriptor se adecúa a los intereses que establece la empresa intermediaria, que tiene un conocimiento muy avanzado del mercado de contenido pornográfico, por lo que actúa como agente de presión tanto sobre la *streamer* como sobre el suscriptor (Ezra, 2022).

Se aprecia en el capitalismo escópico de OnlyFans la confluencia de una economía del deseo construida por la tradición pornográfica, es decir, la comercialización de una categoría concreta de sexualidad asociada a la excitación de otros, y una red de sinergias de diferentes modos de economías digitales. En este capitalismo, se refuerza «el sujeto como consumidor de sexo y de emociones» (Illouz, 2020, p. 39) proyectado hacia la producción pornográfica del espacio geográfico, en su versión material y digital; se enfatiza la performance sexual marcada por las lógicas del mercado; y se crea un sistema de acumulación de ganancias a través de la cesión de contenido extremadamente íntimo a las empresas que controlan el ciberespacio.

## 6. IDEAS FINALES

El artículo aporta un análisis crítico, geográfico y feminista del espacio virtual de la pornografía y, en concreto, examina el caso de OnlyFans. Tras el recorrido realizado a lo largo de la disertación, podemos llegar a algunas ideas finales sobre el ciberespacio pornográfico. La construcción social y

técnica de este ciberespacio pornográfico es abordada desde la concepción de una producción social del espacio geográfico más amplia, que implica su integración en una dinámica espacial global.

En primera instancia, el ciberespacio pornográfico, en rasgos generales, tiene como elemento intrínseco y fundamental la idea de complacer el deseo y la demanda sexual de otros mediante la representación ajustada al gusto construido desde la mirada masculina. Para que ello suceda se ha de dar la condición necesaria de cosificar sexualmente a unas personas para el agrado de otras, por lo que se genera una estructura disimétrica, desigual, jerárquica, alejada del proyecto feminista en el que los espacios y las sociedades se rigen por el valor de la igualdad, a todos los niveles y en todos los ámbitos.

Seguidamente, el ciberespacio pornográfico reproduce, por tanto, pautas sociales, culturales y productivas presentes en nuestra cotidianidad, proyectando su propia racionalidad espacial bajo la lógica predominante de la acumulación capitalista, de las relaciones patriarcales y de la dominación de grupos de poder económicos altamente masculinizados. Todo ello supone que, en el ciberespacio pornográfico se restablecen, de una manera más compleja, pero de forma más explícita, una serie de relaciones desiguales de poder inmersas en un espacio social pornificado sujeto imperiosamente a la lógica de una globalización del capital y de unas relaciones de poder patriarcales que lo justifican.

Como se demuestra en el estudio de caso analizado, dentro del ciberespacio pornográfico detectamos dinámicas que funcionan como motores clave para su constitución y que, al mismo tiempo, nos permiten vislumbrar algunas tendencias futuras. Mediante el análisis de OnlyFans, hemos captado la existencia de sinergias tecnológicas que sirven de estructura para la articulación de un negocio que utiliza viejas dinámicas patriarcales de explotación sexual, como es la representación pornográfica de las mujeres para el lucro de otros y nuevos formatos ciberespaciales, que se caracterizan por un despliegue de *apps* y plataformas digitales de contenido e interacción. No parece posible aceptar el concepto de uberización del porno para el caso de OnlyFans porque sí que se detecta la actuación necesaria de intermediarios para su utilización y funcionamiento.

Por la rápida capacidad de influencia que ha adquirido OnlyFans y dado que los perfiles que aloja son de mujeres de forma mayoritaria, podemos

inferir que se vislumbra un potencial desarrollo de más negocios de sus características u otros que tomen el mismo como referencia para la creación de economías digitales derivadas, por lo que es predecible que la servidumbre sexual femenina siga siendo un producto rentable en el mercado global virtual.

Ello significa que la subordinación sexual de las mujeres a los mandatos del capitalismo neoliberal no tiene guisas de disminución, sino más bien se percibe una fructífera continuidad. Así, hemos podido constatar que el concepto de capitalismo escópico definido por Illouz (2020) es relevante, certero y útil para comprender la gestación y la perduración del ciberespacio pornográfico. Dicho concepto también permite interpretar y comprender el desarrollo y la intensificación del proxenetismo digital surgido a raíz de la creación de nuevos negocios que explotan sexualmente a las *streamers*. Los flujos de Internet y la deslocalización de los servicios digitales se comprueban aquí necesarios para el establecimiento y la continuidad del *e-pimping*.

Finalmente, consideramos que este estudio justifica la necesidad de realizar más indagaciones geográficas feministas en relación con el ciberespacio pornográfico en España y que esta línea de investigación apunta a buscar soluciones que demandan los retos actuales surgidos en la sociedad digital.

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# ESTRATEGIAS DE DESCORTESÍA VERBAL SEXISTA HACIA IRENE MONTERO EN LOS COMENTARIOS DE TWITTER (X)

## SEXIST VERBAL IMPOLITENESS STRATEGIES TOWARDS IRENE MONTERO IN THE TWITTER COMMENTS (X)

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### Resumen

Twitter, también conocido actualmente como X, es una red social que permite la publicación y difusión rápida de mensajes breves de 280 caracteres. Sin embargo, a pesar de que su idea principal es compartir ideas entre miembros de la comunidad, en ocasiones se dan agresiones verbales hacia otros miembros. Actualmente uno de los colectivos que está recibiendo ataques es el de las mujeres, especialmente las que representan cargos públicos, como son las políticas. A partir del marco de la descortesía verbal, el objetivo principal de esta investigación es analizar los mecanismos descorteses que emplea la comunidad de Twitter para atacar a las políticas. En este caso, nos centramos en Irene Montero, ministra de Igualdad del Gobierno de la XIV Legislatura de España, quien ha recibido numerosas críticas en su mandato por sus políticas de igualdad y por sus discursos en defensa del feminismo. Para llevar a cabo este estudio, se ha diseñado un corpus con una muestra de 1356 comentarios procedentes de los tuits más destacados de Montero, escritos entre 2020 y 2023. A continuación, mediante Sketch Engine, se analiza cuantitativamente los términos descorteses más frecuentes en el corpus a la hora

de descalificar a la ministra. Por otra parte, atendiendo a los tipos de descortesía, pretendemos averiguar cualitativamente qué estrategias de descortesía son más frecuentes para descalificarla. Los resultados mostraron que el sexismo y el uso del morfema inclusivo –e son componentes que están presentes en los términos y en las estrategias descorteses, con los que se ridiculiza su discurso o se hace referencias al hecho de ser, en su momento, la pareja del ex vicepresidente del Gobierno y ex dirigente de Unidas Podemos, Pablo Iglesias.

**Palabras clave:** Irene Montero; descortesía; sexismo; feminismo; Twitter; mujeres políticas; comentarios; análisis del discurso.

### Abstract

Twitter, also currently known as X, is a social network that allows rapid publication and dissemination of short 280-character messages. However, although its main purpose is to share ideas among members of the community, sometimes there are verbal attacks against other members. Currently, one of the groups that is receiving attacks is women, especially those who represent public positions, such as politicians. Within a framework of verbal discourtesy, the main objective of this research is to analyze the discourteous mechanisms used by the Twitter community to attack female politicians. In this case, we focus on Irene Montero, Minister of Equality in the Spanish Government's 14th term in office, who has received numerous criticisms for her equality policies and for her speeches in defence of feminism. To carry out this study, a corpus has been designed with a sample of 1356 comments from Montero's most prominent tweets, written between 2020 and 2023. Next, using Sketch Engine, we have analyzed quantitatively the most frequent discourteous terms in the corpus when disqualifying the minister. Additionally, taking into account the types of impoliteness, we intend to find out qualitatively which impoliteness strategies are more frequent to damage her as a minister. The results showed that sexism and the use of the inclusive morpheme –e are components that are present in impolite terms and strategies, with which her discourse is ridiculed and references are made to the fact that she was the partner of former vice-president of the Spanish Government and former leader of Unidas Podemos, Pablo Iglesias.

**Keywords:** Irene Montero; impoliteness; sexism; feminism; Twitter; women's politics; comments; discourse analysis.

## 1. INTRODUCCIÓN

Como ya señaló Mancera (2014, p. 164), Twitter (X) es una plataforma social que permite lo que se denomina como *microblogging*, puesto que permite la publicación de mensajes breves desde un sitio web o a través de aplicaciones para móviles. Además, Twitter permite crear contenidos que no solo se añaden al perfil de sus miembros, sino que «son difundidos de manera inmediata a otros internautas que han elegido la opción de recibirlos» (Mancera y Helfrich, 2014, p. 164). A día de hoy, Twitter ha ampliado a 280 el número de caracteres que se pueden escribir en un tuit, o de 4000 a 10000 caracteres para aquellos usuarios que tienen Twitter Blue (versión de pago).

No obstante, según Díaz Pérez (2014), en Twitter se dan actos de habla que «constituyen actos ilocucionarios hostiles» (p.81), con los que el emisor pretende ofender a un interlocutor mediante el insulto. Este tipo de estrategia, además de sustituir a la violencia física, «funciona como arma para descalificar o menospreciar al otro y para burlarse de él» (Díaz Pérez, 2014, p. 82). Además, Campillo (2016) señala que el mundo virtual permite crear «un contexto en el que la proximidad personal lleva a la desinhibición y a la liberación de la responsabilidad de la ofensa o el ataque» (p.47).

Desde los primeros trabajos de Brown y Levinson (1987) y Culpeper (1996, 2003, 2005, 2010) sobre la cortesía y la descortesía, los estudios sobre estos conceptos han ido aumentando, especialmente en el ámbito de los medios de comunicación y de las redes sociales. Sin embargo, dentro de este concepto se ha dado un tipo de descortesía de carácter sexista con el que se infravalora la imagen pública y privada de las mujeres. Algunos estudios han resaltado cómo algunos grupos de mujeres sexistas descalifican a mujeres que no son sexistas (Kaul, 2019), las diferencias de uso de expresiones descorteses sexistas a mujeres y a hombres (Verduzco et al., 2020), o los recursos que emplean los medios de comunicación para infravalorar a las mujeres (Blanco-Alfonso et al., 2022; Carrillo, 2020; Forgas Berdet, 2010).

En esta investigación, nuestro objetivo principal es analizar cómo Twitter emplea la descortesía verbal para atacar a las dirigentes políticas, especialmente aquellos ataques hacia la ex ministra de Igualdad, Irene Montero (Unidas Podemos). Para llevar a cabo esta investigación, en primer lugar, se

ha formado un corpus con comentarios escritos entre 2020 y 2023 en el perfil de Twitter de Irene Montero. Tras la constitución de dicho corpus, nuestro análisis se divide en dos tipos: un análisis cuantitativo, puesto que, a través de Sketch Engine, se analizarán los términos descorteses más frecuentes del corpus; y un análisis cualitativo, donde, tomando como referencia la tipología de descortesía verbal propuesta por Culpeper (2003, 2010) y desde el análisis crítico del discurso, se analizará el contexto en el que se encuentran dichos términos descorteses y, de esta manera, se observará cuáles son las estrategias descorteses más recurrentes. Además, no solo nos basaremos en los trabajos de Culpeper, sino que también tendremos en cuenta los trabajos de Forgas Berdet (2010) y Carrillo (2020) para averiguar qué palabras y expresiones emplean los usuarios cuando recurren al sexismo.

El motivo por el cual se ha elegido a esta dirigente para este estudio es que Irene Montero, desde que ejercía de ministra de Igualdad en el Gobierno de coalición de la XIV Legislatura, ha recibido críticas por sus políticas de igualdad, por su defensa del feminismo, y por sus declaraciones en ruedas de prensa, entrevistas, en mítines políticos o en su cuenta personal de Twitter. No obstante, cabe añadir que Montero defiende un feminismo transincluyente, lo que ha provocado críticas del sector transexcluyente del feminismo radical (también conocido como *TERF*). De esta forma, recibe tanto mensajes de carácter sexista por parte del sector antifeminista como mensajes agresivos y/o descorteses por parte del feminismo radical transexcluyente. Con respecto a la estructura de este trabajo, la siguiente sección presenta el marco teórico en el que está enmarcado este estudio. A continuación, se detallará el corpus de estudio y la metodología empleada para el análisis cuantitativo y cualitativo. En el siguiente apartado se muestran los resultados obtenidos de Sketch Engine, así como las estrategias de descortesía empleadas en los comentarios hacia Irene Montero. Y en las conclusiones se pone en evidencia los tipos de mensajes descorteses/agresivos y los mensajes sexistas más recurrentes que se emplean en los comentarios para menospreciar a Montero.



## 2. MARCO TEÓRICO

### 2.1. La descortesía verbal

En la década de los 70 se publica el trabajo pionero de Brown y Levinson ([1978] 1987) sobre la cortesía, que da comienzo a los estudios sobre este fenómeno. En su trabajo hicieron una distinción entre la cortesía positiva y la cortesía negativa. Por un lado, la cortesía positiva se define como la imagen positiva que tiene una persona de sí misma, mientras que, por otro lado, la cortesía negativa consiste en «satisfacer parcialmente la imagen negativa de H, su deseo básico de mantener las reivindicaciones de territorio y autodefinición» (Brown y Levinson, 1987, p. 70). Aunque ya se empezó a hablar de este fenómeno durante la década de los 70, Bernal (2007) señala que su llegada a la actualidad fue bastante tardía y que no es hasta la década de los 90 cuando se incorporó definitivamente el estudio de la descortesía en la investigación y «cuando se ha abordado con más frecuencia el problema de sus características y su definición» (p. 20). Para Culpeper (2005), la descortesía no se trata de «una amenaza incidental a la imagen», ni «involuntaria», ni «una broma» ni «un acto de cortesía» (pp. 36-37). Según Culpeper (2010), la descortesía se define como «una actitud negativa hacia determinados comportamientos que se producen en contextos específicos» (p. 3233). En otro trabajo sobre la descortesía, Culpeper et al. (2003) tomaron las superestrategias de cortesía de Brown y Levinson (1987) y las invirtieron, dando lugar a cinco superestrategias en la descortesía: *descortesía descarnada*, que se emplea «cuando hay intención por parte del hablante de dañar la imagen de su interlocutor»; *descortesía positiva*, que recurre a «estrategias diseñadas para dañar los deseos positivos del destinatario»; *descortesía negativa*, que emplea estrategias negativas para dañar la imagen del destinatario; *descortesía sarcástica o figurada*, que recurre a estrategias «poco sinceras» y que dan como resultado «realizaciones superficiales»; y *ausencia de descortesía*, que consiste en «guardar silencio o no actuar cuando se espera que se actúe con cortesía» (pp. 1554-1555).

Kienpointner (1997, 2008), tomando como referencia el modelo de Culpeper sobre la descortesía, puso atención al concepto de la grosería, definida como un «comportamiento comunicativo prototípicamente no cooperativo o competitivo que desestabiliza las relaciones personales [...]

que crea o mantiene una atmósfera emocional de irreverencia y antipatía mutuas», y que se caracteriza por utilizar recursos que «enfatan los actos que amenazan la imagen y retienen o debilitan los actos que la mejoran» (Kienpointner, 1997, pp. 259-260). Tanto la grosería como la descortesía tienen en común el uso de argumentos emotivos, como los argumentos *ad hominem*, que guardan relación con los ataques personales, y los argumentos *ad populum*, que «apelan a las emociones de las masas» (Kienpointner, 2008, p. 248). Por lo que se refiere a las variantes de la descortesía verbal, Kaul (2008) habló sobre la *descortesía de fustigación*, «agresión verbal del H(ablante) al O(yente), constituida abrumadoramente por comportamientos volitivos, conscientes y estratégicos destinados a herir la imagen del interlocutor» (Kaul, 2005; como se citó en Kaul, 2008, p. 729).

Además de estos autores, otros estudios se han encargado de continuar con la definición y caracterización de la descortesía, así como de los subtipos de descortesía existentes. Fuentes Rodríguez y Alcaide Lara (2008), sobre la descortesía y la agresividad, consideran que «la agresión no persigue el daño propiamente sino afectar» y para incurrir en la agresión verbal, se emplean estrategias descorteses, «buscando siempre que la imagen del otro se vea dañada en cierta manera» (pp. 17-18). Por otra parte, continuando con la agresividad verbal, se identifican lo que Mancera (2009) denomina como *actos amenazantes*, que están dirigidos hacia la imagen de una persona con el fin de dañar «su prestigio social, por ejemplo, mediante críticas u ofensas destinadas a su escarnio público» (p. 442). Un segundo tipo de descortesía es el de *descortesía aparente*, que se refiere al «comportamiento que aparenta ser descortés, pero que no lo es en realidad» (Lancheros, 2020, p. 189). Por lo que se refiere a los estilos de descortesía, Díaz Pérez (2014) distingue tres tipos de emisores para diferentes estilos: 1) *emisores que se caracterizan por hacer gala de su descortesía*, con los que se pretende provocar; 2) aquellos emisores que no pretenden ofender, pero que utilizan determinadas palabras o expresiones que forman parte de la descortesía; y 3) aquellos que «sobresalen especialmente por su originalidad expresiva más allá de la ofensa que realizan contra un determinado personaje» (pp. 83-84).

## 2.2. Descortesía verbal y sexismo hacia las mujeres

Según Blanco-Alfonso et al. (2022) un problema que se suele dar en las redes sociales es la toxicidad de los mensajes, ya que «afecta a determinados colectivos y contribuye a debilitar la democracia» (p. 34). Uno de esos colectivos afectados es el de las mujeres, especialmente las políticas, que «suelen ser objeto de una tendencia creciente de desprestigio» (Blanco-Alfonso et al., 2022, p. 36). En su estudio, una estrategia recurrente era la de la identificación de la «descalificación permanente», con la que se la descalifica mediante «palabras sexistas y misóginas» y que «acaba creando una ontología de significados que permea poco a poco en la esfera pública hasta convertirla en un espacio tóxico carente de las más elementales reglas de civismo y convivencia» (Blanco-Alfonso et al., 2022, p. 46). Según Carrillo (2020), la mayor parte de los estudios analizados sobre la representación de la mujer en los medios de comunicación señalan que existe una «práctica habitual de comunicar con el fin de evidenciar los aspectos negativos de la imagen de esta» (p. 233). Para esta autora, el uso de los apelativos es un recurso muy frecuente en aquellos artículos de opinión para atacar la imagen pública de esta, y, dependiendo del perfil ideológico de los periódicos, cada una recibe un apelativo distinto (Carrillo, 2020, p. 252). Por otra parte, Forgas Berdet (2010) también señaló que, además de los apelativos, la prensa utiliza varios recursos para menospreciar a las mujeres: el uso de nombre de pila, que es más frecuente en mujeres que en hombres, los diminutivos, y las referencias por su condición civil. Además, cuando se las menciona en la prensa, lo que más se resalta de ellas son el aspecto físico y el hecho de que son mujeres. Siguiendo este mismo ámbito, Guerrero Salazar (2001) añadió dos estrategias sexistas que se dan en la prensa española: el uso de las metáforas sexistas, con las que se pretende «buscar el humor mediante la recurrencia al chiste fácil», y las relaciones jerárquicas, puesto que, dentro de las instituciones, «se recurre a imágenes sexistas, en las que el término *padre*, o *hermano* en menor escala, refuerzan sus connotaciones de poder y liderazgo» (pp. 411-412). Incluso en algunas secciones de prensa española escrita, especialmente en las columnas de opinión o las Columnas sobre la Lengua (CSL), se dan descalificaciones hacia el feminismo, como ha sido el caso del columnista Amando de Miguel, quien construye su ideología hacia el movimiento y

las feministas mediante siete ideologemas recurrentes: a) «las feministas conforman un grupo de presión»; b) «perjudican a las propias mujeres»; c) «imponen la ideología de género, que es una ideología totalitaria»; d) «reciben un trato de favor por parte de los poderes públicos»; e) «es el grupo que más ha avanzado en la igualdad»; f) «promueven el odio hacia los hombres», y g) «son las culpables de muchos males de nuestra sociedad» (Guerrero Salazar, 2022, pp. 4-14).

Por su parte, en el ámbito de Facebook, Sepúlveda y Flores (2019) observaron que un recurso muy frecuente que se utiliza en esta red social es el de los actos de amenaza hacia las mujeres que aparecen en las noticias, mediante insultos, descalificaciones o bromas, con los que los/as usuarios/as «buscan afianzar el vínculo con los receptores que comparten sus mismas opiniones» (p. 71). Por otra parte, Herrero-Diz et al. (2020) sostienen que una forma de desacreditar a las mujeres y al feminismo es a través de la desinformación o *desorden informativo* con el objetivo de incriminarlas (p. 208). Este desorden informativo se produce «la mayor parte de las veces, desde las redes sociales y, en segunda instancia, en medios digitales» y donde este encuentra «su acomodo natural», por la facilidad de difusión, por no haber «un agente intermedio que controle su veracidad o la facilidad con la que en redes aparece o se diluye la fuente original» (Herrero Diz et al., 2020, p. 209).

No obstante, no solo se da la descortesía de hombres a mujeres, sino que, en ocasiones, se da entre mujeres. Kaul (2019) señaló que la descortesía hacia las mujeres también se observa entre grupos de mujeres sexistas, quienes atacan con expresiones machistas a aquellas mujeres que no siguen los valores tradicionales (pp. 57-58). Verduzco et al. (2020) identificaron una serie de diferencias entre las expresiones que se dirigían a mujeres y las que se dirigían a hombres: por un lado, a la hora de deteriorar la imagen femenina, las expresiones más comunes para referirse a su imagen pública y privada es la de *puta* y *no sabe hacer nada*, mientras que al hombre se le representa en lo público como *alguien moralmente digno* y que sabe y puede hacer todo (p. 82). No obstante, por lo que se refiere a las expresiones negativas hacia la imagen del hombre, las más comunes son *poco hombre*, *maricón* y *estúpido* (Verduzco et al., 2020, p. 82). Por último, Piñeiro-Otero y Martínez-Rolán

(2021) analizaron los discursos misóginos en Twitter y observaron que: la mayor parte de las manifestaciones verbales de misoginia se realizan «a través de interacciones directas»; que la toxicidad de los mensajes que se emiten en Twitter van principalmente a políticas y comunicadoras; y que las deportistas también reciben discursos de odio, aunque en menor medida, que «lleva a inferir la relación de estos ataques con su ejercicio profesional y, por tanto, como un mecanismo represor» (pp. 10-11).

### 3. METODOLOGÍA

Esta investigación parte de dos tipos de análisis: un análisis cuantitativo y un análisis cualitativo. Para llevarlos a cabo, en primer lugar, se ha constituido un corpus con una muestra de 1356 comentarios del perfil de Twitter de Irene Montero que han sido publicados entre 2020 y 2023. Debido al volumen de tuits y comentarios generados durante ese período de tiempo, se ha seleccionado los comentarios de forma manual y de la siguiente manera: en el buscador de Google se ha escrito una secuencia de palabras clave que se compone del nombre de usuario @IreneMontero, la palabra «Twitter» y el año de publicación (de 2020 a 2023); y, de esta forma, se muestran los tuits más destacados de Irene Montero. No obstante, debido a que Google solo muestra las publicaciones más recientes, se ha utilizado el modo incógnito para evitar una búsqueda sesgada de la navegación previa realizada. De esos tuits destacados, se ha acudido a la sección de comentarios y se ha seleccionado manualmente aquellos comentarios que descalifican a la ministra. Para la selección de estos comentarios, se ha tenido en cuenta aspectos como el uso de insultos, de adjetivos calificativos negativos, el empleo de la ironía y el humor cuando descalifican a Montero, si hacen referencias a su condición como mujer, o si la relacionan con una figura masculina. A continuación, detallamos en las Tablas 1, 2 y 3 la información acerca de los tuits más destacados de Irene Montero, la fecha de publicación de estos, el número total de respuestas que ha recibido y el número de respuestas que se ha seleccionado para este análisis:

**Tabla 1.** Información sobre los tuits de Irene Montero en 2023 y el número de comentarios

Nombre del tuit	Texto	Fecha de publicación	Número total de comentarios	Número de comentarios seleccionados
Tweet 1	<a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1633510394420502535">#Este8MHablemos #8M2023 https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1633510394420502535</a>	08/03/2023	2222	120
Tweet 2	El PP quiere que nos callemos <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1661434232210685975">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1661434232210685975</a>	24/05/2023	1044	45
Tweet 3	Las víctimas de violencias sexuales tienen acceso a TODOS sus derechos SIN necesidad de poder denuncia [sic] <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1655999110682484752">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1655999110682484752</a>	09/05/2023	486	41
Tweet 4	Se investiga como violencia machista el asesinato de una mujer de solo 17 años. El dolor es desgarrador, todo el cariño del mundo para su familia y amistades. La educación sexual integral es imprescindible para una sociedad libre de violencias machistas #Niunamenos <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1630611967395151872">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1630611967395151872</a>	28/02/2023	343	36
Tweet 5	Con los fondos buitres que vienen de fuera para enriquecerse a costa del sufrimiento de las familias, con esos no se atreven. Fomentan el racismo y el odio al más débil. Normalizar campañas de odio tiene relación directa con las agresiones racistas en el deporte y en la sociedad. <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1661019053836869640">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1661019053836869640</a>	23/05/2023	1498	18

Tweet 6	Muchísima suerte y todo el apoyo a nuestra representante en #Eurovision @BlancaPaloma_rb y al equipo de mujeres que la acompaña en esa actuación tan maravillosa. Esta noche toca disfrutar todas, todos y todes, juntas. Así que, ¡a bailar! ¡Arriba la Blanca Paloma! <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1657447901428166661">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1657447901428166661</a>	13/05/2023	1941	32
Tweet 7	Tres años sin Julio Anguita, un militante que nos enseñó a no bajar nunca los brazos, a hablar claro y a caminar siempre espalda con espalda para conquistar derechos. Con tu ejemplo comunista <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1658469593709711361">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1658469593709711361</a>	16/05/2023	1593	29

**Tabla 2.** Información sobre los tuits de Irene Montero en 2022 y el número de comentarios

Nombre del tuit	Texto	Fecha de publicación	Número total de comentarios	Número de comentarios seleccionados
Tweet 8	¡Que vivan las Charos! Felices y corresponsables fiestas. <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1606278674524667904">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1606278674524667904</a>	23/12/2022	2488	180
Tweet 9	Esto incluye la Ley del 'Solo Sí es Sí' <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1597900204761456640?lang=es">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1597900204761456640?lang=es</a>	29/11/2022	1719	22
Tweet 10	Así se ha hecho historia <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1605949797856202754?lang=es">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1605949797856202754?lang=es</a>	22/12/2022	3452	166

Tweet 11	Hoy en el #DialInternacionalVisibilidadTrans ha sido un placer estar en este encuentro de @PlataformaTrans. Si algo vamos hacer desde el Gobierno es garantizar vuestro derecho a ser, a que nadie os arrebatte vuestra felicidad, a que nadie os arrebatte vidas libres de discriminación <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1509586719707832323?lang=es">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1509586719707832323?lang=es</a>	31/03/2022	113	19
Tweet 12	Todo el apoyo a las compañeras colombianas @PizarroMariaJo y @AidaAvellaE. La violencia política contra las mujeres es intolerable. Estaremos de la mano y a vuestro lado <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1591828627963842560">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1591828627963842560</a>	13/11/2022	120	18
Tweet 13	¡Os espero el próximo lunes a las 10h para hablar de feminismo con @Pam_Angela_e @isaserras en los Cursos del Escorial de @PODEMOS y @unicomplutense! Aún estás a tiempo de inscribirte en <a href="https://cursosveranoucm.com/cursos/73209/">https://cursosveranoucm.com/cursos/73209/</a> <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1547938281798520840">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1547938281798520840</a>	15/07/2022	1297	35
Tweet 14	Unidas <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/159651525454208002">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/159651525454208002</a>	26/11/2022	4000	115
Tweet 15	A @tionebelarra se le hace esta pregunta porque es una mujer y de nosotras se espera que cuidemos y que demos explicaciones sobre la crianza. <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1602681318780719104?lang=es">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1602681318780719104?lang=es</a>	13/12/2022	1396	28
Tweet 16	¡Aprobada la Ley de Libertad Sexual con 205 votos a favor! Gracias a la mayoría parlamentaria feminista que lo ha hecho posible. #SoloSiesSi <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1562824295658967044">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1562824295658967044</a>	25/08/2022	2562	28



Tweet 17	Dedicar más recursos públicos a la salud mental es dedicar recursos a la vida. Erradicar el estigma y atajar la desigualdad, cuidando nuestra salud es imprescindible para vivir dignamente. #DíaMundialdeSaludMental <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1579454917542305793?lang=es">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1579454917542305793?lang=es</a>	10/10/2022	932	22
Tweet 18	Enfrentamos semanas de fuerte aumento de la violencia machista contra las mujeres. Ante cualquier indicio o signo de violencia, todos y todas podemos hacer algo. Debemos redoblar esfuerzos desde el conjunto de la sociedad para evitar más asesinatos y más violencia. #NiUnaMenos <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1608434293235220482?lang=es">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1608434293235220482?lang=es</a>	29/12/2022	3624	30
Tweet 19	El odio y la ridiculización a Begoña Gómez no es nuevo y tiene que parar. No solo por ella, por todas. Cuentas con mi apoyo, estamos juntas. <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1596515861250334721?lang=es">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1596515861250334721?lang=es</a>	26/11/2022	4870	28
Tweet 20	Urge una investigación efectiva del asesinato de Mahsa Amini como exige la ONU. Todas las mujeres que participan de las protestas en Irán deben saber que cuentan con nuestro respaldo ante las violaciones de DDHH. El feminismo está al frente en las luchas por la democracia. <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1573641141270073350">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1573641141270073350</a>	24/09/2022	3366	18
Tweet 21	Esta mañana hemos acordado junto a las CCAA la creación de gabinetes de crisis interinstitucionales ante posibles repuntes de feminicidios como los vividos estas horribles últimas semanas, en la reunión del Grupo de Trabajo del Pacto de Estado contra la Violencia de Género <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1534198913389010944">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1534198913389010944</a>	07/06/2022	593	20

Tweet 22	El movimiento feminista es lo mejor que le ha pasado a este país <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1602967124334419968">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1602967124334419968</a>	14/12/2022	4693	25
Tweet 23	Compañero Presidente, qué felicidad encontrarte. Nuestros países recorren hermanados un camino de más democracia, más feminismo y más justicia social. Para que todos y todas podamos ser felices. Querido Presidente, compañero @gabrielboric, a tu lado y siempre cerca. <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1501999269884174343">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1501999269884174343</a>	10/03/2022	365	17

**Tabla 3.** Información sobre los tuits de Irene Montero en 2021 y el número de comentarios

Nombre del tuit	Texto	Fecha de publicación	Número total de comentarios	Número de comentarios seleccionados
Tweet 25	No hay palabras para acompañar a Beatriz en estos momentos de terrible dolor. Esta violencia que se ejerce contra las mujeres madres para golpear donde más duele es una cuestión de Estado. Estamos aquí para lo que sea necesario. No más #ViolenciaVicaria <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1403069061722947584?lang=es">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1403069061722947584?lang=es</a>	10/06/2021	4333	220
Tweet 26	La importancia de la Ley del Solo Sí es Sí a través de la cultura y el arte. Qué maravilla de artículo @semiramis_glez. <a href="https://huffingtonpost.es/entry/las-5-ob">https://huffingtonpost.es/entry/las-5-ob</a> <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1371385738114297858">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1371385738114297858</a>	15/03/2021	177	11
Tweet 27	Nos hemos reunido con la Brigada Feminista de Observación organizada por @JornalerasL, @Lalaboratoria y @museoreinasofia para conocer las condiciones en las que viven y trabajan las mujeres jornaleras en los campos de Huelva. <a href="https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1409930996603142145">https://twitter.com/IreneMontero/status/1409930996603142145</a>	29/06/2021	123	20

Se ha seleccionado este período de tiempo, desde 2020, año en que se forma el nuevo gobierno de coalición entre PSOE y Unidas Podemos, y en el que Irene Montero es nombrada ministra de Igualdad, hasta 2023, año en el que tienen lugar las elecciones municipales y autonómicas. Los motivos por los cuales se ha escogido a esta dirigente para estudiar la descortesía verbal se deben principalmente al protagonismo que ha adquirido por varios acontecimientos que se han dado entre 2020 y 2023, y por la formación política a la que pertenece. Irene Montero ha sido criticada por ser ministra de Igualdad, donde la mayor parte de los tuits y comentarios que se emiten hacia ella critican el gasto público que supone al Estado; por sus políticas y leyes de igualdad (la más reciente la aprobación de la Ley de Solo Sí es Sí); por la marcha del 8-M en 2020, donde se la consideró como la culpable de la subida de contagios por COVID-19; y por ser la pareja del ex-vicepresidente del Gobierno, Pablo Iglesias, con determinados comentarios de carácter sexista.

En segundo lugar, tras la constitución del corpus de estudio, se ha recurrido a la función de *Keywords* de Sketch Engine para identificar cuantitativamente qué términos descorteses están presentes en el corpus de comentarios, así como otros términos clave que refuerzan la descortesía hacia Irene Montero. Sketch Engine es una herramienta que permite a los/as usuarios/as observar los «bocetos de palabras» (*word sketches*), así como palabras similares en tesauros y diccionarios, y «diferencias de bocetos» (Kilgarriff et al, 2015, p. 4). Por último, tras el análisis cuantitativo de los términos descorteses y los temas frecuentes, en la parte cualitativa se analiza los contextos en los que se emplean dichos términos descalificadores. En esta parte crítico-discursiva, empleamos la tipología de descortesía verbal propuesta por Culpeper (2010), las cinco superestrategias propuestas por Culpeper et al. (2003) y los tipos de descortesía hacia las mujeres que mencionaron Forgas Berdet (2010) y Carrillo (2020), que se resumen en la siguiente tabla:

Tabla 4. Clasificación de tipos de descortesía

Tipos de descortesía según Culpeper et al. (2003)	Descortesía descarnada
	Descortesía positiva
	Descortesía negativa
	Descortesía sarcástica
	Ausencia de descortesía
Tipos de descortesía según Culpeper (2010)	Insultos
	Quejas
	Preguntas desafiantes o desagradables
	Condescendencia
	Ejecutores del mensaje
	Despidos
	Silenciadores
	Amenazas
Tipos de descortesía sexista según Carrillo (2020)	Apelativos
	Hipercortesía en el lenguaje políticamente correcto
	Juicios personales
Tipos de descortesía sexista según Forgas Berdet (2010)	Nombre de pila
	Apelativos, mote, apodos
	Diminutivos
	Referencias a su condición civil: hija, compañera y madre
	Referencias al aspecto físico
	Referencias a su condición femenina (ser mujer)

Fuente: elaboración propia a partir de Culpeper (2010), Culpeper et al. (2003), Forgas Berdet (2010) y Carrillo (2020)

En el siguiente apartado se presentan los resultados de Sketch Engine con términos descorteses y otros términos que refuerzan la descortesía, y también los resultados del análisis cualitativo tras aplicar las tipologías de

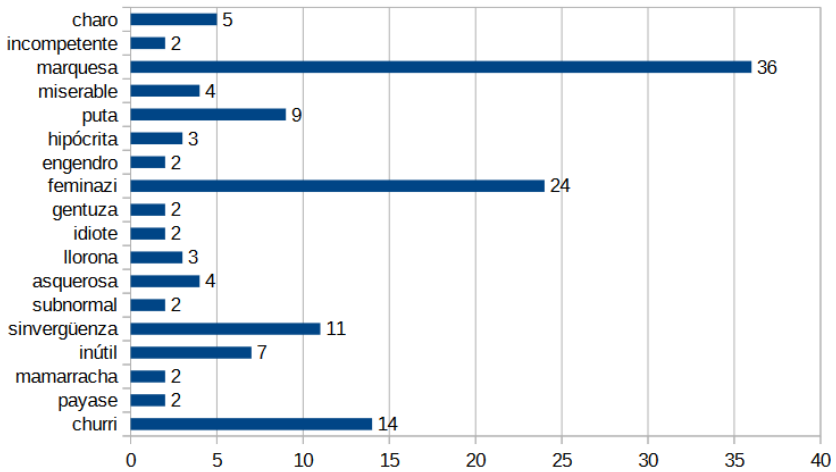
Culpeper (2010) y Culpeper et al. (2003) para averiguar cuál es el tipo de descortesía verbal más común y cuáles son las estrategias más frecuentes a la hora de descalificar a Montero. Además, también se tienen en cuenta las estrategias sexistas de descortesía que identificaron Forgas Berdet (2010) y Carrillo (2020) para comprobar si, dentro de la descortesía verbal, existen descalificaciones sexistas hacia esta dirigente.

## 4. RESULTADOS

### 4.1. Términos descorteses clave

Por lo que se refiere al análisis cuantitativo, en el Gráfico 1, se puede ver que la mayoría de los términos son insultos hacia la ministra. Los términos más frecuentes del corpus son los apelativos *marquesa* (36) y *feminazi* (24), que hacen referencia, por un lado, a las críticas que ha recibido por su vivienda en el municipio madrileño de Galapagar (y de ahí el apodo de «marquesa de Galapagar»), y, por otro lado, a sus discursos en defensa del feminismo. A estos dos términos clave le siguen los *churri* (14), *sinvergüenza* (11), *puta* (9), *inútil* (7) y *charo* (5). Por un lado, en cuanto a los apelativos *churri* y *charo* y el insulto *puta*, estos se emplean para atacar a Montero a través de su imagen pública y privada. Por otra parte, se observan insultos que dañan la imagen física como *engendro* (2) y *asquerosa* (4), pero también la capacidad intelectual de la ministra con términos como *inútil* (7), *subnormal* (2), *hipócrita* (3), *incompetente* (2), *miserable* (4) y *llorona* (3). Además, cabe destacar que hay términos que incluyen el morfema *-e* en *idiote* (2) o *payase* (2), un indicador que evidencia que en los comentarios recurren al lenguaje inclusivo en tono irónico para ridiculizar a Montero. Esto se debe a que, en numerosas ocasiones, Montero ha utilizado el morfema *-e* en sus tuits para incluir a las personas no binarias. A continuación, se presentan todos los términos descorteses más frecuentes del corpus en la siguiente figura:

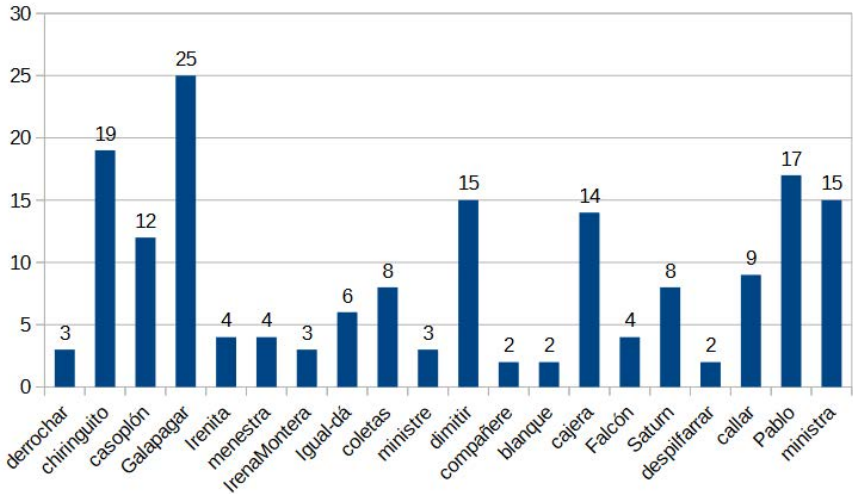
Gráfico 1. Términos descorteses más frecuentes hacia Irene Montero



No obstante, Sketch Engine no solo ha detectado términos descorteses, sino que también ha identificado palabras que, aunque no muestran descortesía, refuerzan las descalificaciones hacia la ministra de Igualdad. En el Gráfico 2, los términos reforzadores más frecuentes son *Galapagar* (25), *chiringuito* (19), *Pablo* (17), *dimitir* (15), *cajera* (14), *ministra* (15) y *casoplón* (12). *Galapagar* y *casoplón* hacen referencia a la vivienda de la ministra en el municipio de Galapagar, ya que, como se ha mencionado en el párrafo anterior, dicho domicilio ha sido objeto de polémica. En segundo lugar, el nombre propio *Pablo* hace referencia al ex dirigente de Podemos y ex vicepresidente del gobierno, Pablo Iglesias, quien también era, en su momento, la pareja de Irene Montero. Este término evidencia que, en el corpus, cuando se menciona a Montero, se hacen referencias al hecho de ser «la mujer de». En el caso de *chiringuito*, en el corpus adquiere el significado de entidades que son financiadas con dinero público, lo que demuestra que, en varias ocasiones, se critican entidades feministas financiadas por el Ministerio de Igualdad. Además, este término se relaciona con *derrochar* (3) o *despilfarrar* (2), verbos con polaridad negativa para criticar el gasto público del Ministerio de Igualdad. Respecto a *ministra* y *ministre* (3), el primer término tiene una

polaridad neutra, pero el segundo adquiere una polaridad negativa, ya que, con la terminación *-e*, la comunidad de Twitter se burla del uso del lenguaje inclusivo por parte de Montero. Por último, observamos términos que utilizan el morfema inclusivo *-e* (*ministre*) o términos acabados en *-a* u *-o* en el nombre y en el apellido de la ministra (*Irena Montero*) con el objetivo de ridiculizar sus discursos donde usa el lenguaje inclusivo; neologismos como *Igual-dá* (6), derivado de las expresiones «me da igual» para referirse a la labor del Ministerio; o diminutivos como *Irenita* (4), un apelativo sexista con el que se busca infantilizar a Montero.

**Gráfico 2.** Otros términos que refuerzan la descortesía hacia Irene Montero



Por último, en la Tabla 5, se muestran otros términos que Sketch Engine identifica como palabras clave del corpus, a pesar de que solo aparecen una vez en el texto, y que refuerzan las descalificaciones hacia Montero. Por lo que se refiere a los términos descorteses menos frecuentes, se observan descalificaciones con las que los/as usuarios/as cuestionan la capacidad de Montero de dirigir un ministerio, e incluso términos de carácter sexista como *foca*, *chacha* o *cerda*. Además, estos términos descorteses no solo dañan la

imagen física de Montero, sino que atacan los discursos que pronuncia o su actitud. En cuanto a los neologismos, *chochocharla* viene del término coloquial *chocho* (vulva) y de la palabra *charla*, que hace referencia a las charlas sobre feminismo que imparten asociaciones feministas; *votontos* proviene de los términos *votantes* y *tontos*; *Iguarraldad* es un neologismo sexista que se origina de *Igualdad* y *guarra*, para desprestigiar su papel de ministra; el término *pijiprogre*, que viene de *pija* y *progresista*; y los neologismos *ninisterio* y *ninistra*, que vienen de los términos *nini*, *ministerio* y *ministra*, para referirse a que el ministerio y la ministra no hacen nada. De nuevo, nos encontramos con un abundante número de términos que incluyen el morfema *-e* o los morfemas *-o* y *-a* en algunas palabras, un dato que evidencia que en los comentarios se emplea el lenguaje inclusivo en un tono irónico para criticar a Montero. Por último, los apelativos también van a estar presentes en el análisis, con términos como el diminutivo *Irenesita* y los apelativos descalificativos *barbie*, *choni* y *peliculera*.

**Tabla 5.** Términos descorteses y otros términos menos frecuentes que refuerzan la descortesía

Otros términos descorteses menos frecuentes	Burrología, panfila, pedofila, sociopata, payasa, hembra, petarda, patochadas, foca, chacha, victimista, memeces, vomitivo, estúpida, bobadas, sandeces, chorradas, gilipollices, lumbrera, payasadas, victimismo, chusma, caradura, esperpento, coñazo, indecente, narcisista, impresentable, gilipollas, repugnante, aberración, zumbada, cerda.
Neologismos	Chocholoca, pijiprogre, votontos, Iguarraldad, ninistra, Ninisterio.
Palabras con morfemas inclusivos	Loques, ridículos, delincuente, todiiis, violencie, cabeze, votantas, aliades, experte, algune, género, niñe, vosotros, Podemas, buenos, Ireño, señora, buene, excuse, votes, otros, dirigente.
Apelativos, motes y apodos	Barbie, choni, peliculera, Irenesita, Irenia, muchacha.



## 4.2. Tipos de descortesía en los comentarios de Twitter

Tras aplicar las tipologías de descortesía mencionadas en el apartado 3, se ha podido observar que los/as usuarios/as combinan la descortesía descarnada o asociar a Irene Montero con un aspecto negativo. Cuando se recurre a estos dos recursos (descortesía descarnada y asociación explícita de alguien con algo negativo), los comentarios más frecuentes hacia la ministra de Igualdad son que su presencia es lo peor que le ha pasado tanto a las mujeres como al feminismo, o utilizan calificativos como *engendro del mal*, *boba*, *tonta de la cabeza* o que es lo más *falso*, *manipulador* y *vomitivo de la historia*. Veamos algunos ejemplos:

(1) Cada vez q [sic] esta señora habla con su discurso de genero [sic] me dan ganas de potar (Respuesta a Tweet 14, 26/11/2022)

(2) TODAS Y TODOS...TU SI QUE TE QUEDASTE TOTA [sic] DE LA CABEZA (Respuesta a Tweet 21, 13/05/2023)

Como se ha podido ver, se combinan ambos recursos donde un/a usuario/a expresa que escuchar los discursos de Montero le producen ganas de vomitar (1), mientras que otro usuario, para referirse a su inteligencia, comenta que se quedó *tonta de la cabeza* (2). Este último ejemplo se debe a que, con motivo de la celebración de Eurovisión 2023, Montero escribió un tuit en el que, al decir *todas y todos*, incluye el morfema inclusivo *-e* en *todes* para apoyar a la concursante Blanca Paloma. A raíz de esta publicación, en algunos comentarios insultan a la ministra por utilizar dicho morfema.

Un segundo recurso que se ha identificado en el corpus es el de las quejas, mediante las cuales los miembros de Twitter comentan negativamente las políticas de igualdad propuestas por el Ministerio de Igualdad. Los dos ejemplos que mostramos a continuación son comentarios que pertenecen a un tuit que publicó Montero, donde comparte un vídeo que pertenece a la Campaña del Ministerio de Igualdad con motivo del 8 de marzo de 2023. Tanto (3) como (4) son una muestra de un discurso muy recurrente, que es el de preguntar a la ministra en algunos tuits cuánto ha costado las campañas que promueven desde el Ministerio e incluso mencionan que existen otros problemas más importantes que tratar:

(3) Las mujeres siguen muriendo a causa de las pésimas políticas de seguridad pública, de rehabilitación en cárceles, y de la educación. Pero, las que

sigan vivas podrán disfrutar de éste [sic] lindo comercial casi-porno. ¡Y con sus impuestos, hermanos españoles! Menos socialismo la prox (Respuesta a Tweet 1, 08/03/2023)

(4) Quiero saber cuánto ha costado esto, ya está bien, con la cantidad de problemas que tenemos en España y gastar el dinero en esto me parece indecente (Respuesta a Tweet 1, 08/03/2023)

El siguiente recurso que aparece con más frecuencia es el de la descortesía negativa. Como ya mencionaron Culpeper et al. (2003, p. 1555), cuando se pretende dañar a una persona, se suele recurrir a estrategias como la condescendencia, la ridiculización, la invasión del espacio de una persona o bloquearle. En nuestro corpus, se ridiculiza a Montero con comentarios que sostienen que no sabe legislar bien; que no sabe escribir y que solo sabe decir sinsentidos, que solo se dedica a hacer *chiringuitos* o charlas, que debería trabajar o que habla mal para ser ministra. Por lo que se refiere a la condescendencia, en algunos comentarios se trata a la ministra como si estuviese a un nivel por debajo de los/as usuarios/as, es decir, como si no supiese ejercer en la política:

(5) Il fiminismi isti il frinti in lis lichis pir li dimicricii (Respuesta a Tweet 20, 24/09/2022)

(6) La pregunta era bien sencilla. No se como [sic] una criatura que va de ministra, por la gracia de su marido, no sepa responder: «Que [sic] es una mujer». Y lo único que sabe decir, es que las mujeres son víctimas oprimidas (Respuesta a Tweet 1, 08/03/2023)

(7) Si en lugar de gabinetes de crisis pusiera más policías igual salvaba a más mujeres, por dar una idea que te veo muy perdida Irene (Respuesta a Tweet 21, 07/06/2022)

(8) Cada día que pasa y te veo dar ciertas declaraciones creo que tus hijos no viven en un entorno muy equilibrado...deberían hacerte un sicoanálisis [sic] para ver si eres apta para cuidar de ellos. Por cierto, un saludo a la rata chepuda (Respuesta a Tweet 27, 29/06/2021)

Como se puede ver en (5), una forma de ridiculizar a Montero es imitando su discurso cambiando todas las vocales de una frase que pronuncia Montero en un tuit («El feminismo está al frente en las luchas por la democracia») por la vocal -i para burlarse de ella. Respecto a (6), con motivo de un tuit de Montero sobre un vídeo de campaña del Ministerio de Igualdad, uno de los

usuarios la ridiculiza cuando comenta que Montero no sabe responder a la pregunta «¿Qué es una mujer?» y que solo sabe decir que las mujeres están oprimidas. Por otra parte, en (7) y (8) se observan actitudes condescendientes, como, por ejemplo, ofrecer ayuda a Montero para solucionar ciertos problemas, ya que no sabe hacerlo (7), o realizarle un informe psicológico porque sus hijos viven en un entorno inestable, debido a sus declaraciones.

Además, cabe destacar que es muy común en los discursos condescendientes el uso del nombre de pila, los apelativos o los diminutivos. En nuestro corpus se ha podido ver que se dirigen hacia ella por su nombre de pila en lugar de dirigirse por su apellido. Incluso en ocasiones se emplea el diminutivo *Irenita*, «un apelativo familiar que raya la vulgaridad», como ya indicó Forgas Berdet (2010, p. 15). Respecto a los apelativos y los apodos, los más recurrentes son *marquesa*, *cajera*, *ministra de supermercado* o *marquesa de Galapagar*, que hacen referencia a su pasado laboral, puesto que Montero trabajó de cajera en el supermercado Saturn mientras estudiaba y a su chalé en el municipio de Galapagar. A continuación, se muestran algunos ejemplos:

(9) Que pasa [sic] Irene. En lugar de preocuparte por tu país ahora eres colombiana. No sirves como política. Eres infantil e inmadura. Dimite ya (Respuesta a Tweet 12, 13/11/2022)

(10) Brigada feminista de observación organizada. Pero cuántos chiringos tienes Irenita? (Respuesta a Tweet 27, 29/06/2021)

(11) Irenita, y el ASESINATO de un bebé a manos de su madre se te ha pasado por alto? (Respuesta a Tweet 4, 28/02/2023)

(12) Julio Anguita se hubiese reído de ti y tu cara, marquesa (Respuesta a Tweet 7, 16/05/2023)

Otro recurso frecuente que se ha identificado en el corpus es el uso de la descortesía sarcástica, con la que los usuarios critican las políticas de igualdad que propone desde el Ministerio de Igualdad. Por ejemplo, en algunos tuits en los que Montero escribe sobre las medidas para proteger a las víctimas de agresiones sexuales, algunos/as usuarios/as le comentan que debería denunciar a su pareja, Pablo Iglesias, porque le ha agredido (13), o hacen afirmaciones irónicas sobre lo que es un «patriarcado opresor» según Montero (14):

(13) Madre miaaaa! Que [sic] techa [sic] hecho el coletas? Denuncialo [sic] (Respuesta a Tweet 3, 09/05/2023)

(14) Ah que las mujeres Dan a luz y los hombres no? PATRIARCADO OPRESOR. (Respuesta a Tweet 15, 13/12/2022)

Siguiendo con el análisis de nuestro corpus, otro tipo de descortesía recurrente es el de las amenazas y los insultos, especialmente aquellos que contienen un componente sexista. Por un lado, las amenazas más frecuentes que se escriben hacia la ministra tienen que ver con el poco tiempo que le queda para ejercer de ministra, debido a las elecciones generales de 2023. No obstante, con motivo de la Ley de Solo Sí es Sí, muchos usuarios amenazan con pedir la pena de prisión para Montero, debido a la controversia que ha generado la aplicación de dicha ley. Respecto a los insultos, algunos de ellos son *zorra*, *hija de puta*, *incompetente*, *traidora* o *hipócrita*, como se puede apreciar en estos ejemplos:

(15) Todo mal que te venga será celebrado, cerda. Te lo mereces todo y más (Respuesta a Tweet 9, 29/11/2022)

(16) hola zorra, el problema de los precios es que tu [sic] eres una hija de la gran puta (Respuesta a Tweet 5, 23/05/2023)

(17) La puta zorra de los cojones cojiendo [sic] dinero público para gastarlo en normalizar la homosexualidad la supremacía de la mujer y los travestis ah y los problemas de salud como puede ser la obesidad (Respuesta a Tweet 2, 24/05/2023)

En el ejemplo (15), se observa cómo en este comentario se le desea todo lo peor a la ministra y que se celebrará todo lo malo que le ocurra. En (16), en el tuit sobre el problema de la adquisición de una vivienda en España, se recurre a los calificativos *zorra* o *hija de la gran puta* al decir que el problema es ella. Y en (17), otro miembro descalifica a Montero con el calificativo sexista *puta zorra de los cojones* y la critica por usar dinero público para sus políticas. Por último, dentro de la tipología de descortesía de Culpeper (2010), se han identificado expresiones negativas, silenciadores y despidos. Dentro de esos recursos encontramos expresiones como *vete a la mierda* o *que te den* (expresiones negativas); expresiones que piden su silencio y que dimita como ministra (silenciadores); y expresiones con las que se pide que deje su cargo como ministra y que no vuelva (despidos):

(18) Vete a la mierda, Irene. A todos nos duele esta noticia pero te has callado como una puerta cuando la semana pasada una niña de 4 años

fue asesinada por su madre. Te importan un carajo los niños víctimas de violencia. Pero un carajo. Eres lo más indigno que hay (Respuesta a Tweet 25, 10/06/2021)

(19) ¿por qué no te callas YA? No dices más que sandeces #IreneMonteroDimision (Respuesta a Tweet 22, 14/12/2022)

(20) Que dimitas y dejes de decir bobadas! (Respuesta a Tweet 15, 13/12/2022)

(21) Vete ya! Eres lo peor que nos ha pasado, tú, que permites que nuestros abusadores se puedan decir mujeres (Respuesta a Tweet 9, 29/11/2022)

No obstante, se ha observado también que es muy recurrente el uso del lenguaje inclusivo en tono irónico (Carrillo, 2020), el uso de un lenguaje con connotaciones sexuales y las referencias a su estado civil o al hecho de ser mujer (Forgas Berdet, 2010). Por lo que se refiere al lenguaje inclusivo, Montero es una de las políticas que más lo utiliza y lo refleja tanto en sus discursos orales como en sus publicaciones en Twitter. De hecho, en nuestro corpus, muchos tuits contienen palabras con el morfema inclusivo *-e*, como se observa a continuación:

(22) Un par de puntos violetas más instalados por el ejército trans y se acaba con la violencie (Respuesta a Tweet 4, 28/02/2023)

(23) Pues que dejen de parasitar el día de la mujer, el de la visibilidadlésbica, el 25N, y tooooooooooo el mes del orgullo, ves? Os juntais [sic] tode le cuchipandi un día, y nos dejáis tranquilAs (Respuesta a Tweet 11, 31/03/2022)

Respecto al lenguaje con connotaciones sexuales, la mayoría de los comentarios dirigidos a Montero tiene que ver con cómo ha llegado a ejercer de ministra en el gobierno. En dichos comentarios, se busca invisibilizar sus logros profesionales al decir que es ministra gracias a su pareja. Por ejemplo, en (24), una de las preguntas tiene que ver con el número de relaciones sexuales ha mantenido para alcanzar el cargo de ministra, mientras que en (25) le preguntan si mantener relaciones sexuales con el jefe forma parte del feminismo. Esta última pregunta forma parte de una serie de comentarios en tono irónico con los que pretenden ridiculizar el discurso de Montero:

(24) Ministra cuantas po... Te comiste para llegar ahí? (Respuesta a Tweet 10, 22/11/2022)

(25) ¿Acostarse con el jefe para progresar laboralmente [sic] se considera feminismo? Pregunto (Respuesta a Tweet 22, 14/12/2022)

Por último, también hay referencias a su estado civil y al hecho de ser mujer. Como ya se ha avanzado en el párrafo anterior, muchos de los comentarios que se generan en el perfil de Montero hacen alusión a que su logro profesional se debe a su matrimonio con Pablo Iglesias (en uno de los ejemplos le califican de *rata chepuda*), pero, además, en algunos comentarios se refuerza su invisibilización como ministra al mencionar su papel como esposa y madre que debe atender a los hijos y que debe hacerse cargo del hogar:

(26) Eres una zorra impresentable ministra de mierda que estás ahí por lo que todos sabemos, el denominado coleras [sic] chepudo Vete a la... (Respuesta a Tweet 7, 16/05/2023)

(27) ¿A qué hora está [sic] mujer atiende a sus hijos? (Respuesta a Tweet 14, 26/11/2022)

(28) Ahora a la cocina (Respuesta a Tweet 23, 10/03/2022)

(29) menos twitter y más cuidar de la casa, que la rata chepuda tiene hambre (Respuesta a Tweet 12, 13/11/2022)

## 5. DISCUSIÓN

Como ya indicamos en la introducción, los objetivos que se plantearon para esta investigación eran analizar el empleo de la descortesía verbal sexista hacia Irene Montero en Twitter basándonos en las tipologías de descortesía propuestas por Culpeper et al. (2003), Culpeper (2010), Forgas Berdet (2010) y Carrillo (2020). Además, señalamos que parte de las descalificaciones no solo proceden de los grupos antifeministas, sino que también vienen del sector feminista transexcluyente, quienes critican a Montero por la inclusión de las mujeres trans en la lucha feminista. Tras el análisis cuantitativo y cualitativo, se ha podido comprobar que la muestra analizada de comentarios evidencia que la mayor parte de las descalificaciones pertenecen a los grupos antifeministas. En ambos análisis, hemos observado que los insultos más recurrentes son *feminazi*, para desacreditar sus discursos políticos en defensa del feminismo, y los adjetivos negativos *subnormal*, *incompetente*, *inútil*, *puta*, *cerda* y *zorra*. Sobre el término *feminazi*, coincidimos con Guerrero Salazar (2022, p. 11) en que, cuando se habla de feminismo en los

medios de comunicación, algunas columnas como las de Amando de Miguel relacionan el feminismo con Hitler y el nazismo. Por otra parte, cuando se habla de la inteligencia y la capacidad de Montero de ejercer como política, coincidimos con Verduzco et al. (2020, p. 82) en la idea de que, cuando los/as usuarios/as quieren referirse a la imagen femenina, tanto en el ámbito público como en el privado, se utiliza el término *puta* y la expresión *no sabe hacer nada*, mientras que, para hablar de la imagen masculina, las expresiones más frecuentes son que el hombre es *alguien moralmente digno* y que *lo sabe y lo puede todo*. También hemos observado que, tanto en el análisis de Sketch Engine como en el análisis crítico-discursivo, las descalificaciones hacia Montero van, en muchas ocasiones, acompañadas del uso frecuente del morfema *-e* o la creación de falsos desdoblamientos, que implican una forma de ridiculizar su uso del lenguaje inclusivo para incluir a las personas no binarias. En este aspecto, coincidimos con Alvarado (2019) en que, cuando se habla de lenguaje inclusivo, se crean «sustantivos y adjetivos, en masculino y en femenino, para demostrar que no es posible la comunicación» o «falsos neologismos de una manera irónica» (p.265).

Respecto a los contextos, en nuestro análisis crítico-discursivo la mayor parte de las descalificaciones se dan en temas como el uso del lenguaje inclusivo (ya que Irene Montero es la única dirigente que más ha empleado dicho lenguaje en sus discursos); el gasto de dinero público que emplea en campañas del Ministerio de Igualdad y en organismos feministas (calificados de *chiringuitos*); ignorar casos de violencia, como el asesinato de un bebé a manos de su madre (visto en los ejemplos 11 y 17); la aprobación de la Ley de Libertad Sexual o Solo Sí es Sí, que ha sido cuestionada, ya que muchos miembros de Twitter creen que dicha ley ha favorecido a abusadores más que a las mujeres; y la celebración del Día Internacional de la Mujer o el Día Mundial contra la Violencia de Género, donde los tuits de Montero han puesto en evidencia comentarios en los que se sigue negando la violencia machista.

Por último, de la tipología de Culpeper et al. (2003) y Culpeper (2010), los insultos no son la única estrategia recurrente, puesto que en nuestro análisis abundan tres tipos de descortesía: la descortesía negativa, la descortesía descarnada y la descortesía sarcástica. Por lo que se refiere a la descortesía negativa, esta va unida a la descortesía descarnada, puesto que, para atacar

a Montero, se tiende a ridiculizarla por no saber legislar o por no saber lo que dice en sus discursos, hasta el punto de tratarla con condescendencia al decirle lo que debe hacer, ya que, para algunos/as usuarios/as, no sabe hacer nada como ministra. No obstante, en algunos comentarios, procedentes en su mayoría de los sectores feministas transexcluyentes, se señala a Montero como una antítesis al feminismo, algo que ya señaló Guerrero Salazar (2022, p. 14) en su estudio sobre Amando de Miguel y las feministas, puesto que, culpar a las feministas de los males de la sociedad es algo que también se refleja en los comentarios hacia Montero, a quien se le atribuye la culpa de que aumenten los casos de violencia de género o la puesta en libertad de algunos violadores por su Ley del Solo Sí es Sí. Por lo que se refiere a la descortesía sarcástica, en la mayor parte de los comentarios se recurre a la ironía para atacar los discursos de la ministra. En ocasiones, esa ironía se presenta cuando la comunidad de Twitter crea nuevos términos a partir de los morfemas inclusivos como forma de ridiculización hacia Montero. De hecho, Carrillo (2020) señala que se trata de «un exceso de cortesía innecesaria que llega a provocar en última instancia un efecto al inverso que, a nuestro entender, persigue la ridiculización de la imagen pública de la política» (p. 248).

Además de esos tres tipos de descortesía, el uso de apodos, el nombre de pila y los diminutivos también juegan un papel fundamental en las descalificaciones hacia la ministra. El apodo más común es el de *marquesa*, con el que la comunidad de Twitter la critica por la adquisición de una vivienda en el municipio madrileño de Galapagar, y, además, los/as usuarios/as se dirigen más por su nombre o incluso su diminutivo (*Irenita*) que por su apellido. Además de estas estrategias, la segunda estrategia sexista más frecuente es la de las referencias a su condición civil, puesto que la comunidad de Twitter considera que los logros profesionales de Montero como política y ministra han sido gracias a su pareja y no por sus propios méritos. En esta idea, coincidimos con Forgas Berdet (2010, p. 18) en que, cuando en los medios de comunicación se habla de una dirigente política, en todo momento se recuerda a la audiencia su estado civil, especialmente si está casada con otro dirigente político.



## 6. CONCLUSIONES

A modo de conclusión, este estudio sobre la descortesía verbal ha demostrado varias cosas: en primer lugar, Twitter es una plataforma donde se puede descalificar libremente sin ninguna «responsabilidad de la ofensa o el ataque» (Campillo, 2016, p. 47). Por lo tanto, esta red social supone un espacio ideal para difundir la descortesía, puesto que goza de «libertad expresiva y un mecanismo de desfogue emocional», y, además, «se trata de un mundo ficticio y virtual que parece despersonalizar cualquier acción» (Campillo, 2016, p. 47). En segundo lugar, cuando se recurre a la descortesía hacia las mujeres, el sexismo sigue estando presente en los discursos. De hecho, Irene Montero, a pesar de sus discursos a favor del feminismo transincluyente y sus políticas de Igualdad, no solo recibe comentarios antifeministas por parte de hombres, sino que también un sector del feminismo radical la descalifica por ser una antítesis del feminismo. Sus medidas para erradicar las discriminaciones hacia las mujeres son siempre cuestionadas, puesto que la comunidad de Twitter cree que hay problemas más importantes que tratar cuestiones feministas. Se la ridiculiza y se la infantiliza cuando se cuestiona su forma de ejercer como ministra y cuando recurre a un lenguaje para incluir a las personas de género no binario. Sus logros laborales siguen siendo cuestionados, ya que se cree que es ministra debido a la influencia de su pareja, Pablo Iglesias, y que dichos logros los ha alcanzado por mantener relaciones sexuales con su jefe. A pesar de que cada vez más se mencionan a mujeres por sus apellidos, todavía hay comentarios que emplean su nombre de pila o incluso añaden diminutivos como *Irenita*. Por último, no solo se menciona su condición de «mujer de», sino que Twitter también hace eco de su condición de madre, que debe hacerse cargo del hogar y de sus hijos, en lugar de ser ministra. En definitiva, esta investigación ha demostrado ser un estudio en el que la descortesía verbal y el sexismo van unidas de la mano cuando se trata de criticar a las mujeres políticas a través de su imagen pública y privada. De hecho, como ya comentaron Piñeiro-Otero y Martínez-Rolán (2021), «Twitter se revela como un entorno especial tóxico para comunicadoras y, sobre todo, políticas [...]», y esta hostilidad hacia las periodistas y las políticas «debería situarse en el marco del nuevo discurso antifeminista online» (p. 10). Es más, con esta investigación pretendemos

aportar una contribución más al estudio de la descortesía hacia las políticas dentro del ámbito de la lingüística hispánica y de los estudios de género.

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# MERCEDES COROMINAS: LA AUTORREALIZACIÓN DE UNA AERONAUTA A PRINCIPIOS DEL SIGLO XX

## MERCEDES COROMINAS: THE SELF-REALISATION OF AN AERONAUT AT THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

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### Resumen

El objetivo de este texto es presentar a la catalana Mercedes Corominas, una de las primeras aeronautas del mundo, que despuntó exhibiendo ascensiones en un globo aerostático y arriesgados ejercicios gimnásticos a principios del siglo XX. Así desde una perspectiva histórica, se han trazado las vivencias de una mujer «intrépida» y «transgresora», tratando de esclarecer las vicisitudes biográficas de una vida ilusionada por la aventura y la supervivencia.

Una revisión y análisis de las noticias en las fuentes hemerográficas históricas entre España, Portugal y Brasil sugestionan una hermenéutica biográfica de la protagonista en torno a los estudios de género. Primeramente, a través de una narrativa positivista que proporcionan las noticias de los periódicos de la época, se destaca un suceso de violencia machista que perturba la vida de la protagonista. Posteriormente, se considera la fuerza de voluntad y el coraje de Mercedes Corominas hacia la realización de un sueño: convertirse en aeronauta de globos aerostáticos. Mediante el seguimiento en periódicos y revistas, se descubren noticias de la continuidad de la protagonista y se aprecia una etapa

de emancipación, que la convierte en una popular gimnasta y pilota de globos aerostáticos. Son momentos de plena autorrealización personal y profesional, pero las nuevas circunstancias la trasladan a Latinoamérica a la conquista de nuevos proyectos. En suma, este particular estudio revela los estereotipos patriarcales de principios del siglo XX y, asimismo, la capacidad de resiliencia que tuvieron muchas mujeres para manifestar sus anhelos con independencia y determinación. Sin duda, Mercedes Corominas, la primera mujer española en pilotar un globo aerostático, ofrece uno de los muchos ejemplos de mujeres autorrealizadas que anunciaban al nuevo siglo el cambio social que estaban disputas a protagonizar.

**Palabras clave:** perspectiva de género; violencia machista; aeronáutica; gimnástica; Barcelona; siglo XX; espectáculos; deporte.

### Abstract

The aim of this text is to present Catalan woman aeronaut Mercedes Corominas, one of the world's first aviators who made her name by performing hot-air balloon ascents and risky gymnastic exercises at the beginning of the 20th century. Thus, from a historical perspective, the experiences of an «intrepid» and «transgressive» woman have been traced, trying to shed light on the biographical vicissitudes of a life full of enthusiasm for adventure and survival.

A review and analysis of the news in the historical newspaper sources between Spain, Portugal and Brazil suggest a biographical hermeneutic of the protagonist in terms of gender studies. Firstly, through a positivist narrative provided by the newspaper reports of the time, an event of macho violence that disturbs the protagonist's life is highlighted. Subsequently, Mercedes Corominas's willpower and courage are considered to make her dream come true: becoming a hot-air balloon pilot. Through the monitoring of newspapers and magazines, news of the continuity of the protagonist are discovered and a stage of emancipation is appreciated, which makes her a popular gymnast and hot-air balloon pilot. These are moments of full personal and professional self-realisation, but new circumstances take her to Latin America to conquer new projects. In short, this particular study reveals the patriarchal stereotypes of the early 20th century, and, likewise, the resilience of many women manifesting their desires with freedom and determination. Without doubt, Mercedes Corominas, the first Spanish woman to pilot a hot-air balloon, give us one of the many examples of self-realised women who announced the social change they were ready to bring about to the new century.

**Keywords:** gender perspective; sexist violence; aeronautics; gymnastics; Barcelona; twentieth century; shows; sport.

## 1. INTRODUCCIÓN

En el campo de las prácticas gimnástico-deportivas en España, la primera provocación de signo feminista se sitúa a mediados del siglo XIX con la presencia de la vallisoletana Teresa Castellanos de Mesa, primera profesora de gimnástica y esgrima (Torrebadella, 2013). Pero ello sucedía en un momento en el que las ejercitaciones gimnásticas re-construían los modelos corporales contrapuestos acordes a una heterosexualidad normativa (Mauri y Torrebadella, 2021). De todos modos, la actividad gimnástico-deportiva de la mujer quedó relegada al ostracismo (Torrebadella, 2011); y solamente a finales del siglo XIX, en la configuración de los primeros estudios gimnásticos, se desvelaron las primeras profesoras oficiales de «Gimnástica» que defendieron una profesión liberal con una clara voluntad de emancipación femenina, en un campo fuertemente arraigado a la masculinidad (Torrebadella y López-Villar, 2016).

En efecto, en la historiografía española del deporte, los estudios que evocan los comienzos femeninos se inician tardíamente. Entre los más significativos (Caspistegui, 2004, 2006; García García, 2015; López Villar, 2017; Simón, 2009; Torrebadella, 2016), las autorías coinciden en la línea apuntada por Caspistegui (2004): la España de principios del siglo XX no estaba socialmente preparada para la irrupción de la mujer en el deporte, cuyos inicios fueron marginales. Por otro lado, en toda Europa las prácticas deportivas estaban sujetas al relato regeneracionista de la «moderna masculinidad» (Mosse, 2000). En el caso español, la ciudad de Barcelona representaba el paradigma más dinámico de esta nueva identidad en las expresiones de género (Torrebadella y Gutiérrez-García, 2022). La misma condesa Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851-1921) rendía simpatía a la *nueva masculinidad* que cultivaban «los ardorosos y saludables ejercicios atléticos» de la vida anglosajona; formas de cultura que venían a «robustecer y mejorar la raza» (Pardo Bazán, 1906, p. 554). Ahora bien, como apunta López-Villar (2017, p. 141), ya entonces, algunas de las prácticas femeninas manifestaban una actitud provocadora y desafiante. Por un lado, la masculinidad se veía amenazada con la presencia de la mujer en aquellos deportes considerados de violencia y riesgo: la práctica de la mujer en estos deportes se convertía en una imagen transgresora del espacio masculino. Por otro lado, la sociedad, en general,

no entendía las rebeldías feministas y se inquietaba ante la masculinización deportiva de la mujer y en la misma vida cotidiana.

Dentro de este marco, el objeto de estudio aborda la figura de Mercedes Corominas Nicasia (1886-1926), la primera mujer española en pilotar, por cuenta propia, un globo aerostático y hacer de esta práctica gimnástica-acrobática una profesión. La singular trayectoria profesional de esta mujer se inició en abril de 1905 en Barcelona. Sin embargo, como a continuación se verá, un desafortunado incidente marcó su destino y el deseo de vivir de la aventura y del espectáculo itinerante por España, Portugal y América.

Si bien Mercedes Corominas no es una desconocida (González Granda, 1990; López Villar, 2017; Rocamora, 1948; Torredadella-Flix, 2014), no existen estudios que atiendan particularmente su vida personal y profesional. Aparte, fuera de los estereotipos de mujeres contempladas en el corpus de la *literatura feminista*, son muy pocas las obras de referencia para poder completar y comprender cómo era la vida –privada y pública– de aquellas mujeres que a principios del siglo XX desearon mostrarse auténticamente genuinas y muy diferentes a lo que la sociedad patriarcal de aquella época esperaba.

Por consiguiente, este estudio pone en valor el alcance de Mercedes Corominas en el campo del deporte, pero, sobre todo, en el contexto de una España social y culturalmente rezagada en el avance feminista y las conquistas democráticas. Así, el objetivo de este artículo es personificar uno de los tantos *feminismos silenciados* en la historia. Concretamente se pretende visibilizar la singular autorrealización de Mercedes Corominas en el paradigma social y las vicisitudes de una «mujer no notable» y *descartada* por la cultura dominante (Nash, 1985). En suma, re-conocer a Mercedes Corominas en el entorno de las prácticas deportivas «transgresoras» y los estereotipos no feminizados de la mujer de principios del siglo XX (López Villar, 2017).

La metodología parte de la revisión de fuentes históricas. Se han consultado periódicos y revistas gráficas en portales digitales: Arxiu de Revistes Catalanes Antiques (ARCA), Hemeroteca de la Biblioteca Nacional de España (HBNE), Galiciana: Biblioteca Dixital de Galicia, Biblioteca Virtual de Andalucía, Biblioteca Virtual de la Prensa Histórica, Hemeroteca Digital Municipal de Lisboa (HDML) y Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira.

Ciertamente el estudio atiende a un relato histórico de corte positivista, pero también sujeto a un discurso social y de género, en tanto que se centra



en las vidas de las *otras mujeres*, no menos representativas e importantes, al margen de las llamadas «mujeres notables». Estas *otras* también son protagonistas históricas de las luchas sociales y feministas (Nash, 1985).

Asimismo, para abordar la historia de género y las violencias machistas se analizan noticias de las crónicas de sucesos y sentencias judiciales. Como menciona Ramírez Ruiz (2015), esta pesquisa es «una fuente rica en la información dentro de los parámetros mentales y legales de su tiempo. Pero, al mismo tiempo, una fuente aún más interesante si se trabaja sobre ella aplicando la visión de género y las metodologías epistemológicas» (p. 153). Además, las noticias y crónicas de las sentencias judiciales, aunque la información no sea del todo precisa, aportan relevantes notas de los tribunales (Aldave, 2018). En suma, todo este campo metodológico-documental es el utilizado en el presente estudio.

En cuanto a la hermenéutica se aborda un enfoque de género a partir de una historia de vida. En primer lugar, se destaca un suceso de violencia machista que afecta a la protagonista. Seguidamente, se considera el empoderamiento de Mercedes Corominas hacia la autorrealización de un sueño: el pilotar un globo aerostático. Continúa con una etapa de emancipación, que la convierte en propietaria de un globo aerostático y alcanza la autorrealización personal y profesional. Para concluir, llega el desenlace hacia la conquista de nuevos proyectos de vida que se desenvuelven en el nuevo continente.

## 2. LA MUJER EN LA BARCELONA DEL «NUEVO SIGLO»

En la España de principios del siglo XX, la concepción de una sociedad aristotélica y androcéntrica, en la que las mujeres encarnaban el origen de todos los males, permanecía muy identificada en el imaginario del patriarcado, sobre todo, en el marco mental católico-conservador. Además, la construcción liberal y mítica sobre el origen deportivo del Estado, ejemplificado en «el rapto de las sabinas» –tesis de Ortega y Gasset (1966) –, alimentaban la idealización romántica y medievalista de *una mujer de un solo hombre*. El maniqueísmo religioso sobre la mujer y la superposición de los estereotipos burgueses de la feminidad roussoniana sostenían los fundamentos morales de una sociedad patriarcal; una sociedad en donde las mujeres habían sido despojadas de todo protagonismo, separadas de la esfera pública y asimiladas al proceso de civilización en la invención de la mujer burguesa (Varela, 1997).

Efectivamente, como consideraba Carmen de Burgos (1867-1932), el estancamiento cultural de las clases medias confirmaba «mucho del espíritu señorial de la Edad Media», fijándose en aquella educación de adorno que nada tenía que ver con el realismo de las labores domésticas que les aguardaba (De Burgos, 1906, p. 30).

Así, en el siglo XX, la idea de la mujer asalariada –o libre– era estigmatizada por la cultura católico-burguesa y hacía de esta un ser dependiente del matrimonio y del auxilio económico del marido (Nash, 1983). En España no existían pues, aparte de las esferas racionalistas del anarquismo y socialistas, fuerzas liberales y positivistas capaces de sostener un movimiento ideológico y feminista que cuestionase el lastre de la tradición (Aresti, 2000).

Ciertamente, fue el activismo y la desobediencia de las propias mujeres la palanca que desniveló la sociedad tradicional. La lógica capitalista utilizó los estereotipos de la *mujer nueva* para impulsar la modernidad y nuevos campos de producción y de consumo. La recreación de marcos sicalípticos utilizados por las artistas –del teatro, del canto, del baile, de la música, o de la gimnástica y el circo...– (Zubiaurre, 2015), y otras mujeres deseosas de emancipación, al montar en bicicleta, ejercitarse en la esgrima, vestir con pantalones, lucir trajes de baño, hacer de chóferes de automóvil, de toreras o futbolistas, eran las que atentaban a los valores de la masculinidad moderna.

No obstante, las canónicas fuerzas del patriarcado todavía situaban a las mujeres en la predestinación; la idealización de una mujer dócil, sumisa y obediente, buena hija, dulce novia, fiel esposa, abnegada madre y «ángel del hogar», marcaban el *equilibrio* social. Con lo cual, los dispositivos de feminización de la mujer burguesa, depósito de costumbres y de marcos mentales del antiguo régimen, prevalecían y sostenían los ejes moralizadores de una sociedad dominante que se resistía a los cambios republicanos. Incluso los hombres de ciencia y de progreso social buscaban argumentos, en donde no los había, para apoyar la inferioridad de las mujeres (Tacoronte, 2014).

En cuanto a Barcelona, era la primera fuerza industrial de España; una ciudad cosmopolita y liberal cuyo tejido urbano de clases medias, y un movimiento obrero cada vez más cohesionado, acogía positivamente los derechos democráticos y sociales. Ahora bien, como apunta Bahamonde (2011), también era la ciudad en la que «surgió el primer tejido deportivo, sobre la base de una nutrida red de asociaciones que ágilmente mantenían el diálogo

entre deporte y política, por la militancia de algunos de sus miembros, y aseguraban las relaciones con el extranjero» (pp. 98-99).

Dentro de este contexto, el activismo de la sabadellense Teresa Claramunt (1862-1931), procesada y encarcelada en varias ocasiones, solamente por divulgar sus ideas de justicia social, representaba la pujanza del feminismo librepensador (Pradas, 2006; Vicente, 2005). En 1905 Claramunt respondía a los problemas sociales de la mujer con claridad y contundencia: «la principal causa del atraso de la mujer está en el absurdo principio de la superioridad que el hombre se atribuye» (como se citó en Pradas, 2006, p. 200). Se descubre, pues, que las principales reivindicaciones feministas en Barcelona se encontraban en las capas obreras y asalariadas que trataban de agruparse en movimientos sindicales, para reivindicar mejores laborales, verbigracia: la Sociedad Autónoma de Mujeres (1892-1898).

Por otro lado, la preocupación social de las capas conservadoras se hacía cada vez más sensible. Las *feministas* barcelonesas se mostraban diáfaramente transgresoras, invadían el espacio público, desautorizaban la tradición y los convencionalismos moralizantes. Ciertamente, la sociedad pudiente acusaba a «los delirios de los feministas dogmáticos y de cuantos se dicen apóstoles de la emancipación de la mujer», de «ser bandera de escuelas disolventes y anarquistas» (González Blanco, 1904, p. 7).

Ahora bien, ante la ausencia pública de un *feminismo radical*, existía un bisoño *pensamiento feminista* que venía de la intelectualidad burguesa. En este paradigma se destacaba la omnipresente Emilia Pardo. Pero al margen, existían otras voces censuradas que sufrían el poder represivo y la violencia física del Estado (Tacoronte, 2014).

Efectivamente, la emancipación de las mujeres se encontraba en la cuestión social nuclear de principios del siglo y, por consiguiente, las controversias que planteaba el feminismo cuestionaban una sociedad que deseaba aparentar modernidad, progreso y civilización. Este marco se visibilizaba especialmente en Barcelona. Allí todos deseaban emanciparse: el nacionalismo catalán, la clase proletaria y, también, las mujeres feministas y libres pensadoras. Desde finales del siglo XIX en Barcelona se alojaba un cultivado círculo feminista que venía favorecido por Teresa Claramunt, Ángeles López de Ayala y Dolores Zea, el Colegio de la «Sociedad Progresiva Femenina» y el periódico *El Progreso* –órgano de las sociedades femeninas democráticas

españolas– o en la misma Escuela Moderna de Francisco Ferrer y Guardia (Cortada, 2008). Otro aspecto del feminismo más moderado quedaba encarnado en las reconocidas figuras de Dolors Monserdà i Vidal (1845-1919), que representaba una posición católica (Monserdà, 1908), o el feminismo catalanista y liberal de Carmen Karr i Alfonsetti (1865-1943), que se divulgaba a través de la revista mensual *Feminal de La Il·lustració Catalana* (Muñoz, 2012; Nash, 1983).

La emancipación económica de las mujeres era la aspiración del feminismo del nuevo siglo. Naturalmente, esta era la idealización que concurría en los discursos de las esferas ideológicas socialistas y, sobre todo, en los círculos anarquistas. Ambos luchaban por el convencimiento de que la mujer «saldrá de su aislamiento y de su inconsciencia y empezará a formar parte de la vanguardia progresista del siglo nuevo que, según se ha predicho ya por algunos, será el siglo de la mujer» (Montefiore, 1903, p. 11).

En efecto, como mencionaba De Burgos (1906, p. 14), Cataluña era «la región más floreciente de España; en ella la mujer encuentra ocupación en las industrias, muy desarrolladas, y su suerte es mejor que en las otras provincias». De aquí que los discursos del movimiento obrero también buscasen las complicidades de las mujeres para cohesionar fuerzas en la lucha social. Ahora bien, para este movimiento, las *mujeres libres* eran aquellas que podían emanciparse de la explotación fabril para vivir dignas de los quehaceres domésticos, de la familia, de la «misión elevada, siendo esposas y siendo madres y no como esclavas ni como instrumentos de explotación» (*Solidaridad Obrera*, 16/11/1907, p. 1).

### 3. CRÓNICA DE UN SUCESO DE VIOLENCIA MACHISTA

Las primeras noticias que aparecen de Mercedes Corominas tienen relación con un dramático suceso: fue víctima de un *crimen pasional*. Los periódicos de Barcelona –*La Publicidad*, *El Diluvio* y *La Veu de Catalunya*– ofrecieron detalladas crónicas. Se cuenta que sufrió tres puñaladas asestadas por su marido, pero que logró salvar la vida. No obstante, hay que considerar que este tipo de crónicas alimentaban la curiosidad popular y desprendían anécdotas y detalles que invadían el ámbito privado (Aldave, 2018).

La joven Mercedes contrajo matrimonio con otro joven de Barcelona, llamado Andrés Suñé Gispert –Sunyé (Suñé) o Junyent–, pero la falta de

recursos los llevó a vivir con los padres de Mercedes. Ambos trabajaban en una fábrica de aprestos textiles, pero fueron despedidos por causas ajenas al trabajo. Contaba la vecindad que los suegros tenían carácter arisco, y que el marido se entregaba más al juego de los naipes y las tabernas «que las herramientas del trabajo, por lo que hubo de sufrir varios arrestos gubernativos» (*La Publicidad*, 25/10/1904, p. 2). De aquí la debilitada convivencia conyugal que pronto perdió la armonía con riñas y peleas. El conflicto apartó al marido de la casa para vivir por cuenta propia y sin Mercedes. Se cuenta que, durante varias veces, «las reconciliaciones aseguraron la paz del hogar conyugal por muy poco tiempo» (*La Publicidad*, 25/10/1904, p. 2). No obstante, se repetía la situación y Andrés se veía obligado a marchar de la casa de sus suegros y de su esposa. Según los conocidos, el joven llevaba una vida de tarambana y vagancia. Así decía *La Publicidad* (25/10/1904, p. 2): «no faltan aficionados a lo pasional que buscan en supuestas infidelidades la clave de estas desavenencias conyugales, y en un acceso de celos la explicación del sangriento epílogo que aquellas han tenido esta mañana». Al parecer, la desconfianza y los celos marcaron la relación, días antes de la prevista ascensión en globo de Mercedes con el conocido capitán Dardé:

Entre las compañeras de Mercedes llegóse a poner en duda la fidelidad de ésta a su esposo, y hasta, según se dice, llegaron a facilitar a éste pruebas de tal peso que le convencieron de su desgracia, motivando estos chismes, más o menos fundados, la separación de los esposos. (*El Diluvio*, 26/10/1904, p. 9-10)

Pues bien, el 25 de octubre, hacia las once de la mañana, Andrés –de 27 años– se presentó en casa de Mercedes –n.º 23 c/ Sant Pacià– y, durante una tensa discusión en el portal, le asestó tres puñaladas: en el brazo, en la parte superior del pecho y en el costado abdominal. Mercedes salió a la calle pidiendo auxilio y fue trasladada al hospital de la Santa Cruz, con pronóstico muy grave. Andrés fue detenido inmediatamente por un guardia municipal, y comentó: «he muerto a mi mujer, pero ella tenía la culpa». Se cuenta que Andrés imploró a las vecinas «que compareciesen en el Juzgado a demostrar la infidelidad de su esposa» (*El Diluvio*, 26/10/1904, pp. 9-10).

En aquellos tiempos, decía el criminólogo Bernaldo de Quirós (1906), en los *crímenes pasionales* –o de violencia machista–, el móvil venía casi siempre

de un problema sexual o económico. En cuanto a la descripción del agresor, apuntaba al estereotipo del obrero bronco:

Viste el agresor con la achulapada manera de los organilleros, americana negra, pantalón de pana bombacho y boina. Su rostro es vulgar, de facciones duras a las que quitan la expresión unos ojos grises de mirar frío y poco franco. (*La Publicidad*, 25/10/1904, p. 2)

Parece, pues, que el marido de Mercedes encaja en el perfil del obrero que caracterizaba las frecuentes agresiones machistas a principios del siglo pasado:

El perfil del maltratador es el de un varón, de mediana edad (34 años) [...] Todos son declarados insolventes. La mitad de ellos tienen instrucción, aunque en algunos casos se especifica que «elemental» o «sabe leer y escribir». [...] Los agresores son mayoritariamente los maridos, concretamente el 61%, sin embargo, de manera muy significativa, la mitad de ellos (50%) vivían separados de su mujer/víctima en el momento de la agresión. (Ramírez Ruiz, 2015, p. 140)

Efectivamente, Barcelona era una ciudad cosmopolita y desenvuelta, que satisfacía el ocio de una opulenta clase burguesa y que se enorgullecía del regeneracionismo catalán, modernista y de distinción cultural; también de un proceso de unificación política del catalanismo (De Riquer, 2001). Ahora bien, por otro lado, escondía una sociedad con grandes desigualdades sociales y ambientes turbios (Bembo, 1912).

El 6 de mayo de 1905, la Sección 2.<sup>a</sup> del Tribunal de Barcelona señaló el juicio oral contra el marido de Mercedes. El procesado dispuso de la defensa del letrado Enrique Gal. Se decía que «de la prueba testifical resultó que la lesionada, falta de trabajo, y con consentimiento de su marido se dedicaba a las lidias taurinas, como señorita torera, y a las ascensiones de globo» (*La Publicidad*, 25/10/1904, p. 2). El abogado fiscal acusó al procesado de autor de un delito con el «agravante de parentesco» y pidió dos años y dos meses de prisión y el pago de las costas. Por su parte, el abogado defensor argumentó que el acusado había actuado en «legítima defensa, por haber sido maltratado de obra por su mujer, y alternativamente, que concurrían los atenuantes de arrebató y obcecación» (*La Publicidad*, 25/10/1904, p. 2).

Se desconoce la sentencia final, pero, en cualquier caso, en España –como en Italia y Portugal– no se permitía el divorcio; una situación anacrónica y

de atraso cultural que perjudicaba gravemente a la mujer. Así se refería De Burgos:

El hombre es más fuerte; las costumbres toleran muchas de sus faltas, hasta el punto de llamar el Código adulterio a la de la mujer y absolver al marido que la mata, mientras que denomina sólo infidelidad a la del hombre y nada atenúa la venganza de la esposa. (De Burgos, 1904, p. 42)

#### 4. EL EMPODERAMIENTO DE MERCEDES

Mercedes se ejercitó corporalmente asistiendo a los gimnasios de Fidel Bricall, de Amadeo Llaverías –gimnasio de Colón– y de Arturo Santanach, eran los mejores de la ciudad (*Los Deportes*, 2/09/1905, p. 57). La asiduidad en estos gimnasios en los que se preparaban físicamente muchos profesionales del espectáculo gimnástico-acrobático posibilitó que Mercedes conociese a personas que se dedicaban a esta profesión (Dalmau, 1947), entre ellos el capitán Dardé –o Josep Darder–. Dardé era un apuesto joven que se estableció en Barcelona y viajó con su globo Montgolfier por muchas poblaciones españolas. En Barcelona, también dirigió funciones de gimnástica acrobática, taurina y de globos aerostáticos hasta mediados de los años veinte.

A principios de siglo Barcelona se había convertido en una escuela de aeronautas, incluso había una empresa de construcción de globos aerostáticos. En poco tiempo se dieron a conocer destacados pilotos: Juan Camprubí, capitán Gimeno, José Farriols, capitán Vilaregut (Jaime Sunyé Vilaregut), capitán Dardé, capitán Josep Ibars Claveria, Francisco Vidal, capitán Juan Gabarró, José Figueras Cuatrecasas, Elias Calvo, Vicente Purroy, y otros tantos, algunos de los cuales perecieron en plena actividad profesional (Artis, 1918; Brotons, 2012).

En la plaza de toros «Antigua» (Barceloneta), para el domingo 9 de abril de 1905, a las cuatro horas, se anunciaba una ascensión doble del capitán Dardé con el restaurado globo «Ville de Lyon», en compañía de la señora Mercedes Corominas, que ambos brindarían «por la prosperidad de la nación española» (*El Diluvio*, 7/04/1905, p. 4). Parece que esta fue la primera y accidentada actuación de Mercedes:

Cuando el aerostato estuvo en condiciones de elevarse sujetáronse ambos aeronautas en dos sillas fuertemente amarradas con listones, y al grito de «suelten todos» empezó el globo a elevarse paulatinamente, y apenas

traspuestos los muros de la Plaza descendió en el paseo del Cementerio. Cerca el globo de tierra, deslizóse por una cuerda el capitán Dardé; pero apenas hubo tocado el suelo, elevóse de nuevo el globo, perdido lastre, llevándose a la aeronauta, la cual sujetóse fuertemente en su asiento, dispuesta a arrostrar el peligro que pudiera haberle en su inesperada ascensión. Afortunadamente, descendió pronto el aeróstato, frente a los cuarteles nuevos «el Parque, en la amplia plazoleta en que hacen instrucción los reclutas, y allí se deslizó por la cuerda la valerosa mujer, algo pálida, pero serena». (*El Diluvio*, 10/04/ 1905, p. 9)

Para el domingo siguiente, Mercedes estaba dispuesta a colgarse de un trapecio, tal y como habían realizado otros intrépidos aeronautas: «La capitana de los aires doña Mercedes va a demostrar que eso de elevarse en globo es algo tan fácil como hacer calceta [...] capitana y capitán ocuparán su trapecio respectivo, naturalmente» (*El Diluvio*, 10/04/1905, p. 9).

En aquellos momentos, solamente *Los Deportes* (Barcelona, 1897-1910) –la prestigiosa revista ilustrada de cultura física que llegaba a toda España, fundada por el librepensador Josep Lluas y Pujals (1852-1905) y Narciso Masferrer y Sala (1867-1941)– ofrecía el apoyo a la forja de un deporte femenino sin límites. Por eso se pedía más atención a la educación física escolar y, a la vez, difundir la gimnástica y el deporte «por todos los medios para crear juventudes femeninas, no como hoy raquílicas y enclenques, sino sanas, con buen desarrollo, llenas de vida y lozanía» (Llaverías, 1905c, p. 491). Al propósito, se mencionaba que Mercedes se había propuesto crear una posición independiente y que estaba próxima a conseguirlo:

Debido a su presencia de ánimo y a su arrogo, nombradía no le falta; lo cual la coloca al lado de otras muchas mujeres (que aun siendo una excepción) han sobresalido en todo tiempo, demostrando que el llamado sexo débil, lo mismo en los ejercicios de fuerza y resistencia que en las más arriesgadas pruebas de coraje y de valor, puede llegar a valer tanto como el sexo fuerte. (*Los Deportes*, 2/09/1905, p. 57)

Por su parte, Amadeo Llaverías Roviroso (1871-1935), director del gimnasio de Colón y redactor de *Los Deportes* (Torrebadella, 2018), declaraba la intención de proteger aquellas pocas mujeres que ya estaban demostrando la capacidad de asemejarse física e intelectualmente a los hombres:

¿Qué de particular tiene que la mujer llegue a escalar los más altos e inaccesibles picos del Himalaya, que sea a veces intrépida aeronauta o infatigable



nadadora, o que se la halle en los circos haciendo un sin fin de habilidades atléticas, ecuestres y de todo género, si por otro lado la vemos heroínas [sic] en la guerra, infatigable en el trabajo por rudo y pesado que se le busque, así también como penetrar en jaulas de fieras, habérselas con los toros, etc., etc.?

Así va ello; la mujer es, en muchos casos, es [sic] tan fuerte y más ágil que el hombre y no digo si fugará a veces su genio en libros y otras grandes producciones debidas a su mentalidad. (Llaverías, 1905b, p. 608)

Probablemente, estas palabras de Llaverías fueron influenciadas al observar los ejercicios gimnásticos de Mercedes. Efectivamente, *Los Deportes* ofreció noticias de la aeronauta y promocionó su imagen: una mujer, que suspendida de un aerostato y colgada de unas anillas, realizaba arriesgados ejercicios mientras era conducida hasta el mar, punto en el que se iniciaba el descenso; toda una atracción que demostraba que las mujeres podían semejarse a los aventajados acróbatas de la aerostación. *Los Deportes* honró a la joven con varias crónicas y una portada [figura 1].

Figura 1. La capitana Mercedes



**LA CAPITANA MERCEDES**  
INTRÉPIDA AERONAUTA

El domingo próximo pasado hizo su última ascensión con el colosal *montgolfier*, *Barcino*. Poco antes de la ascensión hubo un conato de incendio en la cúpula del aerostato, lo cual no fué óbice para que la señora Corominas emprendiera valerosa su viaje y sin que tampoco hiciera mella en su ánimo el fuerte viento que en aquellos instantes imperaba. Al sojarsarse las amarras, prorrumió el público en una estrondosa salva de aplausos, comentando, admirado, los ejercicios de anillas que, á gran altura, efectuaba tan intrépida aeronautía.

Después de un viaje completamente feliz, tuvo efecto el descenso en el mar, acudiendo prontamente en su auxilio las dos embarcaciones que para este servicio se hallaban de antemano contratadas.





**LA AERONAUTA**  
**Doña Mercedes Corominas**



El próximo lunes volvió á remontarse desde la Plaza de Toros vieja, y sin otro aparato que un trapazo sencillo en el que hizo algunas figuras y evoluciones de no poca terribilidad.

El descenso fué de los más felices, pues tuvo efecto en el punto de carrerajes que circunda la espaciosa Plaza de Tetuilla.

Como es de rigor en tales casos, acudió allí una pareja de guardias municipales á caballo, que auxiliada por los de á pie mantuvo á raya la natural curiosidad de la gran multitud allí atascadamente congregada desde todos los límites de nuestra ciudad.



Fuente: *Los Deportes*, 30/09/1905, p. 601; Portada, 14/10/1905. ARCA

El espectáculo causaba una gran sensación, todo salía como era de esperar y Mercedes adquiría reconocimiento y prestigio. Las actuaciones para

las semanas siguientes, en las plazas de toros de Barcelona, se publicitaban con grandes carteles. Periódicos populares como *El Diluvio* anunciaban las ascensiones de quien era la única mujer que en España se atrevía a desafiar uno de los dominios más considerados de la masculinidad: «la mujer más valiente del mundo, no hay otra, la arrojada Capitana Doña Mercedes» (*El Diluvio*, 15/04/1905, p. 4); «Capitana Mercedes», «Reina de los aires», «mujer cometa» (*El Diluvio*, 14/09/1905, p. 3); «la mujer cometa, la mujer voladora, la reina de los aires, sin rival», «completamente sola sin más apoyo que unas anillas» (*El Diluvio*, 24/09/1905, p. 4); «horripilante ascensión con el trapecio completamente sola.– Arrojo varonil.– La mujer más valiente del mundo.– El águila humana.– *Non plus ultra*.– Desprendimiento, temeridad y sangre fría» (*El Diluvio*, 30/09/1905, p. 3).

La muerte del barcelonés Vicente Purroy Gracia, en su primera ascensión pública –6 de agosto de 1905–, al caerse y golpear contra el empedrado de la calle Caspe, provocó la reacción pública. En vista de los fatídicos accidentes se pedía a las empresas garantizar la completa seguridad del espectáculo y prohibir las ascensiones a quienes no hubiesen demostrado suficiente pericia en la profesión (*La Publicidad*, 7/08/1905, p. 3). Ante la probable suspensión de los previstos espectáculos de aeronautas noveles de ambos sexos, se manifestó Llaverías. Pedía una mejor formación gimnástica y técnica de los aeronautas y ofrecer más recursos para organizar este tipo de espectáculos, pero no abogar «para que desaparezcan estos espectáculos interin subsistan las corridas de toros, novilladas, tiro de piedra al palomo, domadores de fieras y otros actos anacrónicos; de temeridad unos y de salvajismo los más» (Llaverías, 1905a, p. 532).

La muerte de Purroy provocó una temporal suspensión de todas las ascensiones aerostáticas. En parte, pudo ser uno de los motivos que hiciesen que Mercedes no actuase más en Barcelona. La «afamada aeronauta» se presentó el domingo 5 de noviembre en el Circo Taurino de Valencia; estaba previsto que, entre la lidia de novillos, «la intrépida aeronauta Mercedes Corominas» verificara una ascensión en el magnífico globo «Barcino» (*El Pueblo*, 5/11/1905, p. 2). No obstante, la rotura de las telas, debido al fuerte viento, provocó la suspensión para el domingo próximo, día 12 (*Las Provincias*, 6/11/1905, p. 2). A finales de diciembre Mercedes realizaba otro

ascenso en globo en unas fiestas deportivas de Terrassa (*Los Deportes*, 2/12/1905, p. 786).

## 5. LA EMANCIPACIÓN DE MERCEDES

Mercedes permaneció en Barcelona hasta principios de 1906. En este año se marchó, probablemente influenciada por los desagradables sucesos del pasado y los obstáculos provocados por los accidentes ocurridos. Desde entonces, parece ser que no volvió a Barcelona, al menos no para elevarse en globo.

El domingo 13 de mayo de 1906 Mercedes se encontraba en Alicante y realizó arriesgadas ascensiones en un colosal globo llamado «Franco-Español». En las ascensiones permanecía suspendida y «completamente sola, sin más apoyo que el de unas anillas, practicando ejercicios durante el viaje aéreo» (*El Graduador*, Alicante, 13/05/1906, p. 5). También realizó varias intervenciones acompañadas del capitán Camprubí –Joan Camprubí i Valls–, del que se decía era su maestro. El día de San Juan realizaron un número en el que ambos viajaban asidos, cada uno en un simple trapecio realizando ejercicios a un mismo tiempo (*El Graduador*, 24/06/1906, p. 3). La crónica literaria y los versos de Juan Huelgas Casanovas, después de observar las peripecias de la aventurera, que precipitó el globo en el mar, decían que anunciaban nuevos tiempos en que «los hombres, dentro de unos cuantos años, tendrán que dedicarse a amas de cría»:

Anda vete por el aire, qué sabe Dios donde irás. Anda y sube con el globo en que Mercedes se va. Sube pronto, sube pronto, sube y no bajas ya más, que yo con ella en el aire pasaba una eternidad. (Huelgas, 1906, p. 2)

El 22 de julio, la capitana Mercedes y el capitán Camprubí participaban en la Plaza de Toros de Granada luciendo el globo «Franco-Español». Según el *Noticiero Granadino* (26/07/1906, p. 2) se trataba de un espectáculo inmensurable: «un fenómeno aéreo sin rival en el mundo».

Por lo tanto, Mercedes se presentaba como la única mujer que destacaba entre los mejores aeronautas masculinos. No obstante, el momento coincidía con los inicios de la aerostación deportiva y los primeros concursos. El aristocrático Jesús Fernández Duro (1878-1906), fundador del Real Aeroclub

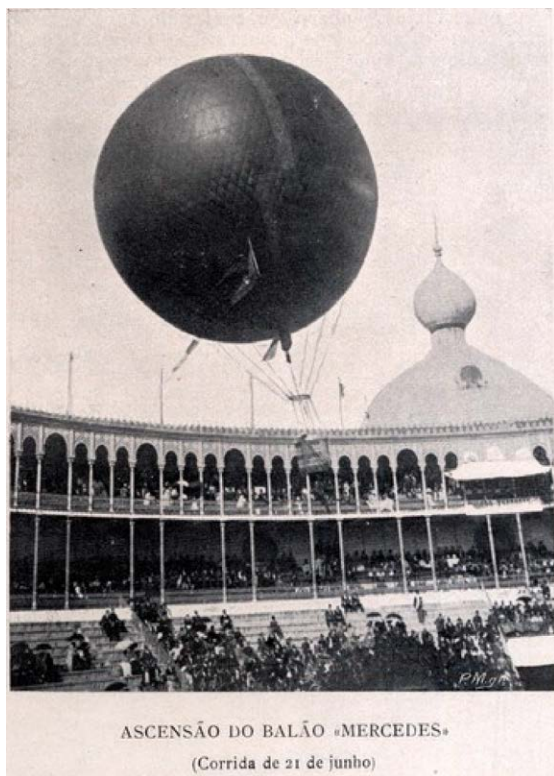
de España, era la figura más destacada y el primero que cruzó los Pirineos en globo. Lamentablemente, Fernández Duro falleció –el 9 de agosto de 1906– por una eventual enfermedad (Torrebadella-Flix, 2014); toda la prensa acentuó el desgraciado fallecimiento del aeronauta:

No hace mucho tiempo, NUEVO MUNDO publicaba el interesante y dramático relato del viaje aéreo que Fernández Duro realizó a través de los Pirineos y que constituyó un notable récord, y en aquella ocasión reconocimos en el aeronauta una encarnación de aquel antiguo espíritu español aventurero y dominante que tan grandes cosas hizo en los siglos de Isabel la Católica y Carlos V. (*Nuevo Mundo*, 16/08/1906, p. 2)

Al respecto, Emilia Pardo (1906) mencionaba: «Todo el movimiento de la aerostación en España fue obra de Fernández Duro» (p. 554). En cambio, contrasta la *invisibilidad* de Mercedes, que no tenía más referencia que la que directamente podía impactar en el espíritu romántico de algunas otras jóvenes. Mercedes no procedía de una familia acomodada, y puede decirse que, a excepción de la revista *Los Deportes*, apenas se valoraban los históricos aires de modernización deportivos que estaban emprendiendo algunas mujeres en la sociedad española.

En 1906 la aeronauta catalana se trasladó a Portugal, actuó en Lisboa, Matosinhos, Espinho y en el circo Calderón de Oporto. Durante tres veranos promovió exhibiciones aerostáticas y espectáculos, suspendiéndose aún del trapecio. Allí se casó con el lusitano Francisco Pedro Monteiro, célebre picador taurino (Ferreira, 1986). En concreto, actuó ocasionalmente en la Plaza de Toros Campo Pequeño. El 21 de junio de 1908 [figura 2], en plena temporada taurina, Mercedes amenizaba los momentos previos a la gran corrida (*El Toreo*, 27/06/1908, p. 4). Fue destacada la actuación en la corrida del 20 de septiembre de 1908, en homenaje al centenario de la guerra peninsular y al ejército portugués: «demostró que es española por la serenidad y valor que demostró en tan arriesgada ascensión, la cual hizo con mucha felicidad, siendo frenéticamente aplaudida» (Gómez, 1908, p. 2).

Figura 2. Ascensión del globo «Mercedes»



Fuente: *Tiro e Sport*, 31/07/1908, p. 9. HDML

En agosto de 1908 Mercedes se encontraba en España y realizó varias ascensiones en La Coruña y Vigo. El día 25 actuó en el campo del *Foot-ball* Club Vigo ante un numeroso público que presenció cómo el globo se elevó a más de 900 metros. El día 30, después de ascender en La Coruña, volvió a realizar otra ascensión en Vigo, tal y como se había previsto; naturalmente, el espectáculo fue todo un éxito y causó mucha satisfacción a los socios del FC de Vigo [figura 3].

Figura 3. «La aeronauta catalana a Vigo»



Fuente: *La Il·lustració Catalana*, 27/09/1908, p. 4. ARCA

En relación con estas ascensiones, *Los Deportes* volvió a informar de la «intrépida aeronauta» y de la aventurada exhibición que protagonizó en Vigo. Resulta que la ascensión en globo libre fue la más arriesgada, «pues el viento soplaba hacia el mar y tuvo necesidad de atravesar la ría y descender cerca de la marola ya casi en alta mar, al lado de un pueblo pesquero denominado «Meirás»» (*Los Deportes*, 15/09/1908, p. 389).

El acontecimiento de Vigo también fue noticia en *Feminal*, la revista que dirigía la mencionada Carmen Karr, que representaba el estereotipo cultural femenino que impulsaba el catalanismo: «las catalanas son inteligentes, hacendosas; tienen espíritu cosmopolita, deseo de instruirse; son activas y ¿por qué no decirlo? creo que las más cultas de España» (De Burgos, 1906, p. 14). Así *Feminal* ofreció una nota gráfica –firmada por B. M.– de la ascensión en Vigo de la «compatriota» catalana, mencionando que «rendía un tributo a los actos de valor y a la temeridad, que, realizados por la mujer, demuestran que esta es capaz de ocupar su lugar en todas las esferas de la actividad humana» (B. M., 1908, p. 648) [figura 4]. El reconocimiento a Mercedes era

indiscutible y, ahora, acompañada de su segundo marido, regresaba a España con el propósito de realizar una gira.

Siguiendo los periódicos se aprecian actuaciones del «globo Mercedes» en Bilbao, Vigo, La Coruña, Santander, Valencia y Madrid. En Bilbao actuó el domingo 21 de marzo de 1909 en la Plaza de Toros, antes de la novillada. El domingo 4 de abril también realizó otra ascensión en esta plaza, sin ningún incidente (*El Correo Español*, 5/04/1909, p. 3). El 23 de mayo, en la Plaza de Toros de Santander, la novedad de la fiesta era la presencia de Mercedes que coreaba «éxitos en cuantas ascensiones ha verificado en las más importantes capitales del extranjero y España y últimamente en Bilbao, donde tuvo que repetir la ascensión a instancias del público» (*El Cantábrico*, 22/05/1909, p. 2).

En efecto, los periódicos ofrecieron breves noticias de las ascensiones de Mercedes. Es destacable la que protagonizó en Santander, el 23 de mayo. Después de ascender de la Plaza de Toros, más tarde fue recogida en Peña del Castillo por el expresidente de la República de Venezuela (1899-1908), el general José Cipriano Castro –exiliado político–, que pasaba por las afueras de la capital y regresó a la intrépida aeronauta en su coche a Santander» (*Heraldo de Tarragona*, 25/05/1909, p. 3).

Mercedes también actuó en Madrid en junio de 1909 y durante la primavera y verano de 1910. Las ascensiones tenían lugar en el Recreo de la Castellana, los domingos y los jueves [figura 4]. La primera ascensión se verificó el jueves 24 de junio, festividad de San Juan, y se anunciaba como un «emocionante aliciente de una excursión en globo realizada por la intrépida Srta. Mercedes Corominas reina de los aires» (*El País*, 20/06/1909, p. 3). Esta ascensión estuvo a punto de acabar en fatalidad. El globo que salió de la Castellana, después de hora y media de vuelo, cayó en la vía férrea, cerca de Vallecas y «estuvo a punto de ocurrir una catástrofe, porque a los pocos minutos de retirarse la aeronauta de la vía, pasó un tren con dirección a Madrid» (*La Correspondencia Militar*, 25/06/1909, p. 2).

Precisamente fue la aristócrata Emilia Pardo quien apreció el valor de Mercedes. En 1907 tuvo la oportunidad de ver a Mercedes en la Plaza de Toros de La Coruña; y ahora, en relación con el nuevo incidente en Madrid, aprovechó la circunstancia para tratar la cuestión de género:

La señorita Corominas, «reina de los aires», sin más compañía que su intrepidez—recuérdese que las señoritas no pueden ir solas ni a la tienda de enfrente,—se iba a hacerles competencia a las águilas, si las hubiese en estos climas; y hora y media volaba tranquilamente, hasta venir a caer en Vallecas, afortunadamente sana y salva, pero entre los rieles de la vía, donde tres minutos después pasaba el tren, que a poco pudo aplastarla... (Pardo Bazán, 1909, p. 458)

Ahora bien, dejar el protagonismo a una mujer sola no era común. De aquí que se requiriese la colaboración y «pericia del piloto profesional», el capitán Martínez, para hacer más atractivo y seguro el evento (*El País*, 23/06/1909, p. 3).

Figura 4. «Varias notas de actualidad»



MADRID. LA AERONAUTA SEÑORITA COROMINAS  
EN LA BARQUILLA DEL GLOBO CON EL CUAL HA  
VERIFICADO DOS ASCENSIONES  
Fot. B. Cifuentes

Fuente: *Actualidades*, 30/06/1909, p. 14. BNE



Las noticias de Mercedes circulaban por todos los diarios y en muchas ciudades se requería su presencia. Participó con éxito en la Exposición Regional Gallega (*Gaceta de Galicia*, 8/10/1909, p. 1) y en la Exposición Regional de Valencia (*La Correspondencia de Valencia*, 11/10/1909, p. 1). En esta última realizó varias ascensiones –el 10 y 24 de octubre y el 1 de noviembre–, estrenó el globo «Melilla», de 800 metros cúbicos de gas, y ascendió con un conocido *sportsmen* de quien se decía era su hermano, Joan Corominas.

Aparte, en esta ciudad, el domingo 12 de septiembre, sucedió el trágico accidente del globo «Mariposa» del capitán Esteban Martínez Díaz, que fue arrastrado por el fuerte viento hacia el interior del mar, perdiéndose para siempre y acabando con la vida de este experimentado y querido aeronauta (Hernández, 1909).

Las revistas de sociedad no solían otorgar demasiada atención a la aeronauta catalana. Las crónicas, aparte de alguna imagen aislada, apenas resaltaban elogios a la conquista social de una mujer cuyas proezas eran comparables a las del sexo opuesto. Verbigracia, la noticia que ofrecía *La Hormiga de Oro* de la Exposición de Valencia:

Dos nuevas atracciones tuvieron lugar la semana última en la gran pista de la Exposición: la ascensión del globo «Mercedes» y el concurso de aerostatos. Iba el primero tripulado por una dama, circunstancia que atrajo al lugar de la ascensión numerosa concurrencia, la cual premió con repetidos aplausos la intrepidez de la aeronauta que media hora después de haberse elevado descendía sin incidente en el término de Benimámet, a donde fue fácil recogerla por haber transmitido parte de dos palomas mensajeras que juntamente con ella han salido de la exposición, para poder avisar si le ocurría alguna necesidad. (*La Hormiga de Oro*, Barcelona, 23/10/1909, p. 685).

De todos modos, después del desgraciado accidente del capitán Esteban Martínez, las ascensiones de los hermanos Corominas continuaron en la Exposición valenciana, sin destacar incidente alguno (*Correspondencia de Valencia*, 19/11/1909, p. 1; 24/11/1909, p. 1). Más tarde volvieron para celebrar las fiestas del nuevo año (*La Correspondencia de Valencia*, 31/12/1909, p. 1).

Por otra parte, este ambiente glamuroso y de modernidad que se propagaba en las principales ciudades del país contrastaba con la miseria y el descontento generalizado de la población, víctima de unas oligárquicas políticas que ignoraban el problema social. España emprendía una guerra en el

Riff, los sucesos de la Semana Trágica –25 de julio – 2 de agosto de 1909– la ejecución de Ferrer y Guardia –el 13 de octubre de 1909– y otras trágicas huelgas obreras, marcaban la trayectoria política de una celosa monarquía. Naturalmente, después de los sucesos de la Semana Trágica, para Mercedes, resultaba difícil el volver a Barcelona, lugar en el que la convulsa situación podía perjudicar el espectáculo. Por su parte, Mercedes se ofrecía para amenizar las fiestas de otras ciudades. Así se confirma una de estas solicitudes en Jerez de la Frontera: «la aeronauta señorita Corominas, llamada la reina de los aires, ha escrito al alcalde ofreciéndole verificar ascensiones en Sevilla con el globo «Mercedes» durante los próximos festejos primaverales» (*El Guadalete*, 12/01/1910, p. 2).

Después de Valencia, los hermanos Corominas regresaron a Madrid con el globo «Mercedes» (*La Correspondencia de España*, 19/03/1910, p. 5). En el Recreo de la Castellana, los domingos y jueves casi siempre había alguna que otra exhibición aerostática. El público reclamaba a los hermanos Corominas y su estancia fue prolongada hasta finales de julio. Hacían ascensiones individuales o en pareja y, en ocasiones, viajaban con algún invitado. En efecto, el capitán Corominas realizó varias ascensiones en solitario con el globo «Mercedes» (*La Correspondencia de España*, 19/03/1910, p. 5), que se decía pertenecía al desaparecido Capitán Martínez (*La Época*, 26/03/1910, p. 3), pero también invitó a varios pasajeros con el globo «Melilla». El domingo 1 de mayo de 1910, el capitán Corominas estrenó el hermoso globo-libre «Melilla» –de 1000 metros cúbicos– y con él viajó el futbolista y redactor-crítico deportivo de *El Mundo*, Rodríguez Eguinoa (Lozano, 1910). *El Mundo Deportivo* publicó una carta de Rodríguez Eguinoa (1910), que elogiaba el viaje que realizó gracias al «Capitán Corominas», del que se decía era el sucesor del inolvidable capitán Martínez (*La Correspondencia de España*, 26/03/1910, p. 6).

El lunes 4 de abril, Mercedes actuó en el Recreo de la Castellana, pero el fuerte viento provocó la precipitación del descenso: «La arriesgada aeronauta se produjo lesiones de poca importancia en una mano; pues el descenso, por el fuerte viento, se hizo con bastante dificultad» (*La Época*, 5/04/1910, p. 3). Días después se decía que «piloteará por primera vez el magnífico globo «Melilla» la señorita Corominas, siendo auxiliada por su hermano, el capitán

del mismo apellido, que tan arriesgadas ascensiones viene verificando» (*La Época*, 7/05/1910, p. 3).

Precisamente fue el *Heraldo Militar* quien reconoció «la sangre fría» y «el conocimiento del arte aerostático» de la «Reina de los aires»: «una linda y joven señorita, Mercedes Corominas, que tiene ya acreditado su valor y su pericia, habiendo realizado numerosas ascensiones, muchas en puertos de mar, y algunas en condiciones peligrosas» (*Heraldo Militar*, 5/04/1910, p. 1).

Mercedes cada vez adquiriría mayor protagonismo. Esto sucedía cuando unas pocas mujeres de la burguesía empezaban a introducir en sus estilos de vida la práctica de los *sports* –tenis, golf, equitación, tiro al pichón, esquí o natación– (García García, 2015). Sin embargo, las mujeres españolas distaban mucho de parecerse «a las inglesas, las alemanas, las suizas y las más naturales de la mayor parte de las naciones más avanzadas del mundo» (*Los Deportes*, 16/01/1909, p. 6). Y si bien, los *sportsmen* más distinguidos se abrían paso entre la tecnología y los nuevos deportes –automovilismo, motociclismo, aerostatos y aeroplanos–, otros constituían clubs de fútbol por todo el país. En cambio, cuando se trataba de la cultura física de la mujer, su visibilidad en la esfera pública estaba sujeta a la compañía de un *hombre protector* –padre, hermano, prometido o esposo– y, en ningún caso, podía concebirse la práctica deportiva de mujeres libres o emancipadas, ni siquiera la existencia de una asociación deportiva femenina. Los cánones eran los que eran y, por lo tanto, ellas debían tener preferencia a los «ejercicios que por su índole las permitan conservar su gracia natural, y como deducción inmediata, se puede adivinar que un equipo femenino de *football* ofrecería un espectáculo deplorable, no muy en armonía con su delicado y susceptible temperamento» (Alzamora, 1910, p. 168).

Todo esto sucedía en un contexto bélico y de desafección política; la realidad social distaba de las retóricas populistas de aquel regeneracionismo finisecular en el que se cuestionaba la masculinidad de la nación (Álvarez Junco, 1998). A la vez que la catalana Mercedes demostraba, con decenas de ascensiones en globo, la virilidad de una mujer, también se evidenciaba el atraso cultural de un país que impedía que otras mujeres *levantasen también el vuelo*.

Aparte, una Europa inmersa en la *Belle Époque* se embellecía con la fiebre de los inventos aeronáuticos –globos dirigibles y aeroplanos– que ponían en juego las disputas por dominar el aire (Robène y Bodin, 2007). En una escala menor, este ambiente de ascenso técnico de la navegación aérea también se apreciaba en España. Verbigracia, el globo dirigible «Relámpago» que realizó el trayecto de Madrid a Barcelona solamente en tres horas. Aterrizó en la plaza Catalunya ante una grandiosa expectación: «El celebré capitán del aerostático don José Salomón, su señora y cinco hermosas damas de la aristocracia madrileña fueron aplaudidísimos por la multitud al tocar pie a tierra» (*La Vanguardia*, 4/04/1904, p. 2).

Al mismo tiempo se producía el arranque de la aerostación deportiva. En 1902 y 1905 se celebró en Francia la Copa de distancia de la «Vie au Grand Air» (*Challenge des femmes aéronautes*), pero las mujeres solamente podían ir de acompañantes. A partir de 1906, en Inglaterra, las aventureras Griffith Brewer y Lady Harbord cruzaban el canal de la Mancha, en repetidas ocasiones. En Francia, entre 1906 y 1907, distinguidas jóvenes empiezan a ascender en solitario. Son Emile Carton, esposa del ingeniero aeronauta Emile Carton (Del Rivero, 1903), la artista Marie-Anne Lafaurie, que realizó un delicioso relato de las sus primeras ascensiones (*Le Figaro*, 10 de febrero de 1906), y Marie Surcouf, que el 13 de febrero de 1909 fundaba en París el elegante Aéro Club Féminin «Stella» (*L'Aérophile*, París, 15/02/1909, p. 93). El 23 de agosto de 1906 Marie Surcouf pilotó el globo «Bengali» acompañada de la Sra. Gache, secretaria del Comité de Damas del Aéro-Club de France. Se menciona que este fue el primer vuelo de una tripulación femenina, desde el Parc des Coteaux de Saint-Cloud, a Neuilly sur Marne, en un tiempo de vuelo de 2h y 24 km (*L'Aérophile*, París, 1/09/1906, p. 188).

Pero Mercedes no era una *sportswoman*, hacía de las ascensiones en globo una profesión y un medio de subsistencia. No obstante, la iniciativa de Mercedes no era inédita, puesto que la historia de la aeronáutica femenina tenía sus antecedentes (Onfray, 2023). En 1799, Jeanne-Geneviève Garnerin (1775-1847) –esposa del famoso aeronauta André-Jacques Garnerin– fue la primera mujer en ascender sola en un globo aerostático; años más tarde, el 18 de agosto de 1805, fue Sophie Blanchard (1778-1819) –la mujer de

Jean-Pierre Blanchard, el primer aeronauta profesional de la historia– que encontró desgraciadamente la muerte, el 6 de julio de 1819 en París. Luego llegó Elisa Garnerin (1791-1853) –hija de Jacques Garnerin– y, después de esta, en Inglaterra, surgió Margaret Graham (1804-1880), que en 1826 realizó un vuelo en solitario (Earhart 1931).

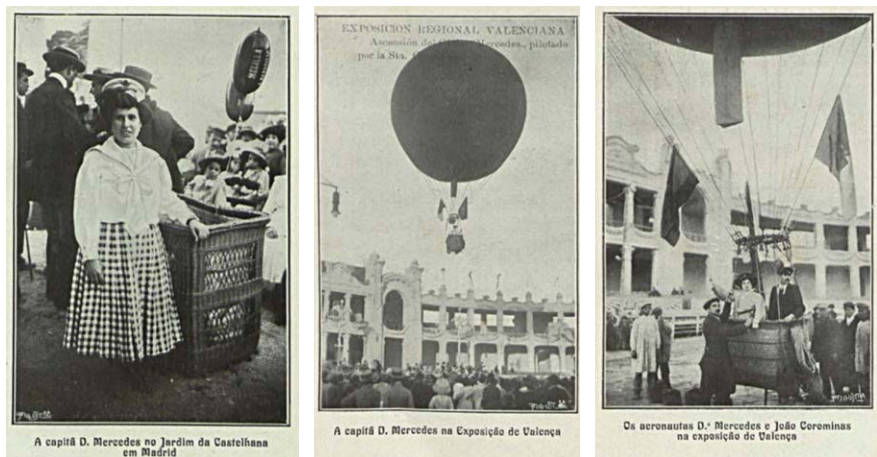
Élise Léontine Delaroche (1882-1919), más conocida por la baronesa Raymonde de Laroche, fue la primera mujer en pilotar sola un aeroplano, el 22 de octubre de 1909. Ahora bien, por su parte, Emilia Pardo colocaba a Mercedes a la altura de estas mismas hazañas:

Se ha hablado estos días del valor de la baronesa de Laroche; pero no me parece inferior el de otra mujer española, no aviadora, sino aeronauta: la señorita Corominas. Esta señorita está todos los días en el aire, si cabe decirlo así. Continuamente realiza ascensiones en el globo que ella misma maneja y tripula. Sola, intrépida, va a donde la lleva el viento que puede arrastrarla hacia el mar, o precipitarla contra los tejados [...].

Cualquier día sabremos que la señorita Corominas ha tenido la suerte de Ícaro, con la diferencia de que no darán su nombre al mar donde se zambulla. Ni siquiera le quedará el consuelo de ser incluida entre los mártires de la ciencia, puesto que los globos no dirigibles, los aeróstatos que el viento se lleva a donde quiere, han pasado a la categoría de juguetes de chiquillos, y sus tripulantes sufren el riesgo y no ganan el mérito. (Pardo Bazán, 1910, p. 506)

A finales de julio de 1910, Mercedes, su hermano y su marido regresaron a Portugal y realizaron algunas actuaciones más. El 21 de agosto, los hermanos Corominas actuaban en el Parque Laranjeiras del Jardín Zoológico de Lisboa, esta vez con el globo «Prata» (*Diario Ilustrado*, Lisboa, 20/08/1910, p. 2 y 4). Meses después se trasladaron a Río de Janeiro. Es de suponer que la *tournee* que realizaron por España tenía por objetivo el adquirir el presupuesto necesario para viajar a Brasil. Antes de la partida, Mercedes recibió el homenaje gráfico de la revista *Brasil – Portugal* (Lisboa, 16/01/1911, pp. 381-382) [figura 5].

Figura 5. «Aeronautas»



Fuente: *Brasil – Portugal, Lisboa*, 16/01/1911, pp. 381-382. HDML

En Sudamérica, Mercedes viajó por varios países y continuó realizando ascensiones; estuvo primero en Buenos Aires y luego en Río de Janeiro. En esta ciudad, la llamada «Reina de los aires» actuó durante varias semanas en el Jardín Zoológico; pilotaba el «globo Mercedes», y si bien contaba con la compañía de su marido –puede que también de su hermano–, la protagonista era ella: la única mujer «la gloriosa representante del bello sexo» que se atrevía a pilotar en solitario (*A Noticia*, 4/11/1911, p. 4). Parece ser que Mercedes antes de llegar a Lisboa adquirió un nuevo globo dirigible en París (*Journal do Comercio* –Río de Janeiro–, 11/01/1911, p. 6). A partir de la fecha, ya no se encuentran más noticias de Mercedes.

La familia Monteiro-Corominas se estableció definitivamente en Brasil, en Campos dos Goytacazes (Río de Janeiro). Mercedes y su marido crearon varios espectáculos y compañías de circo y después de la muerte de ella, uno de sus hijos, Affonso Corominas Monteiro (1912-1995), creó el Circo-Teatro Aloma. Desde entonces sus descendientes, y el linaje de Mercedes y Francisco, continúan dedicándose profesionalmente al circo.

## 6. CONCLUSIONES

La prensa histórica ha permitido conocer a Mercedes Corominas, sin duda una pionera de la aerostación –e incluso de los deportes de riesgo– que hasta ahora ha sido poco destacada. Mercedes era una de tantas mujeres *hechas así mismas*, mujeres nuevas, mujeres de acción y emprendedoras, pero que, en España, lamentablemente, no encontraban espacios de progreso.

En cuanto al ámbito deportivo, como cita López-Villar (2017, p. 141), Mercedes participaba de las «prácticas deportivas transgresoras» y, probablemente, fue una referencia que estimuló la autorrealización de otras tantas jóvenes, que también anhelaban la decisión y autonomía que se desprendía de la catalana.

En suma, el considerar a Mercedes como una mujer empoderada y emancipada, es también valorar la iniciativa y capacidad que demostró, en un entorno hostil de violencia machista, por cambiar su destino hacia una vida personal más afectiva y autónoma en lo profesional. El deseo de coronar un sueño, privativo para las mujeres, se convirtió en una realidad, con independencia de los prejuicios sociales. En efecto, Mercedes fue una mujer independiente, que tomó sus propias decisiones y que participó de una práctica transgresora, por encima de los estereotipos normativos de las prácticas deportivas.

También, puede pensarse que la presencia de Mercedes en los espectáculos y eventos sociales propios de las grandes capitales europeas de comienzos del siglo XX se encontraba sugestionada por una subyacente instrumentalización de la mujer. No obstante, como mencionaba Emilia Pardo, estos espectáculos visibilizaban las mujeres en las conquistas del porvenir. Sin duda, Mercedes demostraba la imagen de la mujer autorrealizada y anunciaba el cambio social del nuevo siglo: la irrupción de la mujer en la modernidad.

En suma, en este artículo, desde una perspectiva histórica, se ha pretendido seguir las vivencias de una mujer *intrépida* y *transgresora*, y se ha intentado aclarar algunas claves biográficas de una apasionada vida por la aventura y la supervivencia. Ciertamente, los elementos aportados son escasos para adentrarse en una historia de vida completa, pero hasta ahora son necesarios para poner al descubierto que Mercedes Corominas demostró una gran capacidad de superación a las adversidades y que atesoró un

endurecimiento emocional, físico y social que le valió el empoderamiento que necesitaba para alcanzar su emancipación como mujer libre.

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# ¿QUÉ ES UNA MUJER? FENOMENOLOGÍA DEL CUERPO FEMENINO EN EL PENSAMIENTO DE SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR

## WHAT IS A WOMAN? PHENOMENOLOGY OF THE FEMALE BODY IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR

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### Resumen

El objeto de este trabajo es el pensamiento de Simone de Beauvoir relativo a la corporalidad, así como sus reflexiones concernientes a la pregunta «¿qué es una mujer?» Nuestro objetivo será mostrar que la frase «no se nace mujer, se llega a serlo» ha sido erróneamente interpretada por fuentes posestructuralistas como Judith Butler, con la pretensión de reafirmar sus propios postulados. La metodología empleada en este trabajo es la hermenéutica crítica, dado que partiremos de la lectura comparada de distintas fuentes filosóficas. Butler defiende que tanto el sexo como el género son cuestiones completamente culturales y que, por tanto, las mujeres serían una construcción lingüística. En cambio, la filósofa francesa no concibe que la mujer, la hembra humana, sea reductible a un producto cultural o lingüístico. También podemos descartar de plano que Beauvoir suscriba una definición de «mujer» que se remita a su posición como sujeto subordinado de la sociedad. La filósofa francesa sostiene que, cuando la sociedad alcance la igualdad entre los sexos, las diferencias anatómicas subsistirán. Asimismo, para De Beauvoir la mujer no puede ser definida por

la feminidad, puesto que esta no es un atributo de las mujeres, sino una invención del hombre que podría proyectarse incluso sobre un objeto inanimado o sobre un varón. La feminidad ha sido hecha a la medida de la hembra para mantenerla sujeta, inhibiendo el libre desarrollo de la identidad de la mujer. La conclusión que extraemos en este trabajo es que la interpretación de Butler resulta contraria a la fenomenología del cuerpo femenino que vertebra la obra de Simone de Beauvoir. La fenomenología existencialista de Simone de Beauvoir se centra en la importancia de la experiencia corporal, que es la forma humana de habitar el mundo. Para ejemplificarlo, De Beauvoir reflexionó sobre la relevancia vital de experiencias del cuerpo sexuado como las relativas a la vulva, el coito, el himen, la pubertad, las molestias de la menstruación y la menopausia, entre otras.

**Palabras clave:** Beauvoir; Butler; mujer; cuerpo; feminismo; fenomenología; *teoría queer*; existencialismo.

### Abstract

The object of this paper is Simone de Beauvoir's thought concerning corporeality, as well as her reflections concerning the question «what is a woman?» Our objective will be to show that the phrase «one is not born a woman, one becomes one» has been erroneously interpreted by post-structuralist sources such as Judith Butler, with the pretension of reaffirming their own postulates. The methodology used in this paper is critical hermeneutics, since we will start from a comparative reading of different philosophical sources. Butler argues that both sex and gender are completely cultural issues and that, therefore, women are a linguistic construct. On the other hand, the French philosopher does not conceive that woman, the human female, is reducible to a cultural or linguistic product. We can also flatly rule out that De Beauvoir subscribes to a definition of «woman» that refers to her position as a subordinate subject of society. The French philosopher maintains that, when society achieves equality between the sexes, anatomical differences will persist. Likewise, for De Beauvoir, woman cannot be defined by femininity, since femininity is not an attribute of women, but an invention of man that could be projected even on an inanimate object or on a male. Femininity has been tailor-made for the female to keep her subject, inhibiting the free development of the woman's identity. The conclusion we draw in this paper is that Butler's interpretation is contrary to the phenomenology of the female body that underlies De Beauvoir's work. De Beauvoir's existentialist phenomenology focuses on the importance of bodily experience, which is the human way of inhabiting the world. To exemplify this, Simone de Beauvoir reflected on the vital relevance of experiences of the sexed body such as those related to the vulva, coitus, the hymen, puberty, the discomforts of menstruation and menopause, among others.

**Keywords:** Beauvoir; Butler; woman; body; feminism; phenomenology; queer theory; existentialism.

## 1. INTRODUCCIÓN

El segundo volumen de la obra *El segundo sexo* comienza con la célebre cita «No se nace mujer: se llega a serlo»<sup>1</sup>. Con esta afirmación, Simone de Beauvoir sostiene que la feminidad es un artificio cultural que sirve para someter a las mujeres, es decir, a las hembras de la especie humana (particularmente para controlar la reproducción). Este sentido de la frase queda patente si se lee cómo prosigue:

Ningún destino biológico, psíquico, económico, define la imagen que reviste en el seno de la sociedad la hembra humana; el conjunto de la civilización elabora este producto intermedio entre el macho y el castrado que se suele calificar de femenino. Sólo la mediación ajena puede convertir un individuo en alteridad (De Beauvoir, 2017, p. 371).

De Beauvoir argumentará que el hecho de que las mujeres sean hembras no debería ofuscar un hecho mucho más relevante: que son humanas. Si el hecho de ser hembras condena a las mujeres a ser lo «Otro» respecto de lo humano, es porque la sociedad establece una jerarquía ilegítima entre los sexos. La filósofa se propone desarticular la ideología de la feminidad, que sustenta dicha subordinación, y para ello refuta el presunto carácter natural de la feminidad, poniendo de manifiesto que las mujeres no son por naturaleza sensibles, dóciles y abnegadas (De Miguel, 2009). Empleando el término de Amelia Valcárcel, decimos que al «desnaturalizar» la posición de las mujeres, De Beauvoir culmina una tradición crítica que se remonta a Mary Wollstonecraft y otras fuentes del feminismo ilustrado (Valcárcel, 1999).

Dos décadas después de la publicación de *El segundo sexo*, en los años setenta, las feministas estadounidenses herederas de Simone de Beauvoir desarrollaron la distinción conceptual entre «sexo» y «género» (Millett, 2010). Desde entonces el término «sexo» se ha empleado para aludir a la hembra humana como realidad corporal, mientras que la palabra «género»

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1. En el original, «on ne naît pas femme: on le devient».

se refiere a la feminidad como sistema de roles y estereotipos impuestos a las mujeres. Los términos «sexo» y «género» establecen un dualismo entre naturaleza y cultura que no puede extrapolarse a la tesis que la filósofa francesa expone en el segundo volumen de su obra, basada en la noción existencialista y fenomenológica de «cuerpo vivido». La teórica no se basa en el binomio entre «sexo» y «género», dado que podría afirmarse que concibe el cuerpo como «generizado» (se experimenta desde la cultura).

Como existencialista y fenomenóloga, De Beauvoir sostiene que el cuerpo sexuado no es vivido como un dato bruto, sino que es experimentado como algo mediado por los significados culturales. Por ejemplo, los mitos relativos a la virginidad condicionan la manera en que la joven experimenta su primer coito, o los prejuicios contra la menstruación vehiculan la manera en que las mujeres viven el sangrado mensual. En su crítica al psicoanálisis, De Beauvoir defiende que, si la niña puede llegar a sentir envidia del pene, no es porque quiera tener anatomía de varón, sino porque desea la mayor libertad de la que goza el niño y porque rechaza el proyecto vital que los mayores han previsto para ella.

Pero de esta afirmación no puede derivarse, como se ha interpretado erróneamente desde fuentes posestructuralistas, que la mujer es un constructo social. Amorós (2009) denuncia que el análisis de Simone de Beauvoir ha sido tergiversado por Judith Butler con la pretensión de que el pensamiento de la francesa corrobore sus propios postulados. En *El género en disputa*, Butler defiende que tanto el sexo como el género son cuestiones completamente culturales y que, por tanto, las hembras humanas serían una construcción cultural (Butler, 2007). Esta noción de la mujer como constructo social es diametralmente contraria a la centralidad que De Beauvoir confiere a la materialidad corporal. El cuerpo sexuado es la situación existencial de las mujeres, el punto de partida de toda actividad, puesto que carecería de sentido postular una conciencia o una libertad desencarnadas (López Pardina, 2012). En las siguientes páginas constaremos que el cuerpo femenino es uno de los hilos conductores de *El segundo sexo*.

Estas disquisiciones nos conducirán a formularnos la pregunta «¿qué es una mujer para Simone de Beauvoir?» Como explica Femenías (2008), la cuestión «¿qué es una mujer?» es crucial en su pensamiento. La filósofa existencialista emplea el término «mujer» para aludir a dos significados

distintos: la mujer como sujeto y la mujer como mito del «eterno femenino» cuyo modelo se impone como vocación a la mujer de carne y hueso. Pero de ambos, solo el primer significado se refiere a las mujeres reales, que no pueden ser definidas por los retratos culturales de la feminidad.

La metodología que emplearemos en este trabajo es la lectura hermenéutica, tanto de las fuentes primarias, como de los estudios relativos a la filosofía de Simone de Beauvoir. Nuestra tarea interpretativa se acometerá con una actitud crítica que posibilitará realizar un análisis propio a lo largo del artículo.

## 2. FENOMENOLOGÍA DEL CUERPO FEMENINO

De Beauvoir desarrolla una fenomenología del cuerpo sexuado en la que el sexo es una característica existencial tan significativa e inevitable para el ser humano como la muerte o el paso del tiempo. Al emplear el término «categoría existencial» nos referimos a que, en la filosofía de Simone de Beauvoir, el sexo es uno de los elementos vertebradores de cualquier vida humana. La identificación de los elementos estructurales de la existencia es, a nuestro juicio, la nota definitoria del método fenomenológico en su aplicación existencialista, como ejemplifican las nociones de «existenciarios» (Heidegger, 2006) o «categorías de la vida» (Ortega y Gasset, 2012).

Uno de los aspectos más escandalosos de *El segundo sexo* (1949) fue que Simone de Beauvoir habló sin tapujos de la vulva, del coito, del himen, de la pubertad, de las molestias de la menstruación, de la menopausia, el envejecimiento, etc. Estos temas se consideraban íntimos y, por tanto, no formaban parte de la reflexión filosófica. El hecho de atreverse a escribir sobre sexualidad tuvo como reacción calificativos como frígida, ninfómana y lesbiana. El Vaticano situó el libro en el «Índice de Libros Prohibidos», especialmente por su defensa del aborto. El escritor católico François Mauriac señaló que después de leerla ya lo sabía todo sobre la vagina de su autora (Valcárcel, 1999). Pese a las acusaciones de exhibicionismo de este escritor, López Pardina (2009) ha apuntado que en realidad la filósofa estaba teorizando sobre el cuerpo, como es normal en la fenomenología existencialista.

En efecto, el círculo existencialista había heredado de su maestro Husserl el interés por el tema del cuerpo vivido. El filósofo de la fenomenología



diferenció entre el estudio del cuerpo objetivo (körper) y el cuerpo vivido (leib). El cuerpo es un objeto entre objetos, pues ocupa espacio, es materia. Pero además siento en él y dentro de él, la conciencia está ligada al cuerpo, no como si el cuerpo fuese una posesión, sino como el origen de nuestras sensaciones (Husserl, 1990). Merleau-Ponty profundizó la línea comenzada por Husserl sobre el cuerpo vivido. Este filósofo expone que el cuerpo es el horizonte permanente de mi experiencia, de modo que no tengo un cuerpo, sino que soy mi cuerpo. La conciencia no está separada del cuerpo, sino que solo existe encarnada y perceptiva. El cuerpo es nuestro «ser en el mundo» (Merleau-Ponty, 1975).

Como expone Ruiz Martínez (2018), Simone de Beauvoir sigue la estela de sus amigos fenomenólogos al encomendarse a la tarea de superar el dualismo cuerpo/conciencia, representado por el *cogito* cartesiano. En el mismo sentido, Heinämaa (1998) apunta que la noción de sujeto de Simone de Beauvoir no reproduce un dualismo cuerpo/mente que sí podríamos encontrar más presente en Sartre. A su juicio, la concepción beaivoriana del sujeto se aproxima más a la de Merleau-Ponty. En *El segundo sexo*, De Beauvoir afirma «lo que existe concretamente no es el cuerpo-objeto descrito por los científicos, sino el cuerpo vivido por el sujeto» (De Beauvoir, 2017, p.101). De Beauvoir también recoge esta cita de Merleau-Ponty que resulta clarificadora para entender la noción del cuerpo en De Beauvoir: «Así que soy mi cuerpo, al menos en la medida en que tengo unas vivencias, y recíprocamente mi cuerpo es un sujeto natural, como un boceto provisional de mi ser total» (Merleau-Ponty, 1975, p. 100).

Husserl y Merleau-Ponty analizan minuciosamente la experiencia vivida corporalmente, como las sensaciones de movimiento o de tacto que se producen cuando una mano toca la otra mano y el cuerpo tiene una sensación doble (toca y es tocado, pues es sujeto y objeto a la vez). Al igual que del resto de aspectos de la corporalidad humana, se puede realizar una fenomenología de la existencia encarnada de la mujer, como demuestra *El segundo sexo* de Simone de Beauvoir. En el segundo volumen de la obra, titulado *La experiencia vivida* es donde observamos con mayor claridad el enfoque que Husserl llamaría «cuerpo vivido». El objeto de estudio es el cuerpo sexuado desde la vivencia subjetiva de la mujer, es decir, la hembra humana. La filósofa

teoriza sobre cómo experimentan las mujeres en la sociedad de su tiempo hechos como la menstruación, el orgasmo, la maternidad o el envejecimiento.

En la *Fenomenología de la percepción*, Merleau-Ponty ya había dedicado un capítulo al cuerpo sexuado, poniendo de manifiesto que dichas experiencias corporales estaban en el ámbito de interés del círculo filosófico fenomenológico. Por supuesto, el pensamiento de Beauvoir sobre el cuerpo es muy novedoso pues sitúa la diferencia sexual como un elemento central de la existencia humana: «Lo existente es un cuerpo sexuado; en sus relaciones con los otros existentes, que son cuerpos sexuados» (De Beauvoir, 2017, p. 108).

Aunque la mayor parte de la obra adopta el enfoque del cuerpo como sujeto de experiencia (*leib* en terminología de Husserl), la filósofa también estudia el cuerpo como objeto de la ciencia (*körper* en términos husserlianos). En el primer tomo de *El segundo sexo*, De Beauvoir analiza con detenimiento las aportaciones de la biología, la antropología, la historia y el psicoanálisis sobre las implicaciones sociales de la corporalidad femenina. Aquí encontramos un abordaje del cuerpo de las mujeres desde las ciencias, como el cuerpo de un animal mamífero hembra.

### 3. EL CUERPO FEMENINO COMO PRISIÓN

Jean Paul Sartre en *El ser y la nada* desarrolla una teoría atormentada del cuerpo, como si este fuese una prisión de la que la conciencia quisiera librarse. A causa del cuerpo experimentamos escasez y necesidad, viéndonos obligados a trabajar con otros y a someter la individualidad a proyectos colectivos. Lo más inquietante del cuerpo en el pensamiento sartreano es que nos expone a ser alienados por las demás personas, porque para ellas existo como cuerpo. La mirada del otro «objetiva» partes de mi cuerpo y me impone el cuerpo que soy para él (Sartre, 2005). En Sartre hay trazos de la tradición dualista que piensa el cuerpo como un trágico impedimento para una conciencia que por naturaleza aspira al infinito y a la realización de todas las posibilidades.

Simone de Beauvoir, al igual que Sartre, presenta el cuerpo como obstáculo para una conciencia que desearía ser totalmente libre. En el primer volumen de la obra, cuando estudia las aproximaciones empíricas al estudio

de la diferencia sexual desde las ciencias como la biología y la historia, la filósofa concluye que las hembras están más atadas que los machos a la función biológica de la reproducción. En los animales vertebrados, explica, «la madre mantiene con su progenitura relaciones más estrechas y el padre se desinteresa más; todo el organismo de la hembra está adaptado a la servidumbre de la maternidad y controlado por ella» (De Beauvoir, 2017, p. 83). Eva Lundgren aclara que De Beauvoir establece un conflicto entre la individualidad de las mujeres y el interés de la especie. El papel masculino en la reproducción es menos exigente, de modo que su cuerpo no genera un conflicto entre el desarrollo de proyectos creativos y la sexualidad (Lundgren, 1996). Por el contrario, el cuerpo de las mujeres está sometido a la especie de una forma mucho más estrecha que el cuerpo de los varones, porque atraviesan la menstruación, el embarazo, el parto y la lactancia. Las mujeres han estado sometidas durante milenios a una tiranía biológica, encadenando embarazos, peligrosos partos en los que podían morir y amamantando criaturas muy dependientes (Aránguez, 2021).

Según el relato antropológico de Simone de Beauvoir, a causa de la necesidad demográfica de acrecentar la población, las mujeres quedaron relegadas a las funciones reproductivas y eso les impidió participar de la creación de la civilización. Desde el principio de los tiempos, las mujeres quedaron apartadas de las tareas que permiten alcanzar la individualidad y un sentido de la propia existencia. Como señala Ruiz Martínez (2018), la descripción beaivoriana arroja un escenario en el que los machos aseguran su individualidad y su dominio en la batalla por las hembras y por el territorio, mientras las hembras se vuelcan en la prole y no cuestionan el dominio masculino.

De Beauvoir considera que lo propiamente humano no es perpetuar la especie, sino sobrepasar los límites de la naturaleza mediante los inventos tecnológicos, las construcciones, la cultura y la creación de valores. A su juicio, el cazador y el guerrero representan la superación de la animalidad hacia la humanidad, porque su objetivo no es conservar la vida, sino perseguir fines elegidos que se consideran más importantes que la misma (De Beauvoir, 2017, p. 127). La filósofa afirma:

La peor maldición que pesa sobre la mujer es estar excluida de estas expediciones guerreras; si el hombre se eleva por encima del animal no es dando la vida, sino arriesgándola; por esta razón, en la humanidad la

superioridad no la tiene el sexo que engendra, sino el que mata. (De Beauvoir, 2017, p. 28)

La filósofa hace notar que gestar y amamantar encierran a las mujeres en la inmanencia y no producen nada nuevo. Son tareas repetitivas que también realizan las especies animales y que más que actividades son funciones naturales que no suponen ningún proyecto. En opinión de Simone de Beauvoir, ese destino impuesto durante muchos siglos ha sido aciago para las mujeres, porque ellas son iguales que los hombres en su deseo de trascender como individuos con fines propios.

Puleo (2009) destaca que no es posible leer estos pasajes de Simone de Beauvoir sin percibir su sesgo androcéntrico. En ellos encontramos glorificación de la violencia y un juicio desdeñoso de la maternidad que infravalora su aportación civilizatoria. Además, Simone de Beauvoir presume que las mujeres prehistóricas no elaboraban instrumentos, que no realizaban tareas que requiriesen saberes o creatividad (como la curación y el conocimiento de hierbas) y que no participaban junto a los hombres en actividades como la caza. Esa visión resulta anacrónica en tanto que extrapola el modelo moderno de hombre proveedor y ama de casa a la prehistoria. El conocimiento contemporáneo ha refutado estas presunciones y ha puesto de manifiesto el papel activo de las mujeres prehistóricas (Lerner, 2017).

Pese a que podemos dirigir estas objeciones a las tesis de la filósofa existencialista, se ha de matizar que De Beauvoir no piensa que la subordinación de las mujeres sea un destino biológico inamovible. Lo que ella defiende es que los aspectos biológicos que durante milenios fueron desfavorables para las mujeres, ya no deben serlo, pues la historia pone de manifiesto que en la especie humana las posibilidades individuales dependen más de los aspectos culturales que de características biológicas como la mayor fuerza muscular. En una sociedad con anticonceptivos y condiciones seguras para los partos, donde no se necesita una alta tasa de natalidad que compense la mortalidad infantil, las razones por las que el cuerpo de la mujer sigue representando una fuente de sufrimiento son, en su mayor parte, sociales.

En el segundo volumen de la obra seguimos encontrando una perspectiva del cuerpo como obstáculo a la libertad femenina. En este caso, De Beauvoir se adentra en el análisis de la experiencia vivida de cada mujer. Son famosas sus descripciones negativas del embarazo como crecimiento de una criatura

extraña que se apodera del cuerpo de la mujer robándole los nutrientes (Aránguez, 2021). Este fue uno de los aspectos más criticados de su obra, pues el pesimismo con el que narra el proceso biológico muestra la maternidad como carente de atractivo para una mujer que aspire a la individualidad. Pese a las críticas feministas contra la desvalorización beauvoriana de la maternidad, Puleo (2009) considera que debemos agradecer a De Beauvoir el rechazo a la mistificación maternal, dado que la filósofa defendió el derecho al aborto y afirmó que la capacidad de gestar no debe ser impuesta como un destino. Simone de Beauvoir se atrevió a exponer las servidumbres físicas y sociales de la maternidad en un momento histórico en el que para la mayoría de las mujeres era impensable negarse a ser madres. La filósofa reclamó para las mujeres la posibilidad de elegir su futuro y ser sujetos de su propia vida.

En el pensamiento de Simone de Beauvoir también hallamos una perspectiva atormentada de otras etapas de la corporalidad, como la vergüenza de la niña cuando descubre que ella no puede orinar de pie, sino que debe orinar en cuclillas y en lugar privado, con el trasero desnudo; la vergüenza de la joven cuando tiene la menstruación y mancha las sábanas; o el temor de las muchachas ante la pérdida de la virginidad. No obstante, en su análisis fenomenológico de todas las vivencias subjetivas, las experiencias negativas del cuerpo se deben a la cultura y no a la biología. La experiencia del cuerpo se incardina en la jerarquía entre los sexos establecida por la sociedad, de modo que la maternidad, la menstruación y el resto de vivencias de la corporalidad femenina, serían distintas en una sociedad igualitaria.

Uno de los motivos por los que resulta conflictiva la experiencia femenina del cuerpo es la objetificación. Este concepto se encuentra en la filosofía de Sartre, cuando este afirma que para el ser humano «el infierno son los otros» porque su mirada me «objetiva», me reduce a un objeto entre objetos y eso repercute en el modo en el que yo me veo. Según Simone de Beauvoir, esa objetificación existencial es mucho peor para las mujeres. Su cuerpo es otreddad también para ella misma, pues la experiencia de este ha sido moldeada desde fuera. Según De Beauvoir, ese fenómeno puede conducir a las mujeres hasta el extremo del narcisismo, cuando se obsesionan con su belleza y se conciben a sí mismas como si fuesen tesoros que deben ser contemplados. López Sáenz (2012) señala que para la filósofa francesa el cuerpo de la mujer es «abstraído del verdadero cuerpo fenoménico y reducido a sus funciones

biológicas» (p. 163). La pérdida del «cuerpo fenoménico» (vivido) dificultaría el acceso al placer sensorial, pues todo goce quedaría subordinado al deber de agrado y al desempeño de los papeles asignados. La objetificación dificulta vivirse como cuerpo-sujeto, dado que la mujer no vive su cuerpo en primera persona y se convierte en un «ser para otros» en lugar de «ser para sí». López Sáenz (2021) explica que «el sexismo le enseña a la mujer a ver su cuerpo como mera representación» (p. 163).

La negatividad de las reflexiones expuestas podría conducirnos a pensar que De Beauvoir desearía que fuese posible trascender el cuerpo sexuado y alcanzar una humanidad incorpórea, al modo de los contemporáneos ensueños transhumanistas de placentas artificiales. Podríamos pensar que De Beauvoir cae en un dualismo cuerpo/conciencia, al concebir el cuerpo como una cárcel. Podríamos ver en estas ideas un resabio de la tradición dualista de Platón y Descartes. Dicha conclusión sería precipitada. De Beauvoir no establece una contraposición entre la conciencia-libre y el cuerpo-jaula. En su pensamiento, la libertad siempre es situada y el cuerpo es el horizonte de nuestras posibilidades vitales, incluidas las posibilidades emancipatorias. Simone de Beauvoir adopta el punto de vista fenomenólogo, pues la experiencia vivida muestra que «no tengo un cuerpo» sino que «soy mi cuerpo». Su reivindicación de igualdad entre los sexos no aspira a una (imposible) eliminación de las diferencias anatómicas, sino a la erradicación de la jerarquía que escamotea a las mujeres todas las posibilidades de la trascendencia humana.

Santana (2002) aclara que, en la filosofía de Simone de Beauvoir, la liberación consiste en luchar contra el papel que se ha atribuido a las mujeres a fin de alcanzar una sociedad en la que el hombre y la mujer tengan una relación igualitaria y recíproca, reconociéndose entre sí como conciencias iguales. En la conclusión de *El segundo sexo* podemos leer estas palabras: «es necesario que, más allá de sus diferenciaciones naturales, los hombres y mujeres afirmen sin equívocos su fraternidad» (De Beauvoir, 2017, p. 902).

Como venimos apuntando, no hay en el pensamiento de Simone de Beauvoir resabios de la tradición platónica que desprecia la carne y sus placeres. De hecho, a lo largo de *El segundo sexo* encontramos alusiones a experiencias sensoriales como el placer táctil de la suavidad de algunos tejidos; la embriaguez de libertad al deambular por el campo, el disfrute de

una madre al oler a su bebé, el goce de la mujer lesbiana con el suave tacto de la piel de su amante, el placer del coito heterosexual cuando ambos se aman, la alegre contemplación de la variedad de las flores y el orgullo de los muchachos que saltan entre las rocas y trepan a los árboles sintiéndose conquistadores del universo. De Beauvoir lamenta que las restricciones que pesan sobre las mujeres les dificulten acceder a algunos de estos goces, como el orgullo desafiante de encaramarse en las alturas y contemplar el mundo desde allí, descubrir la potencia del propio cuerpo durante los juegos de peleas entre muchachos y la sensación de aventura al recorrer cualquier lugar desconocido o paisaje solitario.

En el pensamiento de Simone de Beauvoir hay un hedonismo que no está presente en Jean Paul Sartre. La filósofa explica en sus obras que el filósofo no soporta el campo y prefiere la sensación civilizatoria de la ciudad (De Beauvoir, 2019). Por su parte, uno de los más famosos pasajes de la novela sartreana *La náusea* describe la reveladora experiencia de repugnancia, absurdo existencial y anticipación de la muerte que desencadena el contacto del protagonista con la negra y húmeda raíz de un árbol que se adentra en la tierra (Sartre, 2011). Podemos vislumbrar en estos pasajes sartreanos una actitud recelosa hacia la contingencia de la carne y la vida que no hemos percibido, en cambio, en la obra de Simone de Beauvoir.

#### 4. LA MUJER COMO HEMBRA HUMANA

Como hemos expuesto en los apartados precedentes, un elemento estructural de *El segundo sexo* es la experiencia corporal de la hembra humana. De Beauvoir (2017) parte de la existencia de las hembras como dato indubitable y natural: «todo el mundo está de acuerdo en reconocer que en la especie humana hay hembras; constituyen hoy, como antaño, la mitad, aproximadamente, de la Humanidad» (p. 45). En el pensamiento de Beauvoir, ser hembra forma parte de la definición de la mujer del mismo modo que ser macho forma parte de la definición del hombre: «En verdad, el hombre, como la mujer, es carne y, por tanto, pasividad, juguete de sus hormonas y de la especie, inquieta presa de su deseo» (De Beauvoir 2017, p. 857).

Sin embargo, la filósofa es consciente de que la palabra «hembra» tiene connotaciones negativas cuando se aplica a las humanas. Hemos de

preguntarnos, ¿por qué «hembra» es un término peyorativo? De Beauvoir (2017) expone que:

En boca del hombre, el epíteto de «hembra» suena como un insulto; sin embargo, no se avergüenza de su animalidad; se enorgullece, por el contrario, si de él se dice: «¡Es un macho!». El término «hembra» es peyorativo, no porque enraíce a la mujer en la Naturaleza, sino porque la confina en su sexo (p.67).

La palabra «hembra» resalta la animalidad y De Beauvoir señala que en la historia de la cultura los hombres se han presentado a sí mismos como sujetos, mientras definían a las mujeres en exclusiva como hembras, omitiendo su humanidad. De este modo, el hombre se ha atribuido en exclusiva la representación del ser humano. A lo largo de la historia, a la mujer no se le ha permitido afirmarse como individuo, sino que ha quedado recluida en el ámbito sexual y reproductivo. En cambio, el hombre ha tenido el privilegio de que su vida genital no mermase en nada su libertad personal ni su proyecto vital. Expone De Beauvoir:

Donaldson, un historiador de la mujer, ha afirmado que las definiciones «un hombre es un ser humano macho, la mujer es un ser humano hembra» han sido mutiladas de modo asimétrico; el psicoanálisis, en particular, define al hombre como humano y a la mujer como hembra: cada vez que se comporta como ser humano, se dice que imita al varón (De Beauvoir, 2017, p. 107).

A lo expuesto De Beauvoir añade que el cuerpo del hombre se ha presentado como si permitiera una relación directa con el mundo, como si fuera el fondo neutro sobre el que se realiza la humanidad. El cuerpo masculino ha sido percibido como el cuerpo estándar del ser humano y el de la mujer se ha visto como una especificación. Todo lo que diferencia a la mujer del hombre ha estado marcado por la alteridad y se ha concebido socialmente como una prisión que impide a las mujeres el acceso a la humanidad plena. La cultura estableció que ser hembra entraba en contradicción con ser humana. Mientras el cuerpo masculino ha monopolizado la posición de sujeto, el femenino ha sido objetificado. Por eso la filósofa dedica *El segundo sexo* a defender que la mujer es una existencia libre para definir su proyecto de vida. El cuerpo femenino es la situación desde la que se aborda el proyecto de la libertad, sin que ser hembra deba constituir una limitación social.



#### 4.1. El cuerpo generizado

Judith Butler, la principal representante de la llamada *teoría queer*, ha criticado la distinción feminista entre las nociones de «sexo» y «género». En opinión de la filósofa estadounidense, el sexo no es algo natural sino una categoría construida por dispositivos discursivos y de poder. Butler (2007) expone:

¿Qué es el sexo?, ¿es natural?, ¿es anatómico, cromosómico u hormonal? Hemos de cuestionar los discursos científicos que intentan establecer tales «hechos» [...]. El «sexo» está tan culturalmente construido como el género; de hecho, quizá el sexo siempre fue género, con el resultado de que la distinción entre sexo y género no existe como tal. (p. 56)

Por tanto, para Judith Butler no existen las mujeres y los hombres como realidades naturales sino que, a su juicio, serían categorías artificiales producidas por un discurso ideológico. Butler considera que carece de sentido distinguir entre sexo y género, porque ambos conceptos son igualmente culturales. En su cuestionamiento de la existencia natural del sexo, Butler se remite a las ideas de Monique Wittig.

En un artículo titulado *No se nace mujer*, Monique Wittig postula que el «sexo» es una interpretación cultural del cuerpo que divide dos grupos de humanos a partir de unos rasgos físicos (pene, vagina, pechos, etc.) que deberían ser irrelevantes. Para esta autora, «hombres» y «mujeres» son categorías políticas y no hechos naturales. La finalidad política de esta clasificación es garantizar la heterosexualidad obligatoria y satisfacer con ello las necesidades reproductivas del sistema económico. Según la autora, esas características son rasgos dispersos que solo adquieren unidad a través de la categoría lingüística «sexo». Por eso propone cambiar el lenguaje de tal modo que los cuerpos y las sexualidades se describan sin aludir al sexo, transformando la gramática misma (por ejemplo, eliminando los pronombres). La categoría «sexo» es, en su opinión, un nombre que esclaviza y somete a las lesbianas, a las mujeres y a los hombres homosexuales, porque presupone que la heterosexualidad es el origen de la sociedad. Wittig considera que la lesbiana no es una mujer, pues «mujer» es un término binario y de oposición con un hombre (relación heterosexual). Sus prácticas sexoafectivas están tan

alejadas de la heterosexualidad que la lesbiana trasciende las categorías de sexo (Wittig, 2006).

Como observamos, Monique Wittig toma la famosa frase de Simone de Beauvoir «no se nace mujer, llega una a serlo» y la conduce hacia conclusiones muy alejadas del pensamiento de la filósofa existencialista. Wittig sostiene que, si ser mujer es un procedimiento y no una sustancia, cabe la posibilidad de que la persona se convierta en un ser que no es ni hombre ni mujer. Butler y Wittig afirman inspirarse en el cuestionamiento que Simone de Beauvoir realiza de la noción natural de «sexo». Como hemos expuesto anteriormente, De Beauvoir considera que la vivencia del cuerpo depende de los significados sociales de modo que, traduciendo su pensamiento a términos actuales, podríamos afirmar que el sexo se experimenta desde el género. La menstruación puede vivirse con vergüenza, pero en otros contextos sociales cabrían otras vivencias de la misma.

Ahora bien, hay un enorme salto entre la fenomenología del cuerpo beaivoriana y el idealismo *queer*. La misma Butler admite que De Beauvoir ve la naturaleza como materialidad, como sustancia, como sujeto-objeto; mientras que Wittig ve la naturaleza como una idea, un discurso (Butler, 2007, p. 248). La filósofa existencialista expone que la realidad biológica son hechos, pero que el sentido que le atribuimos a dichos hechos naturales depende del ser humano. Cuando analizamos el cuerpo desde la perspectiva de la experiencia vivida, los condicionamientos biológicos adquieren una gran variabilidad. Por ejemplo, tener menos fuerza muscular es importante para ciertos objetivos y en ciertos contextos: la fuerza puede ser compensada con instrumentos, leyes, etc. (De Beauvoir, 2017, p. 97).

Simone de Beauvoir en ningún momento afirma algo parecido a que el dimorfismo sexual de la especie humana sea un invento social para perpetuar la reproducción heterosexual. El primer volumen de *El segundo sexo* aborda la cuestión del cuerpo femenino desde la mirada de las ciencias y la biología. Para ella, la realidad anatómica es la situación existencial y el punto de partida de cualquier teoría emancipatoria.

Hemos de concluir que el pensamiento de Simone de Beauvoir no cae en ninguna suerte de reduccionismo naturalista, pero tampoco cae en el idealismo de confundir el cuerpo con el discurso. De Beauvoir confía en las posibilidades del progreso científico y social para superar algunas limitaciones

humanas (instrumentos que multiplican nuestra fuerza, anticonceptivos, leyes que permiten limitar la reproducción, etc.), pero mantiene los pies en el suelo y diferencia aquellos aspectos del mundo que se pueden cambiar de aquellos que forman parte de las condiciones existenciales de la vida, como el tiempo, la muerte, la reproducción sexual o las diferencias anatómicas entre los sexos.

#### 4.2. «Hembra humana». No olvidemos la parte más importante: humana

Judith Butler espeta que De Beauvoir señala que las mujeres no pueden ser definidas como hembras. El pasaje de Simone de Beauvoir referido es el siguiente:

Si la función de hembra no es suficiente para definir a la mujer, si también nos negamos a explicarla por «el eterno femenino» y si no obstante aceptamos, aunque sea con carácter provisional, que existen mujeres sobre la tierra, tenemos que plantearnos la pregunta de rigor: ¿qué es una mujer? (De Beauvoir, 2017, p. 49)

Butler tiene razón en que según la perspectiva existencialista de Simone de Beauvoir las mujeres no pueden ser definidas exclusivamente por su condición de hembras: ¿significa eso que la filósofa sostiene que «mujer» es un mero nombre arbitrario que puede ponerse a cualquier individuo?

Hemos de descartarlo. La mujer no es un acto declarativo ni una construcción discursiva. López Sáenz (2012) destaca que el existencialismo se contrapone a las teorías posestructuralistas que han negado la importancia de la experiencia corporal y se han centrado en la creación discursiva. Por tanto, tenemos que descartar las interpretaciones interesadas que se hacen de la frase «no se nace mujer, se llega a serlo» con la absurda finalidad de sostener que la distinción entre hembras y machos es un artificio cultural.

Cuando Simone de Beauvoir afirma que la mujer no se puede definir solo como hembra, lo que quiere decir es que las mujeres ante todo son seres humanos y que ese es el elemento más importante de la definición. Por consiguiente, De Beauvoir suscribe la definición común de la mujer como hembra humana, si bien la filósofa resalta durante toda su obra que la parte fundamental de dicha definición es el término «humana», pues en palabras de Simone de Beauvoir (2017):

El hecho de ser un ser humano es infinitamente más importante que todas las singularidades que distinguen a los seres humanos [...] En los dos sexos se desarrolla el mismo drama de la carne y el espíritu, de la finitud y la trascendencia; a ambos los roe el tiempo, los acecha la muerte; ambos tienen la misma necesidad esencial uno del otro; y pueden extraer de su libertad la misma gloria (p. 866).

## 5. LA INEXISTENCIA DE UNA ESENCIA FEMENINA

La conocida cita de Simone de Beauvoir «no se nace mujer, llega una a serlo» se refiere a que no existe una esencia femenina natural, sino que la femineidad es aprendida. La femineidad sería una camisa de fuerza elaborada a partir de mitos culturales que tienen como meta someter a las mujeres, manteniéndolas atadas a las labores reproductivas. Consideramos que el antiesencialismo característico de la filosofía existencialista es el marco teórico perfecto para analizar cómo la sociedad influye sobre la niña para que desarrolle una subjetividad femenina. *El segundo sexo* expone cómo se produce ese «llegar a ser mujer».

Valcárcel (1999) señala que para el existencialismo en todo ser hay un llegar a ser, porque todas las esencias se construyen. Valcárcel ejemplifica que no hay una esencia esclava, una esencia blanca, una esencia judía ni una esencia mujer. La esencia no es algo inmutable sino algo construido, que puede ser desafiado porque los seres humanos son esencialmente libres y dicha libertad es la única esencia real. Por eso Jean Paul Sartre afirma que «la existencia antecede a la esencia» (Sartre, 1978, p. 14). La existencia es anterior a toda esencia y también anterior al pensamiento. Descartes describió al ser humano como cosa pensante, pero el existencialismo lo define como ser existente antes que pensante (Valcárcel, 2007). Lo expuesto se sintetiza en el lema existencialista: «la esencia del ser humano reside en su existencia» (Heidegger, 2006, p. 42).

Valcárcel (1999) explica que De Beauvoir defiende un antiesencialismo radical. Lo femenino no es ningún en sí previo y espontáneo. Es, por el contrario, un producto elaborado. Ser mujer es un aprendizaje heterónimo de mil lazos tenues. La mujer no está destinada por misteriosos instintos a la pasividad, la coquetería y la maternidad, sino que es la intervención de la

sociedad en la vida de la niña la que insufla esa vocación. Amelia Valcárcel aclara que la filósofa francesa describe la interiorización de lo femenino como un aprendizaje que ningún individuo del sexo femenino puede rechazar, y que tiene como consecuencia cortarle las alas, limitando su poder sobre el universo.

### 5.1. La mujer no puede ser definida por la feminidad

Cualquier definición de la palabra «mujer» que ignore al sujeto (hembra humana) para definirla por la situación de subordinación que sufre, estaría esencializando la opresión. A menudo la *teoría queer* utiliza la famosa frase «no se nace mujer, llega una a serlo» para definir a las mujeres por la posición de subordinación sufrida o por la interiorización de una identidad femenina. Esas interpretaciones de la frase serían contrarias a la filosofía de Simone de Beauvoir.

Podemos descartar de plano que Simone de Beauvoir suscriba una definición de «mujer» que se remita a su posición como sujeto subordinado de la sociedad. En los pasajes finales de la obra, la filósofa francesa sostiene que, cuando la sociedad alcance la igualdad entre los sexos, las diferencias anatómicas subsistirán. En esa sociedad igualitaria seguirán experimentándose «los milagros que engendra la división de seres humanos en dos categorías separadas: el deseo, la posesión, el amor, el sueño, la aventura» (De Beauvoir, 2017, p. 902). La autora sostiene que la diferencia física entre el varón y la mujer seguirá haciendo del coito una experiencia de descubrimiento y apunta que:

Siempre habrá entre el hombre y la mujer ciertas diferencias; al tener una figura singular, su erotismo, y por tanto su mundo sexual, no podrían dejar de engendrar en la mujer una sensualidad y una sensibilidad singulares: sus relaciones con su propio cuerpo, con el cuerpo masculino, con el hijo, no serán jamás idénticas a las que el hombre sostiene con su propio cuerpo, con el cuerpo femenino y con el hijo (De Beauvoir, 2017, p. 902).

En otro pasaje expone que, si desapareciera la sociedad burguesa desaparecería también la clase proletaria, pero hace notar que las mujeres siempre han existido y siempre existirán, con independencia de la jerarquía entre los sexos: «no siempre hubo proletarios, pero siempre ha habido mujeres;

lo son por su estructura fisiológica» (De Beauvoir, 2017, p. 53). Por eso la filósofa habla de «casta sexual» y rechaza describir a las mujeres como una clase al referirse a su situación colectiva. Las mujeres no son el resultado de una relación de jerarquía entre grupos sociales, sino que son las hembras de la especie humana.

Si para De Beauvoir el hecho de ser hembra es inherente a la definición de la mujer, no ocurre lo mismo con la feminidad (el mito cultural de la Mujer con mayúsculas, aquello que se inocula como «llegar a ser» aspiracional). La feminidad no es un atributo natural de las mujeres, sino una invención del hombre que podría proyectarse incluso sobre un objeto inanimado o sobre un varón. Así, señala la filósofa:

Sucede que otros objetos son feminizados; puesto que también la mujer es, en gran parte, una invención del hombre, este puede inventarla a través de un cuerpo masculino. Pero, en general, a la Mujer se la busca en seres femeninos. (De Beauvoir, 2017, p. 266)

En definitiva, De Beauvoir considera que un hombre puede representar a la perfección los estereotipos de la feminidad, un varón podría reunir los atributos inventados que construyen a la Mujer como mito, pero no sería una hembra humana, no sería una mujer. Por eso en el pensamiento de Simone de Beauvoir tendría un sentido muy diferente la siguiente afirmación de Butler (2007): «los hombres no tienen necesariamente cuerpos masculinos y las mujeres no tienen necesariamente cuerpos femeninos» (p. 54). La filósofa francesa entendería que Butler está empleando los términos «mujeres» y «hombres» en un sentido figurado para aludir a que los varones pueden ser femeninos y las mujeres pueden ser masculinas. Sin embargo, en el pensamiento de Simone de Beauvoir, eso no modifica el sexo de la persona.

## 5.2. La conformación de la identidad femenina

En el capítulo de *El segundo sexo* relativo a la infancia, la filósofa reflexiona sobre los niños que desean ser niñas y asumen un comportamiento femenino:

Las niñas van en principio a aparecer como privilegiadas. Es sobre todo a los varones a quienes se les niegan, poco a poco, besos y caricias; en cuanto a la niña [...] la visten con ropas suaves como besos, son indulgentes con sus lágrimas y sus caprichos, la peinan con esmero, divierten sus gestos y

coqueterías; contra la angustia de la soledad la protegen contactos carnales y miradas complacientes. Al niño, en cambio, se le va a prohibir incluso la coquetería, sus maniobras de seducción; sus comedias irritan [...]. Muchos niños, asustados de la dura independencia a que se les condena, desean ser niñas [...]. Algunos buscaban obstinadamente la feminidad, lo cual es uno de los modos de orientarse hacia la homosexualidad. (De Beauvoir, 2017, p. 344)

También se refiere a las preadolescentes que comienzan a ser presionadas por la sociedad para convertirse en objetos sexuales y que viven con pánico el desarrollo de sus pechos y la llegada de la menstruación. De estas niñas señala que muchas quieren ser niños porque quieren seguir trepando a los árboles, practicando ejercicio o haciendo lo mismo que los niños. No quieren convertirse en un adorno ambulante ni plegarse a las restricciones de la educación de las señoritas. Desearían convertirse en hombres para ser como los protagonistas de los libros de texto y los poetas: «hacia los diez o doce años, la mayor parte de las niñas son verdaderamente «chicos frustrados», es decir, niñas a quienes falta la licencia para ser varones» (De Beauvoir, 2017, p. 358).

Asimismo, en el capítulo dedicado al lesbianismo De Beauvoir (2017) se refiere a las chicas, algunas de ellas lesbianas, que realmente creen ser chicos:

El gran malentendido sobre el que descansa ese sistema de interpretación consiste en que se admite que para el ser humano hembra es natural que haga de sí una mujer femenina (...). Hasta donde alcanza mi memoria –dice una–, jamás me he considerado una niña ni una muchacha (...) Hacia los cinco o seis años, me dije que, cualquiera que fuese la opinión de las gentes, si no era un chico, en todo caso tampoco era una chica... Miraba la conformación de mi cuerpo como un accidente misterioso (...) Hasta su sexto año, y pese a los asertos de su entorno, ella se creía un chico, vestido de niña por razones que le eran desconocidas. (...) Adopta una actitud masculina; disfraza su ropaje, su porte, su lenguaje; forma con una amiga femenina una pareja en la cual encarna el personaje varonil (p. 478).

En ninguno de estos casos, y otros ejemplos que pueden extraerse, menciona De Beauvoir que se produzca un cambio de sexo.

Judith Butler admite que la famosa frase de Simone de Beauvoir únicamente quiere decir que la feminidad es cultural. En términos contemporáneos diríamos que nadie nace con el género aprendido. Butler reconoce que el pensamiento de Simone de Beauvoir es muy distinto al suyo, porque

la filósofa existencialista declara que se nace con un sexo y que todos los seres humanos son sexuados (Butler, 2007, p. 225). Como explica Butler con acierto, Simone de Beauvoir desarrolla una posición feminista y humanista en la que la feminidad es interiorizada por una persona. Esa «persona» es un sujeto, una sustancia anterior a la interiorización del género que posee una capacidad universal para el razonamiento, la deliberación moral o el lenguaje (Butler, 2007, p. 60).

Pero según Judith Butler (2007), «la teoría de Beauvoir tiene consecuencias radicales que ella misma no contempló» (p. 225). A su juicio, el antiesencialismo de Simone de Beauvoir implica que ser de un sexo concreto no conlleva llegar a ser de un género concreto (la hembra no tiene por qué llegar a ser «mujer»). Y añade Butler (2007): «dicho de otra forma, «mujer» no necesariamente es la construcción cultural del cuerpo femenino, y «hombre» tampoco representa obligatoriamente a un cuerpo masculino» (p. 225). Observamos aquí que Butler confunde a propósito ser «mujer» con ser «femenina». La filósofa estadounidense aprovecha que De Beauvoir utiliza el término «mujer» de modo polisémico, aludiendo a distintos significados. En realidad, lo que De Beauvoir sostiene es que nacer hembra (mujer) no implica necesariamente llegar a ser femenina.

Judith Butler está muy interesada por el proceso de conformación de la identidad femenina que describe De Beauvoir (hoy llamaríamos a este proceso «socialización de género»). En el pensamiento de Simone de Beauvoir, la socialización de género no es un procedimiento invariable, sino que la mujer interioriza la feminidad y puede rebelarse frente a los mandatos o rasgos de carácter que se le atribuyen. Butler considera que en Simone de Beauvoir no hay nada que asegure que la persona que «se convierte en mujer» sea obligatoriamente del sexo femenino. La estadounidense señala que una persona podría elegir un género distinto a aquel que se le impone. Considera que el género sería una especie de modelo en el que la persona se va transformando pero que nunca llega a alcanzar, como un hábito que se desarrolla mediante la repetición (pensemos por ejemplo en el acto de pintarse los labios). Según Butler (2007), los géneros pueden recombinarse de muchas formas, de modo que los seres humanos podrían clasificarse en otras categorías fuera del binarismo hombre/mujer, en función de la «identidad de género» elegida y representada (p. 226).



Judith Butler sostiene que las personas pueden autodefinir cuál es su sexo basándose en la «identidad de género» que eligen o representan, pero la propia Butler señala que esta idea se aleja de la teoría de Simone de Beauvoir.

Para De Beauvoir la mujer (hembra) está expuesta a interpretaciones culturales que condicionan el modo en que experimenta sus procesos corporales. En esa socialización, la mujer puede rebelarse contra ciertas interpretaciones (por ejemplo, le han dicho que debe sentir asco ante su menstruación y la joven decide que la regla no es algo negativo), pero eso no significa que una persona pueda «cambiar de género» y recibir por elección una socialización distinta. Incluso si una niña decide liberarse de la feminidad en su carácter, todavía se vería afectada por las reglas sociales externas que cierran determinados espacios y oportunidades a todas las mujeres. Las exclusiones y atribuciones, como la asignación social de las tareas domésticas o la configuración social de la maternidad, no dependen de la personalidad individual (aunque el individuo pueda rebelarse con mayor o menor resultado). En cualquier caso, la sociedad imprime el género femenino sobre el cuerpo de las hembras mediante distintas estrategias, incluyendo la violencia.

La construcción de las mujeres como sujetos situados permite, según Kruks (1992), que De Beauvoir esquite tanto la trampa del esencialismo como la del hiperconstructivismo. De Beauvoir no presenta la identidad subjetiva como algo inmutable, pero tampoco considera que el sujeto pueda determinar su identidad a su completa voluntad, pues el sujeto se encuentra con los límites y obstáculos de las situaciones opresivas.

En la filosofía de Simone de Beauvoir, lo que la *teoría queer* denomina «identidad de género» no sería más que la interiorización o el rechazo de unas normas sociales opresivas, pues en el pensamiento beauvoriano la feminidad es una serie de imposiciones dirigidas a constreñir la identidad de las mujeres e impedir su autonomía. Por tanto, el género no sería una identidad sino lo contrario: aquello que inhibe el libre desarrollo de la identidad de las mujeres. Para De Beauvoir la feminidad no es como una prenda que se puede poner cualquiera por decisión propia, sino una prenda hecha a la medida de la hembra para mantenerla sujeta. Los mitos que construyen la feminidad sirven para someter a las mujeres a las labores de crianza y al ámbito de la domesticidad. Además, algunos mitos descritos por De Beauvoir no podrían comprenderse sin su referencia intrínseca al cuerpo femenino,

como la madre leona, la doncella virginal y la madre tierra. Cambiar de género no es posible, pues el género es una socialización impuesta a un cuerpo concreto.

En definitiva, existe una importante diferencia entre De Beauvoir y Butler en relación con el papel que ocupa el género en su proyecto emancipatorio. En la sociedad proyectada por Butler, el género tiene un lugar central porque los individuos lo elegirían tomando elementos estéticos masculinos y femeninos para recombinarlos a su gusto (expresando así una «identidad de género»). Butler no propone la erradicación de los mandatos de género, sino la parodia, la transgresión y la disolución de la estructura binaria mediante la «proliferación de los géneros» (por ejemplo, mediante la combinación de un cuerpo masculino con una estética femenina, o mediante el empleo de una estética andrógina). En cambio, como hace notar Amorós (2009), para De Beauvoir el término «elección» tiene un sentido fuerte, que trasciende cualquier transgresión estética. La filósofa aspira a la eliminación de los mandatos de feminidad (lo que hoy llamamos «género») y sostiene que eso solo puede lograrse si las mujeres se rebelan para obtener autonomía económica y afectiva. El resultado al que aspira De Beauvoir es una sociedad en la que mujeres y hombres gocen de un estatus de igualdad, donde ambos sexos sean tratados como personas con idénticas oportunidades de realización individual.

### 5.3. La abolición de la jerarquía sexual

Si hay una diferencia definitiva entre la *teoría queer* y el existencialismo de Simone de Beauvoir es el lugar que ocupan las mujeres en el sistema de opresión. Se trata de una diferencia tan relevante que convierte a ambas teorías en antagónicas. Para la *teoría queer*, el gran problema social es la existencia de una estructura binaria de género. Según su teoría, dicho sistema binario clasifica a los seres humanos en dos categorías, hombre/mujer, con la finalidad de favorecer el régimen heterosexual y la sexualidad reproductiva. El resultado de dicho sistema sería la exclusión de cualquier tipo de comportamiento estético o sexual que se aleje del prescrito para la familia tradicional. Por consiguiente, en este esquema trazado por los principales referentes *queer* Michel Foucault (2015), Gayle Rubin (1986) y Judith Butler

(Butler y Fraser, 2000), la sociedad se basa en una jerarquía en la que los hombres heterosexuales ocupan el lugar superior, seguido por las mujeres heterosexuales, mientras que las personas más discriminadas de la sociedad serían aquellas que resultan excluidas por desviarse del binarismo de género en su estética o en sus hábitos sexuales, es decir: las personas homosexuales y, aún más, las personas travestis o transgénero.

El nuevo esquema no está centrado en el análisis y erradicación del patriarcado como estructura de dominio de los hombres sobre las mujeres, sino que se centra en la eliminación del binarismo de género como presunta estructura de dominio que margina a las identidades sexuales disidentes. Por eso el foco de sus reflexiones no son las posibilidades de emancipación de las mujeres, sino la proliferación de las identidades trans, no binarias y homo-eróticas, con la finalidad de «desordenar» el género (Butler, 2007, p. 73). De hecho, la *teoría queer* incluso parece cuestionar la existencia del patriarcado como sistema de dominación de los hombres sobre las mujeres. A juicio de Judith Butler, no podemos presumir una posición compartida por las mujeres de todas las culturas (con elementos como el cuerpo sexuado de la hembra, la maternidad y la sexualidad), pues Butler sugiere que la categoría «mujer» se basa en las experiencias de las mujeres blancas y burguesas, excluyendo a las que no lo son. La autora expone que no existe una experiencia de dominación común a todas «las mujeres», sino que existen muchas intersecciones culturales, sociales y políticas que, junto con el binarismo de género, constituyen las estructuras sociales de dominación.

Frente a la negación *queer* del patriarcado, la teoría feminista de Simone de Beauvoir es un análisis de la jerarquía entre los sexos. Además, en el pensamiento de Simone de Beauvoir no existe un binarismo de género, sino que existe un masculino neutro que representa lo canónicamente humano. La confusión cultural entre los hombres y la humanidad alcanza tal magnitud que, según explica De Beauvoir (2017): «cada vez que la mujer se conduce como un ser humano se dice que se identifica con el varón» (p. 478). La mujer sería «la alteridad», lo excluido, mientras que las características de lo femenino no serían otra cosa que aquellas cualidades que una casta dominante espera encontrar en una casta dominada (obediencia, amabilidad, cuidado, disponibilidad sexual). Por tanto, en la filosofía de Simone de Beauvoir no hay en realidad dos géneros, sino un solo sistema cultural de género que

reserva a los hombres la universalidad, la acción y el poder, mientras arroja a las mujeres al lugar de la carencia. Los atributos de la masculinidad serían en realidad los atributos de lo humano.

Butler sostiene que tras la eliminación de la palabra «mujer» emergería una multiplicidad de identidades libres, pero Amorós (2009) discrepa de Butler, pues considera que la jerarquía sexual de los hombres sobre las mujeres no puede disolverse mediante cambios lingüísticos ni a través de la recombinación estética de los estereotipos de género. De lo que se trata es de que las mujeres puedan acceder a la igualdad de oportunidades económicas, afectivas, sociales y culturales. Cuando desaparezcan la división sexual del trabajo de cuidados y el resto de estructuras materiales que consagran a las mujeres a la inmanencia, el conjunto de mitos que integran la feminidad (incluyendo los aspectos estéticos y eróticos) se disolverán, puesto que la feminidad no es más que el retrato de la otredad.

## 6. CONCLUSIONES

En este trabajo hemos abordado el debate sobre «qué es una mujer» desde la concepción fenomenológica del cuerpo que desarrolla Simone de Beauvoir. Según esta concepción, el cuerpo no es un simple objeto natural, sino que el mundo se experimenta a través del mismo, por lo que este tiene una doble dimensión de sujeto-objeto. De Beauvoir analiza minuciosamente la dimensión experiencial (el «cuerpo vivido») recorriendo hitos clave del cuerpo femenino como la infancia, la menstruación, el embarazo, el parto y el envejecimiento.

Su fenomenología del cuerpo vivido presenta tintes trágicos, pues considera que, a causa de las diferencias reproductivas, la mujer lleva una vida más sometida a los procesos biológicos que el varón. Por eso nos hemos preguntado si Simone de Beauvoir concibe el cuerpo femenino como una prisión y si, al modo transhumanista, sueña con un futuro de ciencia ficción en el que los seres humanos se transformen en seres incorpóreos. Hemos rechazado esa interpretación de Simone de Beauvoir, ya que la autora considera que la maternidad, la menstruación y el resto de vivencias de la corporalidad femenina serían mucho más llevaderas o incluso gozosas en una sociedad con leyes y costumbres igualitarias y avances tecnológicos. La cultura condiciona

la dureza de los partos, el carácter limitante del rol maternal, el número de embarazos de las mujeres y la capacidad de decidir sobre la maternidad. Por tanto, la filósofa existencialista no reivindica una imposible eliminación de las diferencias anatómicas entre los sexos, sino la erradicación de la jerarquía que escamotea las oportunidades de las mujeres. En el pensamiento de Simone de Beauvoir, el cuerpo es el horizonte de nuestras posibilidades vitales, incluidas las posibilidades emancipatorias.

En el apartado titulado «La mujer como hembra humana» hemos contrapuesto sus ideas sobre el cuerpo sexuado a las tesis posestructuralistas de la *teoría queer*. Judith Butler defiende una noción de la mujer como constructo social que es contraria a la centralidad que Simone de Beauvoir confiere a la materialidad corporal. El cuerpo sexuado es parte de la situación de las mujeres, puesto que carecería de sentido postular una conciencia desencarnada. Sostenemos que hay un enorme salto entre la fenomenología del cuerpo beauvoiriana y el idealismo *queer*. A diferencia de la *teoría queer*, De Beauvoir no confunde el cuerpo con el discurso y distingue aquellos aspectos del mundo que pueden ser modificados de aquellos que son características existenciales de la vida, como el tiempo, la muerte, la reproducción sexual o las diferencias anatómicas entre los sexos. La experiencia tiene cuerpo y materialidad, y por consiguiente es irreductible al discurso.

En este artículo hemos destacado el rechazo de Simone de Beauvoir a cualquier tipo de «esencia femenina». La feminidad es una construcción cultural opresiva que las niñas van interiorizando a través de una socialización que las moldea para ejercer un papel social subordinado. Dado este marcado antiesencialismo de Simone de Beauvoir, resulta espuria la interpretación de su pensamiento realizada por Judith Butler, pues la filósofa estadounidense considera que la feminidad y la masculinidad son identidades («identidades de género») con las que las personas pueden jugar, combinando elementos de ambas para expresar la personalidad. En cambio, Simone de Beauvoir aspira a la erradicación de los mandatos sociales de feminidad que impiden a las mujeres alcanzar un estatus de igualdad afectiva y económica. La feminidad («género») no sería una identidad que nos defina como personas, sino aquella norma externa que impide a las mujeres elegir libremente y que moldea su personalidad de forma restrictiva. En la filosofía de Simone de Beauvoir no hay en realidad dos «géneros» sino un solo sistema cultural que

reserva a los hombres la universalidad y la representación de lo humano, mientras arroja a las mujeres al lugar de lo deficitario. La finalidad última que persigue Simone de Beauvoir es la abolición del sistema de jerarquía sexual de los hombres sobre las mujeres, tanto a nivel económico como afectivo. Este objetivo dista mucho del pensamiento de Judith Butler, que aspira más bien a la proliferación de identidades juguetonas y estéticamente subversivas.

Para una mejor comprensión de las diferencias entre el pensamiento de Simone de Beauvoir y la *teoría queer* podemos remitirnos a tres definiciones en liza del término «mujer» que menciona MacKinnon (1989): La primera de ellas es la que remite a la biología y la corporalidad, sosteniendo que una mujer es una hembra humana. Una segunda definición es la que considera que una mujer es quien ha sido sometida por la sociedad. En tercer lugar, estaría la definición que concibe a la mujer como alguien con una «identidad de género femenina». De estas tres definiciones, si nos preguntamos cuál es la que suscribe Simone de Beauvoir, basándonos en la lectura de su obra concluiríamos que se decanta por la definición de la mujer como hembra humana y que De Beauvoir presenta contundentes argumentos contra las otras dos definiciones. Es importante precisar que la filósofa rechaza que exista una contradicción entre el hecho de ser hembra y el hecho más importante de ser una persona humana (del mismo modo que el hombre es el macho de la especie humana y su naturaleza sexuada no va en detrimento de sus derechos o sus capacidades humanas). La posición social subordinada de las mujeres no es consecuencia de su naturaleza sexuada.

En el presente artículo hemos argumentado que las ideas de Simone de Beauvoir han sido erróneamente interpretadas por fuentes posestructuralistas como Judith Butler. Dicha autora defiende que tanto el sexo como el género son cuestiones completamente culturales y que, por tanto, las mujeres serían una construcción cultural. La conclusión que hemos extraído es que dicha concepción resulta contraria a la fenomenología del cuerpo femenino que vertebra la obra de Simone de Beauvoir.

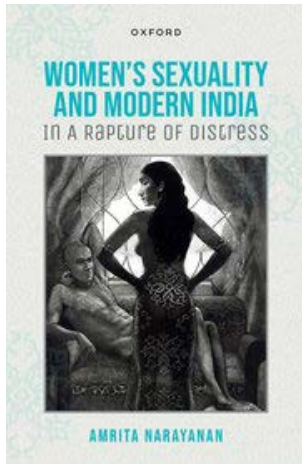
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### **III. Reviews / Reseñas**



Review of / Reseña de: Narayanan, Amrita. *Women's Sexuality and Modern India. In a Rapture of Distress*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023. 200 pp. ISBN: 9780192859815

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Studies on postcolonialism are giving way to decolonial practices, as there are many rooted ideas to deconstruct, especially when it comes to female sexuality. Some efforts are being made in that direction; for example, Ahonaa Roy edited *Gender, Sexuality, Decolonization. South Asia in the World Perspective* (2021), where she questioned the established notions of sexuality still prevalent today. In light of this trend, Amrita Narayanan's *Women's Sexuality and Modern India. In a Rapture of Distress* (2023) offers new insights into understanding women's sexuality in India. The book results from the author's vast engagement with sexuality; in fact, this is the third book of Amrita Narayanan, a book about the controversial figure of «women's sexuality» in the Indian patriarchal imagination, but also in the Western imaginary where the word Indian has been many times equated with negative terms such as poor, passive or tradition-bound. Amrita Narayanan has already explored female sexual desire in the South Asian continent in publications such as *The Parrots of Desire: 3,000 Years of Indian Erotica*, an edited book or in *Pha(bu)llus: A Cultural History* (2021), where she contributed with a chapter.

Feminist and postcolonial studies on the intersection between colonialism and sexuality have tended to focus mainly on the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries in the British, Dutch and French empires (Leavitt-Alcántara, 2021: 233). Nonetheless, sexuality is a modern and historical construct that is battled differently within every country. That is what Amrita Narayanan posits in this book, that every country has a unique relationship with patriarchy and that, to understand India, it is crucial to grasp the Indian patriarchal imagination. Opening new venues for reinterpreting sexuality should be made through a collective effort between history and interdisciplinary sexual studies (Decker, 2021: 42). Amrita Narayanan goes a step beyond; given her background as a psychoanalyst, psychoanalysis also plays a prominent role in her study. The book is filled with unsolved questions which revolve around some of the static conceptions patriarchy imposes on women: motherhood and wifhood, as well as inter-generational differences. These responses are provided by their main protagonists, as the author resorts to interview excerpts and testimonies from her psychotherapy sessions to exemplify her arguments.

The first chapter, «Sympathies and Oppressions», departs with a scene from Manjula Padmanabhan's novel *The Island of Lost Girls* (2015), discussing whether women should have their memories erased so patriarchal and oppressive stories stop circulating. Earning sympathy, as the chapter includes, should be a far memory if women are to recover from patriarchy. Memories are the central topic around which this book is written; quoting Amrita Narayanan, «the narrative form that is this book is structured around a cohort of women's memories of their everyday, not-explicitly-violent, sexuality under patriarchy between Indian independence and before #MeToo» (Narayanan, 2023: 1). In this chapter, the author delves into how much sympathy towards the supposedly oppressed Indian woman has increased internationally after the 2012 rape case in Delhi. All of that is connected to what she calls «a further form of closure to their sexual agency» (2023: 4).

The second chapter, «If I Win, We Lose», hinges on gendered desire. Based on vivid examples, the author relates how desire is seen as masculine, as it still occurs with binary concepts associated with feminine or masculine. Gendered desire is more prevalent in India, where the community leaves little room for implications of sexual identification; as the author puts it,

«gossip, reputation, and maternal socialisation as the three main sources of sexual suppression» (2023: 21). Amrita Narayanan exemplifies the «We Lose», as she writes in the title, in the voices of many patients whose experiences reflect that.

«Fugitive Economies» starts with a question Amrita Narayanan asked in one of her lectures: what did the students associate with 'man'? and the response from a student who states that «'being a man means doing whatever you want'» (2023: 37). This chapter builds up on both the question and the answer, foregrounding the privileges of male sexuality, a topic that continues to be delved into in the next chapter «On Women's Aggression», especially on the losses caused by women's sexual and agency powerlessness. Nevertheless, it leaves the door open after the #MeToo when more is being said about the topic.

In «Aesthetic Arrests», it is explored how the suppression of female sexuality is not cast upon all women, as «the willing surrender of autonomy, independence and power continue to be a source of sexual pleasure for women» (2023: 71). The aesthetics of sexuality implies an awareness of conflicts among the wide range of women whose sexuality differs, from those who are pleased by objectification of their sexual aesthetics to those who embrace concealment and modesty. Chapter 6, «Desire and Envy Amongst Equals», familiarises the readers with the changes occurring with sexuality because, as it has been more democratised, more importance is now given to differences among women, not only in clothing or education but also in-between generations.

Women's experience of sexual loss is posited in the next chapter, «Mutters, Whimpers, Wails», where much importance is accorded to inter-generational differences and what is considered loss or trauma. To exemplify this, Amrita Narayanan resorts to personal encounters in her lectures. The following chapter, entitled «Secret Agents», follows the previous line of thought but focuses instead on the institution of marriage, which forces women to be monogamous but on which women go rogue and, by refusing to be controlled, engage in sexual relationships outside marriage.

Chapter 9, «Sex and the Measure of Indianness», refers to the question of representation briefly mentioned in the first chapter. The author brings up a widely known topic, that women's clothes represent the nation-state, in

this case, the sari. She relates how Indianness is understood, after all, in the Indian imagination, by a set of established values: motherhood, wifehood, but mainly, desexualisation. For those who do not conform to this style, clothes, for example, are a reminder of the attack on Indian masculinisation by English colonists. Finally, the last chapter, «A Wider Bed for 'Mother'», problematises the conflicting terms «mother», «mothering», or how a mother should be or behave. Besides, she puts forward the conflictive fact that, in India, patriarchy is most evident in the role of a male baby for a mother and in how little baby girls are praised, not just in the community but also culturally speaking, which reflects on the frightening rate of female infanticide.

Overall, the work is articulate and fulfils the still-existing need to deconstruct certain concepts deeply rooted in culture, especially regarding the female body and sexuality. It is the first book of its kind where psychoanalysis blends with a study of women's sexuality in India, highlighting the most important conflicts. All of that is done brilliantly and combined with many examples to help the readers understand its actual dimension with the protagonists of Amrita Narayanan's interviews. *Women's Sexuality and Modern India. In A Rapture of Distress* (2023) familiarises the readers with an intrinsic understanding of how sexuality intersects with other markers in a complex social and cultural context. As it stands, this book of well-researched but also profoundly personal chapters is a crucial addition to the domain of intersectional studies hinged on feminism and sexuality in India. Despite its complexity, it might be helpful to scholars and students interested in this topic.

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Review of / Reseña de: Cabezas-Fernández, Marta y Ana Martínez-Pérez. *Cuando el estado es violento: narrativas de violencia contra las mujeres y las disidencias sexuales*. Manresa: Ediciones Bellaterra, 2023. 320 pp. ISBN:978-84-18684-06-7

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*Cuando el estado es violento: narrativas de violencia contra las mujeres y las disidencias sexuales*, de Marta Cabezas Fernández y Ana Martínez Pérez (Eds.) aborda la problemática de la violencia contra las mujeres y las disidencias sexuales en el Estado español, centrándose en aquellas ejercidas y perpetuadas por acción u omisión desde el Estado. Para ello, se parte de una conceptualización de la violencia entendida como una cuestión sistémica, es decir, enraizada en un «sistema sociocultural que genera sus condiciones materiales de posibilidad, le da sentido y la encubre» y que es ejercida a través de las prácticas y discursos normativos que, de forma intencionada o no, impactan negativamente sobre colectivos subordinados (Cabezas-Fernández y Martínez-Pérez, 2022, p. 6). De este modo, el objetivo de la obra es construir, con base en un enfoque de derechos humanos y de cuidados, una etnografía situada que permita recoger la experiencia que las mujeres, las niñas y las disidencias sexuales vivencian en sus encuentros cotidianos con el Estado.

La publicación de esta obra ha venido a cubrir un vacío en la literatura académica, aportando diferentes elementos innovadores en su mirada a la violencia contra las mujeres y las disidencias sexuales. Así, este trabajo pretende configurarse como una etnografía desde los márgenes (Das y Poole, 2008), proponiendo una reconceptualización del Estado como un conjunto de prácticas situadas de dominación, pero también de «redistribución, reconocimiento y participación» (p. 22) que suponen el ejercicio de diferentes formas de poder (Fraser, 2008). Esta conceptualización tiene una doble implicación: por un lado, permite mirar a las violencias desde la perspectiva de la experiencia cotidiana de las personas que transitan el Estado y vivencian sus prácticas institucionales y burocráticas. Por otro, implica reflejar las lógicas de contestación que se generan en los márgenes pues, de acuerdo con Das y Poole (2008), se constituyen como espacios de creatividad y de producción de estrategias de resistencia, lo que se resume en uno de los *leitmotivs* de la obra: «El estado nos violenta, pero nos resistimos». Las autoras alcanzan, entonces, a plasmar la relación dialéctica generada entre el aparato estatal y las personas que lo habitan, recogiendo las prácticas de contestación colectiva producidas por estas.

Todo ello se realiza tomando las narrativas como principal instrumento para la generación de conocimiento, lo que supone una apuesta real por la producción de un «conocimiento situado» (Haraway, 1995) y feminista, pues la experiencia de las mujeres y las disidencias sexuales se entiende como recurso empírico y teórico (Harding, 1987). Se construye, entonces, un relato coral que retrata la violencia desde diferentes prismas: la propia vivencia, el activismo, la labor profesional o las instituciones públicas. La diversidad de autoras que participan en la obra contribuye, tal y como lo refiere Justa Montero, a la incorporación de un sujeto del feminismo que «no deja a nadie fuera porque es entre todas como se construye lo común, la propuesta y la protesta» (p. 14).

Con base en lo anterior, la obra se organiza en tres bloques, recogiendo en cada uno de ellos las experiencias de un sistema institucional diferente: el sistema de justicia, el sanitario y el educativo, lo que es precedido de un prólogo de Justa Montero y seguido de un epílogo colaborativo elaborado junto con Pamela Palenciano, actriz teatral y su abogada, Laia Serra, quienes

narran su batalla judicial por contar la violencia, frente a la reacción patriarcal (Cabezas-Fernández y Vega-Solís, 2022).

El primer bloque, *Justicia, ciudadanía y derechos humanos*, se compone de seis capítulos que abordan diferentes formas de violencia contra mujeres y niñas producidas, en palabras de María Naredo, en el encuentro entre «la norma y la vida» (p. 38). En un primer capítulo, María Naredo realiza una aproximación a las dificultades que enfrentan las mujeres al combatir la violencia machista en los sistemas de justicia, poniendo el foco en el impacto que el descrédito y la impunidad de los agresores tiene en las supervivientes y en el imaginario social. Le sigue Soledad Luque, quien aporta un componente histórico a las violencias ejercidas contra las mujeres desde el Estado, a través de su lucha por la justicia y la reparación en las tramas de desaparición forzosa de menores durante el franquismo. A continuación, Virginia Maquieira realiza un recorrido por las batallas transnacionales por nombrar la violencia contra las mujeres como una cuestión de derechos humanos, centrándose en la incorporación del concepto de feminicidio. Por su parte, Tania Sordo nos aproxima al falso Síndrome de Alienación Parental como una de las expresiones de violencia institucional, utilizado para deslegitimar y criminalizar a las madres en los casos de violencia sexual infantil. Por último, en los capítulos cinco y seis, se refleja cómo la ausencia de marcos normativos adecuados frente a la violencia machista, de la mano de estereotipos de género, racistas y de clase, generan descrédito, deshumanización y desprotección. Así, Tatiana Retamozo y Silvina Monteros se centran en la experiencia de las mujeres migradas que, en el cruce con la legislación de extranjería, ven vulnerado su derecho a una protección adecuada y Bárbara Tardón relata el impacto que la omisión de la violencia sexual en los marcos normativos españoles ha tenido en las trayectorias de las supervivientes.

Un segundo bloque, *Salud, cuidados y cuerpos*, nos adentra en las vivencias de las personas trans y no binarias, las mujeres y las infancias en los sistemas de salud. Primeramente, Dau García, tomando como base los saberes producidos desde el activismo, realiza una introducción a las violencias que genera el binarismo y el dualismo sexo/género durante las trayectorias vitales de las personas intersex, al nacer y sobre las personas trans «al crecer» (p. 166). Frente a ello, Saida García y Marta Malo relatan los procesos de contestación colectiva generados por parte de familias de menores trans, a



partir de la creación de la asociación EUFORIA, la cual busca acompañar a las familias e infancias trans desde un enfoque despatologizador. Por su parte, Desirée Mena aborda la violencia obstétrica en el Estado español, realizando un repaso por los procesos de reconocimiento del derecho a una atención prenatal respetuosa, así como por las ausencias en el marco normativo español. La atención deshumanizada en los sistemas de salud se concreta en el caso de Ana Isabel Íñigo, quien relata su paso por neonatos y atención pediátrica durante el proceso de enfermedad de su hijo, contraponiéndolo a su experiencia en atención paliativa donde, de acuerdo con el título del capítulo, al poner los cuidados en el centro, la violencia desaparece.

En una tercera parte, *Educación, familias y maternidades dentro y fuera del Estado*, se hace un recorrido por las diferentes violencias y exclusiones que se producen en el sistema educativo, reflejando cómo lo «normativo» se establece como elemento ordenador. Esto se concreta en las experiencias de Carmen Romero, quien relata cómo las familias heterodisidentes son invisibilizadas en su paso por el sistema educativo, generándose situaciones de violencia cotidiana manifestadas en prácticas concretas como la cumplimentación de un formulario o la realización de una ficha de trabajo. Marta Rodríguez-Cruz, apoyándose en datos y narrativas de niñas gitanas, refleja cómo sus trayectorias académicas se ven atravesadas por el género, la etnia y la clase, produciendo segregación escolar en un sistema que, no solo no solventa, sino que perpetúa esta desigualdad. Finalmente, Elena Casado, Paula Martín y Carmen Romero nos hablan del acoso sexual en las universidades, una práctica que, lejos de ser excepcional, descansa en las rígidas estructuras de poder y en la opacidad del sistema universitario e implica la desprotección de las mujeres en su paso por este.

En definitiva, la obra se constituye como un instrumento de referencia para comprender las violencias contra las mujeres, niñas y disidencias sexuales en el Estado español. Su enfoque antropológico, así como el uso de las narrativas como base para la creación de conocimiento hacen que se asiente como una publicación de valor académico, pero también pedagógico y político lo que, junto con la claridad en el lenguaje y la incorporación de cuestiones temáticas que se encuentran en los debates sociales actuales, hace que se constituya como un recurso de utilidad también para la sociedad en general.

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Review of / Reseña de: Moreno Seco, Mónica (coord.). *Desafiar los límites. Mujeres y compromiso entre lo público y lo privado en el siglo XX*. Granada: Editorial Comares, 2023. 233 pp. ISBN: 978-8-1369-477-1

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Cuando se trata de desafiar los límites, basta con pensar en el que se conoce ya como *el siglo de las mujeres*. El siglo XX fue testigo de cambios abruptos y veloces en los que el género no quedó al margen, pues las feminidades sufrieron una metamorfosis a la par que se sucedían los acontecimientos bélicos, políticos y culturales que impregnaron todas las realidades sociales. De este modo, el objetivo principal de esta obra es estudiar las estrategias que llevaron a cabo las mujeres en diferentes ámbitos para integrarse en un mundo patriarcal y reivindicar sus derechos como colectivo y como individualidades.

Los once capítulos examinan no solo las resistencias frontales políticas más conocidas, sino también las que provenían de otros espacios como son la escritura, la radio, el cómic, la maternidad, el amor, las asociaciones, la amistad o el trabajo, lo que marca la diferencia con otras obras y la hace original. Desde estos ámbitos, las mujeres fueron negociando a su manera los límites establecidos, borrando las fronteras entre lo público y lo privado. Ello se puede apreciar ya desde la propia portada, donde se entremezcla militancia,

maternidad y amistad. Asimismo, lejos de hacer una binaria separación entre las rebeldes y las sumisas, recoge una amplia gama de heterogéneas agencias.

El volumen recoge los frutos del proyecto de investigación financiado por el Ministerio de Economía, Industria y Competitividad denominado <<Género, compromiso y transgresión en España, 1890-2016>> bajo la coordinación de la catedrática de Historia Contemporánea de la Universidad de Alicante Mónica Moreno Seco y la participación de algunas historiadoras e investigadoras de distintas universidades españolas e internacionales. Se enmarca en la historiografía de género, una corriente consolidada ya en Occidente con autoras como Joan Scott y en España con historiadoras pioneras tales como Mary Nash. Por otro lado, abarca distintos contextos nacionales y transnacionales desde Argentina, Portugal e Italia hasta España.

El marco cronológico en el que se encuadra la obra se divide en tres partes. La primera comienza en el primer tercio de siglo, momento en el que el movimiento feminista estaba en auge en Occidente. En este contexto, la catedrática de la Universidad de Siena Patrizia Gabrielli analiza una de las formas de autorrepresentación feminista menos conocidas en el caso italiano: las autobiografías. La autora denomina novedosamente estos textos como «literatura de batalla», puesto que en la escritura muchas mujeres transgredieron las normas sociales y despertaron las conciencias de otras que se identificaron con ellas y descubrieron que, si una podía desafiar los preceptos de género establecidos, las demás también podrían. Así, como afirma Mónica Moreno desde la primera página: «cada acto individual de desobediencia de las normas contribuía a modificar la situación de todas».

En el segundo capítulo, Marta del Moral observa cómo muchas mujeres socialistas se vieron cautivadas con las teorías feministas, lo que no resulta extraño ya que los dos movimientos entienden la sociedad como un sistema en el que existen oprimidos y opresores. Cualquiera podría pensar que ambos movimientos encajaron sus reivindicaciones con armonía. Sin embargo, la autora investiga las ansiedades del socialismo madrileño en los años veinte ante el avance feminista dentro de su partido. De esta forma, muestra las paradojas del discurso socialista basado en la igualdad y su práctica, cimentada en la exclusión. Asimismo, desvela cómo la voz de las mujeres era ignorada tanto si se agrupaban en espacios propios, donde eran marginadas, como si se reunían en ámbitos mixtos, donde eran ignoradas.

Una de las cuestiones más importantes de este capítulo es la refutación, una vez más, del mito misógino basado en la minoría de edad intelectual de las mujeres para impedirles ejercer su derecho al voto o su supuesta influencia en la victoria de las derechas en 1933. La autora demuestra que las socialistas tenían para entonces una experiencia de casi tres décadas en la militancia política, lo que se desestimó deliberadamente por su propio partido y gran parte de la sociedad hasta la actualidad.

Por otra parte, los conocidos como *felices años veinte* también vieron nacer la radiofonía, un objeto de consumo de masas que implicaba de lleno a las mujeres. En el siguiente capítulo, Laura Branciforte indaga cómo se relaciona el género con este medio que se desliza por los límites de lo público y lo privado, pues lo público comenzará a resonar en todos los hogares de las familias de las clases medias. La interlocución no estuvo exenta de contradicciones, puesto que mientras buscaba reproducir identidades de género tradicionales, fue un elemento de modernización y transgresión.

La segunda parte del libro se sitúa en los sesenta, momento de auge de la segunda ola feminista y la Nueva Izquierda. En Argentina, la Nueva Izquierda se presentó como una renovación de la lucha tradicional marxista, que solo se centraba en lo económico, para integrar nuevas cuestiones como el género. La socióloga argentina Alejandra Oberti revisita desde un enfoque feminista qué supuso la militancia revolucionaria en la vida de las mujeres argentinas y en las identidades de género a través de sus testimonios, lo que acerca a una historia mucho más real. La autora valora esta experiencia como una transgresión, pero, también, nos muestra sus alcances. A su vez, analiza el movimiento de Madres de Plaza de Mayo y la maternidad desde un enfoque innovador, como un elemento considerado privado que puede llevar a una crisis del orden público en determinadas ocasiones.

En el otro lado del hemisferio, tradicionalmente se piensa en un relato de la Transición basado en los líderes políticos masculinos más conocidos. En el capítulo de Mónica Moreno se busca entender este complejo período poniendo el foco en la amistad, vínculo que discurre entre el género y las emociones. Es interesante observar cómo lo afectivo podía despertar el compromiso político de muchas y que el vínculo creado entre mujeres en la lucha antifranquista dio lugar a la base social del movimiento feminista de segunda ola del país.

En este mismo período existía una gran tradición sindical con mucha presencia masculina. Sin embargo, Mayka Muñoz profundiza en su capítulo en el diálogo entre diversas culturas sindicalistas con el sector del textil, conformado por una mayoría femenina. Este consiguió abrir una brecha por la que se daba voz a las reivindicaciones de género, lo que entró en conflicto en muchas ocasiones con el resto de los sindicatos que entendían sus demandas específicas como parciales o divisorias. Del mismo modo, otra forma de transgresión de la domesticidad para las mujeres en este momento fue el asociacionismo cultural. Carlos Martos estudia en el capítulo siguiente cómo estos espacios de sociabilidad se convirtieron en caldo de cultivo para la politización de las mujeres que, sin ser su intención inicial, al adentrarse en estos clubes y sus redes de contactos, comenzaron un camino de *descubrimiento personal* que permutaría su forma de entender la política, su vida privada y la sociedad.

La tercera parte del libro se centra en los activismos en los períodos de transición. Se inicia con un capítulo de Ana Sofía Ferreira que estudia la relación entre la transición democrática de Portugal y el movimiento feminista del país, lo que resulta muy interesante ya que este no es tan conocido internacionalmente. La peculiaridad de Portugal fue que el feminismo radical europeo llegó tarde y de forma minoritaria.

En otro orden de cosas, en España existía un debilitamiento importante del activismo de las socialistas en comparación con el del primer tercio de siglo. Ello se debe a cuestiones tales como el discurso hegemónico de domesticidad y la represión franquista. En el siguiente capítulo, Rosario Ruiz ahonda en el esfuerzo de algunas socialistas y sindicalistas por revitalizar de nuevo la militancia de las mujeres e incluir sus demandas feministas en la política del partido o sindicato. Buscaron la igualdad en la sociedad, pero también entre las filas militantes ya que, como afirma Carlota Bustelo en la página 201: «nuestros compañeros no eran feministas en absoluto». Este estudio cuenta con una gran vigencia tras las últimas declaraciones misóginas de dos grandes figuras de la izquierda del período de Transición, lo que nos permite poder imaginar los obstáculos que tuvieron que enfrentar las militantes del período.

Los dos últimos capítulos atienden a la piedra angular sobre la que se han construido las feminidades: la maternidad. Elena Díaz transita por los

discursos de la crianza en relación con las identidades de género desde el franquismo hasta la actualidad. Por otro lado, Bárbara Ortuño examina el modo en que intersecciona la maternidad con el exilio de las mujeres argentinas durante la última dictadura rioplatense. Su perspectiva es novedosa desde el comienzo al hablar siempre en plural de las experiencias: exilios, militancias o maternidades, o al estudiar el *exilio de segunda fila*, el no centrado en las figuras más conocidas. Asimismo, trata las emociones tejiendo un diálogo desde tres puntos de vista generacionales: madres exiliadas, hijas/os y nietas/os, lo que enriquece enormemente la comprensión del exilio. Se confecciona un relato histórico en el que se integran hábilmente categorías como feminidades y masculinidades, cotidianidades y otredades sin tratarlos como anexos diferenciados sin conexión. Además, se reflexiona sobre la aportación de la llegada de un contingente de mujeres de la izquierda revolucionaria austral a España en un momento tan interesante como es la Transición.

En última instancia, esta obra armoniza los grandes objetivos del proyecto en el que se encuadra: género, compromiso y transgresión. Uno de los elementos que atraviesa todos los capítulos es entender el modo en que se relacionan las emociones, las subjetividades y el género, lo que hace de este libro una obra de referencia donde están presentes las perspectivas historiográficas más vanguardistas. Asimismo, muestra la delgada línea existente entre lo que se ha tendido a estudiar como dos ámbitos separados, lo público y lo privado. Una de las aportaciones más importantes de la historiografía de género, mediante obras como la presente, ha sido analizar el modo en que se retroalimentan estos dos espacios que son muy difíciles de disgregar en las realidades humanas. En conjunto, el trabajo está dotado de una gran actualidad en un momento de auge de la extrema derecha. Nos enseña sobre la fragilidad de lo conquistado por las mujeres y que las resistencias no son siempre frontales, sino que los límites son negociables desde muchos ámbitos.



Review of / Reseña de: Bohoslavsky, Juan Pablo y Mariana Rulli. *Deuda feminista: ¿Utopía u oxímoron?* La Plata: EDULP, 2023. 537 pp. ISBN: 978-987-8475-99-8

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Bohoslavsky y Rulli en *Deuda feminista: ¿Utopía u oxímoron?* componen un libro polifónico, que desde un enfoque feminista y de derechos humanos, disecciona la deuda soberana en búsqueda de tejer resistencias para transformar las finanzas internacionales que hacen negocios a costa del tiempo, los cuerpos y las vidas de las personas, en especial de las mujeres.

Ambos coordinadores, que tienen una amplia experiencia y trayectoria en el análisis de la arquitectura financiera internacional, volvieron a unir esfuerzos para diseñar un libro que ensaye respuestas a las preguntas de i) cómo el enfoque de derechos humanos puede servir para desarticular las desigualdades extremas y en particular las desigualdades de género; ii) si en el actual sistema económico podemos aspirar a hablar de deuda pública con enfoque feminista o el término es en sí mismo un oxímoron y iii) de qué formas el enfoque de género es cooptado por quienes no tienen una verdadera vocación transformadora de la sociedad patriarcal.

Sostienen, y con razón, que la economía y en especial la deuda es demasiado compleja como para dejarla sólo en manos de economistas y proponen un abordaje holístico e interdisciplinario. Por ello los acompañan una orquesta de voces diversas que suenan de sur a norte y que dialogan a lo



largo y ancho del globo sobre el tema. Las precede un prólogo impecable de Diane Elson que con versado oficio devela con gracia la melodía que une los capítulos.

Siguiendo la tradición de pioneras como Olympe de Gouges<sup>1</sup> el libro propone utilizar la política y los derechos humanos como herramientas feministas transformadoras. A lo largo de los 20 capítulos organizados en 6 partes, que sirven como diversos puntos de entrada para el análisis, puede encontrarse un personaje recurrente: el Fondo Monetario Internacional (FMI). Como en una tragedia shakesperiana, en el escenario económico mundial, el FMI se pone el vestido de Lady Macbeth y susurra a los oídos de quienes deciden los destinos económicos de los países endeudados cantos de traición y austeridad a su soberano, el pueblo. Cuando prescribe recetas de ajuste juega, detrás de la escena democrática, un papel estelar como disciplinador de quienes necesitan de su aprobación para acceder a alivios de deuda y nuevos préstamos de diversos tipos.

«La deuda y las agendas feministas» es la primera parte en la que se desentraman el papel de la deuda en tres temas que resultan de especial interés por sus implicancias en las desigualdades materiales por género. Corina Rodríguez Enríquez brinda elementos para visibilizar a la violencia económica como la base material de la violencia patriarcal y expone al endeudamiento como un mecanismo disciplinador y despojador de los cuerpos-territorios tanto a nivel macro como micro. Señala que la resistencia feminista a la violencia económica-patriarcal se articula con una organización colectiva que desafíe lo establecido con carácter de verdad y denuncie las raíces sistémicas del endeudamiento y la trama compleja de violencias económicas que desata. Hawkins junto a Zucker-Marques advierten que no sólo las políticas de austeridad en momentos de crisis son regresivas en términos de igualdad de género, sino que el modelo de crecimiento económico inducido por la deuda, también lo es. El paradigma imperante en la

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1. Autora de la Declaración de los derechos de la mujer y la ciudadana femenina publicada en 1791 para desafiar la autoridad masculina de la Revolución Francesa. El texto responde a la Declaración de los Derechos del Hombre, texto fundante en la comprensión de los estados modernos, que 1789 reconoció los principios de la libertad y los derechos a la propiedad, a la educación, la seguridad y la resistencia a la opresión sólo para los varones, excluyendo a mujeres y esclavos.

actualidad de la deuda como «motor» económico expone a los países a mayor fragilidad frente a impactos externos e inhibe la inversión social para garantizar el flujo continuo del pago de servicios de la deuda. El duo Fresnillo – Achampong expone el círculo vicioso de las crisis gemelas de deuda y emergencia climática: los países altamente endeudados tienen problemas para financiar políticas de desarrollo con igualdad de género y resiliencia climática y, a su vez, los desastres naturales son un elemento que pone una presión adicional a la acumulación de deuda. Las recetas de la ortodoxia de austeridad y explotación de recursos naturales para el reembolso de deudas lejos de contribuir agravan las desigualdades y resultan necesarias reformas sistémicas y feministas que, entre otras cosas, disputen las asimetrías entre el Norte y el Sur Global y subviertan las lógicas neocoloniales y patriarcales, por ejemplo, mediante la cancelación automática de deuda a fin de movilizar recursos ante fenómenos climáticos extremos.

La segunda parte «Enfoque de derechos humanos y deuda» sienta jurisprudencia y documenta cómo la deuda y los derechos humanos de las mujeres se imbrican en instrumentos jurídicos internacionales variados. Se destaca el capítulo en donde Marita Perceval y Mariana Rulli realizan un recorrido histórico del tratamiento de la deuda y los derechos humanos en las Conferencias Mundiales y Regionales de América Latina y el Caribe sobre la mujer. Además, Bohoslavsky y Rossi, con base en un análisis con perspectiva de género sobre estándares jurídicos internacionales e interamericanos en materia de derechos humanos y deuda soberana, sistematizan los estándares aplicables y obligaciones concretas de los Estados prestatarios y de los acreedores públicos y privados en los procesos de reestructuración de deuda, reformas económicas y análisis de impacto por género del endeudamiento.

En la tercera parte «Instituciones financieras internacionales, género y diversidad» se profundiza sobre los sesgos androcéntricos de las clásicas recomendaciones de las instituciones del Bretton Woods, en especial del FMI. Kubrick disecciona los persistentes sesgos androcéntricos en las medidas impulsadas por el Fondo frente a la pandemia y Perrons destapa el machismo de las siempre hegemónicas políticas neoliberales. Villard Duran, por su parte, muestra el proceso turbulento de incorporación de la perspectiva de género en el FMI que, a pesar de haber incluido mujeres en lugares de liderazgo y aumentado la producción técnica con perspectiva de género en

línea con las demandas feministas, se queda corto en el momento de pasar a la acción e instrumentaliza el enfoque de género en pos del crecimiento de la economía.

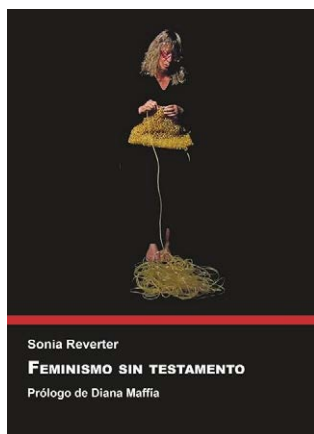
En la cuarta parte «FMI, mujeres y diversidades en América latina y Argentina» se documentan los avances que se realizan desde estas latitudes para poner el cuidado en el centro y se denuncian los riesgos que el endeudamiento representa para caminar hacia sociedades del cuidado. Cuenta con el aporte de Nieves Rico, que advierte que las deudas del cuidado son invisibles a los ojos de la economía tradicional y a los análisis de sostenibilidad de deuda. Partenio y Wilkis, por su parte, señalan que donde falla un derecho crece la deuda privada de mujeres y diversidades en base a evidencia cualitativa y cuantitativa recogida en Argentina. Cantamutto y Constantino concluyen la sección demostrando, en base a datos para América Latina y el Caribe, que el aumento de la deuda con el FMI, por las condicionalidades que impone el organismo, viene de la mano de caídas en la inversión pública en educación, situación que se agrava en contextos de mayor vulnerabilidad social.

La quinta parte «Análisis del impacto de género: marco y experiencias» se dedica a repasar los procesos de puesta en práctica de la evaluación de sostenibilidad de la deuda y de avance en materia de derechos e igualdad de género con el objetivo de extraer enseñanzas e iluminar los riesgos de la instrumentalización del enfoque de género. Serafini Goghegan y Miranda proponen desafiar el tradicional análisis de sostenibilidad de deuda para incorporar indicadores que tengan en cuenta los aportes de la economía feminista. Marx analiza cómo el estado austríaco incorporó los presupuestos con perspectiva de género como herramienta de gobierno, advierte sobre los peligros de que los procesos de burocratización de los saberes feministas diluyan las demandas del movimiento y ensaya estrategias de *gubernabilidad* para evitarlo. Marco Navarro y Pautassi analizan cómo los indicadores cuantitativos y cualitativos, que se utilizan en el sistema interamericano para monitorear el progreso de las obligaciones de los Estados, podrían utilizarse también para el monitoreo del endeudamiento soberano.

La sexta parte «Agenda de trabajo para las transformaciones igualitarias» resalta áreas en donde es necesario hacer mayores esfuerzos para lograr fortalecer las demandas feministas. Lasdarakis urge a la incorporación de una

lente de género en el sistema monetario y financiero mundial, Bohoslavsky y Lavinias revelan cómo los bonos de género representan una amenaza para los derechos de las mujeres y Brosio y Rulli ofrecen imaginaciones sobre cómo fortalecer las demandas feministas en los procesos de institucionalización del enfoque de género en las finanzas públicas.

El libro amplifica los aportes feministas sobre deuda soberana y los fortalece con el enfoque de derechos humanos. Al delatar las desigualdades sistémicas que anuda el endeudamiento y desentramar las violencias económicas que la deuda reproduce y ramifica, constituye una ineludible fuente de consulta para quien busque desarmar las injustas relaciones de género en el mundo. De forma exhaustiva y plural sistematiza herramientas jurídicas disponibles y recupera los recorridos históricos de los movimientos feministas. Denuncia el papel cómplice del FMI en la perpetuación del orden económico injusto y le recuerda que, por más que intente lavar sus manos, la mancha no se quita. Ofrece imaginaciones de alternativas posibles y agendas de trabajo conjunto e invita a la acción para trascender las utopías y materializar transformaciones profundas del sistema financiero global.



Review of / Reseña de: Reverter Bañón, Sonia. *Feminismo sin testamento*. Castelló de la Plana: Publicaciones de la Universitat Jaume I, 2022. 164 pp. ISBN: 978-84-19647-11-5

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El libro de la profesora Sonia Reverter se suma a una larga y fecunda obra donde refleja lo que son sus líneas prioritarias de investigación, centradas en la teoría y praxis feminista, neurogénero, ciberfeminismo, ciudadanía e identidad, y crisis del pensamiento europeo contemporáneo.

Organizado en cuatro capítulos y un quinto de conclusiones, el libro arranca con una primera propuesta sobre la que se irá construyendo todo el discurso. Esta es entender el feminismo como una práctica de libertad y no restringirlo a una lucha identitaria.

En el primer capítulo se plantean las bases de los temas que van a ser tratados. Destaca la importancia de no separar en el feminismo la teoría y la praxis, pues como teoría crítica bebe de las fuentes experienciales y su separación le restaría fuerza emancipadora. Desarrolla un recorrido sobre la metáfora de las olas como recurso explicativo de una genealogía que nos lega un profundo conocimiento, pero que debe ampliarse a nuevos relatos que no siempre han sido contemplados desde el feminismo dominante. Reivindica los feminismos, en plural, como inclusión de aquellas experiencias y temas que no encajaban dentro del feminismo hegemónico.

Otro de estos *cimientos* es el debate sobre si pueden ser salvados los valores de la Modernidad incorporando la perspectiva de género, o si la propia Modernidad es patriarcal y conlleva la desigualdad. Por último, la presentación del fin del relato unificado del feminismo nos trae hacia el presente, en el que confluyen movimientos feministas desde muchas experiencias y en donde se cuestiona la pertinencia de limitarlo a un relato cerrado.

En el segundo capítulo interpela sobre la posibilidad de una igualdad desde la diversidad y respetuosa con las diferencias. La autora señala la interrelación entre las desigualdades de diversa naturaleza, exacerbadas por el régimen neoliberal, como el motivo para apostar por una conciencia feminista desde la interseccionalidad. Argumenta las razones que la llevan a defender un feminismo que abarque toda lucha contra la opresión, puesto que el patriarcado está imbricado en el modelo económico dominante, en su sistema sociocultural y en la arquitectura institucional.

La «injusticia epistémica», concepto acuñado por Miranda Fricker en 2017 (p.61), desplegada en hermenéutica y testimonial, es presentada como causa de las dificultades que las mujeres viven para testimoniar y comprender su situación. Desde este punto, se retoma la reflexión sobre la dificultad de establecer un sujeto universal en el feminismo, aunque se señala la necesidad de un universal como estrategia.

En esta línea de argumentación se hace un reclamo a la importancia de entender el feminismo como la suma de las luchas que conllevan igualdad y libertad, tanto en la vindicación como en la acción. Siguiendo a autoras de la calidad de Fina Birulés, Linda Zerilli y Judith Butler profundiza en entender la libertad política como una forma de resistencia feminista a la despolitización

En el capítulo tercero presenta algunos de los temas que son la base de importantes discusiones en el feminismo actual. Se presenta el debate protagonizado por Nancy Fraser y Judith Butler. Pero, al igual que en el dilema de igualdad o diferencia, que es considerado un dilema del liberalismo, la autora defiende que, desde una concepción interseccional y visión performativa, estos dilemas no son tales.

Se postula a favor del feminismo interseccional, poniendo el énfasis en cómo las relaciones de poder se construyen interrelacionando o superponiendo múltiples categorías identitarias, sumando más opresión. En el

apartado dedicado a la teoría performativa de género, se presenta la obra de J. Butler acompañada de gran parte de las críticas que se le han hecho por parte de filósofas y activistas del feminismo. Así, va recorriendo las tesis de Butler desde su obra inicial hasta los artículos posteriores que han ido sirviendo para aclarar y matizar gran parte de las críticas que se han vertido contra su obra.

Por último, el capítulo aborda los conceptos de sexo y género presentando la maquinaria de asignación de género como el conjunto de normas sociales en relación con las características sexuales de los cuerpos, estableciendo una interpretación binaria de los mismos. Para la autora, el ideal estaría en poder derogar el género sustituido por un mundo sin categorías identitarias, pero ello requiere todo un proceso de deconstrucción que conduzca a una sociedad postgénero.

En el cuarto capítulo se puede considerar que cristalizan las ideas expuestas con anterioridad y se conforma de manera más contundente su propuesta. Reverter presenta la «teoría general de la performatividad» como una ampliación de la «teoría de la performatividad» de Butler (p.108), puesto que puede servir no solo para explicar la identidad de género, sino también de cualquier movimiento social y político.

Explica que la performatividad de lo humano es dialéctica, que implica vivir conjuntamente y en relación con otras infraestructuras consideradas no humanas, como el medio ambiente. Estamos interrelacionados y somos interdependientes para la vida (no solo la humana), marcados por elementos identitarios que podemos subvertir de manera colectiva. Esta idea refuerza la del sujeto colectivo y establece que el sujeto del feminismo tampoco es una identidad fija ni esencialista. En el feminismo performativo son las alianzas entre los grupos de *desechables* por el sistema lo que va a permitir que se pervierta la norma, generando la transformación. Por tanto, la idea principal de la performatividad es que nos debe enseñar a deshacernos de las categorías de género e interseccionales que nos precarizan.

Frente a la precarización se postula la lucha en coalición (solidaridad), desmontando así la idea neoliberal de la responsabilidad individual de la precariedad. El sujeto del feminismo será la propia coalición que tendrá una identidad cambiante y adaptable a cada situación. También lo serán sus agendas, que buscarán la ampliación de la expresión política. Es a través del

pensamiento, del diálogo y de la experiencia como se debe hacer la política feminista.

La autora también analiza el papel del neoliberalismo en la despolitización del feminismo. Advierte del proceso de burocratización de las agencias de igualdad y similares, y del peligro de la sustitución de los colectivos por expertas en género. La fórmula propuesta para resistir a este neoliberalismo es fortalecer al sujeto colectivo a través de las coaliciones y de la mediación, y estableciendo objetivos concretos a corto y largo plazo. Finalmente, se reclama la trascendencia de los espacios íntimos y de vida cotidiana como lugares donde, históricamente y en la actualidad, se pueden transgredir las normas impuestas por el patriarcado, porque, tal y como señala la autora, la rebeldía feminista no solo nace de la conciencia sino también del sufrimiento, de la falta de libertad y autonomía.

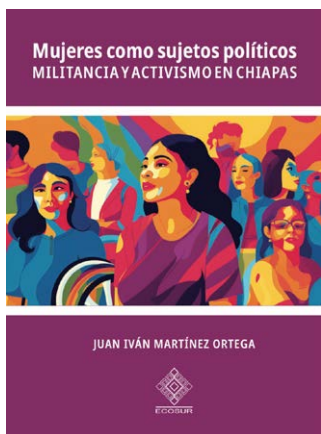
La obra termina con un capítulo de conclusiones donde se recogen de manera más concisa las ideas argumentadas y defendidas por la profesora Reverter. Destacan la defensa de la teoría de la interseccionalidad, de la necesidad de igualdad con libertad, y de la activación de la acción política. Igualmente, señala la necesidad de poner especial atención a la vida de las marginadas en permanente relación interpersonal como concepto político y a la comprensión de la multiplicidad identitaria, rechazando el supuesto problema que esto va a suponer para la emancipación de las mujeres. Así mismo, remarca como fundamental la fuerza del vínculo entre el reconocimiento y la redistribución. El libro se cierra volviendo a la idea inicial, reflejada en el título, sobre la importancia de la herencia del feminismo, pero subrayando que es libre para construir su propio futuro.

Se trata de una obra necesaria en un momento en el que los feminismos –lejos de su desaparición– surgen con fuerza ante una realidad marcada por el retroceso en derechos ya conquistados y por la reorganización del patriarcado, que está asumiendo en muchos casos expresiones muy violentas contra las mujeres. En ocasiones, esta vuelta del movimiento feminista a primera plana se presenta como un enfrentamiento entre los feminismos que solo contribuye a su descrédito y a la generación de confusión en la sociedad. A este panorama es al que responde valientemente la autora, explicando la importante labor intelectual que los feminismos han aportado a través de caminos nada lineales y cómo es necesario un cambio epistemológico para



poder construir un feminismo del siglo XXI. Se trata de una obra permanentemente referenciada, donde ninguno de los argumentos se traza al albur, sino que se respaldan en una exhaustiva bibliografía, que también es una gran aportación para la persona lectora.

Pero el libro no es un manual limitado a exponer las principales corrientes del feminismo, sino que, a partir de la identificación de la genealogía feminista y de sus principales temas, construye conocimiento a través de un posicionamiento, que, si bien puede no ser del agrado de todo el feminismo, la autora expone de manera argumentada y honesta, sin orillar ningún tema por espinoso que pueda parecer y demostrando su calidad intelectual y humana. Se puede considerar una obra de gran utilidad para personas que quieran conocer la genealogía, el presente y los diversos caminos de los feminismos, e imprescindible para aquellas que quieran aceptar la metáfora de sentarse en «la silla vacía» para seguir creando caminos hacia la igualdad y la libertad.



Review of / Reseña de: Martínez Ortega, Juan Iván. *Mujeres como sujetos políticos. Militancia y activismo en Chiapas*. México: El Colegio de la Frontera Sur, 2023. 201 pp. ISBN: 978-607-8767-81-6

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El libro escrito por Juan Martínez Ortega busca responder a un conjunto de preguntas que, de suyo, merecerían investigaciones individuales: ¿cómo se construyen las mujeres como sujetos políticos? ¿cuál es el contexto en el que las mujeres chiapanecas participan en la política?, ¿qué representa la normativa político-jurídica y sus implicaciones en la construcción de las mujeres como sujetos políticos?, ¿qué condiciones de posibilidad se requieren para que las mujeres se construyan como sujetos políticos?, entre otras. Para satisfacer cada una de estas, la investigación se aproxima a un conjunto de mujeres que se desenvuelven en el ámbito de la política institucional como en otras pistas para conocer –al menos, una parte– del proceso que han vivido como *actoras* que inciden en un terreno masculinizado y patriarcal, como es la política.

El autor realiza su trabajo en Chiapas, un estado mexicano que enfrenta rezagos históricos, problemas estructurales y exclusiones de personas, incluidas las mujeres, por razones variadas: origen, religión, edad, etc. En esa entidad federativa del sur de México, ha sido notoria la violencia que se ha

ejercido contra las mujeres políticas a pesar de las reformas legislativas en la materia. Aun existe un tramo que separa la realidad *real* de la realidad *jurídica*. El contenido de la obra de Martínez Ortega es precedido de un prólogo elaborado por María del Carmen García Aguilar en el cual, más que ofrecer claves de lectura –que las hay–, reflexiona sobre la teoría política a partir de lo instituido y lo instituyente que es la base de la propia discusión del autor, aunque, por momentos, no lo explicita así.

El capítulo 1, titulado «Estado de la cuestión» es una amplia revisión de cuatro autoras Beauvoir, Crenshaw, Spivak y Butler que, él considera, son las bases de pensar a las mujeres como sujetos. Hay una discusión de sus ideas y posiciones y un ejercicio de síntesis que, páginas más adelante, permitirá comprender el proceso que cada mujer entrevistada ha vivido para convertirse en una *sujeta política*. Es, como se lee en el título, un estado de la cuestión construido para orientar el trabajo investigativo y tener clara la ruta teórica a seguir. Precisamente, las herramientas teórico-conceptuales para desarrollar la investigación están consignadas en el capítulo 2. En este, el autor examina el género como categoría, perspectiva y teoría. No es una revisión ociosa o forzada, sino necesaria para clarificar los conceptos. Esta última es una preocupación constante a lo largo del libro, aspecto que debe reconocerse para evitar, en lo que se pueda, la polisemia. Situado en la teoría feminista, él expone y discute con categorías políticas, a la vez que trae a la actualidad polémicas en torno a conceptos aparentemente universales como justicia y libertad y los metarrelatos de Marx, Lévi-Strauss, Lacan y otros. Se tiene presente que el género responde a una construcción cultural y, como tal, debe ser ubicado en el constructivismo social. En esta parte, además, se revisa la interseccionalidad no sólo con la conceptualización clásica, sino con otras que han venido desdoblándose. Retomar este concepto y esta teoría en una investigación como la que se aprecia en el libro es fundamental para dar cuenta de las múltiples diferencias que están presentes en las vidas y cuerpos de *las actoras*.

Entre las herramientas que se emplearon, se encuentra la entrevista semiestructurada para los elementos subjetivo y relacional, principalmente, pero también para dar cuenta de lo objetivable. Merece la pena conocer los pormenores de este ejercicio para, a su vez, valorar el trabajo realizado. Estas entrevistas se aplicaron en la primera fase del trabajo de campo

entre octubre de 2018 y septiembre de 2019, en donde se seleccionaron a mujeres que tuvieran actividad político-electoral. Durante la segunda fase (entre octubre y diciembre de 2019) se recurrió al trabajo etnográfico en el Congreso de Chiapas para observar y registrar el comportamiento de las mujeres políticas; en este caso, legisladoras locales, en el espacio formal de un poder público. No obstante, el autor menciona que estas observaciones no resultaron suficientes para advertir la constitución de las mujeres como sujetos políticos, por lo que se consideró adecuado recurrir a mujeres integrantes de movimientos sociales y organizaciones de la sociedad civil. La tercera fase, que duró el primer trimestre de 2020, fue el periodo de entrevistas, también semiestructuradas, con mujeres participantes en los espacios anteriores. La última fase (segundo trimestre de 2020) sirvió para validar la información recabada anteriormente recurriendo a las personas previamente entrevistadas. En total, se realizaron 31 entrevistas: a dos funcionarias electorales en 2018, a 15 militantes de partidos (cinco fueron candidatas, tres fueron regidoras entre 2015-2018, cinco también ocuparon regidurías en el periodo 2018-2021 y dos más fueron diputadas suplentes durante el mismo trienio), a ocho integrantes de organizaciones de la sociedad civil y a seis mujeres que se autonombraron activistas independientes.

El capítulo 3 es nombrado «La dimensión de la subjetivación» en donde el autor muestra la forma en que los instrumentos legales nacionales como de derecho público internacional reconocen y tutelan los derechos políticos de las mujeres. La legislación establece pautas de comportamiento de individuos e instituciones, pero lo más difícil es introyectar los valores y principios con los que aquella fue elaborada. Destaca en el proceso de reconocimiento de las mujeres que se ha pasado de un sujeto monolítico a uno heterogéneo y, ahora, a un sujeto *intersectado*, lo que muestra la complejidad del propio sujeto y el paso de lo que debería ser a lo que es. Sin embargo, las mujeres aún lidian con lo que el autor denomina la política del sujeto de acuerdo con las propias circunstancias y condicionantes. Estas se revelan como factores que pueden impedir o impulsar su participación en la vida pública. De esta manera, sufren opresiones por la propia condición de sexo-género, pero también por edad, procedencia, situación de discapacidad, estatus migratorio o escolaridad. Hay que recordar, como lo hace el autor, que los sistemas de opresión se relacionan con lo que social y culturalmente se acepta, reconoce

y valora. De esto se desprenden reacciones y resistencias. Dice Martínez Ortega (2023):

Los sistemas de opresión no son homogéneos; diferentes procesos históricos y culturales decantan en formas de dominación y discriminación diferenciadas. Así, el sexismo o capacitismo que se vive en la ciudad difiere del que se vive en las comunidades indígenas. (p. 99)

Este capítulo, con los elementos recogidos, da contexto a los testimonios de las personas entrevistadas que sufrieron sexismo, *adultocentrismo*, clasismo, *capacitismo*, entre otras expresiones de discriminación. La mezcla o combinación de discriminaciones puede ser tan variada como se desee, complicando la condición de quien la sufre. Para enfrentar esto, las instituciones, no sin resistencias, han venido modificando su comportamiento por mandato de ley. El terreno de la política institucionalizada es en donde se han dado los cambios más notorios, aunque con resultados insuficientes, puesto que los problemas no se resuelven por completo con cuotas, por ejemplo. Más aún, no todo está en la dimensión normativa, sino que la *criptonormativa* tiene una influencia tal que modula y orienta el comportamiento y acción de *las actoras*. Lo oculto, lo *criptonormado*, produce un tipo de realidad para sujetos determinados.

«Productos de la subjetivación y la violencia como desubjetivización» es el capítulo 4 en donde se discute el proceso de constitución del sujeto, en este caso de *actoras políticas*. Ellas reconocen, como parte de dicho proceso, que son sujetos mujeres lejos de tener una única identidad. Las identidades que portan son variadas. Alguna de las entrevistadas se reconocía como mujer, de clase media, migrante, y joven. Cada una de estas facetas posee sus propias construcciones. Son, pues, identidades *intersectadas*. Un aspecto relevante es la autoafirmación que se identificó como parte de la subjetivación de las mujeres políticas: saben que poseen conocimientos, experiencias, habilidades y capacidades. Por supuesto, este aspecto de verse a sí mismas como poseedoras de atributos no fue sencillo. A partir de la consideración de la política como un terreno exclusivo de hombres, este capítulo contiene también una discusión sobre la feminidad hegemónica, la performatividad y la violencia. La política, dicen algunas de las entrevistadas, tiene un espacio para su ejercicio que es patriarcal y desconoce, deliberadamente, otras identidades/comportamientos/aspiraciones.

*Mujeres como sujetos políticos. Militancia y activismo en Chiapas* es una obra relevante escrita desde el sur para conocer y comprender –aunque esto último depende de la voluntad del *lector*, así, en masculino)– las causas de las exclusiones y violencias de las mujeres políticas y los procesos que ellas han vivido para re-conocerse como sujetos políticos (*sujetas políticas*) a pesar de las múltiples trabas que su condición sexo-genérica y otras intersecciones les acarrea.



Review of / Reseña de: Guilló Arakistain, Miren. *Sangre y resistencia. Políticas y culturas alternativas de la menstruación*. Manresa: Bellaterra Edicions, 2023. 308 pp. ISBN: 978-84-19160-34-8

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En el libro *Sangre y resistencia*, la antropóloga Miren Guilló Arakistain, profesora en el Dpto. de Filosofía de los Valores y Antropología Social de la Universidad del País Vasco UPV/EHU, hace un amplio análisis de la menstruación desde la autoetnografía como herramienta metodológica, perspectiva epistemológica y práctica feminista (Gregorio Gil, 2023). La doctora Guilló Arakistain, miembro del Grupo de Investigación en Antropología Feminista, realiza un seguimiento diacrónico de las experiencias y vivencias de nueve personas, incluida ella misma, a lo largo de varios años y su relación con el ciclo menstrual, cómo influye en sus vidas, emociones, posicionamientos políticos y, muy especialmente, su vivencia del feminismo, junto a su propia experiencia e introspección. A lo largo de los siete capítulos que componen el libro, Guilló profundiza en el significado de la menstruación, en su utilización en contra de las mujeres que sigue vigente por parte del patriarcado y de la biomedicina hegemónica. El eje central de su estudio es el de las políticas y culturas alternativas de la menstruación, un tema que crea polémica o rechazo, ya que todavía está muy extendida la visión de que es un proceso íntimo y que, el hecho de visibilizarlo y ponerlo sobre la mesa

para su debate, se debe única y exclusivamente al deseo de polemizar y crear distorsión. Elaborar una tesis sobre el tema, desde un enfoque antropológico y feminista, es una actitud valiente y enriquecedora para el discurso y el repositorio de lecturas, visiones y aproximaciones.

El libro, fruto de la tesis doctoral de la autora y con un prólogo de la antropóloga social Mari Luz Esteban, analiza aspectos como la equiparación mujer-menstruación, la íntima relación entre las personas que menstrúan y sus procesos, la necesidad de integrar la inmensa variabilidad de experiencias y los peligros, ya conocidos por el feminismo, de homogenizar vivencias. Dedicar también un capítulo al vínculo entre la sangre y placer y las producciones artístico-(contra)culturales en torno a ella.

Con su visión de antropóloga y doctora en estudios feministas, revisa los cambios llevados a cabo dentro de la antropología feminista para eliminar los sesgos universalistas y etnocentristas al no tener en cuenta el abordaje o visión del género de los grupos a estudio. Este es el tema que trata en los dos primeros capítulos del libro («Aproximaciones antropológicas y feministas de la menstruación» y «Anatomías del método. Un mapa epistemológico y reflexivo»), en los cuales analiza las distintas aproximaciones que se han realizado desde la antropología y la teoría feminista sobre la menstruación, desde las primeras investigaciones que se enfocaban exclusivamente en la sangre como elementos de estudio a la incorporación al debate de la salud, el cuerpo y la sexualidad en los años setenta y ochenta, cuando se abren espacios para el diálogo, el aprendizaje, el cuestionamiento y la autogestión. Durante esos años, la salud sexual y reproductiva se convierte en una de las reivindicaciones centrales en la lucha feminista. A partir de los noventa aparecen nuevas teorías y se incorpora la perspectiva de género, lo que lleva a formular, según diversos análisis, que las situaciones de desigualdad y su problemática aparecen en función del género y no de la biología. La retroalimentación entre activistas-profesionales sanitarias-académicas facilita profundizar en el debate de los procesos menstruales desde múltiples enfoques. Se amplían las disciplinas que participan: antropólogas, sociólogas, biólogas, profesionales sanitarias, filósofas... lo que permite asumir la diversidad y pluralidad cultural.

El activismo menstrual en España coge fuerza en los últimos años con diversas opciones críticas con las propuestas neoliberales que llegan a



entremezclarse con posiciones antihegemónicas, movimientos de contracultura muy activos desde principios de este siglo que buscan *sacar del armario* al ciclo y que nos muestran una visión crítica con la industria farmacéutica, promoviendo la autosuficiencia e intentando restar protagonismo y peso al sistema.

En el tercer capítulo, «Repensar el ciclo. Iniciativas y tecnologías feministas», la autora nos muestra cómo el proceso etnográfico y su metodología, que ha sido dinámico, va transformándose y evolucionando a lo largo de la investigación.

El libro avanza en «Epistemologías y prácticas feministas de la salud. Resistencias y desafíos», basándose en la metodología propuesta por Esteban (2004), compartiendo extractos de los relatos que componen los itinerarios corporales de las personas entrevistadas: cómo se relacionan con sus cuerpos, cómo van afrontando la incomodidad y posible vulnerabilidad de los cambios durante sus ciclos, cómo gestionan el dolor y el uso de dispositivos menstruales. Cómo todos estos procesos, al ser compartidos, crean una comunidad que apoya, debate, profundiza en la desigualdad que todavía impera en nuestras sociedades y busca y ofrece alternativas para la autogestión.

Un capítulo clave, «Menstruación, identidad de género y paradigma del dimorfismo sexual», es el que más se ha ido transformando a lo largo de la investigación, según indica la autora. Nos muestra personas que se reconocen como mujeres y no menstrúan, personas que se reconocen como hombres y menstrúan y sus vivencias y relación íntima (y social) con sus ciclos. Guilló nos conmina a ampliar la perspectiva y los imaginarios, a incluir real y fácticamente a la gran variedad de personas y sus vivencias que transitan por este tema.

Otro de los temas que estas páginas nos muestran es cómo la sangre ha sido utilizada como elemento subversivo feminista (capítulo seis, «La subversión de la sangre. La performatividad del asco como estrategia feminista»). Diferentes instalaciones, acciones y protestas, sacan a la menstruación de lo privado e íntimo, y se convierte en un elemento transgresor que remueve creencias obsoletas y arcaicas.

El último capítulo, «Placer y conocimientos colectivos para la transformación social», plantea utilizar la gestión del placer, el autoempoderamiento

corporal y de sus cambios y de sus ciclos como elemento disruptivo de dinámicas aposentadas en siglos de patriarcado y biomedicina.

A modo de epílogo, Guilló resume sus hipótesis, que efectivamente ha ido demostrando a lo largo del libro: el aumento de propuestas alternativas sobre la gestión de la menstruación, el cambio en las relaciones de género, la necesidad vital de políticas menstruales y su estudio en profundidad, la generación de ideologías feministas diversas alrededor de las vivencias de este proceso.

La autora pone el foco crítico en los siguientes aspectos: lecturas normalizadoras, biologicistas y etnográficas exclusivamente reproductivas del ciclo; la crítica a que propuestas alternativas de los dispositivos menstruales sean fagocitadas por la sociedad de consumo y pierdan su carga como munición contra el capitalismo hegemónico y patriarcal; el peligro de la pérdida de matices y de profundidad del debate al polarizarse en tendencias casi opuestas: menstruantes espirituales y menstruantes radicales. Termina con estas reflexiones y el amplio marco de investigaciones que sobre este tema deberían llevarse a cabo, fomentando el debate entre la antropología feminista y de la salud.

El ciclo y la menstruación son un hecho palpable y objetivable en millones de mujeres y personas que menstrúan. El género cambia, en distintos países y distintas épocas históricas; es un corsé, una limitación creada por la sociedad. La biología se permea y se nutre de la visión del género, desarrollando vivencias y disonancias en los diversos procesos. Por todo ello, según mi punto de vista, deberíamos estar atentas a no minusvalorar o empobrecer la visión de los procesos fisiológicos de nuestros cuerpos que nos aportan una valiosa información sobre nuestro estado de salud físico, mental y emocional. Somos múltiples y diversas, hay mujeres que no menstrúan y es el enfoque de la sociedad-patriarcado con el género lo que convierte esa situación en carga o dolor, no los millones de mujeres que menstrúan cada mes. Hay hombres que menstrúan, y es la visión infravaloradora de la feminidad lo que pone un peso extra en la vivencia de un cuerpo menstruante.

Este libro enriquece el debate sobre la menstruación al profundizar en las vivencias de las personas entrevistadas y nos muestra una parte del amplio espectro de diversidad que habita nuestra sociedad. Desde un punto de vista metodológico, se trata de una investigación en la que, si bien las personas

entrevistadas son diferentes, puede percibirse una cierta homogeneidad en sus posicionamientos políticos, procedencia, clase social, etnia o diversidad funcional. El trabajo podría verse enriquecido incorporando los relatos corporales en torno a la menstruación de personas que, con cierta frecuencia, también se han visto excluidas del feminismo hegemónico como son las mujeres racializadas, mujeres en situación de vulnerabilidad, afectadas por la pobreza menstrual o sin acceso a una atención sanitaria de calidad o con perspectiva de género. Ésta puede ser una propuesta para futuras investigaciones.

En suma, se trata de un libro para repensar el ciclo y la sociedad y que apunta a la necesidad de profundizar e investigar en este tema desde enfoques diversos y multidisciplinares.

## OPEN-ACCESS POLICY

*Feminismo/s* offers immediate access to the journal's contents, without any embargo period, and is granted upon the belief that free access to research results can help foster global knowledge exchange. In this sense, *Feminismo/s* follows the open access policy defined by the Budapest Declaration (BOAI, 2002): « free availability on the public internet, permitting any users to read, download, copy, distribute, print, search, or link to the full texts of these articles, crawl them for indexing, pass them on as data to software, or use them for any other lawful purpose, without financial, legal, or technical barriers other than those inseparable from gaining access to the internet itself».

*Feminismo/s* is a non-profit scientific journal and, therefore, does not include the payment of any fee for submission of manuscripts or any other fee for the publication of articles.

## HOW TO SUBMIT A MANUSCRIPT

Submissions must meet the following requirements:

1. All articles must be *original* and *unpublished*. No articles under review by another journal will be taken into consideration.
2. Manuscript must be submitted via the journal's platform, which requires authors to [log into the platform](#) or [create their user profile](#) if they do not have one.
3. Manuscripts must be in English or Spanish.
4. Authors must provide their name and surnames, email address (preferably an institutional email address), professional affiliation, country and [ORCID](#) identifier.

5. In the «Comments for the Editor» section of the submission form authors must disclose any personal or financial connection that may influence the conclusions of the manuscript. Otherwise, they must declare that there is no conflict of interest involved.

6. Submitted files must be **anonymised**. Microsoft Word (.docx) or Open Document (.odt) file formats required.

7. If the submitted manuscript is part of a research study having received funding, the following details must be provided in the «Supporting Agencies»: funding entity, project code, etc. This information must not appear in the submitted file for the sake of anonymity.

## EDITORIAL GUIDELINES AND STYLE

### Author Guidelines

*Feminismo/s* publishes two types of work: research articles and book reviews. The Editorial Board establishes the general rules described below.

The journal does not charge any fee for submissions, nor does it charge for the publication of articles.

Papers are accepted in English or Spanish.

In order to submit an article, authors must [Login](#) or [Register](#) if they have not previously done so.

### RESEARCH PAPERS

At the start of the manuscript, the following elements must be provided:

- Title: clear, concise and informative. In it, authors are advised to include the keywords that indicate the topic of the article and avoid acronyms or extremely specific terms.
- Abstract: between 250 and 350 words. It must state the objectives, design, methods, main results and most relevant conclusions from the study.

- Keywords: at least eight, they must clearly indicate the topic of the article and be frequently used in the relevant field of study.

If the manuscript is not in English, the title, abstract and keywords must also appear in English.

The recommended structure for research papers is as follows: introduction, methodology, results, discussion, conclusions and bibliography:

- Introduction. This section must state the basis and purpose of the study. Citations should be provided only when strictly necessary. No data or conclusions from the study must be included. The introduction must not contain a detailed literature review.
- Methodology. When describing the research methods used in the study, authors must be as detailed as they see fit. They must provide sufficient information on the empirical work conducted, as this will allow others to understand and replicate the process. Previously published sources and methods must be succinctly described, with relevant citations, unless such sources and methods have been modified. When appropriate, this section must describe the methods for calculating sample size as well as the sampling methods used in each case. The type of analysis (documentary, critical, statistical, etc.) must be stated. If an original methodology is employed, it will be necessary to indicate the reasons for using it, as well as potential limitations.
- Results. Results must follow a logical sequence and appear within the text or in tables or figures (without repeating data). It is advisable to highlight relevant remarks.
- Discussion. A summary of the findings must be provided. Authors must relate their own observations to other relevant studies and indicate the contributions and limitations of their and others' studies. Data or other material already discussed in other sections must not be repeated again in detail. Authors must specify the inferences made from the findings and their limitations, including those inferences that could be useful for future research.
- Conclusions. This section must summarise the main points that can be drawn from the results and discussion.

- Bibliography. This section must appear after the discussion and conclusions. Authors must be listed in alphabetical order and APA format (7th edition) is required.

Text length required for research papers (which must be unpublished): 9,000 words, including notes, charts and reference lists. Any exceptions must be justified and authorised by the Editorial Board.

Font: Times New Roman, 12 pt. Text justification and 1.5 spacing required. The first line of each paragraph must be indented.

Section headings must be in bold and capitalised. Arabic numerals must be used for numbering section (1, 2, 3, etc.) and subsection (1.1, 1.2, 1.3, etc.) headings. Subsection headings must be in bold and lowercase.

Footnotes (font: Times New Roman, 10 pt) must be included only when strictly necessary, exclusively for additional information and never for bibliographic references. Footnote marks must appear before punctuation marks.

Photographs and images must be provided in digital format. They must not be included in the text. TIFF format and 300 dpi required. Whenever referred to in the text, they must be properly identified.

Only images, drawings, photographs, figures, tables, charts, etc. created by the authors of the article are accepted. Authors can also use rights-free images, etc. or those under Creative Commons licences allowing for them to be reused and listing the allowed uses. Rights-protected images, charts, etc. can be used as long as the authors of the article have requested and secured the relevant authorisation from the creators of such images, charts, etc.

## BOOK REVIEWS

- Reviews of recently published books (from the last two years) will have a maximum length of 1,500 words, specifying the author or editor, title, place of publication, publisher, date of publication, ISBN and number of pages.
- A complementary file, an image of the main cover of the reviewed publication is advisable.
- Authors must follow the instructions of the section [Citation and Referencing Guidelines](#).

## Checklist for preparing submissions

As part of the submission process, authors are required to check that their submission meets all the elements shown below. Submissions that do not comply with these guidelines will be returned to the authors.

1. The submission has neither been previously published, nor is under consideration for another journal (or an explanation has been provided in Comments to the Editor)
2. Microsoft Word (.docx) or Open Document (.odt) file formats are required.
3. Whenever possible, Digital Object Identifiers (DOIs) should be provided for reference purposes.
4. The text is 1.5 line spacing; uses a 12-point font; employs italics, rather than underlining (except for URL addresses); and all illustrations, figures, and tables should be placed in the corresponding place within the text, rather than at the end of the article
5. The text adheres to the stylistic and bibliographic requirements outlined in the [Authors Guidelines](#), which appear in How to publish.
6. If submitted to a peer-reviewed section of the journal, submitted files must be anonymised.
7. The text complies with the standards outlined in [Citation and Referencing Guidelines](#).

## CITATION AND REFERENCING GUIDELINES

Journal articles must follow the APA citation and referencing system (7th edition). Submitted articles that fail to follow this system will not be subject to evaluation.

You can check the APA rules in <https://apastyle.apa.org/>



## HOW TO PROPOSE A MONOGRAPHIC SERIES

The proposal for a monographic series for *Feminismo/s* journal should be submitted to the journal's main contact ([revistafeminismos@ua.es](mailto:revistafeminismos@ua.es)) with the following information:

1. Provisional title of the monographic series.
2. A comprehensive CV of its coordinator/s.
3. A description of the objectives and justification of the relevance of the dossier topic (300 words).
4. A provisional list of participants in the volume, along with a short biography and bibliographical review of each of them, with the titles of the planned works and a brief summary of each one where the intended objectives are included (150 words).
5. Proposals will be considered by the Editorial Board of *Feminismo/s* within a maximum period of one month from the date of receipt.

## PEER REVIEW PROCESS

- 1) Original papers are firstly assessed by the Editorial Board of the journal on their suitability to the fields of knowledge and the requirements established for authors by the journal.
- 2) The Editorial Board sends out the original documents (without the name of the author) to two external reviewers. On these views, the Editorial Board decides on rejecting or accepting the article or to apply for modifications by the author. Authors are given a detailed and reasoned notification where the content of original reports (edited) is exposed with specific indications for modifications if appropriate. *Feminismo/s* can send authors the original reports submitted, either complete or in part and always anonymously.
- 3) The report submitted by reviewers includes:
  - a) a global assessment of both the article and abstracts.

- b) a quantitative evaluation of quality (good | acceptable | insufficient) according to these five criteria: originality and interest of the topic; relevance in relation to current research in the area; methodological rigour; significant and updated bibliography; clear expository style.
- c) a final recommendation: publish | ask for modifications | reject.

## COVERAGE DISSEMINATION AND PRESENCE IN DATABASES

The journal is indexed in ESCI (WOS), DOAJ, GenderWatch (ProQuest), ERIH PLUS, MLA, MIAR, Latindex, Dialnet.

## GENDER EQUALITY POLICIES

*Feminismo/s* offers a platform for expression and critical debate in the fields of gender studies and feminist theory. Therefore, the journal is steadfastly committed to implementing gender policies and promoting equality between women and men in society at all levels:

- The composition of the Editorial Team and the Advisory Board, made up mostly of women, as well as gender representation among manuscript reviewers, are proof of the journal's efforts to encourage women's participation and visibility in academia.
- The journal's contents, objectives and methodologies promote a critical analysis of gender relations in a heteropatriarchal society and seek to shed light on how the power relations underlying gender-based discrimination are organised and manifested in the sociocultural and scientific spheres.
- The Editorial Team of *Feminismo/s* makes sure that all research works avoid gender stereotypes and biases whereby men are regarded as the universal point of reference, biological differences are exacerbated or socially constructed differences are seen as natural.

- The journal ensures that the sex variable is considered in published research of any kind concerning persons, animals, tissues or cells, which involves:
  - Reflecting and making well-founded decisions on sample composition by sex and providing information about the sex of the subjects analysed.
  - Analysing existing differences within each sex and presenting results disaggregated by sex.

Researchers interested in publishing in this journal should consult the [practical guide for the inclusion of the gender perspective in research contents](#).

- Likewise, the editorial policies of *Feminismo/s* include the requirement to use inclusive language in all articles, in order to take into account the presence and situation of women in society and in accordance with the principle of gender equality. The Editorial Team requires authors to use gender-neutral terms or explanatory phrases rather than masculine terms to refer to classes or groups of individuals, whether male or female, to omit references to the subject or, if none of the above is possible, to make reference to both women and men in the text. For further details and recommendations, researchers interested in publishing in this journal should consult the [University of Alicante's inclusive language guide](#).

## PUBLICATION ETHICS AND MALPRACTICE STATEMENT

The publication of articles in a peer-review journal is a direct reflection of the quality of the work of their authors, and the commitment and qualifications of the researchers who act as reviewers. Therefore *Feminismo/s* is a publication committed to the ethical principles of scientific activity on the following terms:

## 1. Publication and authorship

All manuscripts must include a list of references, and indicate whether they have received financial support. Works must be free of plagiarism or scientific fraud. Illustrative cases\* of plagiarism and scientific fraud can be consulted in a non-exhaustive list below:

- Plagiarism: literal copy without quoting and referencing the source; substantial copying (research materials, processes, tables...); paraphrasing or reproducing ideas without citing the source and/or changing the original meaning; text-recycling (reusing a published own text) without indicating the source, and abusive paraphrasing even quoting the source.
- Scientific fraud: no recognition of all the participating researchers in the study, simultaneous submission to several publications, the division of a work in different parts ('slices') that share the same hypotheses, population and methods, as well as the use of false or unproven data. Finally, the authors should disclose potential conflicts of interest to the journal when a manuscript is sent.

\* Source: <http://www.ethics.elsevier.com/>

## 2. Authors' Responsibility

- The manuscripts submission to *Feminismo/s* involves reading and acceptance of the journal publishing guidelines, including participation in an anonymous peer-review process.
- All authors signing a work must have contributed significantly to its development and must agree both with the end result and with the manuscript submission for evaluation.
- Manuscripts must acknowledge all authors who have participated in their elaboration.
- Data used in the article must be real and authentic.
- The authors assume the obligation to retract/correct when possible errors are later detected.
- Articles must be original and cannot be sent simultaneously to any other publication.

### 3. Review Process

All articles submitted to the journal are subjected to a peer review process with the following characteristics:

- The selection of reviewers is done according to rules and principles based on both their qualification and the quality of their scientific production.
- The review process will be totally anonymous both for authors and for reviewers. Manuscripts and reviews will be treated confidentially.
- Reviewers will take into account for their evaluation criteria the respect for the ethical principles that are essential in scientific research.
- The judgments expressed in the reviews should be objective.
- Authors and reviewers should disclose all relationships and funding sources that could generate potential conflicts of interest.

### 4. Editors' Responsibilities

- The editorial board has the responsibility and authority to accept or reject a manuscript based on the peer reviews.
- The editorial board will reveal any relationships or funding sources that could potentially be considered conflicts of interest regarding the rejection or the acceptance of manuscripts.
- The journal only accepts manuscripts when reasonably certain of compliance with editorial standards.
- The editorial team is committed to preserve the anonymity of the reviewers so that they can never be associated with the reviewed manuscripts.

### 5. Publishing ethical Issues

The editorial board is committed to:

- Monitoring and maintaining the publishing ethics.
- Maintaining the integrity of the academic record.
- Avoid publishing plagiarized or fraudulently prepared material.
- Be willing to publish corrections, clarifications, retractions and apologies when needed.

- Provide support in the process of retracting articles.
- Perform all actions required to meet the standards of intellectual and ethical commitment.

## 6. Plagiarism policy

*Feminismo/s* Editorial Board is responsible for checking that the works submitted are original and do not incur plagiarism. The University of Alicante uses a software programme called Turnitin for this purpose. It is a tool that prevents and avoids academic and professional plagiarism by proving the similarities of a document with multiple sources of information (Internet, scientific articles and its internal database) and identifying non-original content translated from English. Additionally, the Editorial Board has a number of free plagiarism detection programs available on the UA website, such as DOCODE, Copyscape, Plagium, The Plagiarism Checker, Dupli Checker, Plagiarisma, TinEye, Antiplagiarist (<https://biblioteca.ua.es/en/investiga-y-publica/pi/plagiarism.html>)

The Editorial Board reserves the right to withdraw any work received, accepted or already published if plagiarism, falsification or duplicate publication is detected, as well as the various cases of scientific misconduct listed above. Likewise, it promotes the publication of corrections or retractions in the face of detected errors.

## DISCLAIMER

Regarding the provisions in articles 138-143 of the Spanish Law on Intellectual Property, the publication of a work prejudicial to those rights shall be the responsibility of the author. The editorial board of *Feminismo/s* is not responsible, in any case, for the credibility and authenticity of the works. In the same way, the opinions and facts expressed in each article are the sole responsibility of the authors and *Feminismo/s* does not necessarily agree with them.

## COPYRIGHT WARNING

Authors who publish in *Feminismo/s* agree to the following terms:

1. Authors will retain the rights on their work, even if they will be granting *Feminismo/s* a non-exclusive right of use to reproduce, edit, distribute, publicly communicate and show their work. Therefore, authors are free to engage in additional, independent contracts for non-exclusive distribution of the works published in this journal (such as uploading them to an institutional repository or publishing them in a book), as long as the fact that the manuscripts were first published in this journal is acknowledged.
2. Authors assure that *Feminismo/s* is the first medium that publishes their work and guarantee that while it is being assessed for possible publication in our journal, it has not been submitted or will be submitted to other media.
3. Works are shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International licence (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0): <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>
4. Authors are allowed – and encouraged – to publish their works electronically after publication in *Feminismo/s* (as well as in institutional repositories, on its website...) in order to achieve fruitful exchanges and more citations of the work (See [The Effect of Open Access, in English](#)).

## POLÍTICA DE ACCESO ABIERTO

*Feminismo/s* se ofrece a la comunidad investigadora en acceso abierto inmediato a su contenido, sin ningún tipo de periodo de embargo, basado en el principio de que ofrecer al público un acceso libre a las investigaciones ayuda a un mayor intercambio global de conocimiento. En este sentido, *Feminismo/s* sigue la política de acceso abierto definida por la Declaración de Budapest (BOAI, 2002): «disponibilidad gratuita en la Internet pública, para que cualquier usuario la pueda leer, descargar, copiar, distribuir, imprimir, con la posibilidad de buscar o enlazar todos los textos de estos artículos, recorrerlos para indexación exhaustiva, usarlos como datos para software, o utilizarlos para cualquier otro propósito legal, sin barreras financieras, legales o técnicas, distintas de la fundamental de ganar acceso a la propia Internet».

*Feminismo/s* es una revista científica sin ánimo de lucro y por tanto no contempla el abono de ninguna tasa por presentación/envío de manuscritos ni tampoco ninguna cuota por la publicación de artículos.

## CÓMO PRESENTAR UN ORIGINAL

Los requisitos que han de tener los trabajos remitidos son:

1. Todos los trabajos enviados deben ser *originales e inéditos* y no hallarse en proceso de aceptación por otra revista.
2. Los trabajos deberán remitirse a la plataforma de la revista. Para ello, es necesario **Iniciar sesión** en la misma o **Registrarse**, si no se ha hecho con anterioridad.
3. Se aceptan trabajos en inglés o español.



4. La persona autora facilitará su nombre y apellidos, dirección de correo electrónico (preferiblemente institucional), filiación profesional y país, e identificador **ORCID**.
5. Las personas autoras deberán de hacer constar en el apartado «Comentarios para el editor/a» del formulario de envío cualquier vínculo de orden personal o económico que pueda ser susceptible de influir en las conclusiones de un original, o en caso contrario, declarar la no existencia de conflictos de intereses.
6. El trabajo se remitirá en un fichero de texto *anonimizado* en formato Microsoft Word (.docx) u Open Document Format (.odt).
7. Si el trabajo enviado a la revista proviene de una investigación que ha recibido financiación, se deberá indicar en el apartado «Agencias de apoyo» la entidad financiadora, el código de proyecto, etc. Esta información no deberá aparecer en el archivo enviado para garantizar el anonimato del manuscrito.

## NORMAS EDITORIALES Y DE ESTILO

### Directrices para autoras/es

La revista *Feminismo/s* publica dos tipos de trabajos: artículos de investigación y reseñas de libros. El Consejo de Redacción establece las normas generales que se describen a continuación.

La revista no cobra tasas por envío de trabajos, ni tampoco cuotas por la publicación de sus artículos.

Se aceptan trabajos en inglés o español.

Para poder enviar un artículo las/los autoras/es deben **Iniciar sesión** o **Registrarse** si no lo han hecho con anterioridad.

### ARTÍCULOS DE INVESTIGACIÓN

Los artículos de investigación comenzarán con los tres siguientes elementos:

- Título: será claro, conciso e informativo. Es conveniente que contenga las palabras clave que definen la temática del artículo y que

prescinda de acrónimos o términos demasiado específicos de un campo concreto.

- Resumen: tendrá una extensión de entre 250 y 350 palabras y dará cuenta de los objetivos, el diseño, los métodos, los principales resultados y las conclusiones más relevantes de la investigación.
- Palabras clave: se facilitará un mínimo de 8 palabras claves que identifiquen claramente la temática del artículo y que sean comunes en el área de conocimiento correspondiente.

Estos tres elementos se facilitarán, además, en inglés, si esta no fuera la lengua del artículo.

Respecto a la estructura, se recomienda que los artículos de investigación contengan la siguiente información: introducción, metodología, resultados, discusión, conclusiones y bibliografía:

- Introducción. Debe incluir los fundamentos y el propósito del estudio, utilizando las citas bibliográficas estrictamente necesarias. No incluirá datos o conclusiones del trabajo presentado. No debe realizarse una revisión bibliográfica detallada.
- Metodología. Será presentada con la precisión que sea conveniente, aportando información suficiente sobre el trabajo empírico realizado, al objeto de permitir la comprensión del proceso de elaboración y su replicabilidad. Fuentes y métodos previamente publicados deben describirse solo brevemente y aportar las correspondientes citas, excepto si se han hecho modificaciones en los mismos. Cuando así proceda, se describirá el cálculo del tamaño de la muestra y la forma de muestreo empleada en cada caso. Se hará referencia al tipo de análisis documental, crítico, estadístico, etc. empleado. Si se trata de una metodología original, será necesario exponer las razones que han conducido a su empleo y describir sus posibles limitaciones.
- Resultados. Aparecerán en una secuencia lógica en el texto, tablas o figuras, no debiendo repetirse en ellas los mismos datos. Se procurará resaltar las observaciones importantes.
- Discusión. Resumirán los hallazgos, relacionando las propias observaciones con otros estudios de interés y señalando las aportaciones y limitaciones de unos y otros. No deben repetirse con detalle los datos

u otro material ya comentado en otros apartados. Se mencionarán las inferencias de los hallazgos y sus limitaciones, incluyendo las deducciones para una investigación futura.

- Conclusiones. Resumirán las ideas que se pueden extraer de los resultados y su discusión.
- Bibliografía. La bibliografía debe aparecer a continuación de la discusión y conclusiones, según el orden alfabético de las personas autoras y siguiendo el estilo basado en las normas APA 7.<sup>a</sup> ed.

Los artículos de investigación, que deberán ser inéditos, tendrán una extensión máxima de 9.000 palabras con las notas, cuadros y referencias bibliográficas inclusive, salvo excepciones justificadas, previa autorización del Consejo de Redacción.

Deberán estar escritos con letra Times New Roman 12. El texto se presentará debidamente justificado y con un interlineado de 1,5. La primera línea de cada párrafo irá sangrada.

Los diferentes apartados del texto se ordenarán siguiendo la numeración arábica (1, 2, 3,...) y el título de cada uno de ellos irá en letra mayúscula y en negrita. Los subapartados se enumerarán de la siguiente manera: 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, etc. y sus títulos irán en minúscula y en negrita.

Las notas al pie, escritas con letra Times New Roman 10, se reducirán a lo indispensable, se utilizarán solo para información suplementaria y en ningún caso serán bibliográficas. La llamada en el texto irá antes del signo de puntuación.

Las fotografías e imágenes se entregarán en formato digital, separadas del texto, en formato TIFF, con una calidad de 300 puntos por pulgada. Deben ir identificadas convenientemente según sean citadas en el texto.

Las imágenes, dibujos, fotografías, figuras, tablas, gráficos, etc. que ilustran los artículos deberán ser obra de los autores o autoras del artículo o, en caso contrario, deberán estar libres de derechos, o bajo licencias Creative Commons que permitan su reutilización e indiquen los usos que pueden hacerse de estos. Si los autores y autoras utilizasen imágenes, gráficos, etc. protegidos por derechos de autor, deberán haber solicitado y obtenido la autorización de los creadores o creadoras de dichas imágenes, gráficos, etc.

## RESEÑAS DE LIBROS

- Las reseñas de libros de reciente publicación (de los dos últimos años) tendrán una extensión máxima de 1.500 palabras, especificándose el autor o la autora o editor/a, título, lugar de publicación, editorial, fecha de publicación, ISBN y número de páginas.
- Es aconsejable el envío, como un archivo complementario, de una imagen de la cubierta principal de la publicación reseñada.
- El autor/la autora seguirá las instrucciones del apartado **Normas de citación y referencias**.

### Lista de comprobación para la preparación de envíos

Como parte del proceso de envío, las autoras/los autores están obligadas/os a comprobar que su envío cumpla todos los elementos que se muestran a continuación. Se devolverán a las autoras/ los autores aquellos envíos que no cumplan estas directrices.

1. El envío no ha sido publicado previamente ni se ha sometido a consideración por ninguna otra revista (o se ha proporcionado una explicación al respecto en los Comentarios al editor/a).
2. El archivo de envío está en formato Microsoft Word (.DOCX) u Open Document Format (.ODT).
3. Siempre que sea posible, se proporcionan los identificadores DOI para las referencias.
4. El texto tiene interlineado de 1,5; 12 puntos de tamaño de fuente Times New Roman; se utiliza cursiva en lugar de subrayado (excepto en las direcciones URL); y todas las ilustraciones, figuras y tablas se encuentran colocadas en los lugares del texto apropiados, en vez de al final.
5. El texto se adhiere a los requisitos estilísticos y bibliográficos resumidos en las **Directrices para autores/as**, que aparecen en *Cómo publicar*.
6. Si se envía a una sección evaluada por pares de la revista, el trabajo se remitirá en un fichero de texto anonimizado.
7. Cumple con las normas recogidas en **Normas de citación y referencias**.

## NORMAS DE CITACIÓN Y REFERENCIAS

La revista se acoge al sistema APA para la citación y referenciación en el texto, así como para la elaboración de la lista final de referencias bibliográficas. No se someterá a evaluación ningún artículo no adaptado a APA 7ª ed.

Las normas están disponibles en <https://apastyle.apa.org/>

## CÓMO PROPONER UN DOSIER MONOGRÁFICO

La propuesta de un dossier monográfico para la revista *Feminismo/s* se hará llegar por correo electrónico al contacto principal de la revista ([revistafeminismos@ua.es](mailto:revistafeminismos@ua.es)) y contendrá la siguiente información:

1. Título provisional del dossier monográfico.
2. Un C.V. completo de la coordinadora/del coordinador (o de las coordinadoras/los coordinadores) del mismo.
3. Una descripción de sus objetivos y una justificación de la oportunidad del tema del dossier (300 palabras).
4. Un listado provisional de participantes en el volumen, acompañado de una breve reseña bio-bibliográfica de cada una/uno de ellas/os, de los títulos de los trabajos previstos y de un breve resumen de cada uno donde se incluyan los objetivos previstos (150 palabras).
5. Las propuestas serán consideradas por el Consejo de Redacción de *Feminismo/s* en el plazo máximo de un mes a partir de la fecha de recepción de las mismas.

## PROCESO DE EVALUACIÓN POR PARES

- 1) Los originales recibidos son valorados, en primera instancia, por el Consejo de Redacción de la revista para decidir sobre su adecuación a las áreas de conocimiento y a los requisitos que la revista ha publicado para los/las autores/as.
- 2) El Consejo de Redacción envía los originales, sin el nombre del autor o de la autora, a dos revisores/as externos/as al Consejo Editorial. Sobre esos dictámenes, el Consejo de Redacción decide rechazar o aceptar el artículo o solicitar modificaciones al autor o a la autora del trabajo. Los/las autores/as reciben una notificación detallada y motivada donde se expone, retocado, el contenido de los informes originales, con indicaciones concretas para la modificación si es el caso. *Feminismo/s* puede enviar a los/las autores/as los informes originales recibidos, íntegros o en parte, siempre de forma anónima.
- 3) El informe emitido por los/las revisores/as incluye:
  - a) una valoración global del artículo y de los resúmenes.
  - b) una valoración cuantitativa de la calidad (buena | aceptable | insuficiente) según estos cinco criterios: originalidad e interés del tema; pertinencia en relación con las investigaciones actuales en el área; rigor metodológico; bibliografía significativa y actualizada; pulcritud formal y articulación expositiva.
  - c) una recomendación final: publicar | solicitar modificaciones | rechazar.

## COBERTURA, DIFUSIÓN Y PRESENCIA EN BASES DE DATOS

La revista está indexada en ESCI (WOS), DOAJ, GenderWatch (ProQuest), ERIH PLUS, MLA, MIAR, Latindex, Dialnet.

## POLÍTICAS DE IGUALDAD DE GÉNERO

La revista *Feminismo/s* constituye un espacio de expresión y debate crítico en el ámbito de los Estudios de Género y de la Teoría Feminista, y por tanto, su compromiso con las políticas de género y con la igualdad entre mujeres y hombres en nuestra sociedad es incontrovertible a todos los niveles:

- La composición del Equipo Editorial y del Consejo Asesor, integrados en su mayoría por mujeres, así como la nómina de personas evaluadoras, responde al principio de la revista de incentivar la participación y la visibilidad de las mujeres en el ámbito académico.
- Los contenidos, los objetivos y las metodologías de la revista promueven el análisis crítico de las relaciones de género en la sociedad heteropatriarcal, y tratan de revelar cómo las relaciones de poder que subyacen a la discriminación por razones de género se configuran y materializan en el ámbito sociocultural y científico.
- El Equipo Editorial de *Feminismo/s* vela por que todos los trabajos de investigación eviten los estereotipos y los sesgos de género que adoptan lo masculino como referente universal, exacerbando las diferencias biológicas o naturalizan las diferencias socialmente construidas.
- La revista garantiza que cualquier tipo de investigación publicada sobre personas, animales, tejidos o células contemple la variable sexo, es decir:
  - Reflexiona y decide fundamentadamente sobre la composición por sexos de las muestras e informa del sexo de los sujetos investigados.
  - Analiza las diferencias existentes dentro de cada uno de los sexos y presenta los resultados desagregados por sexo.

A este respecto, se recomienda al personal investigador interesado en publicar en la revista la consulta de la [Guía práctica para la inclusión de la perspectiva de género en los contenidos de la investigación](#).

- De la misma manera, entre las políticas editoriales de *Feminismo/s* se encuentra el uso imperativo de un lenguaje inclusivo en todos sus artículos, que tenga en cuenta la presencia y situación de las mujeres

en la sociedad y que sea acorde con el principio de igualdad entre los sexos. A este respecto, el Equipo Editorial vela por la sustitución del masculino genérico para designar a todos los individuos de la clase o el grupo, sean hombres o mujeres, por términos de valor genérico o sintagmas explicativos, por la omisión de referencias al sujeto y, cuando nada de lo anterior es posible, por el uso de fórmulas desdobladas. Para un desarrollo más concreto de alternativas y propuestas de uso, se recomienda al personal investigador interesado en publicar en la revista la consulta de la [Guía para un discurso igualitario en la Universidad de Alicante](#).

## PRINCIPIOS ÉTICOS DE PUBLICACIÓN

La publicación de artículos en una revista con revisión por pares es un reflejo directo de la calidad del trabajo de sus autoras/es, y del compromiso y cualificación de los investigadores/es que actúan como revisoras/es. Por ello *Feminismo/s* es una publicación comprometida con los principios éticos de la actividad científica en los siguientes términos:

### 1. Publicación y autoría

Todos los artículos deben incluir un listado de referencias, así como indicar si han recibido apoyo económico. Los trabajos deben estar libres de plagio o fraude científico, cuyos supuestos\* se enumeran de manera no exhaustiva a continuación:

- Plagio: copia literal sin entrecomillar y citar la fuente; copia sustancial (materiales de investigación, procesos, tablas...); parafrasear o reproducir ideas sin citar la fuente y/o cambiando el significado original; reutilizar y enviar textos propios ya publicados sin indicar la fuente y el parafraseo abusivo incluso citando la fuente.
- Fraude científico: no reconocimiento de todas/os las/los investigadoras/es participantes en la elaboración del trabajo, el envío simultáneo a varias publicaciones, la división de un trabajo en partes diferentes que comparten las mismas hipótesis, población y métodos, así como



la utilización de datos falsos o no probados. Finalmente, las/los autoras/es deben declarar a la revista los potenciales conflictos de interés cuando envían un trabajo.

\* Fuente: <http://www.ethics.elsevier.com/>

## 2. Responsabilidad de las/los autoras/es

- El envío de trabajos a *Feminismos/s* supone la lectura y aceptación de las normas editoriales y de publicación de la revista, incluida la participación en un proceso anónimo de evaluación por pares.
- Todas/os las/los autoras/es que firman un trabajo deben haber contribuido de manera significativa a su elaboración y deben estar de acuerdo con el resultado final y con el envío del trabajo para su evaluación.
- Los trabajos deben reconocer a todas/os las/los autoras/es que han participado en su elaboración.
- Los datos utilizados en el artículo deben ser reales y auténticos.
- Las/los autoras/es asumen la obligación de corregir y/o retractarse ante posibles errores detectados posteriormente.
- Los artículos han de ser inéditos y no pueden ser enviados simultáneamente a ninguna otra publicación.

## 3. Proceso de revisión

Todos los artículos enviados a la revista se someten a un proceso de revisión por pares con las siguientes características:

- La selección de las personas revisoras se realiza en función de normas y principios previos basados tanto en su cualificación como en la calidad de su producción científica.
- El proceso de revisión será totalmente anónimo tanto para las/ los autoras/es como para las/los revisoras/es. Los artículos y sus revisiones serán tratados confidencialmente.
- Las/los revisoras/es consideran, entre sus criterios de evaluación, el respeto a los principios éticos esenciales en la investigación científica.
- Los juicios expresados en las revisiones deben ser objetivos.

- Tanto autoras/es como revisoras/es deben revelar las relaciones y fuentes de financiación que puedan generar potenciales conflictos de intereses.

#### 4. Responsabilidades de las editoras/editores

- El equipo editorial tiene la responsabilidad y la autoridad para aceptar o rechazar un artículo basándose en las revisiones.
- El equipo editorial revelará en su caso las relaciones o fuentes de financiación que puedan ser potencialmente consideradas como conflictos de intereses respecto a los artículos que rechaza o acepta.
- Sólo se aceptarán los artículos en los que existe una evidencia cierta sobre el cumplimiento de las normas editoriales.
- El equipo editorial se compromete a preservar el anonimato de las/los revisoras/revisores de manera que nunca puedan asociarse con los artículos revisados.

#### 5. Cuestiones éticas de publicación

El equipo editorial se compromete a:

- Vigilar y preservar los principios éticos de publicación.
- Mantener la integridad del expediente académico.
- Evitar la publicación de material plagiado o elaborado de manera fraudulenta.
- Estar abierto a la publicación de correcciones, clarificaciones, retractaciones y disculpas siempre que sea necesario.
- Ofrecer apoyo en el proceso de retractación de artículos.
- Realizar todas las acciones necesarias para cumplir los estándares de compromiso intelectual y ético.

#### 6. Política anti-plagio

El Consejo de Redacción de *Feminismo/s* es responsable de comprobar que los trabajos presentados sean originales y no incurran en plagio. La Universidad de Alicante cuenta con software específico a tal efecto, como *Turnitin*, una herramienta para prevenir y evitar el plagio académico y profesional que

comprueba las similitudes de un documento con múltiples fuentes de información (Internet, artículos científicos y con su base de datos interna) e identifica el contenido no original traducido del inglés. Adicionalmente, el Consejo de Redacción tiene a su disposición, a través de la página web de la UA una serie de programas gratuitos de detección del plagio, tales como DOCODE, Copyscape, Plagium, The Plagiarism Checker, Dupli Checker, Plagiarisma, TinEye, Antiplagiarist (<https://biblioteca.ua.es/es/investiga-y-publica/pi/plagio.html>)

El Consejo de Redacción se reserva el derecho de retirar cualquier trabajo recibido, aceptado o ya publicado en caso de constatare plagio, falsificación o publicación duplicada, así como los diversos supuestos de fraude científico anteriormente enumerados. Del mismo modo, promueve la publicación de correcciones o retractaciones frente a errores detectados.

## AVISO LEGAL

A efectos de lo estipulado en los artículos 138-143 de la Ley de Propiedad Intelectual, la publicación de un trabajo que atente contra dichos derechos será responsabilidad de la autora o del autor. El equipo editorial de *Feminismo/s* no se hace responsable, en ningún caso, de la credibilidad y autenticidad de los trabajos. Del mismo modo, las opiniones y hechos expresados en cada artículo son de exclusiva responsabilidad de sus autoras/es y *Feminismo/s* no se identifica necesariamente con ellas/os.

## AVISO DE DERECHOS DE AUTOR/A

Las/los autoras/es que publican en *Feminismo/s* están de acuerdo en los siguientes términos:

1. Las/los autoras/es conservan los derechos sobre sus trabajos, aunque ceden de forma no exclusiva los derechos de explotación (reproducción, edición, distribución, comunicación pública y exhibición) a la revista. Las/los autoras/es son, por tanto, libres de hacer acuerdos contractuales adicionales

independientes para la distribución no exclusiva de la versión de la obra publicada en la revista (por ejemplo, alojarlo en un repositorio institucional o publicarlo en un libro), siempre que medie un reconocimiento de su publicación inicial en esta revista.

2. Las/los autoras/es aseguran que *Feminismo/s* es el primer medio que publica su obra y garantizan que mientras se encuentra en fase de valoración y posible publicación en nuestra revista no se ha enviado ni enviará a otros medios.

3. Los trabajos se comparten bajo la licencia de Atribución-NoComercial-CompartirIgual 4.0 Internacional de Creative Commons (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0): <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>

4. Se permite y alienta a los/las autores/as a publicar su obra electrónicamente tras su publicación en *Feminismo/s* (como en repositorios institucionales, en su página web...) con el fin de lograr intercambios productivos y conseguir que la obra logre mayor citación (véase *The Effect of Open Access*, en inglés).

## POLÍTICA D'ACCÉS OBERT

*Feminismo/s* s'ofereix a la comunitat investigadora en accés obert immediat al seu contingut, sense cap tipus de període d'embargament, basat en el principi que oferir al públic un accés lliure a les investigacions ajuda a un major intercanvi global de coneixement. En aquest sentit, *Feminismo/s* segueix la política d'accés obert definida per la Declaració de Budapest (BOAI, 2002): «disponibilitat gratuïta en la Internet pública, perquè qualsevol usuari la pugui llegir, descarregar, copiar, distribuir, imprimir, amb la possibilitat de cercar o enllaçar tots els textos d'aquests articles, recórrer-los per a indexació exhaustiva, usar-los com a dades per a programari, o utilitzar-los per a qualsevol altre propòsit legal, sense barreres financeres, legals o tècniques, diferents de la fonamental de guanyar accés a la pròpia Internet».

*Feminismo/s* és una revista científica sense ànim de lucre i per tant no contempla l'abonament de cap taxa per presentació/enviament de manuscrits ni tampoc cap quota per la publicació d'articles.

## COM PRESENTAR UN ORIGINAL

Els requisits que han de tenir els treballs remesos són:

1. Tots els treballs enviats han de ser *originals* i *inèdits* i no estar en procés d'acceptació per altra revista.
2. Els treballs hauran de ser remesos a la plataforma de la revista. Per a fer-ho, és necessari **iniciar-hi sessió** o **registrar-s'hi**, si no s'ha fet amb anterioritat.
3. S'accepten treballs en anglès o en castellà.

4. La persona autora facilitarà el nom i cognoms, adreça de correu electrònic (preferiblement institucional), afiliació professional i país, i identificador **ORCID**.
5. Les persones autores hauran de fer constar en l'apartat «Comentaris per a l'editor/a» del formulari d'enviament qualsevol vincle d'ordre personal o econòmic que pugui ser susceptible d'influir en les conclusions d'un original, o en cas contrari, declarar la no existència de conflictes d'interessos.
6. El treball serà remès en un fitxer de text *anonimitzat* en format Microsoft Word (.docx) o Open Document Format (.odt).
7. Si el treball enviat a la revista prové d'una investigació que ha rebut finançament, s'haurà d'indicar en l'apartat «Agències de suport» l'entitat finançadora, el codi de projecte, etc. Aquesta informació no haurà d'aparèixer en l'arxiu enviat per a garantir l'anonimat del manuscrit.

## NORMES EDITORIALS I D'ESTILS

### Directrius per a autores/autors

La revista *Feminismo/s* publica dos tipus de treballs: articles d'investigació i ressenyes de llibres. El Consell de Redacció estableix les normes generals que es descriuen a continuació.

La revista no cobra taxes per enviament de treballs, ni tampoc quotes per la publicació dels articles.

S'accepten treballs en anglès o espanyol.

Per a poder enviar un article les autores o els autors han d'iniciar **sessió** o **registrar-s'hi** si no ho han fet amb anterioritat.

### ARTICLES D'INVESTIGACIÓ

Els articles d'investigació començaran amb els tres elements següents:

- Títol: serà clar, concís i informatiu. És convenient que continga les paraules clau que defineixen la temàtica de l'article i que prescindisca d'acrònims o termes massa específics d'un camp concret.

- Resum: tindrà una extensió d'entre 250 i 350 paraules i donarà compte dels objectius, el disseny, els mètodes, els principals resultats i les conclusions més rellevants de la investigació.
- Paraules clau: es facilitarà un mínim de 8 paraules claus que identifiquen clarament la temàtica de l'article i que siguin comunes en l'àrea de coneixement corresponent.

Aquests tres elements seran facilitats, a més, en anglès si aquesta no fora la llengua de l'article.

Pel que fa a l'estructura, es recomana que els articles d'investigació continguin la informació següent: introducció, metodologia, resultats, discussió, conclusions i bibliografia:

- Introducció. Ha d'incloure els fonaments i el propòsit de l'estudi, i ha d'utilitzar les cites bibliogràfiques estrictament necessàries. No inclourà dades o conclusions del treball presentat. No ha de realitzar-se una revisió bibliogràfica detallada.
- Metodologia. Serà presentada amb la precisió que siga convenient, i haurà d'aportar informació suficient sobre el treball empíric realitzat a fi de permetre la comprensió del procés d'elaboració i de replicar-hi. Fonts i mètodes prèviament publicats han de ser descrits només breument i aportar-hi les corresponents cites, excepte si s'hi han fet modificacions. Quan pertoque, es descriurà el càlcul de la grandària de la mostra i la forma de mostreig emprada en cada cas. Es farà referència a la mena d'anàlisi documental, crítica, estadística, etc. emprada. Si es tracta d'una metodologia original, serà necessari exposar les raons que han conduït a l'ús i descriure-hi les possibles limitacions.
- Resultats. Apareixeran en una seqüència lògica en el text taules o figures, i no s'hi hauran de repetir les mateixes dades. Es procurarà ressaltar-hi les observacions importants.
- Discussió. Resumiran les troballes, relacionaran les observacions pròpies amb altres estudis d'interès i assenyalaran les aportacions i les limitacions dels uns i els altres. No han de repetir-se amb detall les dades o altre material ja comentat en altres apartats. S'hi esmentaran les inferències de les troballes i les limitacions, incloent-hi les deduccions per a una investigació futura.

- Conclusions. Resumiran les idees que es poden extraure dels resultats i la seua discussió.
- Bibliografia. La bibliografia ha d'aparèixer a continuació de la discussió i les conclusions, segons l'ordre alfabètic de les persones autores i seguint l'estil basat en les normes APA 7a ed.

Els articles d'investigació, que hauran de ser inèdits, tindran una extensió màxima de 9.000 paraules amb les notes, quadres i referències bibliogràfiques inclusivament, excepte excepcions justificades, amb l'autorització prèvia del Consell de Redacció.

Hauran d'estar escrits amb lletra Times New Roman 12. El text es presentarà degudament justificat i amb un interlineat d'1,5. La primera línia de cada paràgraf tindrà sagnat.

Els diferents apartats del text s'ordenaran seguint la numeració aràbiga (1, 2, 3,...) i el títol de cadascun estarà en lletra majúscula i en negreta. Els subapartats s'enumeraran de la següent manera: 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, etc., i els títols estaran en minúscula i en negreta.

Les notes al peu, escrites amb lletra Times New Roman 10, es reduiran a allò indispensable, s'utilitzaran només per a informació suplementària i en cap cas seran bibliogràfiques. La crida en el text serà abans del signe de puntuació.

Les fotografies i les imatges es lliuraran en format digital, separades del text, en format TIFF, amb una qualitat de 300 punts per polzada. Han d'anar identificades convenientment segons siguen citades en el text.

Les imatges, dibuixos, fotografies, figures, taules, gràfics, etc. que il·lustren els articles hauran de ser obra dels autors o les autores de l'article, o en cas contrari hauran d'estar lliures de drets o sota llicències Creative Commons que en permeten la reutilització i indiquen els usos que se'n poden fer. Si els autors i les autores utilitzaren imatges, gràfics, etc. protegits per drets d'autor, hauran d'haver sol·licitat i obtingut l'autorització dels creadors o les creadores d'aquestes imatges, gràfics, etc.

## RESSENYES DE LLIBRES

- Les ressenyes de llibres de recent publicació (dels dos últims anys) tindran una extensió màxima de 1.500 paraules, i s'hi especificarà



l'autor/a o l'editor/a, el títol, el lloc de publicació, l'editorial, la data de publicació, l'ISBN i el nombre de pàgines.

- És aconsellable l'enviament, com un arxiu complementari, d'una imatge de la coberta principal de la publicació ressenyada.
- L'autora o l'autor seguirà les instruccions de l'apartat **Normes de citació i referències**.

### Llista de comprovació per a la preparació de trameses

Com a part del procés de la tramesa, els/les autors/ autores estan obligats/des a comprovar que la tramesa complisca tots els elements que es mostren a continuació. Se'ls retomaran aquells enviaments que no complisquen aquestes directrius.

1. L'enviament no ha sigut publicat prèviament ni s'ha sotmès a consideració per cap altra revista (o s'ha proporcionat una explicació sobre aquest tema en els Comentaris a l'editor/a).
2. L'arxiu d'enviament està en format Microsoft Word (.DOCX) o Open Document Format (.ODT).
3. Sempre que siga possible, es proporcionen els identificadors DOI per a les referències.
4. El text té interlineat d'1,5; 12 punts de grandària de font Times New Roman; s'utilitza cursiva en comptes de subratllat (excepte en les direccions URL); i totes les il·lustracions, figures i taules es troben col·locades en els llocs del text apropiats, i no al final.
5. El text s'adhereix als requisits estilístics i bibliogràfics resumits en les **Directrius per l'autor/a**, que apareixen en l'apartat Com publicar.
6. Si s'envia a una secció avaluada per experts de la revista, el treball sera remes en un fitxer de text anonimitzat.
7. Compleix amb les normes arreplegades en **Normes de citació i referències**.

## NORMES DE CITACIÓ I REFERÈNCIES

La revista s'acull al sistema APA per a la citació i referenciació en el text (7a edició), així com per a l'elaboració de la llista final de referències bibliogràfiques. No se sotmetrà a avaluació cap article no adaptat a APA.

Les normes estan disponibles en <https://apastyle.apa.org/>

## COM PROPOSAR UN DOSSIER MONOGRÀFIC

La proposta d'un dossier monogràfic per a la revista *Feminismo/s* es farà arribar per correu electrònic al contacte principal de la revista ([revistafeminismos@ua.es](mailto:revistafeminismos@ua.es)) i contindrà la informació següent:

1. Títol provisional del dossier monogràfic.
2. Un CV complet de la coordinadora o del coordinador (o de les coordinadores o coordinadors) del monogràfic.
3. Una descripció dels objectius i una justificació de l'oportunitat del tema del dossier (tres-cents paraules).
4. Una llista provisional de participants en el volum, acompanyada d'una breu ressenya biobibliogràfica de cadascun o cadascuna dels o de les participants, dels títols dels treballs previstos i d'un breu resum de cadascun en el qual s'inclouen els objectius previstos (cent cinquanta paraules).
5. Les propostes seran considerades pel Consell de Redacció de *Feminismo/s* en el termini màxim d'un mes a partir de la data de recepció.

## PROCÉS D'AVALUACIÓ PER EXPERTES/EXPERTS

1) Els originals rebuts són valorats, en primera instància, pel Consell de Redacció de la revista per a decidir sobre l'adequació a les àrees de coneixement i als requisits que la revista ha publicat per als autors o les autores.

2) El Consell de Redacció envia els originals, sense el nom de l'autor o de l'autora, a dos revisors/es externs/es al Consell Editorial. Sobre eixos dictàmens, el Consell de Redacció decideix rebutjar o acceptar l'article o sol·licitar modificacions a l'autor o a l'autora del treball. Els/les autors/es reben una notificació detallada i motivada en què s'exposa, retocat, el contingut dels informes originals, amb indicacions concretes per a la modificació, si escau. *Feminismo/s* pot enviar als/a les autors/es els informes originals rebuts, íntegres o en part, sempre de forma anònima.

3) L'informe emès pels/per les revisors/es inclou:

- a) una valoració global de l'article i dels resums.
- b) una valoració quantitativa de la qualitat (bona | acceptable | insuficient) segons aquests cinc criteris: originalitat i interès del tema; pertinència pel que fa a les investigacions actuals en l'àrea; rigor metodològic; bibliografia significativa i actualitzada; netedat formal i articulació expositiva.
- c) una recomanació final: publicar | sol·licitar modificacions | rebutjar.

## COBERTURA, DIFUSIÓ I PRESENCIA EN BASES DE DADES

La revista està indexada en ESCI (WOS), DOAJ, GenderWatch (ProQuest), ERIH PLUS, MLA, MIAR, Latindex, Dialnet.

## POLÍTIQUES D'IGUALTAT DE GÈNERE

La revista *Feminismo/s* constitueix un espai d'expressió i debat crític en l'àmbit dels estudis de gènere i de la teoria feminista i, per tant, el seu compromís amb les polítiques de gènere i amb la igualtat entre dones i homes en la nostra societat és incontrovertible a tots els nivells:

- La composició de l'Equip Editorial i del Consell Assessor, integrats majoritàriament per dones, així com la nòmina de persones avaluadores, respon al principi de la revista d'incentivar la participació i la visibilitat de les dones en l'àmbit acadèmic.
- Els continguts, els objectius i les metodologies de la revista promouen l'anàlisi crítica de les relacions de gènere en la societat heteropatriarcal, i intenten revelar com les relacions de poder que són a la base de la discriminació per raons de gènere es configuren i es materialitzen en l'àmbit sociocultural i científic.
- L'equip editorial de *Feminismo/s* vetla perquè tots els treballs de recerca eviten els estereotips i els biaixos de gènere que adopten el masculí com a referent universal, exacerben les diferències biològiques o naturalitzen les diferències construïdes socialment.
- La revista garanteix que qualsevol tipus d'investigació publicada sobre persones, animals, teixits o cèl·lules té en compte la variable sexe, és a dir:
  - Reflexiona i decideix fonamentalment sobre la composició per sexes de les mostres i informa del sexe dels subjectes investigats.
  - Analitza les diferències existents dins de cadascun dels sexes i presenta els resultats desagregats per sexe.

En relació amb tot això recomanem al personal investigador interessat a publicar en la revista la consulta de la [Guía práctica para la inclusión de la perspectiva de género en los contenidos de la investigación](#).

- De la mateixa manera, entre les polítiques editorials de *Feminismo/s* hi ha l'ús imperatiu d'un llenguatge inclusiu en tots els articles, que tinga en compte la presència i situació de les dones en la societat i que estiga d'acord amb el principi d'igualtat entre els sexes. En aquest sentit, l'Equip Editorial vetla per la substitució del masculí genèric per a designar tots els individus de la classe o el grup, siguen homes o dones, per termes de valor genèric o sintagmes explicatius, per l'omissió de referències al subjecte i, quan això no és possible, per l'ús de fórmules desdoblades. Per a un desenvolupament més concret d'alternatives i propostes d'ús, recomanem al personal investigador

interessat a publicar en la revista la consulta de la [Guia per a un discurs igualitari en la Universitat d'Alacant](#).

## PRINCIPIIS ÈTICS DE PUBLICACIÓ

La publicació d'articles en una revista amb avaluació d'experts és un reflex directe de la qualitat del treball dels/de les autors/es i del compromís i la qualificació dels/de les investigadors/es que actuen com a revisors/es. Per això *Feminismo/s* és una publicació compromesa amb els principis ètics de l'activitat científica en els termes següents:

### 1. Publicació i autoria

Tots els articles han d'incloure una llista de referències, com també indicar si han rebut suport econòmic. Els treballs han d'estar lliures de plagi o frau científic. Els supòsits\* de plagi i frau científic són els esmentats a continuació:

- Plagi: còpia literal sense usar les cometes i citar la font; còpia substancial (materials d'investigació, processos, taules...); parafrasejar o reproduir idees sense citar la font o canviant el significat original; reutilitzar i enviar textos propis ja publicats sense indicar la font i parafrasejar de manera abusiva fins i tot citant la font.
- Fraus científics: no reconeixement de tots/es els/les investigadors/es que participen en l'elaboració del treball; l'enviament simultani a diverses publicacions; la divisió d'un treball en parts diferents que comparteixen les mateixes hipòtesis, població i mètodes, com també la utilització de dades falses o no provades. Finalment, els/les autors/es han de declarar a la revista els potencials conflictes d'interès quan envien un treball.

\* Font: <http://www.ethics.elsevier.com/>

## 2. Responsabilitat dels/de les autors/es

- L'enviament de treballs a *Feminismo/s* implica la lectura i l'acceptació de les normes editorials i de publicació de la revista, incloent-hi la participació en un procés anònim d'avaluació d'experts.
- Tots/es els/les autors/es que signen un treball han d'haver contribuït de manera significativa en l'elaboració i han d'estar d'acord amb el resultat final i amb l'enviament del treball perquè siga avaluat.
- Els treballs han de reconèixer a tots/es els/les autors/es que hi han participat.
- Les dades utilitzades en l'article han de ser reals i autèntiques.
- Els/les autors/es assumeixen l'obligació de corregir o retractar-se davant possibles errors detectats posteriorment.
- Els articles han de ser inèdits i no poden ser enviats simultàniament a cap altra publicació.

## 3. Procés de revisió

Tots els articles enviats a la revista se sotmeten a un procés d'avaluació d'experts/es amb les característiques següents:

- La selecció dels/de les revisors/es es fa d'acord amb les normes i els principis previs basats tant en la seua qualificació com en la qualitat de la seua producció científica.
- El procés de revisió serà totalment anònim tant pels/per les autors/es com pels/per les revisors/es. Els articles i les revisions seran tractats confidencialment.
- Els/les revisors/es consideren, entre els criteris d'avaluació, el respecte als principis ètics essencials en la investigació científica.
- Els judicis expressats en les revisions han de ser objectius.
- Tant autors/es com revisors/es han de revelar les relacions i les fonts de finançament que puguen generar potencials conflictes d'interessos.

## 4. Responsabilitats dels/de les editors/es

- L'equip editorial té la responsabilitat i autoritat per a acceptar o rebutjar un article basant-se en les revisions.

- L'equip editorial revelarà, si escau, les relacions o les fonts de finançament que puguen ser potencialment considerades com a conflictes d'interessos pel que fa a l'acceptació o el rebuig dels treballs.
- Només s'acceptaran els articles en els quals hi ha una evidència certa sobre el compliment de les normes editorials.
- L'equip editorial es compromet a preservar l'anonimat dels/de les revisors/es de manera que mai puguen ser associats/des amb els articles revisats.

## 5. Qüestions ètiques de publicació

L'equip editorial es compromet a:

- Vigilar i preservar els principis ètics de publicació.
- Mantenir la integritat de l'expedient acadèmic.
- Evitar la publicació de material plagiat o elaborat de manera fraudulenta.
- Estar obert a la publicació de correccions, aclariments, retractacions i disculpes sempre que siga necessari.
- Oferir suport en el procés de retractació d'articles.
- Fer totes les accions necessàries per a complir els estàndards de compromís intel·lectual i ètic.

## 6. Política antiplagi

El Consell de Redacció de *Feminismo/s* és responsable de comprovar que els treballs presentats siguen originals i no incorreguen en plagi. La Universitat d'Alacant compta amb programari específic a l'efecte, com Turnitin, una eina per a prevenir i evitar el plagi acadèmic i professional que comprova les similituds d'un document amb múltiples fonts d'informació (Internet, articles científics i la seua base de dades interna) i n'identifica el contingut no original traduït de l'anglès. Addicionalment, el Consell de Redacció té a la seua disposició, a través de la pàgina web de la UA, una sèrie de programes gratuïts de detecció del plagi, tals com DOCODE, Copyscape, Plagium, The Plagiarism Checker, Dupli Checker, Plagiarisma, TinEye, Antiplagiarist (<https://biblioteca.ua.es/va/investiga-i-publica/pi/plagi.html>).

El Consell de Redacció es reserva el dret de retirar qualsevol treball rebut, acceptat o ja publicat en cas de constatar-s'hi plagi, falsificació o publicació duplicada, així com els diversos supòsits de frau científic enumerats anteriorment. De la mateixa manera, promou la publicació de correccions o retraccions dels errors detectats.

## AVÍS LEGAL

A l'efecte de l'estipulat en els articles 138-143 de la Llei de Propietat Intel·lectual, la publicació d'un treball que atempte contra aquests drets serà responsabilitat de l'autora o de l'autor. L'equip editorial de *Feminismo/s* no es fa responsable, en cap cas, de la credibilitat i autenticitat dels treballs. De la mateixa manera, les opinions i fets expressats en cada article són d'exclusiva responsabilitat de les seues autores/autors i *Feminismo/s* no s'identifica necessàriament amb elles/ells.

## AVÍS DE DRETS D'AUTOR/A

Les/els autores/autors que publiquen en *Feminismo/s* estan d'acord en els termes següents:

1. Les/els autores/autors conserven els drets sobre els seus treballs, encara que cedeixen de forma no exclusiva els drets d'explotació (reproducció, edició, distribució, comunicació pública i exhibició) a la revista. Les/els autores/autors són, per tant, lliures de fer acords contractuals addicionals independents per a la distribució no exclusiva de la versió de l'obra publicada en la revista (per exemple, allotjar-la en un repositori institucional o publicar-la en un llibre), sempre que intervinga un reconeixement de la seua publicació inicial en aquesta revista.
2. Les/els autores/autors asseguren que *Feminismo/s* és el primer mitjà que publica la seua obra i garanteixen que mentre es troba en fase de valoració



i possible publicació en la nostra revista no s'ha enviat ni enviarà a altres mitjans.

3. Els treballs es publiquen sota una llicència de Atribución-NoComercial-CompartirIgual 4.0 Internacional de Creative Commons (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0): <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>

4. Es permet i encoratja als autors/ autores a publicar la seua obra electrònicament després de la seua publicació en *Feminismo/s* (com en repositoris institucionals, en la seua pàgina web...) amb la finalitat d'aconseguir intercanvis productius i aconseguir que l'obra aconseguisca major citació (vegeu [The Effect of Open Access](#), en anglès).

## Números anteriores publicados

- Feminismo/s 1.** *Feminismo y multidisciplinariedad.* Helena Establier (coord.)
- Feminismo/s 2.** *Imagin/ando a la mujer.* Pilar Amador Carretero (coord.) y Mónica Moreno Seco (ed.)
- Feminismo/s 3.** *Mujer y participación política.* Mónica Moreno Seco y Clarisa Ramos Feijóo (coords.)
- Feminismo/s 4.** *Writing, memoirs, autobiography and history.* Silvia Caporale Bizzini (coord.)
- Feminismo/s 5.** *Habitar / escribir / conquistar el espacio.* Teresa Gómez Reus (ed.)
- Feminismo/s 6.** *Violencia estructural y directa: mujeres y visibilidad.* Carmen Mañas Viejo (coord.)
- Feminismo/s 7.** *Hèlène Cixous: Huellas de intertextos.* Maribel Peñalver Vicea y Rosa María Rodríguez Magda (eds.)
- Feminismo/s 8.** *Mujeres y derecho.* Nieves Montesinos Sánchez y M.<sup>a</sup> del Mar Esquembre Valdés (coords.). Nieves Montesinos Sánchez (ed.)
- Feminismo/s 9.** *Género, conflicto y construcción de la paz. Reflexiones y propuestas.* Eva Espinar Ruiz y Eloisa Nos Aldás (coords.)
- Feminismo/s 10.** *Medicines i Gènere. El torsimany necessari.* Elizabeth Mora Torres, Albert Gras i Martí (coords.)
- Feminismo/s 11.** *La representación/presencia de la mujer en los Medios de Comunicación.* Sonia Núñez Puente (coord.) y Helena Establier Pérez (ed.)
- Feminismo/s 12.** *Mujeres en democracia.* Nieves Montesinos Sánchez y M.<sup>a</sup> del Mar Esquembre Valdes (coords. y eds.)
- Feminismo/s 13.** *Mujeres y diversidad funcional (discapacidad): construyendo un nuevo discurso.* Carmen Mañas (coord.)
- Feminismo/s 14.** *Género y nuevas tecnologías de la información y la comunicación.* Eva Espinar Ruiz (Coord.)
- Feminismo/s 15.** *¿Feminismo de la igualdad y feminismo de la diferencia?* Elena Nájera (Coord.)

- Feminismo/s 16.** *Género e imagen del poder en la historia contemporánea.* Mónica Moreno Seco y Alicia Mira Abad (Coords.)
- Feminismo/s 17.** *La arquitectura y el urbanismo con perspectiva de género.* María-Elia Gutiérrez-Mozo (Coord.)
- Feminismo/s 18.** *Salud pública desde la perspectiva de género: Hitos e innovación.* María Teresa Ruiz Cantero (Coord.)
- Feminismo/s 19.** *Mirada/s trans/identitarias.* Ángel Amaro (Coord.)
- Feminismo/s 20.** *La Diosa y el poder de las mujeres. Reflexiones sobre la espiritualidad femenina en el siglo XXI.* Angie Simonis (Coord.)
- Feminismo/s 21.** *Mujeres, actividad física, deporte y ocio.* Juan Tortosa Martínez y Lilyan Vega Ramírez (Coords.)
- Feminismo/s 22.** *Ecofeminismo/s: Mujeres y Naturaleza.* Lorraine Kerslake y Terry Gifford (Coords.)
- Feminismo/s 23.** *Todo sobre mi familia. Perspectivas de género.* Adrián Gras-Velázquez (Coord.)
- Feminismo/s 24.** *Género y humor en discursos de mujeres y hombres.* G. Angela Mura y Leonor Ruiz Gurillo (Coords.)
- Feminismo/s 25.** *Violencia escolar y género.* Almudena Iniesta Martínez (Coord.)
- Feminismo/s 26.** *Feminismos en las sociedades árabes.* Eva Lapiedra Gutiérrez (Coord.)
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- Feminismo/s 30.** *Dramaturgia femenina actual. De 1986 a 2016.* Eva García-Ferrón y Cristina Ros-Berenguer (Coords.)

- Feminismo/s 31.** *Dossier monográfico: Sexo y bienestar. Mujeres y diversidad.* Carmen Mañas Viejo y Alicia Martínez Sanz (Coords.)
- Feminismo/s 32.** *Dossier monográfico: MAS-MES: Mujeres, Arquitectura y Sostenibilidad - Medioambiental, Económica y Social.* María-Elia Gutiérrez-Mozo (Coord.)
- Feminismo/s 33.** *Dossier monográfico: Estado actual de la investigación en Literatura francesa y Género: balance y nuevas perspectivas.* Angeles Sirvent Ramos (Coord.)
- Feminismo/s 34.** *Dossier monográfico: Diálogos entre la democracia participativa y la interseccionalidad. Construyendo marcos para la justicia social.* Patricia Martínez-García y Jone Martínez-Palacios (Coords.)
- Feminismo/s 35.** *Monographic dossier: A critical practice of thinking otherwise: Bacchi, Gender and Public Policy Analysis.* Angela O'Hagan (Coord.)
- Feminismo/s 36.** *Monographic dossier: Departures and Arrivals: Women, Mobility and Travel Writing.* Raquel García-Cuevas García y Sara Prieto García-Cañedo (Coords.)
- Feminismo/s 37.** *Monographic dossier: Modern Woman of the Silver Age Spain (1868-1936): Dissents, Inventions and Utopias.* Dolores Romero López (Coord.)
- Feminismo/s 38.** *Monographic dossier: Women, Sexual Identity and Language.* Isabel Balteiro (Coord.)
- Feminismo/s 39.** *Miscellaneous section*
- Feminismo/s 40.** *Monographic dossier: Black Women's Writing and Arts Today: A Tribute to Toni Morrison.* M. Gallego Durán (Coord.)
- Feminismo/s 41.** *Monographic dossier: Rethinking Motherhood in the 21st Century: New Feminist Approaches.* María Dolores Serrano Niza & Inmaculada Blasco Herranz (Coords.)
- Feminismo/s 42.** *Monographic dossier: Women, data and power. Insights into the platform economy.* Miren Gutiérrez (Coord.)
- Feminismo/s 43.** *Monographic dossier: The Sustainable Development Goals from a gender equality perspective.* Gladys Merma-Molina, Mayra Urrea-Solano & Diego Gavilán-Martín (Coords.)



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