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SERAFINA AMOROSO

EQUAL SAREE

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AMELIA VILAPLANA

MORE

*Expanding
architecture from
a gender-based
perspective*

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The Department of Architecture of the University of Florence promotes and supports this series in order to offer a useful contribution to international research on architectural design, both at the theoretico-critical and operative levels.

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The present volume collects the papers, lectures, video-essays and workshops presented during a three-day-session (26th to 28th January 2017) which took place at the School of Architecture of the Università degli Studi di Firenze (UniFi, Italy) and Figline e Incisa Valdarno.

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Welcome to *MORE (Merge, Open, Resignify, Expand): Expanding Architecture from a Gender-Based Perspective. III International Conference on Gender and Architecture Proceedings*. Editors Serafina Amoroso, Dafne Saldaña, Helena Cardona and Julia Goula (Equal Saree), María Novas, and Amelia Vilaplana, want to introduce you the collection of papers, lectures, and workshops presented during #MOREcongress from 26th to 28th January 2017 at the Department of Architecture of the Università degli Studi di Firenze (UniFi, Italy). An essential reading for researchers, professionals, public administrations and the general public concerned on understanding the social, political and critical dimension of architecture.

MORE: Expanding Architecture from a Gender-Based Perspective. III International Conference on Gender and Architecture extends the space for meeting and debate on architecture and gender studies opened in 2014 by *ArquitectAs. Redefining the Profession. I International Congress on Architecture and Gender* (Universidad de Sevilla, 2014) and followed by *Matrices. II International Congress of Architecture and Gender* (Universidade Lusófona, Lisbon, 2015). After these two Conferences held in Spain and Portugal, the 3rd meeting was held in Italy to make visible and reinforce the previous work done in South-European countries.

The previous editions focused on the exclusionary profession, its hierarchical organization and the 'glass ceiling' effect avoiding women to progress both in academia and in professional practice (*ArquitectAs*), or changing patterns regarding gender and architecture on the tracks Practices, Academia, Histories and Data (*Matrices*). The *III International Conference on Research in Architecture and Gender* deepened on the theme of expanding architecture from a gender-based perspective, incorporating feminist strategies, opening and consolidating the path for a fourth edition.

The Editors and members of the Organizing Committee strongly believed it was urgent to visualize the contributions made from feminism to architecture, urban planning, built





environment and related disciplines. The main goal was to create a meeting point for professionals, researchers, educators, collectives and activists promoting new transdisciplinary and intersectional lines of work.

But the *III International Conference on Research in Architecture and Gender* was not only conceived as a forum for academic debate, it rather aimed to prompt practical actions. For this reason, it included spaces for active discussion over the city and the urban culture. It sought to create complicities, a meeting point of different actors and professionals involved in the construction of our living –both collective and domestic– space.

For this reason, the conference connected different spaces for negotiation:

First, the section **Lectures** disseminated scientific products of various formats (such as papers, video-essays, posters, talks from guest speakers, keynote lectures), encouraging an interdisciplinary approach to the field. Through the four conference tracks –*More than Objects, More than Cities, More than Academia* and *More than Humans*– the International Congress drew connections among specialized areas of both theory and practice.

Then, the section **Cities best practices** encouraged the exchange of good practices between public administrators and other key agents in the design of the built environment. In this edition, we wanted to make visible specific practices in urban planning from a gender-based perspective, that resulted in inclusive urban transformations. Representatives of those projects in the cities of *Vienna* (Austria), *Santiago de Compostela* (Spain), *Bogotá* (Colombia), *Santa Coloma de Gramenet* (Spain), *Florence* (Italy) and *Sassari* (Italy) participated in a forum where we could learn, disseminate, discuss and compare experiences.

Finally, the section **Workshops** created an open space for collaboration. *AMORE Collective Action* and the workshop *The perception of everyday spaces from a gender-based perspective*



in Figline e Incisa Valdarno presented two different ways of exploring the individual and collective awareness of inequalities and their impact on the users of urban spaces.

#MORE was horizontally organized by a team of young women architects, researchers, educators and members of architectural collectives. The diversity in the research interests of the Organizing Committee reflected editors' desire to vindicate the production of space as a collective process. But MORE could have not been possible without the collaboration of influential professionals, researchers and experts on the field. Editors are especially grateful to the Scientific Committee: Eva Álvarez Isidro (Universitat Politècnica de València, Spain), Nuria Álvarez Lombardero (Architectural Association School of Architecture, UK), Atxu Amann Alcocer (Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, Spain), Laura Andreini (Università degli Studi di Firenze, Italy), Nerea Calvillo González (University of Warwick, UK), Maria Grazia Eccheli (Università degli Studi di Firenze, Italy), Joyce Hwang (University of New York at Buffalo, EEUU), Zaida Muxí Martínez (Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, Spain), Anna Ortiz Guitart (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain), Patricia Santos Pedrosa (Universidade Lusófona, Portugal), Eliana Sousa Santos (Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal), Martha Thorne (IE School of Architecture & Design at Madrid, Spain) and Rosalía Torrent Esclapés (Universitat Jaume I, Spain).

Editors wish to express special thanks to keynote speaker Liza Fior (founding partner of *muf architecture/art*, London) for her generosity. Editors are also grateful to her and to keynote speaker Liisa Horelli (PhD in environmental psychology & adjunct professor at the Department of Built Environment, Aalto University, Finland) for their commitment, professionalism and kindness.

MORE team would also like to extend the warmest of thanks to all actors involved in the process:

MORE team would also like to extend the warmest of thanks to all actors involved in the process:

Supporters: the Conference was organised with the support and collaboration of: Saverio Mecca, director of the *Dipartimento di Architettura* (DiDA - Department of



Architecture) of the University of Florence; Paola Gigli, member of the Federazione degli Architetti, Pianificatori, Paesaggisti e Conservatori toscani (*Federation of Tuscan Architects, Planners, Landscapers and Conservationists*); the Consiglio Nazionale degli Architetti, Pianificatori, Paesaggisti e Conservatori (CNAPPC - *National Council of Italian Architects, Planners, Landscapers and Conservationists*)



Sponsors: the Conference was sponsored by *Figline e Incisa Valdarno City Council*.

Collaborators: #MORECongress also worked in collaboration with *Alba Sotelo Photo & Video*, Handmade Cards *Artesanat* (María Rodríguez), both from Galicia, and digital manufacturing process contributors *Fab Lab Alicante*. Thank you so much for MORE creativity and ideas. Special thanks to Chiara Arcieri, Laura D'Isita and Ilaria Dini, the three students who volunteered to help the Organizing Committee supervising halls and welcoming participants.



Dissemination: the International Congress was widely disseminated in Italian, Spanish and other international media, including Plataforma Arquitectura, Archiworld Network, Bustler, Casabella, Professione Architetto, World Association of the Major Metropolises, Opengap, Instituto Valenciano de la Edificación, Colexio Oficial de Arquitectos de Galicia, Ordine degli Architetti Pianificatori Paesaggisti Conservatori della Provincia di Verona, Colegio Territorial de Arquitectos de Alicante, Comune di Figline e Incisa Valdarno, Compostela Territorio das Mulleres, Escola Técnica Superior de Arquitectura da Universidade da Coruña, Università Iuav de Venezia, Escola Técnica Superior d'Arquitectura de Barcelona and the international collaborative project *Un día/ Una Arquitecta*. Thank you all for your kind help.

But most important, this publication is possible thanks to the effort of all the authors raising their voices in these pages. The present volume aims to be an inclusive publication

incorporating a large number of the conversations that contributed to make #MORE-Congress possible. Many of the participants came from Southern Europe and Latin America, so English may not be the authors native language and this can be identified in the papers. It is worth to notice that #MORE was organized collaboratively by a passionate Organizing Committee (now *we*, the editors), who had to face the challenge of extremely limited resources that so commonly define the academic context in the south of Europe.

We value diversity; therefore, even if sometimes the opinions expressed in this publication by the authors may not reflect the editors' point of view, we decided to include them to celebrate the plurality of voices that come together. We think that difference, heterogeneity and asymmetry are a source of richness to continue the (always) unfinished conversation. We strongly believe that this project was needed to bring critical feminist thinking to architecture, to disseminate good practices and to cultivate the culture of inclusivity and participation in our society.

MORE was born to Merge, to Open, to Resignify, and to Expand Architecture from a gender-based perspective, when using the word "feminist" implied many difficulties for humble initiatives like this one. Almost three years later, we are happy to release this publication in a more favourable context. We acknowledge the considerable progress made in the architectural world. Yet, we recognize how much needs to be done. Meanwhile, we are happy to have you on this journey.

Welcome to

MORE
MORE

thank you
for joining this
written version
of the congress and
enjoy the reading

We look forward to meeting you in
the forthcoming editions

Conference opening presentation by Serafina Amoroso
Florence, Santa Verdiana, School of Architecture, 2017
(Photo credits: Alba Sotelo)



MOORE | Expanding Architecture from Form to Social Interaction
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Event | Palazzo di San Marco, Florence, Italy | 30-31st January 2017

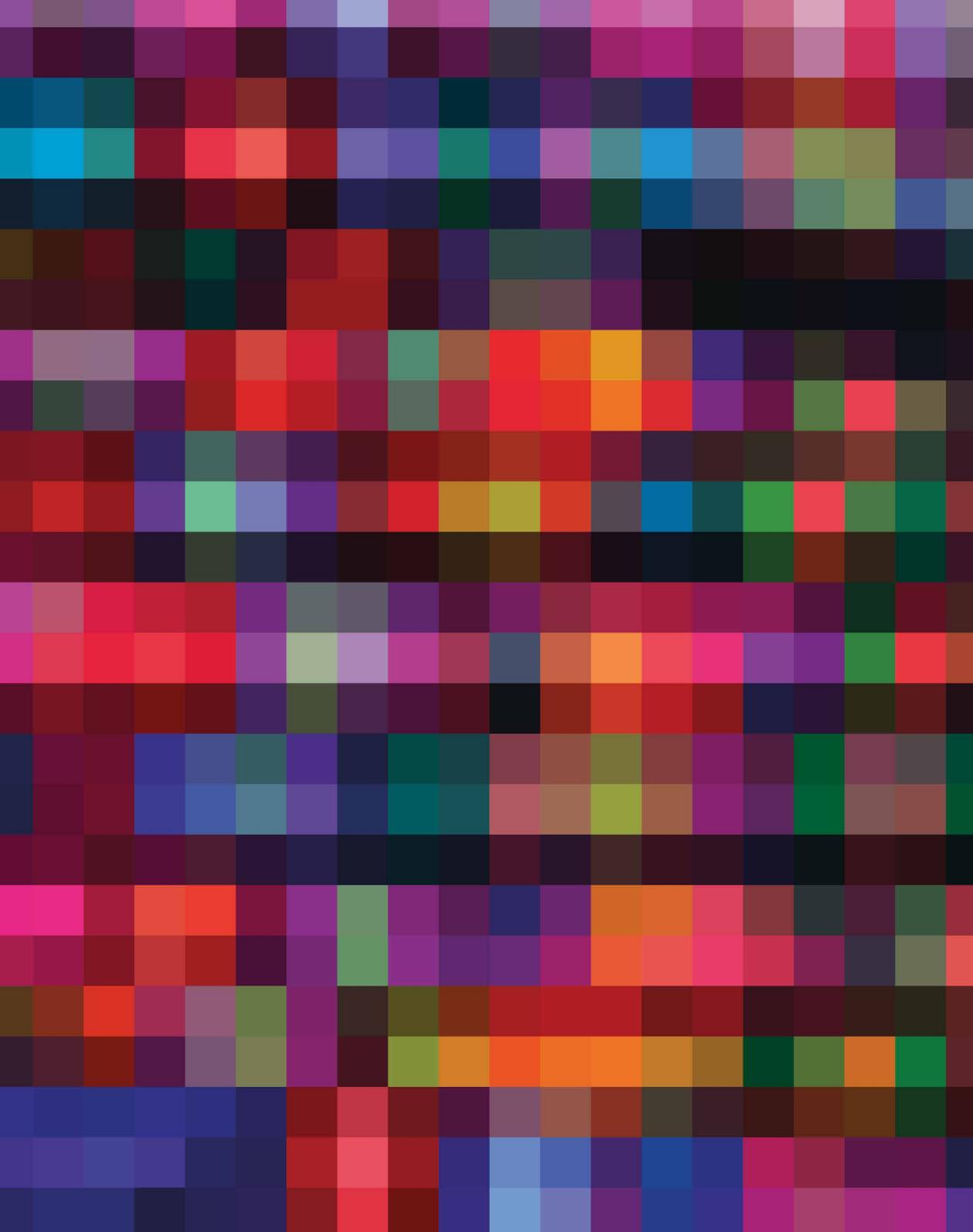
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OPENING GREETING

Saverio Mecca

Dean of Department of Architecture

Università degli Studi di Firenze, Florence, Italy

MORE (Merge, Open, Resignify, Expand), the third international conference on Gender and Architecture, curated by Serafina Amoroso, Dafne Saldaña, Helena Cardona, Julia Goula, María Novas, and Amelia Vilaplana, took place on the 26-28th January 2017, at the Department of Architecture of the University of Florence.

The deep understanding between gender and architecture is already urgent: we will need to build a more sustainable, emancipatory, and fair future for humanity and all living beings. For this purpose, the system of values that define the built environment must look beyond the patriarchal and hierarchical orders that determine people's lives.

The goal of Architecture is to create spaces and places for wellbeing, according to our history, our beliefs, and our needs. This means to create the objective and subjective conditions for everyone to be happy, to feel good, to be equally free.

If we look at our School of Architecture and other schools, we have reasons to be optimistic. Even if traditionally the profession and the studies of architecture have been primarily masculine, today an increasing number of women architects are actively improving the quality standards of the discipline -both from theory and design. These ideas and practices are indispensable for imaging the future society we need.

Thanks for organizing the third conference at the Department of Architecture in Florence, thanks to Serafina Amoroso for publishing this volume with tenacity, determination, and care.



GABRIELLA
BAIERLE

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2017 FLORENCE

GABRIELLA BAIERLE

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Recipient

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10-1-2017

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Conference
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Detail of the
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(María
Rodríguez)
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Pleasantly, this compilation of MORE Congress texts demonstrates how a small-scale idea can become something so large that cannot be hidden. Moreover, this book reflects the results of a trajectory of a modest “Call for papers” opened six years ago that has become large network of people with a unique interest and much to share. As part of this network, perhaps initiator but especially one more than one group that grows yearly, I write this introduction feeling just gratitude to the organizers of this Congress in Florence for keeping this initiative alive and putting all their effort into making it bigger and e diverse, as we will see later in this text, which is summed up in its title: MORE. They, without perhaps foreseeing it, have largely expanded the network of thinkers, critics and professionals (architects, artists, urban planners, activists, etc.) with concerns in this field of gender studies and all those disciplines related to the definition of the space in which we live (architecture, art, urban studies, planning, landscape and so on) by including more voices, more approaches and more disciplines.

Furthermore, this text aims to highlight the importance of the web as resulting tactic for vindicating a space within academia and spatial practices. The nature of the subject discussed here, those relations established by space definition and gender, generates different disperse initiatives, critical thoughts, ideas, strategies and tactics that generally have discrepancy among them. As Caroline Bos and Tanja Kullack highlight, within the institutionalized, strategic practice of architecture, feminist, gender, or diversifying tactics have largely manifested as short-lived, isolated incidents (Bos & Kullack, 2015). This nature jeopardizes these different “incidents” to have certain impact and generate effective consequences at academic level or withing the spatial practices themselves. Their distance, lacking a platform of encounter, and small-scale configuration have been the major obstacles for having a noticeable presence, a necessary tool to find a place within these fields’ establishment. Perhaps, these events and the consequent network established are finding this necessary presence and the strength to change things. The effectiveness will be evaluated in the future, but some consequences are starting to happen. Here I encourage to any reader to join this network by attend

any of subsequent calls and reviewing those documents that summarize previous experiences.

As I mentioned, this compilation of texts that summarize the activities and works presented at MORE Congress take over what started in 2014 in the 1st Architecture and Gender Research Congress (IGA <https://arquitectas.tumblr.com/>) at the Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Sevilla, University of Seville, Spain. There, a small group of researchers and professionals joined for two days to question hegemonic positions in architecture that have not been able to address the challenges posed by the relationship established between space practices and gender studies. At that time, different events worldwide were repeatedly putting a special emphasis on the awareness of women's rights, what we can identify as the germ of the feminist movements established in recent years (MeToo or Not one less among others). We were also witnessing a growing interest in gender studies in new generations, specially millennials, which called for equal rights and a multiplicity of visions in all fields of knowledge, and so in architecture and related disciplines. As part of this movement, a renewed critical reflection was claimed considering gender, and more particularly women's studies, for a new, more plural conception of architecture. In response to this claim, this first Congress was organized, where I load all the knowledge I had acquired in my PhD years continuing the wake of mentors such as Professor in History and Architecture Despina Stratigakos (2016).

First connection: establishing a voice

Notably, in this field of research on gender and space practices, there have been different approaches to understand the social dimension of art or the practice of design, educational practices, history and theory of architecture and the figure of the own architect. An area full of tensions and contradictions, uncertainties, possibilities and debates that have had difficulties in finding a place to deploy, contrast and share. This set of approaches was the beginning of the 1st Congress in Seville, and therefore its modus operandi: a space to share reflections, research, actions and practices to reactivate the discourse and in turn generate a place to meet and debate, and expand a network of critics and thinkers with new perspectives in this field of research. Given that this approach considers that architecture operates at the intersections of various elements depending on the contingencies and contexts in a specific place and time, the content of this Congress included various critical analyses of the broad set of power and production relations that exist in our society and confronted a complex set of cultural, political, economic factors against various systems of representation, objects, forms and meanings,

becoming an open platform with various entry points without prejudice, and this can be read again in this volume of texts.

More specifically, the conference focused on contributing new ideas and reflections on a professional practice of architecture with greater equity in terms of gender. Despite advances in architecture since the beginning of the 21st century, the profession continues to maintain a depoliticized practice and inequality still present in architectural offices around the world. A growing hegemony of neoliberal approaches in the production of architecture has made large corporate offices predominant over small architecture studios, and thus, this has continued outdated internal structures in the workplace where paternalistic treatment prevails, stereotypes and the alienation of its workers. These forms of labour organization increasingly obviate the needs of these workers and marginalize those who do not follow the prototype of a superproductive worker. Women architects are the majority within this group since their biological condition related to reproductivity does not always allow them to continue with this labour prototype. They are the most struggling to have a place in the architectural landscape. In this degradation of the profession, the architects directly criticize the ways of working in contemporary architecture. For this reason, it was important to reveal any situation of gender inequality in the profession, because not only implies a critique of discriminatory social and cultural constructions on women architects, but it also favours the worker in general by advocating greater compatibility between production and reproduction. Therefore, the purpose of the Conference was to reveal these invisible situations and directly criticize the contemporary immaterial work structures that dominate the life of the individual. The congress discussions focused on four main themes: Places of exclusion, Reflections on practice, Rewriting of the history of architecture and New ways of practicing the profession. Contents that can be read in the book *Architectas: redefiniendo la profesión* (Recolectores Urbanos 2015) awarded by the research prize at the XIII Biennial of Spanish Architecture and Urbanism.

Extending the network: A Platform for Intersections

Later a second congress, “Matrices” in the Lusofona University of Lisbon in March 2015 emerged from a reflection on the places where things are born, models or patterns that shape approaches and can reinvent contexts. The images of the matrixes, title of the congress, served to address the existing patterns of transformation within the framework of the subject: architecture and gender. The call invited teaching and research staff, architecture professionals and doctoral students in the areas of architecture, urban design, history of architecture and other disciplines, such as sociology, geography or anthropology, to present their perspectives and reflections on the transformations of patterns at the intersection between

Architecture and Gender in four sections: Practices, Academy, Stories and Data. This congress allowed to find a platform for those intersections among those who seeks to develop research on the city and architecture from a gender perspective. This meant an expansion of the initial international networks through which researchers, professionals and students could find their common concerns and discuss them. This conference set a moment of greater recognition for those who work or would like to work on these disciplinary and reflexive crossings, but most importantly, it opened-up Portuguese academic institutions to consider these issues not only as possible, but as fundamental. The Congress became a small piece in the construction of a necessary change.

Expanding to a Larger Web: Collectivism

The third Congress conference MORE in the University of Florence in January 2017, summarize in this book, was an even wider expansion of the network. Actually, the organizer committee look for ways to expand architecture from a gender perspective and incorporate feminist strategies more specifically. This conference, differently from previous one, was an opportunity to make visible the contributions that feminism has made to architecture, urban planning and in general to all the disciplines that study and intervene in space. The main objective was to create a meeting place for exchange between professionals, researchers, teachers, groups and activists who, from theory and practice to define new lines of transdisciplinary and intersectional work. Intended not only as a space for academic debate, but rather a platform to promote practical actions for an active standpoint on the city, the Congress became an unveiling tool of a growing situation in academia. In a more practical sense, the event intended show those complicities among different agents that are involved in the construction of our habitat -both community and private- through workshops, a tool that was not used before, and promotion of new approaches in the urban project. In this line of action, the congress was articulated around interconnected blocks more related to these intentions: lectures, cities best practices and Collective Action Workshops. Another aspect not approached before was its organization team in a more horizontal and collective manner. This diverse team of architects, researchers, teachers and members of collectives reclaimed the production of space as a collective process, and this permeated all the different structures of its organisation.

After these three events, the action continues with a new congress “Fielding Architecture” in June 2019 in Brighton (United Kingdom, 2019) and two other events in Portugal and Spain for the next two years. We hope, and I talked here from a large list of names of organisers, participants, member of the scientific committees and attendees, that the

initiative will remain alive for longer and that the network will continue to expand, including all types of researchers and research fields on gender and the definition of the space in which we live.

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The article here presented is a personal narrative and has the exclusive goal of recording memories for the future. Therefore, it describes the events presented below from a situated perspective: the author's one. This privileged position, first as a participant, and now, as a narrator, could be problematized. Too often, this is an essential step in feminist research that we tend to —naively and reductively— forget. But already in 1929, Virginia Woolf wrote in *A Room of One's Own* (2001, p. 2): “a woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction.” That is, she must have space and time to independently think and write. Taking this premise into account, this narrative starts.

After meeting in Sevilla in March 2014, an idea came up: organizing the 2nd International Congress on architecture and women in Lisbon. We were enthusiastic about it. We knew we were in the path of the consolidation of a relevant line of research in the South European context and, indeed, this was something new in Portugal.

Immediately, the theoretical and practical organization started. It lasted for almost a year.¹ In the first stage, the biggest challenge was to discuss and define the theme of the congress. The gendered title “ArquitectAs” was a clear statement in the Spanish case. The same idea could not be applied in Portugal, and there were two main reasons why. On the one hand, in the Portuguese language, the word *arquitecta* (women architect) is well-established —unlike *arquitecta* in Spain, where many women architects are still called *arquitecto*. Choosing that word would not be a radical statement. On the other hand, we aimed to take new steps, to develop and expand the many possible intersections within Architecture and Women/Gender. Then, the concept of “Matrices” emerged. Besides, it could be easily translated into English and Spanish without losing its original meaning in Portuguese.

As explained in the official website of the congress, this concept “has several definitions and they are all inclusive by nature. Matrices are environments where things develop, the models

¹ This congress would not have been possible without the institutional support of the Director of the Department of Architecture (ULHT), João Sequeira, and, above all, without the valuable work of the rest of the Organizing Committee, especially Maria João Matos and Eliana Sousa Santos.

or patterns that shape formations, and they can also reinvent an environment. These images are suited to address the current patterns of change regarding architecture and gender” (Matrices, 2015b). This expansion of past, present, and future discussions intersected with the idea of widening the themes. This also facilitated the exchanges among disciplines. Then, we established four tracks to focus on: Practice, Academia, History and Data (Matrices, 2015a). The tracks “Practice” and “Academia” aimed to reflect on the contexts in which the professional practice takes place — both in an architectural and academic level— while analyzing the practice itself. The track “History” highlighted the relevance of contributions that documented female architects’ stories through time. Lastly, the track “Data” expressed the need to gather and reflect on the present data, official figures, and facts which reveal continued gender inequality. During four days at the Lusófona University, a total of 16 parallel sessions, round tables, as well as the opening and closing conferences (with Ariadna Cantis and Jane Rendell, respectively), took place. Judging by the number of attendants, it could be considered a successful event. The goal came true; besides the constant exchange of ideas among participants, the diverse group built common bridges for future actions.

In terms of organization, we worked hard on trying to get financial support outside the University. This would allow us to bring to Lisbon as many prominent international experts as possible. Nevertheless, some organizations refused to support the proposal. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, for example, an institution with a long tradition of supporting nonmainstream projects and cultural activities, was one of the refusals that shocked us the most.² Less surprisingly were the doubts of the construction companies’ organization. In case, the difficulties to find any financial support proved that reflecting on architecture and the city from a gender-based perspective was not considered important or worthy of support in Portugal in 2015. Since a similar event will occur in 2021 — as part of the project *W@ARCH.PT: Women Architects in Portugal: Building Visibility (1942-1986)* —, it will be interesting to see what has changed, or not, concerning the institutional support. Nonetheless, through this struggle we have learned how being understood by professional organizations and our peers is an essential requirement for the near and distant future. As time passes, we realize how we became surprised when the opposite happened, and we got institutional support. Fortunately, these surprises are more and more frequent.

² The congress took place thanks to the participation fees, a small grant from Portugal’s Foundation for Science and Technology, and the spaces provided by the Lusófona University.

Yet, we feel that there is a hard way ahead of us, even if the network of people is constantly expanding. On the one hand, in certain moments, the successes of those people's projects are minimized by paternalistic statements such as "these subjects are trendy now". On the other hand, it continues to be difficult that those initiatives have an impact on everyday life. As I have stated, it is vital to consolidate those networks and oppose "the idea that we are alone" (Pedrosa, 2018). This is the most basic need of professional women architects, researchers, and teachers, but also activists. Only women intersectional solidarity allows us to continue the fight. And in this path, MORE is another remarkable meeting place.

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Lectures

MORE than objects discussion panel chaired by Serafina Amoroso and Zaida Muxi
Florence, Santa Verdiana, School of Architecture, 2017
(Photo credits: Alba Sotelo).





MORE than papers

Editorial board

Serafina Amoroso,

Equal Saree (Dafne Saldaña, Helena Cardona, Julia Goula)

Maria Novas

Amelia Vilaplana

There are different ways of understanding the social dimension of architecture: it is a field full of tensions and contradictions, uncertainties, possibilities and conflicts about whether or not the social and political agenda in architecture should be something explicitly structural. Architecture operates at the intersections of various elements depending on certain contingencies, at a particular place and time. It deals with a wide set of (power, production) relations and has to face entanglements of (cultural, political, economic) factors (systems of representation, objects, forms and meanings). For these reasons, professional identity and socio-political responsibility cannot be considered as separated entities. Both production and use belong to the same process, and the traditional client-architect relationship should necessarily be questioned and redefined. Architecture involves something more than the way in which our environment has been built, including how it is experienced, used and maintained.

Challenging the mainstream discourse –prioritizing place-making rather than form-making and styles– an increasing larger group of women architects and educators is turning gender and social justice at the top of the feminist agenda in architecture. This includes a commitment to participatory principles and its inextricably intertwined link between theory and practice, design and (performative) actions. A distinguished understanding of reality from a gender-based perspective is needed to develop new crosscutting views on urgent topics. Social, political, ecological, management- and use-based issues call for action to address hybrid production models that take into consideration care, affection, enjoyment, blurring the traditional disciplinary role and mastery of the architect, and focusing on the social production of space. The most challenging issue is to activate (urban and architectural) spaces and engage a continuous collective project open to changes and transformations, while dismantling the paradigm of the building as the *conditio sine qua non* of architectural production. Likewise, some of the most consolidated and accepted categories of architectural practice –such as the role of the author, the concept of disciplinary boundaries, the gap between builders and



theorists– need to be tested and questioned. Through history, many women architects have subverted the relationship between theory and practice, pointing out that writing, drawing, and model-making (whether validated by building or not) are all specific forms of architectural thought and practice.

Educators, researchers, scholars, professionals, graduate and Phd students, in the fields of architecture, urban design, art, history of architecture and related areas, have been invited to submit their proposals responding to a ‘Call for papers’ on the following tracks: MORE than objects, MORE than cities, MORE than academia and MORE than humans. They presented the result of their investigations and ideas, and their insights on the above mentioned gender sensitive and feminist strategies in architecture, urban planning and architectural education. A wide range of formats –including papers, short papers, videos, photographs, performances, sound installations, artworks, etc.– were explicitly and intentionally welcomed and presented throughout the conference. All of them, from the different situated perspectives of each of the authors, contributed to define the universe of MORE, which we, the editors, are pleased to introduce in the following pages. Welcome to this specific space travel.



MORE than objects: introduction

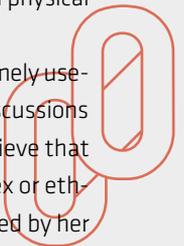
Editorial board

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Maria Novas,
Amelia Vilaplana

The conference track 'MORE than Objects' contributes to explore the deconstruction of the (architectural) canon. Specifically, the final goal is to pursue the creation of a corpus of (both architectural and trans-disciplinary) productions that go beyond the notion of building as a single (and physical) object, thus counteracting, from a feminist perspective, the presence of (spatial and temporal) stereotypes and biases which too often underlie the cultural framework of both academic research and architectural practices.

The papers included in this track explore connections between buildings and places, space and time, people and objects, performances and built environments, architecture and urban spaces, and the mutual (spatial, social, psychological, emotional) impact that they have on each other, with a specific focus on (health and social) care issues – related to household tasks, child-rearing, care for elderly and disabled people. Most of the papers of this track focus on the domestic realm, highlighting how architecture can contribute to perpetuate gender-biased stereotyped roles, and on new, extended, concepts of domesticity, which raise the need for an alternative approach from both architecture and the other disciplines involved. These approaches question the traditional house-family binomial and the canonic clear-cut separation between reproductive and productive spheres, exploring their complex relationships and interaction with physical (space-time), technological and work-related variables.

The topic of the lecture held by our guest speaker Eliana Sousa Santos is extremely useful to introduce and frame the papers of this track. She points out that in our discussions about gender equality and feminism we must not be so complacent as to believe that inequality can be correlated only with fixed natural characteristics, such as sex or ethnicity. This reflection on this quite simple, yet often ignored, issue was triggered by her visit to the house E1027, designed by Eileen Gray, which has already become a canonical building in feminist architectural literature. Quite shocked by the difference between the maid's room and the rest of the house, which is an example of a multilayered architectural space that unfolds small pleasures and comforts from its wall, Eliana could not





help but notice the profoundly classist attitude which underlies it. This is a good prove of the idea that buildings are more than objects, being space itself a social construct in which biases and stereotypes are embedded and that can perpetuate relationships of inequality. Complementary to this approach is the essay proposed by Rosalía Torrent, one of the members of our Scientific Committee. She focus on another facet of design, that of industrial design and the (serial) production of objects of everyday use (which span from urban furniture to table utensils), whose design is supposed to be neutral. The question that arises is whether a 'neutral' design is possible and, if so, to what extent it can be considered 'neutral'. Design should question the stereotypical approaches to what can be considered 'woman-friendly' (which unfortunately too often stop at customizing materials and/or finishing), embracing creative processes which prioritize the real needs of users in their daily lives, and choose design solutions which best fit their physical and psychological imperatives.

To reflect on gendered stereotypes in representation, challenging at the same time preconceived notions of women's work, Martina Dolejšova revisits, in her paper, Broadening the Discourse exhibition (California 1992), which showed "how women in architecture and design are placed within imaginary professional boundaries and how a gaze falls upon the objects of architecture to define them".

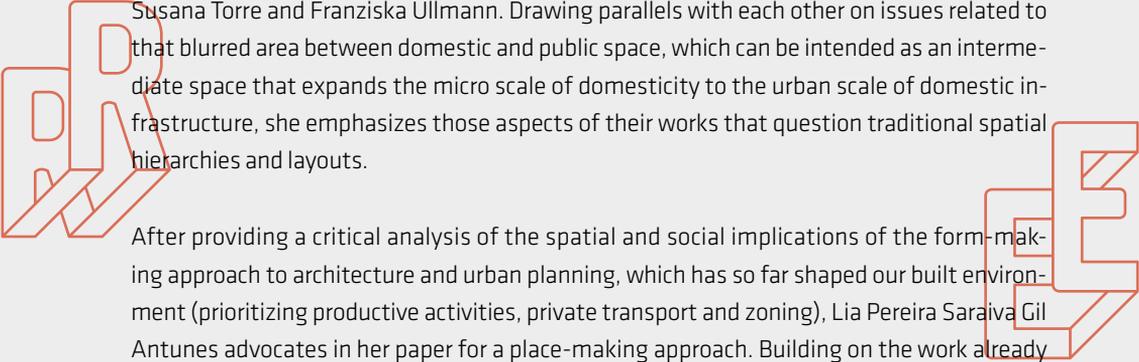


The work presented by Mónica Sánchez reinforces the idea that architecture needs to move beyond the notion of buildings as objects to give back real protagonism to the plural dynamics of those who inhabit architectural and urban spaces. Her lecture was, actually, closer to a performance; in real-time, she projected on a screen some postcards she herself designed, manipulating them in front of the audience. These postcards, which are indeed small artworks (being, on the one hand, the physical paper-based support of narratives and, on the other, narratives in themselves), showed urban and architecture projects (such as social housing projects) specifically focused on women's experiences (both as users and

designers). Using the Kirigami technique, some of them became also the stages of narratives based on a gender-sensitive approach to space which breaks moulds and canonical metalanguages. The ultimate goal of her presentation was to bring the message closer to people who are not familiar with architectural drawings, plans, and technicalities.

Antonio Giráldez López questions the validity of the concept of the traditional domestic space, placing women migrant workers as central agents of the daily conflict that blurs the boundaries between home and workspace. Domestic space is analyzed, then, as a contested terrain within the framework of the growing industry of the reproductive economy, whose violent and controversial aspects should be made visible; domestic space becomes the node of a transnational network of spaces which are the stage of affective and economic interchanges carried out almost exclusively by the feminized and precarious workforce.

In their paper, Cristina de Pedro Álvarez and José María Sánchez Laforet explore, through an attentive historical and graphic analysis supported from a gender-based perspective, the subversive potential of a housing typology, the Madrid corralas. They explain that, because they were not part of the hegemonic canon of the time, the Corralas were relegated to the margins of history. However, this building typology had the merit of encouraging the germination of gender relations that in many ways questioned the normative model of the time, erasing the boundaries between public / productive / male sphere and private / reproductive / female sphere. Transcending the limits of a simple research exercise, this historical rescue makes visible the (spatial and social) peculiarities of this typology. Besides, it aims to foster the contemporary debate on the relationships between living spaces, ways of life and gender roles, demonstrating the existence among them of a complex network of mutual influences.



Virginia de Jorge-Huertas in her short paper briefly showcases the work of Alison Smithson, Susana Torre and Franziska Ullmann. Drawing parallels with each other on issues related to that blurred area between domestic and public space, which can be intended as an intermediate space that expands the micro scale of domesticity to the urban scale of domestic infrastructure, she emphasizes those aspects of their works that question traditional spatial hierarchies and layouts.

After providing a critical analysis of the spatial and social implications of the form-making approach to architecture and urban planning, which has so far shaped our built environment (prioritizing productive activities, private transport and zoning), Lia Pereira Saraiva Gil Antunes advocates in her paper for a place-making approach. Building on the work already accomplished by feminist spatial practices, place-making strategies take into account reproductive activities and care tasks. This strategic move places people's lives, needs and experiences at the center of space-related disciplines, putting aside one-size-fits-all abstract approaches to urban planning and those positions which support the idea of an architecture made up of objects and icons. In this way, the combination of gender mainstreaming, and the effective inclusion and participation of women and other peripheral groups in decision-making processes, planning and design strategies, can result in more equitable cities and spaces for all.



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←
**House E1027,
Eileen Gray,
Roquebrune-
Cap-Martin,
2016**
Photo:
Tiago S. Nunes

This is a short personal essay by means of which I intend to reflect on the concept of justice. In this brief text I present a summary of my personal experience as an architect and academic, focusing on a moment I shifted perspectives regarding feminism, justice, and fairness. These thoughts will be complemented by recalling a recent visit to one canonical building of the gender and architecture literature, the house E1027 by Eileen Gray.

In 2011, I was invited by a small independent magazine about architecture and art to curate a separate booklet; it could be about a subject of my choice and I could invite all the four contributors. Every issue of this magazine had this independently curated section, and together with the request I was sent the previous issues. Although they were only three, all of them had been curated by men who, in turn, had invited men to participate. I have to say I was a bit indignant, and decided to do a protest on my own, so I only invited women to participate. For me, this was one small act of resistance, a protest in which I decided to wilfully discriminate a specific group.

It was only later that I learned that the poet Adrienne Rich had done something similar in the 1950s, after being barred attendance to the men only English classes at Harvard. The poet Kathleen Spivack describes Rich's indignation in the book *With Robert Lowell and his Circle* (2012):

Although Adrienne Rich had already won the prestigious Yale Younger Poets prize for her first collection of poems as an undergraduate at Radcliffe, Harvard University would not allow her to attend its upper level English classes. Professor Harry Levin and others maintained that the courses with the real professors at Harvard were reserved for the men; the Radcliffe girls could make do with teaching assistants. (Spivak, 2012, p. 85)

This was an insult; Rich was famously outspoken about women's rights and political injustice, so she resisted and protested in a radical way, also described by Spivack:

Adrienne refused to read or teach if men were present in the audience. I remember going to Sanders Theatre at Harvard to hear her give a poetry reading. There were a couple of men present and she insisted they leave, or she wouldn't read. The deliberation over this lasted longer than her reading would have. Finally, after several hours of discussion, the men agreed to leave (Spivak, 2012, p. 86).

I have to admit that nowadays I am ambivalent about this episode. Although I understand her resistance and appreciate the efficiency of her position to manifest the unjust reality, I feel that it is not laudable to discriminate people for any reason that they cannot control, much less their gender.

In the same book, Spivack describes how Elizabeth Bishop also made a point by protesting against gender discrimination. As a young poet, Bishop refused to be published in an otherwise all male anthology, although she would have welcomed the visibility. So, it became a matter of principle for her to refute all kinds of discrimination; later she refused to be included in *No more masks!* (Howe and Bass, 1973) one of the first anthologies to be completely devoted to the work of women. For Bishop, who considered herself to be a feminist since the age of six, being an artist was a category that transcended that of gender, or age, or nationality. And she had an almost visceral aversion to any kind of separation or discrimination. Recently, I realised that Bishop's position is more just, and that it is in fact a position of resistance. It is a position that invites respect by standing firm to a principle. If one does not agree with gender discrimination one should persist with this principle as a matter of moral coherence.

Recently, I had the opportunity to visit Eileen Gray's villa at Roquebrune Cap Martin, France (Fig. 1). I was looking forward to seeing the house, also because of Beatriz Colomina's essay about Gray and Le Corbusier titled *Battle Lines: E1027* (1996) in which she argues that there was an implied 'attack' of Gray's house by Le Corbusier. The house is a precious piece of design, with many details that cater to the comfort of its inhabitants individually, as if the space and the furniture were built to suit a specific person's desire. One easily imagines how this might be a wonderful place, but there is a shocking difference between the whole house and the maid's room, which is, as expected, smaller but also somehow cruelly blocked to the wonderful view of the sea present in most rooms. According to Gray, this was "the smallest habitable cell where one seeks only essential comfort" (Gray cited in Rault, 1996, p. 119), however Gray seems to be using the word 'essential' as euphemism since there is hardly any comfort in the room, a fact that is even more upsetting since in the rest of the house there are plenty of comforts and small pleasures unfolding from its walls. In a brief footnote note in *Eileen Gray and the Design of Sapphic Modernity* (2011), Jasmine Rault describes the room:

This room is exceptionally smaller than any other in the house, and its essential comforts include only a bed and a washbasin, with one small window that is entirely blocked by an external piloti. Gray writes that 'this room could serve as an example of all rooms for children and servants' and would indeed set the tone for her servant's room in the next two houses she built, reflecting a profoundly classist attitude (Rault 2011, p. 119).

In the recent and deserved emergence of Gray as a pioneer of modern architecture, her social position is often mentioned in the background of her gender, and it seems that this allows for a largely ignored question of class privilege. By projecting retroactively the gender bias to the historicizing of female architects we are sometimes ignoring mitigating effects such as their social position.

This visit to E1027 made me think about justice, and moreover about the theory of justice by John Rawls which, despite being originally concerned with distributive justice, can be operative to other kinds of justice. Rawls claims that the principles of justice are developed from what he calls the ‘original position’ in which each citizen is and in which “the principles of justice are chosen behind a veil of ignorance” (Rawls, 1971, p. 12) with the purpose of not changing the context to their own advantage. Rawls also defined that we should fight inequality by unequally benefiting the less privileged members of the society that occupy a precarious position. I would like to mention the philosopher Martha Nussbaum’s reading on Rawls and Feminism (2003):

Rawls noted that if, in a society, unequal basic rights should turn out to be correlated with ‘fixed natural characteristics’ such as race or sex the definition of the least well off would need to be adjusted to reflect this fact, and such inequalities, like inequalities of income and wealth would have to be justified by showing that they were in the interests of the least well off (Nussbaum, 2003, p. 501).

Following this, we should make an effort to include the place of privilege and opportunity in our discussions about gender equality and feminism and in reassessing history of architecture.

Acknowledgment

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MUJERES QUE PIENSAN OBJETOS, MUJERES QUE PIENSAN LA CASA

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Ni los espacios ni los objetos son neutrales en lo que se refiere al género. En el Tercer Congreso sobre *Gender and Architecture* (acontecimiento que motiva estas palabras), se reflexionó ampliamente sobre la cuestión de los espacios. Tuve la ocasión de leer numerosas propuestas que, desde las perspectivas más diversas, se referían al modo en que las mujeres habían habitado tanto los lugares públicos como los privados. Y también sobre cómo los habían creado o modificado.

La arquitectura y el urbanismo han sido temas que, tardíamente, pero con fuerza, se han ido incorporando a los estudios de género. Muy vinculada a ambos se encuentra una tercera disciplina, la del diseño industrial, que se ocupa de los más variados objetos, desde los que pueblan las casas y atienden a sus habitantes, hasta los que se sitúan en el exterior de las mismas, contribuyendo siempre a la diferenciación de los espacios. Mi formación como historiadora del diseño hace que, en esta intervención, vaya a centrarme en esta materia, la cual, por supuesto, solicita cada vez más un análisis desde la perspectiva de género.

La relación entre el diseño y la arquitectura es sustancial. Los edificios no pueden prescindir del mundo del diseño, que va a dotarles de todo un conjunto de elementos – como cerramientos de vanos o griferías – que pertenecen a ese mundo, ya que, elaborados en serie, pueden ser traspasables a otras construcciones. Además, es necesario que la arquitectura ‘se vista’ con objetos propios del diseño industrial. La ciudad, por su parte, también vive con diseño, a través de un mobiliario urbano imprescindible en su configuración y resultados estéticos. La unión es íntima, y la reflexión, desde claves feministas, muy necesaria. Si se piensa la arquitectura desde el género, desde idéntica disposición debería abordarse el diseño.

No lo han tenido fácil las mujeres diseñadoras. Seguramente la Bauhaus perdería buena parte de su aureola mítica si reparáramos en la idea que se tenía de ellas desde la dirección de la Escuela, que pretendía que pasasen directamente al taller de textiles una vez superado el curso preliminar. Tampoco hoy lo tienen fácil, pues si bien en las universidades y centros específicos de enseñanza su número se equipara al de los hombres, no les resulta sencillo acceder a

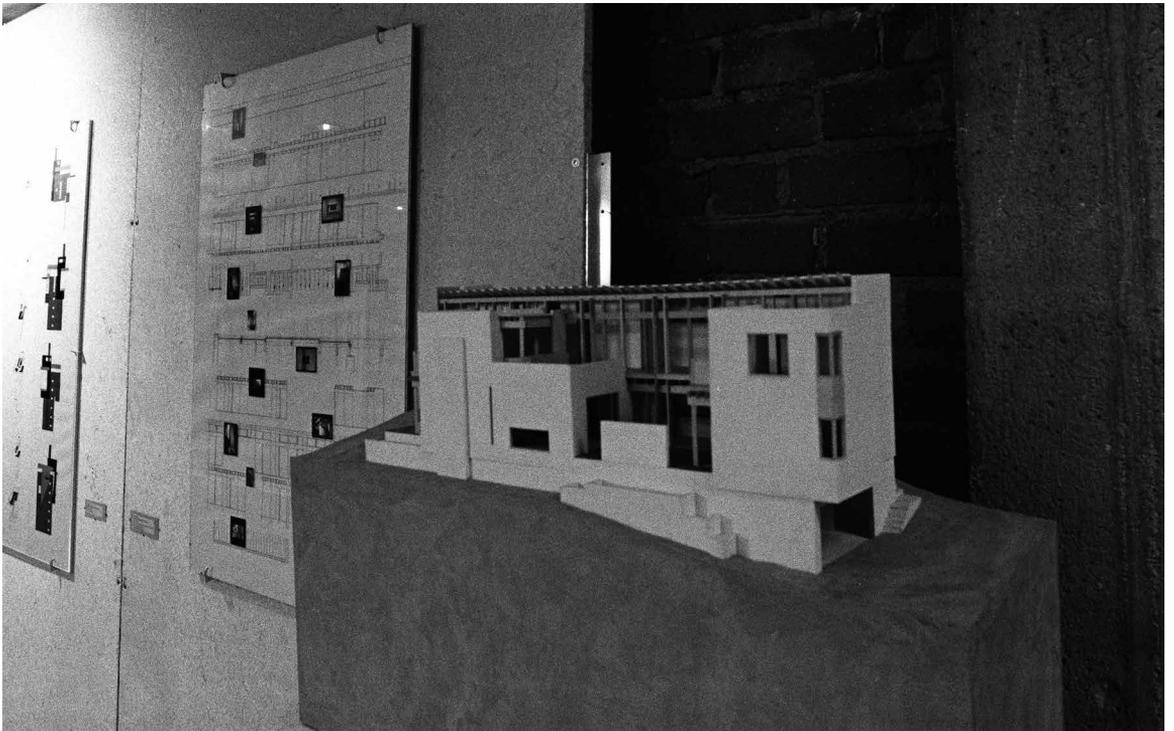
similares puestos de trabajo en iguales condiciones. Tras la idea preconcebida de lo que es ‘adecuado’ para hombres y mujeres, hay un prejuicio esencialista: se consideraría a las mujeres distintas *per se*; por consiguiente – se piensa – no solo preferirían cosas distintas a la hora de comprar objetos, sino que, atendiendo a ese gusto ‘femenino’, los elaborarían de forma distinta. Todavía hoy hay quien cree que las mujeres están más condicionadas por su género a la hora de crear. En cambio, se presupone que los hombres llevarán a cabo un diseño neutro.

Pero, ¿realmente hay un diseño neutro? Esto es lo que empezaron a cuestionar los estudios de género. Objetos que en apariencia pueden resultar neutros, muy probablemente estarán unidos, en la mente de su diseñador, a quienes secularmente han sido dueños de los espacios (los hombres) y por tanto a sus presumibles gustos y/o necesidades. Abundando en esta idea, podríamos afirmar que hay algunos objetos que están hechos para lo que se supone agrada a las mujeres (fuertemente estereotipados, tendrían unos detalles decorativos y colores específicos); otros estarían realizados en función de lo que presuntamente agrada a los hombres (presentarían mayor variedad, no estando tan estereotipados). Un tercer grupo – seguramente el más amplio – permanecería, al menos en apariencia, en el espacio de lo neutro al que antes hemos aludido, esto es, no estarían pensados en función de que el destinatario fuera mujer u hombre. Retomando la pregunta inicial del párrafo, ¿realmente este diseño es tan neutro como lo indica su nombre?, ¿se ha pensado a la hora de elaborarlo en las necesidades físicas y psíquicas de todos los usuarios, hombres y mujeres?, ¿o dominan las necesidades de los primeros?

En este último sentido reflexionan – y diseñan – grupos como *Femme Den*, nacido en el seno de *Smart Design*, empresa neoyorquina fundada en 1980. Formado por varias mujeres, el colectivo, tras un éxito inicial en el diseño de un reloj deportivo para Nike, comienza indagando sobre lo que esperan mujeres y hombres del diseño. Y ahí realmente encuentran diferencias. Concluyen que ellas buscan la tecnología para simplificar su día a día, siendo menos tolerantes a los interfaces complicados. Y advierten que, por supuesto, necesitan un diseño adaptado a sus necesidades, pero que tales necesidades no se aferran al estereotipo sino a sus propias realidades vitales y a sus específicos rasgos corporales. Con una fuerte crítica hacia un mundo empresarial en el que las mujeres solo interesan en el postdiseño (color, acabados), proponen una nueva forma de hacer que tenga en cuenta la diferencia de los y las usuarias (lo que no significa, sino todo lo contrario, aprobar el estereotipo). Algunos podrían decir que subrayar las diferentes necesidades de hombres y mujeres sería caer en otro tipo de estereotipo. No lo creemos así. Nuestros cuerpos son diferentes, los condicionantes en los que se mueven nuestras vidas también.

El futuro que nos aproxime a la igualdad significará el triunfo de un diseño, esta vez sí, verdaderamente neutro.

Tanto en el diseño como en la arquitectura, se trata de lograr que tanto la una como la otra actividad resuelvan las necesidades físicas y psíquicas de los usuarios, que en el caso de hombres y mujeres pueden ser distintas, como puedan serlo entre personas bajas y altas, entre las que viven en un país eternamente con sol o con hielos eternos, o entre las que poseen diferentes capacidades psíquicas y/o funcionales. Lo importante es que cumplan su labor práctica y su labor emocional.



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Fig. 1
The female
gaze at the
'Broadening
the Discourse'
exhibition
entrance

Fig. 2
A residential
model on
display

Source: Anne
Zimmerman

Abstract

The gallery space acts as a lens for architecture to address a larger audience. On January 24, 1992, thirty-three California women architects and designers were part of an exhibition titled *Broadening the Discourse* held off the busy third street promenade in Santa Monica, California. It was sponsored by the professional organizations of the California Women in Environmental Design (CWED), the Association for Women in Architecture (AWA), and the UCLA Extension School for Interior and Environmental Design Program. It became a venue for reviewing feminist approaches to design, how the differences in these designs fit into rethinking gendered stereotypes of representation, identity and feminist critiques that desired to reclaim the “history of low-key buildings, everyday housing, domestic, interiors, and textile design” (Rendell, 2000, p. 227). It also represents an evaluation of ongoing discussions regarding professional practice, feminist theory in architecture and the domain that women hold in shaping built environments, a conversation that continues today.

Keywords

Exhibition, Gender, California, AWA, Representation, Gaze

Broadening the Discourse

On January 24, 1992, the *Broadening the Discourse* exhibition opened its doors to onlookers and pedestrians roaming the newly redeveloped third street promenade in Santa Monica, California. It was organized by two California women's organizations: the state-wide California Women in Environmental Design (CWED, pronounced see-weed) and the Association for Women in Architecture (AWA) in Los Angeles. The opening event on February 7th, 1992 was remembered as well attended and the “place to be for those in the architectural community”¹. Its memory as an exhibition that proposes new feminist visions has mainly been kept

¹ Phone interview with AWA Member, Co-Chair for Broadening the Discourse Conference Committee Kathy Dowdell, December 15, 2015; Architectural historian Anthony Vidler recalls being at the *Broadening the Discourse* exhibition and that there was a large crowd in attendance, conversation 4/28/16

in the minds of participants and attendees, and its attempt to reframe the discussions surrounding women is important to revisit, as it holds itself against other explicitly charged feminist exhibitions in the early 1990's.

From the combined efforts of representing the goals of a local chapter (AWA) vs. a state-wide chapter (CWED), the role of this women's exhibition was redefined by positioning how work is seen differently in a gallery space and through feminist theories. It attempted to identify the gallery as a way to redefine how one views work designed by women and insists upon a new identity. Using the recent theories in gender and representation by Judith Butler and Teresa de Lauretis, it attempts to reframe how work is selected and viewed as a statement in exhibiting women in architecture and the profession² (Fig. 1).

How is representation in buildings a reflection of the architect who designs them, whether male or female and do women have a distinctly alternate way of designing? In the late 80's to early 90's, psychoanalysis in feminist theory as well as the experiential asserted that there were female influences in ways in which women design differently, making their 'gaze' as a designer one that is of knowledge of social contexts, gender identification with the mother, and learnings in caregiving (Frank, 1989). This was supported by a poll done in 1989 in *Progressive Architecture* magazine in which almost 40% of architects who were polled believed there was a difference if a man or woman designed a building (Doubilet, 1989, p.15-17). While it is unclear how many women were actually a part of this poll it shows a clear idea of the imaginary viewpoints of the profession.

The exhibition catalog addressed these views by stating that, "While many of us are pursuing equality within mainstream institutions, most doubt that being female produces any difference as designers and resist notion of an essentially female approach to design, nonetheless, some designers (who are women) are specifically seeking new strategies – be they feminist or socially responsible, innovative or critical, or resistant to the dominant trends in some other way"³.

Selection of Work

One year prior to the *Broadening the Discourse* exhibition, CWED organized an exhibition for February 1991 entitled *Women's Work* as an attempt to alter the way woman

² For further reading, see Teresa de Lauretis, *Technology of Gender. Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction* (1989) and Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990). Discussed cultural representations include the emergence of discourse acknowledging the multiplicity or differences that race, queerness, asexuality, and class establish in giving new perspectives of how to understand gender within feminist theory.

³ *Broadening the Discourse catalog*, "Broadening the Gaze: Feminist Strategies for Exhibiting Women's Work. Lian Hurst Mann Talks with Darlene Crosby", 7

architects were viewed as a category and as stated by exhibition jury member Lucia Howard, to “debunk some of the myths associated with today’s female architects: that they rely upon curvilinear forms; shy away from establishing hierarchy; and focus on details at the expense of larger concepts” (Salmon, 1991). It was first installed at the Contract Design Center in San Francisco and later displayed at the AIA San Francisco in October. The perception that the exhibition of women’s work was challenging representational prejudices previously held was heralded by CWED members, but the process of arranging the exhibition at its first location of the Contract Design Center in San Francisco counters this declaration of advancement. The Contract Design Center agreed to show the *Women’s Work* exhibition on the condition that in order for it to display the work, there must be “quality” designs. The subjective term of quality, suggesting an inferior or other designation to the women’s exhibition was being carried out in social discriminations that were outside of the architectural profession and projecting an imaginary idea of expectations one had regarding all women shows or the work that women would put on display. Whether the woman, who was now visible in this exhibition, was accepted by outside authorities was in the view of how her designs were not yet defined within the constraints of ‘acceptability’. How does one determine what this quality is and what its vision is in architecture? To address this condition, a jury was selected by the Organization of Women Architects (OWA) in San Francisco to help promote entries and “ensure a minimum level of the quality of work”.⁴ It removed the typical approach of the women’s organizations qualifying the work themselves, but that it needed to be qualified for another authority.⁵ In essence, the local organization was removing their own personal interests that would interfere with the politics of choosing the work, while the jury itself was still comprised of women in order to maintain the organizations’ own aims of women qualifying the work.

Even in this situation, after the final selection of work for the exhibition, some members were upset for not being included. The selection process defied the traditional roles of making all women visible and having inclusivity in the exhibition. It reframed new ideas in what is

⁴ Letter from Kristina L.W. Raupach (OWA Conference Chair) to Mui Ho (Chair, OWA Steering Committee) dated February 3, 1991

⁵ Despina Stratigakos discusses in her book *A Women’s Berlin* how the Women’s Club validated their work for exhibitions. “The use of male judges, which became standard practice at both the London and Berlin clubs, sent the message that women artists had received the most stringent seal of approval – that of their male colleagues.” Stratigakos, Despina. *A Women’s Berlin: Building the Modern City*. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 27. Torre states that by the 1970s “the work is judged by the women themselves and by others on its own merits: through this evaluation women raise their own demands about the quality of their work and finally validate their image as professionals for themselves.” Torre, Susana. “Women in Architecture and the New Feminism,” in *Women In American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective*, ed. Susana Torre. (New York: Billboard Publications, 1977). These two performances of validation that gradually changed over a period of several decades show how women were eventually gaining acceptance in judging and qualifying their work. Yet the questions in the 1990s of ‘quality’ were still in the cultural language of how women’s work was viewed by those outside the profession.

shown to address political goals of reframing the imaginary of how women design. Members who were left out and spoke up were reconsidered although reluctantly by the Conference Chair, Kristina L.W. Raupach, who agreed to let a few people submit later, but felt that it “diminishes the integrity of the exhibit”⁶. In the light of more women entering the profession and the question of ‘quality’, the organization had to assert how one is inclusive while creating a representation towards a new dialogue of women’s work that appropriates a new vision of the architectural object. This vision being that of what is accepted by the gaze of an authoritative eye, one that was outside the profession. While this selection dispute was meant to be kept relatively quiet, it was referenced by the AWA/CWED committee organizing the *Broadening the Discourse* conference as they deliberated on their approach in how to select work for their exhibition.⁷

The *Broadening the Discourse* exhibition focused on how a gaze informs the validation of work under gendered definitions. The new trouble was in asking what is a women’s exhibition accomplishing beyond a visibility of showing work? In order to bridge the gap between the personal organization and the institution of the profession, as well as include more work that would reflect the broader categories of how women were influencing space, the AWA and CWED advertised to all women designers in the state of California, through the AIA, Women in Construction, at local Universities and through announcements in local publications.

Organized as a submission process, there was also a fee for each project submitted, symbolizing a monetary value in the exhibition itself and a value placed on the work that was being submitted⁸. By the submission deadline in November 1991, fifty-three individuals had submitted their work. Of these individuals, thirty-six were non-members of the CWED organization. This makes over half of the submissions who were not members but wanted to be considered for an exhibition on ‘women’s work’. It shows how many individuals not necessarily active in claiming a role in women’s organizations wanted to be seen.

CWED drafted design criteria that had been built off feminist ideas and the representations of design. In defining the design criteria and theme, the desire was to reach a wider audience:

⁶ Letter from Kristina L.W. Raupach (OWA Conference Chair) to Mui Ho (Chair, OWA Steering Committee) dated February 3, 1991

⁷ AWA Committee Meeting Notes (1991) It claims that they did not want to have the same situation as the previous year and to make sure all the jury members were in one room at the same time to make it more solid for any disputes of selection, should they arise.

⁸ The overall total amount collected was \$2,293, making it approximately a \$30 fee per project submitted.

'Enhancement of Individual Human Life: Actualization'
'Enhancement of Social Human Life: Community', and
*'Enhancement of the Environment: Human-Natural Life Connection'*⁹

It was in the discussions of determining what these categories encompassed and how they related to redefining the gaze on women's work that was of debate between the AWA committee in Los Angeles and board members of CWED. The criteria emphasized accordingly to the idea that women "tended to look at different aspects of design that weren't permeated in the larger design culture, such as, at the time, more sensitivity to environmental and social concerns, as well as function"¹⁰. These criteria reviewed the trending feminist pedagogy that was entering schools through women educators and leaders in the profession and how feminist thinking can enter larger contexts. It was later developed and distributed as a CWED booklet in 1995.

The criteria was under the assumption that these ideologies would be more focused on design process and production. What also emerged in discussions between the AWA and CWED was how these categories were used as indications of aesthetics and representation. This was especially debated because of the attempt to neutralize historically gendered prejudices which kept women 'outside' of the profession. It also brought a problematic idea of how architectural objects are viewed and have been defined by male gazes and ideologies. It is this debated representation that encompasses the notions towards what is seen as 'quality' work. What is the female gaze of an architectural object?

A jury was again selected to decide the projects shown for the *Broadening the Discourse* exhibition. They were all women and multidisciplinary and included Regula Campbell, Principal Designer at Campbell & Campbell and co-author of *Los Angeles, the City Observed*; Dana Cuff, Associate Professor at the UCLA School of Architecture and Urban Planning, Julie Eizenberg, Principal Architect at Koning Eizenberg Architecture; Susan Fong, a Programs Officer for Arts and Culture at the California Community Foundation; Patricia Ford, the Director of Interior Architecture at HNTB; Lydia H. Kennard, Principal, attorney, and urban planner at KDG Development Consulting, a commissioner for the Los Angeles City Planning Commission, and a woman of color; and Koje F. Shoraka, Structural Engineer and Manager of Design and Engineering for Scotsman Buildings at Scotsman Group, Inc. These jury members across disciplines were the interpretative female gaze. All fields were within the built environment but appropriately focused on separate aspects of what design

⁹ The three categories are further defined to "demonstrate the use of professional design skills to enhance human life, individually, socially and ecologically"

¹⁰ Interview with Anne Zimmerman, Co-Chair for AWA Exhibit Committee, January 18, 2016

importance has in its relationship to society, performance and aesthetic. In particular, jury member Eizenberg had been a panelist at the first Julia Morgan Colloquium in 1987 and stated at that panel that she thought it was unnecessary to have conferences of all women and to define oneself as a 'woman' architect. She later privately recanted this statement¹¹. In qualifying the submissions for the exhibition each jury member situated themselves in the in-between of how one claims the title of 'woman architect' vs. 'architect', and 'women's work' vs 'work'. These notions of claiming an identity of the personal as opposed to neutralizing oneself in order to be within the profession is the fixation of how gender performs in architecture and how an authorial gaze defines the adjacencies of its representation.

Works Selected

On November 23, 1991, the jury met to review the submissions at the UCLA Extension Design Center, the space designated for the exhibition. The submissions were presented to the jury already categorized by the exhibition committee into the three CWED design criteria categories. The jury was thus given the task of looking more intently at what the designs were achieving as social constructs, as designs representative of women, feminist practices and as aesthetic/creative approaches. Each jury member was given the lead-in sentence to define "... how the project demonstrates a particular discipline's (or multi-discipline's) use of professional design skills to enhance human life, individually, socially, and/or ecologically"¹², in considering the merits of the selection, and to use their further judgment on the depth of the design and its aesthetic articulation based on this. The selections faced similar conflicts within the determination of using the CWED design criteria to select work for the exhibition. What women were designing and the criteria's definitions based on humanistic values were at odds. The jury felt that the criteria's intention was "long on concern for the human condition but short on design solutions that exemplified that goal" (Brickman, 1992).

Design within the female gaze, as implied by the design criteria and important in redefining the way work is seen, continued to be defined by an objective male gaze. Projects that were finally selected integrated a wide range of influences, and addressed a new visioning in works that are inherently historically gendered in their representations. This

¹¹ Through the recollection of Kate Diamond, "At the first Julia Morgan Colloquium ('87) in LA, Julie Eizenberg was on a panel with me (Kate). Eizenberg thought that the reason to have women in such events was 'silly'. We had a fight on stage, where I pointed out that she was a partner with her husband and of course needed to address that she was a woman in the profession... 6 months later she called me and said 'you were right, and I was wrong.'" Phone interview with AWA Member, Kate Diamond, on October 24, 2015

¹² Letter to Jury Members from AWA Exhibition Committee, November 1991

was alongside projects that contained feminist pedagogy utilizing humanistic values. Final selections included sixteen architecture projects with a range of types and research into materials, two landscape architecture projects, three projects involving education and community involvement, two writers/editors for an architectural publication, one graphic design, five interior designs and two urban design projects.

Whether these designs themselves held the values that were a part of the CWED design criteria, they broached upon the unconstructed or 'inconclusive' idea of gender defining work in architecture. The selection of work thus became a "neutralizing gaze" as defined by Jos Boys in which their representation becomes "unstable and changing mediators of territory and meaning" to counteract the overbearing male gaze within the profession (Boys, 2001, pp 45). It was not about the form but was floating in between the discourse and types of commissions women were receiving in the late 80's to early 90's. Many of which related to residential architecture, interior spaces, and nurturing projects such as schools and hospitals often designated as a women's domain (Fig. 2).

One selected project countered this. The inclusion of the LAX Control Tower by Siegal Diamond Architects attempted to develop a neutralized idea behind representation and ideologies. The tower as a phallic object, and representational of the male ego, was now a design done by a woman. Its symbolic representation though was not of sex but of surveillance and control, given to the gaze of a woman architect, thus making its representations of a deeper social context. Meanings behind the spatial constructions of this structure refuse gendered notions of subjectivity. Does it matter that it is phallic? Or does it matter that it is a symbol of surveillance and control? Does it matter that a woman was hired to define this? These definitions of visualization referring to a sex, gendered or representational relationship confuse the hierarchies that dominate. Both exist as a symbol of power and object of representation that is now being claimed by a woman architect.

Several residential projects in the exhibition were displayed with models, images and drawings. The showing of these projects is inherently the combinatory effects of living in California, known for its residential architecture, and the acceptance of women doing residential work. Their designs are clean and existing without ornamentation or curving forms. One suspects it was intentionally neutralized. Notions of gender and domesticity are a realm that is no longer absolute or prescriptive and the exhibition tries to show this. Seen in Architect Annie Chu's two projects, the first a collaboration with the architects Tod Williams and Billie Tsien on an exhibition project titled *Domestic Arrangements*, the second an interior architecture project from her own firm (Fig. 3). The juxtaposition of these two works emphasizes the types of visibility and acknowledgement that women are consistently demanding. To be

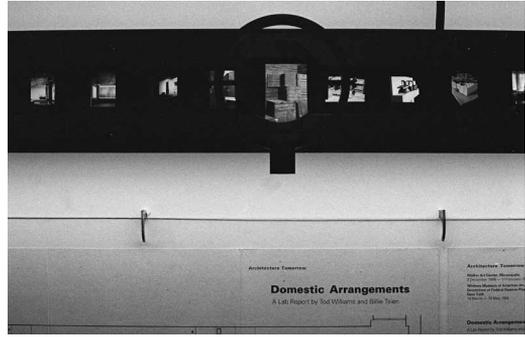
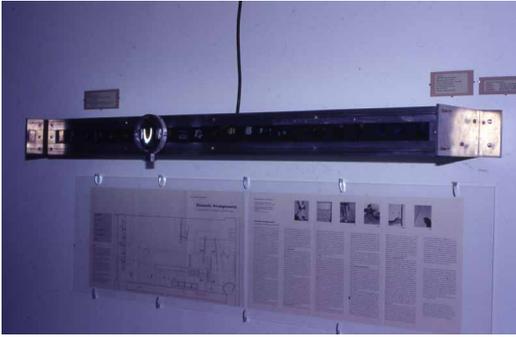


Fig. 3
The two projects
by Annie Chu
were displayed
side by side

A viewer was designed to engage visitors into her own practice. Her collaborative work as a designer was shown directly below the viewer

Fig. 4
A close up of
Chu's project as
seen through her
viewer

Source: Anne
Zimmerman

recognized for their collaboration and contributions in the process of a design alongside other accomplished architects, as well as to be recognized as an individual designer, capable, creative and doing high-performing quality work.

As the project architect, Chu translated the concepts for ‘*Domestic Arrangements*’ into space for the question of what is ‘architecture tomorrow’ at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The research project was “initiated to examine issues related to building through the design of a full-scale house” built within the gallery space¹³. The research itself is not one of the feminist strategies or even of defining new spatial arrangements. It was a research into the materials of housing and construction. It looked at the individual elements and objects that make up the sharing of space, the arrangement of domesticity, and how these come together. This itself is not a project that is attempting to refine or make claims of the spatial but is making the claims of the surface and the construction.

The drawings are interpretive motions of space and look at how the material research is brought about into the mode of spatial production. Where does the table go? Where is the bed? Who sits, and where do you sit? The objects themselves are boundaries that give definitions, in which architect Susana Torre states, “Not all spatial segregation in the home is so obvious or well defined; a subtle evidence of territorial dominance can be found in the spacious or particularly comfortable chair in the living room or den that the husband reserves for his own use” (Torre, 1977, p.168). Chu’s participation in the drawing of the plans and the research into the materials is that she is the collaborator who is informed by the concepts of Williams and Tsien. Her drawings show a room with a TV and two chairs next to each other. It is the arrangement of objects in the domestic space,

¹³ Broadening the Discourse exhibition catalog, 24

where one assumes two people live. Man and woman? Man and man? Woman and woman? They/she/he?

It is this absence of a body, and the formation of the objects in domestic space of the rug, the table, the bed, the walls and the roof that neutralize it. It is in the structure of the house, and the construction that holds one in the interior, where they are developing new tools to build this domesticity. It looks at the every day to form a new arrangement of the surface.

Chu's other project was an interior for a residential property called the Miller Apartment located in New York City. A viewer was designed by Chu and fabricated by a local shop to look at images of the space (Fig. 4). It was another apparatus to gaze through. The images were small, almost as if you were getting into the tight spaces of New York City living. They showed details of the design, from the woodwork of a metabolist-like piece of cabinetry to other material details. Her design approach focused on the collaboration with fabricators and relationships between materials to reach the final outcome. It singled out the quality of the work, the texture of materials and was a beautiful, pleasurable interior. These projects re-view domesticity and the scales of communicating what this environment is outside of a feminist lens but within a female gaze.

Alternatively, architect Laura Rocroi Riggs was the principal architect for the Rosalie House Shelter for Battered Women and Children in San Francisco. The shelter is an interiors project, but facilitates the ideas of feminist strategies and possibilities. Its interior redesign was made to create an environment for women attempting to leave their domestic and violent situations, and enter into another space of acceptance and safety. The design is the performance of feminist practices in giving a spatial configuration as well as an interior representation that would empower women to change the domination of violence that was associated with their domestic and private spheres. The exterior architecture becomes negligible as stated in the catalog that "photos of the exterior cannot be shown, in order to preserve the anonymous location of the shelter and to keep it a safe place"¹⁴. Plans of the shelter are displayed, and the inclusion of this project shows feminist practices relevant to providing new domesticities and new meanings in society that are often associated with class, race, etc. and which receive less attention and visibility. The interior is thus the reframing of the domestic of hierarchical surveillance and control to enable one to move more freely. It is these multiple representations of domestic interiors that are read in the exhibition. As bell hooks says "it is always much more constructive to identify the links between theory and practice rather than to further the conventional assumption that the links are not there, they are" (bell hooks, 1994, p.24)

¹⁴ Broadening the Discourse exhibition catalog, 46

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Fig. 5
 Silja Tilner's
 urban design
 animation is
 displayed for
 visitors
 Source: Anne
 Zimmerman



opposite page
Fig. 6
 Models and a
 booklet produced
 by Jacqueline
 Leavitt and her
 students at UCLA
 Source: Anne
 Zimmerman

Many designs were by design principals, either of their own firms or in collaboration. In order to go beyond the views of perception towards residential work, there were projects that were institutional, high-rise buildings, public projects and those of urban planning. Student work was also included like the animation of an urban design displayed on a TV screen (Fig. 5). This follows the example of feminist theorist Laura Mulvey who attempted to promote the female gaze, in which ones sets up the camera as a way to project a female lens in the frame (Sassatelli, 2011). The project and animation were created by Silja Tilner, a Masters of Architecture II student at the UCLA Architecture and Urban Planning school, called “The End of the Glendale Freeway”. The public realm’s historic domination by male control and surveillance as described by Diana Agrest in *The Return of the Repressed*, as

“The urban realm thus discloses the historical role of the alignment of nature and gender, an identification that is once again key to the struggle for power and the engendering of power. The conception of the world as a machine in a fetishistic architecture that is the result of the application of the principles of modernist urbanism allows the double domination (or negation) of nature and woman” (Agrest, 1996, pp.60).

This interpretation of the public realm is a reversal of the notions of control of space and the resignation of women to private areas. The role of women in the transformation of cities remains theoretically problematic, “where women in urban settings, seen

as extensions of the male gaze, and instruments of consumer society” (Torre, 1996, pp.241).

Its inclusion in the exhibition is a reminder of the refusal to be subjected to how one should act, move or be seen in the public realm, allowing a democratic notion of how space can be accessed. How the differences in these designs fit into rethinking gendered



stereotypes of representation, identity and feminist critiques such as reclaiming the “history of low-key buildings, everyday housing, domestic, interior and textile design” (Rendell, 2000, 227) is part of their individual considerations with non-feminist designs. This integration between the university and the profession assisted also in showing feminist strategies and research among commissioned projects, where both the work of students and professors teaching feminist pedagogy were seen (Fig. 6). The pairing of educational and professional projects gives a design range of various frames of viewing women’s work. Neither attempted to establish clear identities of categorizing women, but its intention in the selection of this work demands a new consideration for gendered notions of feminine inscribed typologies.

The original intention to show CWED’s design criteria in which the projects represented social, ecological, and humanistic values were present but did not become the thematic thread that linked each project. Instead, the AWA and CWED organizations tried to make a spectacle out of the imaginary representation of the gaze. It begins to notice the everyday and how women who are placed in gendered roles are refusing its limitations. It is an exhibition that does not overtly look male or female, but instead shows the pulse of the profession in its gendered definitions and invisible connections to power and society. It is an exhibition that is familiar, one that while looking closer, suggests new viewpoints, new ‘visions’ and approaches to the work (Fig. 7, 8). At the same time, the most avant-garde expressions of representation dominated by male practitioners were in deconstruction, but attempting to reframe traditional masculine hierarchies instead of gendered representations. *Broadening the Discourse* has a historical look to its display that is conceptually and theoretically pushing boundaries. It reviews how women in architecture and design are placed within imaginary professional boundaries and how a gaze falls upon the objects of architecture to define them. It attempts to situate itself in a neutral zone of typological and aesthetic definitions in order to push

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Fig. 7
Models for
community
housing in the
exhibition
Source: Anne
Zimmerman

Fig. 8
Architectural
drawings and
illustrations
that include
landscape
architect, April
Philips' proposal
for "Landscapes
for the 21st
Century"

Source: Anne
Zimmerman



meaningful new associations of women in architecture as highly performing and conceptual individuals into the wider field of architectural domains.

The traditional roles of curation in this selection of work is an assertion to recognize women's work as a political and personal construct. Like any exhibition, the selection itself is critical in the goals of its display. The dual goal in challenging preconceived notions of 'women's work' and providing a space where new definitions and meanings could be placed, was a further exposure of identifying the constructs of gender and those who identified as a 'woman' whether or not they declared the title openly as 'woman architect'.

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Fig. 1
Secuencia en video del montaje de una escena que denuncia el preámbulo de un feminicidio en un espacio privado y la vivienda como lugar de riesgo para las mujeres. Fuente: elaboración propia (2017)

TECNOLOGÍAS APROPIADAS PARA PRESENTAR UN INVENTARIO INACABADO DE ESPACIOS DE MUJERES

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Esta ponencia hizo parte del panel MORE THAN OBJECTS en la Tercera versión de las Conferencias Internacionales sobre Arquitectura y Género realizadas en Florencia, Italia (2017). Parte de la proyección en vivo de una serie de postales de viaje físicas, de elaboración propia, material basado en la investigación para mi tesis de Maestría en Arquitectura de la Vivienda de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Objetos que permiten narrar de una manera cálida la arquitectura de y para mujeres crítica y cálida a fin de hacerla visible, tangible y comprensible para todo público: el especializado disciplinar y el conformado por personas de a pie.

El circuito cerrado de televisión

Parte del ejercicio presentado en vivo y en directo en sala pierde sentido al convertirlo a texto en la medida que la propia presentación, llena de imágenes paralelas y simultáneas, con un carácter casi performático, introduce el primer punto a resaltar en el uso de lo nombro como “tecnologías apropiadas”. En este caso, es el uso del circuito cerrado de televisión para la proyección en vivo de la serie de postales producidas que recogen, una a una, proyectos arquitectónicos y urbanos donde las mujeres son centrales. Proyecto lo que capto con el objetivo de la cámara que dispongo frente a mí al momento de dar la conferencia, es decir las postales pero también mis manos que entran una y otra vez a cambiar de postal o a convertirla en una pequeña escenografía construida en vivo en la conjunción de tres postales dobladas, prefiguradas con la técnica del kirigami (Fig. 1). Todo transcurre entre las dos y las tres dimensiones. El público entonces tiene la oportunidad de ver tanto el objeto proyectado como el objeto manipulado, lo que configura un ambiente íntimo que abandona el impersonal y frío formato de diapositivas proyectadas desde un ordenador.

Tratando de ser fiel a las conclusiones del ejercicio proyectual, enfocado en diseñar viviendas pensando en las realidades de las mujeres, propicio un encuentro con y desde el ser humano, a través de la persona que relata historias de una manera cálida y personal, donde el

pretexto es una investigación de orden arquitectónico y urbano, y el espacio es entendido como fuente de conocimiento y de acogida, en últimas, una superficie que nos reúne y relaciona con lo proyectado.

De orden vivencial, el efecto producido al asistir a esta proyección es casi de contacto, similar a la magia que produce ver por primera vez revelar una fotografía en papel por medio químico, hace que la información llegue a la retina e impacte al alma, la piel, los sueños por una arquitectura utópica posible.

Presentar las “Postales para Mamá” me implica trasladar mi pequeño laboratorio compuesto por una lámpara portátil, un atril para soportar las postales, un trípode y la conexión por cable de la cámara de video al proyector que cargo en mi maleta de viaje junto con las postales protegidas en una caja que les acomoda, incluida la escenografía que armo y desarmo en directo. Laboratorio que instalo cuidadosamente procurando estar lo más cerca posible del público asistente para acentuar el estar ahí, presentes. Donde las emociones afloran asumiendo el riesgo de tropezar las manos con los objetos.

Fue el Café con Mujeres, espacio de debate de asuntos determinantes para la vida de las mujeres, liderado por la francesa radicada en Colombia, Florence Thomas, que abrió para mí el camino mediante el reto de buscar la forma para transmitir estos avances a mujeres que no tienen contacto con la disciplina de la arquitectura y sus instrumentos. Fortaleciendo así esta postura que rompe metalenguajes para dar acceso a un conocimiento, por un lado, de difícil lectura por ejemplo para quien no sabe leer planos y, por otro lado, de difícil consecución de materiales relacionados hace diez años, aún catalogados prácticamente como rarezas en la documentación disponible.

Las postales

Esta tecnología que he apropiado, según se mire a veces vanguardista y a veces obsoleta, es una manera de aproximarme y aproximar a quien me escucha a esta arquitectura poco estudiada pero fértil en exploración, y dejar abierta la posibilidad de incorporar a lo largo del tiempo postales adicionales como desde cuando empecé a estudiar arquitecturas de referencia para las mujeres, graficarlas y plasmarlas en esta especie de ventanas al pasado y al futuro, y así poder exponerlas ante otras mujeres, distantes en tiempo y espacio de los lugares referidos. Postales síntesis de múltiples viajes, reales o imaginarios, a sitios existentes o que existieron, que se pensaron o se requieren. Todas las postales y todos los espacios señalados sitúan a las mujeres bien como creadoras y/u ocupantes de los mismos. Otra gran ventaja de tomar como formato las postales es que a medida que pasan los años, sumo nuevas postales, nuevas historias, nuevos proyectos, resumen de este tipo de

arquitecturas que permiten descubrir más criterios de diseño para seguir visibilizando otros modos de habitar, recurrentes según la cultura donde se originan. Su meta: ampliar la mirada para que, al momento de entrar a resolver problemáticas asociadas entre las mujeres y el espacio (el público o el privado), facilite a quien diseña recursos para dar solución desde experiencias ya aplicadas y aquellas reconocidas como buenas prácticas dentro de las que rompen las brechas de exclusión, discriminación y estigmatización.

Ahora, las postales tienen otros dos sentidos que confluyen en el anverso y el reverso del objeto físico para cada una. En el anverso aparecen las imágenes, unas son fotografías que se complementan con plantas y alzados redibujados a escala, que permiten comparar varios proyectos del mismo tenor. En ellas señalo qué tanto del objeto arquitectónico o urbano estudiado tiene en cuenta a las mujeres, en una gama que va desde la exclusividad hasta la prohibición de su presencia. Mancha de color que facilita la lectura en un abrir y cerrar de ojos. Al reverso escribo a mi madre, ya fallecida, la artista plástica María (H)Elena Bernal, en una suerte de duelo personal que me permite desarrollar y mantener activo un diálogo con mi propia casa, la materna, bajo una condición de diagramación: las reflexiones que le escribo no pueden superar las 90 palabras. Con ello hago, a propósito, síntesis de los proyectos referidos, capturando en esencia lo que considero aportes en los criterios a rescatar y replicar.

El inventario

El inventario logrado tiene la característica que puede ordenarse de diferentes maneras. Por ejemplo, por continentes, países, escalas, exclusividad, lugares que han sido de encerramiento para las mujeres, lugares resignificados o construidos por las mujeres, arquitectas, bibliografía, películas que escenifican las actividades en ellos, concursos, diseños propios, hilos conductores como el agua y las violencias contra las mujeres... Dependiendo del escenario en el que las presento, el público reunido y el tiempo disponible, selecciono las que me permiten armar un discurso adecuado al tema que convoca.

Hay unas que siempre muestro porque me permiten desatar sentimientos como aquella donde aparece mi madre fotografiada al lado del jefe de la tribu de Ngaounderé en Camerún (1967) donde se ven al fondo las casas típicas de familias poligámicas en las que los espacios de las esposas juegan un papel importante en su distribución arquitectónica, o aquella de la escena de un feminicidio que señala el lugar más peligroso para las mujeres que es la vivienda donde reside.

En ocasiones, cuando se tratan temas sobre espacio público explico en detalle las características de los akllayasis y los cihuacallis, el harén y el gineceo, las hanamachi y las casas PAO, el convento de Santa Catalina y el Barrio Rojo, Punta de Rieles y los beguinatos, la ciudad

de las viudas y el Frauen Werk Stadt, los criterios de ciudades seguras y las marchas por recuperar la noche, entre otros. Vocabulario rescatado y compilado que consolida expresiones y prácticas en términos de los espacios referidos a las mujeres. Respecto a los tres proyectos diseñados en el marco de la maestría, exploración que dio inicio a preguntarme qué espacios existían pensados para las mujeres, también tienen sus propias postales. No me detengo en este artículo, como no lo hice durante la ponencia, a explicar cada proyecto o espacio inventariado, lo que supone otra dedicación en tiempo y espacio. Para ello remito al libro que recoge mi tesis de maestría titulado “Vivienda y Mujeres: herencias, autonomías, ámbitos y alternativas espaciales” (2012) publicado por la Facultad de Artes de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia, en Colección Punto Aparte.

Un proceso inacabado

En el tiempo transcurrido desde que proyecté por primera vez este trabajo en el Café con Mujeres, incluso antes de la sustentación de la tesis, hasta la fecha, las postales y la tecnología apropiada para compartirlas sigue generando el grato impacto por lo innovador y lo no visto, por aquello que se siente familiar o próximo a lo anhelado, por el recurso de acercarse a lo que todavía falta por contar y hacer.

Día a día más personas emprenden este campo del conocimiento especializado que tiene más de 40 años de marcha. Cada cual va aportando desde su manera de abordar al reto semi-arqueológico y vivencial. En la práctica, donde las políticas públicas y las declaraciones mundiales exigen respuestas incluyentes y sostenibles, surgen preguntas explícitas en el cómo planificar e intervenir adecuadamente la ciudad y la vivienda en este sentido. Día a día se proyectan y construyen más proyectos que deben dar cuenta de la reflexión por hacer la arquitectura, las ciudades y el territorio incluyentes de la alteridad con enfoque de género. Quienes se salen de ese molde estereotipado que ligó la arquitectura, sus dimensiones y función a una sola manera de habitar, representado por un “Modulor” que oculta los cuerpos, entre otras, de las personas de talla baja, de quienes deambulan en silla de ruedas, de las mujeres diversas y sus actividades en el territorio.

Comprender el cuerpo humano y sus diferencias en el espacio, en especial el de las mujeres, como parte del proceso de investigación hizo que situara mi cuerpo hasta el punto de exponerlo en público para tocar el tema, en un área del conocimiento que hace tiempo se desligó de lo humano para dar presencia al objeto -el arquitectónico- por encima de las dinámicas plurales de quienes habitan sus espacios. En nombre de lo técnico las personas parecen no existir, o apenas como referencia escalar, cuando son tomadas como un modelo que repite una y otra vez trayectos predispuestos. Donde no ajustarse al

molde significa quedar por fuera de las decisiones, intervenciones y acción. Por ello aproximarse de otra manera al conocimiento y producirlo abre horizontes como la apropiación de tecnologías para comunicar mensajes, falencias, indagaciones, indignaciones. Como diseñadora es de gran valor poder atravesar los muros que no permiten tener visión lejana y andar caminos quizás en ruinas y seguro aquellos imaginados.

Sí, la arquitectura se ocupa/habita a través de nuestros cuerpos y de nuestras acciones. Las mujeres están en una búsqueda constante por saberse partícipes de las decisiones urbanas e incluidas en los espacios que habitan. Estimular el contacto y la proximidad con el lenguaje arquitectónico puede hacer posible las transformaciones culturales y físico-espaciales esperadas sobre todo cuando se comprende que existen alternativas de abordaje. Los viajes y lo recogido en ellos, en la intimidad de quien comparte sus experiencias, traduce lo arquitectónico en un asir humano, lo que da rienda suelta a que siempre habrá un rincón a la vuelta de la esquina por descubrir y disfrutar con el acervo del ser situado.

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DOMESTICIDAD EN DISPUTA. RE-CONSTRUYENDO LA ESPACIALIDAD DE LAS CUIDADORAS MIGRANTES

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Resumen

Más del cincuenta por ciento de la migración a países desarrollados lo forman mujeres trabajadoras dentro de la industria de los cuidados. Una transformación en femenino de las figuras tradicionales del migrante que supera los modelos históricos, que supone un proyecto emancipatorio desarrollado en arquitecturas y espacios que deben ser analizados en profundidad por la disciplina arquitectónica. A través de las cuidadoras migrantes y de su domesticidad se cuestionará la vigencia del espacio doméstico, la casa, dado que para ellas se convierte en su lugar de trabajo. Esta transformación de la vivienda obliga a re-pensar su domesticidad en base a una red transnacional de espacios de intercambio de afectos y recursos. Situar a las trabajadoras migrantes como agentes centrales de este conflicto cotidiano permitirá revisar la vigencia de los modelos domésticos tradicionales y visibilizar la violencia y los conflictos inherentes a una industria creciente de economía reproductiva con mano de obra exclusivamente femenina y precaria, donde el espacio doméstico se transforma en un territorio en disputa.

Palabras clave

Domesticidad, migrante, cuidados, transnacional, espacio, trabajo

El 48,2% de la migración mundial está constituida por mujeres según el reciente informe emitido por las Naciones Unidas (2015), lo que hace cuestionar la figura paradigmática del migrante como hombre trabajador y sea necesario pensar el espacio y papel de la mujer en la migración global desde diferentes disciplinas. Si se analiza con precisión el informe, una demanda laboral específica hace que este porcentaje aumenta hasta el 51,1% en países desarrollados, aumentando casi un punto desde el año 2000. En el caso español, en el que se ha centrado la investigación, más del 60% de inmigración de Latinoamérica está constituido por mujeres (INE, 2007), donde dicha demanda laboral es aún mayor por la cuestión del idioma respecto a otros países. Las industrias de los cuidados han hecho que se haya

producido un cambio radical en el contexto migratorio que supera la figura del migrante asociada al de un hombre joven convertido en mano de obra barata para la industria o la agricultura, para dar paso a la de una mujer vinculada al trabajo doméstico y asistencial. Una transformación del ‘cuerpo migrante’¹ que plantea nuevas figuras laborales y modelos sociales que ya no responden a estructuras históricas, donde la presencia de la mujer es protagonista y no ya asociada al hombre (como motor económico y fuerza principal de trabajo) sino como proyecto vital autónomo. Dicha transformación también se ha ampliado a los conflictos espaciales y a los lugares donde estos se desarrollan. En este nuevo contexto, las trabajadoras migrantes vinculadas a la industria de los cuidados – asistentas, niñeras, trabajadoras domésticas... – se han convertido en figuras paradigmáticas a través de las cuales explicar los nuevos modelos y conflictos espaciales a los que se enfrentan de manera cotidiana. Así, las cuidadoras migrantes deben ser analizadas desde la disciplina arquitectónica para entender las dinámicas de construcción de un espacio, doméstico pero también laboral, que cuestiona nociones ampliamente consolidadas y establecidas. Situar a las trabajadoras migrantes como agentes centrales del conflicto cotidiano del que son parte permitirá estudiar y revisar la vigencia de los modelos tradicionales del espacio doméstico y de trabajo. Frente a una arquitectura de límites precisos, estables, aparece una domesticidad construida a través de redes y nodos, sin forma o contorno definido, conformada a través de una serie de protocolos y escenarios de intercambio. A través de ellas, y de la noción de domesticidad, se pretende responder a la siguiente cuestión: ¿qué escenarios, agentes y dispositivos construyen su domesticidad? Se visibilizará a través de esta hipótesis de partida la violencia espacial inherente a la externalización de un trabajo reproductivo históricamente asociado a la mujer, que hoy sigue estándolo, simplemente mercantilizado. Además, su condición de migrante establece una relación paradójica entre el espacio doméstico de origen, que se ve radicalmente transformado a través de la transnacionalidad inherente al proceso migratorio, y el espacio doméstico de destino, convertido en un lugar de trabajo, ya que existe una imposibilidad manifiesta de conciliación de ambas realidades. O, lo que es lo mismo, la existencia de una implica y permite la existencia de la otra.

Para ello, se ha abordado la investigación por doble vía que permita transitar desde la macroescala de un fenómeno migratorio global a la microescala de los espacios encarnados por las cuidadoras migrantes –centrándose en el caso español, pero extrapolándolo al

¹ El término de cuerpo migrante se toma de la tesis doctoral en curso *El dispositivo frontera: la construcción espacial desde la norma y el cuerpo migrante*. El término hace referencia explícita a la relevancia que el cuerpo – físico, biopolítico, como fuerza de trabajo... – ha cobrado en la construcción contemporánea de la frontera.

européico – lo que permite comprender su alcance transnacional y viceversa, como estas mismas lógicas afectan y modulan los espacios concretos. La primera parte se centrará en los modelos de domesticidad propios de las trabajadoras migrantes y la segunda en la transformación del espacio doméstico en laboral y los conflictos asociados a dicho cambio. A través de la concatenación de ambas, se evidenciarán las características y lógicas internas presentes en la casa contemporánea, un territorio en disputa visibilizado a través del trabajo (re)productivo de las cuidadoras migrantes.

Domesticidad transnacional, de la casa al locutorio

La documentalista Vanessa Rousselot recoge en *En otra casa* (2015) los testimonios de varias trabajadoras domésticas latinoamericanas en el área de Madrid, así como los lugares en donde se desarrolla su actividad profesional y vital. A lo largo del documental se sucede una contraposición de la casa ajena: una arquitectura de límites precisos y modelos fácilmente reconocibles y una serie de escenarios autónomos, atomizados, sin vinculación aparente con cualquier espacio o imaginario doméstico. Se suceden las llamadas de Skype en ordenadores de alquiler, las transacciones internacionales en locales de cambio, las reuniones con compañeras en cafés o parroquias... Es precisamente en estos espacios o, mejor dicho, las acciones que en ellos ocurren, donde transcurre la domesticidad de una estructura familiar transnacional basada en las conexiones de una serie de nodos, acciones y localizaciones. Así, la directora evidencia la simultaneidad y funcionamiento de ambos esquemas domésticos: una tipología concentrada en un único contenedor arquitectónico² – la casa – y una red interconectada de diferentes localizaciones mediante la cual re-construye su domesticidad. Antes de continuar, conviene cuestionarse cuáles son sus características comunes, pero sobre todo específicas en relación a las trabajadoras migrantes. Mezzadra y Neilson (2013) señalan un aspecto fundamental que liga esta sucesión de lugares y prácticas espaciales, el intercambio y circulación transnacional de recursos y afectos:

Es importante enfatizar la transnacionalidad de las trabajadoras domésticas migrantes, reseñando que su día a día y sus prácticas están implicadas por interconexiones constantes a través de las fronteras. Los espacios transnacionales de movilidad habitados por estas mujeres son en efecto espacios de circulación de afecto (a través de la comunicación diaria con hijos, familia y amigos en 'casa') y dinero (a través de las transferencias). Son además espacios donde las relaciones patriarcales son cuestionadas, negociadas y reconfiguradas frente al reto de la afirmación material de la

² Se simplifica en este punto, por cuestiones de operatividad, el discurso, dando por válido que la casa aglutina en ella – o se asocia a ella – la mayor parte de las funciones asociadas a lo doméstico. Conviene, sin embargo, señalar el cuestionamiento que desde la disciplina se ha hecho de la vigencia de este modelo (Amann, 2005).

libertad de la mujer a través de la migración³ (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013, p. 107, traducción propia).

Es decir, esta domesticidad en red se fundamenta en nodos que posibilitan la conexión con el lugar de origen donde se encuentra situada otra parte de la familia, pero también la comunidad o el territorio de origen. La expresión ‘sentirse en casa’ no hace exclusivamente referencia al ámbito familiar sino también comunitario o territorial. Remitiéndonos de nuevo al documental, es importante destacar cómo parte de esa domesticidad atomizada transcurre en escenarios que no buscan la conexión familiar sino con el lugar de origen, bien a través del idioma (una misa en guaraní), sus costumbres (a través de recuerdos compartidos o de la religión), comunidades de cuidado y apoyo mutuo (con otras migrantes en situación similar).

El locutorio será posiblemente, dada su complejidad programática, un espacio paradigmático para entender la domesticidad migrante ya que, en su interior, aglutina y genera un espacio de circulación de afectos (a través de vídeollamadas y correos electrónicos), bienes y recursos (a través de la mensajería internacional y los giros bancarios), y de reconexión territorial (venta de productos del país de origen). La inclusión reciente del smartphone ha ido un paso más allá, si el locutorio centralizaba en un único contenedor todas las circulaciones, el móvil permite ese mismo intercambio independientemente del espacio donde se sitúe; incluso el lugar de trabajo puede transformarse momentáneamente – lo que duran unos mensajes de whatsapp, un audio o realizar una transferencia online – en una acción de domesticidad transnacional. Así, estos nuevos sistemas tecnológicos, tanto los portátiles – el móvil – como los estáticos – el locutorio – han ayudado a transformar la idea de lo doméstico, imposible de desvincular de estos dispositivos; pero es importante señalar el peso que cobran específicamente en la domesticidad migrante (Baldassar & Merla, 2014).

Estamos ante un espacio doméstico que no se concibe exclusivamente a través de los recintos o contenedores arquitectónicos – la iglesia, el locutorio, el colmado de productos latinos, ... – sino de las acciones que en ellos ocurren, dotándolos de nuevos usos a través de ellas, posibilitando que emerja una espacialidad doméstica que sólo puede ser entendida a través de una serie de protocolos – llamadas, transferencias, reuniones, ... –,

³ “It is important to emphasize the transnationalism of migrant domestic workers, nothing that their daily lives and practices are predicated on multiple, constant interconnections across borders. The transnational spaces of mobility inhabited by these women are indeed spaces of circulation of affect (through the daily communication with children, families and Friends “at home”) and money (through remittances). They are also spaces within which patriarchal relations are contested, negotiated, and reconfigured in the face of the challenge of the material affirmation of women’s freedom through migration”.

agentes y escenarios parte de una red transnacional de circulación de afectos y recursos. Estas prácticas espaciales generan unas arquitecturas y urbanismos dispersos, concepto acuñado por Husos Arquitectos⁴ para referirse a esta condición nodal:

Es un urbanismo cuyo territorio ya no está físicamente contenido en áreas geográficamente continuas, sino que funciona esparcido y re-articulado por diferentes mediaciones. Lo cotidiano en esta espacialidad dispersa viene determinado por la existencia de realidades que pueden darse en lugares apartados unos de otros pero que se experimentan de manera simultánea (Barajas, Correal, García & García, 2015, p.3).

Una domesticidad en red que plantea una espacialidad asociada a la negociación, involucración y re-configuración constante de determinados agentes que van más allá del núcleo estrictamente familiar (Merla, 2014). Dicho de otro modo, estudiar los espacios asociados a este modelo familiar implica no poner sólo el foco en 'la casa' de origen y la de destino, sino en todos los agentes intermedios involucrados en el proceso. Para entender la complejidad del funcionamiento de esta domesticidad migrante, las cadenas globales de cuidados representan un buen ejemplo de la concatenación de nodos a través de la suma de los cuales se posibilita la creación de una estructura en red donde cada pieza del engranaje asume su papel. Dichas cadenas son, remitiéndonos a términos anteriormente empleados, una parte fundamental de los espacios de intercambio de afecto que, a su vez, permiten y forman parte del trabajo productivo migrante como indican Baldassar y Merla: "este set aparentemente privado y doméstico de actividades vinculadas con el afecto es un aspecto fundamental de la familia transnacional, íntimamente ligada a aquellas dimensiones asumidas como más públicas y formales, incluyendo los esfuerzos económicos, políticos y sociales"⁵ (Baldassar y Merla, 2014, p. 25, traducción propia). De nuevo, vemos un modelo de organización social y espacial construido fundamentalmente por mujeres y por las lógicas de cuidados y afectos existentes entre ellas⁶; capaz de plantear una domesticidad distribuida, de manera dinámica, entre los diferentes nodos que la constituyen.

Si entendemos este espacio atendiendo a las acciones que tienen lugar en él y no tanto en base a los contenedores arquitectónicos que lo sustentan, encontraremos en este modelo de domesticidad transnacional nuevas posibilidades de análisis que den respuesta a la realidad

⁴ Estudio de arquitectos colombianos afincado en Madrid que ha orientado gran parte de su práctica profesional e investigadora al estudio de las así denominadas "arquitecturas dispersas", donde las redes de afectos, circulación de bienes y tecnologías generan ensamblajes arquitectónicos geográficamente ilocalizables.

⁵ "This apparently private and domestic set of caregiving activities exchanges is a fundamental feature of a transnational family life, intimately connected to those dimensions assumed to be more public and more formal, including economic, political and social endeavours".

⁶ Una organización social, familiar y espacial que trasciende los aspectos asociados al trabajo reproductivo y que sólo puede ser entendida en relación con su aspecto productivo. Disociar estas dos esferas en un análisis arquitectónico de la domesticidad implicaría no entender la estrecha relación existente entre ambas como proyecto vital.

cotidiana de estas nuevas estructuras sociales. Estudiar y entender la familia transnacional como aquella “que opera a través de la circulación de bienes, recursos, individuos e información a través de las fronteras nacionales”⁷ (Salazar, 2001, p. 363, traducción propia) o, más concretamente, la familia asociada a las cuidadoras migrantes, sin contraponerla a modelos tradicionales, permitirá esbozar un sistema doméstico alternativo, deslocalizado y adaptable a las condiciones de movilidad inherentes a la contemporaneidad. En él, la mujer – o red de mujeres – cobra un papel protagonista, superando las estructuras patriarcales al aunar en un único cuerpo el trabajo productivo y reproductivo. Trabajos históricamente disociados y que requiere de una espacialidad – y domesticidad específica – que permita dicha transformación.

Es necesario asumir como válidos, y no como una excepción, estos nuevos modelos superpuestos en la figura de la cuidadora migrante: de trabajo, de familia y de relación con el territorio... Pues ello permitirá entender las condiciones que los generan y, sólo así, ser capaces de generar desde la disciplina arquitectónica nuevas agencias, herramientas y dispositivos que recojan, analicen y promuevan estas prácticas espaciales.

Sin embargo, no es posible obviar la que posiblemente sea una de las causas fundamentales de creación de estos nuevos modelos domésticos. Es el trabajo dentro de la industria de los cuidados, junto con las condiciones de extrema flexibilidad y explotación laboral asociadas, por norma general, a toda figura migrante (Brandaríz García, 2009), las que desencadenan estas nuevas necesidades, y sus consecuentes arquitecturas. Esta domesticidad migrante no deja de ser una práctica espacial de resistencia ante la imposibilidad de tener un cuarto, lugar de reunión familiar o vivienda propia que aúne en un único territorio al núcleo familiar. En el siguiente apartado cuestionaremos cómo la vivienda histórica se ha convertido, para las trabajadoras migrantes, en su lugar de trabajo, y como esas características arquitectónicas de lo doméstico invisibilizan, impiden y silencian una industria fundamentalmente representada por mujeres migrantes: la de los cuidados.

En otra casa, del espacio doméstico al laboral

Dentro de la de industria transnacional de cuidados se agrupan realidades y trabajos tan diversos que resulta difícil establecer patrones comunes a ellos más allá de donde se desarrollan mayoritariamente, así como el género y procedencia de las personas que los realizan. Una industria entre lo formal y lo informal realizada fundamentalmente dentro de la casa por mujeres, donde la tasa de personas migrantes – internacionales – se ha

⁷ “operate through the regular circulation of goods, resources, individuals, and information across national borders”

incrementado notablemente desde los años noventa. Una industria que, de no ser mayoritariamente sumergida, supondría cerca del 5% del producto interior bruto español (Instituto de la Mujer, 2006) y que recae sobre los hombros de trabajadoras, cuyo denominador común es: “mujer, inmigrante y entre 30-40 años” (Instituto de la Mujer, 2006, p. 45).

De entre todas las posibles trabajadoras domésticas, se escoge la ‘interna’ como figura paradigmática para explicar la necesidad arquitectónica de desarrollar nuevas prácticas a través de las cuales generar nuevos modelos de domesticidad, los cuales han sido esbozados en el apartado anterior. Además, la trabajadora interna representa un estadio primario, aglutinador de diferentes condiciones laborales que se han ido diversificando y superando en otras cuidadoras migrantes. Con lo cual, analizar los conflictos espaciales en relación a su condición laboral permitirá, por extensión, extrapolar el análisis a otras figuras que posean algunos de los rasgos presentes en ella y que representan la “precariedad étnica” (Iglesias, 2012, p.49) de gran parte de las migraciones contemporáneas.

Aunque el porcentaje de trabajadoras internas sea relativamente pequeño en comparación al volumen total, son las únicas donde su residencia se encuentra dentro del propio espacio de trabajo. Es decir, hay una imposibilidad manifiesta de conseguir una autonomía del ámbito doméstico respecto al laboral, limitándose a un cuarto propio donde se reduce y concentra su zona de ocio y descanso. Pero, además, la propia arquitectura será la que invisibilice y haga opaca una realidad laboral tras la que se esconden jornadas mucho mayores a las reguladas; serán los muros de la casa, espacio privado por antonomasia, los que hagan imposible fiscalizar dicha situación. Sin obviar que su condición de migrante – irregular – pueda acentuar dicha flexibilidad y explotación. Si Juan Iglesias afirma que esta situación laboral incluye un “proceso generalizado de difuminación de la frontera entre tiempo de trabajo y tiempo de descanso” (Iglesias, 2012, p.51), el análisis arquitectónico pertinente evidenciará que dichas fronteras no son solo temporales sino también físicas y arquitectónicas.

La casa contemporánea, al incluir a la trabajadora, ya no puede ser exclusivamente considerada un espacio privado o doméstico, sino que en él se superponen dos realidades: empleadores y empleada cohabitan un recinto arquitectónico con claras asimetrías de posibilidades de uso y acceso. Las funciones y zonificaciones arquitectónicas – herramientas de análisis – ya no son válidas para comprender estas nuevas realidades que se ven obligadas a conciliar – de manera forzosa – ambas realidades: la laboral y la personal. Esta subdivisión del espacio doméstico donde sigue habiendo un interior privado – el cuarto de la interna – dentro de un exterior público – el resto de la casa – no siempre se da y, si lo hace, raramente cumple con los mismos estándares de dimensiones que el resto de las estancias de la vivienda. De hecho, el 56% de las trabajadoras internas (R.E.S.P.E.C.T, 2009) carecen de dicha célula

habitacional o tienen que compartirla con otros habitantes – empleadores directos o indirectos – de la casa, niños y ancianos que requieren de sus servicios profesionales. La externalización del trabajo doméstico y reproductivo ha transformado la vivienda en un lugar de trabajo sin que las condiciones arquitectónicas hayan variado lo más mínimo. Cabe cuestionarse si el mismo espacio doméstico de reclusión y labor reproductiva supuestamente superado con la incorporación de la mujer al mercado laboral no sigue siendo un territorio articulado fundamentalmente en femenino, que replica – mediante un intercambio económico, informal y precario – los mismos trabajos y situaciones de reclusión o explotación. Dicha superación histórica, por tanto, como apunta Atxu Amann (2005), no deja de ser una externalización o mercantilización de todas las labores reproductivas desempeñadas históricamente por el ‘ama de casa’ que aún sigue siendo a día de hoy la encargada principal de la gestión del hogar, pero no de su ejecución; produciéndose una situación no exenta de contradicciones:

Los principales empleadores del sector y, por tanto, los principales definidores de las relaciones laborales son, generalmente, mujeres nativas procedentes de sectores de clase media. Mujeres que [...] ha terminado por transferir las cargas desiguales de género hacia las relaciones y condiciones de trabajo de otras mujeres de diferente clase y origen social, en este caso, mujeres migrantes procedentes de países en desarrollo (Iglesias, 2012, p. 52).

Es necesario, por tanto, entender que el espacio doméstico sigue siendo un espacio de trabajo fundamentalmente femenino y que la aparente libertad laboral de la mujer contemporánea simplemente ha sido sustituida por una neo-servidumbre (Brandaríz García, 2009, p. 37) doméstica. Un espacio donde no se han mejorado las condiciones espaciales de las trabajadoras de la industria de los cuidados sino incluso precarizado. Así pues, cabe cuestionarse si los modelos tradicionales de vivienda son un vector activo en los conflictos de una nueva clase trabajadora que ha transformado lo doméstico en laboral.

Poner el foco sobre estas nuevas figuras del trabajo contemporánea permitirá ver cómo han sido anuladas o retraídas buena parte de las luchas llevadas a cabo por el movimiento obrero, centradas en la dignificación no sólo del espacio y condiciones de trabajo, sino también las de la vivienda obrera. Esta derrota de los derechos conquistados no sólo es una derrota del movimiento obrero, sino de los principios fundamentales del movimiento moderno ligado a las herramientas arquitectónicas desarrolladas para dar una solución espacial a nuevas agencias arquitectónicas. Zonificación, división de las actividades, o el propio concepto de vivienda hemos visto cómo quedan obsoletas ante la superposición simultánea de dos realidades en un mismo recinto y a la vez, como las propias cuidadoras migrantes desarrollan nuevas tipologías arquitectónicas de resistencia – domesticidad transnacional – a través de las cuales subvertir su situación.

Otro aspecto fundamental que ha de ser considerado, con el cual rematar este recorrido por la vivienda a través de la cuidadora migrante, es el papel que juega la atomización del espacio de trabajo de cara a la invisibilización de los conflictos espaciales asociados a esta industria. A diferencia de la fábrica, del campo, del espacio público o de cualquier otro lugar asociable a las figuras tradicionales del migrante, la casa, como recinto nuclear y atomizado, invisibiliza en buena medida las luchas cotidianas que tienen como escenario la vivienda contemporánea. Son los muros de la propia industria de los cuidados los que lo convierten en un trabajo opaco que, junto con las condiciones de precariedad y flexibilidad existentes, se vuelve proclive a conflictos de toda índole (laborales, violencia sexual, de clase...). Este paso, de la fábrica a la casa⁸, ha individualizado el espacio de trabajo lo que imposibilita o reduce cualquier articulación de asociación, lucha o resistencia colectiva, a la vez que silencia la presencia de estos conflictos en la esfera pública. Muestra de ello es que los focos de asociación no se producen mayoritariamente a través de canales vinculados al ámbito laboral, sino precisamente en aquellos ‘espacios domésticos transnacionales’ a los que se hacía referencia en el primer apartado de este texto. El informe sobre migrantes irregulares trabajando en el sector doméstico elaborado desde la Unión Europea (European Union Agency for fundamental rights, 2011) evidencia cómo en estos nodos de intercambio de afecto (religiosos, asociaciones migrantes, de mujeres, ONG’s...) es donde se producen y organizan las luchas colectivas en materia laboral. El 75% de estos espacios no está directamente vinculado con el ámbito laboral y sólo un 6% hace referencia específica al sector doméstico donde trabajan. Es decir, los mismos espacios de apoyo mutuo que constituían esa domesticidad en red, las mismas cadenas y relaciones de cuidado establecidas entre cuidadoras migrantes son, en última instancia, los mismos espacios de resistencia y lucha contra una situación laboral adversa. Mujer, migrante, precaria,... son elementos entrelazados que afectan a diferentes ámbitos y que las cuidadoras migrantes han sabido canalizar – desde la praxis – hacia comunidades de lucha y resistencia que reclamen subvertir la violencia – laboral, sexual, racial, espacial... – que desde diferentes planos se ejerce contra ellas.

Si en la primera parte de la comunicación eran las condiciones del trabajo productivo las que posibilitaban la creación de una nueva domesticidad basada en el intercambio transnacional de afectos y recursos, donde las redes de cuidados eran fundamentales para la pervivencia del mismo, vemos ahora como esa infraestructura de cuidados existente es la misma en las que se están articulando nuevas posibilidades de resistencia colectiva.

⁸ Una situación no exclusiva de la industria de los cuidados, sino característica del trabajo contemporáneo. Sin embargo, esta invisibilización dentro del ámbito doméstico es una constante histórica asociada a la mujer, que sigue estando presente.

Más allá de la casa

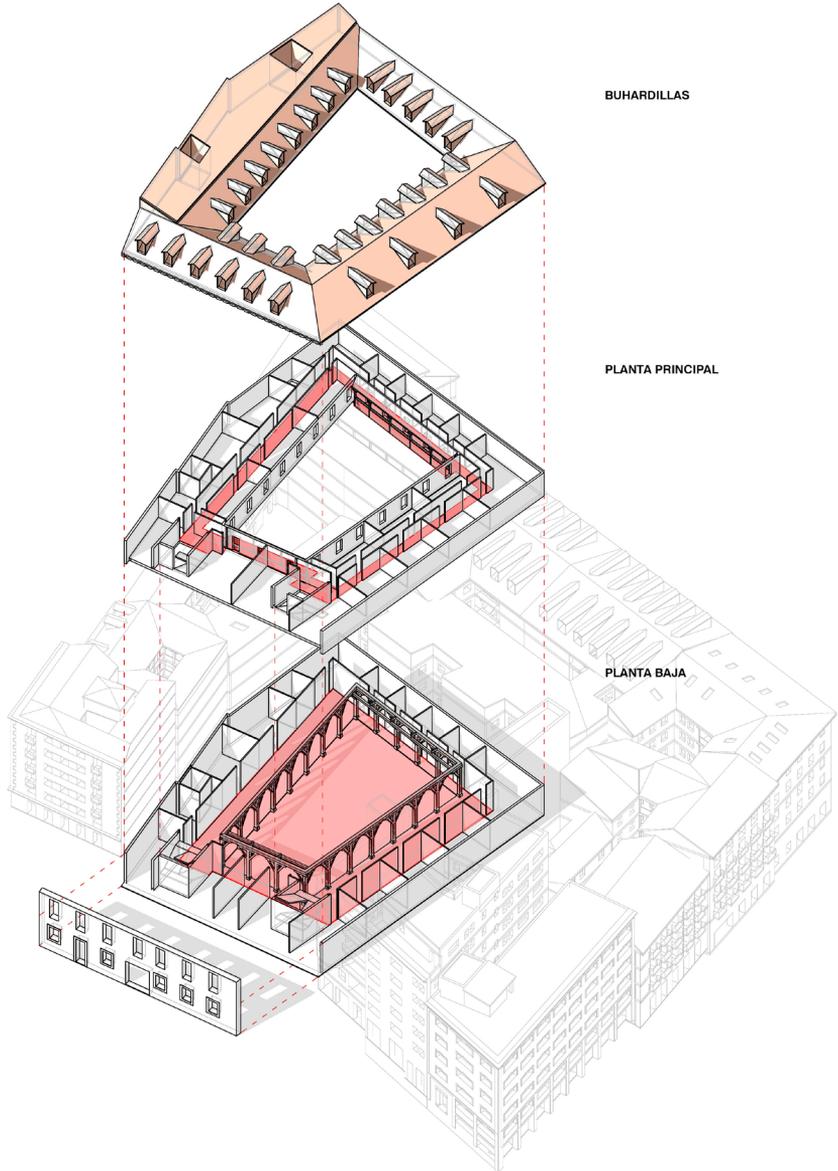
El análisis desde la disciplina arquitectónica a los espacios vividos y encarnados por las trabajadoras migrantes permite visibilizar realidades espaciales asociadas a nuevas figuras del trabajo contemporáneo. Situar en el centro de la reflexión arquitectónica a las cuidadoras migrantes permite entender no sólo las condiciones específicas a las que hacen frente de manera cotidiana, sino también extraer conclusiones extrapolables a otros contextos y figuras que comparten condiciones, características y conflictos espaciales con ellas. Se recogen a continuación, no tanto como conclusiones estables sino como puntos de partida para una mayor profundización o herramientas para generar nuevas agencias arquitectónicas, las principales características del espacio construido por las cuidadoras migrantes. Un espacio que difumina de nuevo la barrera, aparentemente superada por la mujer, entre trabajo productivo y reproductivo, donde es la variable temporal la que transforma un ámbito doméstico en uno laboral. Un espacio articulado fundamentalmente en femenino, como un espacio de violencia y de conflicto. Pero a la vez, un espacio de resistencia y emancipación, donde nuevas tecnologías actúan como mediadores capaces de desterritorializar y transnacionalizar lo doméstico, generando una red distribuida entre diferentes nodos. Un espacio basado en la externalización de los cuidados, que aprovecha las mismas lógicas e infraestructuras de circulación de afectos y recursos para construir comunidades de resistencia y apoyo mutuo. Un espacio que ya no atiende a variables exclusivamente físicas, sino que incorpora variables tecnológicas, laborales, que deben ser tomadas en cuenta para desarrollar herramientas arquitectónicas capaces de producir agencias necesarias con las figuras de un trabajo contemporáneo y precario que, como en este caso, ya no se desarrolla en la fábrica sino en la casa.

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" EL CORRALÓN "



BUHARDILLAS

PLANTA PRINCIPAL

PLANTA BAJA

ALLÍ DONDE HABITA EL DESORDEN. RELACIONES DE GÉNERO EN EL MARCO DE LAS CORRALAS MADRILEÑAS (1853-1930).



Fig. 1
Análisis
morfológico
del Corralón
Fuente:
Elaboración
propia a
partir de
los datos
obtenidos en
la Dirección
General del
Catastro

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Resumen

A día de hoy, múltiples investigaciones han puesto de manifiesto cómo la aplicación de una perspectiva de género al estudio de la evolución histórica de las tipologías de vivienda permite adquirir sólidas nociones acerca de los modelos normativos de feminidad y masculinidad que existían en el pasado. Si bien ello ha permitido reconstruir la trayectoria a través de la cual se ha configurado la forma en que vivimos hoy, la mirada histórica pone también a nuestra disposición el análisis de otros modos de habitar que quedaron relegados al no formar parte del canon hegemónico que ha llegado hasta nosotros. En este sentido, las corralas se configuraron como núcleos habitacionales que, por su concreta espacialidad, favorecieron la germinación de unas relaciones de género que, en muchos aspectos, discernían y quedaban al margen del modelo normativo de la época, asentado en una estricta división de esferas: la pública/productiva/masculina y la privada/reproductiva/femenina.

Palabras clave

Relaciones de género, espacio colectivo, domesticidad, habitar, corrala, padrón municipal

Introducción

A lo largo del siglo XIX se fue consolidando, mediante su profusa difusión y repetición en distintos canales discursivos de la época, un modelo de género que partía de una concepción del mundo ordenado en torno a dos esferas de actuación y responsabilidad - la pública/productiva y la privada/reproductiva - respectivamente asociadas al hombre y a la mujer, cuya unión en familia mediante el inamovible vínculo del matrimonio configuraba la célula básica de organización social. Lo femenino era entendido entonces como aquello vinculado a

lo doméstico y su ámbito de acción y compromiso se inscribía dentro del espacio estrictamente privado (Gómez, 1994).

Si bien este ideal fue sólidamente contestado desde distintos escenarios y fue objeto de importantes reformulaciones a lo largo del periodo (Aresti, 2001), en su concepción más esencial – la división de esferas - este modelo normativo se impuso y sentó las bases del canon habitacional triunfante que ha llegado hasta nosotros y que ha moldeado nuestra forma de relacionarnos con el espacio doméstico. Como consecuencia de ello se relegó a los márgenes otros *modus vivendi* o domesticidades no adscritas al mismo, que además quedaron invisibilizadas por un relato histórico demasiado centrado en discursos y en lo estadísticamente representativo, olvidando e ignorando, por entenderlo como residual o excepcional, aquello que constituía una muestra del pasado igual de pertinente para el saber histórico.

El objetivo de este trabajo es analizar uno de esos ambientes de domesticidad alternativa, el de las corralas madrileñas. Estas casas de vecindad conforman una tipología habitacional en la cual las viviendas se organizan en torno a un patio interior colectivo - en principio privado - al que se asoman los corredores comunes que dan acceso a los hogares. Aunque presentes en Madrid desde el siglo XVII, las edificaciones que podemos contemplar hoy datan en su mayoría de la segunda mitad del XIX y se ubican en los barrios tradicionalmente populares de la ciudad. Si bien se trataba de una forma de habitación extendida entre las clases menos pudientes, debido a las precarias condiciones de habitabilidad que presentaban, constituyen magníficos ejemplos de espacialidades alternativas y formas de vida superpuestas a las entendidas como habituales. Las condiciones de marginalidad con las que han evolucionado las corralas hasta nuestros días las ha conservado de tal modo que se han convertido en testimonio y prueba de la existencia de otros modelos periféricos a un canon doméstico imperante que obviaría los espacios de transición entre lo público y lo privado - como los patios - frente a la segregación y diferenciación estricta entre uno y otro (Santa Cruz, 2012).

Entendidas éstas no como estructuras habitacionales vacías y mudas, sino como entes vivos, podemos indagar sobre cómo su concreta espacialidad incentivaba involuntariamente unas formas de habitar y, sobre todo, unas relaciones de género específicas, que fueron catalogadas en la época como desordenadas y al margen de la norma social. El análisis se llevará a cabo mediante el estudio de una de las más singulares, conocida como el Corralón (Fig. 1), y en un periodo que abarca desde el año en que fue construido (1853) hasta los contornos de la Guerra Civil española. Para ello se utilizarán, como fuente principal, las hojas de empadronamiento municipal recogidas cada diez años,

además de la información gráfica original del Corralón, así como fuentes de naturaleza judicial procedentes de los Juzgados de Primera Instancia e Instrucción¹.

El estudio que aquí se despliega trasciende los límites de un ejercicio de investigación histórica, pues no sólo pretende rescatar retazos de formas de vida del pasado, sino ponerlas al servicio de quienes hoy reflexionan sobre cómo se articula lo doméstico. Es por esta razón por la que este análisis no pondrá el foco de atención necesariamente en los máximos estadísticos, pues lo que pretendemos es lo contrario: descender la mirada hacia lo más particular, en algunos casos hacia lo excepcional, y ver cómo el espacio influyó en otras formas de habitar en el pasado, entendiendo que de ello se extrae información que fomenta reflexiones provechosas para las actuales preocupaciones en torno a la vivienda y la asignación de roles de género.

El espacio entre las dos esferas

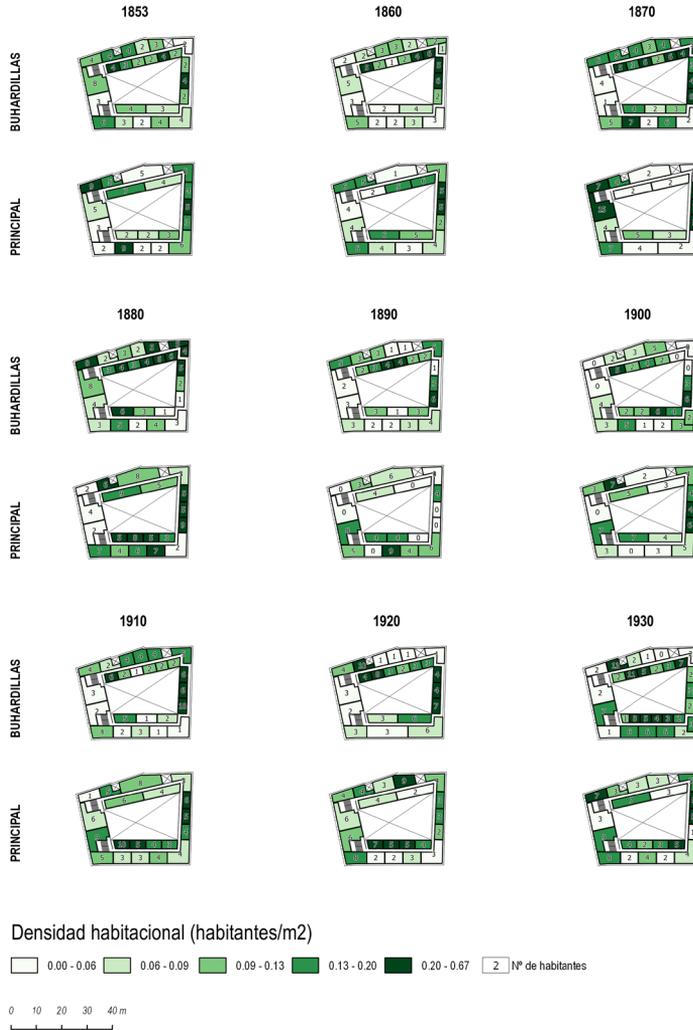
Gerónima Hurtado sabía bien que en su vecindad era difícil cumplir con aquel modelo de familia que predicaban sermones y folletines de la época. Con sólo echar un vistazo por la ventana de la fábrica de hules que habitó junto a su marido Narciso Serralta y sus hijos durante casi tres décadas, podía darse cuenta de que allí, en el Corralón, no existían esferas ni límites. Allí todo estaba mezclado y desordenado.

Aunque quizá Gerónima no fuera consciente de ello, aquel edificio configuraba una de las corralas más singulares de la ciudad por su peculiar morfología y dimensiones: además de ocupar una generosa parcela de 1479 m², sólo constaba de planta baja, principal y buhardillas, todas ellas volcadas hacia un gran patio central, cuya superficie de 422 m² suponía casi el 30% de la total, y en torno a cuyo perímetro discurrían los corredores comunes que daban acceso a los cuartos.

Más allá de articular arquitectónicamente el edificio, el patio del Corralón también condicionaba indudablemente el modo de vida de sus habitantes. Los propios Gerónima y Narciso, que administraban la misma fábrica en la que vivían, se servían de él para desarrollar por un lado una sociabilidad más doméstica, relacionada con los vecinos, y otra más pública vinculada a la gestión de su negocio, siendo el patio escenario de la recepción de insumos, del trasiego de clientes y posibles trabajadores o espacio de carga y descarga. Así fue durante casi tres décadas hasta que quizá con el fallecimiento de Narciso en la década de 1880 y la desaparición de la fábrica, el Corralón perdió a quienes mejor personificaban el umbral entre lo de dentro y lo de afuera, a quienes generaban una forma de habitar en el punto intermedio

¹ Las fichas de empadronamiento municipal, así como la información gráfica del Corralón, proceden del Archivo de Villa de Madrid (AVM). Los expedientes judiciales han sido consultados en el Archivo General de la Administración (AGA).

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Fig. 2
Estudio de densidad
 Fuente: elaboración propia a partir de los datos del Padrón Municipal de habitantes, barrios Peñón y Carlos Arniches, 1853 - 1930, AVM



opposite page
Fig. 3
Fotografía del patio interior del Corralón
 Fuente: desconocida

donde se mezclaban y superponían las esferas de lo doméstico y lo productivo. Sin embargo, la fábrica de los Serralta fue pronto sustituida por una cochera y taller de coches que estuvo inicialmente en manos del vecino Vicente Asensio Barrios² y que, aunque después pasó a ser propiedad de un inquilino que ya no vivía en el Corralón, mantuvo abierta su puerta a las injerencias externas durante todo el periodo.

² Licencias de apertura de taller de coches y cochera (1899 y 1908) y licencia para la instalación de un motor eléctrico (1914). Fuente: AVM, Secretaría, 11-463-220, 17-299-129 y 19-145-25.

A ese movimiento se sumaba además el de los propios vecinos del edificio, quienes, ante la estrechez de los cuartos y el amplio espacio libre que les proporcionaban el patio y los corredores comunes, probablemente prefirieran trascender el límite de sus propias viviendas y utilizar éstos para desarrollar con cierta comodidad sus actividades cotidianas. Según los datos que nos ofrecen las hojas de empadronamiento municipal, a lo largo de todo el periodo vivían una media de 176 habitantes por año distribuidos en un número cambiante de 44 viviendas. De todas ellas, casi la mitad tenían una superficie estimada menor de 30 m² y un 30% oscilaban entre los 30 y los 45 m² (Fig. 2).



Probablemente fuera la insuficiencia de espacio en sus viviendas la razón por la que Rosa Ferrer y Amparo Velázquez, vecinas de una corrala aledaña y de similares características al Corralón, decidieron servirse de las zonas colectivas para tender la ropa aquella desafortunada mañana de 1927 en que sufrieron una caída cuando se desprendió la barandilla en la que se apoyaban. Este hecho quedó congelado en el tiempo mediante el expediente judicial al que dio lugar³, en el que se nos ofrecen testimonios de primera mano que confirman el uso de los espacios compartidos para faenas domésticas otorgados tanto por el administrador, como por vecinos como Francisco Mingo, quien confesaba que cada tres o cuatro meses solía colocar clavos nuevos cuando veía que la barandilla se desajustaba peligrosamente, ya que, incluso después de 32 años siendo vecino de la casa, le gustaba asomarse al patio desde allí con su mujer.

Alegatos como estos permiten afirmar que el predominio de un espacio colectivo, por un lado, desdibujaba la estricta y sexuada diferenciación entre espacio público y privado, y por otro, facilitaba que las tareas domésticas, en vez de inscribirse a un espacio cerrado e inserto en el interior la vivienda, tendieran a colectivizarse o a realizarse cooperativamente al producirse en un espacio donde era fácil encontrarse con personas en la misma situación. El patio y los corredores acababan siendo así soporte transversal de situaciones de escalas y esferas muy diferentes, permitiendo su simultaneidad y difuminando los contornos entre ellas (Fig. 3). Esta realidad se hace todavía más evidente al existir un importante número de familias en el Corralón que, por el hecho de ser tan extensas, debieron de aprovechar patio y

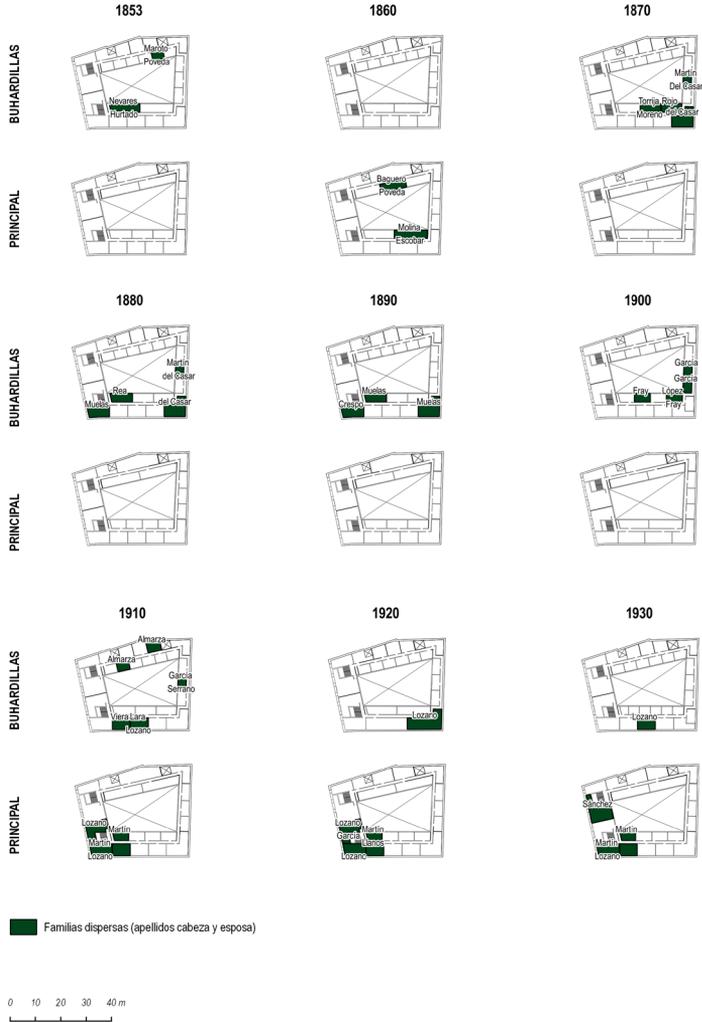
³A.G.A. Justicia. (07) 041.008. Caja 44/16165.

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Fig. 4
Análisis de familias con parientes en otras viviendas

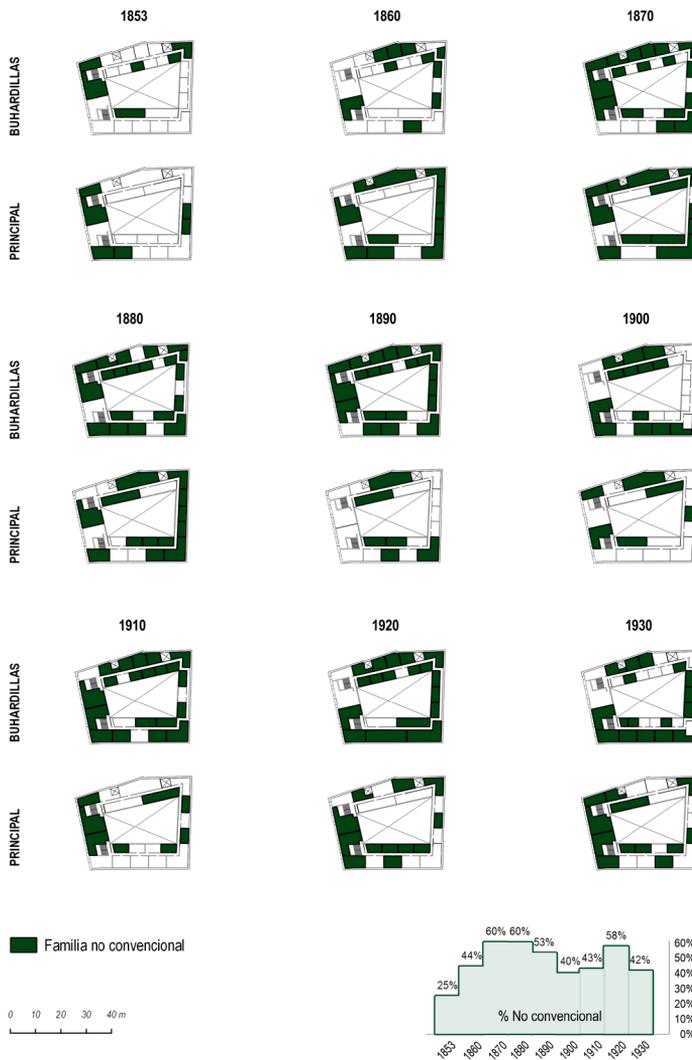
Fuente: elaboración propia a partir del Padrón Municipal de habitantes, barrios Peñón y Carlos Arniches 1853-1930, AVM

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Fig. 5
Estudio de familias no convencionales

Fuente: elaboración propia a partir del Padrón Municipal de habitantes, barrios Peñón y Carlos Arniches entre 1853 y 1930, AVM.



corredores con aún más necesidad y sin duda contribuyeron a cargar el espacio común de más presencia y movimiento. Este fue seguramente el caso, por ejemplo, del matrimonio formado por Eduardo Martín Fernández y Catalina Llanos Miranda, quienes en 1910 compartían sus escasos 20 m² con sus seis hijos y la abuela de la esposa, Carmen, quien ostentaba ochenta y seis años. No es difícil imaginar las complicaciones que pasaría la familia para habitar semejante cuarto, máxime cuando, a excepción del hijo



mayor, el resto no superaba los diez años de edad. A la angostura del espacio y a la presencia de gran número de miembros, se añadían las penosas condiciones de habitabilidad que solían presentar las casas en corredor. Es muy probable que la falta de ventilación adecuada, la escasa o nula luz natural, la falta de saneamiento (a excepción de dos retretes compartidos por planta) y de aislamiento adecuado, hicieran del patio y las zonas comunes espacios más deseados para estar, aunque fuera por necesidad.

Pero no sólo la penuria empujaba a los vecinos a habitar los espacios colectivos del Corralón. Catalina y Eduardo, por ejemplo, tenían familiares directos en los dos cuartos contiguos al suyo, y asimismo ocurría con las hermanas Muelas-Escamilla, los hermanos Torrija-Rojo y otras tantas familias diseminadas por el edificio (Fig. 4). La presencia de familias dispersas en distintos cuartos del Corralón ejemplifica una vez más cómo el modo de vida en este lugar no estaba circunscrito al espacio propio de la vivienda, sino disperso por todo el edificio, constituyendo un componente adicional de carga del espacio colectivo. Éste se convertía, así, en un inevitable lugar de encuentro para sus habitantes por razones diversas aun sin estar especialmente diseñado para tal fin.

Diversidad de tipologías familiares

La fuerte presencia de este tipo de familias dispersas saca a la luz, también, una de las características centrales de la vida en las corralas y clave fundamental para comprender una forma de habitar en la que el modelo de las dos esferas tenía difícil acomodo: la ausencia de un predominio de la familia-tipo (formada por el esposo, la esposa y su descendencia), célula básica de organización sobre la que se asentaba necesariamente este canon normativo. El Corralón reunía un complejo universo de situaciones familiares en el que dicho modelo no era en absoluto mayoritario. Con la excepción quizá del año 1853, a lo largo de todo el periodo analizado se aprecia un equilibrio palpable entre el peso de las familias-tipo y la presencia de otros escenarios familiares, cuando no una superior representación de estos últimos (Fig. 5).

Una de estas ‘familias atípicas’ era la que conformaban, en 1853, Matilde López y sus dos huéspedes, quienes habitaban uno de los pequeños cuartos del corredor principal. La primera, cabeza de familia, estaba casada con un hombre con quien no compartía techo y trabajaba como jornalera para costear su supervivencia. Ningún vínculo familiar aparente la unía con María Martín, también casada y también sola, quien había llegado a la ciudad desde Segovia catorce años atrás. Junto a ellas vivía Atanasio Osses, un joven cabo de carabineros de Navarra, soltero, que tampoco parecía compartir parentesco alguno con sus dos compañeras. Más allá de la ‘anómala’ composición de la vivienda, lo primero que rompe de antemano con el modelo de familia-tipo es el hecho de que fuera Matilde quién constara como cabeza de familia, ya que, según el canon, esta posición debía ser ocupada preferiblemente por un varón. Sin embargo, en el mismo año en que Matilde vivía allí, 10 de las 43 familias que habitaban el Corralón estaban encabezadas por una mujer. Y yendo más allá, si elaboramos la media de todos los años analizados, vemos que el 31% del total de las viviendas representaban una situación similar.

Esta realidad generalizada encuentra definiciones más concretas si desenmarañamos tipológicamente el diverso cosmos que conformaban aquellas familias al margen del modelo normativo (Fig. 6). Igual que Matilde, su vecina del segundo corredor, Isabel Barchín, viuda y con dos hijos, había recurrido a la misma estrategia del hospedaje al verse sin apoyo económico para mantenerse a sí misma y a sus hijos (Pérez-Fuentes, 1993). Y en similar situación se encontraba su vecina Isabel Avecilla, una joven soltera de veintisiete años que se ganaba la vida como sastra manteniendo así a sus pequeños. Como ellas, eran muchas las mujeres que, ya fuera por haber enviudado, por estar separadas de sus parejas, o sencillamente por haber elegido permanecer en soltería, asumían la responsabilidad económica y doméstica de sus respectivos hogares.

Pero la multiplicidad de ambientes familiares reunidos en torno al Corralón no se detenía en ellas. Junto a aquellas mujeres ‘solas’ que habitaban pequeños cuartos en los corredores, había también hombres solos, padres solteros y viudos, familias extensas, matrimonios con huéspedes (Fig. 7), casas de vecindad, parejas ‘ilegítimas’, así como otras múltiples escenas que dibujaban el diverso y variopinto mejunje social del Corralón, en el que aquella familia-tipo, lejos de ser el modelo imperante, era más bien una posibilidad entre muchas.

Uniones ilícitas

La simple visualización de las tipologías familiares afincadas en el Corralón nos aporta un nuevo hilo del que tirar para dar respuesta a otro interrogante que cuestiona la vigencia en este espacio de un sistema de género asentado en el canon de la familia-tipo: ¿Era el matrimonio la forma preponderante de organización vital y familiar y la única opción viable y respetable para la vida en pareja?

Según el modelo normativo, la familia debía quedar fraguada mediante una sagrada unión matrimonial que garantizase la solidez e indisolubilidad de la misma y en consecuencia de la propia estructura social. Sin embargo, como observamos en el gráfico previo, junto a los diversos tipos familiares vemos que destaca la cifra de personas que vivían bajo la fórmula del amancebamiento. Denominada así en la época, para calificar peyorativamente aquellas uniones sentimentales estables que habían dado el paso de la convivencia sin haber sido consagradas bajo la institución matrimonial, este hábito era ampliamente practicado por las capas populares urbanas, quienes comúnmente se referían a él como ‘vivir maritalmente’.

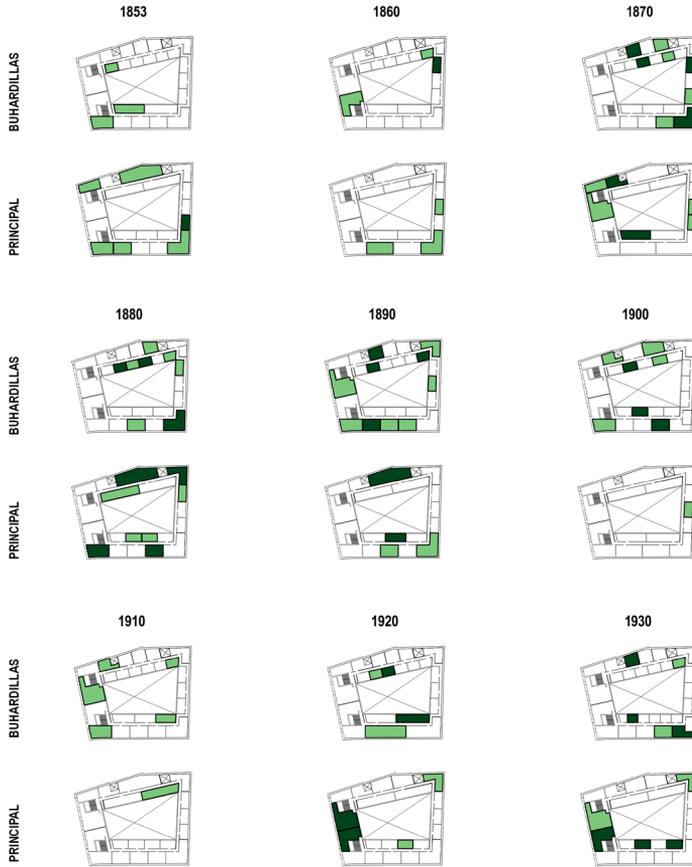
Baldomero Cuesta Serrano y Concepción Alarcón del Grillar constituyen un ejemplo paradigmático de la presencia de este tipo de relaciones extramatrimoniales en el Corralón. En 1880 ambos habitaban una pequeña buhardilla del segundo corredor, en la que permanecieron, a veces en compañía de algunos huéspedes de corta permanencia, hasta 1913, año

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Fig. 6
Familias con huéspedes
destacando los
casos en los que
la cabeza de
familia es una
mujer

Fuente:
 elaboración
 propia a partir
 del Padrón
 Municipal,
 barrios Peñón y
 Carlos Arniches,
 1853 y 1930,
 AVM.

opposite page
Fig. 7
Tipologías
familiares.
Porcentaje
elaborado
respecto al total
de familias no
convencionales

Fuente:
 elaboración
 propia a partir del
 Padrón Municipal,
 barrios Peñón y
 Carlos Arniches,
 1853 y 1930, AVM



Familias con huéspedes

- Cabeza de familia
- mujer (37,4%)
- varón (62,6%)



en que falleció Baldomero. Durante los más de treinta años que compartieron cama y techo, ambos declararon firmemente su soltería ante el funcionario público que cada quinquenio tocaba en su puerta para solicitar sus datos de residencia, añadiendo además una nota en el apartado de observaciones en la que certificaban su enlace. Pero, además, el Corralón escondió en sus cuartos un importante número de parejas que vivían maritalmente pero que no dejaban constancia de ello en el registro de empadronamiento.



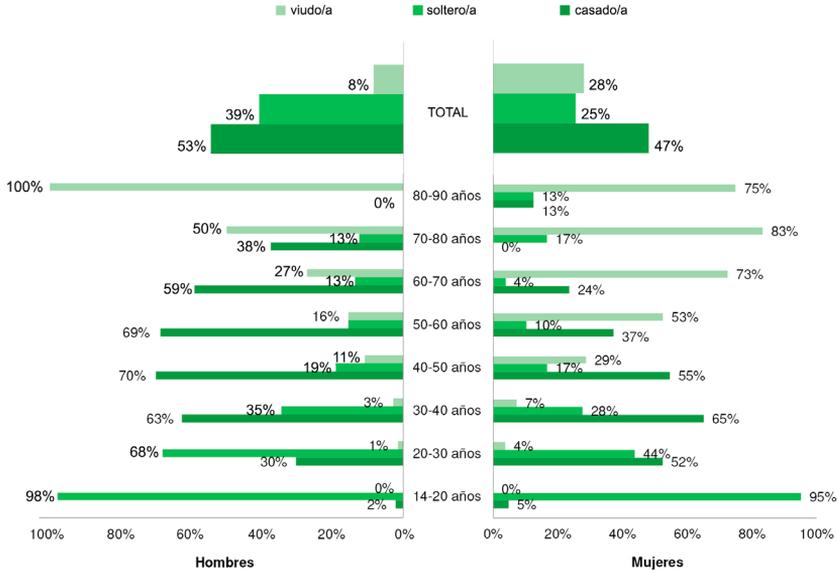
La trayectoria sentimental de las hermanas Muelas-Escamilla nos sirve para ilustrar esta realidad: la mayor, Manuela – quizá el ejemplo más visible - había llegado al Corralón con veintiún años, en torno a 1860, y habitaba un pequeño cuarto junto al joven Pedro Rea, constando en la ficha como su huésped. Diez años después seguía viviendo en la misma casa, ahora también junto a su madre y un niño recién nacido que curiosamente llevaba el apellido del inquilino que los acogía. Pero ella seguía soltera y no fue hasta diez años después cuando apareció en el empadronamiento como ‘esposa’ de Pedro y madre de los dos hijos que ya por entonces tenían en común.

Por otro lado, si hacemos un cálculo generalizado del estado civil de los habitantes de veinte o más años de edad a lo largo de las ocho décadas que abarca este estudio⁴, podemos observar que el porcentaje de personas célibes, aunque visiblemente menor al de casadas, no era en absoluto desdeñable. Y más aún, si precisamos un poco y catalogamos el estado civil de los vecinos en base a los distintos grupos de edad, los datos revelan un acceso bastante tardío al matrimonio - mayoritariamente experimentado entre los treinta y los cuarenta años en

⁴ El corte en los veinte años responde a que a partir de esa edad encontramos una tasa más elevada de acceso al matrimonio.

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Fig. 8
Análisis de estado civil según edad y sexo
Fuente:

elaboración propia a partir del Padrón Municipal, barrios Peñón y Carlos Arniches, 1853 y 1930, AVM.



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Fig. 9
Porcentaje de mujeres que no trabajan en cada año y según estado civil
Fuente:

elaboración propia a partir del Padrón Municipal, barrios Peñón y Carlos Arniches, 1853 - 1930, AVM

Fig. 10
Ocupaciones femeninas. Porcentaje elaborado sobre el total de mujeres empleadas
Fuente:

elaboración propia a partir del Padrón Municipal, barrios Peñón y Carlos Arniches, 1853 - 1930, AVM

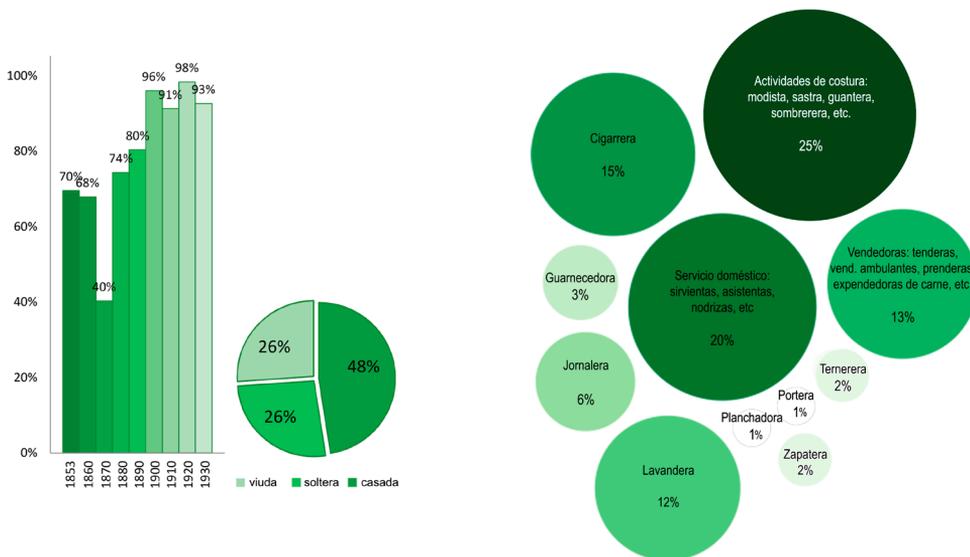
el caso de los varones, y entre los veinte y los treinta años en el caso de las mujeres - elemento bastante habitual en las sociedades urbanas durante estas décadas (Reher, 1996) (Fig. 8).

Trabajo fuera del hogar

Otro de los pilares sobre el que se cimentaba el sistema de género basado en la disociación de esferas era aquel que ligaba a la mujer y al hombre a unas ocupaciones determinadas en función de su sexo - domésticas y productivas respectivamente - vinculadas éstas a un determinado espacio - privado y público -, clasificación mediante la cual se configuraba una entidad familiar completa, armónica y perfecta.

Si elaboramos un análisis básico de las ocupaciones reveladas por hombres y mujeres en las fichas de empadronamiento a lo largo de los ochenta años que examinamos, podemos observar cómo, a priori, la distribución sexuada de tareas parecía una realidad manifiesta, pues el 91% de mujeres mayores de dieciséis años⁵ declaraban dedicarse exclusivamente a lo que llamaban ‘sus labores’, ‘las labores de su sexo’, ‘la casa’, ‘nada’ o dejaban directamente la casilla en blanco. Si desglosamos el análisis por años, el resultado es similar: salvo en 1870, el porcentaje de mujeres ocupadas en actividades extradomésticas era

⁵ El corte en los dieciséis años se debe a que esta es la edad de la mujer más joven que declara estar ocupada en labores extradomésticas.



palpablemente minoritario (Fig. 9).

¿Cómo se compatibilizaba este hecho con la existencia de un relevante número de hogares que carecían de una figura masculina ejecutora de las actividades productivas y remuneradas? Rosa Romero Mañedo, por ejemplo, vivía en 1930 en una buhardilla con sus cinco hijos, dos de ellos menores de un año, y afirmaba no tener ninguna ocupación fuera de su hogar. ¿Cómo podían entonces pagar 236 pesetas de alquiler y sus gastos de manutención? Rosa no podía contar, como otras sí lo hacían, con una pensión por viudedad – escasa, por otro lado – ya que ella nunca se había casado. Tampoco se mudó en calidad de huésped, como hemos visto en otros casos, a casa de ningún vecino que la ayudara a deshacerse de los gastos del contrato de inquilinato. Probablemente Rosa ejerciera alguna actividad eventual e informal – costura, lavandería, venta ambulante u otra – pero no dejara prueba de ello en el empadronamiento, quizá por no considerar su labor como una profesión propiamente dicha, quizá porque prefería ocultar que necesitaba trabajar para poder vivir. Y Rosa no era la única. Numerosas investigaciones han puesto de manifiesto cómo las familias no reflejaban el empleo extradoméstico de las mujeres en las hojas de empadronamiento, verificándolo a través de análisis comparativos que contrastan la información con otras fuentes de diversa índole (Humphries y Sarasúa, 2012). Este subregistro respondía a la ocultación deliberada de un empleo femenino condenado por un discurso normativo que, si bien toleraba el acceso al trabajo en edades previas al casamiento, una vez se era esposa y madre restringía las obligaciones de las mujeres exclusivamente a las labores circunscritas

al hogar. Un discurso que quizá encontró más acomodo en otros segmentos de la población, pero que, sin embargo, no podía tener mucha vigencia entre unos colectivos sociales en los que muchas de las mujeres - solas o no -, además de asumir como podían las labores de limpieza, alimentación y cuidado de los hijos, trabajaban como cigarreras, vendedoras, modistas, lavanderas, etc. (Fig. 10). Con ello ganaban, en algunos casos, el único ingreso del que se disponía en su hogar, y en otros una segunda retribución, necesaria en tiempos en los que los exiguos jornales y salarios no alcanzaban el crédito necesario para hacer frente al pago del alquiler, a los insumos diarios y a otros bienes de primera necesidad.

El Corralón hoy

Como se ha podido observar a través de múltiples ejemplos, el modelo de género asociado al ideal de las dos esferas no tenía cabida entre los vecinos del Corralón, ni entre aquellos colectivos sociales que compartieran similares condiciones de habitabilidad en otras viviendas de análoga tipología. La incapacidad operativa de este modelo respondía, entre otras razones, a la espacialidad concreta que configuraba el Corralón que, lejos de ser inocente fue, una vez más, un factor clave en la configuración de las específicas formas de vida y las relaciones de género que en él se desarrollaron. Un factor, por tanto, susceptible de un estudio exhaustivo que, enraizando en lo social, trascienda los análisis formales y morfo-tipológicos habituales, y nos permita, sin filtros empañados de nostalgia, conocer cómo tenía lugar lo doméstico entonces con el fin de dotarnos de herramientas y conceptos para repensar, con la mirada puesta en lo colectivo/compartido, la construcción de lo doméstico hoy.

Dichas herramientas, utilizadas para proyectar espacios domésticos en el presente, serían capaces de fomentar relaciones de género alternativas si orbitaran en torno a reflexiones relacionadas con el protagonismo de los espacios compartidos, disolver los límites entre lo público y lo privado, estirar los umbrales entre uno y otro. Del mismo modo, una arquitectura que fomentase la colectivización de ciertas tareas domésticas (lavanderías, cocinas, tendaderos, etc.) y que atendiese al variado abanico de tipologías familiares mediante la consecución de un espacio flexible capaz de albergar los distintos modos de agrupación social, contribuiría a superar la idea de vivienda como célula habitacional hermética que resuelve todas las necesidades cotidianas, poniendo en valor la dimensión relacional del espacio colectivo. Hemos visto también en el Corralón cómo la realidad laboral de sus habitantes no es un asunto externo a la vivienda, sino que configura una serie de comportamientos habitacionales, como el hospedaje, que dinamizan un

espacio doméstico pretendidamente estático, antojándose fundamental proyectar la casa como un espacio relacionado con la esfera pública, así como espacio productivo.

Son numerosos los ejemplos contemporáneos que abordan estas cuestiones. Entre los edificios de viviendas de tipología en corredor, destacaríamos las treinta viviendas de protección en Conil de la Frontera (Cádiz), de Javier Terrados Cepeda, las viviendas para jóvenes en Sant Andreu (Barcelona), de Emiliano López y Mónica Rivera, o las treinta y dos viviendas de protección en Sant Vicente del Raspeig (Alicante), de Alfredo Payá, por su especial tratamiento de los corredores de acceso. Estos ejemplos les otorgan un papel clave que los convierte definitivamente en un mundo intermedio entre las viviendas y la calle. Mediante la superación de las dimensiones habituales para un espacio de paso, se permite el desarrollo de actividades estanciales y la ubicación de piezas asociadas a las tareas domésticas, como los tendederos, en directa relación visual y espacial con dichos corredores favoreciendo la disolución entre lo público y lo privado.

Las veintitrés viviendas de realojo en Embajadores (Madrid), de Espegel-Fisac o las ochenta viviendas protegidas en Salou (Tarragona), de Toni Gironés se valen igualmente de la tipología en corredor y, aunque en estos dos edificios esté tratada de una forma más clásica, las implicaciones de esta espacialidad no dejan de estar resueltas con gran acierto. Se puede apreciar cómo los corredores se alejan de las viviendas en las zonas a las que vierten sus piezas más privadas, generando un pequeño patio, pero se ensanchan creando sutiles zaguanes hacia las entradas, estirando el umbral entre un mundo y otro.

Atxu Amann, Andrés Cánovas y Nicolás Maruri proponen ciento dieciocho viviendas en Coslada (Madrid), en las que, tal y como Alberolamartorell y Díaz-Mauriño desarrollan en las veintidós viviendas sociales para jóvenes en El Rastro (Madrid), encontramos la clara intención de diseñar unos espacios comunes protagonistas dentro del edificio, no ya por sus generosas dimensiones, sino por esa vocación de sala de estar exterior catalizadora de las relaciones de vecindad que podían generar los patios de las antiguas corralas madrileñas. No por casualidad el edificio de Alberolamartorell y Díaz-Mauriño se ubica a escasos metros del Corralón que ocupa este estudio, pudiendo afirmar de aquél que se trata de una reinterpretación acertada en cuanto a sus características espaciales de las que éste es testigo vivo.

Sirva el Edificio Mirador en Sanchinarro (Madrid), de MVRDV y Blanca Lleó para ilustrar la búsqueda contemporánea de un marco capaz de albergar diversas tipologías habitacionales en un mismo edificio, atendiendo a una realidad diversa y variada de situaciones vitales a la que se desea dar respuesta, tal y como ocurría en nuestro edificio objeto de estudio y en el Madrid presente y pasado (Fig. 6).

El proyecto para la Sharing Tower, en Valencia, de Vicente Guallart es quizá uno de los

ejemplos más representativos o arriesgados en los términos que esta investigación se plantea. Cada planta de la imaginada torre se configuraría en torno a un espacio no privado el cual sería el encargado de dar acceso a las viviendas y producir áreas estanciales, pero también de albergar funciones de éstas que normalmente asociaríamos al espacio privado, como pueden ser desde salas de estar o estudio a zonas de cocina o lavado de ropa, convirtiéndose más que en un espacio común o colectivo, en un espacio compartido, consiguiendo que la célula habitacional explote y se disperse por todo el edificio.

Por último, las veintiocho viviendas que ha construido recientemente la Cooperativa d'Habitatge La Borda, en Can Batlló (Barcelona), así como las diecisiete que está llevando a cabo la cooperativa madrileña Entrepatis Las Carolinas en Usera (Madrid), trasladan los valores espaciales que se vienen desarrollando a través de los sucesivos ejemplos a la gestión tanto previa como posterior a la construcción. La forma participada de diseñar el edificio entre sus futuros habitantes, así como su posterior gestión bajo el modelo de derecho de uso, frente a la propiedad o el alquiler, supone la fusión de las esferas privadas que cada vivienda constituye, propiciando el nacimiento de un espacio común de relaciones personales primarias totalmente engarzado a ellas a modo de patio abstracto o corredor inmaterial.

En definitiva, y a la luz de todo lo expuesto hasta ahora, se nos muestra el Corralón como un lugar de una alta riqueza histórica del que extraer lecciones y reflexiones vigentes a día de hoy, abriendo líneas de investigación multidisciplinares capaces de incidir en el presente. Pareciera, en fin, un ejemplo involuntario de una domesticidad alternativa.

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UNIT:

↑
 Minutes
 Hours
 Days
 Months
 Years
 Decades
 ↓

SIGLO XIX

SIGLO XX

SIGLO XXI

Constelación de Arquitectos

Multi-Domestic Urban Systems

DIAGRAM:



ALEJANDRA KOLLANTAI



MELUSINA FAY PIERCE

CATHERINE E. BEECHER



LENA LO BARDI



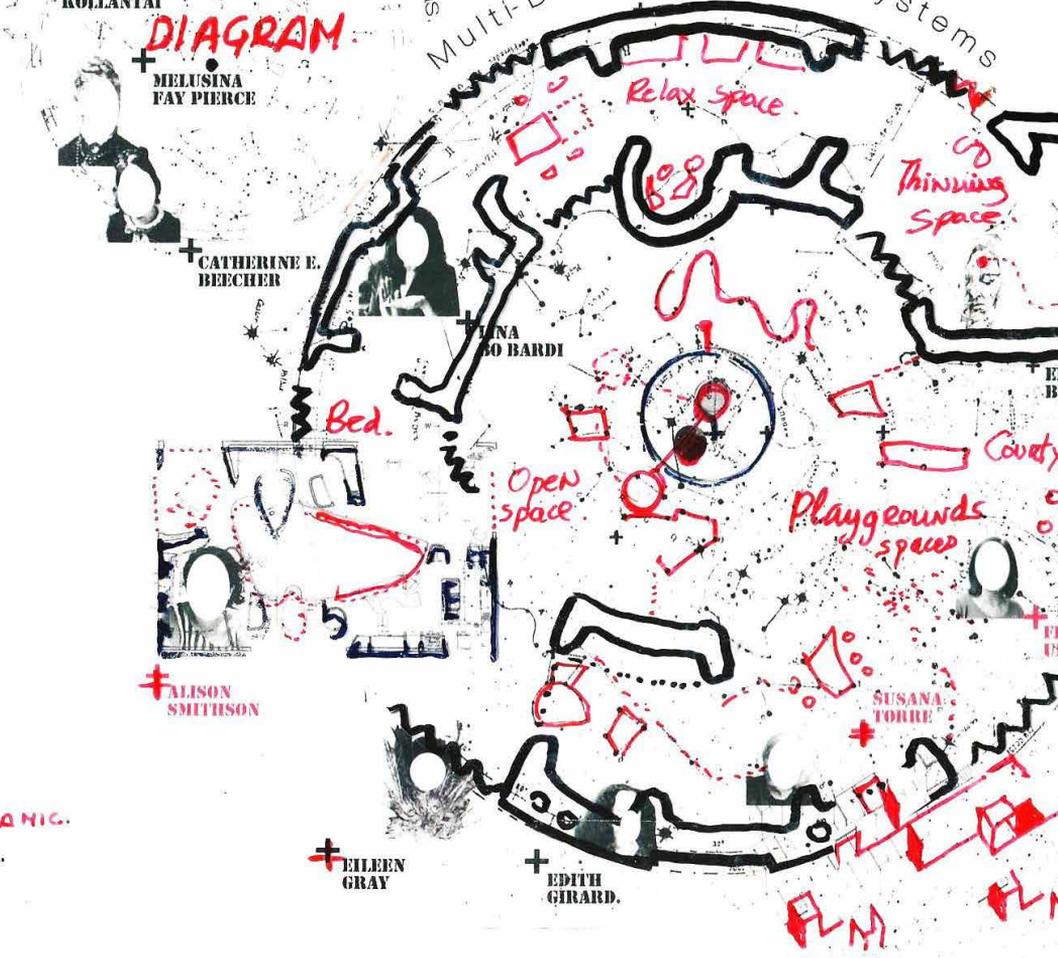
ALISON SMITHSON

EILEEN GRAY

EDITH GIRARD

SUSANA TORRE

— DYNAMIC.
 — FIX.



CONSTELLATION OF WOMEN ARCHITECTS: STRATEGIES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN DOMESTIC SYSTEMS.

Virginia de Jorge-Huertas

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Fig. 1a
Constellation
of Women
architects
as a long-
term work in
progress
The dynamic
parts
have been
represented in
red while the
fix elements
have been
highlighted in
black.
Source:
author's
elaboration

Abstract:

This article analyses the existing and hypothetical connection among several architects, from a database of 120 women architects which I myself have elaborated. The architects selected for this article are Alison Smithson, Susana Torre and Franziska Ullmann. What they all have in common is that they carried out researches on issues related to that blurred area between domestic and public space which can be intended as an intermediate space that expands the micro scale of domesticity to the urban scale of domestic infrastructure. Three projects have been analysed: the Strip House by Alison Smithson (1957), the 'matrix space' by Susanna Torre (1970) and the *Margarete Schütte Lihotzsky hof* in Vienna by Franziska Ullmann (1995-1997). A series of intervention strategies will be extracted from these projects with the aim of implementing future ideas between public space and housing, through the creation of new and evolved measurement parameters.

Keywords:

Women architects, Domesticity, Multi-scalar strategies, In-between spaces, dwelling

Introduction

The constellation of women architects (Fig. 1a, b), which this paper pretends to outline, can be contextualized within a temporal framework (the second half of the nineteenth century) whose starting point can be tied in with Aleksandra 'Shura' Mijáilovna Kollontái's activism (in 1896). From an initial database of 120 women architects, whose work is principally concerned with the domestic sphere at various scales, a selection has been made which focuses only on three women architects and on three scales.

From an anthropological point of view, the efficiency of domestic space has always been at the core as a social bond. In this regard, the spatial layout of the kitchen designed by Catherine Esther Beecher (USA, 1800-1878) could be mentioned as an example. Considering another scale, the shared community kitchen system proposed by Dolores Hayden (Hayden,

opposite page
 Fig. 1b
Constellation of Women architects as a long-term work in progress
 Detail of the constellation; the dynamic parts have been represented in red while the fix elements have been highlighted in black.
 Source: author's elaboration

1970), which follows the model of a collective equipment system developed by Melusina Fay Peirce (USA, 1836 - 1923), is also worth mentioning since she can be considered as a pioneer in co-operative housekeeping. Her proposal is a complex strategy, based on the transition from the privacy of the dwelling (domesticity) to the public sphere, by means of intermediate spaces. In fact, at an architectural level, Hayden proposed the possibility of providing additional and ancillary spaces to the dwelling by replacing the front courtyard of the American single-family houses with shared community services.

Methodology

Considering a multi-scalar approach and the contribution that three different socio-political contexts (Austria, United Kingdom and USA) could offer to re-formulate the concept of domesticity in terms of divergence and connection of strategies, three women architects have been selected. They have been analysed through the study of three of their projects: the Strip House (1957) by Alison Smithson, at the XS/S scale; the 'matrix space' (1970) by Susana Torre, intended as an intermediate and indefinite scale, and, finally the *Margarete Schütte Lihotzsky hof* in Vienna by Franziska Ullmann (1995-1997), at the urban scale.

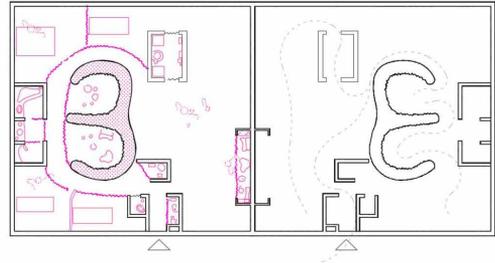
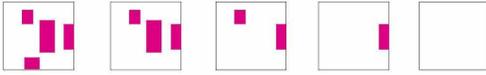
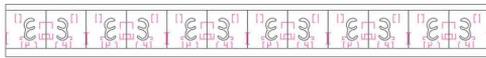
What these women architects have all in common is that they carried out researches on issues related to both user-oriented spatial solutions and the blurred area between domestic and public space, intended as an intermediate space that expands the micro scale of domesticity to the urban scale of domestic infrastructure. This line of research could be inserted into a broader context, that of flexible housing, which can adjust to changing needs and patterns, allowing users certain degrees of choice. The condominium located in 22 *Angel Muñoz* street, in Madrid, designed by Emilia Bisquert (Spain 1940-2001) along with José Miguel Prada Poole and Ricardo Aroca (De Jorge-Huertas, 2020), is just one of the many examples of how flexible layouts are capable of different arrangements that support the everyday life of their users. However, the specificity of the three selected case studies lies in the fact that they not only all go beyond flexibility or adaptability, radically reinventing domesticity, but also challenge the divide between architectural and urban scale.

Before analysing the case studies, it is worth mentioning that another woman architect was a pioneer in revolutionising the approach to domestic space, not only in terms of ergonomics but also in terms of introducing a new spatial understanding.

Eileen Gray (Fig. 1c), in the *studio-apartment* in *Rue Châteaubriand* she designed for Jean Badovici in Paris (1939), experimented the potentiality of spatial solutions which



created intermediate spaces of transition; the resulting spatial layout could be defined as a 'fly system house' made up of continuous moving spaces. In *Rue Châteaubriand* Eileen Gray transformed a small-sized space into an unfolding compact home. The storage spaces designed by Gray never have a single function, rather they are always incorporated, hidden or disguised in other spatial devices, unfolding their functionality and generating ambiguous spaces that are activated by the presence of their users and their requirements. Furniture itself becomes a multi-layered spatial device that adjusts to user's needs, almost in a prosthetic way.



Dynamic elements

Fix elements



Fig. 2
The Strip House.
Alison Smithson.
1957-58

Source: author's elaboration.
Source of the original plans: Smithson, 2001, pp. 112-113 and Smithson, 2005, p. 195

opposite page

Fig. 3
Space as matrix.
Susana Torre.
1970

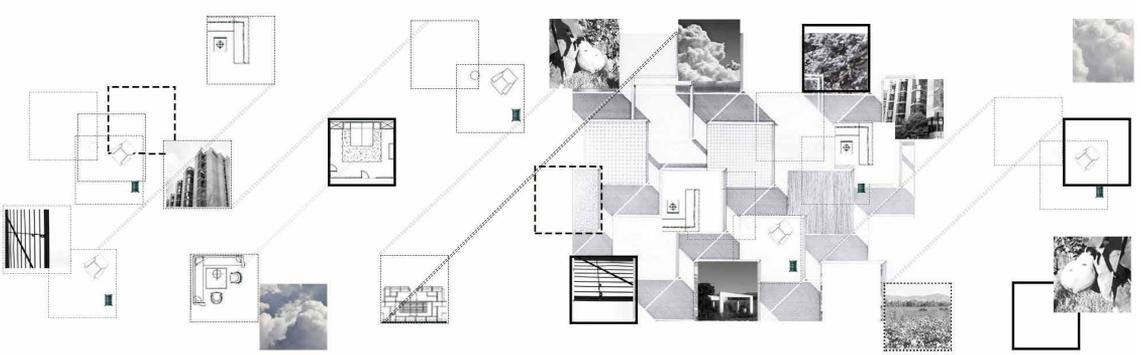
Collage and re-drawing elaborated by the author.
Source of the original drawings: Torre, 1981, p. 51

The Strip House (1957-58)

The first case-study is the 'Strip House', a house concept (Risselada, 2004) which Alison and Peter Smithson produced during the late 1950s together with other ideal homes, among which the 'Appliance house' (1956-57), which can be considered as a direct continuation of the 'House of the Future' (1956) and stems from a total rejection of standard suburban houses, being maximally open in its curvilinear shapes and sliding walls. The Strip House (1957-58) (Fig. 2), even though more conventional in its reversion to the rectangular set-up, which takes into account 'urban' conditions related to town planning and production (the house could be inserted in a row of houses), is still based on flexible layouts and no-room spatial options. In the Strip House, the small rectangular cores/cubicles which accommodate functions like bathing and cooking, and two dressing rooms, carved like caves, are the only fixed elements, being the space between these cores open and mutable due to the presence of foldable panels.

Likewise, Alison and Peter Smithson's approach to urban planning was imbued with the same interest in flexibility and adaptability, which resulted in urban forms that accept change and growth. As Alison Smithson explains (with reference to their entry for the Berlin Hauptstadt competition, 1957-1958):

The urban forms of the pieces of a low-profile city are (...) anticipatory, open-ended, and adaptable according to the rules growing out of their interaction with systems of movement, which aids the consistency of each form. The conglomeration of all forms speaks of the likelihood of change, expectant of growth and variation, although the exact nature of such change awaits hidden in the future. The feeling for change, the need for elbow room, for opening up so that buildings, roads, and services can each develop freely according to their own laws without compromising the development as a whole is central to the thinking" (Smithson, 2005, p. 120)



'Space as matrix'. House of meanings (1970-1972)

The second case study is the research carried out by Susana Torre (Argentina, 1944) about 'space as matrix' (Fig. 3), which she explored in the project 'The house of Meanings' (1970-1972). Arguing that domestic spatial hierarchies and arrangements of enclosed rooms and corridors did not fit with contemporary life, given that they favour only certain family members at the expense of the others, she proposed in 1970 the design of an experimental residential system based on flexible room arrangements and connections, in which she broke down with traditional dichotomies between indoor and outdoor spaces, between private and public sphere, going beyond scale differences in favour of an undefined and intermediate scale that definitely change the traditional way of inhabiting.

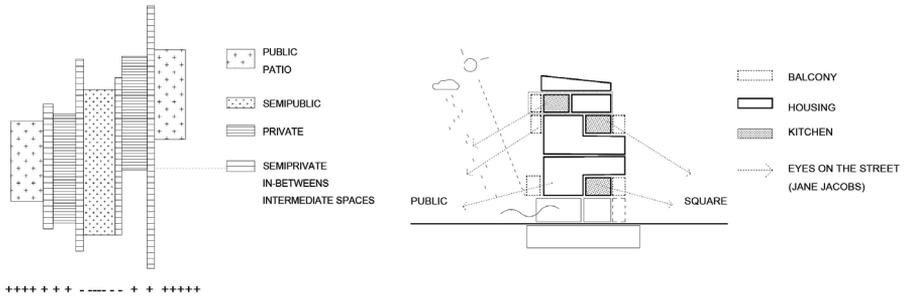
Urban scale. Margarete Schütte Lihotzky neighbourhood

A further case study is that of the *Margarete Schütte Lihotzky hof* neighbourhood project in Vienna lead by Franziska Ullmann in 1995. It is an example of gender-sensitive urbanism in which special attention is given to the context and the users' needs, by creating spatial gradients of great richness and complexity (Fig. 4). The masterplan of this project, based on a 'gendered urbanism' (Kail, 2007), is clearly articulated and arranged to facilitate fluent transitions from public to private spaces, through intermediate spaces or in-between spaces, a notion which has already been approached by Alison and Peter Smithson and which was central to the work of Team X and the last CIAM in the 1950s.

Urban domestic systems. A comparative approach.

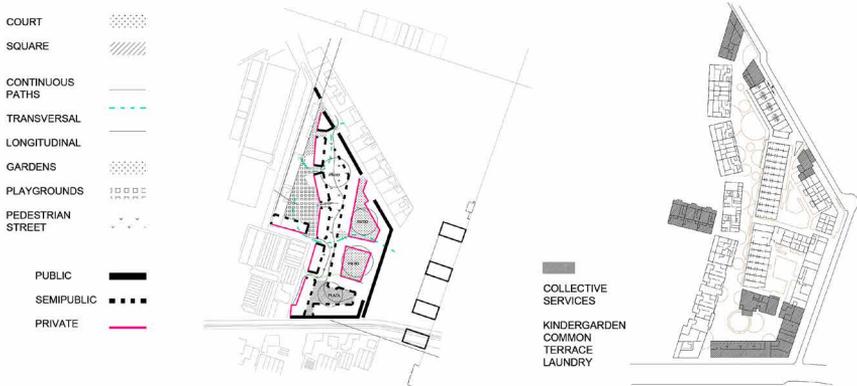
Both the privacy gradients and the 'in-between' spatial patterns (Alexander, 1977) are essential in the development of the projects analysed. The spatial transitions from public to

Fig. 4
Diagrams of privacy gradients (in the top right) and intermediate spaces, shown in section and plans, in the Margarete Schutte Lihotsky neighborhood by Franziska Ullmann



Re-drawing and adaptation by the author. Source of the original images: Ullmann, 1980; Álvarez, 2014 and Muxi, 2015

Fig. 3
Space as matrix. Susana Torre. 1970. Collage and re-drawing elaborated by the author
 Source of the original drawings: Torre, 1981, p. 51



private through semi-public or semi-private spaces are key to build the intermediate space between the street and the dwelling. In the interior of the house, privacy patterns are developed through intimacy, being the nuances that construct domestic atmospheres perceived on an individual, subjective basis. Alison Smithson (Smithson, 2005) encourages or discourages intimacy by opening or closing panels or through the strategical layout of wet cores, being a way to disrupt the classical model of domestic space to generate a non-hierarchical space and open to new forms of intimate coexistence. Ullmann's spatial gradients generate a spatial complexity that promotes a dynamic relationship with the social urban context (Kail, 2007).

These examples should lead urban planning and collective housing projects towards new design parameters and criteria.

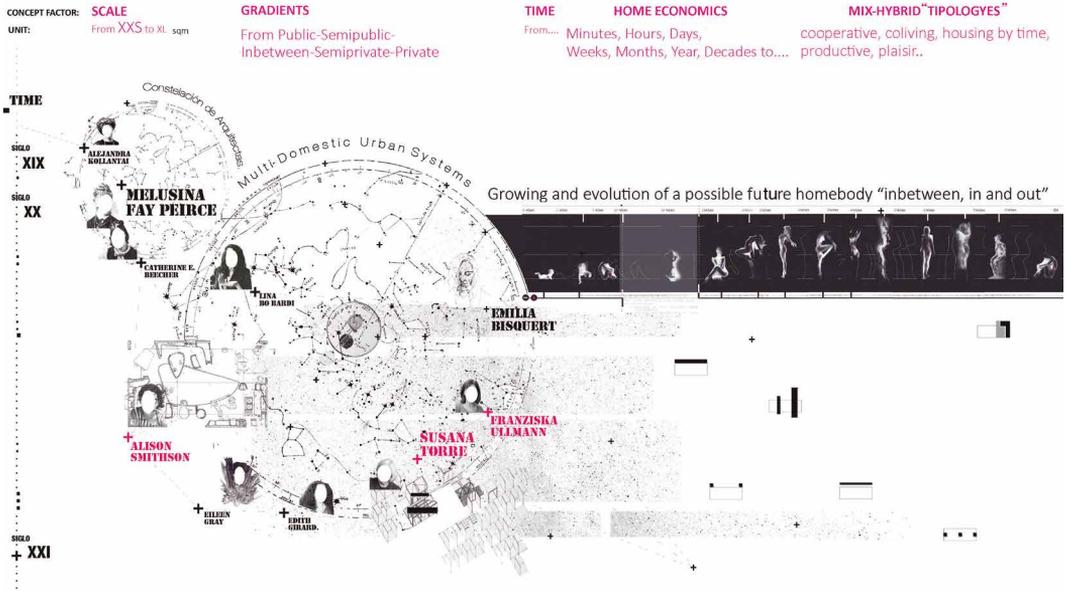


Fig. 5

The image above sketches out the possible evolution of the Constellation of Women architects through time. The round-shaped network suggests its potentials for expansion. The black stripe on the right suggests the evolution of body-space relationships over time

Source: author's elaboration

The specific approach to space that stems from these projects is imbued with an ethics of architecture that intends to improve the quality of life of the people who live in those spaces. Concepts such as the ‘form/counter form’ binomial by Aldo Van Eyck, the ‘cluster’ approach by Giancarlo de Carlo in the Villaggio Matteotti in Terni (De Jorge-Huertas, 2018), or the ‘mat-building’ proposal by Alison Smithson, only to cite some of the members of Team X, represent a radical emancipation from certain positions of the Modern Movement which considered architectural objects without valuing the identity either of the user or of the natural context itself (Muñoz, 1985, pp. 9-15).

In line with Maria Teresa Muñoz (1985), other approaches to space and architecture are required to prioritize the qualitative aspect over the formal, dismissing the idea of Architecture as an object. In the same way, new approaches to domestic space and housing projects,

which focus on the inherent potentialities of intermediate spaces to blur the physical boundaries between the public and the private sphere (Fig. 5), are possible, in order to generate meeting points, spatial richness, hybrid public spaces.

In conclusion, a more human and multi-scalar approach to Architecture, which gives back a real protagonist role to the people who inhabit it, is possible.

Acknowledgments

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THERE ARE NO MAGIC FORMULAS! REFLECTION ON FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES OF SPACE AND THE PLACEMAKING PROCESS

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Abstract

Feminist epistemologies and methodologies are being extended to critical reflections and productions on spatial and urban spheres since the second half of the 20th century. Highlighting and focusing on the particularities of everyday life and the contexts of women and girls, feminist lenses offer other views of the territory. This article is an initial approach to feminist ideas and practices in urban planning, keeping in mind the generations of women who previously worked on this issue. After the initial criticism of purist and abstract architectural concepts inherited from the twentieth century, feminisms have focused on the complexities of everyday life in every urban scales. The first part of the article promotes a brief critique of last century cities' idealizations and productions in the Western world. Today we still inhabit urban meshes designed according to functional logics and punctuated by isolated and controlled architectural objects. The second part suggests the placemaking process as a possible key-element for a co-design process that integrates routines, needs and collective memories of historically silenced groups. The activation of the spatial and social potential of places is only possible with effective community engagement and women participation, both fundamental for the promotion of respectful and plural territories.

Keywords

Feminisms, Gender, City, Placemaking, Participatory processes

Introduction

The end of the twentieth century leaves behind the heroic male manifestos and pamphleteering discourses of architecture and urbanism of the 1920s. Nowadays, there is a certain expectation and alternative models are testing new types of solutions that respond to women and other (deliberately) peripheral groups' lives. The infiltration of other sensibilities in the physical and social production of space could contribute to the effective spatial autonomy and the full concretization of each human being. The understanding of how feminisms

can contribute and enrich the urban debate and the urban environment is crucial. Their narratives and activism are prioritizing a *placemaking* process of co-creation, rather than the (architectural or urban) object's final shape. This renewed approach would imply the abandonment of traditional lines of thought based on formal explorations of isolated and floating buildings and cities, placed in abstract environments. The inconsiderateness of their relation and connection with a complex network of public, private and communitarian spheres, are creating empty and meaningless collective spaces.

Feminist theories and practices have been asserting themselves in thinking about space, demanding a special focus on women's lives and enabling new possibilities for the registration of several individual matrices in the collective space (Pedrosa, 2016). Renewed approaches are often rooted in empathic relationships with the surrounding environment and the rewriting, reinvention, and reconstruction of urban policies and practices. The interaction and appreciation of micro-stories and micro-scales of each place can promote a more intense and careful urban planning that takes into account the events and needs of everyday life.

Hard inheritances: iconic architectures and functional cities

The territory is a cultural product shaped by human behaviors and endeavors. Western cities are mostly composed of a succession of layers, like an archive of different historical moments. Such overlap is a concentration of a vast set of priorities of the decision-makers with the concrete micro-actions of everyday life. While Leslie Weisman¹ (2000) discusses the idea of architecture as an icon, she recalls that design and construction processes, and resulting shapes, incorporate cultural values. Simultaneously, the built environment has been guided by male norms that, over the centuries, have ruled and shaped the world in which we live. According to Weisman, the maximum expression of the patriarchal and capitalist symbology is the skyscrapers. These objects yearn to become (powerful and virile) masterpieces, almost like mirrors reflecting individualisms and competing autonomously for domination, prominence, and local and global recognition.

For centuries, architectural narratives and stories, concepts, language and vocabulary, concerns and programs, practices, and processes, have been translated into a masculinized guidance. Architecture and urbanism have been acknowledged through the

¹ Leslie Kanes Weisman is an architectural educator, activist and community planning department official. She was one of the founding faculty members of the New Jersey Institute of Technology School of Architecture (Newark) and co-founder of the feminist educational project Women's School of Planning and Architecture (WSPA, 1974-1981, EUA). She was deeply involved in the feminist movement in architecture, participating in writings like "Heresies #11 - Making Room - Women and Architecture" (1981).

masters' lives and work-product deification, acting as historical lighthouses capable of legitimizing a disciplinary discourse. Plus, the architectural *star system*² is always related to the same gender: the male genius that gives life to objects and icons. Consequently, on the one hand, people and cities compete to have a *star building* or a *star plaza* - confirming the overvaluation of the buildings' authorship as well as the aesthetic associated with it. This phenomenon also reaches and guides many academic curricula. On the other hand, the remarkable architecture has been frequently designed and sold as isolated objects that serve as a reference to good practices - and, as well, to both journals and specialized websites. These models repeatedly oriented the definition of good architecture by their outer shape, i.e., by their appearance, their skin, instead of their spatial and social qualities. Thus, as a design method, the *form-making* mechanism operates as a process of (individual) inspiration and design refinement, resulting in the expression of personal perceptions of reality. Besides the shape of the object being the main aim, *form-making* can be also understood as a tool to pursue an objectual analysis of the city and its architecture, with a purely formal sense. The most radical part of such a process is the understanding of the built environment only as shape, or architecture as an object; it is not art, it is not a social or political position, it does not matter whether it fulfils the functions for which it was designed. Therefore, the architecture of abstraction and reduction remains absent from the integration of communities' wishes, experiences, and desires.

During the twentieth century, a proliferation of futuristic recipes tried to perpetually mark the territory and the ways of living. The criticism of the *form-making* emphasizes the paradigm of the object's shape as the main aim of the architectural production - and it could be a building, a square or a city. At an intermediate scale between the architectural object and the city, the echo of several (often utopian) proposals of urban operators developed during the twentieth century strongly remains in the architectural world. As a reference, Le Corbusier's urban proposals served as a catalogue of ideas for new cities or the renewal of urban areas, which functioned autonomously by the design and shape's strength. The *Voisin Plan* for Paris (1922-25)³ reacts to the existing city, its historical layout and the dense urban fabric. Le Corbusier used *tabula rasa* as an intervention method: he subjugated the pre-existing urban structure to the hard confrontation with the cartesian skyscrapers, designed as pure and

² About the *star system* criticism see, for instance, Scott-Brown D. 1989, *Room at the Top? Sexism and the Star System in Architecture*, in E. P. Berkeley & M. McQuaid (eds.), *Architecture: A Place for Women*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC, pp. 237-246, or Heynen H. 2012, *Genius, gender and architecture. The star system as exemplified in the Pritzker prize*. «Architectural Theory Review», 17 (2-3), pp. 331-345.

³ The *Voisin Plan* comes after the studies for the *Ville Contemporaine* of 1922 and it served as a theoretical model in the preparation of Le Corbusier's plans for *Ville Radieuse* (1930-33), a *city of objects* descendant from the assumptions of the Athens Charter of 1933 (CIAM).

uncontaminated buildings. About this *city of objects*, Lousa⁴ concluded that “[...] it seemed to depend solely on his own will, in an attitude which exhibited an intellectual arrogance identical to that demonstrated by the utopians of the previous century” (Lousa, 2009, p. 32; *translation mine*)⁵. In his travels between 1928 and 1929, Le Corbusier deals with the South American reality. Following the linear formalization and radicalism of the total design, he explored the *object-city*. Such a model, with a single heroic gesture towards the territory, represented an understanding of the city

[...] no longer as a sum of events and lived experiences differentiated in time and form, which at times coexist and at time overlap, a sedimentary process that implies a form without form, that is, it represents the abandonment of urbanity as a result of a process, replacing it with a pre-existing formal idea as a city project (Lousa, 2009, p. 34; *translation mine*)⁶.

Finally, he drew a *city-object* for the outskirts of Algiers, entitled *Obus Plan*⁷. The result was a model of a mega-structure, characterized by a strong compositional articulation of curvilinear forms without admitting any other kind of interference in the shape of buildings. In an attitude often considered as colonial⁸, Le Corbusier used these models as formal laboratory experiences without losing sight of the possibility of transforming his utopias into reality.

In this sense, the ideas and results of the functionalist city - the huge project of the Modern Movement left some guidelines and features up to today - have focused in the productive work, in car journeys and zoning. Long highways act as spatial breaks and the zoning and its functional separation of uses - established in the Athens Charter - increase the perception of insecurity of the people who inhabit it, especially of women (Novas Ferradás, 2014, p. 49) “genre”:⁹ “Treball Final de Màster Universitari en Investigació Aplicada en Estudis Feministes, de Gènere i Ciutadania (Pla de 2013. Cities are oriented to the development of productive work and its linear pathways, leaving out the reproductive

⁴ António Lousa is an architect and professor at the University of Coimbra. In the PhD thesis, “Object-city” (2009), he investigates the object-city as a disciplinary concept, through comparative analysis of case studies, allowing the identification of a set of ideas that challenged the effective application of the urban program of the Modern Movement.

⁵ “[...] parecia depender unicamente da sua própria vontade [do arquitecto], numa atitude que demonstrava uma arrogância intelectual em tudo idêntica à demonstrada pelos utopistas do século anterior” (Lousa, 2009, p. 32).

⁶ “[...] a novidade de entender a cidade já não como um somatório de experiências e vivências diferenciadas no tempo e na forma, que ora coexistiam ora se sobrepunham, num processo sedimentar que pressupunha uma forma sem forma, ou seja representa o abandono da urbanidade enquanto resultado de um processo, substituindo-o por uma ideia formal pré-existente como projecto de cidade” (Lousa, 2009, p. 34).

⁷ A plan with several versions, the first of 1932 and with the final presentation of the Master Plan in 1942.

⁸ About Le Corbusier’s colonialist approaches see, for instance, Çelik Z. 2000, *Le Corbusier, Orientalism, Colonialism*, in J. Rendell, B. Penner & I. Borden (eds.), *Gender, space, architecture: An interdisciplinary introduction*, Routledge, London, pp. 321-331.

work and the care tasks, invisible in public spaces but essential to human life. Consequently, the complexity and diversity of daily life experiences, and as well as non-normative groups, have been excluded from the construction of all scales of the territory. In the visionary book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961)⁹, the journalist and activist Jane Jacobs had already rejected urban segregations and suburban settlements that isolate women and children, contrasting zoning and *tabula rasa* with the apology of urban life and dynamics of metropolises. Through the identification of modernist abstraction impact in neighborhoods and its inhabitants' lives, she claimed the street, the daily life and the imaginary of citizens (Jacobs, 1961/1994):

Feminist spatial practices and the place-making process

The relationship between architecture/urban planning and feminisms is not a new issue, but it remains quite uncomfortable, sometimes insolent. As a political movement, feminisms are agitating sociocultural patterns and (supposedly) untouchable places of privilege. Simultaneously, they are attempting to expand the ways we see and understand spatial and social relationships. Crossing feminist methodologies with architecture and urbanism is being interpreted as a reflective, emancipatory, subversive, radical, emerging, and critical act that seeks to destabilize the current *status quo* (Brown, 2011). Plus, critical, political and ethical possibilities of trans and/or interdisciplinary methods are fundamental to such proposals, setting a place for interchange between alternative theories and practices (Rendell, 2011). In the same direction, Helen Stratford¹⁰ (2007) understands the implications of the feminist project as “micro-strategies of resistance”. Through the analysis of architectural practices of relevant groups in the 1980s (like Paper Architects, Utopica, Form-Trans-Inform and Matrix), Stratford argues that the socio-political context becomes the measure of resistances and subversive potentials to provide transformations and multiple (re)creations. The idea of resistance, as a representation of the interests of a collective, is based on concepts such as difference, multiplicity, scale and intimacy, micro-politics and nomadism (the fluidity of the discontinuous locations of gender, race and class identities) (Stratford, 2007).

Nowadays, there is a certain expectation and alternative models are needed to achieve more equity in the built environment's access, uses and permanence. Crossing the beginning of the twenty-first century, the neoliberal project is rooted in the constellation of capitalism,

⁹ In the late 1950s, Jane Jacobs started her own fight against the proposal of urban renewal for New York, made by the director of city's urban planning, Robert Moses.

¹⁰ With a background in architecture, Helen Stratford works between live art, visual art, performative architecture and writing. She analyses the rhythms of daily life to investigate how we can rethink the power of the built environment within social, political, economic and emotional infrastructures.

colonialism and (hereto) patriarchy; thus, the unbalanced relations of power extend to all spheres of life and determine the configuration of physical and social spaces. The analysis of ways in which public and private habitats are experienced, used, maintained and transformed, is a fundamental step to understand each place, each time and each society. Cities are places for coexistence, exchange and sharing, and accumulators of experiences; they are places of convergence of needs and diverse realities, par excellence. However, cities also generate inequities in access to resources, services and the full enjoyment of social, economic and cultural rights - and the gender issue is transversal. Urbanism focused on gender concerns starts from the premise that space is not politically neutral but shaped by values that establish social and spatial boundaries, and physical form contributes to the perpetuation of privileges. Spanish scholar Sánchez Madariaga adds:

From a broader perspective, the vision of urbanism from a gender-based perspective must be understood within the framework of new demands for sustainability, in its triple environmental, social and economic dimension. The gender vision responds directly to the objectives of social sustainability since it refers directly to issues of equal opportunities, prevention of exclusion, security, aging of the population and in general, quality of life for all” (Sánchez Madariaga *et al*, 2004, p. 111; *translation mine*)¹¹.

Spatial-type inequality forms can only be dismantled with a new look that takes into account that men and women’s experiences in the city are different and focus on inequality relations; the active use of space and time by women often produces changes in the social and spatial structure of the city, and, structural changes can alter gender relations within the city (Sánchez Madariaga *et al*, 2004, p. 33).

Supported by sharing networks and more plural and horizontal relations, feminist approaches call for the re-reading and the re-signification of the spaces we inhabit. Contemporary productions of space must, therefore, integrate various actors and actresses: on the one hand, institutions and decision-makers about the built environment, in which women must be present and represented; on the other hand, events, routines and complexities of everyday life. Intrinsically, the built environment must be transformed through hybrid production models, considering joy, care, affection, and collective engagement and satisfaction; as Weisman highlights “a meaningful environment is necessary and essential to a meaningful existence” (Weisman, 2000, p. 3). Community’s contributions and the integration of as much as possible points of view are essential steps to generate

¹¹ “Desde una perspectiva más amplia, la visión del urbanismo desde el género debe ser entendida en el marco de las nuevas demandas de la sostenibilidad, en su triple dimensión ambiental, social y económica. La visión desde el género responde directamente a los objetivos de sostenibilidad social, pues se refiere directamente a cuestiones de igualdad de oportunidades, de prevención de la exclusión, de seguridad, de envejecimiento de la población y en general, de calidad de vida para todos” (Sánchez Madariaga *et al*, 2004, p. 111).

real urban transformations and to achieve cohesive, flexible and inclusive habitats. Architecture and urbanism should be the support and guidance for such processes, seeking to put people's lives, needs and experiences in the center of the urban project. The concept of *placemaking*¹², as a co-design process, has been developed by professionals at multiple levels and across disciplines, interested in the collective production of space as an alternative to rigid planning processes. The integration of participatory processes in the urbanistic field is essential for its capacity of showing citizenship how powerful it could be the collective vision for everyday spaces (Project for Public Spaces, n.d.). Such spatial and social approaches inspire people to collectively reimagine and reinvent public spaces to maximize shared values of the public realm. Additionally, despite construing participation also as the main method of action, feminist strategies argue that *placemaking* processes are only socially fair if the effective inclusion and participation of women and other peripheral groups' life experiences, and the reproductive realm and care tasks, are taken into account in the development of, and decision-making about urban spaces (Muxí Martínez *et al*, 2011). What feminist strategies are most interested in is the empowerment of girls and women in each sphere of their lives, fighting for the right to the city as a question of human rights¹³.

The last decades have witnessed the emergence of new urban strategies that make audible some frequencies (deliberately) silenced in the city. The gender mainstreaming brings other ways of thinking, looking, and acting on the built environment; for instance, such approaches are revealing the *one-size-fits-all* uniformity in streets, parks, housing, and also project tools (Rothschild, 1999). The gender perspective in urban planning implies analyzing urban policies with a gender focus and implementing feminist practices in urban and territorial development. For instance, some municipalities¹⁴ are rethinking procedures to become more

¹² About the origin and use of the *placemaking* process: "Some of the thinking behind Placemaking gained traction in the 1960s, when mentors like Jane Jacobs and William H. Whyte introduced groundbreaking ideas about designing cities for people, not just cars and shopping centers. Their work focuses on the social and cultural importance of lively neighborhoods and inviting public spaces: Jacobs encouraged everyday citizens to take ownership of streets through the now-famous idea of 'eyes on the street', while Holly Whyte outlined key elements for creating vibrant social life in public spaces" (Project for Public Spaces, n.d.).

¹³ The initial concept originated from the work of Henri Lefebvre as expressed in the book *Le Droit à la ville* (Lefebvre, 1967). He understood the city as a space of encounter, generating possibilities and opportunities for creative actions and requiring collective participation. In 2005, the *World Charter for the Right to the City* of the United Nations Organization promotes the right to the city for all people. About "Equality, non-discrimination", the document points out that the rights set forth in this charter will be guaranteed to all persons who live permanently or temporarily in the cities without any discrimination of age, gender, sexual orientation, language, religion, opinion, racial, social or ethnic origin, level of income, nationality, or immigration status (ONU-Habitat, 2005, p. 3; translation mine). Concerning participation of communities, it states that "Cities undertake to have institutionalized spaces for the broad, direct, equitable and democratic participation of citizens in the planning, elaboration, approval, management and democratic evaluation of public policies and budgets, plans, programs and actions through organs public hearings, conferences, public consultations and debates, popular initiative of bills and urban development plans" (ONU-Habitat, 2005, p.4; translation mine).

¹⁴ A pioneer municipality reference in urban planning is the *Gender-Sensitive Planning* approach in Vienna (since 1995, coordinated by Eva Keil) which begins with the model project of *Frauen-Werk-Stadt* collective housing by and

representative institutions and to achieve urban processes based on complicity, commitment and collaboration. Referentially, Ada Colau is not only the first woman to become mayor of Barcelona municipality but also the first feminist one. She states that to make "a fairer, more innovative and solidarity city we also need feminism" (EFE, 2016; *translation mine*)¹⁵. The new Department of Feminism and LGBTI has developed and is implementing different action programs to "eradicate machismo, homophobia, biophobia and transphobia from streets, houses, classrooms and workplaces in a multifocal, transversal and collective strategy that recalls everyone's responsibility" (Chillida, 2016; *translation mine*)¹⁶. The municipality sector works directly with groups of women to realize the real problems they face in urban spaces. For instance, the institution developed awareness campaigns against the invisible micro-machismo phenomenon in some popular festivals "to advise on sexual harassment and sexist violence in addition to offering psychological care and legal information to the victims" (Chillida, 2016; *translation mine*)¹⁷. The main aim is the encouragement of women participation in the transformation of the city - from infrastructures and mobility to appropriated business hours or safety issues. In this sense, the art critic and curator Gisela Chillida sums up, shrewdly, that

We are a Roman city, of Judeo-Christian tradition, with a scarce democratic curriculum, and currently immersed in global capitalism. And Roman society was patriarchal, the Christian religion is androcentric, the Francoist dictatorship was clearly macho and homophobic, and capitalism remains heterocentric. Fortunately, we have a clearly feminist City Council, which knows how to integrate the gender perspective in its plans and that has dared to approach 'feminism' without either modesty, or folds or euphemisms (Chillida, 2016; *translation mine*)¹⁸.

Feminist urban practices have sought to activate the spatial potential of places and contribute to the construction of small pieces of cities; those experiences mean both a huge community's engagement and co-responsibility as well an openness to change, rather than provide only non-flexible design solutions that respond to technological and market

for women (1992, urban project by Franziska Ullmann), and the pilot project for the transformation of the municipal district *Mariahilfer* (2002-2006).

¹⁵ "para hacer «una ciudad más justa, innovadora y solidaria también necesitamos el feminismo»" (EFE, 2016).

¹⁶ "erradicar o machismo, a homofobia, la biofobia y transfobia de calles, casas, aulas y trabajos en una estrategia multifocal, transversal y colectiva que apela a la responsabilidad de tod@s" (Chillida, 2016).

¹⁷ "para asesorar acerca del acoso sexual y la violencia machista además de ofrecer atención psicológica e información jurídica a las víctimas" (Chillida, 2016).

¹⁸ "Somos una ciudad romana, de tradición judeo-cristiana, con un currículum democrático escaso, y actualmente inmersa en el capitalismo global. Y la sociedad romana era patriarcal, la religión cristiana es androcéntrica, la dictadura franquista era claramente machista y homófoba, y el capitalismo sigue siendo heterocéntrico. Afortunadamente, contamos con un Ayuntamiento claramente feminista, que sabe integrar la perspectiva de género en sus planes y que se ha atrevido a abordar 'el feminismo' sin pudor, ni dobleces ni eufemismos" (Chillida, 2016).

logics – like *smart cities* proposals. More than promoting urban design as a final product, more than treating the public space as a commodity, it is essential to empower women and their connection and permanence in public spaces. Such approaches foment creative patterns of use and pay special attention both to specific urban experiences of women’s diversity and to cultural, physical, and social identities that compose each territory. In this sense, crossing diversity and identity variables (gender, age, geographical origin, physical condition, etc.) with an attitude that encompasses proximity, exchange, autonomy, articulation, and representativeness, becomes fundamental in reshaping reality. In addition, the traditional relationship with the “client” could be reversed, through more closeness and commitment to a cause, as if it were our home, our school or our neighborhood. Finally, co-creation processes together with policies focused on care co-responsibilities could be the answer to the complexities of current urban realities.

Final notes

Understanding both the scope of feminist contributions to disciplines and professions related to the built environment, as well as its consequences and benefits to everyday life, is pivotal to address the evaluation and replication of strategies. It is essential to listen, communicate, learn from the particularities of each place, and to make visible girls and women’s life experiences, to reach the reinterpretation and restructuring of collective spaces. Additionally to the denunciation and the deconstruction of patriarchal categories within the urban thinking and practices, working with the diversity of voices and truths, with different geographic origins and identity categories, must be a priority in the writing of other narratives and the construction of more plural actions in urban spaces. In today’s globalized world, architecture and urbanism with inclusive and cooperative practices could provide solutions enriched with the accumulated knowledge and common experiences of the community, serving as a basis for debate and spatial production of *bottom-up* and/or *self-construction/self-management* actions. Consequently, achievements could be more engaging, less hierarchical and more open to change.

Considering its political and social history, Feminisms are uncomfortable and restless action enablers who aspire to more inclusive and resilient urban environments. Such a project implies the *placemaking* strategy in the construction of the city as a co-creation act. Through a plurality of tools and attitudes towards the specificities of each urban planning process, the ambition of the feminist approaches is the decentralization of decisions and the production of situated discourses. Such alternative ways of thinking, acting, constructing and taking care of the city, are intimately linked to women’s daily lives, routines, places and memories.

Through co-creation, co-responsibility, commitment, daily learning and intercultural collective practices, the boundaries of space-related disciplines are also expanded. The gender mainstreaming in the analysis, participation, implementation, evaluation and monitoring of results, can result in more equitable interventions. Girls and women must have spaces to claim their right to use the city they cohabit. When women's critical contributions are voiced and heard, as professionals and as users, there are multiple possibilities and opportunities for the whole society. This is an outline for a more egalitarian path and for the construction of feminist, interlaced, poetic and (im)perfect urban narratives and activisms that "[...] respond to the realities of our lives, not the cultural fantasies about them" (Weisman, 2000, p. 3).

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MORE than cities: introduction

Editorial board

Serafina Amoroso,

Equal Saree (Dafne Saldaña, Helena Cardona, Julia Goula)

Maria Novas,

Amelia Vilaplana

The track 'MORE than Cities' focuses on those practices and research that aim to de-construct patriarchal dichotomies and categories in urban spaces, uncovering, at the same time, the canonical narratives and constructs which have so far shaped our built environments –thus hampering the development of an appropriate approach to collectiveness and social life. For this purpose, the papers included in this track span from critical works and texts which involve a re-reading of the past to fill in some historiographical gaps – also rescuing and recognizing the legacy of neglected spatial models and patterns and (more or less) forgotten female pioneers, architects and urban planners of the twentieth century – to researches on gender sensitive approaches to participatory, emotional and affective urban practices. It also includes a video-essay and works which delve deeply into the interaction between (built) spaces and sexist stereotypes, uncovering, at the same time, the role played by technologies, big data and mass media in promoting gender biases.

Nadja Monnet, after providing a historical review of the various stages of the process through which the separation between private and public spheres took shape, questions the pertinence of this dichotomy for understanding Western contemporary 'urbanness'. If the urbanization of modern Western cities intensified patriarchy and paternalism, contemporary metropolises have weakened the bond that ties one sex to the space of the residence, and the other to its exterior. Nevertheless, there is still much work to do. The author points out the importance of small initiatives that may carry major changes in the future: young people's (above all, girls') postures and 'corpographies' in urban spaces, and their use of information and communication technologies, should be considered as a ground-breaking contribution. It could forge new spaces for women's agency and participation, renegotiating the notions of public, private, and domestic.

Through the analysis of four significant case studies, which connect everyday life, care and design, Cristina Renzoni and Maria Chiara Tosi point out how women's point of view

has been able and can still address the discussion on the city, influencing, in a subtle but incisive way, urban transformations and urban planning practices. Being especially attentive to the minimum conditions of well-being of urban populations, women's approach to urban planning has proved to be pragmatic and, at the same time, sensitive to the routines of everyday life. Improving the conditions of those who take care of children, who bring them to school, who look after the elderly, who go shopping and use public transport to get to work, is a question of social justice, which clearly does not only benefit women.

In the paper presented by Ana Morcillo Pallares, Jane Jacobs' work serves as a pretext for making 'other' women's contributions to the urban history of New York City (since the middle of the twentieth century) more visible: the 'Battle of Central Park' or the 'Battle of Lincoln Square' are just a few examples that show how, even before Jacobs, anonymous women (as neighbours, mothers, citizens, activists) had already questioned the way cities were planned, taking action against aggressive and men-led urban policies known as 'urban renewal' and claiming for quality in urban spaces. Women were already public and political agents and actors before Jacobs, whose work only acted as a catalyst of a multitude of 'other' stories which, after Jacobs, could also count on the support and participation of artists, architects, professionals and other popular female figures. This combination of factors, helped to mobilize communities, getting the message out, and further contributed to women's emancipation and empowerment in urban policies.

Silvana Rubino highlights in her paper the role played by feminist civil engineer Carmen Portinho. Portinho played a key role in the development of a specific local approach to the scopes of modern architecture and urbanism, the latter being a discipline that had just come into being in Rio de Janeiro and of whose complexity and multidisciplinary nature she was perfectly aware. Through an accurate research work based on published, original and archival source materials, Silvana Rubino analyses Carmen Portinho's contribution to the social housing

plans promoted by the Department of Popular Housing at Rio (of which she was the director). By uncovering some limits of her approach, the author effectively discloses a pervasive problem of mayor concern which affects the Modern Movement in general: the fact that Portinho firmly believed that residents at Pedregulho needed to be taught how to use 'correctly' the spaces in which they lived demonstrates the narrowness of a design approach which prioritize formal (and abstract) solutions ignoring the real necessities and expectations of ordinary people.

Sabrina Studart Fontenele Costa highlights how, despite the idea of progress associated to the construction of modern skyscrapers and multifunctional clusters in São Paulo between 1930 and 1960, women's private life in these modern buildings contrasted little with that of the previous generation. This was due to the fact that the women who were privileged enough to live there had also the opportunity to hire housemaids who managed domestic chores, at a time when house appliances were not so affordable, and magazines continued to emphasize the central role of women in the organization of the family and domestic life. Although the transformations of their physical (urban and architectural) milieu allegedly contributed to improve access of women to higher education and the labour market, many of the promises made by modernists remained unfulfilled. Inhabiting a modern space did not necessarily mean to carry out innovative daily practices, which were still based on the exploitation of domestic workers – thus perpetuating gender biases and social inequalities.

Covering similar topics in her paper, Marcela Marques Abla sheds light on the work of four pioneering female architects (namely, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Elizabeth Denby, Carmen Portinho and Catherine Bauer). The in-depth analysis of their seminal contributions to architecture, collective housing and urban planning from a gender-based perspective includes the reformulation of the layout of the kitchen (and, hence, of the



domestic space at large), the renewed attention paid to the presence of intermediate spaces (as in the case of the balconies in Kensal House) or the collectivization of some facilities (such as laundry), to cite only a few examples of their commitment. This becomes a pretext to explore how modern architecture failed to meet the challenges of a changing world in favour of a rigid formalism and zoning strategies which ignored the actual needs of people, specifically penalizing women.

Elena Martínez-Millana in her essay explores the (spatial, architectural, social and economic) strategies adopted within the beguinages to provide a new reading of the complex genealogy of domesticity and the mutual relationship between housing and urban conditions in western cities. The women who dwelled in beguinages, by manipulating the traditional typology of courtyard houses, were able to turn this space into open-ended architectural complexes. They broke with gender-linked schemes and roles, as well as with the lifestyles and patterns based on the nuclear family structure, thus opening up new perspectives based on new ways of living together.

Martina Motta analyses the (ab)use of the representation of the female body in some postcards from the 1970s and 1980s, highlighting the mass media's sexist marketing strategies to stimulate tourism based on the manipulation of women's empowerment and free sex principles.

Blanca Pujals explores architecture as a speculative technology for the construction of future fictions of fear and desire, and for the systematization of ergonomic urban models for typological archetypes; through her video essay, she reflects on the production and reproduction of hegemonic narratives, which define invisible and visible borders on bodies, cities and territories.





Isabel Gutiérrez Sánchez focuses on the spaces of 'social reproduction' that emerged in Athens in the aftermaths of the crisis as viable alternatives to the collapse and dismantling of public welfare. The two case studies analysed in the paper (a social kitchen and a refugee accommodation centre) demonstrates how urban citizen-led, self-managed initiatives can produce and/or re-activate those aspects and conditions of 'urbanness' (sense of community, sense of belonging, citizen participation and engagement) that have been partially obliterated (by the crisis, by gentrification, by private interests and/or co-optation by a public authority). These commonised and collectivised activities re-emerge as political and expand the space of politics.

The lack of gender equality in the accessibility of sanitary infrastructure, which usually causes or exacerbates conditions of poverty and marginalization, is the main focus of the paper presented by Anshika Suri. Through an intersectional approach, the author explores the gender script of sanitation infrastructure and the coping mechanisms and strategies used by groups of women who live in two informal settlements in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi. They daily negotiate their fear, vulnerability and insecurity while accessing shared toilets at night. The findings of the work, based on data collected through qualitative semi-structured on-site interviews, demonstrates how much work remains to be done on these issues. The fact that public health and engineering policies are still far removed from the real needs, contingencies and spatio-temporal situatedness of these women prove that they should be involved in the decision-making and design processes not as add-ons but rather as key actors.



Anna Papadopoulou focuses on the role of gender as an instrument for reading and understanding the urban landscape, as well as an agent for the production and consumption of space. While exploring the mutual influence between architectural and urban spaces, and gender relations and social processes, in the city of Limassol (Cyprus), the

author uncovers more nuanced evidence of gendering within the city's public realm. This goes beyond the public/private divide or the mere contrast between (masculinized) coffee shops and (feminized) places of worship. As explained by the author, women employ subtle spatial and temporal means to state their presence in the city (for example, by altering the urban soundscape with their singing). This creates new spaces for negotiation and different gradients of privacy and intimacy that challenge the boundaries between private and public realms.



MORE tha cities

Zaida Muxi and Serafina Amoroso in the discussion panel

Florence, Santa Verdiana, School of Architecture, 2017.

Photo credits: Alba Sotelo





BODIES AND SPACES WITHIN A WESTERN URBAN CONTEXT: EXAMINING THE INFLUENCE OF THE SEPARATION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPHERES ON BODILY COMPORTMENT

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Abstract

Revisiting the main milestones of the slow and ineluctable separation between the private and public spheres in modern Western cities, I question the pertinence of these concepts for understanding Western 'urbanness' today. Without denying the difficulty that women face in moving through the metropolis, I will point out the initiatives that have been taken in the face of 'propriety'. To what extent have women's initiatives and small resistances/reticences been able to rework gender relations in large cities? I ask. From self-exclusion to the introduction of new positions in urban spaces, women's range of tactics is wider than theories of women's domination allow for. To what extent are young people's postures remoulding our urban environments?

Keywords

Male bodies, female bodies, public spaces, private spaces, urbanness

Reflecting on the public/private dichotomy

In the vast literature on public space(s) – which has proliferated exponentially since the end of the 1990s and sometimes reveals antagonistic positions – authors appear to agree that the notions of public and private are closely tied to the birth of the modern Western city¹. Historians such as Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby (1999), Michelle Perrot (2013) or even Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall (2002) have demonstrated the slow and ineluctable separation between private and public spheres in such cities. This separation began to take shape in the sixteenth century with the emergence of the notion of the individual, together

¹The reflections presented here are the result of ethnographic research carried out under the auspices of the multidisciplinary research project *Adoptions and Fosterages in Spain: Tracing Challenges, Opportunities and Problems in the Social and Family Lives of Children and Adolescents*, 2013-2015, directed by Diana Marre (AFIN - Childhood, Families - Research Group <http://grupsderecerca.uab.cat/afin>). They also owe a lot to my exchanges with my students and colleagues at the schools of architecture of Toulouse and Marseille, where I teach courses that reflect on the notions of public space(s). While I cannot name individually the people who have contributed to my thinking, I note here my heartfelt thanks to all.

with the appearance of the idea of privacy. Subtly and gradually (and more forcefully from the end of the eighteenth century), different places were designated for male and female bodies. Women were gradually confined to the domestic spheres while the exterior space of the home became the privileged space of men. Various feminist analyses (especially in geography, history, philosophy and anthropology) have emphasised that the female body has been taken over by the words of the other sex and that this situation generates in women the need to be attentive when travelling alone in urban public spaces, which are supposed to be spaces that are open and available to all. In them, many women feel a vulnerability that denotes power relations in society. In fact, as Manuel Delgado (2007, p. 225) points out, even today, the descriptor 'of the street' does not have the same effect when applied to a woman and a man. The phrase a 'woman of the street' does not summon the same imagery as 'a man of the street'. A public man is not equivalent to a public woman. The modifier does not have the same connotation when applied to men as when applied to women: it exalts men, propelling them to the rank of citizen, while it lowers women, reducing them to the category of prostitute. Additionally, Delgado continues: "The opposite of a public woman is a *private woman*. Not a woman who enjoys private life, but rather a woman who is the private property of a man and is accessible only to him" (2007, pp. 226-227; *translation mine*)²; she is, therefore, a woman whose movements in the city are carefully monitored and controlled. Among these studies, some authors even hold that European cities would be very different if gender relations (that is, the power relations that take hold between beings who are sexually differentiated, constructed as 'men' and 'women') had developed differently.

Begun in the seventeenth century, the remodelling of public spaces toward the patterns that we know today restructured the city architecturally and socially: streets were widened and freed of a multitude of objects and activities that had occupied them in the old regime in order to turn them into axes of circulation; parks were open to the public and squares took new shape and permitted large assemblies that brought together people from very diverse backgrounds. Within housing, changes began also taking place, particularly with the desire to delimit more precisely areas and their functions. Homes started to be subdivided, with parts reserved for shared activities and others for more intimate ones. The invention of corridors around 1750 allowed the passage from one room to another and almost simultaneously the distinction between rooms for adults and children appeared. Researchers interested in the history of housing also tell us that it was not

² "Lo contrario de una mujer pública es una *mujer privada*. No una mujer que disfruta de vida privada, sino una mujer que es propiedad privada de un hombre y accesible sólo para él" (Delgado, 2007, pp. 226-227).

until the nineteenth century that single beds appeared in urban dwellings. Prior to this, it was common for several people to share a bed. As for the individual child's room, this is a twentieth-century invention that is gradually becoming an ideal for all social classes, even if it is not always feasible for less well-off sections of the population. Spaces dedicated to children multiplied with the construction of schools (in response to the duty to educate young people) and parks that became new focal points of neighbourhoods. The movement of boys and girls in the streets became subject to increasing scrutiny. In this way, in line with the growth of these large modern cities, and in spite of the slogan of the French Revolution (liberty, fraternity, equality), bourgeois women and their children were gradually relegated to the family residence. If they wanted to go out, there had to be a valid reason that contributed to the well-being of the family (going to the market, doing laundry, taking children to school or the park, etc.). Neither women nor children could stay out in the streets; this was considered a sign of poor upbringing. Indeed Dominique Gauzin-Müller (2015) explains that the first children's areas were created at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century in the large European and North American cities with the aim of channelling the energy of the children of the popular classes. The idea was to use these spaces to teach them codes of good conduct, that is, the rules of urban civility. In the same way, Ann Marie F. Murnaghan (2016) shows how the constructions of playgrounds affected children's bodies in the early twentieth century in Toronto.

The dominant imagery that accompanied the foundation of the great metropolises seems to have represented the street as the place of danger. In these portraits, the context of 'dominant misogyny' is often emphasised, attributing to women not only muscular weakness but also an endemic mental vulnerability that would have prevented them from confronting urban peril. Reference is then made to the street as risky, full of hypocrisy and of unpredictable encounters, apt to pervert even the most morally upright. In this context, women and children could not move without the benevolent eye and muscular arm of a male (in the case of women) or an adult (in the case of children). From this viewpoint, women and children were considered to be frivolous and naive by 'nature', incapable of avoiding the traps and tricks of urban life. The street then appeared to represent a real danger for any woman or child, as made clear in manuals of good behaviour and polite etiquette from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These *savoir-vivre* books aimed to transform any woman into the perfect 'housewife', recommending to its readers not to expose themselves to the risk of losing their reputations, leaving the field open to men supposedly more capable of facing the threats of urban disorder. This model was hegemonic and was able to spread effectively both in the aristocracy and the popular classes, creating ever-clearer separations between the interior and

the exterior of homes, between private and shared spaces. And all of these terms qualified the public *versus* private dichotomy in ways that were not strictly equivalent, as Jean Remy (2001, p. 23) remind us when he writes that the polysemy of these two terms becomes obvious as soon as the descriptive use of the terms is exceeded, that is, when public spaces are no longer posed as mere synonyms of streets or squares potentially accessible to all. The public and the private have different realities depending on the period but also on national traditions, something that this author demonstrates clearly when he compares the French and English realities.

Looking from the other side of the mirror

Faced with this reclusion of women and children, some authors posit that urbanisation coincides with the intensification of patriarchy. From this point of view, a *flâneur* could only be a man, just like the other 'heroes' of the modern city (foreigner, emigrant) who shared with him the perspective and possibility of travelling alone, voluntary uprooting and arriving anonymously in a new space. Thus, as has been much roled, Georges Sand dressed as a man in order to stroll around in leisurely fashion. Public spaces in cities seemed to be a predominantly male domain. Accordingly, some women felt it necessary to adopt masculine postures and a masculine dress to have access to it, as indicated, for the French case, by an Ordonnance of 7 November 1800 (*16 brumaire, year IX*) which prohibited women from wearing trousers and obliged those who wished to 'dress as men' to present themselves to the Police Prefecture to obtain a *licence de travestissement* (a licence to cross-dress); this licence was the subject of debate because it was likely to harm women's mental health.

However, another reading of the urban life of this period allows us to nuance the idea that modern cities intensify patriarchy. Thus Elizabeth Wilson (1991, p. 56) does not consider the *flâneur* as a model of masculinity. Instead, she presents him as a figure of transgression, similar to the (female) dandy artists analysed by Gloria Durán Hernández-Mora (2009). As such, he is seen as a sexually undefined being, a passive spectator; exactly the opposite of the active participation, associated with the male attitude. His interest in dress and shopping could make the *flâneur* a troubling being of feminized masculinity, just as the (female or male) dandy breaks with the bourgeois ideology, which considers men and women as equals. The phenomenon of dandyism was created through the blurring of gender boundaries:

The dandies would pose, wandering through the streets in a showy fashion, performing all the while how they wanted to be seen, beings without a predetermined, rigid sexual identity,

no definite and fixed gender, no clearly established and legitimate social or productive function (Durán, 2009, pp. 689-690; *translation mine*)³.

Such readings might allow us to think that the birth of modern cities was to be liberating for women too. Yet, it is difficult to know about these women's experiences because very few traces have been recorded and for many decades discourse about urbanness has been dominated by male writers and thinkers. Writing in the mid-1980s, Janet Wolff (1985) stressed that modern sociology was not interested in women's experiences of urban life⁴. A decade later, Jacqueline Coutras (1996, p. 98) examined the work of authors who draw on the studies of Robert Park, Georg Simmel, Louis Wirth and Gabriel Tarde to analyse interactions in public spaces. She noted that they attributed grammatical masculinity to figures that did not have an identifiable gender (the foreigner, the nightwalker, the adventurer, the flaneur, etc. all have a masculine inflection in the original texts)⁵. Today, if the situation has improved somewhat, only a few studies interested in these topics distance themselves consciously from the biases I have just mentioned⁶.

For Elizabeth Wilson (1991), women in cities, both in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, actually enjoyed much greater freedom than we are led to believe because, in the heart of big cities, the hierarchies that exist in small cities or villages are attenuated. This process enables women to experience the rootlessness and freedom of movement that characterize the metropolis. According to this author, in the middle of the crowd, a woman would have been protected by the anonymity so well described by Colette Pétonnet (1987) as necessary and constitutive of urbanity; this anonymity would have permitted her to explore the urban context in her own way. But the question remains open: what were and are the specifically female ways of dealing with urban spaces? Janet Wolff (1985) claims that the vast literature on the fleeting and transitory nature of encounters considered to be characteristic of the metropolis does not apply to the majority of women's experiences. What, then, are their

³ "Los dandys han posado, rondado por las calles, simulado grandes maneras, y actuado de modo permanente para ser tomados por lo que quieren ser, cosas sin un sexo concreto, ni un género definido y fijo, ni una función social o productiva claramente establecida y legitimada" (Durán, 2009, pp. 689-690).

⁴ As far as I know, there is at least one valid exception that appears to confirm the rule: a series of texts by Georg Simmel written between 1908 and 1918 in which he analyses women's relationship with space and which are included in the second volume of texts translated into French under the title *Philosophie de la Modernité*.

⁵ Another exception to the rule is given to us by the great theorist of public relationships, Erving Goffman. In a little-known article from 1977, he shows that male and female roles are not consequences of biological differences but rather the result of social processes (see: Goffman E. 1977, *The Arrangement between the Sex*, «Theory and Society» 4/3, pp. 301-331).

⁶ Among the texts that analyse the socio-historical process of gender differentiation, that of Irene Théry (2007) particularly caught my attention. This author speaks of sex distinction (and not gender distinction) in order to distance herself from the theories that place the idea of domination at the centre of reflection. For her, this notion is not productive because it confuses power, authority and inequality which deserve to be approached separately for the understanding of the linking of the sexes in a given society at a particular moment (see: Théry I. 2007, *La distinction de sexe: une nouvelle approche de l'égalité*, Ed. Odile, Paris).

experiences? How are they lived? These are the questions that historians of the city need to answer, as do social researchers who carry out fieldwork in the new urban configurations within which our current lives are taking place. Catherine Nesci's (2007) work on nineteenth-century *flâneuses* is extremely rich from this point of view. Analysing the literary works of women writers, whom she does not hesitate to describe as urban ethnographers, she questions the conditions of inclusion and exclusion of women in public life in the Romantic era, showing how the woman-object created by the *flâneur* rebels was to become not a looked-at object but a subject doing the looking.

Changing places to negotiate their spot...

For many years, and, indeed, even today, women's self-exclusion from certain public places could be understood as a tactic to avoid exposing themselves to unpleasant situations. Or because their upbringing prohibited it. Or because, when women dare(d) to enter such spaces, the looks that they receive(d) from men make/made them feel unwelcome. As Erving Goffman (1977) clearly expressed, the polarization between the sexes is a social process that makes it possible to justify unequal treatment. When these inequalities become unacceptable, discourses about sex differences can become diluted. However, the sexualisation of space has not managed to completely undermine the virtues of urban space. The main advantage of modern urban life is that it gives city dwellers the freedom to choose how they want to be, liberating them from community pressures and the 'prison' of traditions.

Women have not waited to be included in the world of work in order to enter in public spaces. In fact, they never wholly stopped frequenting public spaces. Although it is undeniable that bourgeois ideology had significant repercussions for women's use of urban spaces during the nineteenth century and well into the second half of the twentieth century, women did not stay at home. As mentioned above, they visited city streets to carry out their household chores, even if their presence was not synonymous with visibility during these domestic errands. Bourgeois women and their employees in particular frequented public spaces to better serve the family, and female workers moved through the city in order to go to work. Their legitimacy in public spaces was circumscribed by the space assigned to the family: the residential space. Numerous women today do not appear to have been able to separate themselves from such tasks, and their urban trajectories continue to be heavily influenced by their roles as 'house' wife, a role fulfilled increasingly on a part-time basis, which they combine with paid work and other obligations of contemporary life. Women's itineraries seem to perpetuate themselves, remaining remarkably

similar: routes shaped by shopping, school, the park, etc. The entrances of schools and supermarkets continue to be spaces that are predominately frequented by women, from where women cognitively organize their mental maps of urban space. Thus, although women are less confined to interior spaces, their sexual identity still has an important role when they move in public spaces.

It would seem then that women's presence in public spaces undermines their right to enjoy the benefits of anonymity that preside in relationships among strangers in these places. Women do not appear to benefit from anonymity in the same way that men do. Paradoxically, in the street or in the square, the same woman that is 'invisibilised' as a social subject, suffers from 'hypervisibilisation' as an object of attention. Catcalls, invitations to a coffee or a walk, winks, and gallantries are some of these marks of excess attention.

Nonetheless, in today's public spaces it is possible to observe young women who act in ways that are very different from how their mothers or grandmothers act(ed)⁷. While Michel Fize (2010) does not dedicate a chapter of his book on contemporary adolescent girls to this topic, he allows us to glimpse these changes throughout his analysis. Small groups of girls - or girls and boys - sit on the arms or backs of park benches, or on the ground of the square, or on the floor in the metro. They lie down on the grass to embrace each other. And none of this makes them uncomfortable. In analysing the transformations of postures on public benches, Michèle Jolé (2002) stresses that, by acting in this way, young people are changing habitual postures. They perform new ways of taking a rest that are also an attitude, a form of posing in the city, exposing their bodies in public. It would seem that these new codes are undoing old taboos; or do these habits merely reveal the young age of these city dwellers? As they grow older, will they leave these postures behind and move on to apparent 'normalcy'? To what extent are new articulations of gender being negotiated in today's urban spaces and in what way do they force us to rethink our conception of these spaces?

Although I cannot answer these questions here, I would like nonetheless to raise the importance of paying attention to the agency of all individuals, that is their creative capacity to distance themselves from socially established rules. Rather than feeding the discourses that emphasise the submission of bodies to patriarchal laws, I think that it is more fruitful to observe and analyse what Fabiana Dutra and Paola Berenstein (2008) call 'corpographies'⁸ that

⁷ The urban planner Melissa Côté-Douyon (2015) clearly highlights this in her analysis of the attitudes of young girls in streets and squares in Hanoi. Her work is part of a broader study looking at the use of public spaces by young Hanoians. In it, image capture plays an important role in documenting changes in body attitudes (<http://www.hanoi-youthpublicspace.com/>).

⁸ These two authors, reflecting on the possible relationships between body and city, distinguish 'corpography' from cartography and choreography. While inspired by both these notions, corpography is neither a fusion of them, nor a bodily form of cartography or choreography that imposes itself on a space. The corpography analyses the movements

display the resistance of bodies to the hostility of places, in order to construct a city that responds to the necessities of pedestrians.

...and opening new paths

Spaces are born from power relations. Power relations establish norms, and the norms set both spatial and social limits⁹. However, spaces are also affected by use. I turn to Michel De Certeau's subsection 'Spatial Practices' of his chapter entitled 'Walking in the city' (2011, pp. 99-110). He writes that in daily life, men and women of the crowd come and go, circulate, overflow and drift off the course that has been imposed on them, but which they adopt and use according to their understanding. Urban walkers give life to a city: "nomadic or metaphorical, that insinuates itself into the clear text of the planned and legible city" (De Certeau, 2011, p. 97). They take advantage of accidents of the landscape, adapting to and altering their surroundings. They skirt the boulders of institutional networks, eroding and moving them without the official order noticing. Their tactics and combinations of power, without legible identity or rational transparency, are impossible to confront. Places of passage are 'spatial conformations'. The ability to move spatializes the framework of places, de Certeau explains.

Women's urban tactics allow female city dwellers to transgress the established uses of urban spaces and invent particular ways of appropriating and reinventing their spaces. As Thierry Paquot writes, "Every city is gendered, it's up to the people who live there to make sure it's shared!" (2015, p.129; *translation mine*)¹⁰. Paquot insists that, even if gender inequalities are inherent in cities, inhabitants have the agency to affect the established order and thus to foster the sharing of public spaces. The actions of taking one's place in, accessing, and using urban space bring about changes in relations between roles. Continuing to insist on young women's and girls' right to the city has an impact on the attitudes of men. It generates a negotiation of closed spaces and conflictive crossings through forms of resistance to and transgression of hegemonic practices. A woman can do this via tactics such as avoidance, but also by standing up with her body, with her presence, although this may mean facing fear in the daily use of urban space. Men and women then have to reinterpret and renegotiate new values that alter established gender relations.

Certainly, women do continue to benefit from the liberating effects of cities, although at the same time, they may experience economic and social exclusion. The contemporary

of city dwellers with respect to their urban surroundings, understanding them as united and inseparable.

⁹ Lise Nelson (1999) makes this point in her critique of Judith Butler's concept of performativity, where the emphasis is put on the potential of individuals to reinvent themselves, without taking into account that this takes place within networks of socio-spatial and temporal relations. My thanks to Claire Bullen for having brought this article to my attention.

¹⁰ "Toute ville est genrée, aux habitants de faire en sorte qu'elle soit partagée!" (Paquot, 2015, p. 129).

Western city has weakened the bond that ties one sex to the space of the residence and the other to its exterior (although not exclusively), but it has not severed it. Will the city of the twenty-first century make it possible to ‘desexualise’ the public/private distinction, that is, to separate the definition of the spheres from roles of the sexes? Will it continue to be pertinent to distinguish between public and private spheres in order to understand the urbanness of the future? Will the initiatives of young women be capable of modifying the “hypercorporisa[tion of] subaltern bodies, which are always feminised and racialised” (Valcuende del Río & Vasquez Andrade, 2016, p. 307; *translation mine*)¹¹?

Elizabeth Wilson suggests that the discourse about the hostility of the city towards women encourages paternalism. She argues that problems of coexistence in cities require a different focus that necessarily involves the broad recognition of freedom and autonomy for all classes and groups:

We need a radically new approach to the city. We will never solve the problems of living in cities until we welcome and maximise the freedom and autonomy they offer and make these available to all classes and groups. We must cease to perceive the city as a dangerous and disorderly zone from which women – and others – must be largely excluded for their protection (Wilson, 1991, p.9).

We need to pay attention to small initiatives that may carry major changes in the future. Among them, we should keep in mind the changes brought about by the use of information and communication technologies that radically modify our relationship to space and that are rearticulating the notions of public, private, and domestic. We can see this tendency in collective works such as the special issue of the French journal *Ethnologie Française* on adolescents, with contributions by Céline Metton (2010), Anne Jarrigeon and Joëlle Menrath (2010) which analyse the impact of the cell phone on adolescents’ socialization and which show that today’s young people are more connected than ever to the outside world, despite the parental tendency to lock them up at home. From their room, cell phone in hand, they blur the boundaries between inside and outside, between public and private life. Their relationship to spaces is not the same as that of their grandparents, in the same way that their relationship to the world is not the same as that of their parents. The research group ‘Urban Culture’ directed by Francisco Cruces (2016) documents the porosity that has emerged between the public and private spheres in and outside our homes. People encountered within this study were constantly moving along blurred boundaries that were shifting without cease. In what way will the agency of current generations connected by digital technologies change the links between us? Against the backdrop of controversial debates about young people and

¹¹ “hipercorporiza[ción de] los cuerpos subalternos, siempre feminizados y racializados” (Valcuende del Río & Vasquez Andrade, 2016, p. 307)

digital media, rather than seeing this generation as one that is lost and misplaced, I consider them rather as powerful mechanisms capable of changing our relationship with the world. This does not mean that previous generations have nothing to do or say, because, as neurosciences and environmental psychology explain, the context and qualities of relationships between beings have a significant impact on our brains and therefore our ways of understanding and conceiving the world (Cyrulnik, 1989). It is up to us (young and not so young) to reflect on the quality of the links that we wish to establish between us, because attachments are not imposed on us from the outside. We impose them implicitly or explicitly on ourselves on a daily basis through our words, gestures, actions, and reactions (Latour, 2000). Negotiations on gender differentiation thus involve our attitudes, our poses (or even our pauses) in public spaces which, in turn, have a significant impact on the configuration of our living spaces.

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DONNE, WELFARE E URBANISTICA. L'INFLUENZA DI UN APPROCCIO RIFORMISTA E ATTENTO ALLA QUOTIDIANITÀ SULLA PRATICA URBANISTICA



Fig. 3

Blocco del traffico a

Washington Square Park

Fonte: Flint

A. 2009,

Wrestling

with Moses.

How Jane

Jacobs Took

on New

York's Master

Builder and

Transformed

the American

City, Random

House, New

York, s.i.p.

Abstract

L'attenzione esercitata dalle donne nei confronti delle pratiche di vita quotidiana ha saputo modificare il discorso sulla città indirizzando le trasformazioni urbane e incidendo sulle condizioni di vita nelle nostre città.

L'ipotesi è che il punto di vista delle donne, attento alle condizioni minime di benessere delle popolazioni urbane, abbia saputo influenzare la pratica urbanistica attraverso un approccio riformista sottile, ma continuo e duraturo.

Il paper proverà a fornire qualche argomento a questo riguardo, descrivendo come l'attenzione delle donne abbia saputo rinnovare le parole con cui si parla della città tanto quanto le forme di intervento.

Con questo obiettivo verranno descritte quattro esperienze particolarmente significative, condotte in momenti ed in contesti tra di loro assai diversi in cui singole donne o collettivi si sono impegnate a fondo affinché venissero migliorate le pratiche di vita quotidiana: la prima si svolge a Stoccolma durante i primi decenni del Novecento e ad essere coinvolto è il gruppo 'Casa e lavoro'; la seconda si svolge ad Amsterdam e la protagonista è Jacoba Mulder; la terza protagonista è Jane Jacobs nel *Greenwich Village* a Manhattan; infine, la quarta si svolge in Italia negli anni del boom economico e coinvolge l'UDI (Unione Donne Italiane).

Keywords

Welfare, quotidianità, urbanistica, riformismo, donne, città

Donne e quotidianità

Di recente, riflettendo sulle conseguenze delle recenti manovre finanziarie approntate dal nostro paese sul sistema di welfare, Chiara Saraceno ha riconosciuto l'implicita tendenza a considerare quest'ultimo come una spesa improduttiva, mentre al contrario, l'articolato insieme di azioni che compongono il sistema di welfare dovrebbe essere immaginato e

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progettato come un investimento sociale in capitale umano e coesione sociale, principalmente per le sue profonde ricadute sulla vita pratica delle persone ed in particolare delle donne (Saraceno, 2011a). Per questa ragione, non investire in servizi per la prima infanzia significa, ad esempio, non solo non investire sulle capacità delle giovani generazioni, ma rendere la vita quotidiana delle madri assai difficile e più faticosa.

È da quest'ultima considerazione che vorremmo partire: le donne, per i compiti e i ruoli che vengono loro attribuiti e svolgono all'interno della società, hanno avuto e continuano ad avere la capacità di indirizzare l'attenzione verso le pratiche concrete di organizzazione della vita quotidiana, quell'insieme di azioni, tempi e spazi che solitamente releghiamo nel campo dell'ordinarietà, della banalità di una routine senza opzioni che, per questa ragione, tendono ad essere dimenticati e non compresi nell'agenda politica, economica e culturale del nostro paese (Saraceno, 2011b).

Per le donne, prestare attenzione ai tempi di funzionamento e all'organizzazione spaziale di pratiche assai semplici e abituarie come portare i bambini a scuola, accudire gli anziani, fare la spesa, recarsi agli uffici pubblici e utilizzare i mezzi pubblici per raggiungere il posto di lavoro significa far emergere la necessità di rendere compatibili l'attività di cura della famiglia con il proprio lavoro e la considerazione di se stesse, contribuendo a rendere manifesto il fatto che il sistema del welfare non dovrebbe solamente proteggere la parte di popolazione più debole dai rischi (di malattia, di perdita di lavoro, ecc.), quanto piuttosto sostenerne le capacità di partecipazione attiva.

Quando le donne si raccontano e descrivono la propria vita, le parole utilizzate il più delle volte hanno a che fare con l'esperienza e la quotidianità: le loro cronache riguardano ciò che fanno ogni giorno, come lo fanno e come potrebbero farlo meglio, con maggiore agio per tutte e tutti. Riflettendo sulle proprie esperienze fanno emergere i problemi legati al tempo e agli orari della città, all'incompatibilità tra lavoro e accesso ai servizi, alla necessità di conciliare lavoro e famiglia, cura, tempo per sé e tempo per altri. Consapevoli che nel gioco dei portatori d'interesse tali questioni facilmente possono diventare ragioni d'interesse generale, si sforzano di immaginare come rendere più ospitale la città per tutti mettendo in relazione esperienze, linguaggio e pratiche¹.

In alcune ricerche coordinate da studiose e dedicate ad osservare la società italiana dal punto di vista dei soggetti nel loro vivere di ogni giorno², si è messo in evidenza da un lato

¹ Su questo tema ha molto insistito Sandra Bonfiglioli in molte delle sue ricerche. Tra i suoi libri, si veda: Bonfiglioli S. e Mareggi M. (eds) 1997, *Il tempo e la città fra natura e storia. Atlante di progetti sui tempi della città*, «Urbanistica Quaderni» n. 12, Inu Edizioni, Roma.

² Tra le numerose ricerche su questo tema, segnaliamo: Balbo L. (ed.) 1994, *Friendly. Almanacco della società italiana*, Anabasi, Milano.

l'emergere di processi continui di mobilitazione e riorganizzazione anche individuale, finalizzati a garantire sicurezza, benessere, autonomia e un poco di piacere; dall'altro la volontà collettiva a vivere almeno un poco *friendly*, a trascorrere una vita dove differenza e disegualianza non siano polarizzate, così come conflitti e tensioni non siano estremizzati.

Prestare attenzione alle pratiche e agli spazi della vita quotidiana nei modi e nelle forme più volte sollecitati principalmente dalle donne, spinge allora a interrogarsi su quale tipo di vita le persone riescano concretamente a condurre³ nelle nostre città, perché sono anche i modi in cui la città è organizzata a mettere le persone nella condizione di scegliere, e non solo di soddisfare specifici bisogni, garantendo alcune minime capacità (Nussbaum, 2011), una qualche forma di benessere⁴. Una nuvola di domande potenzialmente capace di ri-articolare la riflessione e di orientare l'azione, anche quella urbanistica.

Attenzione di genere: alcune radici del fare urbanistica

L'attenzione delle donne nei confronti delle pratiche quotidiane, in particolare quelle legate alle attività educative e ricreative, ha saputo incidere efficacemente sui modi di progettare e organizzare i servizi e gli spazi collettivi. Quattro esperienze, condotte in momenti ed in contesti tra di loro assai diversi ci paiono particolarmente significative per mettere in evidenza la relazione tra quotidianità, cura e progetto (Di Biagi & Renzoni, 2014).

Uno

La prima si svolge a Stoccolma durante i primi decenni del Novecento.

Protagonista ne è l'associazione femminile 'Casa e lavoro' (*Hem och Yrke*), che si impegna a fondo affinché il comune realizzi una serie di spazi aperti, appositamente sorvegliati, dove i bambini e i ragazzi possano trascorrere alcune ore del giorno lontani dalla strada, ma anche dai genitori: sia il pomeriggio come doposcuola sia la mattina per i bambini in età prescolastica. La risposta del comune arriva immediata e nel 1937 vengono realizzati e resi disponibili all'uso i primi 9 *lekpark* (parchi giochi). Muovendo da questa richiesta si inizia a studiare un vasto programma che prevede un *lekpark* ogni 10.000 abitanti, quindi ogni 2.000 bambini-ragazzi. Nel 1950 ne erano già stati predisposti 58 e si arriva a 102 nel 1965. L'aspetto importante è la presenza di personale qualificato a sorveglianza dei parchi. A sovrintendere i *lekpark* è una donna, Stina Wretling-Larsson, che assieme a sei direttrici di sezione, ognuna

³ Allo studio delle condizioni concrete della giustizia, Amartya Sen ha dedicato una parte importante della sua ricerca. Si veda: Sen A. 2009, *The Idea of Justice*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass.

⁴ Antonella Picchio pone al centro delle sue riflessioni quale sia il benessere di cui dobbiamo occuparci e per chi. Si veda: Picchio A. (ed.) 2003, *Unpaid Work and the Economy: A Gender Analysis of the Standards of Living*, New York, Routledge.

responsabile di una zona con almeno dodici parchi gioco, organizza un gruppo di 260 giovani donne dai 20 anni in su, provenienti dalle scuole frobeliane per maestre d'asilo e dall'Istituto di Educazione Fisica, responsabili di mantenere un giusto equilibrio tra la vita all'aria aperta e il gioco organizzato, promuovendo e organizzando giochi e manifestazioni di gruppo (Fig. 1).

Lo sviluppo di queste attività viene studiato e descritto con grande attenzione in Italia da Antonio Cederna⁵. Considerando le frequentazioni che Cederna ha con chi negli stessi anni sta studiando e predisponendo il decreto sugli standard, in particolare Vittoria Calzolari e Mario Ghio, che rileggeranno attentamente l'esperienza svedese nel loro lavoro sullo spazio verde⁶, ci sembra plausibile sostenere che questa esperienza sia stata assunta come una sorta di manuale implicito da una parte importante dell'urbanistica italiana.

Due

La seconda esperienza si svolge ad Amsterdam e la protagonista è Jacoba Mulder.

Prima donna laureata in *Urban Design* alla *Technische Universiteit* di Delft, inizia a lavorare nel 1930 presso il Dipartimento per lo Sviluppo Urbano del Comune di Amsterdam dove rimane per i successivi trent'anni collaborando con Cornelis Van Eesteren redattore del Piano generale di Ampliamento di Amsterdam. È durante questi anni che il suo interesse per le pratiche sportive e ricreative svolte dai ragazzi la portano a impegnarsi nella progettazione del bosco di Amsterdam prima e nella fitta e diffusa rete di *playgrounds* successivamente. Frequentando gli spazi aperti del proprio quartiere riconosce che “*things are different for children from 10 and above. They need more space*” (Lefavre, 2007, p. 67). Da qui l'idea di fare spazio al primo *playground* che nel 1947 Aldo Van Eyck si rende disponibile a progettare proprio nel quartiere di Bertelmanplein dove vive la Mulder. A partire da quest'esperienza, centinaia di lettere, firmate principalmente da donne, arriveranno al Dipartimento dove lavora la Mulder chiedendo di replicare l'esperienza del *playground*, organizzando spazi dove i bambini possano giocare con la sabbia, correre con i pattini in sicurezza, perché “*children have more right to exist than cars*” (Shmitz, 2002, p. 62). La risposta sempre positiva porterà alla realizzazione di oltre 700 *playgrounds* in tutta la città (Lefavre, de Roode, 2002) (Fig. 2).

pagina a fronte

Fig. 1

Piscina in un Lekpark a Stoccolma

Fonte: Cederna A. 1965, Stoccolma: il verde pubblico e i parchi per il gioco dei ragazzi, «Urbanistica» n. 44, p. 75

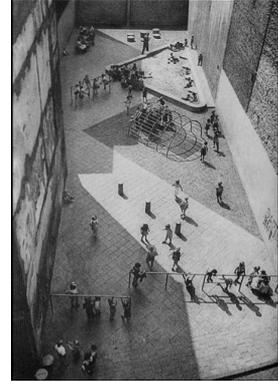
Fig. 2

Un playground a Amsterdam

Fonte: Lefavre L. & de Roode I. 2002, Aldo Van Eyck. *The playgrounds and the city*, NAI, Rotterdam, p. 78

⁵ Lo studio di Cederna è stato pubblicato in un articolo della rivista «Urbanistica» in anni in cui rappresentava il principale strumento di diffusione delle *good practices* europee, cui attingevano studiosi e professionisti (Cederna, 1965).

⁶ Il lavoro di Calzolari e Ghio costituisce una delle radici del decreto 1444 del 2 aprile 1968 relativo agli Standard urbanistici. Si veda: Calzolari V. & Ghio M. 1961, *Verde per la città*, De Luca, Roma.



Non è un caso che a rileggere la vicenda dei *playground* ad Amsterdam negli anni recenti sia stata Liane Lefavre, donna e architetto attenta alla vivibilità urbana, proponendo di pensare allo spazio per il gioco dei bambini come ad uno strumento di progetto per migliorare la qualità complessiva della città.

Tre

La terza protagonista di questo racconto è Jane Jacobs. Questa volta siamo a New York ed è l'inizio degli anni Cinquanta quando il progetto di *Urban renewal* per Washington Square Park al *Greenwich Village* fortemente osteggiato da Jane Jacobs viene definitivamente accantonato⁷. Elaborato e sostenuto da Robert Moses in continuità con le altre dirompenti trasformazioni già attuate a New York negli anni precedenti, il progetto di una nuova autostrada urbana attraverso Washington Square Park assieme alla demolizione di parte del vecchio tessuto insediativo di case basse e di negozi e botteghe, sostituiti da nuovi edifici alti per le classi medie, si scontra con l'opposizione degli abitanti. Tra questi Jane Jacobs si distingue per la tenacia con cui combatte e intralcia il progetto, adducendo motivazioni legate alla vivibilità degli spazi garantita dall'organizzazione del quartiere esistente, alla possibilità di portare i figli a giocare al parco, di passeggiare o recarsi al lavoro in bicicletta, di trovare nel tessuto di piccoli negozi, caffè e ristoranti non solo un servizio commerciale ma un importante tessuto sociale di vicinato. Oltre ai suoi interventi nelle assemblee cittadine schierata contro il progetto, va ricordato il blocco del traffico a Washington Square Park (Fig. 3) organizzato mobilitando i bambini residenti nel quartiere per rendere evidente che era principalmente

⁷ Lo scontro acceso tra un uomo potente e responsabile dei principali progetti di trasformazione di New York e una giovane giornalista è al centro del racconto di Anthony Flint: Flint A. 2009, *Wrestling with Moses. How Jane Jacobs Took on New York's Master Builder and Transformed the American City*, Random House, New York.

il loro' diritto alla città ad essere lesa. Questa ed altre esperienze porteranno la Jacobs a scrivere *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, un importante sforzo di indagine della città vista da vicino e attraverso gli eventi più comuni. Nei suoi testi la Jacobs dedica grande attenzione ai giardini, ai quartieri e al marciapiede, agli usi e alle pratiche da cui vengono coinvolti, ed è interessata a far notare come lungo un marciapiede sia possibile "fermarsi a bere una birra, chiedere consiglio al droghiere o darne uno al giorno; scambiare opinioni con gli altri clienti del panificio, fare un cenno di saluto a due ragazzi che se ne stanno sulla soglia di casa a bere una gazosa" (Jacobs, 1969, p. 51), perché ciò le consente di evidenziare come questi contatti, che per lo più appaiono assolutamente banali, nell'insieme non lo siano affatto. Sono le pratiche comuni, quelle divenute quasi invisibili ad attirare l'attenzione della Jacobs e ad essere ritenute i 'fatti concreti e tangibili' attraverso i quali è possibile comprendere come funzionano le città e immaginare come orientarne la loro trasformazione. Il suo lavoro, le numerose descrizioni minuziose delle più diverse pratiche urbane veicolano l'idea che occuparsi di città, delle grandi metropoli e non solo dei piccoli villaggi, richieda di avventurarsi nel mondo reale, raccogliendo ed utilizzando quanto prima il maggior numero possibile di informazioni utili e realistiche sulla città (Jacobs, 1969).

Ancora una volta ci troviamo in presenza di uno sguardo ravvicinato, attento alla quotidianità e capace di orientare l'azione, il progetto e le politiche di intervento sulla città.

pagina a fronte

Fig. 4

Città nemica / città amica

Fonte: S. A. 1960,

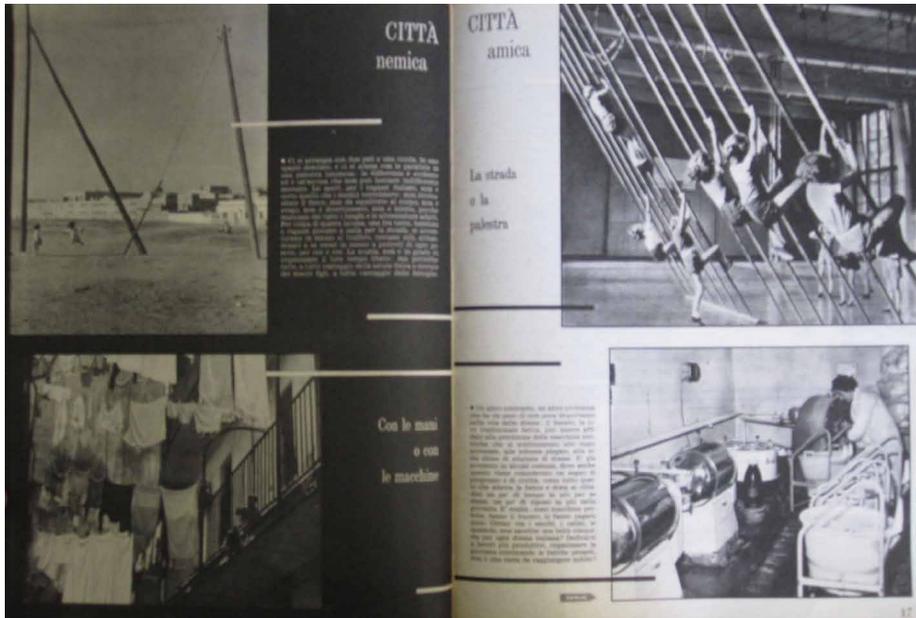
Impariamo a votare per una città amica.

Inchiesta a puntate, «Noi donne», XV, n. 43, 30 ottobre 1960, pp. 16-17.

Quattro

La quarta e ultima esperienza che raccontiamo si svolge in Italia negli anni del boom economico e ha per protagonista un'associazione femminile nata durante la resistenza al nazi-fascismo, l'UDI, Unione Donne Italiane, un organismo collaterale al partito comunista italiano da cui assume via via una progressiva autonomia. Nel secondo dopoguerra, l'UDI porta avanti alcune importanti battaglie per la rivendicazione dei diritti delle donne, che si incrociano in modi interessanti con la domanda di genere sulla città: una 'domanda competente', in cui servizi e attrezzature rappresentano una delle forme che assume il processo di emancipazione femminile attraverso la costruzione di una rete di dotazioni urbane che possano garantire alla donna, in primo luogo, il diritto al lavoro e alla famiglia (Renzoni 2014).

All'interno dell'UDI, le molteplici dimensioni della cura vengono articolate su una scala ampia che passa attraverso la formalizzazione di una domanda via via sempre più dettagliata di servizi sociali (lavanderie, stirerie, mense, asili nido, scuole d'infanzia, parchi pubblici, attrezzature sportive e ricreative, rete dei trasporti), che ibrida i ruoli consolidati



della sfera domestica e della sfera pubblica, inserendosi con forza ‘nelle maglie del welfare’. In un momento di forti contraddizioni e trasformazioni, in cui l’emancipazione femminile sembra passare al contempo anche attraverso la lavatrice, la scuola e il *playground*, l’UDI propone uno sguardo attento ed esplicito nei confronti della città (Fig. 4), relazionandosi con i temi caldi della politica di piano e ponendosi in modo problematico nei confronti dello spazio pubblico e dell’assetto urbano. Questione di genere e questione urbana entrano con forza nei dibattiti sugli assetti urbanistici delle città italiane attraverso il dibattito condotto in seno all’associazione sulla necessità di codificare ruoli e luoghi dei servizi sociali: un dibattito che contribuisce a definire la norma sugli standard urbanistici (1968) di qualche anno successiva in particolare in merito a scuole dell’infanzia e asili nido.

Non abbiamo sbagliato tutto

Il Documento di Economia e Finanza 2012 del nostro paese si apriva con questa immagine:

Proviamo a pensare che per una donna conciliare famiglia e lavoro non sia una corsa ad ostacoli, perché esiste un moderno congedo parentale, sono diffuse e accessibili strutture di asilo per i bambini o di cura per gli anziani e i negozi sono aperti in orari che consentono di gestire giornate secondo le proprie esigenze (Ministero economia, 2012).

Le azioni, i progetti e le politiche attraverso cui rendere praticabile tale immagine non possono esimersi dall'incorporare l'approccio alla lettura della vita quotidiana che le donne da tempo si sforzano di far emergere ed in particolare l'attenzione rivolta ai concreti spazi di vita, attraverso cui le donne hanno cercato di orientare anche la prassi urbanistica. Infatti, nonostante gli urbanisti siano stati sempre inclini a leggere la propria storia come un susseguirsi di crisi e di azioni inefficaci nei confronti della strutturazione e organizzazione della città, il portato dello sforzo collettivo nella progettazione dei servizi e attrezzature, che ha significativamente beneficiato del contributo delle donne, può invece essere letto come un apprezzabile traguardo di un approccio riformista che sovente ha contribuito a rendere la città più confortevole e meno faticosa per tutti.

Sperimentazioni parziali o più coordinate come quelle descritte in questo testo, hanno cercato con apprezzabile insistenza di influenzare la progettazione dei servizi e delle attrezzature urbane provando a farli aderire alle pratiche d'uso. Marisa Rodano, co-fondatrice e per alcuni anni presidente dell'UDI, ci ricorda che

noi non facevamo una battaglia per gli standard urbanistici come componente tecnica dell'urbanistica. Quello che chiedevamo era che negli standard urbanistici non fossero previsti solo verde pubblico, parcheggi, ecc.: chiedevamo che ci fossero anche le scuole e i servizi sociali. L'idea era di allargare il concetto di standard, quello era il motivo della nostra battaglia (Bottini, 2010, pp. 160-161).

In particolare, in Italia è proprio l'azione di UDI, ma anche di molte altre associazioni femminili fortemente radicate nelle società locali, ad avere sostenuto un riformismo 'minimalista' (Ginsborg, 1989, p. 380) e incrementale che attraverso la predisposizione di servizi e attrezzature collettive ha migliorato la quotidianità delle persone, consentendo al nostro paese di emanciparsi dalla miseria e dalla povertà. Si tratta del deposito di un considerevole patrimonio di aree, manufatti e funzioni pubbliche e pregiate che oltre a costituire uno dei fattori di identità della città del ventesimo secolo, può rappresentare oggi una possibile ripartenza per molte aree del nostro paese (Munarín *et al.*, 2011; Renzoni e Tosi, 2016).

E perché no? Perché non possiamo pensare che il patrimonio di aree e manufatti pubblici depositati nelle città come esito delle politiche di welfare e, in particolare in Italia, come risposta al decreto sugli standard, non possano costituire oggi il punto di partenza per l'avvio di progetti di riqualificazione delle nostre città e soprattutto delle periferie? Potremmo, ad esempio, investire in progetti che le rendano più accessibili e che consentano allo stesso tempo di innalzare la qualità ambientale dello spazio urbano e del territorio. Ovviamente dobbiamo agire con la consapevolezza che la società è mutata e le

pratiche d'uso degli spazi si sono profondamente trasformate rispetto all'epoca della loro realizzazione. Soprattutto ciò che si è trasformato è il contributo delle donne allo sviluppo del paese e in particolare alla vita pubblica della città, e la specifica attenzione che esse riservano alle pratiche quotidiane può a maggior ragione contribuire attivamente a rinnovare forme e strumenti di intervento.

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Fig. 1
Mothers
defending
the
playground
during the
Battle of
Central Park,
1956.
Source:
author's
elaboration
based on a
photo by Art
Whittaker
/ NY Daily
News
Archive via
Getty Images

Abstract

In New York City, the urban chessboard that took place during the last half of the twentieth century is simplified in the personification of the fight between Robert Moses, the commissioner of the Department of Parks and Recreation for more than forty years, and Jane Jacobs, the well-known urban journalist and activist. This paper highlights the unexplored and gender-sensitive role played by women citizens in New York, who had a great and visible position on urban events. Their participation in demonstrations and their continuous demand for an improvement of the investment, maintenance and defence of common spaces, made real a change in urban policies. Before *Death and Life in Great American Cities* was published in 1961, several women protests were already pioneers in requesting that the City Council intervene in the management and protection of public space. These events demonstrate that Jacobs was not the first defending a greater sensitivity to the citizens' demands, but she was the voice for the growing critical position. A position, especially from women, who had already actively demanded an improvement of the quality of urban spaces. They would be the ones who defended and continuously defend a greater awareness of making city against men-led urban policies known as 'urban renewal'.

Keywords

New York, Jane Jacobs, public space, urban renewal, policies, protest

Introduction

In 1961, a publication shook the principles of modern planning: *Death and Life in Great American Cities*, written by the journalist and urban critic Jane Jacobs. The influence of this book was widespread and launched ideas which openly questioned how cities were planned. Jacobs highlighted from a practical point of view the role of diversification and small-scale in the city:

American cities today, under the illusions that open land is an automatic good, that quantity is equivalent to quality, are instead frittering away money on parks, playgrounds and project land—oozes too large, too frequent, too perfunctory, too ill-located, and hence too dull or too inconvenient to be used (Jacobs, 1992, p. 89).

In her book, Jacobs listed essential elements for the revitalization of urban life such as: central location, flexibility of the use of spaces, adequate sunning, diverse building typologies and parks as enhancers of the urban scene and motors of activities for the citizens' demands. Jacobs' statement, from a contemporary perspective, is often studied as a novel approach of how the city was made. However, this paper demonstrates that Jacobs was not the first, but she was the response to the countercurrent institutionalized city planning which occurred in American cities since the end of the Second World War. A period in which women's role was key in understanding the evolution of the urban policies. In New York City, Jacobs' publication and the change of the urban policies by the new mayor John Lindsay are sometimes understood as cause and effect factors. However, they are not influenced by each other, but they are different responses to the socio-economic and political climate of upheaval that the city was living since 1945. For Lindsay, the previous administrations raised a unidirectional way of urban planning:

a city of high-rise public housing projects set back behind unpeopled, litter-strewn lawns, a city of public pools and redbrick play centers in the shadows of blue steel bridges—all of it connected by vast and teeming highways (Volner & Josephson, 2010).

The former mayor La Guardia together with his Park and Recreation commissioner, Robert Moses, launched large infrastructure projects that modernized the old freeways and bridges as a symbol of modernity, but as a counterpart divided and made entire neighbourhoods disappear. After La Guardia, different democrat mayors followed this urban formula that frustrated a population that didn't see their immediate needs being met. Lindsay new urban policies led for a change; however, this was not easy. Lindsay's term began with an important popular pressure carried out by demonstrations which requested the improvement of urban transportation and public education.

Citizen activism, mostly women-led and before Jacobs' book, was the real fact which led Lindsay to promise a different commitment towards the city planning. A new urban vision which could integrate a fair and dense population, activities, traffic and citizen participation. According with the press of that time:

His administration enforced tough new antipollution laws. It expanded, improved and opened the park system. It energized the housing program. Above all, it achieved pioneering break thoughts in urban design, strengthening and broadening the planning process and using zoning creatively to preserve and enrich the diverse physical characteristics of a unique metropolis" (*A Mayor of Vision*, 1973).

The history of the urban events in which women, neighbours, mothers, activists, artists, architects and popular female figures were protagonists, was key before and after the figure of Jane Jacobs and John Lindsay. The involvement of women and their active position, from their citizen condition to their professional perspective in different city events, did not go unnoticed and precipitated new decisions in urban policies in Lindsay's administration. The history of these women is parallel to the city one that owes its complexity and contradiction, today more than ever, to the progressive position and constant struggle of its female inhabitants.

Before Jacobs: woman as a neighbour, mother and activist

Decades before Jacobs' publication, the visible position of the woman as a neighbour, mother and activist had already a strong role and demonstrated that the conflation of women and intimacy/privacy was an erroneous assumption: women were already public and political agents and actors. Between 1940 and 1960 people lived in a congested and polluted city. Entire neighbourhoods were erased to make way for new improvements in infrastructure and their poor population was transplanted into large blocks of social housing while the rich population move to the suburbs, leaving the city behind. The formula 'tower in the park' was repeated all over the city. The population suffered the painful consequences of low-quality urbanism, where spaces in between housing towers had no design, lack urban life and were pockets of delinquency. Women's response to this model could be seen in demonstrations, where, from early stages, groups of women rejected abandoning their homes and being displaced to social housing outside the urban center. In an image from 1947, Chelsea female neighbours, along with their children, are seen in front of the inauguration of one of these social housing towers, carrying posters that read: 'We love our Chelsea, We Refuse Outsiders Coming and Kicking Us Out'.

Years after these demonstrations against the aggressive urban renewal policies in the city, the specific role of the woman as a mother and activist was widely disseminated in one 'only women' demonstrations that took place in defence of a common space in Central Park. The conflict began in 1956 when Robert Moses ordered the demolition of an old playground in the west area of the park. Moses planned its demolition to build a parking lot for a restaurant. Some of the mothers who frequented the playground were against the destruction of one of their children's few play areas in the city. As a group, they blocked the entrance with baby strollers and chairs, impeding the bulldozers from entering the playground (Fig. 1). Moses repeatedly attempted to demolish the playground, even by ordering it during the middle of the night. The mothers asked for the City Council to intervene and led what was called the 'Battle of Central Park'. Moses was brought to trial by the Citizen Union accusing him

of violating Central Park protection rules and he was judged because of his precipitation. The mothers won the battle, the project did not go forward and everything returned to normal. Years later, another wave of criticism for the poor state of conservation of the playground, led the mothers again to demand that the City Council provide a better maintenance and adaptation of the playground elements. However, the new parks Commissioner, Thomas P. F. Hoving, replied that: "They should ask for even more" (*Central Park Playground Puts Fun Over Asphalt*, 1967). The result was the construction of the first adventure playground by the architect Richard Dattner which is still in use today.

In 1956, the same year of the 'Battle of Central Park' and very nearby, another performance of the woman as a citizen and activist was portrayed by groups of anonymous women during what it was denominated the 'Battle of Lincoln Square'. The beginning of this event took place through a protest in front of the City Hall that defended the rights of seven thousand families who lived in an area of nineteen blocks and were affected by the master plan of Lincoln Center. This time, however, the battle was won by the administration. The only legal asset of the affected residents consisted in the report of the purchase of a catholic institution in the area with federal funds. The participation of these funds was unconstitutional as it violated the separation of interests between the church and the public administration. In addition to this, thousands of families could finish without their homes and more than twenty thousand people could potentially be homeless due to the lack of adequate financial support. The high population density of the neighbourhoods around Lincoln Square, particularly the ghetto of Puerto Rican immigrants named Juan Hill, with more than a thousand residents per block, led the administration to declare the area unhealthy. A tireless and diverse group of women of different race and age represented the will of those citizens who demonstrated for more than three years in Lincoln square, asking the administration to reconsider the Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project, shouting: 'Shelter before culture. No homes no culture'.

After Jacobs: woman as artist, architect and popular character

Despite the Lindsay administration's urban achievements in the park system, its reduction of the city pollution and its response to citizen demands, the precarious economic situation of New York did not improve during the years in which Lindsay was in power. After Jacobs, the projection of women in the public sphere was diversified and it helped to start eradicating the mistaken assumption that women are excluded from and / or continually in danger in the city's public areas. In this context, the post-Jacobs activist woman found new visible positions and professional roles, beyond those of mother-neighbour-activist.

From those new perspectives, they were able to expose an opposite opinion to the urban policies. In that moment, the voracious urban appetite of New York was summed up in the formula: 'bigger better', despite of the 1973 oil crisis which sparked serious economic problems and dragged the city to the edge of bankruptcy. In this situation, during the 1970s, the local administration faced an obsolete transport infrastructure and the problem of the loss of jobs. In this context, the role of women, from a professional standpoint, completely changed the perception of art and public space through a citizen platform which stood a position opposite to the contemporary urbanism and art: *Art on the Beach* (Pasternak, 2006). Artistic production in the 1970s and 1980s had a permanent character, the pieces were commissioned and during this process the public had no participation. *Art on the Beach* was directed by the artist Anne Pasternak and was located first informally and then more officially at the new landfill created from the excavations of the World Trade Center. This landfill was a privileged spot next to the river without a specific use defined by the new administration: therefore, the citizens made use of it. The space happened to be known as 'the beach' where multiple ephemeral, light and economic installations took place, and in which the participation of the citizen was an important part of the piece. This concept of the light, the economic, the ephemeral and the participatory reinforced ideas that people had been asking for a long time. Many of these interventions were subtle such as the performance of the artist Susan Rethorst and her dancers in an untitled work of 1982. In this work, Rethorst's dancers walked in silence, going down and up the sand dunes with the only image of the city behind the WTC in the background, to symbolically contrast capitalism and men-led ambitions with a novel approach focused on sensibility and sensuality.

Another piece of work, by the artist Agnes Denes *Wheatfields* (1983), was an installation of one-hectare field of wheat in the World Trade Center landfill. Denes and her assistants maintained the wheat field through an irrigation system and in summer they collected a harvest of 500 kilos of wheat. Although the intention of the work was to call attention to the waste of food, ecology and famine around the world, the work transformed the spatial experience in a profound way. The sea of wheat in the foreground, and the skyscrapers in the background, distanced the viewers from the congestion and noise and moved them into a strange and artificial landscape. The work invited a reconciliation with the open space, the physical and visual delight and contemplation. Denes defined it as: "a small paradise, one's childhood, a hot summer afternoon in the country, peace. Forgotten values, simple pleasures" (Denes, 1982). One of the first urban claims of a woman architect took place on the 'beach'. The author of the project *Sentinel* was Liz Diller, someone who would years later design important works in the public realm such as the High Line and the Lincoln Center restoration.

The architect created simultaneously an architectural and sculptural work, a theatrical event and a performance. Her intention was to establish a physical and symbolic dialogue with the towers of the World Trade Center. She explained that the piece was “intended as an audience participation piece that comments on our commodity-oriented society” (Gluck, 1983). A tiny cabin for the use of a single person, of clear constructivist influence, was conceived simultaneously as a building and a suit. For her, the work caricatured a unipersonal architectural monolith as a guardian of the power and wealth represented by the towers, exposing the fragility and sensitivity in contrast to an overflowing symbolic masculinity (Dimendberg, 2013).

In the 1970s and 1980s, the next wave of community activism came at a critical moment, responding to the planning of a skyscraper on the site of Grand Central Station and the Columbus Circle proposal south of Central Park. The strength of this activism was based on the role of women as an activating agent because of her condition of popular character. The urban platform, the Municipal Art Society of New York, had well-known representatives among whom, in both cases, the figure of Jacqueline Onassis. In 1975, in relation to the case of Grand Central Station, Ms. Onassis defended a position opposite to its demolition in a large press conference that she organized as a way to generate public empathy for the cause. In her speech, Ms. Onassis said:

If we don't care about our past we can't have very much hope for our future. We've all heard that it's too late, or that it has to happen, that it's inevitable. But I don't think that's true. Because I think if there is a great effort, even if it's the eleventh hour, then you can succeed and I know that's what we'll do (Onassis cited in Henry, 1975).

Her victory did not only result in the conservation of the station in New York, but it set a precedent for other landmarks stations like the ones in Philadelphia and Chicago.

A few years later, in 1987, the extremely tall skyscraper proposed for Columbus Circle, by Moshe Safdie architects, would again see Onassis as head of the committee who rejected the proposal. The tower would have condemned certain areas of Central Park to remain in shadow all day. Mrs. Onassis declared: “One would hope that the city would act as protector of sun and light and clean air and space and parkland. Those elements are essential to combat the stress of urban life” (Onassis cited in John, 1983). In both cases, citizen participation and the words of Ms. Onassis were phenomenally effective. Her intervention was not directed against the developers and the proposals themselves, but against the lack of protection by the local administration of two of the treasures of the city: Grand Central Terminal, as a built landmark, and Central Park, as a landscape landmark.

Conclusions: the contemporary woman

Currently, the study of women's direct and indirect participation in urban events in New York City is still an exciting topic of research. Their presence is, fortunately or unfortunately, noticed and received in a different way in relation to that of their male counterparts. In one of the last chapters of this story, women have demonstrated a new facet: an overwhelming spontaneity and humour. This new posture is opposite to the new, a priori benevolent, works which attract the foreign public and reject the local one, such as the celebrated transformation of the High Line and the recent pedestrianization of Times Square.

In the specific case of the High Line, its conservation has generated the paradoxical and progressive elimination of the existing fabric of a complete neighbourhood. Local intergenerational businesses that did not enter into the future vision of progress by former Mayor Bloomberg (Moss, 2012) have been replaced by luxurious commercial chains and new skyscrapers that serve new residents and tourists. Some neighbours, fed up with this situation, started spontaneous acts such as Patty Heffley. In 2009, Heffley, a neighbour from the Meat Pack District, protested in a very original way before the claustrophobic situation between her windows and the High Line. Heffley confessed to the press that: "One night I was alone in my room and I sneezed and someone said, 'Bless you'" (Heffley cited in Shulman, 2009). After this event, from her home fire escape, she improvised a stage for the audience that passed by her window. "This is in response to 31 years of privacy ripped away by the opening of the High Line. We're not here to celebrate, we're here to exploit. Welcome to the Renegade Cabaret" (Shulman, 2009). This action opposed to the High Line advances an interesting scenario in which the new Mayor has not taken a position yet. Since his first investiture, De Blasio hadn't visited the High Line, since his electoral program was against Mayor Bloomberg's "almost colonial dynamic in the city" (Grynbaum, 2014). In 2017, four years later and in the middle of his second electoral campaign, De Blasio came part of the more than seven millions of people who visited it during the year. During the visit, the mayoral candidate didn't answer any of the journalists' questions.

In contrast, de Blasio's attitude is very different in the case of Times Square. His position considered removing the plazas from Times Square area in order to address the proliferation of street performers, most notably topless women wearing body paint who panhandle tourists for tips. The body-painted topless women, who call themselves *desnudas*, are just one group who are accused of polluting the public space by 'aggressive panhandling'. The solution until now has been resolved by demarcating what is called 'Designated Activity Zone', 10' x 50' painted boxes where the topless ladies, as well as costumed characters, are now confined to solicit tips (Fig. 2). But can city officials ban topless women from Times Square? While, on

one hand, this new situation restricts and limits their interaction in a common space, on the other hand, it demonstrates that, in a true public space, you might be offended by something or somebody, or by some behaviour that is not familiar. These acts are the principle of what makes a space public, championing a freedom of expression and the joys of human interaction.

In conclusion, the urban history of New York City since the middle of the twentieth century, cannot be understood without these direct and indirect women's interventions which modified and still are modifying urban policies. The multifaceted position of women, before and after Jacobs, claims women's place as neighbours, mothers, citizens, activists, artists, architects, popular figures and even exhibitionists, who enrich and demand a quality common space. While Jacobs is not the true heroine of this story, she is the catalyst of a multitude of other stories which, prior to Jacobs, had already had (an often anonymous) female authorship: women's participation in different events had already made clear that women prioritize public realm over intimate relationships, being even able to face the not always transparent decisions of politicians and outsiders.

After Jacobs, the projection of women in the public domain, which, as previously remarked, already existed, was diversified, professionalized and intensified by eradicating mistaken assumptions (about women in the city), according to which women are excluded from and / or continually in danger in the city's public areas. Women's agency and empowerment in the city, which, after Jacobs, achieved a greater diffusion and received a greater empathy from the general public, took action from a point of view which was completely opposite to that expressed by Robert Moses, who, seventy years ago, during a conversation with Thomas Hoving, warned that "The local people cannot be clients; they are too dumb" (Moses cited in Hoving, 2009).

opposite page
Fig. 2
Desnuda in her
'Designated
Activity Zone'
waiting for
tourists to
interact with,
2016

Source: author's
elaboration
based on a photo
by Scott Heins /
via Gothamist



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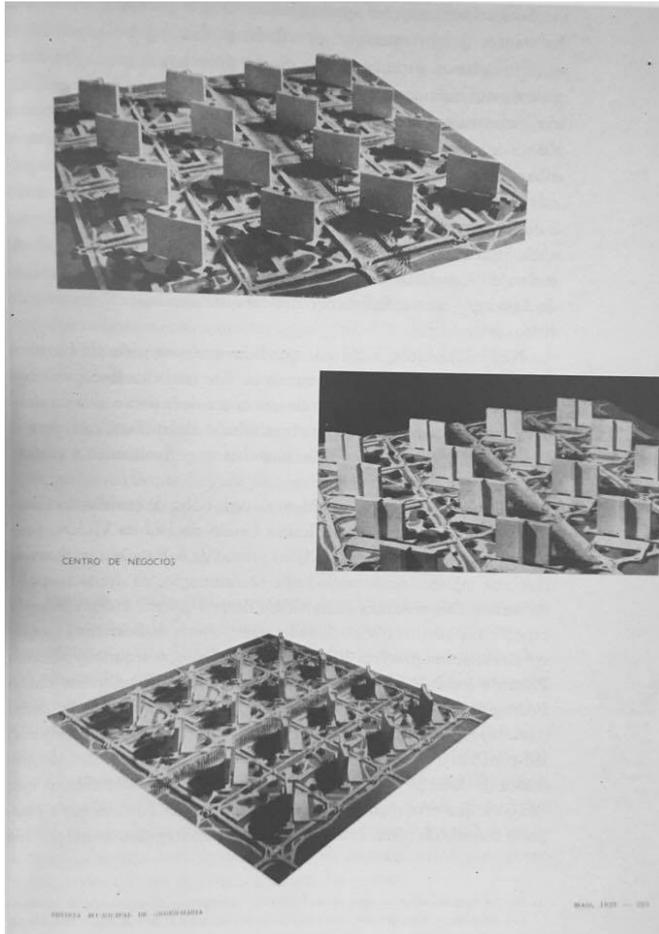


Fig. 1

Business Center of Carmen Portinho's draft for the capital city

Source: Portinho C. 1939, Ante-projeto para a futura capital do Brasil no Planalto Central, «Revista de Diretoria e Engenharia», vol. 6, no. 3, p. 294.

CARMEN PORTINHO: FEMINISM, URBANISM AND SOCIAL HOUSING FOR A MODERN LIFE

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Abstract

Carmen Portinho (1903-2001) studied at the polytechnic school, becoming the third female civil engineer of Brazil in 1926. Besides, as a feminist, her performance was key to the achievement of women's suffrage in 1934. Carmen became the first urbanist in Brazil in 1939 and, in her dissertation, presented a plan for a new town, a capital for Brazil. The plan was inspired both by the work of Le Corbusier and the zoning debate. In 1944, she received a fellowship to go to the United Kingdom to study social housing and observe the effort of reconstruction. When she returned to Rio de Janeiro, she was appointed Director of the Social Housing Agency and proposed a big scale complex social housing, designating her partner Affonso Eduardo Reidy as the main architect. The aim of this text is to analyse her proposals on social housing and her notion of a modern domesticity as applied to the project for a capital city and the Pedregulho housing complex (this latter designed by Reidy under her supervision). The sources for this research are press materials, some published interviews with Carmen Portinho, and documentation from her archive. The biographical approach is enhanced with a debate about partnership, Reidy and Portinho, the architect and the feminist engineer.

Keywords

Social housing, feminism, Carmen Portinho, Modern Architecture, Affonso Reidy, gender

Feminist, engineer and urbanist

The third female engineer to graduate at the Polytechnic School of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil in 1926, who received a highlight from the newspaper *A Noite*, which noticed the communicative charm of the young lady who read the oaths of the fresh graduates: this was how Carmen Portinho was honoured. Soon after graduating, she began her career as a technician in the Federal District, where she supervised the public patrimony, monitoring the demolition

of “old blocks that prevented the urban expansion of Rio de Janeiro” (Portinho, 1999, p. 35; *translation mine*) and managing six hundred workers. After her promotion to the post of engineer, she built a career and a reflection about overlapping themes, from construction techniques to feminism, from urban planning to the details of domestic equipment, participating in important projects such as the housing complex Mendes de Morais (known as Pedregulho), the Museum of Modern Art of Rio de Janeiro and the Superior School of Industrial Design.

As the eldest daughter of an urban sanitation superintendent in Rio de Janeiro, where her family moved when she was a child, Carmen, who spoke Spanish at home with her Bolivian mother and the nannies who raised her, studied at the *Sacre Coeur* of the federal capital, becoming very soon fluent in three languages. According to her records, a student with a major in the preparatory exams could enrol in the School of Fine Arts, which she attended for two years (and where she met Lucio Costa and Candido Portinari, thus approaching central figures of what we now call the ‘Capanema constellation’). Even though, she wanted to be an engineer, just because she was thinking about the possibilities of getting a good job: a comprehensible urgency, since, after her father’s, as the first-born of nine siblings, she had to assume the position of family provider.

In 1932, the mayor of the Federal District began to edit a technical magazine, the *Journal of the Engineering Department* (*translation mine*), with Carmen as secretary. The magazine was a space for technical articles related to construction, but also for debates about the Federal Capital. Because of her presence, the journal played the role of spreading the modern architecture which was carried out in Europe and the United States at that time. In the first issue, Carmen presented an absolutely laudatory text about the contemporary architecture in Holland – modern architecture in a traditionalist country – and celebrated the fact that the national brick was beginning to be discarded, opening the way for the use of reinforced concrete. In the same issue, in an article about the influence of climate in the construction of prisons, she changed the focus, bringing the constructive challenges to Brazil, whose tropical climate raised insolation and ventilation issues: “we cannot expect our problems to be solved abroad” (Portinho, 1932, p. 14; *translation mine*).

There were several problems to be solved in Brazil by a professional that still did not exist formally: the urbanist. In the 1934 issue of the above-mentioned magazine, Portinho began to draft her concern about such a gap, outlining her future interest. In the article *The scientific criterion of urbanism* (*translation mine*), she sought to delineate the contours of this new science, which was questioned by many when it came to its scientific status, pointing out the need for a consortium of diverse fields of knowledge:

The urbanist who wishes to devote consciously to the study of his/her project cannot dispense with the required general knowledge of sociology and psychology, or the detailed investigation into the history and geography of the city whose plan of organization and extension has been entrusted to him/her, unless he/she wishes to criminally interrupt the continuity which must exist between the past life and the future development of the town in question (Portinho, 1934a, p. 15; *translation mine*).

And further on, she added:

The living habits of the population, the traditions of the city, are points that need to be known by its remodeler. (...) An urbanist may have universal fame and be an expert in his/her profession; however, if he/she is requested to urbanize a Latin city, for example, and if he/she belongs to the Germanic or Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups, there will be no doubt that, for the execution of his/her work, the urbanist will be disadvantaged, facing difficulties that a native local technician would not have (Portinho, 1934a, p.16; *translation mine*).

Only from this 'listening' skills towards the city, its way of life, could the urbanist, this practitioner of this new science, proceed to his/her plan, to his/her pilot project. The remodelled city should not lose the 'local colour', one of its greatest attractions. From the explanation of the scope of this new science, she began to claim for training in urbanism in Rio de Janeiro, which was delayed if compared to São Paulo, where, according to her, thanks to the competence of Luiz de Anhaia Melo¹, who taught the subject in the engineering course, the debate was more advanced. On the one hand, her articles showed a bibliographical update, with references to CIAMs, CIRPAC, GATEPAC, MARS² and other associations of less known architects and urbanists. On the other hand, in the same article, she ended by citing a thought of the 'pope' of the garden cities, Raymond Unwin, to whom, according to Carmen, urbanism is the science of establishing relations between things.

From the issue 19 of the magazine (published in 1935) onward, Carmen became its editor-in-chief and published *Reasons for the new architecture (translation mine)*, written by Lúcio Costa for the program of architecture and urbanism that was then created at the Institute of Arts of the University of the Federal District (UDF). The following issue also featured Le Corbusier's curious article in French *Le préfet Passos, in which the Franco-Swiss architect called for a new mayor like Pereira Passos*³, so that Rio de Janeiro might once again shine. In

¹ Luiz Inácio de Anhaia Melo (1891-1974) was an engineer, professor of São Paulo Polytechnic School and mayor of São Paulo (1930-31).

² The CIRPAC (*Comité International pour La Résolution des Problèmes de l'Architecture Contemporaine*) was the executive body of the CIAMs (*Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne*); el GATEPAC (*Grupo de Artistas y Técnicos Españoles para el Progreso de la Arquitectura Contemporánea*), founded in Spain in 1930, was the Spanish branch of CIAM's activities. The *Modern Architectural Research Group* (MARS) was created in United Kingdom in 1933.

³ Francisco Franco Pereira Passos (1836-1913) was the mayor of Rio de Janeiro between 1902 and 1906, when he

short, the claim was for urban planning, interventions, urban redevelopment; Carmen, as editor, gave voice to such tendencies, which today are controversial issues, but perhaps in that period, and from the point of view of that group, were not.

At that moment, a certain terminological confusion about what urbanism meant was visible, as Carmen's text showed. She stated that Donat Alfred Agache (1875-1934) was the author of the term, coined with the formation of the French Society of Urbanism in 1912. Moreover, in the 1930's, one of Gilberto Freyre's themes in his course of sociology at the University of the Federal District (UDF) was urbanism, not urban sociology, because he wanted to discuss the spatial changes that had occurred in Recife, which he criticized. One well-known Chicago School text was *Urbanism as a Way of Life by the sociologist Louis Wirth*. In short, the term urbanism and its possible uses, even the acknowledged ones, were not a consensus.

If the engineer Carmen was looking for a possibility to put into practice the modern architecture and urbanism that she recommended, the opportunity came when she completed her specialization in Urbanism at the University of the Federal District (Universidade do Distrito Federal), an institution of higher education established on the initiative of Anísio Teixeira, destined to a very short life between 1935 and 1939. There, the third experience of institutionalization of a higher level of Social Sciences took place; there, Lucio Costa taught in 1935; there, Gilberto Freyre had his only opportunity to participate, with some stability, in Brazilian higher education. The course of Urbanism was created in 1936, a postgraduate degree that functioned for three years in the Institute of Arts, whose professors were Mário de Andrade, Candido Portinari and Heitor Vila-Lobos⁴, among others.

A city for the modern life

The plane is explaining Brazil. Its development will cement and humanize the unity of this vast land. Brazilian people understand their destiny (Roberto & Roberto, 1938, p. 416; *translation mine*).

When she graduated in Urbanism - the first urbanist in Brazil - she was already known for her feminist activity. As a close friend to the scientist Bertha Lutz, whose brother Gualter Aphonso she married, Carmen participated in the board of the Brazilian Federation for the female progress that, among other accomplishments, promoted the 1st Feminine Salon of Fine Arts in 1931. Carmen and Berta flew over Rio de Janeiro releasing pamphlets

conducted a huge urban redevelopment clearly inspired by the works of Baron Haussmann in Paris.

⁴ They were all modernist artists and intellectuals who worked for the Ministry Gustavo Capanema between 1930 and 1945, during the authoritarian government of Getulio Vargas.

that demanded the female vote. As a well-known feminist, she represented Brazil at international congresses in Uruguay and France.

In 1930, she collaborated with Italian urbanist Giacomo Palumbo for a remodelling plan for Natal, praised by Anhaia Melo. Carmen wrote to this urbanist, who had been mayor of São Paulo, requesting a research topic. In the first part of his reply, Anhaia praised an article by Carmen, and added: "There is no better science than Urbanism to adapt to the feminine spirit, it makes the heart work rather than intelligence, it is a science that can be felt rather than thought, don't you think? Although the female brain is not inferior to the male brain, the heart is much wealthier" (Anhaia Melo, 1929; *translation mine*). By accepting a woman claiming a post in a field under construction in Brazil, he suggested that she should dedicate to the concept and application of zoning: "I am becoming ever more convinced that Zoning is the basis of urbanism. It is such an interesting issue as technique, legislation, economy. And we almost do not know it, and therefore, we have been ruining our cities. Don't you think that it could be a beautiful subject for a thesis? Will Prof. Agache include 'zoning' in his project?" (Ibid.; *translation mine*)⁵. Carmen, however, ended up by choosing another theme for her thesis, the project for a capital city, an *ex-nihilo* city on the very midpoint of the vast country - which did not fail to contemplate some zoning principle, albeit under another perspective. If the idea of a city for three million inhabitants proposed by Le Corbusier in 1921 was that of a modern plan to be installed anywhere, which was better developed later in *La ville radieuse*, Carmen was the first urbanist to experiment with this novelty in Brazil, also pioneering the issue of a completely new city. If urbanism in Brazil was so far restricted to the so-called improvement plans, a variation of the regularized urbanism, such as Agache did for Rio de Janeiro, Carmen's proposal of a new city meant a new posture: the city was supposed to be a large park where it would be possible to live in, and it was certainly the most linked to the CIAMs of all future proposals for Brasilia, if we compare it to those that almost twenty years later would have been submitted to the contest for the new capital.

Le Corbusier's trip to Brazil in 1929 is well known. If Lucio Costa, still attached to the *neocolonial* movement, did not pay much attention to his lectures at the National School of Music, Carmen Portinho was there attending them all, and the articles published in the magazine *PDF* gradually attested to her affiliation to the French master. In her proposal for the capital, references to Le Corbusier are explicit, offering the reader a Corbusean city for the new times.

⁵ Please note that Agache was working on some projects of urban redevelopment in Rio de Janeiro.

The bibliographical research carried out by Carmen on the selection of the project site lasted a year, and was based on the studies dated 1892, the well-known Cruls Report, conceived by a team coordinated by the director of the National Observatory, Luis Cruls, that demarcated 14,400 km² to choose the exact location for the future capital. As postulant to urbanism, Carmen justified the selection of the site by referring to the constitutional article that mentioned an area for a future capital of Brazil and the above-mentioned report, choosing *Planalto Central*, the most central plateau of the Brazilian territory, a region comprised between the Gama and Torto rivers, emphasizing the quality of the existence of two seasons - drought and rain - and the easiness to create parks and gardens with the local flora, since the intention was to build:

(...) the most picturesque and pleasant built city of the world, as we have foreseen it, in the midst of the serene and majestic calm of the Torto River valley, among lush and rich vegetation, crossed by rivers of pure waters, and having panoramic hills surrounding it within a radius of 30 km (Portinho, 1939, p. 286; *translation mine*)

She presented an interpretative reading of Brazilian territorial occupation, its possibilities and difficulties:

This immense region cannot be eternally abandoned. Locating the Federal Capital there, our most important highways, air routes and railroads, linking it to the coast and the capitals of the States, would certainly converge towards it, thus assuring the development and the progress of the Nation. The distance factor cannot be used against the idea of moving the Capital of the Republic to the Central Plateau, since, according to L. Cruls, president of the commission, the 'vol d'oiseau' between the city of Rio de Janeiro and the demarcated area is about 970 km (Portinho, 1939, p. 286; *translation mine*).

According to Carmen, the route could be covered in twenty hours on a slow train, with an average speed of 60 km/hour.

Carmen devoted the second part of her study - the project itself - to explain what the capital of a new country of great possibilities would be, 'in the machine age'. In this project report, Carmen took a decidedly Corbusean orientation, that is, that of a city like the *Ville Radieuse*, designed on a huge park and in which the dwelling is the primordial element. A city to be seen from above, whose efficiency would not be backed by uses and by walking, but rather by the mechanical bird's eye:

In the execution of the project of the future Brazilian Capital, we seek to obey the fundamental principles of modern urbanism. If we make a mistake, the airplane will be there to point out our mistakes. It will show us the city with its faults; before it, we could only feel them, but could not see them (Portinho, 1939, p. 287; *translation mine*).

The new city would not be addressed to pedestrians, since the bird's eye view cannot match their bodily experiences (as Michel de Certeau warned us, remembering us that the common dwellers of the city live 'down there' and walk with their bodies accompanying a text that they cannot read, practicing spaces that cannot be seen but rather experienced and lived). Located on the banks of the River Terto, where it would be possible to raise this beautiful and picturesque wooded city, the project foresaw a population of 2 million inhabitants, functions separated in space, motorways, a train linking the new Capital to the old, and a Brazil that invested heavily in air transportation. As in the 'City of three million inhabitants' that Le Corbusier presented in Paris in 1921, the city center, a large terrace, would be devoted to the landing of small airplanes, while the airport would be located a little away from the center. A business cluster (Fig. 1) would have air-conditioned skyscrapers, blocks of 150 meters high – that is, forty floors – and in each block more than 18 thousand people could work, in order to promote a density of 1000 inhabitants per hectare. The buildings would be 400 m apart. A civic center foresaw that, besides Chamber, Senate, Ministries etc., all amidst gardens, cafes and delicatessen, a Palace for the People would be built, destined for demonstrations, and a Museum of Brazilian Knowledge. In short, it was conceived as a green city, in which sports would be next door, like the 'prolongations of dwelling' foreseen by the Charter of Athens: "The model chosen for the city indicates that it was designed to be an immense park, where housing represents the primordial element" (Portinho, 1939, p. 289; *translation mine*). The same starting point, which generated so much criticism to Brasilia, was that "the 'street', in the common sense of the word (path lined with houses) was suppressed" (Ibid.; *translation mine*). The detailed description of the project for the new Capital, with its schemes for the circulation of motor vehicles, and its comparison with the problems faced by New Yorkers, will not be made in this paper, since its main focus is to examine the proposed modernization for the housing issue, which, according to Carmen, is the primordial element of the city project. Through this topic, she entered the debate about domesticity, absent in the writings of Le Corbusier but not in the panorama of modern architecture and its emphasis, in the first years, on themes related to housing, especially in the second meeting of CIAM. In her ideas about housing, we could find the vision of modern life proposed by Carmen Portinho, which is never restricted only to the practical functions of domestic life. Quoting her project:

Above the 'pilotis', one floor was reserved exclusively for the common services. The organization of these services will be the only way to prevent the housewife from experiencing unproductive fatigue and fruitless time loss. On this floor, a large domestic service plant will be located. Corporate organizations will assume the responsibility for these services. Foodstuffs, meat, vegetables, fruits, etc., coming directly from the markets (groceries), located in the industrial zone,

will be collected from the refrigerators, built on the floors for the common services. Well-equipped kitchens will provide meals at any time. The cleaning of the apartments will also be done by professionals, as well as the washing of clothes and all the other services necessary to the home. A maid who would take care of the children, and do other small services, will be enough for every dwelling. The problem of domestic servants, so difficult to deal with, can be resolved in this way (Portinho, 1939, p. 292; *translation mine*).

Where would this ‘maid’ live? This is not clear in the project. The city of the feminist engineer did not anticipate a periphery, did not indicate a suppression of social differences, nor did it differentiate between ‘noble’ and lower-class neighbourhoods. The theme, however, was part of the discussion of the 1929 CIAM meeting, the same that presented to architects the Frankfurt kitchen of the Austrian architect Grete Schütte-Lihotzky; and it was Walter Gropius who gave a speech addressing the problem of the employees:

La constatation de l'infériorité du travail ménager individuel a fait naître la conception de vastes entreprises ménagères que déchargeant chaque femme d'une partie de ses obligations ménagères. Ceci se fait grâce à une organisation centrale qui travaille mieux et plus économiquement que ne pourrait le faire une ménagère, même si elle consacrait tous ses moyens. La difficulté toujours grandissante de trouver des domestiques favorise celle conception (Gropius, 1929, p. 28/201).

In the capital city designed by Carmen Portinho, sandy beaches would be projected on the horizontal ceilings of its buildings for sunbathing and sports, making roofs more attractive. A Civic Center, close to the Business Cluster, although separated from it by a green zone, should include a Museum of Brazilian Knowledge, a ‘synthetic expression of Brazilian life’, a precious propaganda instrument of the country.

Le Corbusier, when presenting his city for three million inhabitants (when the garden cities, Soviet agro-villages, and other plans of the early twentieth century accepted figures ranging from 30 to 60 thousand inhabitants), stated that his main objective was to make a manifesto. With Carmen Portinho’s project, we are facing with other challenges: the need for urban planning, larger and well-planned cities, adherence to CIAM’s principles and, of course, her incorporation into this debate. The bibliography at the end of the proposal included, not surprisingly, almost everything that Le Corbusier had published so far, a report by the 5th CIAM authored by Josep Lluís Sert, a text by Prestes Maia, Agache’s embellishment plan for Rio de Janeiro and a reference to the sanitary engineer Saturnino de Brito, among others.

There is no indication that there was any intention of building this capital city, although it had been thought in connection with all the preparation from the First Republic, in the same place where in 1960 Brasília was finally and belatedly inaugurated.

In 1944, Carmen applied for a scholarship by the British Council. Present in the United Kingdom on Victory Day, she spent a term there, dedicating herself to the study of social housing, a critical theme for the English in this period of reconstruction. Building on the reflections on this post-war turning point, as well as on the experience accumulated in carrying the study of what can be considered a direct antecedent to Brasília (as described above), the partnership with her companion, architect Affonso Eduardo Reidy, resulted in the housing complex better known as Pedregulho. In the second half of the 1950s, Reidy enjoyed the remarkable prestige that this complex had granted him, and his partnership with Carmen was closer than ever. As pioneer of feminism in Brazil, her influence caused the complex to have a collective laundry, to prevent women from working a 'double shift'. Pedregulho had an urban dimension, with its school, laundry, sports area, and swimming pool, due to its population density.

Why, then, did the Portinho-Reidy couple not participate in the Brasília contest? Carmen's project was ready, and Reidy had accumulated a solid experience in urbanism from 1929. In 1954, he even participated with Burle Marx in a work group with the objective of demarcating the area in the site where Brasília would be built. According to Yves Bruand, Reidy and Burle Marx would have suggested an invitation to Le Corbusier to design the plan. Certainly, a part of this inexplicable absence refers to an already announced presence: president Juscelino Kubitschek's choice of Oscar Niemeyer to rapidly develop a proposal caused many architects' discontent. Reidy took the lead publicly criticizing the edict, from the short four months deadline to the lack of an administrative political plan that should provide a basis for the competitors and the jury. When interviewed by Nabil Bonduki in 1997, Carmen Portinho said: "he [Reidy] never told me anything, but we did not have to say things at home, we knew: he did not want to participate. [...] He did not want to know about something that he knew how it would end" (Portinho cited in Bonduki, 1999, p. 24; *translation mine*).

Pedregulho

Carmen Portinho had travelled to the United Kingdom to study the 'new towns'. The invitation, her departure, stay and return were widely reported in the Rio press. On returning, she reported her experience in a long article, *Habitat popular*, published prominently in *Correio da Manhã*. In a way, this article laid the groundwork for future projects in which the housing complex known as Pedregulho stands out. Carmen criticized the English garden city, foreseeing that it would become a dormitory town: "What is the use of having a little house 'amid the garden' if a man cannot take care of his garden because he is too tired at the end of the day?" (Portinho, 1946; *translation mine*), she asked the reader rhetorically, to

come up with her solution: “We are talking about ‘social housing’ located in areas near workplaces. These clusters should include not only housing blocks, but also buildings for local commerce, and kindergarten, nursery and primary schools, clinics, libraries, clubs etc.” (Ibid.; *translation mine*). This task, according to her, would be the responsibility of the city hall.

In 1948, the city hall created the Department of Popular Housing, appointing Carmen as director. The first work of the new department was a large housing complex, and Carmen, as director, could choose the architect to design it. She called Affonso Eduardo Reidy, a public official like her, and her partner. If Carmen’s first marriage oscillates between silence and taboo, in part because of her, she formed with Reidy, whom she never officially married and with whom she collaborated intensely at work, a partnership that we can compare to others, such as, for example, Janete Costa and Acácio Borsoy, Lina Bo and Pietro Maria Bardi, or Charles and Ray Eames. In this kind of partnerships, social hierarchies and roles are constantly negotiated and often the woman is placed in the background. This subject is treated by Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivon in relation to fine arts and literature, but these relations are even more central in architecture, since they are frequently accomplished materially in the project of a house – and a house, as Beatriz Colomina has already stated, represents a testing ground for architects. However, we must remember that in the house/street divide, the first is usually assumed to be the domain of the private and the feminine. The same author emphasizes collaboration, a theme denied by the focus on authorship, as a kind of black box in the history of architecture: she points out that collaboration is the secret history of architects, the domestic life of architecture.

In the case of the partnership between Portinho and Reidy, the feminist engineer and the most elegant and discreet of our modern architects, as Lucio Costa rightly points out, the expected roles have been almost reversed. If the active participation of Ray Eames in the creation process had to wait for her husband’s death to be recognized, Carmen’s position is ambivalent. On the one hand, her role, being a well-known figure in Rio de Janeiro, among politicians and in the press, was hierarchically superior to that of her partner. On the other hand, whenever she was interviewed about their accomplishments as a duo, she delegated the authorship to him, as if, with respect to creation, architecture had achieved a privileged status in relation to engineering; or perhaps as a form of compensation that sought a balance in the relationship.

There is a lot of bibliography about Pedregulho. The complex impressed the international community in an almost sensational way at a time in which the enchanted flirt

with the Brazilian architecture had chilled. Max Bill praised it as a way of criticizing the formalism of Oscar Niemeyer, and the project was featured in the 1st. Biennial of São Paulo in 1953, as well as the CIAM meeting in Bergamo in 1949. But our interest in this context is Carmen's presence in some design decisions. Her feminist trajectory was incisive, and the decision to install a collective automated laundry to prevent the 'tired hands' of the working-woman who lived there from finding a sink in each unit was Carmen's, not Reidy's initiative. In addition to her sensitivity to feminist concerns, there was another reason that inspired this proposal: the hope of discouraging residents from hanging clotheslines outside, which would compromise the beauty of the façade. It was not a successful proposal, although many social assistants were concerned with teaching the proper use of washing machines imported from the United States: women dwellers used, for washing clothes, improvised devices and locations (buckets, basins, and, in some cases, even the swimming pool).

There were other clusters made by the Department of Popular Housing, although none so emblematic. However, the testimony of Francisco Bologna is revealing:

In Vila Isabel there was a funny case: I had designed service areas with sinks, and Carmen jumped, because she wanted collective laundries. I insisted: 'I need a laundry area with sinks! People will not wash mop cloths in the washing machine!' And she said: 'I only allow you to put sinks in the kitchen.' I had to agree. So much so, that, if you visit the complex, you will see excellent apartments, but with this problem: they do not have a service area. (Bologna cited in Freire, Américo e Lippi Oliveira, Lucia, p. 51; *translation mine*).

The couple's partnership would still produce two other houses: Carmen Portinho's residence in Jacarepaguá, and their weekend house in Itaipava.

Beautiful, economical and modern, the housing complexes they planned, as parts of the Department of Popular Housing's Plan, reveal the limits and challenges of a project designed for a collective, but abstract and idealized client: however well-intentioned the design might have been, it was never fully heard. As regards the houses used by the couple Portinho-Reidy, yes, there were sinks. Apparently, finding a solution to the 'servant problem', enunciated in the plan for the capital and implemented in Pedregulho, was a concern that did not apply to any social group. Which was not (or is not) only a Brazilian issue – albeit aggravated by poverty and inequality – if we only think that, until designing the well-known Frankfurt Kitchen, Austrian architect Margarete Schütte Lihotzky had not even used a kitchen: "The truth of the matter was, I'd never run a household before designing the Frankfurt Kitchen, I'd never cooked and had no idea about cooking" (Schütte Lihotzky cited in Kinchin & O'Connor, 2011, p. 20). Beautiful, functional, albeit abstract: the kitchens remained a women's place – female client and female designer – during all the twentieth century and maybe the question remains the

same today. Carmen was a pioneer feminist and an avant-garde engineer, but our century would certainly address some new questions to her and her work, probably more concrete ones, like real places for real clients.

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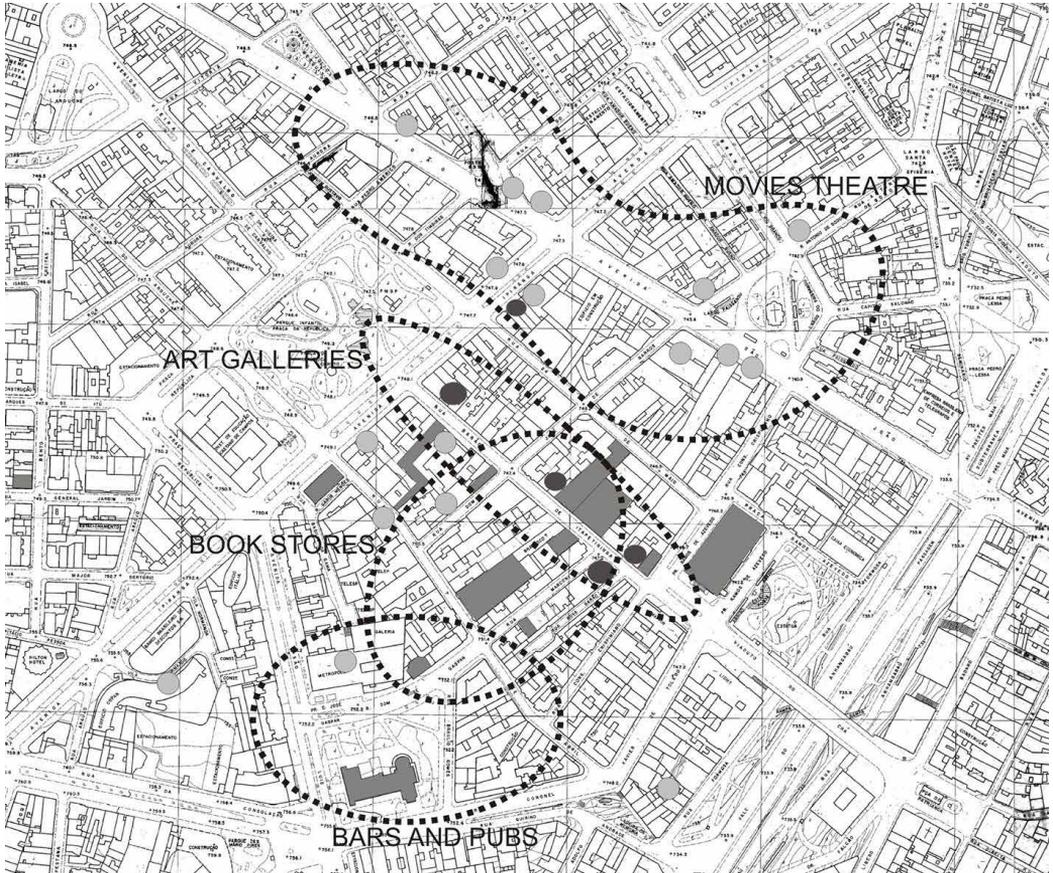
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WOMEN IN THE METROPOLIS: THE TOWERS AND GALLERIES OF MODERN BUILDINGS IN WOMEN'S DAILY LIVES IN SÃO PAULO



Fig. 1
Spaces and activities in downtown Sao Paulo
Source: Costa, 2015, p. 171

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Abstract

This study will present an overview of women's presence in domestic spaces and their interaction with the urban space in São Paulo in the mid-twentieth century. As in many other Brazilian cities, physical changes happened while modern skyscrapers announced the benefits of living in multifunctional clusters. They were located near workplaces, commerce and leisure facilities, to improve the efficiency of daily routines. The idea of modernity was associated with apartment towers, fitted with full equipment and facilities for the whole family and supported by the new technologies and services offered in the commercial galleries of the ground floors, which could nominally facilitate life for women. The drawings of some multifunctional buildings, some advertisements of the period, and studies on the female presence downtown Sao Paulo were used as sources for this historical qualitative research. Some modern multifunctional buildings will be analyzed to make explicit the dimension and contradictions of women's presence. One early conclusion is that, even while living in modern spaces, women's private life in these modern buildings contrasted little with that of the previous generation, as they had maids to manage the household chores, house appliances were not so affordable, and magazines continued to emphasize the central role of women in the organization of the family life and domestic activities.

Keywords

Urban transformation, metropolis, culture, sociability, domesticity, modern architecture

Introduction

In the first half of the twentieth century, the central area of São Paulo underwent a strong transformation which was made possible especially by the strong economic growth experienced thanks to the production of coffee and the beginning of industrialization. In opposition to the idea of a dispersed city characterized by the formation of the peripheries, and the

expansion of the industrial city, the downtown area showed an urban vitality thanks to its diverse functions (cultural activities, commerce, service, housing) and new constructions. The old buildings were replaced by modern skyscrapers that broke the horizontal scale and proposed new collective dwelling.

This paper does not focus on professional architects, but rather on young women's entry to the labour market and the various possibilities, ideas and activities that the city announced for them. It focuses on the time span between 1930 and 1960, period in which great physical, social and cultural transformations occurred in its central area. It was a time in which many novelties were introduced into the daily lives of people, either through new technological devices (television, refrigerator, vacuum cleaner, electric trams) or new services that created new habits (cinemas, art galleries, sports facilities). This work - which is part of a broader postdoctoral research developed at the State University of Campinas and sponsored by Sao Paulo Research Foundation (Fapesp), process number 2016/08717-0 - makes explicit the dimensions and contradictions of some of the issues that modern architecture promised to address at that time. The drawings of some buildings, some advertisements of the period and studies on the female presence in the city of São Paulo were used as sources. The text aims also to reflect on the differences and similarities of other national and international experiences to better understand the specificity of the domestic practices and urban experiences of women in São Paulo.

Women in the metropolis: new habits, new possibilities

Besides the physical transformations, a behavioural change in the urban way of life, and in the most diverse activities, was visible. New immigrants mixed their habits and traditions creating a very rich culture. In addition, it was a period of novelties in cultural life with an increase in the number of cinemas, theaters, art galleries and the appearance of the first museums. Petrone (1955) recorded that, in the 1950s, the city had eighteen higher education institutions, three universities, fifteen agricultural and industrial education establishments, 106 bookstores, 150 cinemas, eight theatres, twelve radio stations and three television stations.

These transformations affected women's lives as well: they had more freedom in the streets, more complete educational background, and entered the labor market. Carla Pinsky states:

In the 1950s, the female participation in the labor market grew, especially in the sector of collective consumer services, offices, shops or in public services. Then there were more opportunities for jobs in professions such as nurse, teacher, bureaucratic and medical employee,

social worker, saleswoman, etc., for which women were required to possess a certain qualification, becoming, in return, remunerated professionals. This trend led to a greater female schooling and undoubtedly brought about changes in the social status of women (Pinsky, 2013, p. 624; *translation mine*)¹.

The movie *Sao Paulo Sociedade Anônima* - directed and produced by Luis Sergio Person in 1965 - presents a modern man in a moment of crisis and contestation of his life in the metropolis. The main character Carlos met his wife Luciana while attending an English course which was necessary and fundamental for the development of any citizen's career. In their first dialogue, in Republica Square, when Carlos asks Luciana what she is studying, she replies "typing", adding "because no one knows what will happen tomorrow". Luciana can be understood as a middle-class girl with the ambitions and understandings of a single woman in this period. She seeks a more in-depth training than that her mother, aunts and grandmothers had, but also dreams of a good marriage². Besides Luciana, two other women are related to the protagonist: Ana, a beautiful woman, of humble and hard-working origin; and Hilda, an intellectualized woman who visits art exhibitions and goes to the cinema. They all question the concerns and dilemmas of women in the metropolis.

Pinsky further states:

being educated for a professional future, and therefore investing in a career, were much less valued for women than for men because of the social distinctions that existed between them in terms of roles and capacities. At least women's access to education and areas of knowledge previously reserved for men have filled the gap between them (Carla Pinsky, 2013, p. 625; *translation mine*)³.

These women would also walk in the streets at the end of the day, do some window-shopping, go to the cafes, art galleries, theaters and cinemas implemented in the new modern buildings.

¹ Original text: "cresceu na década de cinquenta a participação feminina no mercado de trabalho, especialmente no setor de serviços de consumo coletivo, em escritórios, no comércio ou em serviços públicos. Surgiram então mais oportunidade de empregos em profissões como as de enfermeira, professora, funcionária burocrática, médica, assistente social, vendedora etc., que exigiam das mulheres uma certa qualificação e, em contrapartida, tornavam-se profissionais remuneradas. Essa tendência demandou uma maior escolaridade feminina e provocou, sem dúvida, mudanças no status social das mulheres".

² According to Pinsky, "it was common practice among working women to interrupt their activities because of marriage or the arrival of the first child. It was not very easy to find middle-class wives working outside the home except for economic needs... In general, these women were expected to be fully devoted to her home, supported by her husband, and preserved from the street" (Pinsky, 2013, p. 625; *translation mine*). Original text: "era prática comum entre as mulheres que trabalhavam interromper suas atividades com o casamento ou a chegada do primeiro filho. Não era muito fácil encontrar esposas de classe media trabalhando fora de casa a não ser por necessidades econômicas (...) em geral, esperava-se que essas mulheres se dedicassem inteiramente ao lar, fossem sustentadas pelo marido e preservadas da rua".

³ Original text: "A educação com vistas a um futuro profissional e, conseqüentemente, o investimento em uma carreira eram bem menos valorizados para as mulheres que para os homens devido à distinção social feita entre feminino e masculino no que dizia respeito aos papéis e capacidades. Ao menos o acesso das mulheres à educação e às áreas de conhecimento antes reservadas aos homens diminuiu distâncias entre homens e mulheres".

Architecture and modernity in São Paulo

It is possible to say that modern architecture acted on the cities taking advantage of the possibilities provided by the new constructive technologies. In the European context, one of the main goals of architects and urban planners of the Modern Movement was the construction of rational spaces to improve the functioning of cities, and the living conditions of their inhabitants.

In São Paulo, the first modern buildings announced new possibilities of design and spatial organization. Modern architecture presented itself as an opportunity to construct economically, efficiently within the framework of progress and technical advance. The vertical housing initiatives were more profitable than the horizontal ones. If, at the beginning, there was a certain resistance to collective housing and bold new designs, a few years later, modern architecture was no longer seen as a threatening innovation, being considered stylish and fashionable by customers. The middle class, who was so afraid of living in promiscuous and unhealthy collective housing, was finally able to inhabit true icons of modernity.

According to the historian Nicolau Sevcenko, “the word ‘modern’ is thus condensing connotations that overlap in successive and cumulative layers, which give it a unique expressive power, greatly intensified by these three broad contexts: the technological revolution, the turn of the century, and the post-war period” (Nicolau Sevcenko, 2003, p. 228; *translation mine*)⁴.

Traditional domestic practices in modern clusters: Esther, Japurá and Eiffel

One of the first modern skyscrapers in Sao Paulo was the Esther Building, whose project was developed from a multifunctional program - commerce, service and housing - distributed on eleven floors. The concern of architects Adhemar Marinho and Vital Brazil with the functional and constructive issues brought innovative solutions: free plan, flexible spaces, horizontal windows in the office floors, and different sun protection devices in the various facades.

There were three different types of housing: one-bedroom apartments (no kitchen), traditional two/three-bedroom apartments, and duplexes. Fernando Atique points out that the smaller apartments were intended for single young men, not for women. The plan of the duplex apartments - between the ninth and tenth floor - had a living room with double

⁴ Original text: “O vocábulo ‘moderno’ vai condensando assim conotações que se sobrepõem em camadas sucessivas e cumulativas, as quais lhe dão uma força expressiva ímpar, muito intensificada por esses três amplos contextos: a revolução tecnológica, a passagem do século e o pós-guerra”.

height, hallway, staircase, dining room, kitchen, pantry and servant's quarters. "The adherence to bourgeois precepts of inhabiting is manifested in the spatial layout, and in the distribution of functions - very clear, already in the nineteenth century house - around the areas of prestige, areas of rejection and areas of intimacy" (Fernando Atique, 2013, p. 197; *translation mine*)⁵.

Near the Esther Building, the construction of the Japurá complex (officially named *Conjunto Residencial Armando de Arruda Pereira*) marked the landscape by the presence of two towers designed by architect Eduardo Kneese de Mello in 1945. The lower tower was equipped with small apartments specifically designed for young single men, and for commercial purposes, with an independent entrance not to interfere with the families that live in the higher one. The higher tower contained 288 duplex apartments. The spatial layout was arranged through the separation between the living areas on the lower floors (living room, kitchen, pantry and stairwell) and two bedrooms with bathrooms on the upper floors.

Some published illustrations demonstrate the architect's suggestion on how to live in the housing complex. Inside or outside the home, the woman is represented doing the household chores typically attributed to her role: washing clothes, cleaning the house or taking care of her beauty.

According to Carla Pinsky's analysis:

the ideal of marriage defined distinct roles and rights for men and women. Household duties such as cooking, washing, ironing, child rearing and cleaning the house were considered exclusively female duties. Inside the home, men should be asked only to make small repairs. According to the magazines, women do not have the right to question the traditional role division and to require husbands' participation in household tasks - they would compromise the marital balance with this attitude (Carla Pinsky, 2013, p. 626; *translation mine*)⁶.

The spatial organization was rational and functional, using the technology of reinforced concrete to propose innovative designs. However, their users were still traditional: women were the only responsible for carrying out domestic activities and childcare, while men took care of the financial support. To inhabit a modern space did not necessarily mean to carry out innovative daily practices.

⁵ Original text: "A aproximação dos preceitos burgueses de habitar se manifestava na disposição espacial e na distribuição das funções, segundo uma gravitação – muito clara, já na casa oitocentista – de zonas de prestígio, rejeição e intimidade".

⁶ Original text: "O casamento-modelo definia atribuições e direitos distintos para homens e mulheres. Tarefas domésticas como cozinhar, lavar, passar cuidar dos filhos e limpar a casa eram consideradas deveres exclusivamente femininos. Dentro de casa, os homens deveriam ser solicitados apenas a fazer pequenos reparos. Para as revistas de época, as mulheres não têm o direito de questionar a divisão tradicional de papéis e exigir a participação do marido nos serviços do lar – comprometeriam, com essa atitude, o equilíbrio conjugal".

If the two Brazilian examples mentioned above used the design of duplex apartments to ensure a modern spatial organization, it was in the former Soviet Union that this typology was established in an effective attempt to minimize intimate family spaces and have communitarian domestic activities. According to Françoise Navailh (1993), the role of women was contradictory in Russia in the 1920s. The revolutionaries believed that in a socialist society it would be possible to liberate women from domestic tasks which, according to Lenin, brutalized and stifled them, dispersed their forces and prevented them from participating in social and political life.

In 1928, the Committee for State Constructions, coordinated by architect Moisei Guinzburg, began the construction of the Narkonfim Building in Moscow. Several domestic activities were collectivized because the project envisioned the construction of common facilities: a collective kitchen and dining room, a laundry, a kindergarten, a gymnasium, a library and a terrace. The housing cells were minimal spaces - with areas between 27 to 30 square meters - arranged in duplex apartments. According to this spatial arrangement, women were supposed to be free to live in the metropolis without worrying about domestic activities.

This typology stands out as a reference especially after the Second World War. Its influence can be detected, for instance, in the Golden Lane Estate (London, 1952) and in Keeling House (London, 1958), only to mention a few examples in the British context, and in the Housing Units developed by Le Corbusier in France, the most famous of which is the Marseille Housing Unit (1945-1952). The building has 337 apartments (mostly three-bedroom duplexes) arranged over its fifteen floors. As stressed by Cohen (2013), the most diverse urban activities had to take place in the building: commerce, service, recreation, education, distributed between the terrace and the other floors. One specific feature of this project is the presence of a two-floor commercial area half-way up the building.

In the post-war context, with the large European housing deficit, these Housing Units proposed new ways of living.

In Brazil, the Pedregulho cluster in Rio de Janeiro stands out both for its sinuous curve in a rugged terrain and for the innovative proposal. Architect Affonso Eduardo Reidy was commissioned to design it by the Department of Popular Housing coordinated by the feminist engineer and urbanist Carmen Portinho. The housing units are suitable for different family size, ranging from 25 to 70 square meters, with kitchenettes and duplex apartments. The large volume houses 328 apartments of varying sizes, while the other buildings should have accommodated social, medical and educational services to

guarantee a decent life to the people who inhabited it - fundamental ideas defended by Portinho.

Configuring the dwellers for change and guiding them to life under new conditions was one of the hallmarks of the organization of autonomous housing developments. (...) Thus, the work of social workers, who should teach residents to take appropriate advantage of the provided resources, in addition to awakening the 'spirit of community and union', was introduced to guarantee compliance with this requirement (...). According to Carmen, the working class had to be educated for life in society (Nascimento, 2011, p. 306-307; *translation mine*)⁷.

In Brazil, the scenario that followed intense real estate investments and construction of housing encouraged the spread of residential units with kitchenettes. By decreasing the amount of service areas - such as kitchen and laundry - it was possible to increase the number of housing units. Several studies⁸ affirm that this typology began to be designed in the United States from the Apartment Hotels, when large cities underwent an intense process of metropolitanization and verticalization (Silva, 2013). Nancy Cott states that in the United States, as early as the 1920s, half of the American population was urban. American laws encouraged the growth of secondary education, and the entry of young women into the labour market.

Between 1910 and 1940, the proportion of women in the workforce was about ¼, but working women became, on average, older (since young girls under 20 stayed in school) and were increasingly concentrating in office, administrative, sales and skilled professions, becoming more visible to social commentators than the women working in the traditional sectors of domestic service, agriculture and industry" (Cott, 1993, p. 103).

These women who studied and worked in the big American cities searched for apartments in hotels to live in New York. In Brazil, this typology was specifically targeted at single young men in the labour market. A research that analyses the female presence in these apartments needs still to be addressed. However, a first approximation to this issue suggests that these spaces were not accessible for women.

Domestic practices in modern buildings in São Paulo

In Brazil, while modern buildings were being constructed, magazines, periodicals and women's newspaper columns suggested how women could better decorate their homes to make

⁷ Original text: "Estruturar os moradores para a mudança e orientá-los para a vida em novas condições era uma das características da organização dos conjuntos residenciais autônomos. (...) Assim, a fim de garantir o cumprimento dessa exigência, havia o trabalho das assistentes sociais, que deveriam orientar os moradores a aproveitar adequadamente os recursos proporcionados, além de despertar o "espírito de comunidade e união" (...) Segundo Carmen, o trabalhador precisava ser educado para a vida em sociedade".

⁸ See, for instance, the researches carried out by Anna Puigjaner (Puigjaner, A. 2014, *Ciudad sin cocina: el Waldorf Astoria, apartamentos con servicios domésticos colectivos en Nueva York, 1871-1929*, PhD Thesis, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, Departament de Projectes Arquitectònics, Barcelona) and Joana Silva (Silva J. M. C. 2013, *Habitar a metrópole: os apartamentos quitinetes de Adolf Franz Heep*, «Anais do Museu Paulista», vol. 21, no.1, pp. 141-157).

daily life more efficient and practical. The advertisements showed the availability of domestic appliances and the easiness of modern life: stoves, refrigerators and gas appliances. Thus, the role of women gained prominence from certain lines of interpretation, being the main protagonist in controlling the management of domestic resources and intimacy. Monique Eleb states that

throughout the 20th century, the notion of comfort ranges from the expression of a qualitative and subjective feeling to a measurable and objective notion, related to the idea of supplying the house with appliances and linked to progress. (...) The conception of happiness that spread in the 1950s, after times of deprivation, was linked to the possession of objects and equipment, which were supposed to reduce the burden of housework and to be 'liberating' for women, who were the main responsible for hygienic household and supported the male status (Eleb, 2011; *translation mine*)⁹.

In Brazil, the possibility of buying appliances was still limited to some families. Only in the 1950s, this reality changed. Rafaela Martins points out that "over the years, due to the industrial development of the country and the expansion of energy companies, which distributed gas and electricity, the production and consumption of domestic appliances increased" (Martins, 2016, p. 181; *translation mine*)¹⁰. But this consumption was still restricted to a small part of the population that could pay for them. The advertisements of the period indicate that the promotion of consumerism, coupled with practicality and modernity, was focused on women.

Modern multifunctional buildings and their galleries

The simultaneous presence, in the already widespread multifunctional buildings, of apartments, located in the towers, and commercial galleries, on the ground floor, produced a mutually influencing dynamic. If in the residential towers the domestic practices and routines did not change much, in the galleries the varied activities promoted a mixture of functions and social groups and modified the relationship between the city and its inhabitants. The legislation encouraged verticalization and combined it with the requirement to leave the ground floors permeable, creating spaces for rest and leisure, like cafes, snack bars, bakeries, small shops, laundries, bookstores, beauty salons (Costa,

⁹ Original text: "ao longo do século XX, a noção de conforto passou da expressão de um sentimento qualitativo e subjetivo para uma noção mensurável e objetiva, relativa à ideia de equiparar a habitação e ligado ao progresso. (...) A concepção de felicidade propagada nos anos 1950, após os tempos de privação, estava ligada à posse de objetos e equipamentos considerados como atenuadores dos trabalhos domésticos e 'libertadores da mulher', sobe-rana em sua casa higiênica e, em suplemento, sustentáculo do estatuto do homem".

¹⁰ Original text: "com o passar dos anos, o desenvolvimento industrial do país e a expansão de empresas de energia, que distribuíam gás e eletricidade, a produção e o consumo de utensílios domésticos aumentou".

2015). Some stores were exclusively targeted at the female public (for instance, in the newspaper *Estado de São Paulo* there were ads for lingerie and women's clothing stores).

Cultural activities, such as cinemas, art galleries, bookstores, were also available. The Esther Building housed, in 1945, the exhibition of modern artist Anitta Malfatti, in the space where later the Institute of Architects of Brazil worked in its first years of existence.

Between the 1940s and 1960s, the streets of the central region were filled with people travelling by cars and on buses, walking along the pavements or the network of galleries. Urban spaces, but also the architectural ones, were the legitimate meeting places. Designer Ana Luísa Escorel describes how her mother, the Professor of Aesthetics Gilda de Mello e Souza, and other intellectuals of the period spent their time.

Now, when she took the girl out for a walk, to a birthday party, to watch a theatre play, to a tea party in Viennese Cafe or the Jaraguá Bookstore, she would not give up the elegance, or the ribbon bow in her hair, carefully tied, because her mother was very capricious. [...] In Jaraguá, her mother felt comfortable with her friends, who were intellectuals like her, every time they went. Then, before going to the patisserie, at the back, she stopped to talk among books and shelves. And she talked so much that the girl had to take her by the arm, reminding her about the tea, the cakes and the biscuits, or her mother would have forgotten about her life, talking (Escorel, 2010, p. 43 *translation mine*)¹¹.

Part of the effervescence in downtown (Fig. 1) was due to the presence of some courses at the University of São Paulo (USP). It was common for students, professors and staff to walk around the area. In the early years of activity, although they were a minority, the presence of women was not unusual. The philosopher Marilena Chauí recalls her time as a student at USP, when the most important events of her generation happened in the surroundings of the Municipal Library: "What an event, the first issue of the newspaper *Jornal da Tarde*, read while it was still hot off the press, so intellectual. São Luiz Avenue, Barba Azul Pub, Pari Bar, meeting points of celebrities, and foreign professors. Movie theatres. Republica Square. Ipiranga Avenue - corner of - Sao Joao Avenue. Salada Paulista Pub, Jeca's Bar" (Chauí, 1988, p. 241; *translation mine*)¹².

¹¹ Original text: "Agora, quando levava a menina a algum passeio, aniversário, ao teatro, para tomar chá na Vienense ou na Livraria Jaraguá, não abria mão da elegância, nem do laço de fita no cabelo, ajeitado com esmero, porque a mãe era muito caprichosa. [...] Na Jaraguá, a mãe ficava à vontade, no meio dos amigos, intelectuais como ela, todas as vezes que as duas iam. Então, antes de chegar à confeitaria, no fundo, parava para conversar entre livros e estantes. E conversava tanto que a menina precisava puxá-la pelo braço, lembrando o chá, os doces e os biscoitos, senão a mãe se esquecia da vida, na prosa. (Escorel, 2010, p. 43).

¹² Original text: "que acontecimento, o primeiro número do "Jornal da Tarde", lido ainda quente das prensas, tão intelectual Avenida São Luiz, Barba Azul, Pari Bar, ponto de encontro das celebridades, dos professores estrangeiros. Cinemas. Praça da República. Ipiranga-esquina-da-São João. Salada Paulista, Bar do Jeca" (Chauí, 1988, p. 241).

Some updates on the above issues

This work aimed to present an overview of women's life in downtown São Paulo, between 1930 and 1960, taking as a reference point the transformations occurred both in their private life and in their participation in the urban dynamics of the consolidated metropolis. An initial conclusion points out that, despite living in modern spaces, women's intimate life contrasted very little with that of the previous generation. They used to count on maids to manage their household, domestic appliances were not so accessible, and magazines still emphasized their central role in the organization of the family life and domestic activities.

Unlike what happened in other metropolises, such as Moscow or New York, this conservative behaviour is directly related to the macho culture that still exists in Brazil nowadays. Moreover, although slavery was abolished in 1888, it has resulted in the presence of low-income domestic workers with no labour rights. Rafaela Martins (2016), analysing the image of women widespread through the commercial advertisements of home appliances, points out that, even in the middle of the twentieth century, the wealthy and middle class in São Paulo exploit domestic workers in their homes.

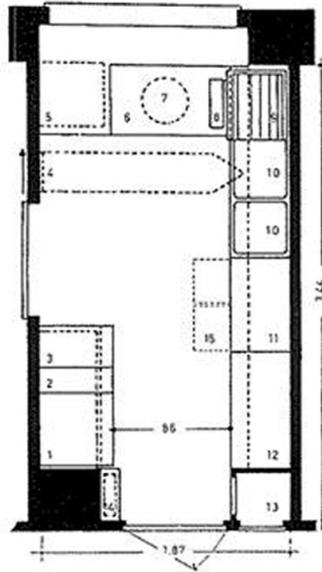
Domestic service staff such as cooks, nannies, and most of the domestic workers were poorer women. According to more recent studies, these workers, besides not having a labor legislation that guaranteed their rights to salary and better working conditions, were also considered dangerous, to such an extent that the São Paulo security department began to collect information records on them. These issues reflect how domestic work has been grossly undervalued and can shed light on the customs and culture of a society that has been enslaved (Martins, 2016).

Only in 2015, a supplementary law has been approved to regulate the work of domestic workers. This new reality points towards other domestic dynamics. In addition to that, recent advances in appliances and food industry have improved the relation between women and their homes.

Only recently in Brazil, the debate about women's rights and freedom has been fuelled, including other issues such as harassment and sexual violence. Especially in the lower classes, life and power dynamics impose on women long working hours to support the family preventing them from fully enjoying moments of leisure and physical rest. The debate is just starting up, and there is still a long way to go, but the voices of these women have recently gained impetus, which looks toward the real possibility of new paths.

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↑
Fig.1
(izquierda) Fotografía de la Cocina de Frankfurt
 Source: Krause J. 1988, La cucina di Francoforte, «Domus», no. 695, p. 70
(derecha) Planta típica de la Cocina de Frankfurt, Siedlung Bruchfeldstrasse, 1927
 Fuente: Minoli L. 2005, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, «Parametro», no. 257, p. 39

MÁS QUE VIVIENDA SOCIAL. MUJERES PIONERAS EN LA ARQUITECTURA DEL SIGLO XX

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Resumen

Este trabajo propone el análisis de la trayectoria teórico-profesional de cuatro mujeres pioneras de la arquitectura moderna en el desarrollo de políticas y proyectos de vivienda social bajo el enfoque de la perspectiva de género. El acercamiento a la teoría y a la práctica de la arquitectura de Elizabeth Denby, Carmen Portinho, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky y Catherine Bauer permite adquirir una nueva mirada hacia la vivienda social y al planeamiento de las ciudades, temas ampliamente tratados en los CIAM. Si, por un lado, el análisis de su producción arquitectónica nos lleva a detectar un claro posicionamiento en defensa de la emancipación femenina, por otro nos hace descubrir sus inquietudes hacia nuevas maneras de vivir la ciudad. En definitiva, el trabajo de dichas mujeres, analizado bajo la perspectiva de género, pone de manifiesto la importancia del papel de la vivienda en la construcción de la ciudad.

Palabras clave

Vivienda social, Perspectiva de género, Denby, Portinho, Schütte-Lihotzky, Bauer

Introducción

Desde finales del siglo XIX e inicios del siglo XX, las mujeres han ido adquiriendo de forma creciente status político y social en un mundo dominado por hombres. Arquitectas, ingenieras, diseñadoras y otras profesionales análogas han aportado nuevas interpretaciones de los fenómenos sociales, de la cultura material y del ambiente construido en la ciudad desde el espacio doméstico (Martin & Spark, 2003).

El objeto de este artículo es dar visibilidad a las figuras y a las aportaciones de mujeres pioneras de la arquitectura y del urbanismo dentro del marco del Movimiento Moderno, a partir

del análisis de la trayectoria profesional de Elizabeth Denby, Carmen Portinho, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky y Catherine Bauer y bajo la perspectiva de género¹.

Las cuatro mujeres, pese a tener diferentes orígenes y formación, fueron activistas feministas y compartieron la lucha por la emancipación de la mujer en la concepción de una vivienda racional a partir de un determinado enfoque del planeamiento urbano. Teniendo como referente los conceptos del *Existenzminimum* y de las *neighbourhood units*, adoptaron una postura crítica con respecto al concepto urbano dominante, el *zoning*². En los primeros Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna (CIAM), en los cuales participaron activamente, vivienda racional e instrumentos de planeamiento eran temas esenciales.

El acercamiento al marco teórico y a la práctica de la labor de dichas mujeres nos brinda la oportunidad de estudiar sus visiones políticas, sus propuestas de normativas urbanas y sus proyectos arquitectónicos, dando prioridad a la creación de mejores condiciones de vida para las mujeres.

Antecedentes históricos

El siglo XX es el siglo en el que más avances se han producido en la consecución de derechos de las mujeres en occidente. Ninguna transformación social de nuestra época ha sido tan profunda como la emancipación femenina, consolidada apenas en el último tercio del pasado siglo en las sociedades democráticas occidentales. En la representación de los géneros, todavía persiste la asociación del hombre a la esfera pública y de la mujer a la privada (Amann Alcocer, 2011, p. 29-50).

Historiadoras feministas³ que han investigado la aportación de mujeres en el campo de la arquitectura han encontrado numerosas dificultades a la hora de averiguar información sobre su obra y vida. Sin embargo, han coincidido en señalar que el arquitecto no es el único profesional involucrado en la producción arquitectónica y en la construcción de la ciudad y que es preciso estudiar la aportación de mujeres al ambiente construido, con independencia del rol profesional que hayan tenido.

Por ejemplo, la historiadora norteamericana Gwendolyn Wright ha ido más allá del ejercicio clásico de la arquitectura, dando visibilidad a un número significativo de mujeres

¹ Este trabajo forma parte de la tesis doctoral desarrollada por la autora: Marques Abla, M. 2017, *Gênero e produção de habitação social: uma perspectiva para o planejamento urbano a partir do pensamento de Elizabeth Denby, Carmen Portinho, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky e Catherine Bauer*. PROURB/FAU/UFRJ, Rio de Janeiro, unpublished.

² Dichos temas se trataron en los Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna, concretamente en el CIAM II, de 1929, celebrado en Frankfurt, y en el CIAM IV, de 1933, celebrado en Atenas.

³ Por citar algunas: Gwendolyn Wright, Lynne Walker, Suzanne Stephens, Dolores Hayden e Alice Friedman.

que elaboraron nuevas ideas relacionadas tanto con el espacio doméstico como con el diseño de las ciudades. Analizando las dificultades con las que las mujeres debían enfrentarse a la hora de dedicarse a la arquitectura de manera profesional, Gwendolyn Wright describe cuatro roles *on the fringe of the profession* a través de los cuales esas mujeres consiguieron eludir lo que ella denomina “el dilema de los roles” (Wright, 1977, p. 283; *traducción mía*)⁴: las mujeres excepcionales, las diseñadoras anónimas, las mujeres que se dedicaban a profesiones complementarias (críticas, reporteras, escritoras, planificadoras, etc.) y las reformadoras (Wright, 1977, p. 284).

La experiencia de mujeres en la teoría y práctica arquitectónica resulta clave cuando se estudia la contribución de las feministas materialistas a la Revolución Industrial, las aportaciones de las mujeres al Movimiento Moderno o a la producción conceptual de teorías urbanísticas, como las elaboradas por Denise Scott Brown y anteriormente por Jane Jacobs.

Adoptando los criterios del citado “dilema de los roles”, este artículo pretende poner de relieve la aportación de cuatro mujeres que, inspiradas en las ideas del Movimiento Moderno y actuando en diferentes áreas, promovieron la transformación del contexto social, de la vivienda y de la ciudad a partir de su condición de mujeres, dando valor tanto a la vida laboral como a la vida familiar.

Metodología

El enfoque teórico-metodológico de este trabajo ve en la perspectiva de género una herramienta necesaria para entender de qué manera las aportaciones de esas mujeres buscaban mejorar las condiciones de vida de la mujer en relación con sus necesidades cotidianas.

En el marco del urbanismo tradicional y capitalista, las decisiones se toman normalmente de forma jerárquica. Este enfoque considera la sociedad como una entidad abstracta y genérica. Henri Lefebvre (1974/2013, p. 44) propone, al contrario, una relectura de la producción del espacio desde la cotidianidad que define el derecho a la ciudad según una perspectiva *bottom-up*, partiendo de las necesidades del hecho de habitar.

El enfoque de género incorpora las voces de las mujeres, su mirada, sus necesidades diarias y sus vivencias urbanas con el objetivo de construir ciudades más justas para todas las personas. El concepto de vida cotidiana engloba el conjunto de actividades que las personas realizan para satisfacer sus necesidades en las diferentes esferas de la vida diaria, lo que incluye las tareas productivas⁵, reproductivas⁶, propias, políticas o comunitarias (Col·lectiu Punt 6,

⁴ Texto original: “the quandary of roles”.

⁵ Que reciben una compensación.

⁶ Que no reciben ningún tipo de compensación y representan todos los asuntos individuales y colectivos ligados a la nutrición, a la higiene, al descanso y al cuidado del hogar.

opposite page
 Fig. 2
 (izquierda)
 Kensal House.
 Plano y sección
 de la cocina y
 del baño (1937)
 (derecha)
 Fotografía de la
 cocina

Fuente: Darling
 E. 2000, What
 the Tenants
 think of Kensal
 House: Experts'
 Assumptions
 versus
 Inhabitants'
 Realities in the
 Modern Home,
 «Journal of
 Architectural
 Education», vol.
 53, no. 3, p. 170

2014). El poder patriarcal ha priorizado en el urbanismo las tareas productivas; la perspectiva de género busca invertir esta prioridad, valorando las tareas reproductivas y de cuidado.

El enfoque metodológico adoptado integra la perspectiva de género, las dimensiones de lo urbano y de lo cotidiano teorizadas por Henri Lefebvre (1974/2013, p. 44) y los estudios realizados más recientemente por David Harvey (2014, p. 12). La vivienda se considera en su valor de uso desde las perspectivas de las actividades cotidianas desarrolladas por las personas que la habitan.

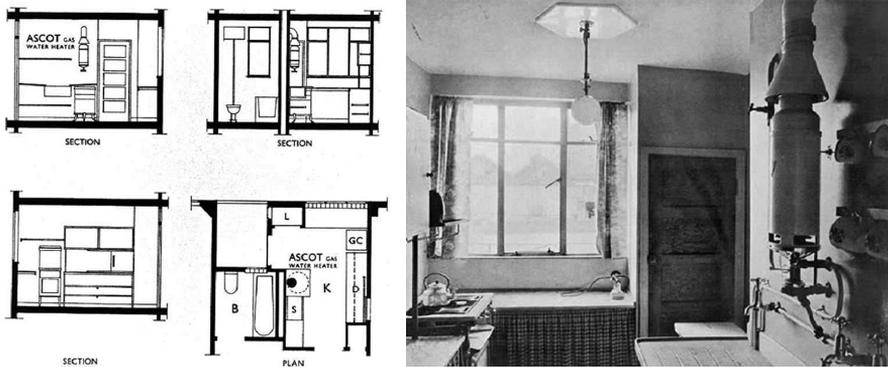
Henri Lefebvre (1974/2013) propone tres dimensiones espaciales para analizar conceptualmente el proceso de producción del espacio social: el espacio percibido de las prácticas espaciales desde su materialidad; el espacio concebido de las representaciones, de los códigos (se trata del espacio de los planificadores, de los técnicos, de los urbanistas, que conceptualizan el espacio vivido y percibido); y el espacio vivido o de representación, donde ocurren las prácticas cotidianas. Los tres aspectos contribuyen, cada uno según sus características y de forma distinta, a la producción del espacio, tanto construido como simbólico, en el que vive y se desarrolla una comunidad; por tanto, dada la centralidad del espacio para desencadenar procesos de cambio sociales y estructurales, las aportaciones de la perspectiva de género a la producción de estos procesos a través de la arquitectura y del urbanismo resultan fundamentales y constituyen el tema principal de este trabajo.

El papel desempeñado por cuatro pioneras en la arquitectura del siglo XX

Desde los inicios de la ciudad moderna, la vivienda colectiva ha sido eje fundamental del urbanismo. Con el paso del tiempo, se han producido cambios en la organización del denominado nivel 'privado' y la vivienda 'mínima' ha replanteado el concepto de habitar (Montaner, 2015, p. 13).

No se puede hacer ninguna interpretación sobre el presente y el futuro inmediato de la vivienda colectiva sin tener en cuenta la amplia tradición que empieza en los experimentos racionalistas del *Existenzminimum* y en la política de vivienda de la socialdemocracia europea. El concepto del *Existenzminimum* empezó a afirmarse a partir del CIAM II, celebrado en Frankfurt, en 1929, que reunió las experimentaciones sobre el tema de la 'vivienda mínima'.

A este respecto, se señalan las aportaciones al CIAM II de la arquitecta austriaca Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, que colaboró en dos de las más importantes operaciones de vivienda pública realizadas en el periodo de entreguerras en los países socialdemócratas de



Europa: las *Höfe* de Viena con Adolf Loos, desde 1921, y las *Siedlungen* o ‘colonias’ construidas en Frankfurt, con Ernst May, desde 1925.

A través de la reformulación del espacio doméstico, la arquitecta se interrogaba sobre la manera más adecuada de construir casas y ciudades con el fin de reducir al mínimo el trabajo de las mujeres. Su preocupación se tradujo en la famosa *Frankfurter Küche*⁷, prototipo de la cocina moderna y pieza clave en la producción masiva de viviendas⁸.

Basándose en los estudios de Christine Frederick⁹ (1883-1970) sobre la economía de las distancias y movimientos en el hogar, en el *Raumplan*¹⁰ de Adolf Loos y en las teorías del espacio como itinerario (Krause, 1988), su diseño de la cocina siguió criterios ergonómicos con el objetivo de reducir los tiempos de realización de las tareas del hogar, para agilizar el trabajo doméstico y la actividad reproductiva en todos sus aspectos¹¹.

La *Frankfurter Küche* (Fig. 1) lograba la impresión visual de la proporción del ambiente gracias a diferentes estrategias. Las soluciones de diseño de la cocina no se limitaban tan sólo a sus propios espacios interiores: la distancia entre la cocina y la mesa del comedor garantizaba la relación visual y permitía a la mujer desempeñar sus tareas vigilando a los niños en el salón. La puerta corredera que separaba el salón de la cocina era otro dispositivo que permitía aislar o conectar los dos ambientes manteniendo las ventajas de la cocina-salón (Krause,

⁷ Cocina de Frankfurt.

⁸ El tema de la cocina introdujo dos cuestiones fundamentales: la colectivización de algunas de las tareas del hogar y la reducción del tamaño de su espacio.

⁹ Economista doméstica estadounidense que se inspiró en los principios del taylorismo para mejorar la eficiencia de las tareas domésticas.

¹⁰ La distribución de las habitaciones se hace con diferentes alturas dependiendo de sus funciones, se establece una jerarquía entre los diversos espacios, se crean zonas dentro del interior de la vivienda y se definen los grados de intimidad de cada división.

¹¹ Al modelo originario, diseñado en 1926 para la *Siedlungen* Römerstadt, siguieron otros modelos y 10,000 de las 30,000 viviendas realizadas en la ciudad de Frankfurt entre 1925-1930 fueron realizadas con esa cocina incluida.



Fig. 3
Fotografías
del bloco A
del Conjunto
Residencial
Pedregulho
Fuente:
Fotografía de la
autora, 2016

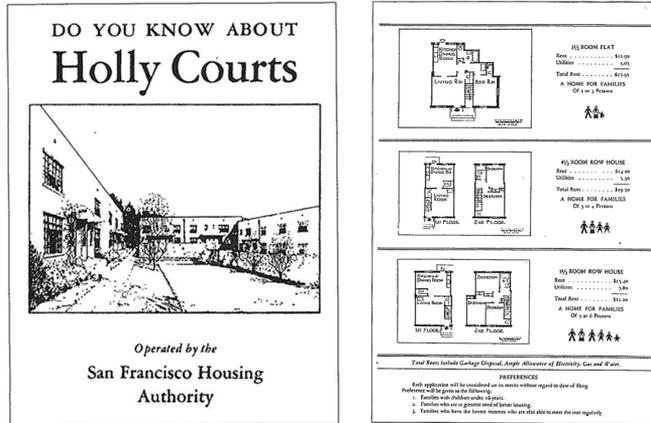


opposite page
Fig. 4
Material
promocional
para Holly
Courts, San
Francisco
Fuente: Bauer
C. 1940, A
Citizen's Guide to
public Housing,
Vassar College,
Poughkeepsie NY,
p. 44

1988). Elizabeth Denby, consultora de vivienda en Inglaterra, formó parte del Grupo de Arquitectura Moderna e Investigación (MARS), la sección inglesa de los CIAM, y centró su trabajo en el realojo de los *slums*. Colaboró con el arquitecto Maxwell Fry en los proyectos de *Sasson House* (1934) y *Kensal House* (1937) (Fig. 2), en Londres. En ambos, se aplicaron los principios del *Existenzminimum*, con énfasis en los equipamientos y servicios sociales.

La consultora proyectó los interiores del conjunto *Kensal House* (Fig. 2): la cocina separaba las actividades reproductivas del área de descanso y reunión de la familia. Al igual que la cocina de Frankfurt, se diseñó para maximizar la eficiencia ahorrando tiempo a las mujeres en el desempeño del papel de ama de casa y de madre. La cocina de tamaño reducido y bien equipada, se prolongaba sobre el balcón adyacente donde se desarrollaban las tareas del lavado y del secado de la ropa.

El salón, con su chimenea, representaba el centro de los espacios sociales de la casa, siendo, también en este caso, el balcón una extensión que dotaba la vivienda de un espacio exterior donde sus habitantes podían tomar el sol. De esta manera, los balcones servían como espacios de relación intermedios entre el interior (privado) y el exterior (público). Los principios del *Existenzminimum* también fueron adoptados por Carmen Portinho, ingeniera urbanista y Secretaria de Vivienda en Rio de Janeiro, que incorporó los criterios de los CIAM en los complejos residenciales en los que propuso una nueva forma de vivir. El Conjunto Residencial *Prefeito Mendes de Moraes*, más conocido como *Pedregulho*, realizado con el arquitecto Affonso Eduardo Reidy (Fig. 3), es reconocido internacionalmente por su calidad y plasticidad arquitectónica.



A nivel tipológico, *Pedregulho* dispone de diferentes tipos de viviendas desde las de un solo dormitorio con baño y cocina, hasta las de dos dormitorios y en dúplex, como respuesta al posible crecimiento o disminución de la unidad familiar. Con el reto de liberar a la mujer de las tareas domésticas, para permitirle integrarse al trabajo productivo, se externalizan los espacios de servicios, proponiendo una lavandería colectiva mecanizada dotada de espacios de lavado y de secado y de personas profesionales encargadas de la realización de esas tareas (Bonduki, 2014, p. 317).

Catherine Bauer, reformadora norteamericana, inspirándose en las políticas de vivienda europeas y en el legado de los CIAM, sentó las bases de la política de vivienda pública de los Estados Unidos. Al trazar la metodología de proyecto de las viviendas (Fig. 4), puso en primer plano a la mujer, subrayando que los requisitos básicos de un buen hogar deben ser definidos con respecto a la persona que va a hacer uso de sus espacios la mayoría del tiempo – es decir, la mujer (Bauer, 1940, p. 2).

Según Catherine Bauer, la ‘mujer común’ constituye la mejor fuente primaria de información y principal colaboradora, en la lucha para trazar las normas mínimas de habitabilidad que se precisan para proteger a las familias obreras pobres y sin techo de los abusos del mercado inmobiliario y de las iniquidades de los *slums* americanos (Hammond, 2008, p. 176). Por lo que respecta a la gestión del espacio urbano, las cuatro pioneras en cuestión, Elizabeth Denby, Carmen Portinho, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky y Catherine Bauer promovieron la adopción del concepto de las *neighbourhood units*¹² con énfasis en las relaciones

¹² Unidades vecinales.

comunitarias y sociales. Las unidades vecinales, teorizadas por Clarence Arthur Perry en 1928, definían una idea de agrupación de viviendas, como un conjunto urbano dotado de equipamientos de proximidad (para la educación, la salud, el comercio y el ocio) situados a poca distancia a pie los unos de los otros y destinados a potenciar la vida comunitaria. Este concepto de unidad vecinal, tema del CIAM IV, se plasmó en el libro de José Luis Sert *Can our cities survive?* (Montaner, 2015, p. 60).

Por otro lado, Elizabeth Denby proponía en *Kensal House* la presencia de diferentes equipamientos y servicios (como guarderías y programas sociales) como herramienta para mejorar el bienestar de la vida cotidiana de los residentes. La creación de un comité de inquilinos, durante la reubicación de los habitantes de los *slums*, habría reforzado el sentimiento de comunidad de las y los habitantes, que podrían experimentar creando clubes sociales para adultos y para niños, *playgrounds* y centros de cuidado infantil. Estos últimos contarían con enfermeras profesionales para que las madres pudieran tener más tiempo para dedicarse a las tareas productivas y personales.

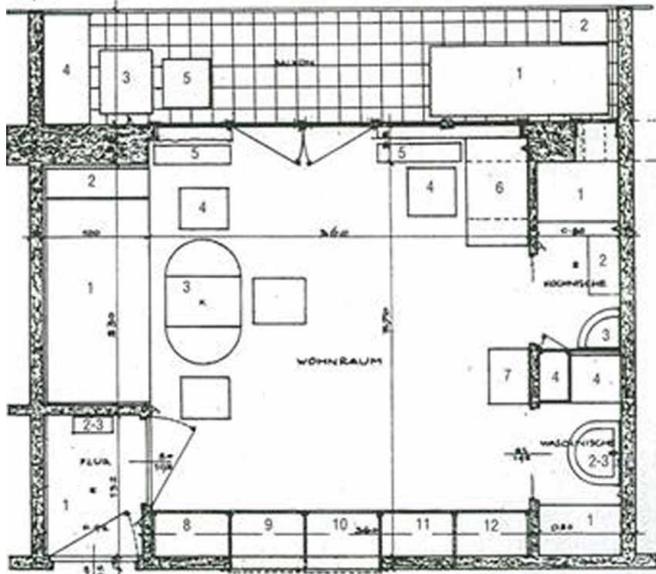
También Carmen Portinho priorizó entre sus objetivos el de ‘reeducar’ a los ciudadanos para que adoptaran nuevos hábitos de vida social; en sus programas de vivienda, reforzó la importancia de la figura del asistente social, cuyo rol sería fundamental en la reeducación de las personas usuarias y para contrastar su resistencia a los nuevos hábitos propuestos¹³.

Gracias a su pensamiento feminista, la ingeniera brasileña puso especial atención en las necesidades de mujeres y niños. Por ejemplo, la ubicación de la escuela aumentaba el confort, la seguridad y la independencia de los desplazamientos de los niños, dando a los padres una mayor disponibilidad de tiempo (Bonduki, 2014, pp. 317-320). La unidad vecinal incluía una escuela, un gimnasio, una piscina y un club. Esto demuestra que la cultura y la educación, tanto en la infancia como en las personas adultas, era de primaria importancia en su visión urbana.

En otro orden, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky reconoció un nuevo sujeto urbano con necesidades específicas, desarrollando el programa de vivienda para mujeres solteras, en Frankfurt (Fig. 5). La idea central de dicho programa era que la arquitectura pudiera facilitar la incorporación de las mujeres al trabajo remunerado. El *Einliegerwohnung* ofrecía viviendas independientes y de tamaño reducido, ubicadas en los pisos superiores de edificios destinados a familias tradicionales. Sus áreas húmedas, es decir baños y cocinas, se diseñaron para poder ser compartidas y fomentar así el ahorro de espacio (Minoli, 1999). Se ha mostrado, pues, como la ‘política de vivienda’ de principios del siglo XX de los

opposite page
Fig. 5
Proyecto tipo
‘vivienda para
la mujer que
trabaja y vive
sola’. Planta de
la unidad de
vivienda tipo
III, Frankfurt,
1927 redibujada
por Lorenza
Minoli
Fuente: Minoli L.
2005, Margarete
Schütte-Lihotzky,
«Parametro», no.
257, p. 39

¹³ La resistencia al uso de la lavandería comunitaria es un claro ejemplo de estas dinámicas.



Estados Unidos, Inglaterra y Alemania había establecido un fuerte intercambio de conocimientos, temas e ideas sobre la ciudad, los barrios y las viviendas.

En este momento histórico, Catherine Bauer introdujo políticas más sociales y reguladas en los Estados Unidos, a partir de la publicación de su libro, *Modern Housing*, en 1934. La obra fue el producto de su interpretación acerca de la política socialdemócrata de vivienda social en Europa Central, así como de sus investigaciones sobre la tradición de la vivienda norteamericana (Montaner, 2015, p. 20).

Bauer elaboró unos principios y patrones mínimos de obligado cumplimiento para la creación de vivienda social, evidenciando la falta de una política de vivienda en Estados Unidos. Su propuesta influyó de manera decisiva en las primeras leyes estadounidenses de vivienda¹⁴. Del mismo modo, el libro de Elizabeth Denby, *Europe Rehoused*, publicado en 1938, fue uno de los textos más influyentes en materia de políticas de vivienda en la posguerra en Inglaterra y Estados Unidos¹⁵. La obra compara las políticas de vivienda de seis países europeos –escogidos según su papel en la guerra: “two winners [...], two losers and two neutral” según se lee en el prefacio de su libro (es decir Suecia, Italia, Alemania, Francia, Holanda y Austria)– con el sistema británico. Su idea de espacio doméstico hace hincapié en la necesidad

¹⁴ El *National Housing Act* de 1934 y de 1937.

¹⁵ Su primera edición incluye anuncios del libro de Bauer *Modern Housing*.

de abordar el bienestar de las personas usuarias desde un punto de vista tanto físico como social.

Su enfoque destaca la importancia de respetar los deseos de las y los residentes y, especialmente, de las amas de casa. Esta es la base de su crítica a los espacios de la vivienda mínima, que, según ella, ha sido la causa de diferentes problemas sociales:

The one serious but (officially) unnoticed fault, and it is one common to most of Europe, is the inconvenience, in fact the intolerable discomfort, of 'minimum planning'. Rooms were often so small that families had been obliged to discard their furniture on moving into their new homes and, por though they were, to buy new; the doors were nada so narrow that it was difficult to carry even a tray through them; and by the time that even 'minimum furniture', was in place, there was practically no space left for normally sized family. Two reasons were given. One was the intellectual pleasure which the architect got from a triumphant arrangement of inadequate space. The second was the high cost of building (Denby, 1938/2015, p. 145).

En 1933, en Alemania, los jardines de infancia creados por el Gobierno Socialista fueron cerrados, en conformidad con la teoría Nazi según la cual lo mejor para cada niño y niña era que su propia madre se encargara de su cuidado, no importaba si la familia era numerosa. Para fomentar el matrimonio y el nacimiento de niños y niñas, evitando así que las mujeres compitieran con los hombres en el mercado laboral, el gobierno Nazi adoptó también nuevas medidas, como los “prestamos matrimoniales” y los “prestamos de pobreza” (Denby, 1938/2015, p. 147).

También hay que recordar que la creación del *Departamento de Habitação Popular* (DHP) en Río de Janeiro, en 1946, fue el resultado de una propuesta de Carmen Portinho. La ingeniera trajo a Río sus experiencias en Europa, con profesionales de la arquitectura e ingeniería del Reino Unido. En el período de su estancia en el viejo continente, impartió conferencias sobre la arquitectura moderna brasileña para el grupo MARS, del cual formaba parte Elizabeth Denby.

Como directora del DHP (1946-1956), proyectó diferentes unidades vecinales equipadas con varios servicios sociales: todas las necesidades básicas de la vida debían poder satisfacerse sin asumir desplazamientos muy largos. El modelo de vivienda adoptado por Carmen Portinho tenía, además, como referencia el libro *Modern Housing*, de Catherine Bauer (Portinho, 1946). Los equipamientos colectivos recibieron un cuidado especial: fueron diseñados como una extensión de la casa y proponían un catálogo muy extenso de actividades, desde el ejercicio físico hasta el cuidado médico.

La posición crítica de la perspectiva de género acerca del *zoning* se aproxima a la de Henri Lefebvre en lo referente al urbanismo funcionalista de Le Corbusier, que eliminaría la complejidad y riqueza de la vida urbana. Las cuatro pioneras mantendrían una posición

clara, pues, al poner en primer plano las mujeres, realizando propuestas de unidades vecinales que buscaban atender sus necesidades cotidianas, poniendo en valor dicha riqueza.

De hecho, Carmen Portinho propuso una unidad vecinal en cada barrio de la ciudad para los funcionarios del ayuntamiento con bajos ingresos. Las distancias y tiempos de desplazamientos entre casa y lugar de trabajo ocuparon un lugar central en sus preocupaciones proyectuales, en las que se subraya también la necesidad de cuidar la concepción del espacio público para que estos desplazamientos pudieran hacerse en bicicleta.

Elizabeth Denby también defendió la necesidad de vivir cerca del trabajo y del centro de la ciudad, lo que se opone no sólo al principio del *zoning* sino también a otros dos principios del Movimiento Moderno, es decir la Ciudad Jardín y los rascacielos.

Catherine Bauer también asumió una posición crítica respecto a los famosos dirigentes del CIAM – Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius y Ludwig Mies van der Rohe – así como respecto a la enseñanza de la arquitectura en general, defendiendo que la arquitectura moderna no tenía como objetivo responder a los complejos desafíos económicos, de proyecto y de planeamiento que la vivienda pública presentaba¹⁶. De esa forma la arquitectura se iría alejando de las necesidades de las personas que habitan sus viviendas. Ella también criticó los rascacielos, que por su propia estructura espacial jerárquica privilegian unos pocos, creando guetos para los demás.

Si la arquitectura moderna se dedicó a atender las necesidades del ‘hombre nuevo’, entendido como un concepto genérico, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky buscó atender las necesidades y condiciones físicas de la ‘nueva mujer’. Por esta razón, utilizó el *existenzminimum* (y sus límites) como pretexto para minimizar los tiempos del trabajo reproductivo.

Consideraciones finales

El presente ensayo pretende arrojar luz sobre el trabajo de cuatro mujeres importantes para la arquitectura y el urbanismo del siglo XX, que consideraban la vivienda desde la perspectiva de género, poniendo en valor los escenarios de vida cotidianos y las actividades de las mujeres.

El trabajo de todas ellas, pese al hecho de que ejercieran profesiones distintas, es un ejemplo valioso de la aportación de las mujeres al diseño del ambiente construido, del espacio doméstico y de la ciudad.

¹⁶ “Modern architecture, she asserted, had not risen to meet the complex economic, design and planning challenges that public housing presented. Replaced by ‘skyscrapomania’, the modest modern housing envisaged by Bauer and others had been eclipsed by a rigid, monumental formalism that flattered the privileged and gettoised the poor” (Hammond, 2008, p. 181).

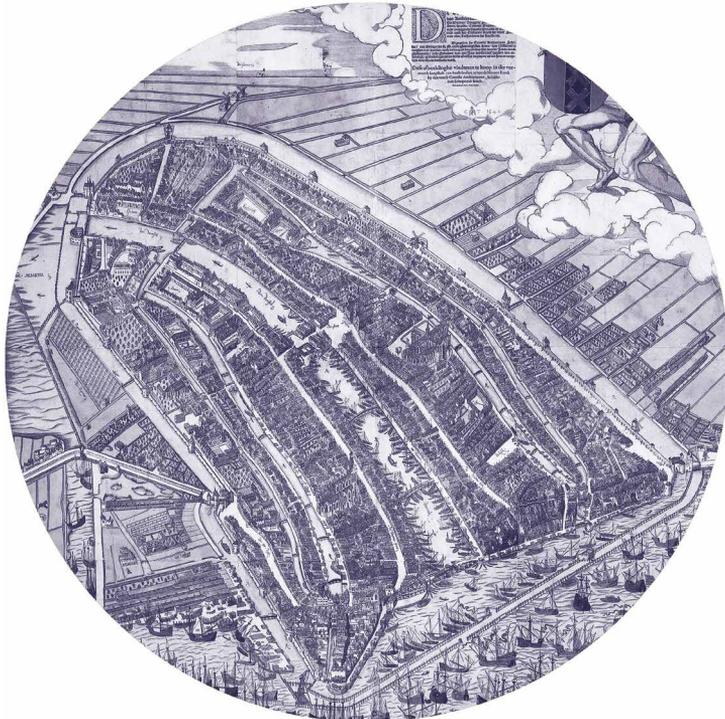
Adoptando un posicionamiento feminista y de vanguardia dentro de un mundo pensado por y para el hombre 'ideal', transformaron la arquitectura y el urbanismo desde la dimensión cotidiana de las mujeres y desde el punto de vista de las diferentes personas/realidades que habitan la ciudad. Sus 'proyectos' piensan en una mujer que tenga más tiempo para desarrollar su vida laboral y que, a la vez, pueda dedicarse al cuidado personal, a su salud, al ocio, al deporte y al descanso sin tener que restringir su vida exclusivamente a los cuidados.

Ellas, como tantas otras, lucharon por la igualdad entre mujeres y hombres a través de la reivindicación de los derechos de la mujer a la ciudad y de la transformación de la percepción del espacio, que tiene lugar desde lo doméstico. La lucha por la igualdad de género es un derecho humano y pasa también por el necesario derecho a la ciudad a través del papel de la vivienda y de las estrechas interrelaciones entre lo doméstico y lo urbano, que, por tanto, no pueden prescindir de la perspectiva de género.

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LA DOMESTICIDAD EN LOS BEGUINATOS. OTROS MODOS DE HABITAR EN LA EDAD MEDIA

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Fig. 1
Plano de
Amsterdam,
1544
Cornelis
Anthonis
Vogelvu-
luchtkaat

Fig. 2
Beguinato de
Amsterdam,
1544,
fundado en
1345
Anónimo

Resumen

Los conjuntos arquitectónicos que constituyen los beguinatos pueden ser pensados como tipos diversos de híbridos medievales que posibilitan otros modos de habitar y transforman la domesticidad existente. Las beguinas establecen su hábitat a partir de la ciudad heredada por lo que el tipo de la casa tradicional es el soporte o estructura sobre el que se conforma el beguinato, persistiendo así la relación de la ciudad tradicional entre casa y ciudad. En ellos aparece la capacidad del tipo y su conjunto para conformar múltiples desarrollos desde consideraciones topológicas, de ahí su particular mutabilidad y heterogeneidad. Algunos de los mecanismos activados en los beguinatos desvelan cómo las mujeres habitaron con mayor autonomía: incorporan o retornan a la ciudad las casas que los constituyen según la necesidad; invierten el acceso a las casas tipo, organizadas en torno a un gran patio, transformando las condiciones de uso de los patios de modo que el espacio de la intimidad se extiende de la casa a la ciudad. Con todo esto, los beguinatos actualizan la domesticidad y hoy nos revelan el pasado como lo que es, un inmenso océano de conocimiento contra la ilusión del progreso que ignora aquello que le precedió.

Palabras clave

Habitar, ciudad, intimidad, género, Edad Media

Introducción

Es posible encontrar en el pasado la aparición de nuevos sujetos que rompen con el modo de vida basado en la familia nuclear y tienen la voluntad de transformar las condiciones del lugar que habitan, la casa y la ciudad que han heredado. En este sentido, tiene interés estudiar cómo las beguinas surgen y construyen su hábitat. Por ello, se hace una revisión exhaustiva de los trabajos realizados hasta la fecha por diversos investigadores especializados en el tema,

como Sarah Joan Moran, Walter Simons o Craig E. Harline, entre otros, para ofrecer una mirada global y algo más disciplinar. El fin es contribuir con ello a estudiar la cuestión del habitar y el sujeto contemporáneo a través de aquello que es inherente a los diferentes contextos, a menudo simplificados por ser un espacio y tiempo del pasado.

El surgimiento de las beguinas

El término beguinas, en latín *beguinae*, desde su origen hace alusión a toda mujer laica y religiosa que pertenece a dicha comunidad. Las primeras referencias a las beguinas se hacen a principios del siglo trece. Según Jacques de Vitry, un teólogo e historiador francés (1170-1240), los clérigos escribieron sobre la expansión de este movimiento de mujeres en los Países Bajos en el *Segundo Sermón a las Vírgenes* escrito entre 1229-40 (Moran, 2010b). Esta región comprende los actuales países: Bélgica, Holanda, Luxemburgo, zonas del norte de Francia y del oeste de Alemania.

El beguinato, *curtis begginarum* en latín, *begijnhof* o *béguinage*, en neerlandés y francés, es el conjunto arquitectónico en el que vivían. En *Cities of Ladies: Beguinage Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200-1560*, Walter Simons (2001) constata que, en las primeras décadas de su existencia, entre 1230-60, el número de habitantes de estas comunidades se eleva a cientos, en algunos casos, llega al millar, contrastando con los monasterios y conventos que raramente albergaban más de una docena de miembros (Simons, 2001), (Fig. 1-2).

Causas de la aparición y la rápida expansión

En *On Locked Doors and Open Windows*, Sarah Joan Moran (2010b) señala como la causa principal del surgimiento de los beguinatos el desarrollo de las ciudades en la Alta Edad Media que hace que numerosas mujeres migren hacia ellas en busca de trabajo. La causa principal de su rápida expansión se debe a la financiación individual de las beguinas. En conventos y monasterios sus habitantes hacen un voto de pobreza para poder participar de la vida común y de la vida espiritual, caracterizadas por la liberación de las distracciones del mundo que conlleva la propiedad. Sin embargo, para su mantenimiento es requisito de acceso que los miembros paguen una tasa u ofrezcan la garantía de un pago anual, por lo que las comunidades contemplativas están dirigidas a unas élites, y las activas, donde sus miembros trabajan para cubrir los gastos, se pueden empobrecer. En cambio, las nuevas comunidades de beguinas admiten el derecho a propiedad y son accesibles a muchas más mujeres (Moran, 2010 b).

opposite page
Fig. 3
Mapa de los Países Bajos en 1609
Una línea separa el sur, bajo dominio español, y el norte independiente. La localización de cada beguinato está representada por un punto

Los beguinatos: nuevos tipos híbridos medievales

Los beguinatos, junto con los monasterios y los conventos, constituyen los grandes conjuntos arquitectónicos híbridos medievales. Es más, son como ciudades dentro de ciudades, donde las beguinas viven, trabajan y se relacionan entre ellas y con los otros habitantes.

Algunos de los trabajos que llevan a cabo para ser su propio soporte económico e incorporarse a la estructura financiera y administrativa del beguinato son: lavado, cocina, molienda, fabricación de cerveza, lavandería, entre otros, y disponen de campos para el blanqueo de algodón, espacio para cultivar alimentos y mantener el ganado, panaderías, cervecerías e incluso tiendas.

La apertura de los beguinatos a la ciudad, justificada por la necesidad de ofrecer servicios a los ciudadanos para su financiación, las hace vulnerables en las campañas antiheréticas que se llevan a cabo en siglos posteriores, según Craig E. Harline en *Actives and Contemplatives: The Female Religious of the Low Countries Before and After Trent* (Harline, 1995). Para aliarse de forma simbólica con la Iglesia utilizan la arquitectura: los edificios más relevantes de los beguinatos han sido la iglesia, la enfermería y el asilo de ancianos (Moran, 2010 b).

Los beguinatos pueden constituir un precedente sobre los conjuntos heterotópicos que Michel Foucault agrupa con este término: instituciones como hospitales, clínicas psiquiátricas y prisiones en *Espaces Autres*. Foucault define heterotopía como una “utopía realizada que representa contestados e invertidos los demás emplazamientos reales” (Foucault, 2010), y los beguinatos, efectivamente, tienen algo de contestación a la cultura y sociedad de la que surgen (Fig. 3-5).

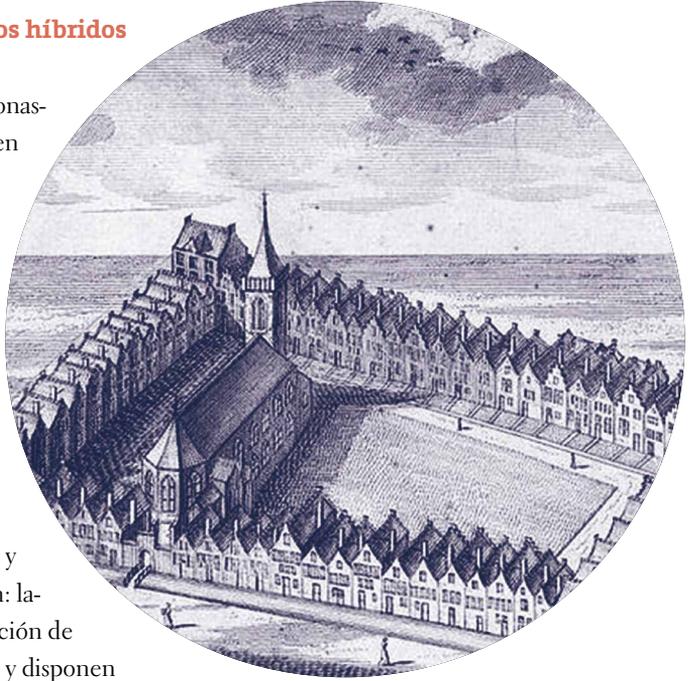




Fig. 4
Jacobus
Harrewyn
 Beguinage en
 Bruselas, 1700

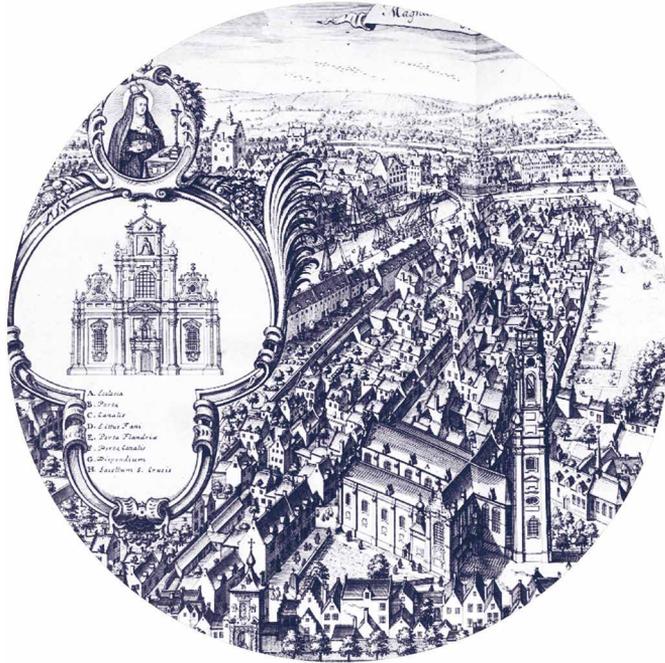
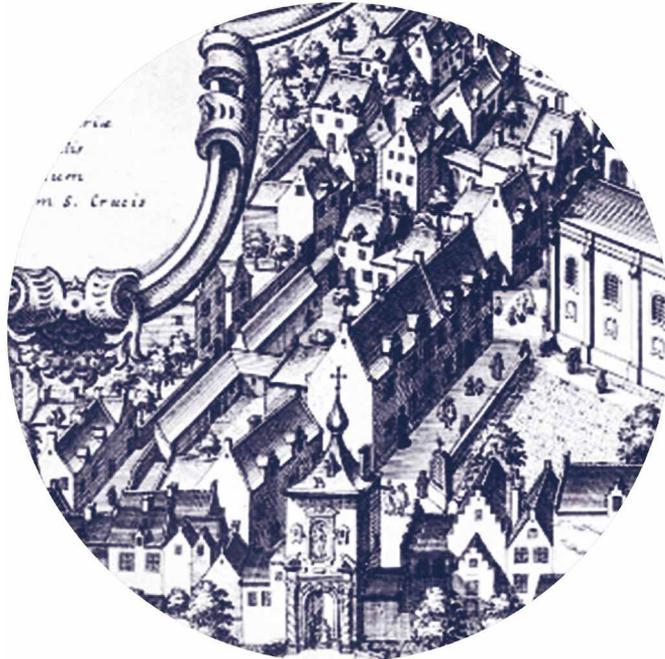


Fig. 5
Zoom de la
Fig. 4
 Puede verse
 recorriendo
 en el interior
 del beguinato,
 posiblemente
 de camino a
 la iglesia, a
 begunas y
 seglares



La domesticidad en los beguinatos

La etimología del término domesticidad lleva a analizar la palabra latina *domus*, tipo de casa del Imperio Romano en la que habita la comunidad familiar. El derecho romano revela la condición más siniestra (Freud, 1972) del origen del término analizado: la *famulus* son los parientes y esclavos y son patrimonio del *dominus*, el propietario de la casa.

Este significado que encierra el término domesticidad, algo oculto, lo desarrolla Michel Foucault en *Surveiller et Punir: Naissance de la Prison* donde define domesticidad como “una relación de dominación constante, global, masiva e ilimitada establecida bajo la forma de la voluntad singular del amo: el propietario” (Foucault, 2012, p. 159).

Los beguinatos pueden ser esos otros lugares que desde el interior de la ciudad transforman las condiciones establecidas y avanzan contra la dominación que encierra la domesticidad. Algunas de las estrategias arquitectónicas que aparecen en ellos son recuperadas y descritas aquí puesto que puede ser provechoso para comprender algo más la compleja genealogía en la historiografía de la casa y la ciudad occidental.

Mecanismos de mutación. La actualización de la domesticidad existente

Las beguinas establecen su hábitat a partir de la ciudad heredada y el tipo de la casa tradicional es el soporte o estructura sobre el que se conforma el beguinato, persistiendo así la relación de la ciudad tradicional entre casa y ciudad. En los beguinatos aparece algo de la capacidad del tipo y su conjunto para conformar múltiples desarrollos desde consideraciones topológicas, de ahí su particular mutabilidad y heterogeneidad.

Noción de tipo tan empleada como maltratada, se recupera la definición como estructura de la forma capaz de múltiples desarrollos, no como mero mecanismo de reproducción (Moneo, 1978), que está más próxima a la que da Quatremère de Quincy en la segunda mitad del siglo dieciocho en *Diccionario histórico de la arquitectura* que con redefiniciones fruto del abuso sintomático que se hace desde la investigación y producción residencial de la cultura moderna, y cuyo significado y deriva ha sido objeto de estudio de figuras como Rafael Moneo, desde la Ilustración a la Posmodernidad, o un trabajo más extenso como el de Carles Martí en *Variaciones de la identidad* (1994).

La responsabilidad de las beguinas sobre su financiación individual hace que haya gran variedad de composiciones dentro de su perímetro. Las casas que los constituyen pasan de beguinas a seglares y viceversa. Con aparente facilidad compran las casas adyacentes o las venden para aumentar los fondos (Moran, 2010b). La posición de la mayoría de los elementos es circunstancial, versátil y flexible; muy lejos de seguir un estricto patrón de organización funcional, considera otras variables topológicas que dan lugar a su singularidad radical:

se constituyen en términos de conjuntos arquitectónicos inacabados y así permanecen siempre, pudiendo crecer y decrecer.

En las casas tradicionales, agrupadas en torno a grandes patios interiores, se accede desde el perímetro de la manzana, desde el exterior, quedando el patio como un espacio privado y oculto. En cambio, en los beguinatos, en las casas que van comprando las beguinas, el acceso se cambia y se sitúa en la fachada opuesta para que se produzca desde el interior del gran patio. Esta operación de inversión del acceso transforma las condiciones de uso de los patios y crea un significado de interioridad, el espacio de la intimidad se extiende de la casa a la ciudad, espacio al que también acceden los demás habitantes.

Con todo esto, los beguinatos actualizan la domesticidad y hoy nos revelan el pasado como lo que es, un inmenso océano de conocimiento contra la ilusión del progreso que ignora aquello que le precedió.

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Fig. 1
Le Cap d'Agde - France
Source: <https://www.delcampe.net>

THE ROLE OF HOLIDAY ARCHITECTURES IN PROMOTING GENDER BIASES. AN INQUIRY INTO MASS MEDIA'S SEXIST STRATEGIES TO STIMULATE TOURISM

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Abstract

The Western system of representation of architecture had been governed by male perspective from the Renaissance drawings of Filarete through the Modern Movement's *Modulor*, where the anthropometric module was based on a six-foot able white man.

Focusing on the period following the economic boom of the twentieth century, this essay highlights how mass media have controversially employed the image of the woman's body as a marketing strategy to promote architecture and design issues.

More specifically, the analysis focuses on some postcard images from the 1970s and 1980s, especially from some Mediterranean seaside locations, in order to uncover the abuse of the representation of the female body in the iconography of hotels, resorts and other touristic and leisure facilities.

Keywords

Holidays architecture, Modernism, mass media, postcards, female nude, advertisement

Women and mass media after the Second World War

Maracaibo
balla al Barracuda
si ma balla nuda
za' za' (...)
se sarai cortese
ti farà vedere
nella pelle bruna una zanna bianca come la luna
Maracaibo
(Lyrics from the song *Maracaibo*, written by Lu Colombo in 1981)

To tackle the commercial exploitation of women's body in mass media communication became one of the most important goals pursued by the Feminist Movement in the second half of the twentieth century.

During the 1970s several inquiries about women and mass media have been conducted flowing into an essential bibliography.

In 1972, the National Organization for Women analyzed over 2750 spots pointing out that women were strongly discriminated against more than men: 46% were represented as housewives, 14% as working subjects submitted to men, and 20% as ‘objectified’ (‘women as objects’)¹.

The *Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan (1963) and *Women’s Estate* by Juliet Mitchell (1966) were the first essays to denounce mass media’s ideological manipulation of women. In the book *Gender Advertisements* (1979) Erving Goffman provided a detailed analysis of American magazines’ ads which depicted women as vulnerable characters.

In Gaye Tuchman’s research (1978) on American TV series and spots between 1960s and 1980s the house is represented as the obvious environment for the woman.

The research carried out by Mieke Ceulemans and Guido Fauconnier (1979) proved that not just American but also European mass media conveyed two main images of the white woman: the wife-mother devoted to housework and the foolish young girl.

The conservative Italian context revealed to be even more extreme. Indeed, the white young woman owned an additional quality: she was almost always naked.

For example, many big Italian corporations like Peroni, B&B Italia, Maglificio Torinese and Suzuki, got in touch with famous art directors that made use of sexualized images of women to promote design brands. Solvi Stübing said “Chiamami Peroni, sarò la tua birra”² with naughty poses, Oliviero Toscani photographed female subjects from the waist down to promote a brand of jeans and topless blond models for B&B campaign to promote “Le Bambole”³ sofa designed by Mario Bellini, and Franco Turcati conceived an advertisement campaign for Suzuki featuring naked girls driving the GT750 model under the motto “Donne e moto sono tutte uguali”⁴.

Mass media didn’t represent therefore the woman as she was but according to a social imaginary resulting in standardization, trivialization and overstatement of gender roles.

Tourism sector as test bench for media's strategies development

In the years following the economic boom, media communication strategies developed exponentially. The aim to encourage people to consumption as much as possible

opposite page

Fig. 2
Fuengirola -
Spain

Source:
[https://www.
delcampe.net](https://www.delcampe.net)

Fig. 3 Costa del
Sol - Spain

Source:
[https://www.
delcampe.net](https://www.delcampe.net)

¹ Data elaborated on the basis of the information obtained from the Schlesinger Library’s Web Archive Collection (<<https://www.radcliffe.harvard.edu/schlesinger-library>>), which contains all the records from National Organization for Women.

² “Call me Peroni and I’ll be your beer” (translation mine)

³ “The Dolls”

⁴ “Women and motors are the same” (translation mine)

brought to invest into many different fields such as tourism.

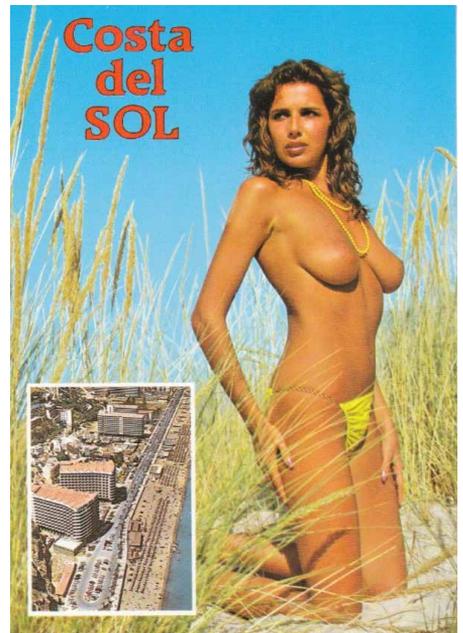
Tourists have always moved according to their mental maps more than established itineraries, being influenced not only by class tastes and intellectual needs but above all from images. For example, the first travel books between the seventeenth and the nineteenth century, such as the British Murray and the German Baedeker (1836) and the Italian Touring Club (1894), were conceived as pocket-size collections of visual techniques that provided a selection for what was worth seeing. Following the Second Industrial Revolution, the modernization of communication media largely improved the fast circulation of images, and the first half of the twentieth century has been marked by advertising design experimentations on newspapers, billboards and postcards.

In particular, postcards have played a key role according to the need of spreading messages with a strong visual impact worldwide and in a short time, becoming the most popular media in promoting vacation.

The facility to replicate the object brought to an incredible high-circulation. Pre-printed sentences, timeless panoramas and low-cost print process also led to introduce more sophisticated techniques such as the embossing effect, superior inks and additions such as glitter and silk.

How does female image serve to promote touristic places?

The first nude pictures were thought to promote nudist resorts and beaches. These kinds of



postcards portrayed men and women equally, often with children, to divulge an education free from bodily modesty and in contact with nature.

The main example is the naturist villages in Cap d'Agde (Fig. 1) that overlapped the purifying doctrines of naturism and Modernism (e.g. Le Corbusier himself enjoyed airing his bits on the Cote d'Azur)⁵.

At the same time, nude representation started to be reduced only to the female body and in contexts far from nudism practices (Fig. 2-4).

The first agencies that looked at this new communication strategy were those who were investing large money into real estate speculations and were therefore in need of a secure economic return.

Mega-architectures such as La Grande-Motte in Côte d'Azur, the Sunny Beach in the Black Sea and the villages of Rio Bravo, Terranova and Los Álamos in Mallorca and Costa del Sol, largely employed flirty female characters in their media representations.

Some municipalities also started to promote local territories using naked bodies.

This happened especially in Italy where many cities like Rimini, Cesenatico and Riccione, in the wake of summer movies featuring Stefania Sandrelli and Ornella Muti, employed women which were superimposed both on nature reserves and modern architecture in order to sponsor touristic facilities.

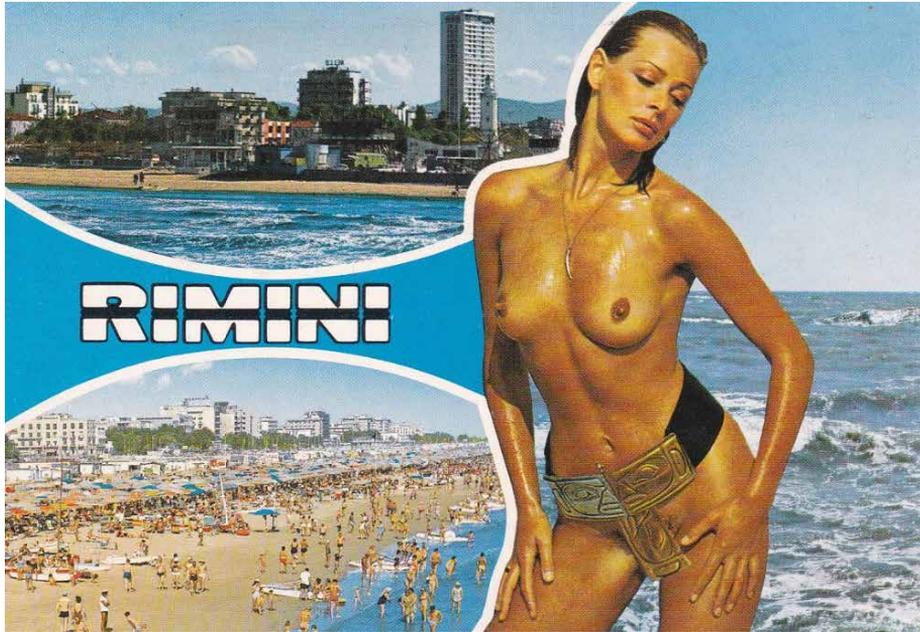
A research on the themes of Cesenatico's postcards carried out in the late 1970s revealed that hotels reached the 65% of all the subjects, and more than half of these were combined with images of naked girls⁶.

In the making of a vision to intrigue the tourist, the *mise-en-scène* of the subject is crucial. In the use of cropping, to fragment the image of women into individual parts revealed to be particularly successful, leading the observer to watch only lips or the breast, instrumentalizing even further some parts of the body.

The reasons for using this kind of advertising campaign were different. According to the necessity to spread messages about leisure and fun mood, the use of the sex issue acted as a universal strategy. Sexy silhouettes next to the 'greetings from' worked as a strategy to engrave in people's memory the name of a place or a resort's brand. Furthermore, the image of a beautiful woman winking at the bar would indeed influence the choice between several hotels.

⁵ For more information, see: Hoad P. 2015. *Welcome to the naked city: sun, swingers and very little shoplifting*. «The Guardian», 27 august 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/aug/27/naked-city-cap-agde-sun-swingers-shoplifting> (10/18).

⁶ See: Biagini E., 1981, *Tematica del messaggio promozionale visivo nella valorizzazione di un centro balneare: il caso di Cesenatico*, «Geografia», 3, IV.



Conclusion

It is clear that mass media took advantage of women's empowerment in the 1970s in order to exploit free sex principles which were far from the original libertarian purposes.

The consumers' lifestyle of that period paradoxically made women more objectified, rather than freer, as expected due to the struggles they had faced so far.

Naked female bodies so often have been used as a sexual iconographic setting in architecture and design advertising, widely emphasizing gender roles.

The juxtaposition of design and women's naked bodies, stripped of any subjective connotation, provocatively homologated and portrayed in erotic poses, merely has reduced women to objects to be possessed at the total mercy of men.

This inquiry about holidays postcards pretends to draw attention in particular to the sexualized use of female body in promoting local attractions, natural landscape and touristic resorts. But the argument could be extended to the whole design field.

Indeed, the woman has been identified as a product (an object), rather than a buyer (a subject), revealing how advertising strategies have reflected a sexist vision for too long.

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SPECULAR TECHNOLOGIES: THE CONSTRUCTION OF FEAR AND DESIRE

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Video-essay

Description

Video installation. Two-channel video (two screens) Color. Stereo. HDV. 6'58".

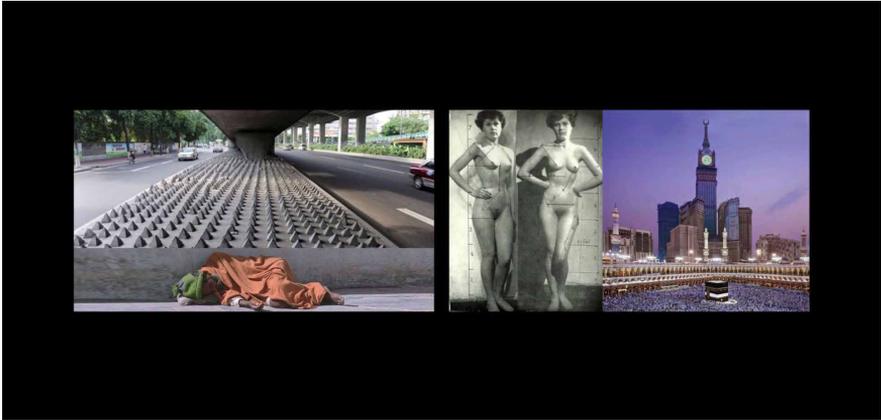
Barcelona - London 2015.

The work was produced during the workshop *Technology and surveillance in public space* directed by the artist Antoni Muntadas

The new science of social statistics and the regulation of social deviancy, created during the European Enlightenment, intertwine with architectural discourse within the construction of urban fabric, through structures and systems of risk management. From bio-anthropometrics to ergonomics and from diagrams to borders, bodies and modern city arise systematized to be optimal for the reproduction of hegemonic narratives.

These constructions remain inscribed in our bodies and the contemporary city, and they are continuously rewritten. They establish an artificial threshold defining a new frame of exclusion. Therefore, they produce new subjectivities as well as new processes of body territorialisation.

The social sciences based on statistics are still operative in our contemporary society. They permeated into the form of the cities, the big data market, speculated futures, and also into our social relationships. In this process of splitting up behaviours and bodies into data, they are incorporated as nodes in the circuit of production and consumption. Moreover, these forms of abstraction have generated a speculative knowledge of the future where the old fatalism of pre-modern societies, which subjugates actions to destiny, is supplanted by modern cause-effect determinism. This allows implanting future fictions in the present, supported by statistical confirmation.



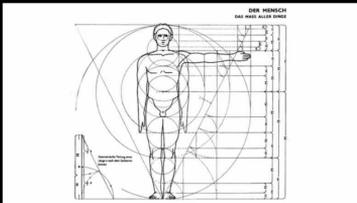
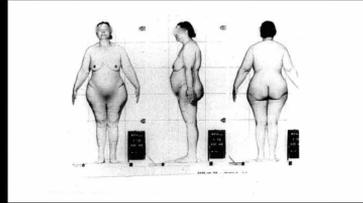
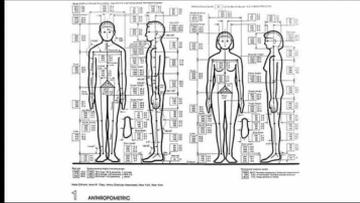
Hence, in our everyday life, we could interchangeably mix vocabularies concerning medical, military and systemic defence, for their direct association with categories already constructed on fear. Then, words such as epidemic, contagion, virus, defences, toxic, prevention, eradication, protection, propagation, intrusive body, crisis, immunity, etc.... would cause similar reactions on us, with the ultimate consequence of producing an effect despite the lack of a cause.

These procedures become tools for the construction of future fictions of fear and desire through abstractions acting as a form of demand for privatization, protection, and segregation.

Moreover, the role of statistics is highly relevant for the construction of fictions in neuroeconomics, as an empirical approach to explain human decision-making. Against a series of probabilities, forms of anticipation through speculation are operating to remove this undesirable image of the future designing the right urbanism offering anticipatory measures and prevention campaigns: prophylaxis, active immunity, medicalization, preventive medicine, preventive war, preventive urban planning, risk groups, surveillance cameras, anti-theft precautions, bruise-proofing, devices targeting homeless persons.

Despite this, the attempt to colonize the future from the present leads to architectures of abstraction, spectral fears or virtual images. And the paradox of fear production is brought on by its very prevention; in the same way as the production of desire is made through designed stereotypes.

Architecture becomes then a speculative technology for desirable futures construction and ergonomic urban models for the typological archetype. Furthermore, it produces and reproduces invisible and visible borders on bodies, cities and territories.





**COMMONING SPACES OF SOCIAL REPRODUCTION. CITIZEN-
LED WELFARE INFRASTRUCTURES IN CRISIS-RIDDEN
ATHENS, GREECE**

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Abstract

The multifaceted crisis in Greece starting in the aftermath of the global financial sector collapse of 2008 and the following austerity regime, which was enforced from 2010 to 2018, brought about extensive transformations in society and everyday people's lives. The state welfare structures and the family were severely hit, resulting in the displacement of great segments of the population to the margins of society and the emergence of new forms of exclusion. The acceleration of the processes of public welfare dismantling and suppression of social rights, with the subsequent growing precarisation of living conditions, came to deepen in the country what has been referred to as 'the crisis of social reproduction'. The nature of this crisis is systemic, yet it manifests predominantly in urban settings, as is the case of the Greek capital. In Athens, this climate of increasing attacks on lives and livelihoods prompted however a bold citizen response, which would reach its heyday in 2011 with the occupation of Syntagma Square and the ensuing proliferation of myriad grassroots initiatives of provision of everyday needs, care and social protection on a self-managed and mutual help basis. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in two of these self-organised initiatives, namely *O Allos Anthropos Social Kitchen* and *City Plaza Refugee Accommodation Centre*, this paper presents a brief account reflecting on how these grassroots care infrastructures have provided an alternative form for the organisation of social reproduction in the urban everyday life. It will be argued that despite the many limitations faced in a context of enduring crisis (politics), this reconfiguration of social reproduction from below, which comes associated with a spatial practice with an inherent political potentiality of counter-power, has left an opening for an urban life and imagination beyond neoliberalisation and permanent-crisis.

Keywords

Greece, Athens, social reproduction, commoning, citizen-led welfare infrastructures

Context

Since the international banking crash in 2008, the following and still on-going debt crisis in Greece has brought about significant structural societal transformations as well as extensive changes in everyday people's lives. The way in which the crisis has been managed by the European institutions and the successive national governments hallmarks a process of expanding economic liberalisation, which has been unfolding in Europe over the last three decades. Under the premise of austerity¹, from 2010 to 2018, a series of structural reforms were gradually enforced in the country with devastating impacts on the long-established institutions of provision of care and social protection, namely the welfare state and the family. Altogether the austerity regime has resulted in the displacement of great segments of the population to the margins of society and the emergence of new forms of exclusion (Cabot, 2016).

Importantly, the Greek crisis should not be taken as an isolated phenomenon, for it actually embeds in a long under way crisis of the forms of 'social reproduction' across the contemporary capitalist world (Rübner Hansen & Zechner, 2015). Coming from Marxist and some strands of feminist thought², the notion of 'social reproduction' refers in broader terms to the material and social maintenance of a group of people and their social bonds on a daily basis, as well as to the restoration of that society generationally. In Europe alone, due to increased unemployment and job insecurity as well as to the gradual dismantling of welfare institutions among other factors, the number of people facing difficulties to secure their everyday social reproduction has multiplied in recent years. To make matters worse, the deepening of this crisis of social reproduction is alarmingly reinforcing those forms of organising society's material and social sustenance which are grounded in gender, class, and ethnic inequalities (Comas d Argemir, 2016).

The growing lack of structures and resources made available to cover sustenance and care needs is generally hitting urban populations the most. The processes of economic neoliberalisation, which have guided urban development in many cities of Europe since the 1990s, have profoundly transformed cityscapes, fragmenting, segregating, and

¹ The first Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), which would introduce the first austerity package, was agreed between the Greek Government (PASOK) and the IMF (International Monetary Fund), the European Commission and the ECB (European Central Bank) in May 2010. Since then until May 2017, fourteen austerity packages were approved and implemented in the country. The international bailout programme ended in August 2018.

² Marxism was the first theory to address the notion of 'reproduction' in acknowledging domestic work as an economic factor key to the reproduction of the workforce and the capitalist relations of production. Since the 1970s, strands of feminist thought have sought to extend the Marxist critique to the market economy and the relations of exploitation upon which it develops to the family and the 'reproductive sphere', which expands beyond the households including schools, hospitals and prisons.

polarizing urban geographies both physically and socially. In the case of Athens, the state of crisis and the austerity regime that the city has been facing for almost a decade has stretched the inequalities derived from that previous model of city-making. Serving actually as the very means for the enforcement of new processes of exclusion and dispossession –expulsion from the labour market, removal from public social services, housing evictions and privatisation of public spaces–, the austerity regime in the city has damaged its social fabric and the urban space alike (Kalandides & Vaiou, 2015).

Yet, this same crisis-ridden city has witnessed over the past decade big waves of mobilisation and protest by its inhabitants. For cities have always been major scenarios of resistance and counter-power as well. Interestingly, citizen-led processes of re-inventing the structures and forms of building social safety nets have expanded across European cities during the years of austerity (Rübner Hansen & Zechner, 2015). In Athens, the occupation of Syntagma Square in 2011³ triggered the emergence of myriad grassroots initiatives seeking to re-organise ‘social reproduction’ on a basis of solidarity, self-management and commoning⁴. Social kitchens, social clinics and pharmacies, networks of care services, accommodation centres for/with migrants and refugees, would compose a vibrant urban geography of ‘autonomous (yet interconnected) infrastructures’ (Al-Barbary, Segatto & Tan, 2017) putting in practice site-specific responses to cover daily needs as well as broader forms of struggle to protect lives and livelihoods. Among the extensive variety of citizen-led welfare infrastructures in Athens, this paper focuses on two of them, namely the social kitchen *O Allos Anthropos* (The Other Person) (Fig. 1-2) and the accommodation centre for/with refugees *City Plaza* (Fig. 3-4).

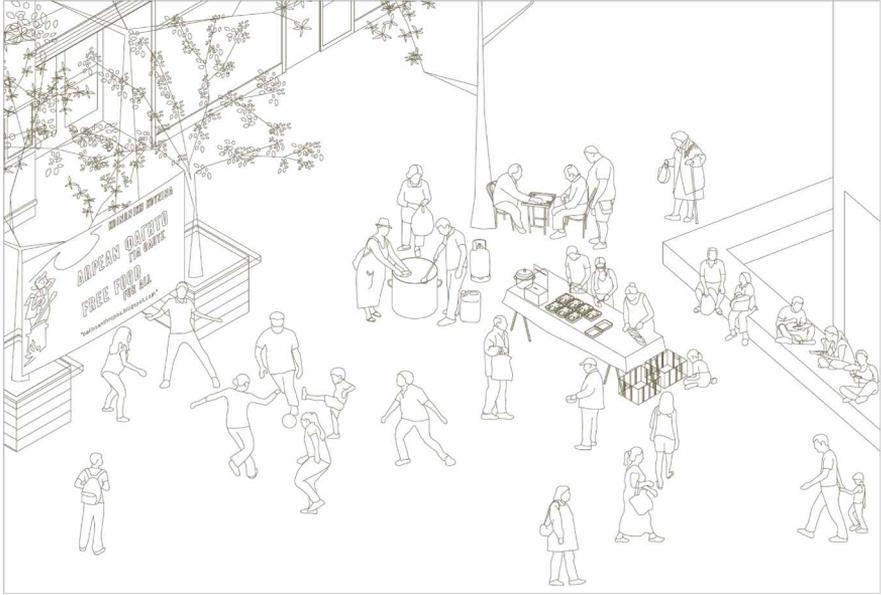
O Allos Anthropos (The Other Person) Social Kitchen

The social kitchen *O Allos Anthropos* (The Other Person in Greek) was set up in 2012 as a street-based makeshift cooking infrastructure. Each day, the collective would cook, serve and enjoy common meals in a different setting across the city. Over the years, the initiative has counted on a number of different premises, where they sort and store food donations, but also offer support lessons for children, shelter for homeless people and a range of social activities including parties and gatherings.

³ Following the Arab Spring and the 15M Movement in Spain, in May 2011 Greece witnessed a wave of civil mobilisations and protests against the imposed austerity regime. Syntagma Square, in front of the building of the Greek Parliament in Athens, was occupied for several weeks. The occupation provided a temporary self-organised infrastructure for citizen assemblies, gatherings, political discussions, common meals, performances and actions of dissent, all them sustained by practices of cooperation and mutual-aid.

⁴ In the book *Common Space. The City as Commons* (2016), the architect and activist Stavros Stavrides draws on a series of detailed examples of social housing, occupied urban spaces and a variety of urban practices, to reflect on the characteristics of common spaces –or spaces of/for commoning– and how they are produced and kept. According to Stavrides, commoning space fosters alternative forms of relating and life, which he understands as a shared project.

➔
Fig. 1, 2
Graphic field
note of O Allos
Anthropos
Social Kitchen
at Monastiraki
Square (Athens,
June 2016)
Source: author's
elaboration



In Greece, food distribution has been the most prominent solidarity activity since the start of the crisis. Social kitchens have actually constituted the underpinning infrastructure of many other self-organised initiatives, such as those that focus on the provision of clothing or medicines. Importantly, beyond this primary goal, initiatives like *O Allos Anthropos* foster a form of sociality that attempts to break social isolation and the despair and embarrassment produced by the individualisation of actual structural problems.

City Plaza Refugee Accommodation Centre

The refugee accommodation centre *City Plaza* was set up in 2016 by a group made up of local activists from the political Left and refugees who jointly occupied an abandoned hotel in the area of Victoria (Central Athens). Until July 2019, when all residents eventually left the building, *City Plaza* provided a ‘home’ –as residents used to refer to it– for over 2500 peoples seeking asylum in Europe as well as for dozens of volunteers, local and international alike. The squat operated as a self-managed and self-funded space where accommodation and everyday domestic chores were articulated with the organisation of political actions of protest and common struggle. It was self-sustained by economic and in-kind donations of food, hygiene and cleaning products, clothing, toys and other equipment for children.

At the time of my fieldwork, along with *City Plaza* there were around a dozen buildings in Athens that had been occupied to shelter displaced people. Despite facing difficult challenges and threats, these initiatives strongly strived in their day-to-day practice to construct and maintain spaces of solidarity, mutual help and common struggles among people from different origins and backgrounds.

Notes on space

The emergence of citizen-led welfare infrastructures in Athens has gone hand in hand with the creation of ‘common spaces’ (Stavrides, 2014, 2016), set up through spatial re-arrangements and re-definitions of the urban space. In some cases, just a temporary and makeshift setup on the street would suffice to create a new spatio-temporal scenario of encounter, conversation and exchange. That would happen, for example, with *O Allos Anthropos*. The daily installation of the kitchen on a square would prompt the intensification of social interactions and the expansion of those in time, contributing this way to the reactivation of that urban setting as a truly social space. The informal arrangement of just a table and a big casserole would reinstate a space of conviviality in the public, which simple and small as it was, nonetheless, posed a challenge to the logic of urban enclosures and privatisations that have been reinforced during the crisis.

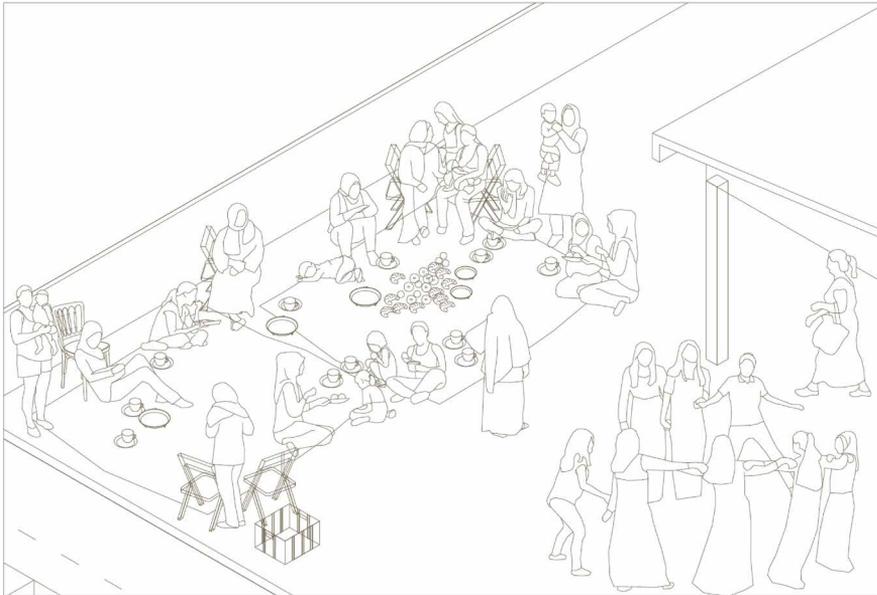
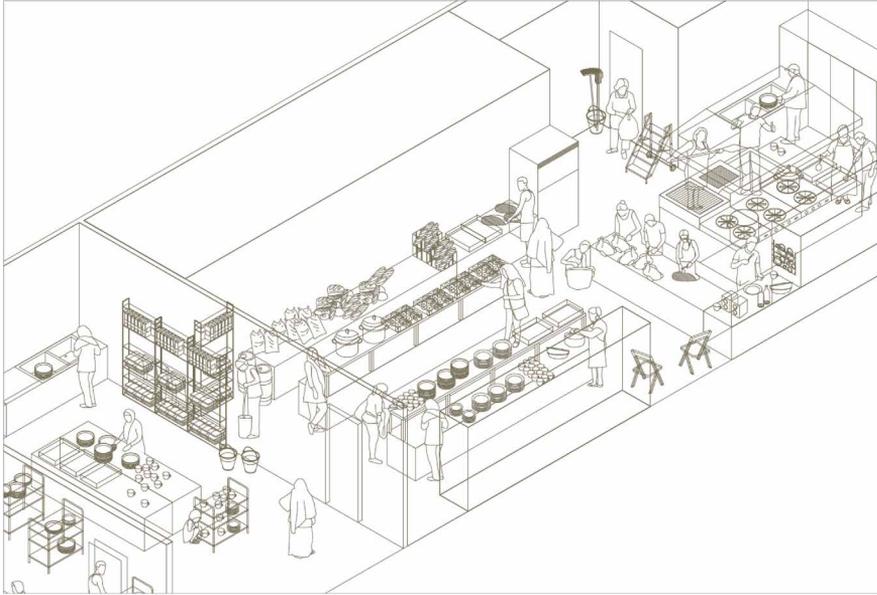
opposite page
Fig. 3, 4
Graphic field
note of City
Plaza Refugee
Accommodation
Centre's kitchen
(Athens, July
2016)
Source: author's
elaboration

The activities of most citizen-led initiatives would usually overflow the physical borders of the original or primary setting of action, expanding, contracting and disseminating in the city space at different moments and in varying forms. The resulting spatiality would therefore be fluid, non-planned and indeterminate. When, for instance, residents of *City Plaza* took to the streets to demand rights for migrants and refugees, set up an assembly or a party in *Exarcheia Square*⁵, or took over a vacant site for children to play, their actions would temporarily craft a new spatiality of diffuse borders which emerged only in motion. Similarly, *O Allos Anthropos* collective, who moved the kitchen across the city on a daily basis, would create temporary spaces of ambivalent demarcations and relentless fluctuation.

On the other hand, by reintegrating caring and reproduction activities in the realm of the urban public –on a basis of commoning and collective decision-making–, citizen-led welfare initiatives would turn these –usually privatised– activities actually political. Conversely, public space would be rendered domestic. Kitchens and dining rooms would re-emerge on the streets and squares, while those would move to the living rooms and common spaces in the squatted accommodation spaces across the city. *City Plaza* was a very good example of this. Many mornings, the reception hall would become a barber-shop. In the afternoon, when children arrived from school, the staircase connecting the different floors of rooms would turn into a playground. And at night, the living room or the rooftop would be arranged as an open cinema. In the same changing fashion, the intimate spaces of the bedrooms would transform also into improvised kitchens where meals and tea were shared with neighbours and visitors. An extended and varying gradation from private to public and vice versa was created this way, challenging that clear-cut spatial separation of functions that the Modernist paradigm came to canonize.

These brief notes provide some insights into the everyday spatial praxis of these citizen-led welfare initiatives. Certainly, from a macro-perspective, their transformative capacity in a context like that of Athens –a city ridden by crisis (politics)– might seem quite limited. However, embedded in their spatial practices is a political potentiality of re-appropriation, subversion and re-signification that can actually become a significant force of counter-power. Nevertheless, it is also important to acknowledge that since the very beginning most of these initiatives have faced important challenges to sustain the projects

⁵ Exarcheia is a neighbourhood located in central Athens with a deeply rooted historical tradition of political mobilisation and activism within the spectrum of the Left and anarchism as well as of development of social movements. Since the Greek civil war (1946-49), it constitutes an important part of the Athenian collective imaginary of struggle and conflict. Exarcheia Square, in the middle of the neighbourhood, is one of its most emblematic sites.



over time. The spaces emerging out of their practices have always been marked by a high degree of instability –and at times also by conflict and dispute–, for those are subjected to the permanent negotiation among the members of each group, newcomers and external agents. In fact, over time many citizen-led welfare initiatives have become vulnerable to internal disagreements, as well as to external attempts of criminalisation or co-optation by either the public authorities or private –often commercial– interests. Some of them, as is the case of *City Plaza*, are no longer operative.

Conclusion

Starting in the aftermath of the Syntagma occupation in 2011, citizen-led welfare initiatives in Athens have provided a bold and challenging response to the attacks on lives and livelihoods enabled by the crisis in the country. During the years of austerity, these multiple and varied grassroots groups have put into practice alternative forms of organising social reproduction in the urban everyday life that place solidarity, interdependence and commoning at the centre of social life. In so doing, they have contributed to pose social reproduction and care as public matters, hence political. Interestingly, their praxis comes associated with a spatial practice with an inherent political potentiality of counter-power. The undetermined, organic and permeable spatiality that they produce, challenges long-established functional separations, as well as the socio-spatial segregations and urban enclosures reinforced and created during the crisis. Thus, despite the many limitations faced in a context of enduring crisis (politics) with increasing structural inequalities, dispossessions and repression, these grassroots care infrastructures have nonetheless left an opening for an urban life and imagination beyond those of the city of neoliberalisation and the city in permanent-crisis.

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INVESTIGATING GENDER INEQUALITY THROUGH THE LENS OF INFRASTRUCTURAL INADEQUACY: A CASE STUDY OF DAR ES SALAAM AND NAIROBI

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Fig. 1
Structural
conditions
of the toilets
in the
settlement
without
doors,
Mlalakua
Informal
Settlement,
Dar es
Salaam,
Tanzania
Source:
Author

Abstract

Basic sanitation is one of the most important developmental challenges with 2.4 billion people still lacking access to improved facilities. Several studies reveal that one in three women still lack access to safe toilets worldwide and confront health issues, harassment, attacks, shame, and indignity. While extensive research exists on gender and sanitation focused on hygiene and health, it fails to capture the magnitude, scope, diversity of gender-based disparities and the lack of gender equality in the accessibility of sanitary infrastructure. My research claims that there is a need to examine injustice against women through infrastructural inadequacy by analysing the complexities, intricacies, and diversity of embodied and lived experiences of women. Therefore, in this paper, I aim to firstly detect gender inequality in urban spaces (manifested through sanitation infrastructure) and, secondly, investigate if women are engaging in practices that, without being clearly conscious, are changing the effects of existing gender injustices. By using data collected through qualitative semi-structured interviews conducted in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi with female residents of informal settlements, I highlight the coping mechanisms used by women residents of informal settlements to negotiate their daily fear and insecurity. Preliminary conclusions reveal that most women felt insecure and unsafe while accessing shared toilets at night in informal settlements. The findings of this investigation emphasize that sanitation is often determined by engineering and public health policies that are far removed from needs and socio-cultural practices of local women.

Keywords

Sanitation, Accessibility, Violence, Inequality, Dar es Salaam, Nairobi

Introduction

The global sanitation crisis is one of the most important developmental challenges in the 21st century with 2.4 billion people still lacking access to improved sanitation facilities (Unilever

Domestos *et al.*, 2013). The lack of sanitation has been identified as one of the main causes of health problems among urban dwellers in African cities (Hendriksen *et al.*, 2011) and the promotion of basic sanitation is largely focused on hygiene awareness, health, and environmental benefits.

While the access to sanitation is currently measured globally by the WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme, which is a key component to the success of the Sustainable Development Goals and uses internationally agreed definitions for 'improved sanitation', this monitoring currently does not provide a breakdown of access for men and women separately. However, poor sanitation most significantly impacts on the safety, well-being and educational prospects of women. Indeed, several studies reveal that one in three women still lack access to safe toilets worldwide, which is manifested in risking shame, health issues, indignity, harassment and even attack because of inadequate sanitary infrastructure (Unilever Domestos *et al.*, 2013; Abrahams *et al.*, 2006; Joshi *et al.*, 2011, Reddy & Snehalatha, 2011, p. 400).

Along these lines, research emphasizes the vulnerability of women to physical and sexual violence if they are forced to wait until early morning or late evenings to look for a secluded place to defecate (Reddy & Snehalatha, 2011, p. 390; Unilever Domestos *et al.*, 2013; Abrahams *et al.*, 2006). In addition, as several studies have shown, violence becomes more pronounced towards women of lower socio-economic strata living in informal settlements (Anand & Tiwari, 2006). Lack of sanitation, in addition, considerably contributes to poverty (Hendriksen *et al.*, 2011; Desai *et al.*, 2014) with the casting out of many sites, groups and practices of the urban poor as unsanitary (Desai *et al.*, 2014; Allen *et al.*, 2006; Joshi *et al.*, 2011). Furthermore, problems of poverty faced by female-headed households in rural areas of Africa were shown to be caused, in part, by unequal access to essential resources (Porter & Sweetman 2005). This helps draw attention towards women who stand on an intersection of inadequate access to sanitation infrastructure, poverty, and gender violence.

In summation, while there is extensive research on gender and sanitation, it fails to capture the magnitude and scope of gender-based disparities and the inherent lack of gender equality in accessibility of sanitary infrastructure (Chant, 2013; Rakodi, 1991; Scampini, 2013). The studies show a dearth of empirical evidence regarding the intersectional relationship of poor women with sanitation infrastructure. Hence, in this article, I argue that there is a need to investigate gender inequality through infrastructural inadequacy.

In the next section, I delineate the theoretical framework that enables me to explore gender inequality in informal settlements, manifested through sanitation infrastructure.

I have organized it around the discussion of two themes: the discussion of gender (with)in the development agenda and the interactions between gender and technology by analysing women's experiences with sanitation infrastructure.

Placing 'women' in gender debates in development

Development as a concept and process is constructed, contested, and dynamic. Nobel laureate Amartya Sen (1999 cited in Anand, 2002, p. 5) has poignantly stated that "Nothing, is as important today in development than an adequate recognition of political, economic, social participation and leadership of women".

Regardless of the various ways in which development has been envisioned and implemented, women and their rights are portrayed as being perpetually subject to marginalization, side-lining, and instrumentalization (Scampini, 2013). While the notion of gender equality began to enter the development agenda, it did not lead to equality but rather to strategies on how to incorporate women into incumbent models to engender the analyses, goals, and strategies (Scampini, 2013; Valentine, 2007; Reeves, 2002; Porter & Sweetman, 2005). Mohanty (1984, p. 344) elaborates on the problematic of use of 'women' as a group and as a stable category of analysis by stressing on the implicit assumption of "an ahistorical, universal unity between women based on a generalized notion of their subordination". She further argues that such simplistic formulations can be reductive and ineffectual in designing strategies to combat oppressions (Mohanty, 1984, p. 344).

Additionally, feminist ethnographers in the early 1990s also questioned the value of including women as an isolated 'category' and called for a shift away from an analytical lens from a 'women only' focus (Reeves, 2002, p. 198). These studies revealed that it was not possible to separate out multiple categories of gender, race, class and to explain inequalities through a single framework. Hence, intersectionality emerged as a concept to theorize on and empirically analyse the relationship between different social categories: gender, race, class, sexuality, ethnicity and so forth (Crenshaw, 1993; Valentine, 2007, p. 10; Scampini & Raaber, 2013). Adherents to the concept of intersectionality stress the interwoven nature of oppressive categories and how they can mutually strengthen or weaken each other (Valentine, 2007; Winker & Degele, 2011; McCall, 2005). However, the intersectional approaches in social sciences have paid less attention to the significance of space in the process of subject formation (Valentine, 2007, p. 14; Fernandes, 2003, p. 309; Scampini & Raaber, 2013). Little research has also been conducted in rethinking intersections of systems of oppression and structures of power that frame social positions of individuals and gender inequality (West & Fenstermaker, 1995; Valentine, 2007). Mohanty (1984, p. 337) elaborates on the need for



Fig. 2
Shared
community
toilet in the
settlement,
Mathare
Informal
Settlement,
Nairobi, Kenya
Source: Author



intersectional perspective on oppression by highlighting how western feminist discourses bind women through the normative sociological “notion of the ‘sameness’ of oppression” while ignoring the pluralities of different groups of women in diverse social classes and ethnic frameworks.

Lastly, the way these systems of oppression are mediated by socio-technical arrangements and women’s unequal access to infrastructure services, has been largely neglected in the debates on intersectionality. Hence, the following sections focus on the interrelation of two categories namely gendered space and gender in technology.

Gendered Technologies of Sanitation: Spatial access and design

Earlier research often identifies space (where one lives) and gender (or the complexities of gendered identities) as two of the most critical aspects related to sanitation (Joshi *et al.*, 2011, p. 1). In addition to this, women have also been observed to give higher priority to sanitation than men because of health benefits and privacy. Some of the challenges women face with sanitation infrastructure are their need to look for a secluded place to defecate in poor areas (Reddy & Snehalatha, 2011) due to often inappropriately located

services (Rakodi, 1991). This can deter the use or exacerbate maintenance problems of existing sanitation arrangements (Schlyter, 1988 cited in Rakodi 1991, p. 545). Thus, the failure to involve women in the design of infrastructure facilities may result in inappropriate standards and technological artefacts (Moser, 1987a cited in Rakodi, 1991, p. 541). In addition, an inadequate access to these services and existing infrastructure designs can also expose women to acts of violence, with reports indicating increased violence around sanitation infrastructures (Abrahams *et al.*, 2006; Unilever Domestos *et al.*, 2013). Such gender-based violence has been observed to instil a mobilizing fear and insecurity in the public space (Ibid.). Hence, what is provided as sanitation is often determined by engineering, environmental and public health concerns that are far removed from women's needs, their socio-cultural practices and existing gender constructs. Therefore, while sanitation needs are indeed universal, more research is needed on the gender-related constructs and implications in the design and promotion of basic sanitation infrastructure within diverse groups (Joshi *et al.*, 2011).

In addition, discourses in gender and technology studies highlight how users, through different ways of interpretation, contribute to the social shaping of technologies. In this sense, a look to feminist studies of science and technology could bring an insightful perspective to analyse gender inequality in sanitation. Indeed, feminist researchers of technology have emphasized the need to focus on “women's ‘lived experience’ as a way (...) to give women a voice in the construction of new knowledge” (Fonow & Cook, 2014, p. 2218). Hence, the next section describes how women as users inform, interact and transform infrastructure and technology.

Gender in Technology

Technology is a significant site of gender negotiations where both masculine and feminine identities are constructed and deconstructed (Lohan, 2013 cited in Green & Adam, 2013, p.149), however, “women's everyday encounters with technological artefacts are rarely recognized” (Faulkner, 2001, p. 85). It has been argued that technologies gain gender identities when they “enter into our everyday structural relations and cultural meaning systems and can become actors in the practices of everyday lives” (Lohan, 2013 cited in Green & Adam, 2013, p.158). However, much of the available scholarship on women and technology fails to capture or explain women's ambivalence about the technologies they encounter.

Traditionally, users have been regarded as important actors in the diffusion and acceptance of new technologies (Von Hippel, 1976 and 1988 cited in Rommes *et al.* 2013, p. 191). However, most attention has focused on the role of innovators in the construction of technological

objects and they often construct many different representations of users and “objectify these representations in technological choices” (Rommes, van Oost & Oudshoorn cited in Green & Adam, 2013, p. 191). This results in technologies containing ‘scripts’, which assign specific competences, actions, and responsibilities to its envisioned users. Users of technology often tend to experience them as gendered and find them useful to articulate and perform their (gender) identities. Hence, when the scripts reveal a gendered pattern, they are called “gendered scripts” (Rommes, van Oost & Oudshoorn cited in Green & Adam, 2013, p. 191).

This research highlights how scripts can also contribute to the exclusion of specific users if the innovator’s image of the envisioned users only represents a selective set. Donna Haraway (1997, p. 37 cited in Green & Adam, 2013) states that

if women do not ‘fit’ well within the new technological standards being developed, they find themselves being marginalized within developing social practices and forms.

This accentuates the innovator/user divide through the innovator’s image of the users in contrast to the actual users of the infrastructure and technology.

Nonetheless, some studies have also shown that technology can aid female empowerment by appropriating individual technologies in practice. This is done by including wider gender contexts within which they are designed and used (Faulkner, 2001). Critical feminist technology assessment seeks to extend existing technology assessment procedures by giving voice to the full range of actors involved and by starting a critical debate about “what and whose needs are to be met” (Faulkner, 2001). Therefore, an intersectional approach could significantly augment and alter the injustice against women through infrastructural inadequacy by analysing the complexities, intricacies, and diversity of embodied and lived experiences of women.

In the next section, I describe the methodology used during fieldwork and I also provide some data collected that enable me to propose some conclusive remarks concerning the relations between gender and technology in the study of sanitation infrastructures.

Methodological Framework: Case Study and Interviews

To furnish the study with the voices and experiences of women, I approached the question of gender inequality in sanitation by conducting qualitative fieldwork in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi in March-April 2015 and February-April 2016. The selection of these two research contexts was based on the fact that they are shaped by collaborative arrangements of informal and formal service provision. Additionally, both cities have been previous sites of infrastructure upgrading programmes led by the World Bank. However,

despite the apparent similarities in the context namely the language, population size, and urban development trajectory, the cities also have a contrasting view of tackling the growing informal settlements and provision of formal services to its residents. Based on these rationales, I chose Mlalakua informal settlement in Dar es Salaam and 'A4' village of Mathare informal settlement in Nairobi as case studies.

I conducted qualitative semi-structured interviews. I chose to firstly interview women residents of both the settlements to highlight the coping mechanisms used by them to tackle the safety and insecurity they face while accessing shared sanitation facilities. Even though I also interviewed male residents, for this article I chose to present the everyday experiences of women. Previous literature often tends to portray the distinctive voices of women as either stereotyped or add-ons in development studies. However, women's views and experiences should be central in informing urban development planning and implementation (Narayanan, 2012).

The aim of the semi-structured interviews was to understand women's experiences of using a shared toilet, the challenges faced (if any) in accessing the service with their children and their experience (if any) with gender-based violence. I chose firstly a focus group of teenage mothers in Mathare in Nairobi and, secondly, women residents of Mlalakua Sub-ward in Dar es Salaam. The interviews were conducted with the help of a female research assistant who also acted as a translator since I did not speak Swahili which is the native language in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi. I felt that because of the existing sensitivity surrounding sanitation due to socio-cultural constructs, I needed a translator for the women to feel safe about talking about issues of sexual harassment and health-related problems (e.g. Urinary Tract Infection). It's imperative for my research that the women talk freely and feel comfortable while expressing their concerns and opinions. Hence, my female research assistants were able to make the discussions easier for the discussants in Swahili. The data collected was then transcribed and preliminary findings will be highlighted in the next section.

Insights: Mathare Informal Settlement, Nairobi, Kenya

I conducted two focus group sessions consisting of a total of 22 women from the Teenage Mothers Empowerment Programme run by the NGO Mathare Children's Fund (MCF) in the Mathare informal settlement over the course of two field visits in March-April 2015 and February-April 2016. The women ranged between an age group of 16-23 years and were all learning the craft of tailoring and stitching. Upon being asked if they were willing to sit down and discuss issues regarding sanitation, they all agreed to answer the questions individually while still maintaining the group discussion in parallel.

The discussants divulged firstly that most of them shared toilets with other households. All of them agreed that the toilets were not maintained and complained of contracting UTI. Secondly, most women also found it difficult to access the toilet at night with one discussant claiming to “not drink any water at night after 6 pm”, the next one claiming to “take different routes to Open Defecation (OD) at night” and another stating the “lack of light at night” in the settlement as a challenge. All respondents stated their toilets to be unhygienic and then as a group discussed how the shared community toilets installed in the settlement were too expensive for them to afford. Thirdly, all women described in detail how they all have the phone number for MSF (Médecins Sans Frontiers) saved and call them to help victims of sexual violence. Lastly, upon inquiring about the coping mechanisms used by them to tackle the inadequate sanitation facilities, one discussant stated that she “uses the toilet at nearby school in day”, another said she “uses a bucket at night and empties it in the open drain in the morning” and finally, one after hesitation said she used “flying toilet (when an individual defecates in a plastic bag, that is tied and thrown out of the dwelling space) at night”.

Insights: Mlalakua Sub Ward, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

In Dar es salaam, using the same interview questionnaire, I conducted individual semi-structured interviews with 32 female residents from the Mlalakua informal settlement over the course of two field visits as stated previously. Women residents were approached with the help of a local elected official and a female research assistant. The residents were first made aware of this research being an academic study and then based on their willingness to participate in the interview; they were posed the questions from the interview questionnaire.

Interviews revealed that a majority of women had access to only shared toilets which were squatting pit latrine. Hygiene issues like contracting a UTI were stated as the biggest challenge being faced by most of the women. Interestingly, one of the respondents' husband (who wasn't a part of the interview but was sitting nearby) stated that “his daughter complained of UTI” but was asked by his wife not to elaborate further. Additionally, most respondents stated that they usually asked “someone to accompany them at night” because it made them uncomfortable. What was striking was that most of the women, when asked what made them uncomfortable at night, stated: “it's dark at night”. The women also discussed feeling insecure and unsafe going to the toilet at night due to a fear of being “attacked by robbers, men hiding behind trees and lack of light in the toilets”. Furthermore, women responded by claiming that the toilets made them uncomfortable,

with one respondent claiming that the “toilet is uncomfortable because of how it is built, especially the door”. In addition, all women preferred a “squatting toilet”. One respondent stated that she was uncomfortable in “sharing a sitting toilet with so many people”. Lastly, all women stated that they were responsible for collecting water, for drinking purposes and toilet usage, for their households. Most of the women were involved in informal economic activities like selling *Mandazis* (a homemade sweet from white flour and sugar) and one respondent stated that she uses the money she earns to “buy a 10-litre bucket of water for 20 TZS (Tanzanian shilling) per day”.

Conclusions

The voices and experiences of women residents provide an avenue to investigate how gender inequality in informal settlements (manifested in the varied relationships women establish with sanitation facilities) could also be seen from the lenses of women’s ambiguous relation with technology (as users but removed from design). However, their voices also pose some theoretical challenges to the complex question of women’s access to sanitation. The interviews show the women to firstly be conversant with the challenges they face in their everyday lives while accessing these facilities. Secondly, they show how the women negotiate these everyday encounters by utilizing various coping mechanisms. The narratives of these women in informal settlements hence highlight on how women inform, interact and transform infrastructure in informal settlements.

In addition, the empirical evidence gathered in this study also corroborates with other studies highlighting the growing violence against women surrounding inadequate infrastructure. There has been empirical evidence detailed in cities of East Africa and South-East Asia (Anand & Tiwari, 2006; Narayanan, 2012; Reddy & Snehalatha, 2011; Arku, Angmor & Seddoh, 2013; Kareem & Lwasa, 2014) highlighting the presence of violence intersecting with inadequate infrastructure provision, namely of water, sanitation and transport. Hence, this leads me to argue for a more detailed analysis into urban infrastructure planning to see if these infrastructures are themselves turning into systems of oppression or whether this reported violence is an unintended consequence of reductive planning strategies.

Lastly, the study also highlights the need to incorporate women users in the design of technology and technical artefacts. Various coping mechanisms are described by women residents to negotiate the growing insecurity and fear of violence while accessing shared sanitation facilities. These demonstrate the role women users are playing in re-writing the gender-script of the sanitation infrastructure. Therefore, the shaping of infrastructure and technology by women as users requires a more in-depth interrogation through further research.

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GENDERED URBANISM AND SPATIALIZED RELATIONS: WOMEN AND THE CITY OF LIMASSOL

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Fig. 1
Gender
presence in
and around
Heroon
Square
Source:
author's
elaboration

Abstract

Women's relation with the post-industrial city has been defined by a reciprocal association between women's identity and urban form. Women's place within social structure has been influenced by spatial conditions that have been often limiting and, at the same time, women's role in social processes has definitively impacted urban and architectural development. The paper explores evidence of spatial gendering in Limassol, a coastal city of approximately three hundred thousand inhabitants that grew substantially towards the end of the twentieth century. The analytical framework focuses on women's everyday experiences within the built environment in order to provide an understanding of urban transformations and socio-perceptual boundaries in the public and the private realms that are inherent, constructed or implied. Urban transformations regard changes in urban form or use that have resulted from gender relations, and boundaries refer to restrictions imposed on women by social structures through constructed space. The exploration of women's experiences aims to contribute to the discourse of spatial democracy and regards gender equality as a fundamental element of good urbanism and social sustainability, where the latter advocates for social process to play a more decisive role in urban development.

Keywords

Gender, women, urbanism, Cyprus, Limassol

Conceptual Framework and Methods

The research underpinning the paper regards gender - in its socially constructed form - as an instrument for reading and understanding the urban landscape, as well as an agent for the production and consumption of space. The research is framed by three aspects that emerged from reviewing a broad range of literature relating gender to architecture. The first aspect considers post-industrial cities in the asymmetrical and undemocratic nature of their urban spaces that privilege able-bodied men. This condition is commonly spatialized by the

separation of the public and the private space (Greed, 2007, 1994; Fainstein & Servon, 2005; Hayden, 1980, 2002; Spain, 2011; Miranne & Young, 2000; Andrew, 2000; Jarvis *et al.* 2009; Boys, 1998; Ockman, 1996). The second aspect regards architecture and social process as two entities that are in constant flux and that impact each other reciprocally (Hayden, 1995; Spain, 1992, 2011; Miranne & Young, 2000), and the third aspect focuses on an exploration of boundaries as they pertain to women and space (Miranne & Young, 2000; Semblat 1993, cited in Andrew, 2000; Hendler & Harrison, 2000; Greed, 1994). The paper concentrates on identifying gendered spaces, where gendering refers to spaces that have been created as a result of gender relations and social process. Gendered spaces are identified within the city by searching for changes and transformations that followed shifts in social relations such as women's entry into the labour market, an event that occurred in Limassol most prominently during the third and fourth quarter of the twentieth century. Uncovering issues of women's dual role as a member of the workforce and as homemaker was the original impetus of the research, but it organically led to other issues such as spaces for religious practices and areas of gendered historicity. Thus, the paper explores dualities of space and time, connectivity and access, as well as perceptions and awareness. Data was collected through a series of semi-structured interviews where the findings were organised, analysed and synthesised through a grounded theory approach. These qualitative findings were complemented and spatialized by a series of onsite observations and mappings in public and private spaces within the city.

Boundaries, Shifts and Changes in the Public Realm

Literature exploring the relationship between gender and architecture reveals that the separation within industrial cities between public and private realms was intended to keep women away from the workforce, thereby maintaining power within patriarchal structures (Markussen, 2005; Spain, 2011, Massey & McDowell, 2005; Hayden, 1980, 2002, Jarvis *et al.* 2009). However, in spite of these inherent spatial difficulties, women did enter the workforce in Cyprus and in other Western countries. The socio-spatial boundary of the dichotomy between private and public zones that working women faced has created opportunities for urban and architectural form to transform in order to accommodate women's dual role as members of the labour market and as homemakers. Regardless of the motives of the separation of uses within the city and inside the home, Miranne & Young (2000), Andrew (2000) and Ainley (1998) posit that women's place in the private realm of domesticity and men's dominance of the public arena were enabled and enhanced by the physical distance that separated the two urban realms. Indeed,

Rendell (2000, p.103) refers to the separation of the two spheres as the “most pervasive representation of gendered space”. Although the public and private duality as expressed by Rendell is prevalent in the city of Limassol, the paper aims to uncover additional, more nuanced evidence of gendering within the city’s public realm.

The motive behind changes in the urban fabric is the fact that working women are compelled to spend far less time at home carrying out domestic tasks. Consequently, these tasks are now being transferred outside the home and commercialized by the free market. Time management challenges that are subsequent to the physical distance between work and home, and the time shortage working women experience in fulfilling their domestic obligations are mitigated by delegating and commercializing certain tasks outside the home. Such tasks include laundry, childcare and cooking, which have given rise to commercial services like laundromats, dry-cleaning services, day-care centres, eateries and fast food shops (Hayden, 1980). In fact, all commercial roads that define Limassol’s public realm are punctured by services such as these that have been established within the last thirty years. Since the most significant wave of Limassolian women entering the workforce can be located in the 1980s, the appearance, in the 1990s, of these services that commercialize domestic tasks seems more than just coincident.

As a result of commercializing domestic tasks, a particular kind of eatery shops has been established. These shops are called *μαϊρκά* (mayrka) and they sell convenience food that replicates traditional, home-cooked Cypriot food. Although *μαϊρκά* occupy the size of an average retail shop of around fifty to sixty square metres and aim to mimic domestic environments, they include a professional kitchen that produces convenience food of a sufficient quantity for a viable business that employs an average of five people. The food prepared is humble, everyday food, and although it is prepared commercially, usually by a male cook, it is intended to imitate food prepared by a mother or a wife in a domestic kitchen. The popularity of such types of places indicates that the fact that women are spending less time at home, at the expense of their domestic tasks, has brought forth a kind of nostalgia – even guilt, on behalf of the women – for the time when women were predominately housewives, where this guilt is somehow compensated by the commercial availability of home-cooked, traditional Cypriot food.

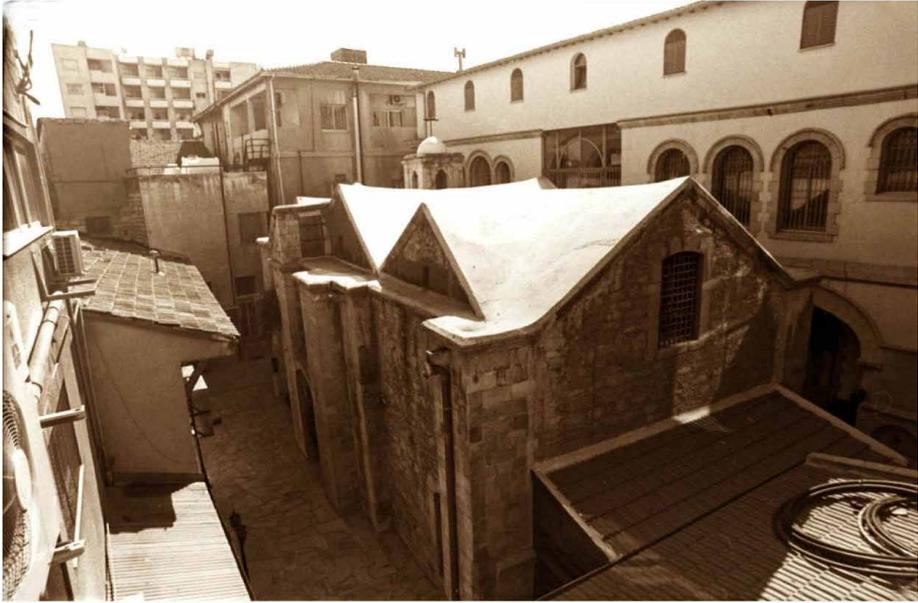
The issue of working women’s time economy within their home is the impetus for another component of spatializing gender relations. Since Limassolian women prefer to share their daily tasks either with other women from their immediate family environment, e.g. their mothers, or with hired domestic help, the phenomenon of hired help has become prevalent in Cyprus, particularly in the fourth quarter of the twentieth century. Cypriot families usually

opposite page
Fig. 2
Religious
spaces for local
women: hidden
church, Agiou
Andronikou
and Athanasia
Source:
photograph by
the author

hire women from South and Southeast Asia, mainly from Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and the Philippines. Whereas in the private realm these women's presence has impacted domestic design in the physical terms discussed below, their presence in the public realm is manifested in spatial form as well as temporal activities that serve to activate urban spaces. During the week, hired domestic helpers are confined to the spaces of the homes where they work and the only occasion they would be seen outside the home would be to accompany an elderly person or a baby in his or her walk, or to do basic shopping for the home. However, on Sunday, which is their day off, they flood the streets of the centre of Limassol, along the coastline, and in other public areas and interstitial urban spaces where they can gather and engage in a variety of informal activities that range from socialising in large groups to sharing a meal, trading goods, exchanging services such as cutting each other's hair, taking pictures with each other to send to their families, etc.

The most poignant spatial and non-spatial element of their Sunday urban presence is linked to their religious habits. These women belong to a variety of religions such as Buddhism and several minor Christian denominations such as Evangelical Christianity, New Testament Church and Seventh-Day Adventist Church. Depending on their individual religious affiliation, they gather in these impromptu churches every Sunday to pray and sing. They meet in multipurpose, non-denominational rooms that are usually hidden behind innocuous shop fronts, scattered throughout the city centre. The most powerful beacon of their Sunday worship comes from their melodious singing during their worship. Oftentimes these spaces are equipped with loudspeakers, making the impressions of their songs especially moving to anybody spending his or her Sunday window-shopping in the city centre. This kind of nonphysical presence evoked by these women is as important in acknowledging Limassol's evolving multicultural identity as it is elusive in illustrating women who are temporary residents of Cyprus and their experiences in the city of Limassol.

The practice of religious habits of women living in Limassol has revealed another component of gender relations. The research uncovered three types of places of worship. The first type is the one discussed above, frequented by foreign domestic workers; the second type refers to large cathedral-type churches pervasive in Eastern Orthodox nations; the third type has been discovered in Limassol during the site analysis (Fig. 1) and refers to hidden places within the city centre where local women can worship in a more intimate setting. Although the history and origin of these latter spaces is unknown, women's need to retreat to such places can be interpreted as a means of creating spaces – sites of resistance – within the public realm that are neither public nor private, thus negotiating

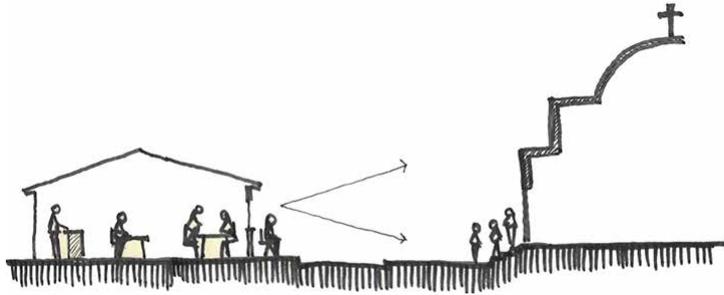


a virtual kind of boundary that is instilled by the archetypal masculine nature of the public realm. These small churches can be accessed from inconspicuous openings usually between two buildings that are practically concealed along the streetscape (Fig. 2). This kind of discreet, yet formal, space within the city, dedicated to religious activities for Limassolian women, is in sharp contrast to the sizable cathedral-type churches that enable more overt worship and to the informal religious spaces of foreign domestic workers discussed above.

Although some Limassolian men are also regular worshippers, the majority of regular churchgoers has always been women. The most important distinction between the three spaces discussed above is the way these religious activities resonate within the public realm; on Sundays, Greek Orthodox churches announce services by the sound of the formal and prominent bells whose volume is proportional to the size of the church. Bells attached to smaller churches, such as the ones of the hidden churches mentioned above, are almost unnoticeable to the surrounding community. In contrast, the sounds of the singing from the South and Southeast Asian women at around noon, is less formal, yet more relatable to a society of growing secularism. By worshiping behind shop fronts and unabashedly singing religious tunes, domestic workers employ spatial and temporal means to state their urban presence which is otherwise obscured, because of class distinctions, whereas women who are permanent residents of Limassol worship either in prominent churches that are an



Fig. 3
Adjacencies of
churches and
coffee shops
in traditional
village settings
 Source: author's
 elaboration



important element of urban infrastructure, or in small, obscured religious spaces, where they can claim privacy in an otherwise public arena.

While older Cypriot women are at church on Sunday mornings, their husbands often meet at the neighbourhood coffee shop. This was especially true during the first three quarters of the twentieth century, when both men and women had less access to media and fewer possibilities for human contact through telephone or the Internet. Although housewives would socialize at church only once a week, men could visit the local coffee shop every day, where they would generally talk about work or sports. These coffee shops are informally called ‘traditional’ coffee shops because their qualities are directly reminiscent of village coffee shops that played an integral part in the social life of Cypriot agrarian societies. In villages, these coffee shops were always located in the village centre and, more often than not, they were adjacent to the village church. Traditional coffee shops would generally open in the mornings and stay open until early afternoon because evenings are meant to be spent with family at home.

Although the dimensions of traditional coffee shops vary, they are generally comprised of an indoor sitting area, a kitchen with enough space to accommodate a single worktable where the coffee was made and a fridge that would usually fit under the worktop for cold drinks. The pavement in front of the shop is usually appropriated by the establishment and used as an informal outdoor sitting area. One particular spatial characteristic of the coffee shop, which has been common to both its rural and urban occurrence, is the transparent treatment of the façade that separates the indoor from the outdoor sitting area, so that patrons can maximize their view of the public realm. Presumably in the old days, this arrangement enabled men not only to observe public activity, but would also alert them when their wives were leaving church at the end of Sunday morning services (Fig. 3).

In their urban format, traditional coffee shops are located in areas of mixed use, as close to commercial pockets as possible. While some of these traditional coffee shops survive to the present day in the heart of Limassol's public realm, the patrons remain exclusively (mostly older) men. As younger generations do not subscribe to social segregation, they opt to frequent more gender-neutral places. In older times, the terms of women's exclusion from the coffee shops were clearer than today; although women would frequently be the proprietors of coffee shops, the institution of the coffee shop defined these spaces as men-only zones. Women would never be seen sitting with the patrons. Although women's emancipation has made these socio-spatial boundaries less prohibitive, even in traditional coffee shops of present-day, it is extremely rare for women to patronise these establishments.

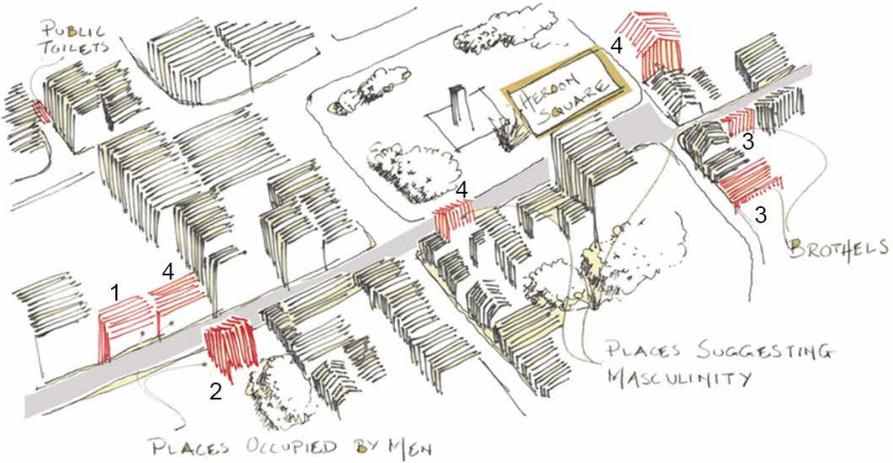
Upon further observation of the spatial manifestation and urban relationships of the traditional coffee shop, the research focussed on Pavlos Melas Street (Fig. 4), a street located in the city centre, which features a traditional shop such as the one described above. This street is adjacent to Heron Square, an area that underwent particular transitions and transformations throughout the twentieth century. These transformations are less relevant to its physical character, and more pertinent to boundaries and thresholds of social relations. As the city's former red-light district that was previously owned by a Muslim family that prohibited Christians to enter, the area has experienced decades of varied expressions of community exclusion, marginalization and segregation, both racially and in terms of gender. Nowadays, as the de facto centre of Limassol's public realm, the area around Heron Square, including Pavlos Melas Street, signifies women's progress from being regarded as objects of sexual desire to being considered (almost) equal members of the workforce.

Pavlos Melas Street is a road where notable relations of gender power are at play. At its western end, there is a betting shop that attracts mostly Cypriot men. In fact, the name of the betting shop is quite indicative of the kind of clientele it anticipates: it is called Μάγκας (mangas) which is the Greek word used to describe a manly man, a man who is crafty, brave and defiant. Two shops next to Mangas, there is a shisha café where the clientele is exclusively male Muslim immigrants. Two shops down on the other side of the betting shop, there is Jimmy's Coffee Shop, which is frequented only by men.

A common characteristic between the shisha café, Jimmy's coffee shop and the traditional coffee shops discussed above is the transparency of the window pane separating the indoor from the outdoor sitting area, which enables the patrons to sit facing the outside so that they may observe passers-by and other activities. Not only do the men sitting at Jimmy's position themselves in such a way as to be able to watch surrounding activities, they even appropriate the opposite side of the road by placing their white, plastic chairs facing the coffee shop on



Fig. 4
Pavlos Melas
Street
 Source: author's
 elaboration



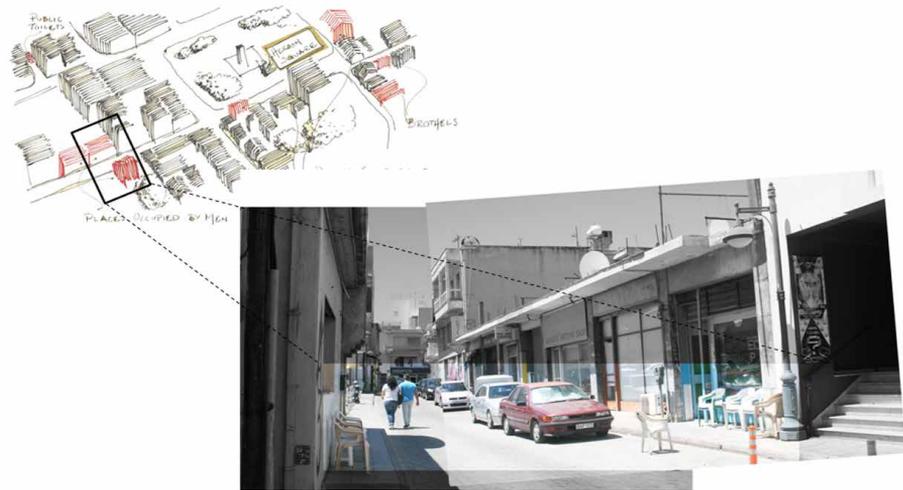
- | | | | |
|--|------------|---|------------|
| 1. traditional coffee shops
occupied exclusively by men | 2. cabaret | 4. Establishments
suggestion masculinity | 3. Brothel |
|--|------------|---|------------|

opposite page
Fig. 5
Pavlos Melas
Street. Jimmy's
appropriating
the pavement
across the street
creating an
informal zone
of surveillance
 Source: author's
 elaboration

the opposite side of the road. In this way, an informal living room arrangement is created that also functions as a zone of surveillance (Fig. 5). Less than fifty meters away, there are the houses of two of the last remaining prostitutes in the area. One of the prostitutes has recently passed away, but the other is still active. Upon recording observations of how women and men inhabit the area, taken three times a day for several days, it was determined that far fewer women walk through Pavlos Melas Street than in any other street adjacent to the Square, indicating the contested nature of the street and the intangible boundaries created by an intense male presence and passive observation.

Negotiating Boundaries in the Private Realm: the Spatial and the Perceptual

Boundaries explored in Limassol's private realm of domesticity exhibited conditions of social and spatial isolation. Features of privacy and isolation came about in the second and third quarter of the twentieth century as housing areas moved away from the historic core of Limassol, which is also the city's commercial and administrative centre. As residential areas moved outwards, the vernacular courtyard typology, once pervasive in the historic core, transitioned into the single-family house. The form of the contemporary, single-family, suburban home that was found to be profoundly popular among



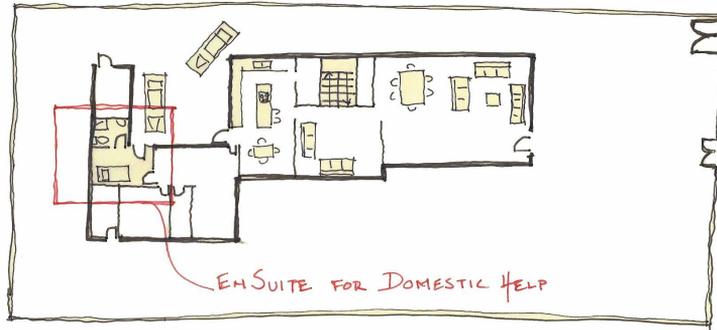
Limassolian women exhibits a typology of isolation, disguised as privacy. Similar to most Westernized suburban houses in Europe and Anglo-American cities, the building is located in the middle of a buildable plot, with a minimum buffer of three metres on all sides. Consequently, the minimum distance between two houses is six metres. These suburban houses are not only isolated from other physical surroundings, i.e. streets and neighbouring houses, but they become additionally introverted by a high surrounding fence wall. This latter architectural element was likely brought on during the aftermath of a military incursion by a foreign country in 1974 as a perimetric wall system that enables a feeling of privacy. Cypriot aspiring homeowners' desire to make the walls of their future as high as possible frequently supersedes other issues like numbers of bedrooms and square feet of kitchens.

The spatial isolation brought on by the high surrounding walls and the minimum offset surrounding the suburban house is experienced more intensely by women rather than by male inhabitants, since this condition of isolation prohibits women from fostering relations with other people living within proximity, with whom they could collaborate and share domestic tasks. This type of domestic collaboration would save women time and, as such, carries the potential of improving women's quality of life in the home, making them more competitive in the workplace (Sangregorio, 1998; Hayden, 2002, 1980; Franck, 2000).

Spatial isolation burdening women has a historic precedent in Cyprus. During Ottoman times, Cypriot women were isolated in *shachnisi's*, enclosed balconies projected on top of public roads where women could observe street activity without being gazed upon by others,



Fig. 6
Ensuite for
domestic help
 Source: author's
 elaboration



enabling them to be mere vicarious participants in public life. Nowadays, Cypriot women experience a different kind of spatial isolation, one that is not necessarily imposed by their spouses and elders in order to preserve social constructs, but one that is a consequence of choice and preference. While women do participate in public life as members of the workforce, the houses they live in ensure that once they leave work and reach their homes, their separation from any element of the public realm, such as the pavement of the street, is enforced by the measurable distance between their front gate and their entrance door.

Working women are constantly challenged by temporospatial boundaries resulting from their dual role as homemakers and as equal members of the workforce (Fainstein & Servon, 2005; Spain, 2011; Hayden 2002; Henderl with Harrison, 2000; Andrew, 2000). As discussed above, in the case of Limassol, this boundary is overcome by the insertion into Cypriot society of South and Southeast Asian women, who fulfil Cypriot women's responsibilities at home. As a result, Cypriot contemporary domestic design has evolved in ways that include living spaces (bedroom, plus ensuite) for the domestic help (Fig.6) who will relieve the Cypriot woman, working outside the home, from some, if not most, of her domestic duties. In order to ensure that the family's privacy is maintained, these living spaces are usually located as far away from the family's bedrooms as possible, without interfering with the public spaces of the house. The spaces within the home that are allocated to this woman must be away from the house's private zones, but not too close to the public areas, such as the living rooms and dining areas. In other words, although her presence in the house must be as discrete and understated as possible, her contribution enables Cypriot women to inhabit the public realm with greater ease and efficiency.

Conclusion

Limassolian women and their domestic helpers are experiencing the city through different media; race and social class notwithstanding, both sets of women inhabit the city by coding sites of resistance to overcome boundaries set upon them by social structures and spatial distances. Limassolian women are challenged by the separation of the public and the private sphere of the city and by their dual role as homemakers and members of the employment market, whereas the socio-spatial boundary women from South and Southeast Asia are called to overcome while living in Limassol is their daily physical isolation in the suburbs and other domestic neighbourhoods, and a feeling of nostalgia due to their lengthy absence from their home-countries. Both groups of women navigate the male-dominated public realm through a taxonomy of spaces that provide them with conditional privacy and exposure.

Tracing Cypriot women's entry into the workforce, which signified their *de facto* entry to the public realm, uncovered evidence of how the city responded to this particular episode of social process and exposed ways in which women create paths and conditions of resistance to male dominance. Similarly, by worshipping behind shop fronts situated in the city's public realm, women from South and Southeast Asia are creating their own sites of resistance that mitigate their boundaries. At the same time, they enjoy a sense of privacy that is parallel to the intimacy of the Greek Orthodox hidden churches. Indeed, their melodious singing, projected over loudspeakers, acts as its own form of privacy and resistance; while the songs can be heard throughout the city centre, their point of origin is obscured by the density of the urban fabric. In contrast to the formal containment in the houses where they are employed, the women from South and Southeast Asia employ temporal means to state their urban presence by religious songs that showcase Limassol as a budding cross-cultural city.

The paper set out to investigate gender relations in a Cypriot city in order to explore ways in which social process can impact urban form and architectural space. Although the research into spatializing gender relations began as an examination of how women navigate relationships between home and work, the narrative gradually led to a series of other discoveries of how women experience urban space. In all cases, gender has been regarded as an active agent in shifting social relations and has provided a lens for observing spatial changes. Semblat, cited in Andrew (2000), suggests that some boundaries can be the impetus for opportunities that can mitigate the restrictive nature of boundaries. Indeed, boundaries that are spatial as well as perceptual, such as the physical separation between the public and private realms of Limassol, incentivized commercial opportunities such as the commercialization of domestic tasks and the emergence of a new class of hired domestic help from South and Southeast Asia and manifested a motivation to seek privacy within the public realm.

These opportunities are associated with urban and architectural transformations both in the public and in the domestic realms. Thus, gender becomes an instrument of spatial knowledge, whose ever-evolving nature enriches and enhances the process of understanding urban mechanics and the act of designing better places.

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MORE than Academia: introduction

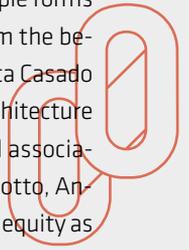
Editorial board

Serafina Amoroso,
Equal Saree (Dafne Saldaña, Helena Cardona, Julia Goula)
Maria Novas,
Amelia Vilaplana

MORE than Academia promotes a gender sensitive approach to develop structural changes in the field of education. This includes areas such as teaching in a design studio environment, as well as educational strategies at a primary, secondary and university level. The belief is that institutions could redefine educational models and patterns in the architectural field through hybridizing practices in education, writing/building/drawing.

The papers included in this track explore initiatives from a gender sensitive approach that contribute to design methodologies and strategies, also in the official curricula, to ultimately create agendas at an institutional level. The articles analyse how working across disciplinary boundaries can be considered as a distinctive aspect of feminist architectural practices in education.

Authors Catherine Otondo, Mariagiulia Bennicelli and Col.lectiu Punt 6, highlight the contribution of women and their gendered experiences in the conceptualization of architecture at both theoretical and practical levels. Meanwhile, Daniela Arias, Andréa Gáti and Gabriela Baierle and Isabela Zolet do Nascimento bring to light the multiple forms of exclusion and invisibility of women architects in professional practice, from the beginning of the 20th century to the present moment. Through her work, Verónica Casado analyses and challenge the myths and stereotypes affecting our reading of architecture and the built environment. Representatives of different female professional associations in Europe and the United States, Lucia Krasovec Lucas-Mayer, Fulvia Fagotto, Annelise Pitts and Rosa T. Sheng, bring to discussion the concepts of equality and equity as professional goals and design paradigm. Three more authors focus the debate on academia and the teaching practice in Architecture and Design; Marisa Valdillo brings her research on the Bauhaus female students, María Andrea Tapia stresses the importance of the presence of female professors in the 'Project Atelier' and the importance of gender





mainstreaming in the Schools of Architecture. Finally, in response, Mara Sánchez Llorens, Margarita González Cárdenas and Fermina Garrido López share the alternative design project they lead in their studio. In more detail:

Catherine Otondo, in her paper, writes about feminist awareness to take into account the daily life of the neighborhoods, particularly when they are affected by urban transformations. She exemplifies this idea through intervention in favelas, where a special effort must be made to understand the neighborhood life and the diffuse relationship between public and private spaces. The coexistence and adaptation of families to their new 'improved' homes will depend on this sensitivity.

Mariagiulia Bennicelli reflects, through several examples, on the values that women contribute to generate in the design process. She defends the idea that we are witnessing a 'feminization' of architecture, primarily thanks to the incorporation of a major number of women into the profession and the proliferation of mixed teams of architects, in which women can more easily participate in decision-making processes.

The paper by Col.lectiu Punt 6 collects the tools that they have recently developed to evaluate urban spaces and define design criteria. Their strategies are based on the application of an interdisciplinary and horizontal methodology that incorporates the voice of people as experts of their environment, the needs of daily life and the experience of women in urban and architectural processes. This allows the team to make the differences visible, to effectively address inequalities, and to respond to daily needs from an inclusive perspective.



Under the premise that women architects were active agents in the founding and construction of the Modern Movement, Daniela Arias seeks to reveal how their contributions and participations left traces that the hegemonic architectural history has erased, omitted or

subordinated –in relation to the male figure. A persistent systemic problem, mainly in the 1930s and 1940s, repeatedly reinforced throughout the 20th century.

Andréa Gáti analyses how the union between three women architects with their husband-architects influenced or even steered their trajectories. Janete Costa (1932 - 2008), Clementina Duarte (1941) and Myriam Pessoa de Melo (1941), spouses of some of the 'stars' of the modern architecture movement in the city of Recife, Brazil, had developed their career in a particular way, extensively influenced by their partnership.

Gabriela Baierle and Isabela Zolet do Nascimento analyse the barriers faced by women architects in Brazil and the United States in professional practice between 2012-2016, aiming to understand the large retention rates of Brazilian women. Their research targets to specific career pinch points: the process of professional registration and the reproductive period for women, including the time dedicated to childbirth and caregiving.

Verónica Casado examines the 'myths' in the construction of the city and proposes an exercise of counter *flânerie*, reversing the traditional representation of the city as dangerous for women and a terrain to explore for men.

Lucia Krasovec Lucas-Mayer – president of the national board of AIDIA, the Italian Association of Women Engineers and Architects – offers a comprehensive overview of the key concepts and of the main initiatives so far developed by both Italian and European institutions to promote equality in the profession. They can be framed within the wider context of the studies and activities carried out by the European Union and the United Nations to address issues of inclusion, race, gender, sex, class, social justice.

Fulvia Fagotto, introduces the mission of A.D.A., the Association for Women Architects she founded in Florence in 2012 together with other female architects, to create a professional network to support and subsidize female architects, promoting surveys, initiatives and activities which foster the debate and create exchange opportunities.

Authors Annelise Pitts & Rosa T. Sheng focus on the strong potential of equity as a new paradigm for design, and “explore the ways in which equity can be used as a lens to evaluate relationships both within the architectural workplace, and within the broader built environment”.

Studying several original documents from archival sources, Marisa Vadillo exposes the interim contradictions in the Bauhaus regarding female students.

María Andrea Tapia studies the presence of women in the ‘Project Atelier’, specifically developing the role of tutors and professors in the Argentinian universities, through the cases of the Faculty of Architecture and Planning of the National University of La Plata and the Faculty of Architecture, Design and Planning of the University of Buenos Aires.

Lastly, Mara Sánchez Llorens, Margarita González Cárdenas and Fermina Garrido share the experience of two interconnected live projects stressing on the pedagogic tools they developed in the process. The Saudi Dollhouse (Saudi Arabia, 2015) aimed to design a doll’s house for the future. The project had a relevant temporal dimension and, a year later, students at the Pontificia University of Salamanca proposed a reinterpretation of each of the dollhouses.



MORE than academia. Discussion Panel

Florence, Santa Verdiana, School of Architecture, 2017

(Photo credits: Alba Sotelo)





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THE DESIGN EXPERIENCE OF THE URBANIZATION AT THE FAVELA DO SAPÉ IN SÃO PAULO BRAZIL FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF WOMEN AND ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE



Fig. 1:
Existing
site, São
Paulo, Brasil
Source:
Base Urbana

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Abstract

In Brazil, a mere 15% of construction projects has the involvement of an architect. Big cities like São Paulo (20 million inhabitants) grow in spontaneous and haphazard ways, detached from public policy and establish principles of planning. This has led to devastating urban conditions: 1.5 million people living in unsafe conditions, polluted rivers, and a lack of green zones, public spaces, and neighborhood schools. In this picture, then, architecture seems a critically necessary field.

Since the 1980s, a large majority of architectural students has been women, but very few of them are recognized leaders of national stature. With the exception of the late Lina Bo Bardi¹, none of them has achieved a place in the historical annals of Brazilian architecture.

Based on my practical experience as both a design teacher and a practice owner, this article points to the complexities of urban reality with an urgent observation: there is a great opportunity and great need for female architects to engage their creative work in the creation of better cities today. I believe the University must be the place to develop new sensibilities and technical skills, allowing women to expand their knowledge, lead participative processes, and expand their presence in the architectural field.

Keywords

Architecture, women architect, slum urbanization, design teaching, Brazil

In Brazil, a mere 15% of construction projects has the involvement of an architect, according to a recent study by the CAU architectural council. Here, the cities have grown intensely and quickly since the second half of the twentieth century. São Paulo, where I live and work, has seen its population double since the 1970s. This has led to devastating urban conditions:

¹ Lina bo Bardi (1914-1992) is a Italian architect who emigrated from Rome in 1946 to Brazil and built a new expressive architecture, especially in the city of São Paulo: the Museum of Modern Art (MASP), 1951 and Sesc Pompéia Cultural Center, 1977.

opposite page
 Fig. 2:
 Existing site,
 São Paulo, Brasil
 Source:
 Base Urbana

1.5 million people living in unsafe conditions, polluted rivers, and a lack of green zones, public spaces, and neighborhood schools.

Also in Brazil, as in many western countries, women's place in architectural practice is barely visible, despite the fact they are the numerical majority, comprising 61% of those licensed to practice architecture in Brazil². This number has the potential to grow if we look at the enrollment of women in architecture schools. Since the 1990s, women in São Paulo are preponderant in the classrooms, says Ana Gabriela Godinho Lima in her latest book *Architects and Architecture in Latin America of the Twentieth Century*.

This brings about a powerful paradox: there is a great deal of work to be done in shaping our cities, with many women poised to do so. However, there is an absence of women in the actual field. As Despina Stratigakos observes in her latest book "Despite women's increasing enrollment in architecture schools since the 1980s, their numbers in practice have flatlined, and the higher one moves up the career ladder, the further they decline" (Stratigakos, 2016, p.1). Is it a matter of a divergence between how we teach women to be architects and the practice reality? Or is it also that the market still do not recognize women as professional leaders to take on complex urban challenges?

As a design teacher and practice owner, I will build my arguments from the drawing board perspective, that is, neither from a research nor historical point of view, but rather from two practical experiences. The first comes from a concrete design experience working with *favelas* (slums) in peripheral high-risk areas in São Paulo. The second comes as the only female design teacher at the Institute of Architecture and Urbanism at the University of São Paulo, where I teach Fourth Year Studio.

The Favela do Sapé Experience

In 2010, my practice was called to take on a big challenge, design an urban proposal for the *Favela do Sapé*, where 3000 families lived under very precarious conditions. One third of the families lived over the Sapé Creek, where the annual summer rains brought flooding, inaccessibility, and unhygienic conditions (Fig.1).

The Municipality gave us three physical parameters for the project: we had to a) design a new water system for the creek; b) remove all families from the highest risk area, and, c)

² Confira as homenagens do CAU para o dia internacional da mulher, in CAU/BR <http://www.cau.br.gov.br/confira-as-homenagens-dos-cauuf-para-o-dia-internacional-da-mulher/> (06/16). "They represent 61% of the total number of professionals working in the country, and their representation increases every day. Looking at the age group of the professionals, it is noticed that the female predominance is higher among younger architects. If among the professionals aged between 41 and 50 years, women are just over half (57.4%), between the ages of 20 and 25, that rate is 78.3%. Men are the majority only in the range above 61 years, in which they are 71% of the total.



build new houses for the homeless families, knowing that there existed the financial resource to build only part of the needed units.

Based on previous experience, we knew that those physical parameters were just part of the problem. In order to design a meaningful and successful plan, we first needed to understand the social dynamics of the families. Therefore, we started by making frequent trips to the *favela*, meeting with the leaders of the community (half women, half men), talking to the elderly, the children, especially the mothers in order to comprehend the particularities of daily life at the Sapé (Fig. 2).

A first and most difficult task was to create a set of principles enabling us to decide which houses could be preserved and which could not. We knew that the more we could involve community members to create those criteria, the less dramatic the process would be.

The Municipality provided us some of those conditions: a) all houses within a certain distance of the river must go; b) all wood houses must be replaced, enabling us to install water and sewage pipes inside the remaining portions of the favela infrastructure, and c) the new units had to consist of 5-story buildings. As might be predicted, the first couple of meetings with the families were emotionally charged. They were not buying into the Municipality's



Fig. 3, 4
First images
of the project:
children by the
water; open
corridors
 Source:
 Base Urbana

conditions, and in fairness, how does one convince a family in poverty to abandon their biggest possession?

The approach we took was to create an inclusive process, where the conditions were communally agreed upon. The design tools that we used to draw for this community were also created along the process. Very quickly, we came to understand that women experienced urban space differently from men as they performed their daily chores, took care of children, related with the neighbours, and protected their families. The variety of the activities that women undertake creates a more complex and diverse use of space, which needed to be considered in our planning.

Supported by an incredible team of social workers, we were able to map the families in order to understand their connection to the space, how long they had been living there, whether they had kids in school, the proximity to work, connections to friends, their financial circumstances, and so forth. With this social network map, we were able, for example, to decide to move the bed of the creek further away from certain houses in order to preserve them, to redirect a sewage pipe to create an open space inside the favela, to design a bike lane, to connect two major avenues, and to create a linear park around the creek for kids to play (Fig. 3, 4). All these things allowed community members to more closely understand the benefits of preserving clean water (a theme that many children were learning at school but unable to connect with their daily reality).

It took us over a year to develop all the drawings, which was a blessing for the project. It turns out that the further we advanced, the further we became involved with the community, wherein they became more active participants in the plan, at many levels.

Two examples will point to the extent of this participation. One of our earliest observations was that the membrane separating private and public spaces inside a favela is very thin. As we walked along the alleys, we could hear conversations inside the homes. We

opposite page
Fig. 5
Daily life at the
favela
 Source:
 Base Urbana
 © Pedro
 Vanucchi



smelled cooking foods, deodorant sprays, and dirt. We saw what was on TV and how kids were playing inside the front door. A mix of misery and richness at the same time (Fig. 5).

With that kaleidoscope of images and sensations etched into our souls, the concept of designing a five-story building that contained the possibility of conviviality seemed nearly impossible. With the imperative of maintaining the community's social structure, we decided to design a building as accessible to the public space as possible, with bigger windows, a variety of balconies, and an open corridor. These small details made the construction as permeable as possible, despite the huge financial constraints (Fig. 6, 7).

The second example came from our conversations with the social workers. We were told that the maximum number of people who could get together and share a collective space was three to five families. From that, we learned it was pointless, for example, propose a large laundry for the 25 apartments of the building; residents did not have social skills to be organized in such big groups (Fig. 8).

From the moms came information that some women stayed at home and took care of the children of others. Because the apartments are very small (47 m²), safe adjacent places for kids to play was mandatory. From this, we decided to design wider passageways, where kids could play ball, ride bikes, or run, even if they were located on the third floor for instance. Instead of the standard depth corridor of 1,20 meters, we proposed a 1,80 m-depth alternative. Immediately, the Municipality rejected our drawing, arguing that it was not standard



Fig. 6
Low concrete
fence, to
separate public
and private
realm; bigger
windows
Source:
Base Urbana



Fig. 7
Small verandas,
to connect the
house with
street life
Source:
Base Urbana



size, too expensive, with no apparent advantage of this enlargement. Despite our collected social data about the relevance of that space, the solution was dismissed. Knowing the importance of this detail for the families, we hired a budget firm to make a comparative study of the two proposals. Their results showed that this feature would create a paltry increase of 0,005% of the total cost of the building. Money talked, and we won that battle (Fig 9, 10).

opposite page
Fig. 8
Passageways,
as leisure space.
Source: Base
Urbana. ©
Pedro Vanucchi

Fig. 9
Kids on the
sidewalk,
parents
watching
Source:
Base Urbana
© Pedro
Vanucchi

This past year, the families have begun to move into their new homes. Although I realize there were flaws in the overall process, it is possible to verify that the little things we fought together made a difference in the final result. For example: making the quality of the water a community concern: there are *vigilante* groups that do frequent inspections to check on the quality water of the creek (Fig.11); the kids play freely along the sidewalks, and the verandas; and in each building they are beginning to organize themselves to clean and maintain the common spaces (Fig.12).

Would male architects have been able to design this plan with that type of awareness? Possibly, yes. Are they taught in school to activate this kind of sensibility in order to design it? No. It is for this reason we must question the methods and values that we transmit to our architectural students in order to activate a set of awareness that enables anyone to understand the role of women in shaping, living and producing urban life.

Fig. 10
Neighbours
watch
Source:
Base Urbana
© Pedro
Vanucchi

Teaching a two-way challenge

Since the time of my graduation, I have taught. In the beginning, it was as a high school teacher in pre-architectural drawing classes and over the years as an assistant level teacher. When I got my PhD in 2013, I began to work at a public university where I teach





Fig. 11
Overview of the
site in 2015:
Base Urbana
 © Pedro
 Vanucchi



opposite page
Fig. 12
View from
inside out:
Base Urbana
 © Pedro
 Vanucchi

Design for fourth-year students. Because teaching is a part of my professional identity, it shapes the way I design spaces and think about relationships.

In my current class of 50 students, 75% are women, a phenomenon mirroring many of our schools since the 1980s. Over the years, I have witnessed the transition. My graduation from FAU-USP in 1994 marked the first time that the number of females surpassed the number of males. A palpable tension arose from the way women were treated in our lectures, in ways that were thinly disguised. The vast majority of teachers were male, and the sexist jokes we heard in class were just ‘part of the culture’. Feminist thinking was on no one’s radar.

The past several years have witnessed a growing number of female colleagues at architectural schools³. They have become very vocal in expressing dissatisfaction with discriminatory practices of male teachers, how history has diminished female participation in its narratives, and the acknowledgment that women still struggle to ascend the ranks of leadership. Those disputes follow a wider movement recognized by Despina Stratigakos as the third feminist wave⁴.

As we examine the role of women in the field, there is further dissatisfaction. As a March 2016 study from the *Architectural Review* observed, female architects struggle, as opposed

³ In São Paulo, we can mention: Coletivo Zaha Hadid (Mackenzie University), Coletivo Carmen Portinho (Escola da Cidade), Coletivo Feminista da FAUUSP, and Coletivo Feminista CAASO (IAU-USP).

⁴According to Stratigakos, what defines the third wave of feminism is “the many young women (and men) who are joining a movement to call for change, as well the international reach of their interventions”. Stratigakos, (2016). P. 2



to their counterparts in medicine or the law⁵: they are underpaid, they battle to get good commissions, and they are marginalized in large firms⁶.

The data show a growing number of women enrolling in architectural schools, and at the same time, those same students continue to struggle to participate and stay in the field. In this apparent oxymoron, Stratigakos observes (2016, p. 2), “this perspective suggests less the question of why women leave architecture than why they pursue it at all”.

Although I do not have the answers to Stratigakos’s question, we can be optimistic from the fact that women’s place as designers and citizens are still being shaped, which gives the field of architecture an incredible window of opportunity.

How is this so?

In my point of view, we must pay attention to two factors. The first is in reviewing methods and principles that we traditionally teach in design classes, and the second is understanding the role of women in the shaping and use of urban spaces, which is no longer taken from the household perspective nor the small scale of the neighbourhood.

⁵ Architectural Review research reveals, for example, that 83% of women believe that having children puts women at a disadvantage in architecture. www.architectural-review.com/archive/results-of-the-2016-women-in-architecture-survey-revealed/10003314.article. march 2016.

⁶ It is difficult not to think about Natalie de Bloi, despite her being one of the best design coordinators of SOM, was never made a partner.

The architectural schools that I have experienced were formed from a European model, founded mostly by men, where women took no place. Therefore, what female teachers (myself included) do in today's classroom is still an accommodation of a pre-existing model that historically excluded the feminine understanding of space, beyond the domestic agenda. As the late Ada Louise Huxtable said in her 1977 article, "The last profession to be liberated by women", designing houses, for women was part of a natural concern that became a curse, and took their career nowhere, away from larger commissions, and she concludes that "Whether women's design sensibilities are actually different from men's is immaterial... But society has made certain that there is no way for those sensibilities to operate".

In the studio we teach how to design 'things': a house, a school, a park, or a public transportation system, going from the small scale to the big one. However, what if we taught how to design the relationship 'between' them, the quality of the spaces that 'link' them, observing how long it takes to go from one point to another. Women today frequently work outside the home, and even though they are more autonomous, there are certain activities that remain culturally part of daily life: picking up kids at school, buying groceries, or taking trips to the drugstore. Therefore, the way women move through the city, jumping from place to place on their way home, matters a great deal. It matters enough to provide data to redefine transportation, roads connections, the location of public buildings such as schools and hospitals, and other urban parameters.

Drawing upon my experience of the Sapé Favela, we can see how important it is to comprehend the various components of such projects: infrastructure, the capacity of local waterways, financial constraints, the size of passageways, and even the shape of windows. These are all different matters, but with by integrated nature, all with deep significance for the project.

Final considerations

The complexity of contemporary cities requires alternative modes of design and planning. If 'Modern city' was understood as a system of forms and functions, then the contemporary city is not. Instead, it is shaped by transversal orders; its reality deals with factors that go beyond the quantifiable to include memory, perception, new economies, environmental imbalance, and global logics.

Cities, especially those in the Global South, are largely built away from public policies, as Teresa Caldeira observes:

The citizens actions typically escape the framing of 'official' planning. They operate inside capitalist markets of land, credit, and consumption, but usually in special niches bypassed by

the dominant logics of formal real estate, finance, and commodity circulation. In the process of house/city building, many make themselves into citizens and political agents, become fluent in rights talk, and claim the cities as their own (Caldeira, 2017, p.3).

At the risk of sounding overenthusiastic, I see in this complex scene an important, and even necessary, place for women to act, as teachers and as architects. In order to address these matters we need to activate certain sensibilities that, historically and culturally, men have been unable to access. As women become more and more autonomous across societal levels, they are using the city in ways that they did not use it before. This means they are occupying spaces where their voices were previously unheard, places that intersect domestic life and the public realm.

As a response to this new reality shaping our cities, architects and urban designers must invent new forms of drawing and teaching. We must work to empower our students, both female and male, to improve our profession as a whole and to increase the 15% rate of architectural involvement in building those cities.

The current gender debate provides an incredible opportunity to reflect upon architecture and its trajectory. Sharing our experiences and staying open minded are fundamental tools in shaping the quality and equity of our cities, with a new set of ethical and aesthetic design parameters that are inclusive of women's perspectives.

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Fig. 2
Comparison among the windows design solutions for the nursing homes for elderly located in:
(from the upper left side) Modena; Carpi (Modena); Montemurlo (Prato) - internal and external
sight; San Bassano (Cremona); (4) Poggibonsi (Siena)

Source: © Ipostudio archive

COLLECTIVE WORK. A WAY TO OVERCOME GENDER INEQUALITY?

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Abstract

Even though the sex ratio for the entire world population is 107 males to 100 females¹, gender inequality [still] exists. This fact is even truer in those profession dominated by men since ever as architecture is. The good news is, firstly, that female share yearly grows among architectural students, so that of young professionals. Thus, should we consider time as the natural factor for finding a balance? Secondly, the architectural profession is turning more and more into a collective activity, where men and women collaborate in their practice. Could, therefore, the collective work be a lever for gender equality?

Starting from the basic question if a feminine approach to architecture exists, this paper wants to present a personal and collective work experience, where the sex ratio has always been 1:1. The idea is to explore the activity of a group of architects, Ipostudio architetti, to find out - or not - a gender approach to design and to work.

Keywords

Collective work, feminization, gender inequality, Ipostudio architetti, Women in Architecture

Introduction

It is a fact that, nowadays, gender inequality still exists.

It is a fact that a crystal ceiling still impedes women to get the higher positions more or less in all the politics and professional fields, even though societies are more and more facing to a general feminization of educational fields and professions so far dominated by males.

Architecture is one of this fields characterised by a yearly growth of female students so that of young women architects: e.g. in 2015 in Italy it has been recorded by CRESME that the 42% of the total architect's population is woman whilst the 54% of architectural students are female.

That could bring to ask ourselves whether the gender inequality is just a matter of time.

¹ The Central Intelligence Agency of the United States in 2014 estimated a global sex ratio at birth at 1.07 male/female

But the gender issue is, still, a cultural and social issue, where bias related to professional realisation survive. That makes starting again from education an urgent need.

Looking at the past, many women architects who achieved interesting results in the profession claimed about the male domination of this market sector, and it is still true, in a certain sense. In facts, having participated to the Women in Architecture initiative promoted by AA in 2015 as a country coordinator, I had the chance to reflect on results collected in Italy about the conditions of women architects.

One of the most interesting results, in terms of highlighting the current situation, is that regarding the most inspirational women working in the built environment. There, participants should quote names of women architects and very few names had been given.

Even worst happened when it came to indicating some favourite places designed by a woman.

But, talking about architecture, what does “gender-based perspective” mean?

Accessibility; welcoming; participation; inclusiveness: are those arguments to ascribe to a feminine approach to reality or society? Or, otherwise, are those needs everyone, both men and women, should tend to? Does a gender approach in architecture exist?

Quoting Virginia Woolf (1929), a genius mind is an androgynous one, where the female and male sides live in harmony together. Thus, each of us should be made of these two sides to be really creative.

Furthermore, nowadays, the work is turning more and more from the individual into collective: young architects work often in groups, or at least in couples, where the female/male component is not so recognisable. Could that be a way to overcome the gender inequality into professions and to achieve higher results due to a continuous discussion among partners no matter what, or at the contrary probably thanks to, sex they belong to? Looking at the data of national and international reports referred to the professional and gender condition in Italy and Europe, we are currently assisting to a *feminization* trend of the architectural profession. But the question is, then, what *feminization* mean?

Is it just a term related to the share of female architects in comparison to men?

In this sense, data report that the female share of architects is growing in the “young lanes”, whilst male architects are predominant between the elder registered. The same is for the academia, where the student gender ratio fosters females to undertake the architectural studies. Thus, it is possible to breathe a sigh of relief thinking that the future of the architectural profession will be surely pink painted and also the crystal ceiling, related to our profession will eventually be broken.

So, that's it? Just to stay aside and wait for a *natural* change?

Changing for a while the perspective, along side with the *quantitative* meaning of the term, we can enumerate a *qualitative* meaning of it.

In fact, Aldo Carotenuto (2001) theorises that we are currently assisting to a “very interesting phenomenon” he called “feminization of the world”. It is a social phenomenon consisting in the awareness of a “female vision of the world”, and it entails a new approach to existence, which scales down and brings the traditional patriarchal values into question. This approach is slowly spreading new feminine values, which move to the background the need of being strong, winners and dominating in favour of a new *relational* dimension rife with feelings and oriented to live together with others.

«Hurrah!», we could then say «The world will be safe!».

But we should probably reflect on the effects of these phenomena, both quantitative and qualitative, to architecture.

Firstly, from the professional side, we cannot automatically affirm that feminization will mean necessarily a wider space for women at work.

Secondly, talking about a gender-based perspective, the question becomes: how will this feminization phenomenon affect the architectural activity? How can we translate these new values into design? Do they make possible to take the above-mentioned values of care (i.e. inclusiveness, accessibility, participation) as general and compelling for the entire society?

About women in architecture: what's going on.

In 2015, a group of women architects from AA School of London launched an initiative² – Women In Architecture – to highlight and newly focus on the current status of gender *in*-equality in the profession. Yasmin Shariff from AA and Eva Alvarez from UPV of Valencia, as the initiative coordinators, involved women from all over the world to discuss actions and to spread a questionnaire to collect new data on the topic.

The “Women in Architecture” initiative consisted of a series of seminars, panels, discussions and events related to gender mainstream, which took place starting from 2015, the 22 of May with a seminar at the UPV of Valencia and keeping on in order to enable women to network more effectively and to sensitise more and better on this issue.

The main origin of these actions has been the AD magazine issue Monica Pidgeon dedicated to the topic in 1975 (UN internationally dedicated that year to women) sending to 100 women architects in the UK a survey on the gender conditions in the professional field.

40 years later, and two years before the centenary since the first four female students had

² *Women in Architecture* wordpress website: <https://womeninarchitecture1975.wordpress.com/>

entered the AA school of London, the AA school and AD magazine decide to promote a new survey and to spread it all around the world. I have been involved in the initiative as the Italy coordinator to spread and analyse the questionnaire results from the Italian participants.

After having launched the survey, on 18 January 2016, it has been spread through the web, using private email lists and Facebook account and asking ADA (*Associazione Donne Architetto*) association³ and local Architects boards for diffusion.

The Italian participants covered the 8.6% of the total respondents, with 119 responses. The sample is composed of the main part of women (84.7%) with 101 respondents in comparison to men (15.3%).

That percentage makes the sample not so representative, both for the number of respondents and due to the gender inequality, but at the same time, it gives an idea about the commitment, the knowledge and the perception related to the gender topic.

Starting from this initiative, I asked some successful women architects for an interview to discuss with them over their personal approach to architecture and the feminine condition in the career. The interview, which contains part of the questions spread through the WiA questionnaire, is aimed to understand how the profession had been developing towards women. The interviews collected so far are three, respectively with Carme Pinòs, Annabelle Selldorf and Ángela García de Paredes, and they responded to the general topic with very different feelings: on the one side, Carme Pinòs, claiming as Denise Scott-Brown did more than once, refused to speak about the gender topic but was very generous on explaining her approach to work; on the other side, Annabelle Selldorf and Ángela García de Paredes was very willing to give their vision on the gender issue. What is interesting is that, generally, the three of them never felt personally discriminated, even though they all recognize the existence of a matter in terms of gender.

When it came to the question about the existence of a feminine approach to architecture, the three of them answered negatively, in line with the 9.3% of respondents to the WiA questionnaire, but against the 26% of them, which strongly agree with the statement that women could give a specific contribution to the profession. The latter supported their position listing the following specificity: a higher creativity; synthesis capability; precision; inclination to dialogue and conflict-solving; sensitiveness; multitasking approach and a different vision of reality. The 38% of respondents hold a neutral position, arguing that the contribution doesn't lie into genders but in the specific quality of the person. Furthermore, starting from Denise Scott-Brown and taking into account the issue of

³ ADA wordpress website: <http://donnearchitetto.it/wordpress/>

Casabella (732/2005) dedicated to women architects, they do not feel any gender specificity exists in their output, thinking about themselves as ‘architects’ interested in expressing their personal contribution to architecture apart from the gender notion.

In facts, looking through the *Casabella* pages, even though the winning model still remains the masculine one, it is possible to observe a general discomfort in talking about the ‘women in architecture’ issue being in a post-feminist era and the no-longer need to discuss emancipation, conflict and grievances. Finally, the women interviewed in the review issue could find a feminine connotation in the process rather than in the result.

A work experience

In Italy, but we could say it is a general trend, from a certain period on, the number of architects started growing and the ‘architect *solo*’ could be no longer an efficient answer.

Along with this, the ever more specialization of the architectural field (i.e. architecture, landscape design, interior design, environmental design and so on) and the ever-growing complexity of the society, ask for a shared knowledge.

Starting from the 1970s on, these factors brought the new generations of architects to work in groups. But, whilst at the beginning women weren’t fairly represented it seems that, lately, groups are more and more gender-balanced. Even though there are no scientific studies reporting this trend, it is also true that looking at the more important architectural offices and to the more relevant architectural appointment for architects under-40 (i.e. European), it is possible to notice a growth of female presence, despite men still occupy the front position. It could be also a consequence of the fact that the female share of architects, as stated, is yearly growing.

Is, then, collective work the way to overcome the gender-issue?

As a sample of this trend, I would like to retrace the experience of Ipostudio architetti, a group of architects operating since 1983 in Florence.

Why Ipostudio? The choice is based on manifold aspects: the group composition, the experience they collect among decades, the methodology they applied to work and the specificity of the architectural results acquired in terms of the above-mentioned ‘feminine values’. Last but not least, I am an associate partner at Ipostudio, working with them since 2007 but starting the collaboration since I was a student, in 2002. This fact makes me a kind of a witness of their experience.

Starting from the beginning, Ipostudio was founded in 1984 by Lucia Celle, Roberto Di Giulio, Carlo Terpolilli and Elisabetta Zanasi Gabrielli. Each of them collected other work experiences before and decided to put their efforts together creating the Ipostudio working

group. As I could personally test, Ipostudio has ever made discussion and inclusion its most important values for working in a group, starting from the dialogue among the manifold personalities of its components, casually (or not?) made by the 50% of gender representation since ever. Indeed, in 2014, the four founder members decided to open the association to other partners, Luca Belatti, Panfilo Cionci, Beatrice Turillazzi and myself, and, again, it was a fifty-fifty situation.

The activity of the office is based on a vast experience in the sphere of the architectural and urban design and research in the sector of innovation of design and construction process. It has also acquired extensive competence in the development of urban renovation and regeneration projects, landscape and environmental redevelopment and the reutilization of monumental and listed building complexes.

Its activity covers also research projects funded by the European Community developed in the sector of technological innovation and building design, which sees Ipostudio involved in international consortia since more than 25 years.

Looking at the architectural results, Ipostudio has developed a range of projects in the area of 'civil architecture' and in the social, health and school sectors as well as special and social housing. This means that Ipostudio has successfully participated in national and international design competitions, as a necessary condition to access to the public sector of works.

Concerning the approach to the design activities related to civil architecture buildings, some of the fundamental aspects taken into consideration are here following indicated:

- an attentive definition of the functionalities of external and internal spaces referred to the use they are aimed to;
- the definition of spaces tailored to fit the specific needs of different end-users' target (schoolchildren, employed, inhabitant, patient, and so on);
- the architectural identity of artefacts, as an aspect which confers quality to buildings, both in case of public buildings and of social housing complexes, for example.

The strategy used in the design activities, from the start up to the final stages of the process, is that of listening: listening the end-users' categories, the social, geographical and cultural context, and so on. This strategy seems to represent the application in the architectural field of the feminization phenomenon introduced by Carotenuto and it derives from the overturning of the conflict referred to the duality 'building-identity' / 'spaces-comfort' resolved by the Modern Movement. In fact, through the listening strategy, it is possible to realize interventions able to meet the requirements set with specific and peculiar answers. Not the only answer possible, but that better fitting with the input given and

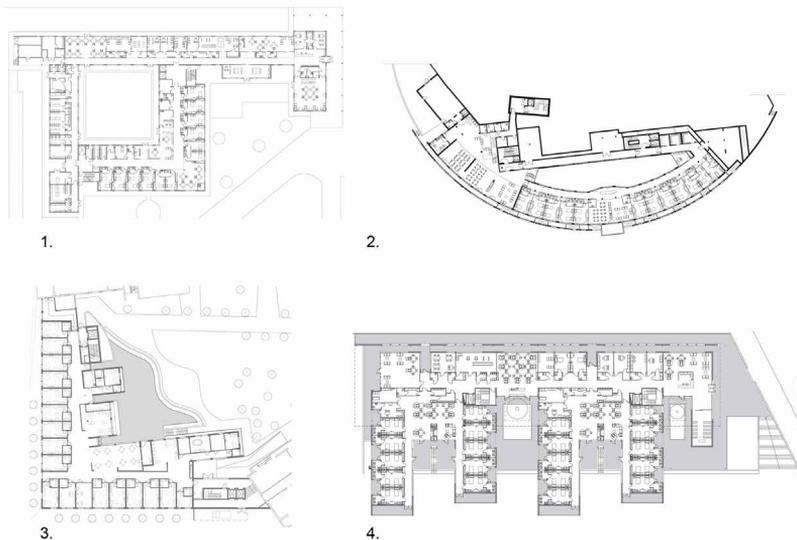


Fig. 1
Comparison among the different plan solutions of the nursing homes for elderly located in
(1) Modena; (2) Montemurlo (Prato); (3) San Bassano (Cremona); (4) Torrita di Siena (Siena)
 Source: © Ipostudio archive

the output required and matching with the architectural sensibility the architect can offer. To better explain the meaning and the actions to make these goals possible, I would like to illustrate some key design projects, which have marked the course of the Ipostudio research. Those design projects are (1) Nursing homes for the elderly, in particular, that of Montemurlo, Prato, Italy, and (2) The new Museo degli Innocenti, in Florence.

The nursing homes for the elderly

In the 1990s, Ipostudio worked on a research for the definition of design parameters and performances of nursing homes for the elderly as a consequence of the need of such facility and the development of a new legislation related to this specific field. Thanks to the acquired knowledge, it participated and won a series of competitions for the design and realisation of nine interventions, both new built and refurbishment of existing building.

Even though the aesthetical result is quite a different one from the other, the design solutions of the diverse buildings propose the same plan strategy, consisting in the definition of a clear space hierarchy and an accurate meta design study of the residential cluster. The residential cluster comprehends the private space of the rooms, preferably double rooms, with a



Fig. 3
View from the
upfront hill
of the nursing
home for
elderly located
in Montemurlo
(Prato)
Picture: Pietro
Savorelli



direct access to collective living spaces and separated from the more public spaces of the hall and more public utilities (Fig. 1). This strategy allows applying the same method and achieving, at the same time, different solution to meet the specific goals set by the client and the national and the local regulations.

Concerning the specific aim of this paper, the elements the design effort has been addressed to are basically two: the window (thus the entire façade) and the collective living spaces. In fact, the idea is to create spaces the closer as possible to the one's own home, even if they are located in a health facility. The window, then, performs a very important role, being an element able to confer quality to the patients' life. In fact, windows can be differently articulated in order to allow different sight possibilities, meeting the need of those standing up and those lying in a bed. In certain cases, the window acquires the role of a threshold, creating internal/external spaces, loggias or balconies for the patient use (Fig. 2). That's why façades are a very decisive device characterising each one of the nursing homes buildings.

In this sense, the nursing home for the elderly in Montemurlo (completed in 2011) represents interesting results of the general and specific strategy applied by Ipostudio.

The facility is located in an area with a historic agricultural landscape of great importance, characterized by the traditional dry-stone terraces of the region. The idea of a single façade towards the valley and its curve profile, shaped as a terrain line came from the compromise between the design philosophy and the morphologic complexity of the soil. The purpose was to merge the new presence with the existent one through the functional reuse and integration of the existing rural buildings to the new structures. The farmyard level determines the level of the pre-existing structures and of the entrance. Consequently, the residential units are located in the volume arranged in the stone basement. The entire facility arranged the residential units in a radial grid (Fig. 3) overlooking the valley through a play of solids and voids, which was achieved by a two-layered wall. The presence of this wall functions as a double-skin diaphragm: a glass-wall skin, which permits a direct contact with the guest rooms, and a second one located at a distance of 1.80m from the first one. The random openings make every single room identifiable despite the regular plan configuration and, above all, offer a unique view to each one look at the valley, both for those lying in a bed, standing up or sitting on a wheelchair. The external façade of the wall is realised with a local stone cladding extracted from the site to integrate the building into the natural context.

The new Museo degli Innocenti in Florence

This project is interesting for the purpose, as it seems to cover all the aspects I was listing in the premises of this paper, related to the arguments to ascribe to a feminine approach to architecture.

In fact, it talks about: children, as they had been the main end user of this institutions since ever; welcoming and accessibility, due to the specificity of those users; and, at the same time, strength, determination and a certain level of arrogance to take difficult decisions and to negotiate with the institution and the city, being the building one of the most important and popular of Florence, mainly due to its historical role.

Just to spend few words, the *Istituto degli Innocenti* is a reality where the multiple functions related to the world of childhood take place. It is an institution that is both artistic and architectural heritage and an archive for the heritage and historical asset of the institution: on the one hand, the history of the building is tied to Filippo Brunelleschi, on the other hand, the history of the institute is linked to the memory of the many abandoned children here hosted during the last six centuries.

In 2008, the *Istituto* announced the international competition for the design and realisation of the new *Museo degli Innocenti*.

opposite page
 Fig. 4
 View of the
 historical porch
 of Istituto
 degli Innocenti
 with the new
 entrances from
 Piazza SS.
 Annunziata, at
 the right side
 Picture: Pietro
 Savorelli,
 Benedetta Gori,
 Davide Verdiani

The new *Museo degli Innocenti* (completed in 2016) (Fig. 4) is an intervention aimed to reach manifold goals, but they can be summarized in four basic actions:

1. the resolution of the accessibility barriers from the square of SS. Annunziata through the creation of a new door and a new entrance and the accessibility of the all Institute functions with a new staircase and elevator system. Finally, the opening and reuse of the spaces located in the basement of the building;
2. the definition of an innovative exhibition system for a museum dedicated to children such as the *Museo degli Innocenti* is, to enhance both the historical and artistic heritage collected over the centuries since 1445 and the heritage and history of the Brunelleschi's building;
3. the discovery of a wide *loggia*, the *Verone*, transformed in a new public function, a literary café, housed in a new totally openable glass volume;
4. the reorganization of the reception services, conference rooms and spaces for the formation of the complex.

Again, the strategy adopted is that of listening to the existing building to adapt the Renaissance spaces to the new functions and technologies adopted to realize an innovative museum of childhood and art masterpieces, as a result of donations to the first secular institution in Europe taking care of orphans since the fifteenth century.

The entire intervention is based on the assumption that the new layer should lean on the historical one without compromising its integrity but, at the same time, conferring the needed functionality to the new spaces required and, at the same time, revealing the new intervention, as the last – but probably not the least – page of the *Istituto degli Innocenti* story Brunelleschi and the city of Florence started to write down in 1400.

The design provides solutions addressed to the children, as the first and peculiar visitor, after having been the major end-user of the Institute. It has been carried out matching the most innovative technology and contemporary design with the ancient walls of the first building of the Renaissance.

About the method

Starting from the concept up to the work supervision, all the members of the office – partners, collaborators, trainees – are directly involved in the design process and activities, each one basing on her/his roles, peculiarities and skills. Each project, in fact, is discussed in internal workshops where all the participants are free to express one's own thoughts, doubts, etc. Thus, no one, being a man or a woman, should feel underestimated.



Each single design project is entrusted to one member, under the supervision of one of the superior, but discussions are collective and the final design results from sharing visions and ideas through a problem-solving approach.

None of the roles are pre-allocated – safe for those which need specialisation, like for example, safety design – and they are conferred time by time to whom belongs the appropriate skills to afford the specific situation.

Conclusions

Interviewing women architects, reading through articles and literature, the idea of gender specificity – both in the process and in the results – seems to drown and consequently it narrows the issue to the availability of fair opportunities regardless the gender or social provenance in general. Along with this, it is needed to overcome the custom of underestimating the role of women in the past, bringing interesting architects to an unfair oblivion.

Nothing new under the sun, we could say, but looking at the new team composition, and to the results of experienced ones, it is possible to assume that an improvement of gender-equality could rely on a plural and collective approach to work.

Ipostudio can be taken as a good interpretation, let's say, of this assumption. In fact, it represents an example of how things can work when a team put efforts in reaching results instead of looking at differences. And it becomes, perhaps, more effective as the fifty-fifty representation resulted by chance.

Along with this, however, a general trend of society could naturally bring to new balances, where the feminization phenomena – the quantitative one – could represent some steps needed to break through the glass ceiling. But that is not enough. Where bias survives, there are no definitive solutions.

The 'qualitative' feminization, indeed, could offer a new way of thinking and the fading of patriarchal values. In architecture, as stated, this phenomenon could correspond to the resolution of the traditional conflict between who lives the building and who observes it, i.e. the end-users and the architect. This tendency along with a more flexible allocation of roles at all the different level of life, i.e. in the family and at work, could bring – hopefully – to the definition of a new consciousness able to open to a plurality of social groups.

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ESTRATEGIAS FEMINISTAS PARA EL ANÁLISIS Y DISEÑO DE LA VIVIENDA Y LOS ENTORNOS URBANOS*

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Talleres y recorridos realizados con mujeres en Catalunya

Fotos:
Col·lectiu
Punt 6

Resumen

Este artículo recopila las herramientas que Col·lectiu Punt 6 ha desarrollado a través de la metodología feminista para la diagnosis, definición de criterios proyectuales y evaluación de los espacios con el objetivo de que puedan ser utilizadas por personas vecinas, profesionales, entidades o administraciones públicas. Estas herramientas han sido elaboradas colectivamente por Col·lectiu Punt 6¹ y suman las aportaciones de la tesis doctoral *Urbanismo para la vida cotidiana* (Ciocoletto, 2014). Las alternativas propuestas desde el feminismo a la arquitectura y el urbanismo, se abordan desde la necesidad de un cambio de modelo hegemónico en la forma de analizar, diseñar y construir los espacios de la vida cotidiana, que ha priorizado los intereses de un sistema capitalista y patriarcal y que no ha tenido en cuenta las necesidades relacionadas con el sostenimiento de la vida. Entre las estrategias feministas para cambiar este modelo, está la incorporación de las personas como expertas de su entorno, las necesidades de la vida cotidiana y la experiencia de las mujeres en los procesos urbano-arquitectónicos, a través de una metodología interdisciplinaria y sin jerarquías. También esta metodología es una contribución en el ámbito de la educación y la formación, ya que incluye herramientas pedagógicas para todas las personas que estudien, analicen o trabajen en la definición de los espacios urbanos.

Keywords

Metodología feminista, arquitectura, urbanismo, vida cotidiana, perspectiva de género

* En este artículo utilizamos el estilo Harvard, tal y como lo requiere la editorial que coordina la publicación. Sin embargo, nosotras siempre preferimos utilizar otros estilos que visibilizan el nombre propio de las personas que se citan, ya que es la única manera de visibilizar el nombre de las mujeres que han contribuido al urbanismo feminista. En esta ocasión no hemos podido hacer por requerimientos de la publicación, pero queríamos visibilizar nuestro compromiso por reconocer las aportaciones de las mujeres a esta temática. Por eso, después de la primera cita de las autoras se recoge su nombre completo en una nota de pie de página.

¹ COL·LECTIU PUNT 6 (2014) *Mujeres trabajando. Guía de reconocimiento urbano con perspectiva de género*. Barcelona: Comanegra; y CIOCOLETTI Adriana y COL·LECTIU PUNT 6 (2014) *Espacios para la vida cotidiana. Auditoria de Calidad Urbana con Perspectiva de género*. Disponibles en: <https://punt6.org/recursos/guias-propias/>.

Aportaciones del feminismo a la crítica urbana y al análisis y diseño de los entornos urbanos²

La crítica feminista realiza una aportación fundamental al espacio urbano y doméstico, ya que es la que cuestiona la mirada homogénea que tenemos de la sociedad, evidenciando las diferencias de los roles de género asignados a las personas sobre los cuales se ha organizado la sociedad actual, patriarcal y capitalista. Visibiliza cómo el diseño del espacio donde se desarrollan las actividades diarias puede generar desigualdades si no se consideran, como en la mayoría de los trabajos que no tienen esta mirada, las necesidades derivadas de las tareas del cuidado de la sociedad. El feminismo, como paradigma, propone un cambio de prioridades de la sociedad actual donde se incluye también el modelo urbano, poniendo la vida en el centro de todas las decisiones. También desde el feminismo y los estudios de género, se realiza un gran aporte metodológico, que se considera necesario para visibilizar las diferencias, abordar las desigualdades, y responder a las necesidades cotidianas desde una mirada integradora.

En los años sesenta la crítica al urbanismo dominante coincide con la idea de que la práctica se ha basado en un concepto de ciudad funcionalista que se construye a partir de pensar el territorio de forma segregada y en el vehículo privado como medio privilegiado de transporte, en contraposición al concepto de ciudad, con mezcla de usos y próxima a las personas (Jacobs, 1961; Choay, 1965, Lefebvre, 1969)³. La teoría feminista aporta a esta crítica la relevancia de la vida cotidiana como dato fundamental a la hora de pensar y diseñar los espacios urbanos, poniendo a las personas en primer lugar y visibilizando las actividades relacionadas con la reproducción de la vida. Para ello, desde las diferentes disciplinas que abordan lo urbano, se plantea un cambio de metodología en el estudio y análisis de los espacios que utilizan las personas, necesario para incorporar los datos de la vida cotidiana y desde la experiencia y la participación de las mujeres, hasta ahora ignorados.

El interés por clarificar qué significa vida cotidiana ha sido, y continúa siendo, unos de los temas desarrollados desde las teorías feministas. De manera resumida se podría definir la vida cotidiana como el conjunto de actividades que las personas realizan en las diferentes esferas de la vida que está formada por tareas productivas, reproductivas, personales y comunitarias o políticas. Estas actividades son realizadas en un soporte físico (barrio, ciudad, territorio...) y en un tiempo determinado (Horelli, 2006; Torns *et al.*, 2006;

² Extracto de la tesis doctoral de Adriana Ciocoletto, publicada en otros artículos. Ob.cit.2.

³ Jane Jacobs, 1961; Françoise Choay 1965; Henri Lefebvre, 1969.

Casanovas, 2010; Ciocoletto y Gutiérrez Valdivia, 2011)⁴. La importancia de incorporar esta dimensión cotidiana al urbanismo radica en poder responder a las necesidades reales de la población de manera inclusiva.

En este marco, la crítica confirma que a pesar de existir propuestas alternativas para “humanizar” la ciudad el urbanismo se ha construido como una ciencia solo de “especialistas”, basado en la Carta de Atenas y simplificando la vida en cuatro grandes funciones básicas y en criterios “universales” sobre las necesidades “del hombre-tipo”. La ideología no ha sido ajena a los planteos, siendo la búsqueda por el rendimiento de las sociedades capitalistas lo que ha predominado como trasfondo a las maneras de analizar y construir la ciudad. (Choay, 1965; Jacobs, 1961; Lefebvre 1969, Montaner y Muxí, 2011)⁵

El resultado más o menos similar en distintos países de Europa y, aunque con más diferencias, en América, ha sido el deterioro de los centros urbanos tradicionales y la ocupación dispersa en el territorio con áreas monofuncionales como las urbanizaciones de viviendas, los polígonos industriales y grandes áreas comerciales y especializadas en ocio que de alguna manera complementan esta función (Hyden, 1982; Greed, 1994)⁶. Esta manera de planificar y diseñar la ciudad respondió a un modelo desarrollista enmarcado en una economía liberal donde solo lo productivo, y por ello remunerado, tenían valor. Lo demás, y principalmente las tareas necesarias para la reproducción y no remuneradas, no fueron valoradas (Carrasco, 2007)⁷.

Con ello, los espacios vitales para el desarrollo de la vida cotidiana como la calle tradicional, vital y con vida, se han despreciado en el abandono del cuidado de la ciudad a partir de lo cual surge un fuerte reclamo por la función social del espacio público y la necesidad de la proximidad entre los distintos usos, como cualidad urbana (Jacobs, 1961).

En este contexto, la crítica desde el feminismo y los enfoques de género se han plantado contra la lógica de un sistema capitalista y patriarcal, rompiendo jerarquías y anteponiendo la experiencia al tecnicismo, aportando sin duda la visión más inclusiva de la realidad. Esta crítica es la que propone analizar, comprender y proponer alternativas urbanas y arquitectónicas que incorporen la experiencia cotidiana de todas las personas y principalmente la de las mujeres porque con ellas se reconocen las tareas relacionadas del cuidado del hogar y de las personas que los roles de género en la sociedad tradicional le han atribuido históricamente (Booth *et al.*, 1998; Peña Molina, 1998)⁸. Y más allá de los roles de género, la crítica del

⁴ Liisa Horelli, 2006; Teresa Torns *et al.*, 2006; Roser Casanovas, 2010; Adriana Ciocoletto y Blanca Gutiérrez Valdivia, 2011.

⁵ Françoise Choay, 1965; Jane Jacobs, 1961; Henri Lefebvre 1969, Josep Maria Montaner y Zaida Muxí 2011.

⁶ Dolores Hayden, 1992; Clara Greed 1994.

⁷ Cristina Carrasco, 2007.

⁸ Christine Booth, Jane Darke and Susan Yeandle, 1998; Blanca Peña Molina, 1998.

feminismo revela las diferentes dimensiones de la violencia y la discriminación en el espacio público y cómo éstas generan diferencias en el uso y disfrute de mujeres y hombres y la desigualdad en el acceso a la ciudad.

Para hacer frente a toda esta realidad, entre otras estrategias, el feminismo hace un aporte metodológico para incorporar la experiencia cotidiana aplicando herramientas cualitativas, interdisciplinarias, desde la perspectiva de género y la participación de diferentes personas. Entre sus valores está el permitir complementar las técnicas cuantitativas más tradicionales (Pedone, 2000)⁹; el considerar la experiencia vital y personal en la investigación (Booth *et al.*, 1998); incorporar la experiencia de las mujeres como grandes conocedoras de su entorno cotidiano (Booth, *et al.*, 1998) y el aplicar un enfoque interseccional (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2004)¹⁰ que permite conocer las necesidades y aspiraciones de las personas en función no solo del sexo y la identidad de género sino también de otras condiciones como la edad, el origen, las capacidades diferentes, el grupo de convivencia, la residencia, el nivel de renta, entre otras.

¿Qué estrategias son necesarias?

En base a la crítica feminista, desde Col·lectiu Punt 6 planteamos 4 estrategias principales sobre las cuales desarrollamos todos nuestros trabajos. Son en realidad 4 pasos que se pueden seguir si se busca lograr como objetivo aplicar la perspectiva de género de forma transversal en la arquitectura y el urbanismo. Entendemos la perspectiva de género, como categoría de análisis y herramienta que permite visibilizar y problematizar que las tareas del cuidado de la vida han sido históricamente y en su gran mayoría realizadas por mujeres, así como, estudiar el conjunto de tareas cotidianas que realizan las personas en su día a día y las diferencias en los roles de género que asumen estas tareas.

La participación de las personas poniendo en valor la experiencia de la vida cotidiana de las mujeres

Las personas vecinas son quienes más conocen su ciudad, barrio o pueblo; por tanto, su participación es imprescindible a la hora de realizar cualquier intervención porque allí viven, pasean, compran, juegan, cuidan, trabajan, etc.

Su conocimiento es muy importante porque, además, cuando participa el vecindario en el diseño de los espacios, aumenta el sentimiento de pertenencia, el sentido de apropiación y la calidad de vida. Por otro lado, con estos procesos se fomenta el conocimiento

⁹ Claudia Pedone, 2000.

¹⁰ Inés Sánchez de Madariaga, 2004.

de otras personas que también viven en ese entorno y por lo tanto se aprende a vivir y a convivir mejor.

La participación de las mujeres en los procesos de planificación es imprescindible ya que es un valioso medio para identificar las necesidades de una comunidad, debido a que históricamente, y aun en la actualidad han estado presentes en las diferentes esferas de la vida cotidiana. Las necesidades y prioridades variarán entre mujeres de entornos urbanos o de áreas rurales, mujeres con hijas o hijos, mujeres mayores o jóvenes, mujeres de diferentes orígenes, etc. Aquí exponemos tres motivos que hacen necesaria la participación de las mujeres en la transformación de los lugares donde vivimos:

- El diseño, la planificación y la estructura de los entornos donde vivimos afectan a la calidad de vida de las personas. La participación de las mujeres aporta nuestra experiencia y sabiduría de la vida cotidiana, fuente imprescindible de conocimiento para la planificación urbana.
- El urbanismo no es neutro. El espacio que habitamos refleja dinámicas de poder y da prioridades y visibilidad a unos elementos sobre otros. Normalmente, no se realizan estudios acerca de los efectos diferenciados que causa la planificación en diferentes grupos e intereses de la comunidad, en general se ignora la esfera reproductiva y de atención a las personas, beneficiando primordialmente la esfera del trabajo y al género masculino. Por lo tanto, la participación de las mujeres puede ayudar a distribuir el impacto de la planificación para que sea más equitativa.
- A pesar de que las mujeres somos el 52% de la población mundial, nuestra experiencia sobre el entorno no ha sido del todo considerada. La participación ayuda a dar mayor visibilidad a los temas que más preocupan a las mujeres y a favorecer la comprensión de las relaciones entre temas como la seguridad personal, el cuidado de niñas y niños, el cuidado de personas mayores, la accesibilidad o la movilidad, elementos que configuran la rutina cotidiana de la vida de las mujeres.

Favorecer el empoderamiento de las mujeres, implica tomar conciencia del poder, tanto individual como colectivo, que tenemos y ejercerlo a través de la participación en los procesos de toma de decisiones, así como en los lugares de poder. Empoderamiento no significa dar poder a las mujeres: ya lo tenemos, lo que necesitamos son mecanismos que nos permitan ejercerlo de diferentes formas, no de manera jerárquica y patriarcal como se acostumbra a ejercer el poder en las estructuras masculinizadas. Los procesos de empoderamiento también permiten visibilizar el conocimiento y la aportación de las mujeres a la sociedad. A través del empoderamiento también hay que promover el activismo y reivindicar el derecho de las mujeres a la ciudad.



Actividades participativas y resultados de talleres de vida cotidiana y mapeos comunitarios en Buenos Aires, Argentina y Barcelona, España
Fotos: Col·lectiu Punt 6



opposite page
Elaboración de criterios y co-producción para el diseño de espacios y equipamientos públicos. Esparraguera y Sant Salvador de Guardiola
Fotos: Col·lectiu Punt 6

Diagnóstico urbano participativo

Los conocimientos que provienen de la participación se pueden vehicular para conseguir transformaciones a través de una diagnosis del entorno cotidiano que permita elaborar recomendaciones y criterios para el diseño de los espacios. La elaboración de un diagnóstico necesita que haya una coordinación entre grupos y entidades sociales, equipo técnico del municipio, así como el apoyo de personas o grupos expertos en urbanismo y género. De esta manera se pueden coordinar esfuerzos y conseguir que el diagnóstico resultante se tenga en cuenta en la planificación y transformación del entorno cotidiano. Un diagnóstico con perspectiva de género deberá entender las diferentes redes cotidianas que las personas utilizan en su barrio, pueblo o ciudad, haciendo una lectura transversal de las necesidades, involucrando diferentes generaciones y poniendo especial énfasis en el conocimiento diferencial que tenemos las mujeres y los hombres. Esto permitirá obtener criterios de género susceptibles de ser incorporados en un proyecto de transformación y mejora del entorno.

La transformación urbana con perspectiva de género

En esta fase de la planificación urbana, también es necesaria la participación activa y vinculada de las personas vecinas acompañadas del conocimiento técnico de personas

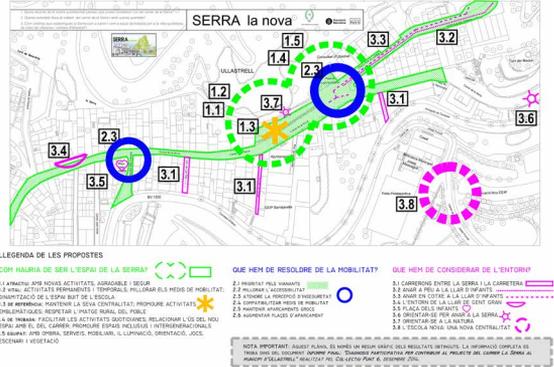
o grupos especialistas en el diseño y la planificación con perspectiva de género, permitirá transformar espacios e incorporar mejoras a diferentes escalas. Por ejemplo, se puede intervenir en un Plan de Ordenación Urbanística Municipal, en un Plan de Mejora Barrial o sector concreto, en el diseño y la mejora de espacios públicos como pueden ser calles, plazas o parques, en el diseño y construcción de un equipamiento, en aplicar la coeducación en patios escolares, en la planificación de la red de movilidad cotidiana, en el diseño de espacios seguros, en el diseño de la Casa sin género, etc. Es en la fase de transformación donde se incorporan los criterios de género desarrollados en la diagnosis previa, introduciendo la experiencia cotidiana de las personas.

Evaluación

La evaluación debe ser constante y abarcar tanto los proyectos que están por hacerse como las transformaciones urbanas realizadas. También se puede llevar a cabo con la participación de las personas vecinas, porque ayudará a saber si las intervenciones se adecúan a las necesidades de una población determinada. Para la evaluación es recomendable utilizar auditorias urbanas que hacen un seguimiento de todo el proceso, desde el inicio de la diagnosis hasta el diseño y la ocupación de los espacios, y que permiten elaborar indicadores que ayuden a saber donde se está, que mejoras son necesarias hacer y cómo conseguirlas.

¿Qué metodologías y herramientas proponemos?

Desde Col·lectiu Punt 6 elaboramos un conjunto de herramientas propias desde la perspectiva de género interseccional¹¹ que, para la diagnosis, elaboración de criterios proyectuales



¹¹ La perspectiva de género interseccional analiza como la intersección entre el género y otras variables identitarias como la edad, la diversidad sexual, diversidad funcional, origen, religión, etc. condiciona como las personas usan y disfrutan el espacio. Este enfoque visibiliza como el sexismo se entrecruza con otras formas de opresión como el racismo, la homofobia o la transfobia. Y además que mujeres y hombres hacen un uso diferente de los espacios debido

y evaluación de los espacios urbanos, domésticos y comunitarios, con el objetivo de ser utilizados por diferentes personas (vecinas, estudiantes, profesionales, entidades, administraciones públicas, etc.). Han sido y pueden ser utilizados en diferentes procesos de diagnóstico, diseño y evaluación de los espacios y como material formativo en los diferentes cursos que realizamos.

Utilizamos metodología feminista¹² para implementar estas herramientas con el objetivo extraer información desde la experiencia de la vida cotidiana, además de garantizar que todas las personas tengan igualdad de oportunidades para participar en los procesos de diseño y transformación del espacio y por ello son también herramientas participativas. Es imprescindible comprender que la respuesta de las personas que participen de un diagnóstico participado, un diseño participativo o una evaluación urbana, dependerá de qué y cómo preguntemos. Por ello se considera necesario analizar la realidad cotidiana mediante técnicas cualitativas desarrolladas desde la perspectiva de género que pongan en el centro la experiencia de la vida cotidiana de las diferentes personas. Incorporar datos cualitativos al análisis urbano y de los diferentes espacios, nos permite poner en igualdad los datos no considerados hasta el momento, y constituyen un complemento fundamental para el resto de información cuantitativa de la que en general se dispone.

Las herramientas que presentaremos a continuación tienen las siguientes características:

- Son de vocación pedagógica, es decir, que más allá de ser utilizadas para analizar, diseñar o evaluar los espacios, pretenden sensibilizar, visibilizar y contribuir al conocimiento y la difusión del urbanismo y la arquitectura desde una perspectiva feminista.
- Han sido diseñadas desde la interdisciplinariedad, principalmente desde la arquitectura, el urbanismo y la sociología, incorporando diversidad de conocimientos técnicos de las diferentes disciplinas. Por ejemplo, combinando técnicas de mapeo con técnicas participativas: mapa de Gulliver, mapeo corporal, etc.
- Se han desarrollado desde el conocimiento empírico hacia la teoría, buscando romper la división entre el mundo académico y la realidad de las personas y enriqueciendo el conocimiento teórico con la práctica cotidiana.
- Recogen la experiencia cotidiana de las personas usuarias rompiendo jerarquías entre las personas, tanto técnicas como vecinas a través de diversas técnicas participativas.

a los roles de género, pero también que las mujeres entre sí y los hombres entre sí hacen un uso diferente porque tienen otras características identitarias que las diferencian. Por lo tanto, no es lo mismo como vive la ciudad una mujer joven migrada lesbiana que una mujer mayor, con movilidad reducida y viuda.

¹² La metodología feminista busca maneras de recoger información cualitativa de la vida cotidiana de las personas, considerando la experiencia vital y personal en la práctica e investigación e incorporando la experiencia de las mujeres como expertas de su entorno cotidiano.

- Incorporan y ponen en valor los datos cualitativos de la realidad que han quedado fuera del análisis convencional de la arquitectura y el urbanismo.
- Han sido diseñadas para ser utilizadas por todas las personas que estudien, analicen o trabajen en la definición de los espacios urbanos, pero también para personas que no tienen un conocimiento académico en arquitectura o urbanismo, por ello se utiliza un lenguaje claro y sin tecnicismos y material gráfico diverso como soporte para su comprensión.
- Si bien buscan sistematizar procesos e información, son flexibles a la hora de aplicarlas y pueden complementarse entre sí permitiendo elaborar criterios para el diseño de barrios, espacios y equipamientos públicos, redes cotidianas de movilidad y viviendas.
- Se han aplicado en cursos de formación en carreras de grado, máster y posgrados universitarios, en capacitación de personal técnico en ayuntamientos, grupos profesionales y otros grupos políticos, en procesos participativos con personas vecinas y en proyectos de investigación.
- Reconocen el trabajo previo realizado por otras feministas y sus aportaciones al urbanismo y a la arquitectura.

Entre las herramientas desarrolladas se encuentran:

Guía de reconocimiento urbano con perspectiva de género¹³

Es la primera herramienta que comenzamos a diseñar desde el 2005 y a partir de la cual se elaboraron prácticamente todas las demás. El objetivo principal es dar visibilidad a las mujeres en su diversidad, como fuente singular de conocimientos y experiencias, y como agentes de transformación. También sirve como introducción práctica al urbanismo y la arquitectura con perspectiva de género.

La *Guía de reconocimiento urbano con perspectiva de género* ayuda a mostrar de una forma ordenada todo aquello que ya sabemos por la experiencia acumulada de vivir en un lugar. Se desarrollan diversas técnicas participativas que son aplicables para procesos de empoderamiento, de análisis, de transformación urbana y de visibilizarían. Entre las diferentes técnicas utilizadas, complementarias entre sí, que recomendamos para obtener información de la experiencia cotidiana, están: 1) los recorridos de reconocimiento y observación participante, que deben realizar las personas que elaboran la diagnosis para tener un conocimiento directo de la realidad; 2) entrevistas a personas claves y con diferentes perfiles sociales, para poder profundizar en temas concretos; y 3) dinámicas participativas que pueden variar según

¹³ Publicado en: Mujeres trabajando. Guía de reconocimiento urbano con perspectiva de género. (Col·lectiu Punt 6, 2014).

Ficha metodológica para la realización de un taller de red cotidiana
Foto: Col·lectiu Punt 6

2.5 RED COTIDIANA

¿Para qué sirve?

La red cotidiana que propone Col·lectiu Punt 6 sirve para analizar un entorno focalizado en temas diferentes. Los resultados se suman y relacionan para obtener un análisis completo del entorno seleccionado.

Tiempo total

2:30

¿Qué materiales son necesarios?

- Ficha 2: Participantes
- Copia del DUG para cada participante
- Mapa grande del sector a trabajar: uno para cada variable
- Bolígrafos, tizas, rotuladores y pegatinas de colores. Mínimo 4 colores.
- Hojas de papel para anotar
- Notas adhesivas. Mínimo 4 colores
- Pizarra u hojas de papel grande
- Cinta adhesiva, chinchetas y tijeras
- Cámara fotográfica

Habilidades necesarias



¿Dónde?



Se recomienda disponer de más de un espacio para realizar esta actividad, de manera que el grupo que trabaja cada variable pueda hacerlo sin interferencias.

¿Qué información obtenemos?

- Los cuestionarios (DUG) con las respuestas por variables.
- Los mapas grupales con elementos favorables y desfavorables por variables.
- Una lluvia de ideas sobre cómo mejorar elementos o aspectos de nuestro entorno.



Lu Ribal del Peredo, 2009

Es un ejercicio escrito, individual y colectivo, donde se dibuja el entorno cotidiano.

2

¿Cómo lo hacemos?

Separamos las participantes en tres grupos (como mínimo). Cada grupo trabajará un tema:

- Grupo 1: Equipamientos y servicios.
- Grupo 2: Espacios de relación.
- Grupo 3: Movilidad.

Los otros 3 temas que trabaja el Col·lectiu Punt 6 (seguridad, participación y vivienda) son transversales a todos los grupos, esto quiere decir, que se trabajan en cada uno de ellos. Si el número de participantes es muy alto, se pueden formar 6 grupos, uno por cada variable.

ACCIÓN INDIVIDUAL

1

25 min

RESPONDER EL DUG SUEÑO VARIABLE: en cada grupo las participantes deben responder las preguntas de su variable más las preguntas sobre seguridad, participación y vivienda, que son comunes. *

2

15 min

VALORACIÓN: del cuestionario que hemos respondido, escogemos 3 aspectos favorables y 3 desfavorables que afecten a nuestra vida cotidiana. Escribimos cada aspecto en una nota adhesiva. Cada variable, es decir, cada grupo tendrá un color diferente.

* ¿Se debe responder todo el cuestionario? Seguramente no lo podremos responder todo: puede haber preguntas que no sean pertinentes o que no entendamos. En estos casos no es necesario responder, se deja en blanco y pasamos a la siguiente.

¿Y si quiero ampliar la respuesta? Hay preguntas que son difíciles de responder con SÍ/NO. Por este motivo tendremos preparadas hojas en blanco donde poder escribir todos los comentarios que surjan cuando contestamos las preguntas.



Sandra Cisneros de Cornello, 2013

opposite page
Parte de las herramientas gráficas resultado de la aplicación de la auditoría
Fotos: Col·lectiu Punt 6

el grupo y el objetivo del trabajo; entre ellas están los mapas comunitarios, los recorridos de reconocimiento con personas vecinas, talleres de vida cotidiana, talleres de seguridad, mapas corporales, entre otros.

La guía también contiene una herramienta aplicable a todas las técnicas anteriores “Diagnosis Urbana con perspectiva de Género (DUG)” que consiste en un cuestionario vivo y en constante evolución que hemos elaborado para describir y analizar el entorno cotidiano. Para facilitar su descripción y comprensión, las preguntas del cuestionario DUG están divididas en seis ámbitos, cuatro de ellos –los espacios de relación, los equipamientos y servicios, la movilidad, y la vivienda– definen el apoyo físico donde desarrollamos nuestras actividades cotidianas. En cambio, los otros dos, la participación y la seguridad, son conceptos transversales que se entrecruzan con las características físicas.

Auditoría de calidad urbana con perspectiva de género¹⁴:

La Auditoría de Calidad Urbana con perspectiva de Género (AUG) es una herramienta de evaluación urbana que tiene como objetivo principal comprobar la aplicación

¹⁴ Publicada en: *Espacios para la vida cotidiana. Auditoría de Calidad Urbana con Perspectiva de género* (CIO-COLETTO Adriana y COL-LECTIU PUNT 6, 2014).

1

Municipio: Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires
 Ubicación: Buenos Aires, Argentina
 Superficie: 200 km²
 Población: 2.890.151 hab.

Barrio: Barrio de Ramón Carrillo
 Superficie: 0,160 km²
 Tipología: Tejido informal y autoconstrucción
 Población: 12.250 hab.

Barrio y red cotidiana
 Barrio Ramón Carrillo, Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires

PROXIMIDAD	DIVERSIDAD	AUTONOMÍA	VITALIDAD	REPRESENTATIVIDAD
Alto 4	Medio 3	Muy bajo 1	Bajo 2	Bajo 2



Vista del barrio desde uno de los nuevos espacios de relación, la plaza Carrillo, 2013.

Cualidades del espacio: La distancia desde las viviendas del barrio hacia los espacios, equipamientos, comercios y, en parte, a las paradas de transporte público, permite formar una red cotidiana de **proximidad**, aunque existen dificultades de conectividad debido al aislamiento del barrio. Se han transformado plazas y abierto pequeños espacios de encuentro, con mobiliario infantil, y de estancia en varios lugares. La **diversidad** en los equipamientos responde a la mayoría de personas, aunque no a las personas mayores y dependientes con diversidad funcional. El uso de la calle y los espacios de relación está muy limitado por la falta de accesibilidad general del barrio y se percibe inseguridad, aunque esta ha mejorado por algunas actuaciones.

Transversalidad de género en la gestión urbana: La creación de la Secretaría de Hábitat e Inclusión para realizar actuaciones de mejora en el barrio ha permitido trabajar entre diferentes áreas dedicadas a los programas sociales y a la mejora de los espacios de relación. Se han realizado cursos y talleres de formación, además de asesoría en urbanismo con perspectiva de género y se han elaborado algunos de los proyectos con criterios de género. Existen canales de participación vinculados tanto a la elaboración de programas sociales como a la mejora de algunos espacios del barrio. Se han llevado a cabo especialmente trabajos con mujeres para identificar las necesidades cotidianas. Se ha instalado un espacio físico de referencia en el barrio para interactuar con las personas vecinas, con una programación de actividades que incluye la perspectiva de género (Portal Inclusivo en la plaza Carrillo).

transversal de la perspectiva de género en el urbanismo, tanto en los espacios como en la gestión, a partir del análisis integral de los aspectos sociales, físicos y funcionales de un entorno concreto.

La *Auditoría de Calidad Urbana con perspectiva de género*, permite evaluar si nuestros barrios y ciudades responden a las necesidades de las personas sin provocar discriminaciones de ningún tipo y desde una mirada integral de los aspectos físicos, sociales y funcionales. Puede ser aplicada desde el diseño hasta la construcción y la post-ocupación de los espacios, siendo de mucha utilidad como herramienta proyectual y para la toma de decisiones. Además, es una herramienta aplicable en diferentes tipos de realidades socio-espaciales ya sean de una ciudad formal o informal, tejidos compactos o dispersos y diferentes contextos socio-políticos. Esta auditoría se basa en el trabajo conjunto que, a lo largo del tiempo, Col·lectiu Punt 6 ha ido elaborando y perfeccionando y que se ha nutrido de la experiencia colectiva acumulada con mujeres, personas técnicas en los diferentes trabajos de formación, procesos participativos y consultorías realizadas para diversas administraciones. La auditoría consta de un paso previo de diagnóstico, aplicando diferentes métodos participativos y feministas para obtener información sobre los diversos aspectos para luego aplicar un sistema de indicadores. Incluye

un conjunto de indicadores urbanos espaciales que ha sido un trabajo de varios años y fruto del trabajo de una tesis doctoral¹⁵, los cuales proponen 5 cualidades urbanas desde la perspectiva de género: proximidad, diversidad, autonomía, vitalidad y representatividad. Además, la auditoría incorpora otro grupo de indicadores para la transversalidad de género, en este caso para la gestión de los espacios urbanos, para lo cual propone otras tres cualidades: Interdisciplinariedad, multiescalaridad y participación.

opposite page
ropuesta de
actuaciones
resultado de la
aplicación de la
Auditoría
 Fotos: Col·lectiu
 Punt 6

Auditoría de seguridad urbana con perspectiva de género en la vivienda y el entorno¹⁶

La *Auditoría de seguridad urbana con perspectiva de género en la vivienda y el entorno* es una herramienta de diagnóstico urbano cuyo objetivo principal es analizar la seguridad de las personas basada en un análisis integral de los aspectos sociales, físicos y funcionales que condicionan la percepción de seguridad en el espacio aplicando una perspectiva de género interseccional.

Esta auditoría se basa en la experiencia desarrollada por Col·lectiu Punt 6 en diversos trabajos relacionados con la seguridad urbana desde una perspectiva de género¹⁷. A su vez, nuestro trabajo parte de los saberes y experiencias construidos durante las últimas décadas por diferentes organizaciones feministas y de mujeres¹⁸. Todos estos trabajos nos han servido de base para realizar una nueva aportación.

La Auditoría se desarrolla aplicando un repertorio de herramientas y métodos participativos y feministas para obtener información sobre los diversos aspectos de un contexto en concreto y sobre cómo impacta la seguridad en la vida cotidiana de las personas. Propone seis líneas estratégicas basadas las seis características que debe tener el espacio para ser seguro desde la perspectiva de género (señalizado, visible, vital, vigilado, equipado y comunitario)¹⁹. Cada una de las líneas estratégicas contiene un conjunto de actuaciones que sirven de ejemplos, aplicables a diferentes realidades.

La auditoría permite avanzar en el diseño y gestión del entorno urbano y los espacios públicos y de relación integrando criterios de seguridad, género e interseccionalidad, para

¹⁵ *Urbanismo para la vida cotidiana. Herramientas de análisis y evaluación urbana a escala de barrio desde la perspectiva de género*. Directoras: Pilar Garcia Almirall y Zaida Muxí Martínez. Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, Escola Tècnica Superior d'Arquitectura de Barcelona (UPC-ETSAB). Presentada el 17 de julio de 2014.

¹⁶ Entornos Habitables. Auditoría de seguridad urbana con perspectiva de género, en la vivienda y el entorno (Col·lectiu Punt 6, 2016)

¹⁷ Al final de la guía se recogen los materiales elaborados por Punt 6 sobre seguridad urbana desde la perspectiva de género.

¹⁸ Como Women in Cities International o la Red Mujer y Hábitat de América Latina, así como de investigadoras feministas como Anne Michaud, Carolyn Whitzman, Ana Falú, Olga Segovia, María Lourdes García Vázquez, entre otras.

¹⁹ Estas características parten de los 6 principios elaborados por Anne Michaud en la *Guide d'aménagement pour un environnement urbain sécuritaire de la Ville de Montréal* dentro del programa Femmes et Villes del 2001.

ENTORNOS HABITABLES AUDITORÍA DE SEGURIDAD URBANA CON PERSPECTIVA DE GÉNERO EN LA VIVIENDA Y EL ENTORNO

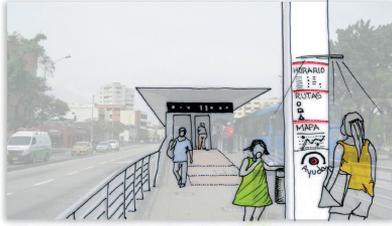
ENTORNO

Situación identificada:

La falta de señalización e información en la ciudad es generalizada, pero es aún más grave en el transporte público. Existen varios tipos de transporte público formal e informal: sistema MIO, autobuses de líneas, de barrio, jeeps para acceder a zonas de difícil topografía, motos... y no existe ningún plano con la información unificada. Las paradas de transporte público son el acceso a un lugar nuevo para muchas personas por lo que es necesaria información básica del entorno para que las personas puedan orientarse.

ACTUACIÓN PROPUESTA:

Señalización y mapas con información del transporte público (1.1.3)



CÓMO SE PUEDE CONCRETAR:

Colocando en las diferentes estaciones/paradas de los diferentes modos de transporte planos con la red unificada, conexiones... Además, poniendo en las estaciones de transporte un mapa detallado con el entorno y la relación con la red cotidiana. La información tiene que ser visible y legible y la cartelería tiene que estar bien mantenida y con la información actualizada.

EDIFICIO

Situación identificada:

Los nuevos barrios de vivienda de interés social son casi exclusivamente de uso residencial. La falta de actividad en las plantas bajas de los edificios y la ubicación de viviendas que dan directamente a la calle sin otro uso, hace que el espacio comunitario y público sea poco vigilado y se perciba como inseguro. A veces la respuesta desde los vecindarios es la organización de un comité de seguridad para la vigilancia del barrio que puede acabar generando problemas de convivencia y la creación de estereotipos sobre el barrio.

ACTUACIÓN PROPUESTA:

Ubicación de comercios, servicios, equipamientos y usos comunitarios en las plantas bajas (4.2.5)



CÓMO SE PUEDE CONCRETAR:

En los edificios de viviendas se pueden localizar comercios, equipamientos y servicios comunitarios en las plantas bajas en relación con las calles y los espacios de relación del entorno y en los conjuntos habitacionales se puede reservar un espacio por manzana para ubicar estos servicios.

garantizar el derecho a la ciudad sin discriminaciones. También ayuda a fomentar la inclusión de esta perspectiva en la información recogida por los organismos municipales que tengan algún tipo de vinculación con la seguridad urbana de la ciudad, así como en los programas, proyectos y servicios que se ofrecen desde cada uno de ellos.

Casa sin Género

La casa sin género surge del primer workshop realizado en la Escuela de Arquitectura de Barcelona²⁰ y del trabajo *Recomendacions per a un habitatge no jeràrquic ni androcèntric* (Muxí, 2009)²¹. La casa sin género no es solamente un taller de diseño para solucionar la vivienda, sino que es una reflexión esencial. Es un ejercicio empírico para leer, valorar y cuestionar la influencia de los roles de género en la configuración de la vivienda, y sobre todo, es un ejercicio para motivar cambios que incorporen la equidad de género en la definición de los lugares donde vivimos.

²⁰ Coordinado por Zaida Muxí y Anna Puigjaner dentro de las jornadas *Urbanismo y género. Una visión necesaria para todos*, organizadas por la Diputación de Barcelona en el 2005 donde participaron también como docentes arquitectas feministas como Anna Bofill, Lidewij Tummers i Hanna de Craft, del grupo Matrix. Parte del trabajo de la casa sin género está publicado en *Recomendaciones per a un habitatge no jeràrquic ni androcèntric*.

²¹ Zaida Muxí Martínez, 2009.

Se realiza en formato de taller analizando el diseño de la vivienda actual y como el mercado y la sociedad androcéntrica influyen en el diseño arquitectónico de las tipologías residenciales. Se trabaja desde la experiencia vivida de la casa actual y la de la infancia. Se cuestiona desde ‘lo íntimo privado’ que se da por ubicado en el interior de la vivienda, hasta los vínculos con la complejidad del tejido urbano donde ‘se ubica lo público’. Para esto, valora el conocimiento empírico derivado de las experiencias vitales propias, conocidas, compartidas, construidas, heredadas...

El resultado evidencia por ejemplo: los roles de género predominantes, la consecuente jerarquización de los espacios, la necesidad de dar respuesta a diferentes grupos de convivencia, el menosprecio del trabajo doméstico, la falta de opciones para incorporar otros usos como el trabajo remunerado, la incapacidad que están teniendo los espacios para albergar actividades diferentes a comer, asearse y descansar, la necesidad de tener en cuenta patrones diferentes de temporalidad o de dar lugar a cambios de comportamiento para que las tareas individuales puedan realizarse colectivamente, etc. A partir de estas evidencias es posible elaborar propuestas de diseño que no perpetúen los roles de género cuyo espacio favorezca la corresponsabilidad de todas las tareas del cuidado.

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**Líneas
 estratégicas
 con propuesta
 de actuación**
 Elaboración del
 dibujo: Hernán
 Lleida Ruiz.
 (Muxí, 2009)

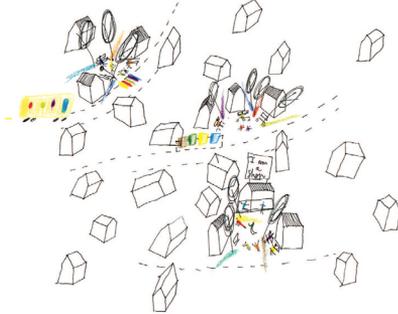
Estrategias para la mejora de la vida cotidiana en las áreas residenciales monofuncionales de baja densidad

Es un trabajo que parte de la investigación *Rehabilitación de áreas residenciales monofuncionales de baja densidad*²². Tiene por objetivo el análisis de estas áreas desde la experiencia de la vida cotidiana de las personas que viven en ella, para elaborar, allí donde sea posible, propuestas que mejoren la calidad de vida de quienes la habitan teniendo siempre en cuenta el cuidado del territorio desde una perspectiva de la ecología.

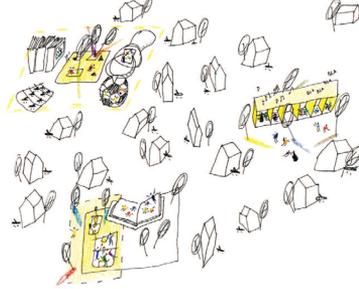
La elaboración de estrategias y actuaciones requiere, como las demás herramientas, un trabajo de diagnóstico previo aplicando un repertorio de herramientas y métodos participativos y feministas para obtener información sobre los diversos aspectos necesarios para elaborar las actuaciones basadas en cinco líneas estratégicas las cuales pueden ampliarse o reformularse según el caso: reforzar un modelo de proximidad, favorecer la mezcla física y social, garantizar la vida con autonomía, reforzar el sentido de pertenencia de la comunidad, promover el equilibrio medioambiental y una vida sana. La propuesta de estas estrategias y la metodología para llevarlas a la práctica, permite además de un mayor

²² Proyecto dirigido por Zaida Muxí Martínez y Publicado en: Muxí Martínez, Zaida (Coord.) (2011) *Postsuburbia. Rehabilitación de urbanizaciones residenciales monofuncionales de baja densidad*. Barcelona: Comanegra.

Objetivo 1.3 Aproximar los usos cotidianos

Actuación 1.3.EP.5 Consolidación de los lugares de apropiación espontáneadificultad 2
prioridad 3
enfoque 4.2.E5**Qué:** Reconocimiento de los lugares donde, de forma espontánea, las personas se reúnen, descansan o juegan.**Cómo:** Identificando y poniendo en valor espacios informales apropiados a través de la participación de las personas. Regularizando la propiedad de estos espacios con cesiones de uso, permisos o expropiaciones. Mejorando las condiciones de accesibilidad y de uso. Acondicionando un solar para realizar las fiestas del barrio. Optimizando los espacios de encuentro de jóvenes que les permitan mantener su autonomía.

Objetivo 1.3 Aproximar los usos cotidianos

Actuación 1.3.E5.4 Espacios compartidos entre diferentes equipamientosdificultad 1
prioridad 2
enfoque 4.2.E5**Qué:** Generar espacios de uso compartido entre equipamientos y servicios ya que favorecen el uso eficiente de los recursos espaciales y humanos, así como la interacción entre diferentes personas.**Cómo:** Haciendo coincidir el acceso de diversos equipamientos: la ludoteca con el centro de personas mayores, el mercado con la biblioteca, etc. Sumando usos a los equipamientos: biblioteca con un espacio de exposición, patios de escuelas abiertos fuera del horario lectivo como zona de juegos, salas polivalentes de la escuela que permiten acoger otras actividades, etc. Compartiendo espacios y servicios: apertura de los baños de los equipamientos al espacio público, espacio exterior de espera mixto, recepción conjunta para distintos equipamientos, etc.

HERRAMIENTA 1

conocimiento de la realidad de estos territorios y sus personas, de los cuales se dispone en general muy poca información, encontrar soluciones de forma conjunta entre las personas que gestionan este territorio junto con la comunidad. En las actuaciones, no solo se consideran las de tipo físico y relacionadas con la planificación urbana, sino también, propuestas a pequeña escala y programas sociales, acordes a las necesidades de la vida cotidiana, y coherentes con la problemática del territorio que la envuelve.

Conclusiones

En este artículo hemos presentado las herramientas que Col·lectiu Punt 6 ha desarrollado a lo largo de los últimos 12 años. Son una contribución a la metodología feminista existente en el ámbito del urbanismo y la arquitectura. Estas herramientas se basan en la crítica feminista que se inició en los años 70 contra un urbanismo y una arquitectura que reproducen modelos capitalistas y patriarcales. También estas herramientas parten de la metodología feminista que busca maneras de recoger información cualitativa de la vida cotidiana de las personas, considerando la experiencia vital y personal en la práctica e investigación e incorporando la experiencia de las mujeres como expertas de su entorno cotidiano. A través de este trabajo, queremos enfatizar el carácter colectivo de estas herramientas, que se han desarrollado gracias al conocimiento acumulado en los múltiples trabajos que hemos desarrollado en estos años con mujeres, personal técnico, grupos y organizaciones feministas y vecinales, entre

otros. Pero también gracias a la lucha y el camino abierto por otras mujeres urbanistas, arquitectas, geógrafas y demás que han trabajado para conseguir ciudades más igualitarias y garantizar el derecho de las mujeres a la ciudad. Con estas herramientas esperamos contribuir a expandir conocimientos, experiencias y herramientas del urbanismo feminista, y también abrir caminos para nuevas generaciones se sumen a este trabajo.

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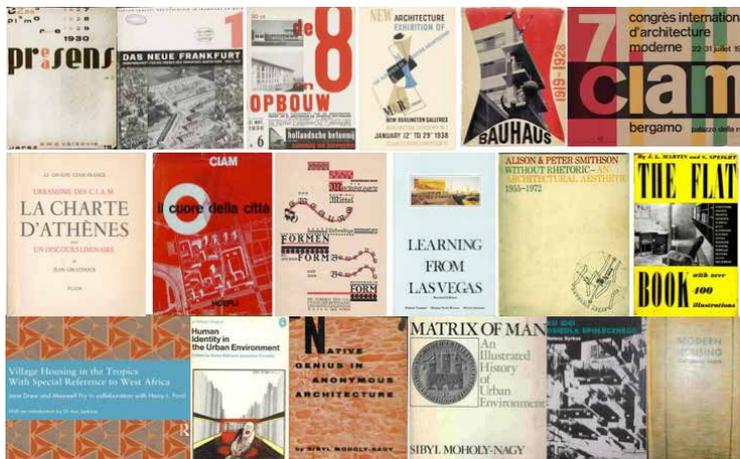


Fig. 1
Publicaciones y aportes teóricos de mujeres
arquitectas y expertas del siglo XX
 Fuente: Collage de elaboración propia

LOS RELATOS PERDIDOS DEL MOVIMIENTO MODERNO. MUJERES ARQUITECTAS E HISTORIOGRAFÍA*

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Resumen

Bajo la premisa de que las mujeres arquitectas fueron agentes activas en la fundación y construcción del Movimiento Moderno, el presente texto busca desvelar cómo sus aportes y participaciones dejaron huellas que el relato arquitectónico predominante ha borrado, omitido o subordinado a la figura masculina de manera sistemática, principalmente en las décadas del 30 y 40, y repetidamente a lo largo de todo el siglo XX.

Palabras clave

Movimiento Moderno, Arquitectas, Historiografía, Género

Historiografía

El arte de escribir la historia y su significado según expresa Tournikiotis, (2001, p.17) se ha desarrollado recientemente según dos líneas complementarias: el historiógrafo (la persona) y el objeto (la obra). Así se lo introduce. Así lo reflejan las distintas acepciones que definen la historiografía como “la disciplina que se ocupa del estudio de la historia” a la vez que proviene de la palabra “historiógrafo” o “el estudio de la historia y cómo ésta es escrita”¹.

Desde el siglo XIX se usa el término para hacer referencia al cuerpo de la obra escrita sobre conjuntos consolidados de obras históricas, es decir, un total de las historias escritas sobre un tema concreto o un período de tiempo (Tournikiotis, 2001). A pesar de esto, el significado original del vocablo *historiografía* (de origen griego): *historia* y *escribir*, subyace en cualquier texto escrito e implica de manera ineludible la intervención del autor que toma partido desde

* El presente artículo formó parte de los avances de la tesis doctoral “La construcción del relato arquitectónico y las arquitectas de la modernidad. Un análisis feminista de la historiografía” defendida en el mes de octubre de 2018 por la autora.

¹ El Diccionario de la Real Academia Española proporciona tres acepciones a la palabra “historiografía”: 1. f. Disciplina que se ocupa del estudio de la historia; 2. f. Estudio bibliográfico y crítico de los escritos sobre historia y sus fuentes, y de los autores que han tratado de estas materias; 3. f. Conjunto de obras o estudios de carácter histórico. Por su parte el Diccionario Cambridge y Oxford dan como resultado: “El estudio de la historia y cómo se escribe” (*the study of history and how it is written*) y “El estudio de la escritura de la historia y de las historias escritas” (*The study of the writing of history and of written histories*) respectivamente.

la misma elección del tema, lo entiende y lo interpreta desde su propia realidad, experiencia e intereses. Esto es lo que Marina Waisman (1972) señaló como “la ideología”, que define en términos de instrumento a partir de la noción de ideología de Foucault:

[...] la ideología nos interesa como el modo de elaboración de la realidad, el modo en que un saber o un hacer recortan «el conocimiento existente, lo modifican y redistribuyen por una parte y lo confirman y hacen valer por otra», el modo en que estructuran los objetos de esa realidad, el tipo de elecciones y decisiones que se toman (Waisman, 1972, p.35).

La historiografía, ya sea como el conjunto de un hecho histórico (la historia del Movimiento Moderno, por ejemplo) o como la interpretación del autor ajena a la objetividad, dificulta la inclusión de las mujeres en la historia y de aquellos estudios que tratan sobre dicha omisión². En el primer caso, porque dentro de un *corpus* general se corre el riesgo de generar discursos simplificadores y homogéneos. En el segundo, porque los enunciados sesgados a una única experiencia se han referido históricamente a la experiencia masculina en detrimento de otras subalternidades.

El hecho de que las comunidades científicas hayan estado integradas tradicional y principalmente por varones, de raza blanca y de clases privilegiadas, ha tenido un profundo impacto en cómo se ha desarrollado la práctica y el entendimiento científico de la objetividad (Blázquez Graf, 2010). De esta manera, la historiografía de toda profesión forja su identidad a lo largo de lineamientos específicos, que a menudo tienen implicaciones en términos de género. Según Joan Wallach Scott (1992) no es la falta de información sobre las mujeres sino la idea de que tal información no tenía nada que ver con la historia lo que condujo a la invisibilidad de las mujeres en los relatos del pasado.

La historiografía de la arquitectura moderna no es una excepción a esta regla, ya que, como Leonie Sandercock introduce en *Making the invisible visible: A multicultural planning history* (1998) cada profesión tiende a moldear la identidad de quienes la componen mediante la construcción de una específica comprensión del pasado de dicha profesión. Esta identidad es lo que Hilde Heyne (2000) denomina como “imagen construida”, y la que, según la autora contiene tachaduras y exclusiones porque mantiene vivos ciertos recuerdos a la vez que suprime otros.

Dentro del desempeño arquitectónico esto tiene consecuencias en una serie de prácticas y convenciones que, como señala Mark Wigley, pueden encontrarse en todos los niveles del discurso y también en el ejercicio de la profesión:

²Como señala Joan Wallach Scott en *El problema de invisibilidad* (1992), los programas de estudios de la mujer se encontraron ante un difícil problema de legitimidad académica, ya que debían demostrar su integridad académica a los colegas que dudaban de ellos: los que desaprobaban todo programa interdisciplinario y los que consideraban que la conexión explícita entre la política y la cultura era una violación al compromiso de la academia con la imparcialidad o la objetividad.

[...] en los rituales de legitimación, las prácticas de contratación, los sistemas de clasificación, las técnicas de lectura, imágenes de publicidad, formación del canon, la división de bibliografías de trabajo, convenciones, diseño, códigos legales, estructuras salariales, editorial prácticas, de lenguaje, la ética profesional, protocolos de edición, créditos de proyectos, etc. (Wigley, 1992, p.329).

Así, las aportaciones que realizaron las arquitectas a la construcción de la modernidad y su consecuente omisión en la historiografía oficial de la arquitectura constituye una de estas prácticas discriminatorias.

Relatos heredados

El análisis en forma y contenido de los textos fundacionales del movimiento moderno es, hacia una reconstrucción del relato arquitectónico, uno de los puntos de partida para la exploración de las causas de tal invisibilidad.

La fundación e internacionalización de la modernidad arquitectónica estuvo estrechamente ligada a los medios de comunicación de masas y a las revistas periódicas disciplinares. Pero fue a través de los libros referentes de texto que se erigió la base teórica e histórica de la arquitectura moderna de manera canónica. Estos textos considerados esenciales han constituido la historia oficial y universal que ha sido referente de todas las generaciones de arquitectos y arquitectas durante gran parte del siglo XX y hasta la actualidad.

Como se ha venido destacando en trabajos previos de esta investigación (Arias, 2017), la historia de la arquitectura moderna sienta sus bases principalmente en textos considerados fundamentales como los de Emil Kaufmann (1933), Nikolaus Pevsner (1936) y Sigfried Giedion (1941). Sobre estos autores se elaboró la historia y teoría de la arquitectura moderna después de 1945. A su vez, a excepción de Henry-Russell Hitchcock y Philip Johnson en los Estados Unidos (1932) o Manfredo Tafuri entrada la segunda mitad del siglo, tanto Bruno Zevi (1951), como Leonardo Benevolo (1960) también ponen sus investigaciones en relación con estas genealogías.

En función de los grandes cambios arquitectónicos producidos en las primeras décadas del siglo XX, los autores buscan poner en relación la arquitectura del pasado (utilizando distintas genealogías) para dar continuidad que sedimente las bases de este nuevo movimiento y otorgarle así legitimidad histórica.

La historia de la arquitectura que se construye se basa en los individuos (los nombres más mediáticos y por lo tanto los más reconocidos y visibles) otorgándole valor al hombre creador, muchas veces en detrimento de la obra de arquitectura³.

³ Este fenómeno de perpetuidad heroica se lo puede asociar a lo que el sociólogo Robert K. Merton aplicó a la ciencia con el nombre de 'efecto Mateo' (*Science*, 1968). En el evangelio según San Mateo (25, 14-30), la parábola de los talentos termina con la siguiente frase: "A todo el que tiene se le dará y le sobrá, pero al que no tiene, aun lo que tiene

Aunque existen variaciones en los discursos operativos de estos reconocidos teóricos (algunos con similitudes estructurales como los de Kaufmann y Pevsner quienes realizan una exposición mediante componentes morfológicos opuestos) todos demuestran su tesis y justifican la nueva arquitectura a través de uno o más arquitectos de referencia⁴. En el relato de Pevsner la figura de referencia será Walter Gropius; en Kaufmann, Berlage, Adolf Loos y Le Corbusier; en Giedion, Mies Van der Rohe, Walter Gropius y Le Corbusier, y posteriormente Alvar Aalto.

Se le otorga así protagonismo a la figura masculina, sobresaliente y destacable –sin lugar a dudas– y también mayoritaria, ya que la arquitectura ha sido una profesión históricamente masculinizada y cercana al poder.

opposite page
Fig. 2
Índice
alfabético de
Historia de la
Arquitectura
Moderna de
Leonardo
Benévolo
Fuente: Collage
de elaboración
propia

La construcción del relato visto desde la perspectiva de género y feminista

Analizar con perspectiva de género la manera en que el discurso histórico arquitectónico ha sido construido nos revela mecanismos discriminatorios. El propio lenguaje como construcción cultural y política establece *per se* prácticas discriminatorias en el relato. Pero coexisten además mecanismos específicos de la historiografía que conviene distinguir aunque en muchas ocasiones se dan de forma combinada. Para esta parte de la investigación (aún en construcción) se utilizan las categorías propuestas por la catedrática en psicología Victoria Sau (2001) específicas para el lenguaje y la comunicación y son adaptadas al presente tema de estudio:

Hablamos de exclusión cuando las mujeres son omitidas del relato. Nos referimos a la invisibilización cuando las mujeres constan en la narración pero se oculta su condición de mujer tras la voz genérica de un grupo o de un líder. La invisibilización implica la desaparición de la voz femenina en el relato, incluso cuando se las menciona en las voces genéricas de un equipo. Un ejemplo de esto son las menciones a equipos, grupos de vanguardia o congresos como los CIAM donde no se mencionan ni los aportes ni la participación de arquitectas o artistas y sí la de sus colegas varones. Por ejemplo en *Historia de la Arquitectura Moderna* de Leonardo Benévolo (1974) el autor se refiere a “El plan regulador de Ámsterdam empezado en 1928 por el equipo de Van Eesteren [...]” invisibilizando así la presencia de mujeres en el equipo y exaltando una única figura masculina. Otra forma de invisibilización se observa en los mecanismos de citado. El uso de la

se le quitará”. De esta manera Merton señaló el modo en el que funciona en la ciencia: concentrando cada vez más recursos en forma de mejores puestos de trabajo, financiación, publicaciones o premios en manos de aquellos investigadores que ya han alcanzado reconocimiento, y dificultando el acceso al sistema de recompensas a aquellos investigadores que empiezan.

⁴ Giedion también recurre a los opuestos con una genealogía más compleja basada en el lenguaje de los estilos históricos del SXIX.

- Baudelaire, Charles**, 10, 165, 750, 1148.
Baudizione, Miguel, 774.
Baudot, Joseph-Eugène-Anatole de, 14
Bauer, C., 540.
Bauer, Leopold, 346.
Bauer, Richard, 581, 582.
Bauer & Hill, 249.
Baumann, Frederick, 245, 344.
Baumann, Frederick, & Cady, J.K., 250
Baumeister, Reinhard, 381.
Bayardo, Nelson, 782.
Bayer, Hebert, 435, 441, 447, 449, 497, 58
Bayón, Damián Carlos, 778, 778, 782, 783, 803.
Bayón, Mariano, 930
Raymond, Antonin, 755, 757.
Read, Herbert, 197.
Rechter, Yacov, 935.
Rechter, Zev, 935.
Redgrave, Richard, 200.
Redl, F., 1090.
Reich, L., 508.
Reichen, P., R. y B., 1058.
Reid, D.B., 235.
Reidy, Affonso Eduardo, 730, 730, 731, 73804.
Rein, Toomas, 1094, 1098.
Reinhardt, Max, 444.
Reinhardt L. Andrew & Henry Hofmeister
Renacco, Nello, 845, 847

inicial y no del nombre completo (un criterio no siempre empleado con rigor) es una práctica recurrente que, aunque no responda a una voluntad editorial explícita de invisibilización, perjudica más a mujeres que a varones ya que, debido al predominio de figuras masculinas, se tiende a suponer que la inicial corresponde a un varón. Esto minimiza no ya la labor sino la identidad femenina, dificultando la posibilidad de una lectura de género de la historia de la arquitectura (Fig. 2).

Otra lógica reiterada de discriminación es la subordinación, mecanismo por el cual las arquitectas aparecen mencionadas en posición de objeto pasivo. Es frecuente constatar frases como “junto a su esposa” o “socia”. Incluso en asociaciones consolidadas como Maxwell Fry y Jane Drew, o Dennis Scott Brown y Robert Venturi en las que no siempre se especifican roles concretos o figura el nombre completo del varón y solo las iniciales de la arquitecta. Este mecanismo se hace evidente en el énfasis que se pone sobre la figura de Alvar Aalto y la falta de reconocimiento del trabajo de sus socias Aino Marsio y Elisa Kaisa-Makiniemi a las que el relato las ha supuesto subalternas o de menor protagonismo, solo por ser mujeres (Fig. 3). Los orígenes de estos modos de operar tienen base en las estructuras narrativas arcaicas que desde sus orígenes siguen patrones patriarcales arraigados en la exaltación de la heroicidad. La creación de ‘la figura’ constituye una construcción cultural que enfatiza la figura masculina (Veblen, 1899 citado en Muxí y Montaner, 2015) y en la que las mujeres no forman parte de la clase activa (pública) sino al ámbito de lo privado.

Del análisis de los textos fundamentales del siglo XX también deriva la evidencia de que la invisibilidad también se halla en las formas de producir y trabajar. Las colaboraciones o equipos de trabajo junto a los arquitectos más publicados y reconocidos por la historia de la arquitectura son un dato fundamental para el análisis de las dimensiones individual-colectivo en el desempeño profesional de las mujeres en este periodo. En palabras de Zaida Muxí y Josep



Fig. 3
Exclusión de la coautoría de Aino Marsio
 Fuente: Espacio, tiempo y arquitectura. Origen y desarrollo de una nueva tradición de Siegfried Giedion

410. Alvar Aalto, villa Mairea, 1938-1939. Vista hacia la chimenea finlandesa y el salón.



M^a Montaner (2015) la construcción del mito de los creadores, en muchos casos considerados genios, se asienta en destacar a los individuos y pocas veces a los equipos. Según este mecanismo simplificador los colaboradores y las colaboradoras son borrados.

El reconocimiento al trabajo individual sobre el del equipo dificulta aún más la presencia de las mujeres en los textos⁵. Este es el caso de muchos edificios o planes emblemáticos al que se les asocia una única autoría y en cuyas narrativas las aportaciones de las arquitectas mujeres son omitidas. Por ejemplo la Unité d'habitation de Marseille, donde Charlotte Perriand y Blanche Lemco fueron responsables del diseño de la cocina y la zona de juegos y guardería de la cubierta respectivamente, o los trabajos e iniciativas de Jane Drew, Maxwell Fry o Urmila Eulie Chowdhury en la ciudad de Chandigarh. De la misma forma colaboraciones fundamentales como las de Anne Tyng en obras concretas como la City Tower.

Por otra parte, la actividad profesional de las arquitectas orientada a otras áreas de actuación no vinculadas a la obra construida o al proyecto (urbanismo, paisajismo, diseño, estructura, historia, teoría, crítica, enseñanza, etc.) ha sido otro escollo para la visibilización, ya que no gozan del mismo reconocimiento disciplinar y por lo tanto son menos mediáticas⁶. Se ponen así de manifiesto los valores dominantes en los modos de ejercer

⁵ Margaret Rossiter apunta que las mujeres son más vulnerables al "efecto Mateo" que otros investigadores al que denominó "efecto Matilda" (1993) para explicar que muchas mujeres que contribuyeron a importantes descubrimientos científicos como el ADN o la fisión nuclear, que trabajaron junto a sus colegas varones, fueron excluidas del Premio Nobel.

⁶ Más invisible aún si la profesión no ha sido ejercida en países centrales de Occidente.

la profesión, lo que genera dificultad para que otras experiencias alternativas más alejadas del poder mediático y económico formen parte de los relatos históricos de la arquitectura. Incluso formando parte de un círculo privilegiado al alcance de las novedades arquitectónicas del Movimiento Moderno, el trabajo polifacético que desempeñó Lilly Reich, responsable de la exposición de diseño alemán en *Newark*, profesora de la Bauhaus de Berlín y Dessau y coautora en el pabellón de Barcelona y la casa Tugendhat forma parte de los grandes olvidados en los relatos históricos de la época. O contribuciones en el ámbito de la planificación urbana, como el planeamiento del Plan Regulador de Ámsterdam atribuido solo a Van Eesteren y omitiendo el trabajo de Jakoba Mulder; La ciudad de Canberra autoría adjudicada únicamente a Walter Griffin excluyendo a Marion Mahony; o Catherine Bauer que no figura en la mayoría de los relatos y si lo hace se cita su libro *Modern Housing* de manera periférica.

Relatos contemporáneos a las mujeres arquitectas de la modernidad

Las transformaciones fundamentales de la arquitectura de la primera mitad del siglo XX tuvieron lugar dentro y a través de acontecimientos sobresalientes que fueron plataforma de desarrollo y escenario de divulgación. Así, encuentros profesionales (congresos), escritos y opiniones (manifiestos), exhibiciones, espacios para la enseñanza y la creación (escuelas), grupos de pensamiento o innovación, marcaron los cambios de rumbo en distintas partes de la geografía universal. Las mujeres formaron parte activa de estos espacios de transformación. El catalizador de estos espacios y su consolidación estuvieron impulsados por catálogos, actas y publicaciones periódicas, muchas de éstas últimas de tiradas de corta duración y de calidad artesanal que recogieron y difundieron (hasta la popularización) escritos de reflexión, crítica o fotografía de las últimas novedades en materia de prototipos, instalaciones u obra construida. La revista fue determinante en la comunicación y divulgación intercontinental, y aunque en muchas ocasiones con carácter de utopía, irreverentes o críticas, fueron el escarapate de una época. Las revistas periódicas comerciales y de mayor porte fueron representantes de lo debido, simbolizando muchas veces una especie de “autoridad” en la disciplina. Lo que no está publicado no se puede divulgar, no será conocido y se podría decir que no existe de cara al colectivo profesional o académico que influye en él, a la vez que se ve influido por dichas publicaciones⁷. Así ambos, colectivo profesional y publicaciones, forman parte

⁷ Beatriz Colomina (1994) expresa que ningún trabajo y ninguna figura ha existido antes de ser publicado, y ejemplifica este dictado con Adolf Loos y la pequeña revista *Das Andere* de 1903, el manifiesto futurista en *Le Figaro* de 1909 o Le Corbusier con *L'Esprit Nouveau* entre 1920 y 1925, entre otros. En *Privacy and Publicity*, argumenta a través de las figuras de Adolf Loos y Le Corbusier, cómo el movimiento moderno termina por serlo gracias a su relación con los medios de comunicación, y como de esta forma se produce un traslado radical del sentido tradicional del espacio.

del desarrollo de la cultura arquitectónica. No obstante aunque de forma fragmentada y dispersa, existen contribuciones en diferentes ámbitos de la profesión de mujeres nacidas a principio de siglo⁸ que, a pesar de haber sido omitidas por la génesis oficial de la arquitectura, han dejado su huella en escritos, proyectos concretos, publicaciones locales, exhibiciones, etc.

Si bien es cierto que el acceso de las mujeres a las universidades en las décadas del veinte y treinta era minoritario, las arquitectas que estudiaron lo hicieron con la convicción de ejercer y destacar. Las mujeres arquitectas de la época se situaron entre las primeras protagonistas de un cambio sociocultural sin precedentes. En *Heroínas del espacio* Carmen Espejel recoge la trayectoria de muchas de ellas y en el epílogo expresa:

[...] han demostrado con sus vidas y, sobre todo con sus obras, una alta dosis de coraje, creatividad, excelencia y coherencia. La asunción al mismo tiempo de compromisos y riesgos les ha conferido un estatus de heroínas homéricas, valientes y extraordinarias, que quizá nunca persiguieron. (Espejel, 2007, p.241).

La Bauhaus fue ciertamente un claro ejemplo de este momento de apertura para las mujeres que se manifestaba en la enseñanza y en igualdad de oportunidades. Las mujeres de la Bauhaus constituían un tercio del alumnado en el primer periodo de la escuela en Weimar (Hervás y Heras, 2014). Aunque solo cuatro de las alumnas consiguieron la diplomatura en la Escuela (Wera Meyer-Waldeck, Hilde Reiss, Annemarie Wilke y María Muller) fue el ámbito de desarrollo y educación para futuras profesionales como Lotte Stam Beese o Friedl Dicker.

Todas ellas ejercieron la profesión de diferentes maneras y dejaron su huella, aunque no hayan formado parte de la genealogía heroica del Movimiento Moderno, en diversos contextos socio-políticos: Annemarie Wilke colaboró largamente con Lilly Reich y Mies Van der Rohe y participó en el Pabellón Alemán dentro de la Exposición Universal de París en 1937; Friedl Dicker, de naturaleza multifacética, en 1921 diseñó para el *Documents of Reality (Utopia: Dokumente der Wirklichkeit)* de Johannes Itten, fue profesora en la Bauhaus y posteriormente en los Talleres de Artes Plásticas (*Werkstätten Bildender Kunst*) que junto a Franz Singer establecieron en Berlín; Wera Meyer-Waldeck, quien participa en la *Deutsche Werkbund* en Colonia (1949), publica en la revista *Werk und Zeit* y preside la Comisión de Obras Públicas y Vivienda desde donde organiza la exposición *So... Wohnen*; o Charlotte Stam Beese, quien fuera integrante del Grupo de 8 y

⁸ Como Marion Mahony (1871), Lilly Reich (1885), Eleanor Raymond (1887), Aino Marsio (1894), Sibyl Moholy-Nagy (1895), Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky (1897), Jakoba Mulder (1900), Charlotte Perriand (1903), Lotte Stam-Besse (1903), Catherine Bauer (1905), Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (1905), Jane Drew (1911), Minnette De Silva (1918), Anne Tyng (1920), Urmila Eulie Chowdhury (1923), o Raili Pietila (1926) entre otras.

publicara en la revista *Opbouw* llegó a ser la Directora de Urbanismo de la ciudad de Rotterdam donde proyectó entre otros el barrio de Pendrecht, también formó parte del Congreso Internacional de Arquitectura Moderna en 1947 (CIAM 6).

Varias de las profesionales que destacaron en la vanguardia arquitectónica de entreguerras fueron integrantes activas de los CIAM en sus distintas ediciones. Algunas de ellas fueron: Margarete Schutte-Lihotzky, cuya trayectoria destacada se remonta a los trabajos con Adolf Loos en la administración pública aportando innovación a la arquitectura doméstica y cuya labor fue esencial para el Proyecto Habitacional de *Neues Frankfurt*, fue autora de la cocina de Frankfurt, colaboradora y redactora de la Revista *Das Neue Frankfurt* (1926-1930). Participó también de los proyectos soviéticos en las Brigadas May junto a Charlotte Stam Beese; Helena Syrkusowa, arquitecta y profesora universitaria polaca, destacada cofundadora del grupo *Praesens* (1925) vinculada fuertemente a los CIAM de los que fue vicepresidente entre 1945 y 1954 fue una de las editoras de la *Carta de Atenas* (1933); Minnette De Silva, representante y pionera del Movimiento Moderno regional en Sri Lanka, diseñadora, editora y redactora de la revista *Marg* fue delegada por Ceylan e India en los CIAM hasta 1956; Otras como Sadie Speight quien recibe la medalla de plata del *Royal Institute of British Architects* en 1930 y fue coautora de la publicación *Circle*, un manifiesto del arte constructivista en 1937; Jane Drew destacada arquitecta británica cuyo trabajo internacional estaba enraizado con la economía el confort y la calidad ambiental, fue fundadora y promotora del Grupo de investigación M.A.R.S para difundir las ideas y prácticas del Movimiento Moderno en Gran Bretaña; o Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, urbanista británica, periodista, editora y educadora, fue clave en la red transnacional de teóricos y profesionales que modelaron el Movimiento Moderno de posguerra en el diseño comunitario descentralizado, la arquitectura residencial y la reforma social, editó libros como *Patrick Geddes in India* (1947), *Human Identity in the Urban Environment* (1971) o las actas del VIII Congreso del CIAM. *El corazón de la ciudad: por una vida más humana de la comunidad* donde también hay artículo suyo. Todas ellas fueron protagonistas en grupos de reflexión e investigación en sus respectivos países e internacionalmente, dejaron sentadas sus opiniones en proyectos, estatutos, artículos o publicaciones. Todas ellas compartieron con sus socios y colegas varones ámbitos de trabajo, experiencias y saberes (Fig. 1).

Reflexiones en voz alta para una reconstrucción

Los obstáculos socio culturales que estas pioneras tuvieron que sortear por el solo hecho de ser mujeres han de haber sido muchos y de diversa índole, primero para acceder a estudios tradicionalmente consagrados a los hombres, ingresar en el mundo laboral, conseguir ser es-

cuchadas, contratadas, respetadas, valoradas... demostrar y sobresalir como para que su trabajo sea difundido. Fueron privilegiadas de una mayoría silenciada, y muy valientes. Su deslucida lucha nos debería abrir el camino para una nueva práctica o nuevas prácticas, más diversas, inclusivas y propias.

En más de un siglo la historia de las mujeres arquitectas no ha logrado afianzarse, mientras el concepto de héroe como creador individual se retroalimenta de una única mirada de la historia de la arquitectura y se generaliza entre los ámbitos académicos de enseñanza, investigación y divulgación científica.

Se reconoce un doble proceso de fugacidad y perpetuidad de los discursos: los registros derivados del trabajo de las mujeres que les han dado visibilidad en un momento histórico concreto no llegan a consolidarse como narrativas complementarias, se borran, se olvidan generando la falta de referentes y modelos. En paralelo, los relatos existentes se fortalecen perpetuando así una única mirada fruto de la experiencia masculina. Es una cuestión de dominio que lejos de multiplicar más voces y más complejidad a los contenidos de la historia, se las niega y la simplifica.

Para contribuir a la visibilización del papel de las arquitectas en la historia de la profesión es necesario un nuevo marco de referencia.

[...] la reflexión histórica es uno de los medios más completos para conocer la propia realidad y proyectar, en consecuencia, un futuro propio liberado de la limitación de modelos ajenos. (Marina Waisman, 1990, p.11)

Actualizar la historiografía de la modernidad implica derribar, repensar y resignificar para obtener una visión más amplia, integradora y superadora del paradigma hasta ahora hegemónico.

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COUPLES: PARTNERSHIPS BETWEEN MARRIED ARCHITECTS IN RECIFE'S MODERN SCENARIO

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Abstract

This paper intends to expand architecture from a gender-based perspective to throw light on these issues within this field of knowledge by analyzing how the union between three women architects with their husband-architects influenced or even steered their own trajectories. They are: Janete Costa (1932 - 2008), Clementina Duarte (1941) and Myriam Pessoa de Melo (1941), spouses of some of the 'stars' of the modern architecture movement in the city of Recife, Brazil. Given that architecture was established based on a predominantly male role, that of planning and projecting buildings, whilst the women function was that of decorating internal environments, the case study of these architects is emblematic. Each has developed their career, taking a particular trajectory: architectural designer, interior architect and jewelry designer. The analysis of these partnerships led to a classification: complementary careers, parallel careers and competing careers. The methodological objective was to create a chart to insert local, regional and national partnerships throughout this PhD research. The aim of this specific article is to contribute to the writing of a chapter about modern female architects in Recife, so as to collaborate with research seeking to revise the history of architecture which has been mainly told based on male protagonism.

Keywords

Gender, Partnerships, Architecture, Recife

Introduction

It is known that many women architects have married or become partners of other architects. Many were relegated to mere assistants and did not receive any recognition. Their collaborative trajectories were, thus, concealed by the history of architecture. If on the one hand, these partnerships ensured access to and permanence in the labor market at times where absence was necessary because of family-related episodes, on the other, the lack of continuity meant that they were not protagonists within this scenario.

This paper aims to present three partnerships between architect couples taking into account the gender issues involved in these associations. The women architects in this study were married to some of the male ‘stars’ of modern architecture. Therefore, the aim of this work is to analyze their careers and, in particular, the degree of recognition given to women’s trajectories. Mainly to investigate the way these women’s partnerships with their husband-architects influenced or even directed their trajectories. The objects of this study were selected by identifying the most important names of the Recife School¹ and find out which of them formed professional partnerships with their own wives.

Thus, the names of the following architects were identified: Myriam Pessoa de Melo (1941), Janete Costa (1932-2008) and Clementina Duarte (1941). Each of the women selected focused on a specific field: architectural designer, interior architect and jewelry designer². These cases stand out because, within these marriages, the professional attitude of the male architects directly led to either the success or the invisibility of these women as professionals. But perhaps, it was these women’s own attitudes, consciously or unconsciously, that led to their success or invisibility. Their cases are emblematic because they are examples of professional success, but with different levels of recognition. Two of these women became nationally and internationally known. However, the architect who was closer to her husband in terms of their architectural work was least recognized.

This article seeks to contribute to the writing of the chapter of the history of modern women architects in Brazil, and in this way, support research whose aim is the historiographical revision of architecture, generally based on male protagonism.

The spatial-temporal setting chosen is the Faculty of Architecture of Recife during the 1950s and 1960s, a time when these women were graduating, initiating their careers and getting married. A recent seminar on architecture that took place in Recife³ brought together professors, former students and alumni from the Faculty of Architecture. It was an opportunity for informal interviews that greatly contributed to the understanding of the academic environment of the times.

Furthermore, the privilege of being able to interview two of the architects in this study, Myriam and Clementina, makes it a living document, where history, up to now unwritten, starts to be recorded.

The theories of Pierre Bourdieu and Sigmund Freud were used to test the hypothesis that accounts for the actions and influence of socio-matrimonial partnerships on the

¹ The term “Recife School” is associated to the manifestation of regional architecture. This school was apparently known for the unique and original way in which modern architecture in Recife was developed (Naslavsky, 2012).

² Unfortunately, in this work, the career of women in the areas of landscape gardening and urban planning are not analyzed.

³ 11th Docomomo Brazil Seminar. Took place between the 17th and 22nd April 2016, in Recife - PE.

trajectories of these architects. They provided the basis for the critical questions raised. This study does not aim to be the conclusive approach on these issues, rather it is an exploratory piece of work that raises preliminary questions to underpin the studies developed as part of a Ph.D. research which will be developed throughout the next four years.

The universe of the Faculty of Architecture in Recife

The Architecture and Urban Planning course began as part of the School of Fine Arts of Pernambuco (1932), a private organization that received the support of artists. At first, there were courses on architecture, painting and sculpture. Music and the dramatic arts were later incorporated. Given the characteristics of that institution, women were always allowed to participate in all the available courses (UFPE, 2004).

At the end of the 1940s, the School incorporated into the Federal University of Pernambuco, but diplomas were only issued from 1945 onwards. In 1949, separatist movements emerged in the School of Fine Arts, culminating in the creation of the Faculty of Architecture of Recife in 1958, established with the university reform of 1968⁴.

Despite the fact that the Architecture course accepted women from the beginning, society did not encourage it. It was recommended that women should go into teaching or nursing. Nevertheless, according to Myriam Pessoa de Melo, the most important recommendation was to marry well⁵. According to Clementina Duarte, family support was essential to overcome the initial social obstacles that young women faced if they wanted to study and, in particular, study architecture which in the 1950s and 1960s was predominantly a course for men⁶. As Janete Costa said, she was one of the two female students in her class, confirming male predominance⁷.

The way women were differentiated within the faculty's environment was subtle, from the number of female students to the number of women teachers. According to the recurring statements of the architects interviewed⁸, there was a professor openly against the presence of women in architecture courses and said that "young women were only there to find a husband", as men predominated. The course's main disciplines were taught by an all men 'creative genius'. Given that this professor taught disciplines of compositions, considered to be

⁴ In 1968, the Brazilian National Congress approved a University Reform, law n. 5.540, 28/11/68. It established the standards for organizing higher education.

⁵ Extracted from an interview to Myriam Pessoa de Melo. Interviewed by Andréa Gáti. Recife, PE, March 16th 2016.

⁶ Extracted from an interview to Clementina Duarte. Interviewed by Andréa Gáti. São Paulo, SP, May 22nd 2016.

⁷ Extracted from an interview to Roberta Borsoi, Janete Costa's daughter. Interviewed by Andréa Gáti. Recife, PE, April 12th 2013.

⁸ Other contemporary women architects were also interviewed, in addition to Myriam and Clementina. But they do not fall within the remit of this article: Prof. Sônia Marques, Prof. Ana Rita de Sá Carneiro, Risale Neves, Nehilde Trajano and Vera Pires.

the most important part of architectural education, one can presume that the success of women pupils as designers and planners of buildings was somewhat compromised. It perhaps meant that they were steered towards landscape gardening or interior design, areas where women predominated.

Women teachers were also extremely rare in the courses. Fédora do Rego Monteiro Fernandes (1889 - 1975) was the first woman to teach at the School of Fine Arts in Pernambuco, as well as she was the only woman teacher at the School during the 1930s. She taught Figurative Drawing”, “Artistic Drawing ” and “ Modeling” in painting, sculpture and architecture courses. Then, in the 1950’s, Aurora Lima (1915-2016) became teacher also in this artistic drawing field.

Also in the area of graphic representation, however, now with the support of instruments, Honorina de Souza Lima (1915- 1992), the first architect graduated in Pernambuco, joined the teaching staff in the discipline of “Descriptive Geometry” in 1957.

It was also in the 1950s that, surprisingly, women appear as teachers in a field strongly dominated by men, and socially prejudiced with the presence of women, the field of technique, the exact sciences: Clarice Mesel and Neli Maurício de Abreu , who taught Structural Calculation and Concrete, respectively, where both sister and daughter of the titular professors of each disciplines. In the 1960s, women came to the field of theory and history and landscaping. Finally in the 1970s, through public contest, they reached the area of architectural design.

The Other

The analysis of partnerships between couples associated both sexually and professionally was the subject of a book published in London in 1993: *Significant Others - Creativity and Intimate Partnership*. Here, partnerships between couples of artists and writers are described. The argument is that within our Western culture, creative conception is a solitary activity, and when there are collaborative associations, it is always between a ‘creative genius’ and an ‘Other’.

Within these partnerships, the role of the creator is most notably played by the man (Chadwick and Courtivron, 1993). In architecture, the study of gender issues started to emerge at the end of 1970s. It was generally conducted by feminist women, from an extremely political point of view. It was only in the 1990s that architecture really started to dialogue with anthropology, history of art, cultural studies, cinema, geography, psychoanalysis and philosophy, where *Sexuality & Space*, by the architect Beatriz Colomina, was a seminal publication. This collection of essays discusses the relations between sexuality

and space concealed within the daily practices of the city, buildings and design (Colomina, 1992).

The expansion of the field of gender studies, in order to achieve the interdisciplinary inherent in this topic, is essential for the development of this debate. The issues that emerged at the start of this research led me to include anthropological, sociological and psychoanalytical perspectives in my research.

The theories of Pierre Bourdieu and Sigmund Freud were used to verify the hypothesis that consider the influence of husbands on the trajectory of their partner. These authors were used to provide the foundations for the questions raised:

- How does 'male domination' present itself in architecture?
- Are there any secondary gains for women from these relationships?

In *Masculine Domination* published in 1998, Bourdieu addressed the relationship between domination and submission where the man appears as the dominant model and the woman as the inferior object. He argues that this scenario is considered 'natural', given that the biological differences between beings are natural. This is the justification at the heart of male domination. This type of relationship does not need to be legitimized, since it is incorporated by everyone through *habitus*. Through this construct, dominant thinking influences those that are dominated, who end up by further legitimizing their own depreciation, submission and acceptance in face of society. This is what Bourdieu calls "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu, 2014). The search for theories to underpin the research on cases of submission that led to women's invisibility, resulting in historiographical gaps in the history of architecture, led first of all to the ideas of this French sociologist.

In 1920 Freud presents the "concept of identification" in *Group psychology and the analysis of the ego* (Freud, 1975). The concept of identification underpins the constitution of the subject. The desiring subject and the unconscious subject, but not the biological subject. According to Freud it is not possible to talk about the subject without considering the relationship with the Other, because, a person is not born a subject, but only becomes one through the Other. Therefore, it is through our life-long interactions that we become subjects, they include marriage and (professional) associations. These concepts are accessed in order to help us understand the way the architect couples in this study related to each other.

Given the relevance of this Other for the subject, it is known that he or she can become a model: an object that can either be an assistant or an opponent. The need for the Other originates from the founding shortcoming that exists in every human being and occurs at birth. From that moment onwards, all human beings seek this missing part in the Other, in an attempt to be able to reunite themselves (Leitão, 2014). Another concept of psychoanalysis

explored in terms of the relationship with the Other is the *Oedipus Complex*, with the employment of the substitution role. It could be said that when marrying their husband-architects, these women chose their fathers as partners so as to protect their careers - the father figure as the protector, from a symbolic point of view. In this transferal, there are risks in placing their husbands in the paternal position, because they gain a status of superiority, people to whom respect is owed.

This study will seek to establish a dialogue between the theories of Freud and Bourdieu, starting by claiming that Bourdieu's ideas are fully anchored on the unconscious, the collective and the individual.

Partnerships

Vital Pessoa de Melo (1936-2010) and Myriam Pessoa de Melo (1941) — architect. Competing careers

Vital Pessoa de Melo was an architect from the Brazilian city of Recife, and a so-called star of local modern architecture. He worked for over 40 years, contributing to the consolidation of quality architecture imbued with local characteristics (Reynaldo, 2013).

Vital met Myriam entered in the university in 1957. Myriam was the only woman in that year group. They started going out during their second year at university. However, she avoided giving signs of their relationship in the corridors of the faculty because of the misogynistic ideas of some professors.

According to Myriam's accounts, women were disadvantaged in terms of course work assessments. Architecture courses were full time and design and planning work could only physically take place at the faculty. Students could not take their work home for further development. Therefore, when the students received a design project, they had to stay in the faculty until late at night, sometimes even staying the whole night. At that period in time, it was impossible for 'good family girls' to do this, as they had to be back home before dark. Therefore, Myriam stated that women had to find other means of achieving the same level of development as men, given they would be assessed in the same way.

Myriam graduated in 1961 and was married in 1963, when she adopted her husband's surname. He became her life-long professional partner:

In addition to their children, Ricardo and Flávia, who later joined their father's firm, Vital always had Myriam's constant support. In this way, his architecture classmate, whom he married in 1963, worked alongside him in the firm until the end of his life (Reynaldo, 2013).

According to the firm's working practice, Vital always initiated the architectural design. This design stage defined the architectural project and all subsequent associated stages.

It could be said that this is the function of the 'creative genius'. Myriam ended up by specializing in the constructive detail stages of designs. With their roles defined in this way, they worked harmoniously for 50 years, until Vital's death in 2010.

However, Myriam was not as well recognized socially as her husband, despite, undoubtedly having her work and professional merit recognized by the team and the firm's clients. The fact that Myriam's name never achieved the same degree of visibility as that of her husband stands out. This lapse could constitute an example of "symbolic violence", where without the intention of diminishing Myriam's importance, it contributed to Vital's relative distinction. This can be seen in the following citation:

[...] Myriam Cordeiro Pessoa de Melo, Vital's wife, and his children, Flávia Pessoa de Melo and Ricardo Pessoa de Melo, were his collaborators and partners. As a result of this partnership, the firm changed its name to VRF Architects in 2003 (Reynaldo, 2013, translation mine).

Although Myriam had been a partner from the very beginning, VRF carried only Vital's, Ricardo's and Flavia's initials. This lasted until Vital's death in 2010 when the firm's articles of association needed to be altered. The couple's children took this opportunity to atone this lapse and added the letter M to the name of the firm⁹. Perhaps symbolically significant, Myriam's name only appears after the death of her husband.

Myriam states, that the fact that she was Vital's wife-partner helped her considerably in her profession. She even claimed that had it not been for her husband, she may not have continued in architecture and that he helped her grow as an architect. This part of her statement takes us back to questions relating to Freud's concepts presented earlier, "identification" and the "Oedipus Complex".

When she was questioned about her invisibility in the history of local architecture, Myriam states truthfully: "I consider myself to be very happy, I was amongst one of the few women in the architecture course, that is, in higher education. I managed to do the course I had always dreamt of, I pursued my professional career. This was already a lot for women at that time". Because their occupancy in their careers were very the same, it was classified 'Competing careers'.

Acácio Borsoi (1924 – 2009) and Janete Costa (1932- 2008) — interior architect.

Complementary careers

Borsoi was born in Rio de Janeiro, and has lived in Pernambuco since 1951. He is one of the main exponents of Pernambuco's Modern Architecture (Naslavsky, 2012). Borsoi was

⁹ Extracted from an interview to Ricardo Pessoa de Melo. Interviewed by Andréa Gáti. Recife, PE, April 25th 2016.

Janete Costa's teacher at the Faculty of Architecture of Recife when she started studying in 1951. She then transferred her studies to the National Faculty of Architecture at the University of Brasil, currently UFRJ, graduating in 1961.

Janete officially started her professional career in 1960s together with her then husband, the architect Maurício Santos. However, her career gains more relevance in the 1970s, subsequent to her marriage to Borsoi in 1969. She becomes well established professionally through her interior designs and becomes nationally well-known, especially because of her interior designs in the houses Borsoi projected.

Janete was particularly important in the area of interior architecture, design and museography, as well as for some specific work in relation to the regeneration of historical heritage sites (Gáti, 2014). She featured among the main actors in the formation and consolidation of modernist tendencies in Brazil. She was well-known for her creativity and innovation in whichever field she worked (Guimaraens, Couto; 2009). Janete was considered to be the 'muse' of modern architecture because of her efforts in the development of a national identity, as observed in her commitment to boosting the image of popular heritage, in particular in architectural interiors, through her design pieces and the exhibitions that she conceived.

Janete and Borsoi shared the same space in their architect's studio. Many of their projects were conceived together. Often Janete requested that the architectural project made specific space available for the decorative pieces she would propose to clients. Because their careers were very attached to each other, it was classified 'Complementary careers'.

Janete's professional autonomy can be observed from the fact that she did not take on her husband's surname, despite playing the standard role expected of women as an architect of interior designs. However, it can also be seen from the firm's graphic documentation, that Borsoi Arquitetura Ltda, did not include Janete's name as part of its brand, as observed from the stamps in drawing and sign boards. She didn't care about this¹⁰.

It can, therefore, be seen that in developing their many professional and domestic activities, these architects did not have time to 'waste' with issues considered to be 'less important', but which, in many cases, are additional factors that contributes towards women's invisibility.

Armando de Holanda (1940 – 1979) and Clementina Duarte (1941) – jewelry designer. Parallel careers

¹⁰ Extracted from an interview to Roberta Borsoi, Janete Costa's daughter. Interviewed by Andréa Gáti. Recife, PE, April 12th 2013.

The Pernambuco born Armando de Holanda was one of the most important representatives of modernism and was one of the first Brazilian architects to associate architecture to the tropics¹¹ (Holanda, 2014). Clementina Duarte also went to the Faculty of Architecture of Recife and graduated in 1964. She said she was encouraged by her father¹² who noticed her artistic talents when she was still a child, and saw a risk in having an 'artist' at home.¹³

In 1966 she received a grant from the French government to study Medieval Art at the Sorbonne and Applied Arts at the Institut d'Art et Métiers, where she was Jean Prouvé's pupil¹⁴. Clementina went to his classes wearing clothing and ornaments she made herself. One of her creations, a necklace, was noticed by Prouvé. He insisted that she developed a collection and presented it to the architect and designer Charlotte Perriand, who subsequently became the curator of her first jewelry exhibition in Paris¹⁵. This was the start of her career as a designer.

In 1968, Clementina returned to Brazil, got married and settled in Recife, where together with Holanda opened an architect's and jewelry design studio.

According to Clementina, she spent a few years working on both fields, as architect and designer. Her architectural design projects were mostly developed in partnership with her husband.

Soon after her return to Brazil, in 1971, Clementina was awarded the XI São Paulo Biennial prize for Best Jewelry Design. She states that this prize established her design work as a work of art. It was an important factor for her to remain in Brazil and also in the decision to dedicate her career exclusively to design¹⁶.

Clementina notoriety came from the perception that there was no design for Brazilian jewelry, as most jewelry at the time copied foreign models. Jewelry and art objects created by Clementina were loaded with 'brazilianess'. They were inspired by Brazilian Baroque, modern architecture, in particular Oscar Niemeyer, and the exuberance of the Brazilian flora.

Clementina and Armando were married for twelve years. However, their architecture partnership lasted only four. Clementina never fully devoted herself exclusively to architecture. She also never adopted her husband's surname, something that was not common at the time

¹¹ In 1934, in Recife, the architect Luiz Nunes, born in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais, was designing buildings containing entire walls made of hollow elements known as "combogós".

¹² Her father was a chemical engineer and university professor. He ensured that all his 12 children went to University, regardless of their sex. Clementina was his first child.

¹³ Extracted from an interview to Clementina Duarte. Interviewed by Andréa Gáti. São Paulo, SP, May 22nd 2016.

¹⁴ Prouvé was an autodidactic French architect and designer. He developed important pieces in metal. His main achievement was the transfer of manufacturing technology to architecture without the loss of aesthetic qualities.

¹⁵ Hosted at the Steph Simon Gallery, Paris, France, 1966. This gallery presented the works of the most innovative designers in Europe, including Charlotte Perriand and Le Corbusier.

¹⁶ Extracted from an interview to Clementina Duarte. Interviewed by Andréa Gáti. São Paulo, SP, May 22nd 2016.

and could be thought of as an affirmative characteristic of her autonomy. Because their careers do not intercept each other, it was classified 'Parallel careers'.

Conclusion

The cultural construction in architecture leads women to fields more related to domesticity. When we analyze the trajectories of successful Brazilian women architects, they are mostly interior designers, landscape, furniture and object designers. In other words, they tend to be present in the most artistic and so-called feminine areas of architecture, leading us to believe that these are 'things for women'. On the other hand, the most constructive, solid and virile and, by inference, serious areas, could only be associated to men.

The trajectories of Janete and Clementina, who were nationally and internationally recognized, the first as an interior designer and the second as a jewelry designer, confirm the reality of this cultural construct, given that they both worked in the so-called 'feminine' fields of Architecture.

Thus, Janete's and Clementina's careers can be seen positively both socially and by their partners in the field of architecture and design, given that they all had prominent careers and that there was no competition between each of their roles in the partnership. However, Myriam's invisible trajectory in terms of recognition and wide visibility suggests that the hypothesis that sharing architectural practice between couples always leaves one of the partners in the background may be correct. Historiography confirms that, in this case, it is women who are always invisible.

Cultural constructions, together with the psychological constitutions of each subject studied, in addition to other factors relating to the family conditions and life opportunities experienced by each woman architect, need to be further explored in order to find the answers to the questions raised in this paper.

By presenting the couples as stars of Recife's modern architecture, this article sought to reflect on cases where the woman partner was well-known or invisible, leaving space for the study of other partnerships.

It led to the critical analysis of these partnerships, resulting in the following classification: competing careers, complementary careers and parallel careers. The method used here aimed to establish a table containing, at first, local, then regional and finally national partnerships. This table is part of an ongoing Ph.D. research for the next four years.

More specifically, this article is the start of a chapter on the history of Recife/Pernambuco and Brasil's modern women architects, and in this way, supports research whose aim

is the historiographical revision of architecture, that has generally been told, based on male protagonism.

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MORE THAN NUMBERS: UNDERSTANDING THE RETENTION OF WOMEN ARCHITECTS IN BRAZIL AND IN THE UNITED STATES, 2012-2016

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Abstract

This paper analyses the differences encountered by women architects in Brazil and in the United States in professional practice between years 2012-2016, aiming to understand the large retention rates for Brazilian women. The research has been targeted to specific career pinch points: the process towards obtaining professional registration and the period of child-birth and caregiving. By conducting investigations of the circumstances of professional practice encountered in each case study country, an analysis is drawn, which reflects on what the future of these environments may become.

The method of research occurred by way of an exploratory, qualitative study, utilizing a catalog as an instrument to organize the selected content. A review of the literary findings was completed, which focused on the keywords highlighted above. The steps followed for the Integrating Synthesis, as outlined by Salvador (1977), were: apprehension of the research problem, research through investigation aimed at the design of solutions, and the accomplishment of an Integrative Synthesis.

Keywords

Architect, female, culture, labor laws

Apprehension of the research problem

The gender disparity in architectural leadership in the United States (among other countries) has been subject to questioning for decades now. In Denise Scott Brown's essay, *Room at the Top? Sexism and the Star System in Architecture* (1989, p.46), she takes account of many discriminatory experiences which have marked her career as practitioner and academic. Moreover, she comments on trends that are still reality: the rise in numbers of female students goes in opposite direction to the move upwards in architecture. Almost 30 years later, *The Sad State of Gender Equity in the Architectural Profession* (Stratigakos, 2016, p.35) delves

into these realities faced by women in the United States and other countries as practitioners. In asking the question “Where are the women architects?” and focusing on the trajectories (and perils) found in architectural practice, Stratigakos highlights the need for “cross-cultural investigations that would allow us to compare places where women architects languish with those where they thrive”. With that in mind, this research study takes the United States and presents it side by side with Brazil, a country with a rich history of architectural development and in which women professionals currently are the majority. Our study begins with the observation of data related to the female architect as a student and as a professional, as exhibited by the *Conselho de Arquitetura e Urbanismo do Brasil* (Council of Architecture and Urbanism of Brazil, CAUBR) and by the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture of the United States (ACSA). According to the research presented by the ACSA in 2014, the percentage of female students in architecture in the United States accounted for 43% of the total of students enrolled in an institution accredited by the National Architectural Accrediting Board (NAAB) in 2012-2013 (Chang, 2014). This number has increased a little, according to the 2015 Annual Report published by NAAB, which shows female students accounting for 45% of the overall enrollment in accredited programs by gender in 2013-2014 (2015, p.10). Per the same ACSA research cited above, female students are graduating in the same proportions as their male peers.

Comparatively, these records go along with the 2016 annual report “NCARB By the Numbers”, as published by the National Council of Architectural Registration Boards (NCARB), which examined data of 2015, it is noted that 42% of the people who initiated their licensure process by becoming NCARB Record holders were women. However, within the total of candidates who achieve the initial license, only 34% are women. On the other hand, the professional situation in Brazil calls attention in its singularity - having a majority of women architects is a unique aspect, particularly when compared to the United States. According to the most recent census compiled by CAUBR, Brazilian female architects accounted for 61% of the profession (2016).

When looking at the number of students described above, the decrease of females is noted, which becomes a pattern that starts in the early stages of the professional career of the woman architect in the United States. This pattern provides a foundation to the theory of the “leaky pipeline” — the constant decrease of the number of female professionals from the beginning to the end of their careers, precisely in specific moments often called career pinch points. The Equity by Design group, based in the American Institute of Architects San Francisco chapter, published early findings from their 2016 Equity in

Architecture Survey, which defines said career pinch points in the trajectory of the woman architect. According to the group, these are: studio, paying dues, licensure, caregiving, and the glass ceiling (2016).

Per the numbers cited above, it is understood that the amount of female architecture students is not an issue to either countries, and that the percentage of female American candidates to the licensure is also similar in relation to the number of students. The difference in retention seems to increase at the professional registration pinch point and continues to the next one, which is caregiving. In observing the statistic above about the majority of professionals in Brazil being female, this study focuses on identifying the circumstances that differ in the trajectory of the Brazilian and the American woman architect in these specific career pinch points.

Investigation of circumstances that differ at early career stages: the professional registration

Given this first pinch point in the number of women architects in the United States, it becomes important to understand the different processes through which one obtains the registration to practice architecture in each country.

According to the guidelines available on the CAUBR website, it is a simple process in Brazil: one must obtain their diploma graduating from an Architecture and Urbanism program based in a Brazilian university, and alongside that, submit personal information much like for employment: ID and Social Security, proof of residency, military service discharge, proof of regularity with the Electoral System. Beyond that, high school records are also required (CAUBR, 2016). In other words, Brazilian professionals can pursue registration to officially practice in the profession subsequently after finishing their studies and graduating from architecture school.

However, the situation is different in the United States. After completing their studies, students who want to pursue their own registration firstly must work the minimum number of hours required by their state or jurisdiction. This process, called the Architectural Experience Program (AXP) aims to prepare professionals by focusing on achieving valuable competency skills while in the early practice stages, skills which professionals may not hone during architecture school in the United States. Beyond the AXP, the United States jurisdictions also require the licensure candidate to pass all divisions of the Architect Registration Examination (ARE). The six examinations test the candidate's ability to provide several services aligned with the practice of architecture in the United States, as well as focus on the health, safety and welfare of the public (NCARB, 2016).

Brazil does not have such programs, however, it is understood that the Brazilian degree program does prepare the professional without relying on a similar early career track since a graduate can become registered the moment she receives her diploma and is able to file the paperwork. It is valid to point out that the curricula approach in each country is different, and that difference must be taken into consideration if the agility of the registration process is to connect and seamlessly relate to the architectural education component.

With regards to this, the United States has been making strides to recognize and incorporate a similar approach. In the past two years, NCARB has pushed for a program that will allow the AXP and ARE processes to align more closely with the education component, thus appearing closer to the Brazilian registration track: the Integrated Path to Architectural Licensure (IPAL) has been encouraging universities to incorporate these two licensure components into curricula (NCARB, 2016), and at the time this paper is written, a total of 18 programs are part of this initiative.

Beyond the IPAL program, the American registration process has generally become simpler and more streamlined; there is evidence that the length of time for a candidate to obtain her registration is becoming shorter. The same report cited above by NCARB, the 2016 *NCARB By the Numbers*, has published that the timeline for the candidate to become a registered professional has been steadily decreasing since 2008, due to major changes in the AXP and ARE processes, such as the experience component being completed in fewer hours in most jurisdictions (2016, p.34-36). In short, it is clear that an agile registration process such as the Brazilian one allows candidates to reach the professional status more quickly, thus promoting this type of career growth at an early stage, and giving less room for a career pinch point to develop.

Investigation of circumstances that differ at mid-career stages: caregiving

According to the government online information portal *Portal Brasil*, the Brazilian woman who wishes to become pregnant is protected by law in several aspects. It is not permitted under any law, collective convention, individual or company contract of employment, to restrict the woman's right to hold employment due to either marriage or pregnancy. Beyond that, the pregnant woman cannot be fired from the confirmation of the pregnancy period until four months after the birth (*Portal Brasil*, 2014). Similarly, the upholding of the employment contract exists in the United States per the Department of Labor, though there are many differences in the extent of women's rights (United States Department of Labor, 2012).

The female worker in Brazil has the right to 120 days of paid maternity leave. Moreover, it is worth noting that the woman has right to two half-hour long breaks during the work day, to rest and to breastfeed a baby of up to 6 months. This period can be made longer if it follows a doctor's recommendation. There must be an appropriate breastfeeding space in the workplace in companies which employ more than 30 women over 16 years old (*Portal Brasil*, 2014).

Comparatively, in the United States, the female worker has the right to 90 days of unpaid maternity leave. In fact, the U.S. is said to be the only industrialized country that does not offer paid maternity leave (Hall and Spurlock, 2013). Beyond this being an embarrassing statistic coming from a large and well-established economy, it must be seen as a factor pointing out that female workers who decide to start families find little support in labor laws to do so - which brings us to look for information precisely in typical American offices, in order to understand how these women make up for their caregiving time.

It is important to note that there are options particularly used in the private industry: if the pregnant woman has disability insurance, which is a benefit often provided in private architecture offices, short-term disability insurance can be activated so that the woman receives a percentage of her pay (this amount varies according to the insurance policy). The coverage time period also varies, and it can be defined by the childbirth delivery method - this is due to the different lengths of recovery time from natural to cesarean births. It is also worth noting that the language that comes with this option can be seen as shameful to such a forward, industrialized nation - the United States is a country which still sees maternity as a disability, as pointed out by architect and blogger Amy Kalar on her website, *Archimom* (2015).

Another alternative many employees rely on is the utilization of paid time off to augment the twelve weeks of unpaid maternity leave provided by law. Here, we begin to consider yet another discussion point - the difference in the availability and culture of taking time off between the two case study countries.

According to the Brazilian labor laws, employees have the right to one month of paid time off for every worked twelve month period. Beyond that, the compensation for this time is the total of the worker's salary plus a third of it (*Direitos Brasil*, n.d.). The conditions of the time taken can be negotiated, however, the fact that it is mandatory cannot. Affirmative laws such as these seem to allow for workers to engage in a culture that provides time for bonding and caregiving.

On the other hand, American labor laws promote a different type of culture. According to the *Fair Labor Standards Act*, the employer is not mandated to provide paid time off for periods not worked, as for instance holidays or vacation (United States Department of Labor, n.d.). It

is then up to each employer to negotiate with workers, in their benefits package, what can and cannot be provided — which means a standard does not exist.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics released the following data in July of 2016: according to research completed in March of the same year, 76% of participant full-time workers who were part of private industries benefited from paid vacation time. The same Bureau also published data in August of 2013 which indicated the average of paid vacation days provided to full-time workers in private industries between 1992 and 1993, and in 2012. The research clearly showed that the amount of vacation days increased proportionally to the duration of employment in the same company. For instance, a person whose tenure was of one year in the company in 2012 had, in average, ten vacation days, while a colleague with a tenure of twenty years had on average, twenty vacation days in 2012 (Van Glezen, 2013). This differentiates from the Brazilian law in that the amount of paid time off does not incrementally get larger per the length in tenure: for every 12-month cycle worked in Brazil, a worker has the same rights. It is concluded that the American labor laws are quite different from the Brazilian ones, whose intent is to allow for paid vacation leave notwithstanding the length of tenure. Beyond this observation, we bring to light the cultural trend that Americans tend to not utilize their paid vacation in full (Kasperkevic, 2015). Due to this cultural paradigm, many female workers take the opportunity to “save” vacation time in order to use it during their maternity leave, so that time can have at least some form of payment.

Thus, it is observed that the American woman’s maternity leave becomes the combination of her short-term disability insurance collection and any paid time off earnings. This differs from the Brazilian women’s rights, which are guaranteed at a governmental level, and foster a culture that allows employees to dedicate time to family. This shift in framework could be beneficial to the American work culture, as it could allow employees to have one without the sacrifice of the other: a fulfilling work life and a happy family life, side by side.

The issue of paid maternity (and paternity) leave in the United States has been increasingly discussed in the media in the past few years. In 2015, Democrat representatives introduced the *Family and Medical Insurance Leave Act* (H.R. 1439/S. 786) which would ensure workers earn some part of their income while taking medical or family leave (DeLauro et al., 2015). Meanwhile, in the private sector, American tech companies are paving the way for paid leave, and serve as an example for other economic industries, such as architecture, to take matters into their own hands. A report by The Century Foundation published in 2015 discussed a few of these companies, highlighting that, in order

for such companies to retain their best talent, having great benefits such as paid family leave become a key (Kashen, 2015). And *Architect*, the journal of the American Institute of Architects, published in July of 2016 a piece touching precisely on that: how architectural firms are adapting in order to retain talent (Reagan, 2016). Citing benefits such as paid parental leave policy, schedule and workplace flexibility, and an overall focus on well-being, are now seen as growing trends not only in tech but also in the architecture industry.

Integrative synthesis

According to Bruschini and Puppini in their article *Trabalho de mulheres executivas no Brasil no final do século XX*¹, Brazil underwent relevant demographic, social and cultural changes in the last decades of the 1900s that impacted the female presence in the workforce. Some of these alterations were: the drop in the fertility rate, the reduction in family size and the aging of the overall population alongside with the increase in life expectancy for women which caused an increase in the number of widows in the population. Another factor to be considered is the increase in the number of families headed by women, which accounted for 26% of the total of Brazilian families (Bruschini and Puppini, 2004, p.105-138).

Accordingly, the same authors emphasize that alterations in the standards of culture and values related to the woman role and the feminine identity are also observed - these standards are more and more targeted towards employment and production. It occurs, concomitantly, an increase in schooling and in the access to higher education, which enables a path towards employment opportunities for younger women. These factors are related to the widening and growth in the female pursuits, as well as the transformations in the representation of the workforce by women (Bruschini and Puppini, 2004, p.105-138).

The authors also highlight that, until the end of the 1970s, the majority of women who were young, single and childless, became older, married and with children. However, despite all these changes, women continued to play the main role in domestic activities and caregiving. This results in an overburden to those women who were responsible for economic activities. In order to contribute to this overburdening, the insertion of women in the workforce is characterized by its precariousness throughout the years. In 1998, ten million women found themselves in precarious sectors of the workforce, taking on roles such as housekeeping, working without pay or with the simple goal to earn some spending money, for personal use or for the household. On the other hand, women with access to higher education were slowly able to insert themselves in prestige professions such as medicine, law, engineering, and architecture, beyond participating in more traditional professions. However, for the same

¹ Employment of executive women in Brazil at the end of the twentieth century.

authors, even with women occupying different and prosperous workspaces, in which their roles are similar and equal to men's, they remain subjected to the gender bias perpetrated in most of the workforce: women are still being paid less than their male counterparts (Bruschini and Puppini, 2004, p.105-138).

The architecture profession in Brazil, however, is living through an interesting time: as women become the majority of architects, a future in which the gender pay gap is diminished could be attainable, due to the large representation of females in the field and their eventual rise to senior leadership. As the retention and rise of female architects continue, one can imagine more women will be taking on leadership roles, hence becoming examples and setting the course for others.

The investigations described above emphasize how the retention of women architects in Brazil differs from the United States in certain aspects. It is observed that an agile registration process is a benefit in the early career stages of architects. Fortunately, the National Council of Architectural Registration Boards, NCARB, has been working to streamline the American process for obtaining registration: both the duration of the AXP program and the number of registration exams are less than they used to be, which contributes to the fact that the process of registration, in 2015, has taken less time than the years before (NCARB, 2016, p.36). As programs such as the streamlining of AXP and the IPAL are developed and further adopted, we may continue to see a decline on the timeline for registration, thus hopefully seeing an improvement to one of the early career pinch points mentioned, the professional registration process.

Likewise, the retention of female architects can be connected to how well a woman can dedicate herself to cultivate family ties and achieve a healthy work-life balance, whether it is through better-supported maternity leave, through promoting a flexible work schedule or simply encouraging balance. With more advocacy towards rights that allow for caregiving, such as the *Family and Medical Insurance Leave Act* (DeLauro et al., 2015), as well as better promote the continuation of a woman's career post-caregiving, such as the recent trends in benefits, it is possible to imagine a future in which the American female architect is better positioned to stay in her employment. In turn, this career pinch point could become more similar to the Brazilian female architect's trajectory. Unfortunately, there is only so much the private sector can do: having an administration that supports these adaptations to workers' rights could help speed up the process for the public sector, which would benefit not only our industry but all others. Until then, it is fundamental that architects continue advocating for changes which would help retain such a valuable demographic.

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STITCHING A NEW DÉRIVE. EXERCISES IN FEMINIST COUNTER- FLÂNERIE

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Abstract

This paper describes a performative project and fieldwork research I designed to examine some myths in the construction of the historical relationship between women and the city. With the aim to reverse this relationship I propose an exercise of feminist counter-flânerie. To Challenge the stereotyped representation of the city as a dangerous space for women, and a terrain to explore for men, I played the role of a flâneuse. I first walked around the city observing the streets, and then, I mapped my itinerary. It was in the choice of the writing material (fabric and thread) where I made a point: sewing is not only a traditional form of female parallel literacy, but it is an alternative equivalent one, a sort of secret code that has existed and has been performed beside the official printed literary mark. The final product, *13 Comprehensive and Orthographic Exercises Imposed Upon the City of Madrid* is an art installation and ongoing research on how women experience the metropolis. This critical work allows me to Establish a dialogue with past and future flâneuses. As they did and will do, with my walks, craft, and research, I hope to redress cities with a more embracing, inclusive, and radical meaning.

Keywords

Feminism, Textiles, Embroidery, City, Installation

Introduction

This paper merges the claim of the female presence in public space and the subversion of the tradition of embroidery as a tool for the production of gender. Both activities are related to heteropatriarchal notions of femininity. My research on the relationship between women and the city is driven by my curiosity on how women are socially educated on the fear of public space. However, I have no intention to elucidate what came first, the sexual violence toward women or the narrative of the sexual dangers in the city. Instead, I will examine some

examples in which the presence of women in the city generated misogynistic mockery, harassment, and fatal outcomes that have partially modelled today female urban experience.

First, I ground the current vision of metropolitan perils by comparing the freedom of London's nineteenth-century flâneur to the contemporary notions of women's inadequacy in public space, and the constructions of the myth of urban male violence toward women. Then I will present a performative installation where I practised a new urban spectatorship and used embroidery, an art associated with female domesticity, to perform the acquisition of an urban voice of one's own.

The City: Male Prerogatives and Women's Demands

The flâneur, urban explorer and rewriter of the urban spectacle, found in nineteenth-century London a metropolis that had become itself a literary character. The flâneur shared the Victorian penchant for sentimental melodrama favoured by literature and journalism. Periodicals as *The Pall Mall Gazette* presented a city divided between a well-off and dynamic West End, and an impoverished and bleak East End. This dramatic, albeit simplistic, division inflamed social reformers and working-class activists, and perversely titillated the bourgeois mind with tales of murder and sexual misfortunes in the East End (McClintock, 1995, p. 25). The East End was othered as the urban gothic setting, an overcrowded transplant of the uncivilized colonies.¹

Flâneurism operated within the city as the empire did in the colonies. Both used a privileged masculine prerogative to physically and conceptually occupy a space and rearrange its original meaning to suit their pleasure and prejudices. The colonial mindset also permitted the flâneur to enjoy the poor neighbourhoods and their inhabitants as a commodified urban exotic. The flâneur's approach to the metropolis shared traits with the colonial gaze. Edward Said argues that within colonialism lies a perverse "male-power fantasy that sexualises a feminised Orient"-or any colonial culture for that matter (McClintock, 1995). Likewise, the flâneur's male prerogative sexualized the city as a passive feminine body waiting to be activated by the observation of those urban explorers. In other words, as a woman body in need of male agency.

The female presence in the street, though, was composed of a new breed of lower-middle-class workforce in the services trade, the domestic and manual trades, and charity and

¹ The notion of the late nineteenth-century urban landscape as a Gothic setting in opposition to the rural landscape was suggested in the symposium *New Directions in Gothic Revival Studies*, in the University of Kent in Canterbury. (July 13-14, 2012).

social workers. Although there were instances of middle-class flâneuses, the public opinion criticised the progressive presence of unescorted women by amplifying negative stereotypes of feminine vanity, volubility, and lack of practicality. The mid-century crinoline trend became one of the press's favourite targets.

A melancholy Accident, published in the satirical magazine *Punch or the London Charivari* in 1866, tells of a woman that promenading with her husband in an arcade makes such a mess with her crinoline, that her spouse, a struggling clerk, cannot afford to pay for the disaster and is sent to debtor's prison. The woman is likened to a bull in the china shop. Her ample petticoat and her feminine melancholic distractions (let's not forget this is the century of hysteria, the contemporary medical demonisation of women) renders her unable to circulate the arcade as cosmopolitan space representative of the urban nineteenth-century zeitgeist. Feminine lack of rationale is signified by the crinoline that disrupts the male-made and male-oriented modern urban order by tossing and breaking the wares, she furthermore emasculates the patriarchal system symbolized in her imprisoned husband.

Ironically, with the advent of department stores like Selfridges, shopping emerged as a pleasurable activity that facilitated the access of women to the city (Rappaport, 2001). Nevertheless, women shoppers had to face the verbal harassment of men in the streets. Catcalling reminds women of their subordinate position to men in public space. That public evaluation on their physique conditions can be understood as an intrusion on women's private space that emphasizes women social value as commodities. Catcalling is also a mode of male policing which capitalises on the construction of respectable femininity as a combination of class and morality. Many West End street harassers argued that their victims did not appear lady-like so they felt free to torment them.

Urban sexual violence, class and moral constructions of womanhood, along with Victorian melodrama coalesced in the infamous Whitechapel murders of 1888. This episode was the last of a series of sexual scandals that consolidated the narrative of the city as a hostile place for women. These murders gave birth to the violent misogynistic myth of Jack the Ripper, which still holds a widespread appeal in the popular imagination.

The victims were poor working women who resorted to casual prostitution as a resource for extra income². The public opinion preyed on their poverty, alcoholism, and apparent avoidance of normative domestic life to reinforce sensationalistic negative stereotypes of the East End as a pit of moral and physical decay. The victims' demise was thus presented as the

² More information on Victorian prostitution can be found in Judith Walkowitz's seminal work *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, where the author dispelled the binary myth of fallen woman/immoral wretch by giving a feminist, sex-positive and working-class-friendly approach to Victorian sex work.

logical outcome for a female sex worker. Those women had traded their womanhood for the price of a night lodging and had reaped a violent death as the wages of sin. Some even saw the killings as “almost charity to relieve of the penalty of existence” for whom he described as “drunken miserable wretches” (Walkowitz, 1992, p. 200).

The fantastic literary characterization of the East End as a labyrinthic savage site did not help to alleviate fears. The porous typology of Whitechapel, which was adjacent to the City, filtered the spatial subconscious of most Londoners, spurring anxieties that no woman was safe from the murderer, not even in the comfortable West End. It is not a coincidence that the obsession with these murders happened at a time when women were becoming more publicly visible and economically self-sufficient. The “glorified spinster” was the most notorious of all: a young middle-class economically independent woman who dismissed marriage and lived on her own in the city, the metropolis could offer. The fact that the last murder happened indoors sent a message to women of all classes, especially those who sought an independent urban life. Safety, even in one’s own house relied on patriarchal supervision in the form of parental or spousal protection.

The popular capital that the Ripper legend has accrued contributed to subconsciously sanction male violence, and cemented women’s sense of vulnerability in modern urban culture (Walkowitz, 1982, p 544). Even today women edit and police their presence in the public space for the sake of safety, as the widespread narrative of urban sexual violence makes them the depositary of and responsible for the assault.³

A Genealogical Response

This research on cities and women generated a response through my studio practice. Could I create an experiment in counter-flânerie? I asked myself the same question Helen Scalway poses: “as a walker is not how can I possess the city as an occupying force, but how can I be in it at all?” (Scalway, 2002, p.10). How in these urban transits, can my body and gaze upset an official narrative that has shaped urban space and its representations. I found a lead in VALIE EXPORT’s *Körperkonfigurationen (Body Configurations, 1972-76)*. In this series of documented performances EXPORT mimicked details of the city with her body. The artist’s body became a punctuation mark in the urban sentence that unveiled the subtext of the urban narrative by exposing its hidden past. Her body remapped the urban context as the site of memory and possibility and reconfigures the identity of the city as passive feminine subject.

³ For more information on rape culture, see FORCE, a project by Baltimore-based social practitioners Rebecca Nagle and Hannah Brancato on sexual violence. <https://themonumentquilt.org/about/force/>

As EXPORT did, I wanted to alter the urban text, which meant setting the grammatical rules of my perambulatory language. Where the flâneur took on a detached and privileged identity to visually consume and later catalog places and people, I found an opposite methodological framework with the politics of care. Caretaking is encased in the feminine and domestic economy and thus is currently disavowed by the two main economic systems. Both capitalism and socialism undermine the value of care, as its recipients (children, old and disabled people) do not generate material profit. The politics of caring encourage upsetting current systems of value based on material consumption (Eisler, 2014).

The physical translation of my walks also needed a writing method not privileged by patriarchal culture. If the male flâneur relied on the pen and ink or letterpress to stamp and disseminate his gaze, I resorted to embroidery, a craft associated with female domesticity that has been reappropriated within the feminist and postcolonial discourse.

Young girls learned to sew and embroider on samplers, a linen cloth where to stitch the alphabet, vegetal, animal, and sometimes architectural motifs. Samplers were a staple in every young girl's education and provided an evidence of a child's progress to womanhood (Parker, 1996, p 85). A girl's dexterity with the needle increased her value in the marriage market and provided a professional future to girls of little means. In some samplers, the girl embroidered her name, age and the year she finished their piece. Sometimes they embroidered a short sentence where the author disavowed her artistry by declaring spiritual humbleness. Samplers were part of a performance of feminine subjugation and obedience, a time-consuming activity that could keep female passions subdued. But women also found in needlework a creative outlet where they could occasionally channel their dissatisfaction with their social condition (Parker, 1996, p. 96)

Textiles have their own lexicon and grammatical structure, which requires a practical knowledge of the medium to be able to decipher. Christine Bayles-Kotsch asserts that sewing became a female parallel literacy that existed in the margins of a masculine-identified printed culture (2009, p. 7). Women had a limited access to normative education, but almost all of them learned to sew. Thus needlework became an all-female heterotopic source and transmission of knowledge, a dual literacy that connected women in an "imagined community" (Bayles-Kortsch, 2009, p. 10).

As an embroiderer myself, I employed this linguistic lineage to write down my walks. I favoured machine-embroidery for technical reasons (it allowed more control over the tension between stitch and fabric, making it easier to further manipulate the resulting textile) and for its importance in the history of women's work: Emma Goldman, reminiscing of her journey to the US wrote that her "entire possessions consisted of five dollars and a small hand-bag.

My sewing-machine, which was to help me to independence, I had checked as baggage” (Goldman).

I recorded my walks in Madrid with an app for runners and translated each itinerary by individually freehand machine-sew it to muslin, each walk to become a sampler. I intentionally did not use the backing to even the embroidery tension. I relinquished the control of the tension; I left to chance and to the stitching any shrinkage that would affect the scale and representation of the streets.

The resulting installation *13 Grammatical and Comprehensive Exercises upon the City of Madrid* is a selection of 13 samplers, a map of Madrid where I kept track of the walks, and a printed map of freely arranged fragments which I had previously scanned. Each individual sampler, on its own or combined, and the printed and re-translation offer a possible, parallel map of the city, stitched together like a Frankenstein’s monster whose “body is not a ‘body’ at all but a figure of relations between bodies past and present, for the insistent return of a corporealized historiography” (Freeman, 2005, p. 4)

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Abstract

Does gender matter? Gender planning is an active approach to planning which takes gender as a key variable and seeks to integrate an explicit gender dimension into policies or action. It consists of planning the implementation phase of policies or programmes from a gender perspective.

In recent international debates on the issues of urbanisation, urban planning and development, the best methods of addressing major challenges are increasingly seen in the strengthening of social resources and human capital, rather than by building physical structures.

Women's participation and leadership in the field of gender-sensitive urban environments are necessary for this learning and new governance process to succeed. Cities will be different and better only when all high-level positions, inside political and administrative sections, will be covered with no gender distinction. The ability to create and manage complexity, to address and solve urban problems, to invent new processes for the community needs, may well be synergistically channelled for an attractive community life.

In accordance with the enhancement of a professionalism focused on women's active participation at a national level, AIDIA aims are to promote a wide network of professionals as a representative interface with local and central governments and institutions, enhancing equality policies in city governments. As specific researches on social innovation explain, the big urban challenges of the twenty-first century can all be looked at with gender lenses, and all other democratic processes.

Keywords

Architecture, engineering, space, city, inclusive, gender perspective

AIDIA, the Italian Association of Women Engineers and Architects¹, has been working since 1957² to defend and develop the rights of women graduates and to improve living conditions both in private and public space. The association operates as an observatory on women's working rights. Beyond this, it has a clear vocation to get involved in the debate about architectural and urban planning issues, contributing to establish a dialogue with local and central government and academia. It is urgent to implement sensitive policies for a better community and an inclusive city

What is gender planning?

It is an active approach to urban planning which takes gender as a key variable and seeks to integrate an explicit gender dimension into policies or actions.

In Italy, women have begun to access to relevant public positions only in recent years. But the overall number of women in relevant public positions is still insignificant/marginal. We must take note of the fact that women make up more than half of the population in Italy, where there are 100.260 women architect, which means that more than 40% of the total amount of architects are women³. Moreover, there are 238.206 engineers in Italy and 14% of them are women. By contrast, the number of women who occupy senior positions or play important roles in politics remains strikingly limited.

This is an obstacle for the community development, because equality of women and men in local life means to be in the lead: this also implies fostering the redesign and development process of urban space from a gender-sensitive and inclusive point of view, which responds to everyone's needs.

Integrating the gender perspective in urban planning is a question of democratic value (Droste *et al.*, 2011). Recent surveys⁴ suggest that women and men often have different habits and preferences, for instance, when it comes to using public transports. Other surveys⁵ also show gender contrasts in the feeling of security regarding public spaces. In recent international debates on urban planning and development, strengthening social resources and human capital are shifting to more powerful methods of facing current challenges rather than building physical structures⁶ (UNITED NATIONS, 2012).

¹ See: www.aidia-italia.it.

² On 19 May 2017, we celebrated its sixtieth anniversary in Torino.

³ Data source: CRESME 2018 (an Italian Research center that provides services for those working in the world of construction).

⁴ See: Droste C., Chestnutt R., Ganssaue K., Willecke B. *et al.* 2011, *Gender mainstreaming in urban development*. Berlin handbook, Kulturbuch-Verlag GmbH, Berlin; Government Office of Sweden. 2010. *Equal Power to Shape Society and One's Own Life: The Swedish Government's gender equality policy 2010–2014*, Ministry of Education and Research, Stockholm. See also: <https://eu-smartcities.eu>.

⁵ See, for instance, the UN Women's Global Flagship Initiative 'Safe Cities and Safe Public Spaces'.

⁶ See, for example, the initiative *Strategic engagement for gender equality 2016-2019*, which is the framework

Women's participation, and leadership, is absolutely necessary for this learning and for a new governance process to succeed. Participatory and gender-sensitive urban environments can be supported with strong policies, introducing new ways of performing consultations: it could allow an increase of knowledge on how to include the gender perspective in urban planning and to raise awareness among the staff (Combe, 2013).

The cities will be different and better only when all high-level positions, inside political and administrative sections, will be covered without a gender distinction. The ability to create and manage complexity, to address and solve urban problems, to invent new processes for the community needs, may well be synergistically channelled for an attractive and prosperous community life (UNITED NATIONS, 2013).

Women's issues deserve special attention within mainstream planning practice. The realities of women's day to day lives have major implications for the planning field.

Building on the experience of Victoria Mxenge as described by Caroline Newton (2012), to refer to some of the theoretical concepts elaborated, for example, by Pierre Bourdieu (1999), Judith Butler (1990) and Michel Foucault (1982), it means that we are able to change the values of power needs.

Caroline Newton describes the story of a small group of women, who built by themselves 148 houses near Cape Town, South Africa, during the 1990s. It was a successful self-managed experiment, which allowed them and their children to change the previously very low quality of life. The small neighbourhood became the flagship project of the South African Homeless People's Federation (SAHPF), and the government used the insights of these women (who were not planners) to develop their People's Housing Process (PHP) housing framework. As Caroline Newton writes, we should think about the possibility of different approaches to successfully build a community upon spatial equality and better living.

"The exercise of power consists in guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome" (Foucault, 1982, p. 789): this implies that 'government' can also cover modes of action (Foucault, 1982, p. 790), and that, therefore, grassroots movements also have the possibility to take action on different scales, thus helping shape the society and its organisation at large.

In the chapter *Site Effects* (1999), Bourdieu speaks about the role of physical space. Since there is a strong relationship between the structure of our social reality and the structure of physical space, even small-scale actions in the field of urban planning may alter to some degree the existing relations of power in a given society. The sum of them can steer our society

for the European Commission's future work towards full gender equality, and the report *Vision for Gender Equality*, financed by and prepared for the use of the European Commission, Directorate-general for Justice and Consumers (<<https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/47acb2f1-68fe-4991-a5d9-609a7661e3fb>>).

into a certain direction. This interlock of spatial and social structures implicates that a change in one of the fields has consequences for the other.

On the basis of the considerations mentioned above, we can state that, on the one hand, changes in urban planning policies (as well as in housing and landscape policies) can produce a supportive environment for the political and social empowerment of women, and, on the other hand, a renewed role and an enhanced involvement of women in decision-making processes can, in turn, affect the quality of the natural and built environment in which we live.

In tune with the enhancement of the professionalism of the Italian woman, promoted by such projects as *Ingegno al femminile* of CNI (National Board Engineers Institution) and *Æquale* of CNAPPC (National Board Architects Institution), the aims of AIDIA are to promote a wide network of professionals as a representative interface with local and central governments and institutions, enhancing women's participation in decision-making processes related to urban and territorial issues and equality policies in city governments. As specific researches on social innovation explain, the big urban challenges of the twenty-first century can all be looked at with gender lenses⁷.

The different involvement of men and women in carrying out care activities has been identified as an important factor in planning friendly cities. Italian urban and landscape political situation seeks to put itself on the same footing as other European countries⁸.

The promotion of equality between men and women also goes in line with the plans of the European Union, as evidenced by the European Charter of equality, and with the Un-HABITAT directives⁹ and with all the other democratic processes, drafting environmentally sustainable and resilient urban development, and equal opportunities for all. Some recent surveys¹⁰ on urban planning practices all across Europe reveal a lack of expertise/knowledge on gender and diversity programmes and strategies.

⁷ See, for example, the conference 'Inclusive Smart Cities: A European Manifesto on Citizen Engagement', co-organised by the EIP-SCC Action Clusters Citizen Focus and Integrated Planning Policy & Regulation, ERRIN (European Regions Research and Innovation Network) and ICLEI (International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives), which took place in Brussels on 23 November 2016.

⁸ See, for example, the 62-page 'Gender Action Plan and Toolkit' researched and written by the European Centre for Women and Technology (ECWT), a partner in the SEiSMiC (Societal Engagement in Science, Mutual Learning in Cities) consortium. The report is available for downloading from the following link: www.seismicproject.eu/uploads/news/Csaba_Hungary/shared_mobilityFG/SEiSMiC%20GAP_DEF.pdf

⁹ See, for example, the *Draft outcome document of the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III)* that resulted from the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) which took place in Quito from 17 to 20 October 2016. The document is available for downloading from the following link: [www.hlmn.org/img/documents/Draft%20Outcome%20Document%20of%20Habitat%20III%20\(E\).pdf](http://www.hlmn.org/img/documents/Draft%20Outcome%20Document%20of%20Habitat%20III%20(E).pdf)

¹⁰ See, for instance, the initiatives promoted by the Observatory of the European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life, which include studies and good practices developed in Malmö (Sweden), Rennes (France), Cordoba (Spain) (for more information, see: <https://charter-equality.eu/>).

In short, there is still a lot of work to be done to build a more inclusive society if we consider that the so-called glass ceiling is still an invisible obstacle that prevents both women and minorities from accessing leadership and power positions, since the number of women in senior positions remains low. Similarly, we have a long way to go if fewer women than men appear in the list of registered architects, although the number of female students usually far outpaces that of male students in many schools of architecture. Likewise, there are significantly fewer women than men at the higher levels of academic careers.

This situation calls for actions on various fronts, which need to be combined with each other, to promote social inclusion by raising the status of women and improving their conditions. In the area of training and education, on the one hand, the paucity of women and minorities in both professional and academics ranks should obviously make us think about the validity of certain professional career models, mechanisms and paths that have so far discouraged or even excluded women from progressing in their careers (De Graft-Johnson, Manley & Greed, 2003). Such initiatives as the *EthelDay*¹¹, which celebrates and makes visible the contributions of women to the profession of architecture, represents an attempt to stimulate a radical change in this respect. The implementation of gender sensitive approaches to space and architecture must be included into the official curricula and agendas at any institutional level so that architectural practitioners, students, faculty members, both public and private-sector experts, administrators and all the actors involved in the construction and management of our environment can become familiar with these issues from a very early stage of their training and education. As Mildred Warner¹², urban planner and professor at Cornell University, states, many aspects of our daily life could be less time-consuming and less stressful if our spaces and places were more smartly defined through a gender lens. As stressed by Elizabeth L. Sweet and Harley F. Etienne (2011), the role of planning programs and policies in the production and reproduction of our environment and the perpetuation of (spatial, social, cultural, economic) inequalities is essential; for this very reason, planning needs more diversity to adequately address issues of inclusion, race, gender, sex and class. We need a physical and social environment in which heterogeneous and economically diverse communities can be welcomed and involved (Sweet & Etienne, 2011, p. 338).

We are not in a color- or race- or sex-blind society, and planning programs must be sensitive to, and engaged with, the ongoing issues of diversity that plague the teaching of planning that, in turn,

¹¹ Taking place on Thursday 5 July, the day is inspired by Ethel Mary Charles, the first woman to be elected to membership of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in 1898. For more information, see: <https://www.architecture.com/campaign/ethelday-celebrating-women-in-architecture>.

¹² See: <http://www.mildredwarner.org/restructuring>.

have significant consequences for communities and planning practice (Sweet & Etienne, 2011, p. 337).

A new generation of planners and practitioners should include women who come from different communities and ethnic groups — and consequently more diversified student bodies and planning faculties— if we really want planning practice to play a relevant role in our increasingly complex society.

Getting back to the questions related to the employment system and the labour market, organisational norms still reflect historical man roles in society, such as linear employment and the over-prioritisation of non-domestic work.

A national policy on gender and diversity, which develops strategies for retention, promotion and reduced discrimination, is needed, together with a far-reaching reform in the very concept of productive work. Conscious policymaking will also raise the visibility of women in office practice and contribute to establish a new scholarship system, developing best-practice models. It is important to focus on the fact that gender is not only a women's concern, it is a social justice issue. Architectural practices will be able to meet the challenges of equality, social inclusion, sustainable development and climate changes only if a paradigm shift towards more equal and flexible conditions take place in all aspects of architectural profession. Gender-based discrimination needs to be tackled by everyone (women and men, employers and employees, universities and professional bodies) and at various levels (in terms of education, professional training and innovative practices). In fact, many of the challenges faced by women in architecture also affect men (with respect to the evolution of the concept of leadership, or the development of new working approaches and strategies which cross disciplinary boundaries, to name just a few examples of what aspects can be considered relevant to a gender sensitive perspective in architectural and planning practices and education). It is a question of democracy and responsibility of governments and municipalities to make sure that, during all the decision-making processes (above all those concerning design/architectural/urban choices), the needs of all citizens are being considered, regardless of gender and background.

It is in this direction that AIDIA supports and encourages more gender perspective into urban policies and projects as social inclusion: at every level, it can add value in terms of inclusiveness, innovative and transformative capacity, fostering political debates on urban changes, on human and urban displacement, and on the impact of gentrification. Looking to Vienna's experience, in order to enable an equitable, every-day best practice, it is time to set up a City Office for gender planning in each City Council, as well as to empower the dissemination of knowledge and best practices to grow the grassroots

movements and associations, who will be able to collaborate on the right choices of institutions and politics (*Manual for Gender Mainstreaming*, 2013). It will bring into place a new approach to the design of the living space, through a working methodology that focuses on quality before quantity, to democratically build a path that may contribute to the development of safety and innovative society, through a gender lens, as one of the essential tools for the well-being of the whole community.

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PROMOTING ACTIONS FOR GENDER EQUALITY IN ARCHITECTURE: THE MISSION OF A.D.A., THE ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN ARCHITECTS

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Abstract

ADA is a no-profit Organization addressed to women architects and architecture graduated women. The Association was born in Florence in 2012 from the idea of two women architect who realized that architecture is a profession with a marked male preserve. Its main aims are: to commend, protect and subsidize women architect's work promoting women's valuable work by publishing projects from all over the world; to help and assist women architects to plan and match their work and family especially during pregnancy and consequently rising children; to fight against any kind of women architect's career discrimination issues reporting data and experiences to make women react, not endure; to promote and support career updates through training, studies, research, cultural and professional links with similar associations and organizations worldwide, sharing purposes and ideas; to investigate and communicate the true financial, domestic, professional, cultural and organization status quo of women architects and related variations throughout space and time. We believe in the power of positive communication, good practise and role models; we are going to build a network of communications between interested subjects to contribute actively to improve the architectural world adding the percentage that, for some reason, has lost its way: women.

Keywords

Women, architecture, gender pay gap, professional growth, supervising

The role of women in architecture: some brief introductory remarks and statistics

In 1925, Elena Luzzatto was the first graduated woman in Italy; two years later Mussolini expressed his opinion as follows:

women must obey. [...] She is analytic not concise. Has she ever made architecture in the past centuries? [...] She is unrelated to architecture that's the summary of all the art, and that's the symbol of her destiny" (Mussolini cited in Formato, 2018, p. 201; *translation mine*)¹.

¹ Original text: "La donna deve obbedire. [...] Essa è analitica, non sintetica. Ha forse mai fatto dell'architettura in tutti questi secoli? [...] Essa è estranea all'architettura, che è la sintesi di tutte le arti, e ciò è un simbolo del suo destino".

That was almost 90 years ago; and what is going on now?

Zaha Hadid is the most famous women architect in the world; she was the first woman to receive the Pritzker Prize in 2004; she was n° 69 on *Forbes' World's 100 Most Powerful Women* list in 2008. Unfortunately, she disappeared in 2016 at the age of 65. The following are some of her most memorable quotes: "Architecture is particularly difficult for women; there's no reason for it to be" (Hadid cited in Parker, 2006); "Women are always told, 'You're not going to make it, it's too difficult you can't do that, don't enter this competition, you'll never win it,' - they need confidences in themselves and people around them to help them to get on" (Hadid cited in Peacock, 2013).

What happens today in Italy? Italy is the European country with the highest number of architects. We have 2.5 architects per 1000 inhabitants against the European average of 1 per 1000 inhabitants. In Italy there are almost 154,000 architects, 42% of whom are women (64,000 more or less), 10% more than in 1998. The numbers clearly show that a process of feminization is going on; women represent the 54% of people enrolled at the university, but there is also a high gender pay gap since men earn about 57% more than women².

The above-mentioned data comes from a statistic survey on the real status of Italian architects commissioned by the National Council of Architects (CNA). But even if we move to an international context, examining for example the situation in United Kingdom, we see that things do not improve, as the latest annual survey 'Women in architecture' conducted by the *Architects' journal* for the 2015 (fourth edition) shows (Mark, 2014). In fact, the survey data, collected from anonymous cross-section of practitioners, clients, engineering companies, developers, and academic staff in the U.K. and from all over the world, and related to pay, practise, education and child-rearing, show alarming results. More than 90% of female architects in the U.K. believe that having children hinders their careers.

In addition, the survey provides disturbing insights into the experiences of 1152 women worldwide – alarmingly, more than one in five would not recommend a career in architecture!

40% of women worldwide think they would be paid more if they were male; 72% of women worldwide say they've experienced discrimination, harassment or victimisation while working in architecture. Our profession is still suffering a very hard crisis due to economic reasons; women, belonging to a more vulnerable group, are paying a huge

² Data source: CRESME 2015 (an Italian Research center that provides services for those working in the world of construction).

bill. So, we do believe that is very important to create a professional network, to support, to subsidize women architect. We need to focus on removing the strong barriers that continue to keep women from rising to the top. That's why we created the association A.D.A.!

The importance of being networked: the initiatives promoted by A.D.A.

Our web site is conceived as a common space where women architects can share their work and publish articles of common interest to increase the viability and visibility of women in architecture. We promote women's work spreading and publicising the main gender prizes, like *ArcVision* prize by *Italcementi* in Italy and *Femmes Architectes* by *Arvha* in France; these two prizes are dedicated to women architect and involve the participation of a lot of women architect from all over the world. For the first one, we usually attend the prize-giving ceremony and we interview the candidates; it's a unique occasion to meet very interesting colleagues from all over the world. The evidence of their experience is very important to encourage other women and, in the meantime, to show a lot of high-level projects.

In the web site of A.D.A. Association, we also publish interviews with women architects who can represent role model for the youngest. We do believe it is very important to have role models which can motivate other women and can be supportive to achieve leadership development goals.

Following the main focus of our association, that is to say to develop and promote women's growth in the profession, we intend to sustain activities that provide networking opportunities, helping women in architecture to reach their fullest potential.

We are already in contact with other similar International Organizations and we will seek to expand our network to create exchanges opportunities for women professionals and students, fostering debate on critical issues affecting women's interests and rights within the world design community. We intend to share projects of common interest, like conferences, publications, and awards, and establish connections that will let us learn from each other.

With the project called *FAW* (Female Architect at Work) we'd like to offer young women architects the possibility of a high-quality stage in prestigious and qualified Architecture firms. New mothers are the most vulnerable subject ever; for this reason, we are committed to providing them with any support measures to maintain continuity with the working world in the same city where they live. We are providing a large number of prestigious firms, in Italy and in Europe at the moment, to create a database. We will have a resident referent, in each place, that will help the candidate during the procedure, for example finding an accommodation and in the first contact with the hosting firm. We intend to launch a national survey that will let us know the real economic working situation of women architects. Following

the experience of the *Architects' Journal* survey in the U.K., we have developed a specific survey focused on our Italian reality. It will be divided into sections that will cover the following topics: family organization\child-rearing, sexual discrimination/harassment, professional fee/senior position role, motivating and supporting elements. This survey will be disseminated through our web site and social networks and will be totally anonymous.

We are organizing and attending the *Aequale* Conferences, which is a project born in the National Architect Council, whose main aim is to improve the status of women in the field of architecture. This Conferences, taking place all over Italy from south to north, involve the participation of politicians, different professional figures and scholars.

opposite page

Fig. 1

**Ethic Charter
for Equal
Opportunity and
Equality**

The Ethic Charter, a call to action

ADA is promoting a new action for gender equality in our profession. We have created the *Ethic Charter for Equal Opportunity and Equality* (Fig. 1) in the architectural profession and we are going to send it to the Italian architects' associations and to worldwide gender association for sharing it. We have the patronage of the National Architect Council (CNA) and of *Heforshe*, which is a solidarity movement created by United Nation Women for the achievement of gender equality in our lifetime. The initiative has been presented in Florence on March 2016 and has received a very good response from the provincial architects' councils that are progressively sharing it.

Our aim is that every subject interested and involved in the matter feels free to adopt it as a good practise. It must constitute a starting point to set a strategy to build an equality culture in our profession. We think it will be a long process in which everybody – educators, politics, professionals, architecture firms, contractors – should take part.

The main objectives at the heart of the *Ethical Charter* are the promotion of pluralism and inclusive work practices that contribute to personal success and to the vocational qualification, in addition to reflecting on the changes taking place in today's society.

By sharing this *Charter*, Associations intend to promote joint efforts to contribute to the fight against discrimination in the workplace, to enhance diversity existing within the architecture profession and to promote female architects.

Sharing the *Ethical Charter* is a declaration of intent that aims to help achieve the objectives set out above, which need to be implemented through a number of concrete actions:

- identifying professional functions to which clear responsibilities on equal opportunities are allocated;

- overcoming gender stereotypes by promoting professional growth through appropriate training and awareness policies;
- supervising the principle of equal treatment in the processes that regulate all the stages of working life and of human resources development, so that assignments and employment opportunities, training and development of professional careers are based solely on skills, experience and individual professional potential regardless of gender and origin;
- periodically monitoring equal opportunities progress and assessing the impact of good practices, both within the profession itself and in external relations;
- promoting the reconciliation of work and family life;
- spreading the culture of equal opportunities and of progress accomplished in a spirit of genuine community;
- periodically making comparisons with other professions and gender associations.



We want to make an invitation for those who believe in Equality to create a shared vision for gender equality. We want concrete systematic structural changes that can equalize the professional reality for women architects. We are making a call upon institution, government, and association to support women in the profession. We have sent this proposal to 105 Italian architects' associations and by now we are receiving their support.

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WHY EQUITY MATTERS FOR EVERYONE: A NEW VALUE PROPOSITION FOR DESIGN

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Abstract

“Equity” and “equality” have long been used interchangeably, but the terms have distinct meanings. In this paper, we argue that equity has a strong potential as a new paradigm for design at multiple levels, and explore the ways in which equity can be used as a lens to evaluate relationships both within the architectural workplace, and within the broader built environment.

The 2016 Equity in Architecture Survey demonstrates that the architectural profession faces both equity and equality challenges. Examination of the profession’s demographics, pay practices, and leadership composition demonstrate that an equality-based approach uncovers problems without suggesting remedies. An equity-based approach demonstrates that professional success is tied to access to key resources that should be provided to all practitioners. Meanwhile, case studies demonstrate that inequities are pervasive within the built environment. These spatial injustices often occur in cases in which some conditions of equality are present, but equity has not been achieved. Analyzing projects’ impacts on their end users proves to be critical to understanding inequities, and in developing inclusive alternatives.

We conclude by suggesting that the lack of equity in architectural practice is correlated with the construction of inequitable spaces, and by arguing that architects should reflect the communities impacted by their work.

Keywords

Equity, architectural practices and profession, inclusive design, spatial injustice

Introduction

“Equity” and “equality” have long been used interchangeably, but the terms have distinct meanings. While equality treats sameness as an end goal, equity may be defined as a state in which all people, regardless of their gender, racial, ethnic, and/or socioeconomic

background, have fair and just access to the resources and opportunities necessary to thrive. Equity fosters diversity and inclusion by constantly reevaluating notions of value and success to ensure that they apply to all. Equality, meanwhile, tends to favor assimilation towards outcomes that have typically been defined by a majority power (Sheng, 2016; Stewart, 2017).

Equity has a strong potential as a new paradigm for design at multiple levels - equity in access to education, equitable practice in the workplace, social equity in the design of public places that treat all individuals with dignity. Equity serves as a benchmark against which architects might communicate a new value proposition; one that is rooted in transparency, collaboration, and trust (Sheng, 2016). In this paper, we will explore the ways in which equity can be used as a lens to evaluate relationships both within the architectural workplace, and within the broader built environment.

If we are to take the socio-spatial dialectic (Soja, 2009) seriously, we must conclude that spatial injustice begets social injustice, and vice versa. As the professional mediators of the spatial formation process, architects have an opportunity, therefore, to become strong advocates for both social and spatial equity. We believe that the lack of equity in architectural practice, and especially amongst professionals responsible for social infrastructure projects, has compounded this problem, with design teams often failing to represent the diversity of the communities that they serve. Using data from the Equity in Architecture Survey, as well as social science research on team dynamics, we will conclude by arguing that more diverse, equitable, and inclusive design teams are likely better able to handle the challenges of advocating for social equity in the built environment.

Equity vs. Equality

The distinctions between equity and equality are rooted in semantics, but are conceptualized through the fundamentally different notions of fairness and justice (Herrera, 2007). This theoretical distinction is illustrated in a popular internet meme. In this pair of illustrations, three individuals attempt to look over a fence to see a baseball game. In the image on the left, entitled “equality,” each person receives a single box to stand on in order to look over the fence. The three spectators, however, have begun from a fundamental condition of inequality due to their differing heights. The box, which has been sized to allow the average spectator to see over the fence, produces a condition whereby the tallest and medium-height person are able to see over the fence, while the shortest person remains unable to see. Moreover, the equal distribution of resources preserves the underlying differences between the individuals. Meanwhile, the image on the right,

entitled “equity”, shows the same resources distributed so that all spectators are able to watch the game. The tallest person can see over the fence without additional support, and doesn’t receive a box. Meanwhile, the shortest person uses two boxes in order to be able to watch the game. Equity, therefore, asks that we look beyond notions of equal representation, and equal allocations of resources, and instead ask whether fairness and justice have been achieved as a result of these resource allocations (Stewart, 2017).

Equity as a Paradigm for Practice

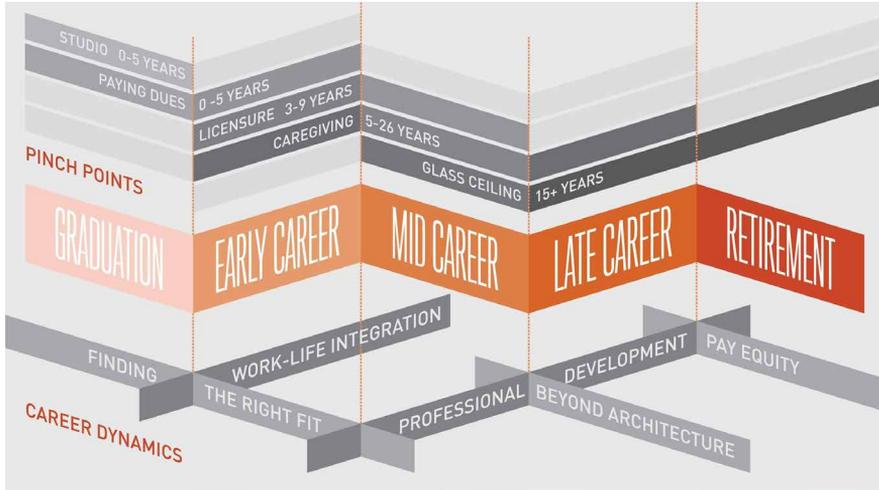
Findings from the 2016 Equity in Architecture Survey (Pitts et al, 2017) indicate that the architectural profession faces challenges relative to both equality and equity. Women and people of color continue to trail behind white men in terms of traditional measures of equality like wage parity, and equal representation at both staff and leadership levels. An equity based analysis will deepen our understanding of these challenges, demonstrating that these professionals also tend to view their careers less positively, and have limited access to key resources that have been linked to professional success. The survey suggests that providing access to these resources — transparency in the performance review and promotion process, access to firm leaders, positive workplace relationships, and a culture supportive of work-life flexibility — may be the best means of increasing professional satisfaction and retention probability, regardless of a professional’s identity.

While advances have been made in women and people of color’s representation within the profession over the last several decades, the field is still disproportionately white, and disproportionately male. While people of color made up 35% of the US civilian labor force in 2014, they accounted for only 21% of architecture staff working in AIA member-owned firms (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015; American Institute of Architects, 2017). Moreover, only 11% of principals and partners in these firms were people of color. Similarly, women made up 47% of the US civilian labor force, but only 31% of architecture staff, and 20% of principals and partners in AIA member-owned firms (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015; American Institute of Architects, 2017).

In addition to underrepresentation within the profession, professional outcomes differ based on gender, race, and ethnicity. Women and people of color are less likely at every level of experience than their white male counterparts to be principals or partners (Pitts, 2017b). This leadership gap is concentrated amongst those with more experience, with significant differences observed amongst those with 11 or more years of experience. Amongst those with 26 or more years of experience, 59% of white men with, but only 46% of men of color, and 48% of white women and women of color, reported holding this position.



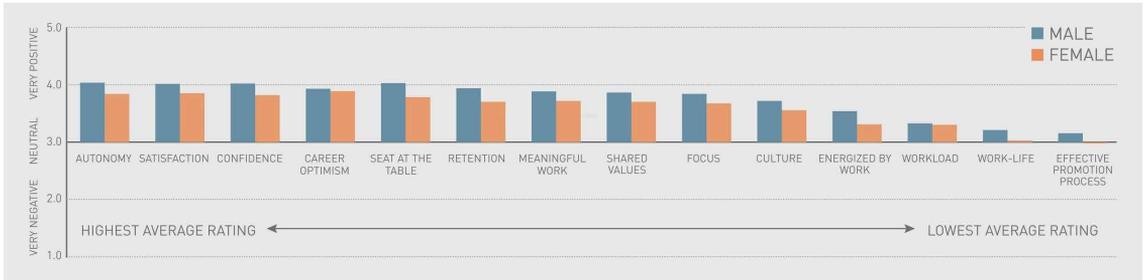
Fig. 1
Life of an Architect
 Pitts et al, 2017; infographics by Atelier Cho Thompson



opposite page
Fig. 2
Metrics of Success - Career Perceptions in Key Areas
 Pitts et al, 2017; infographics by Atelier Cho Thompson

The survey also illustrates gender-based inequalities with respect to pay, with men averaging higher earnings at every level of experience than their female counterparts (Pitts, 2017c). This salary gap widens with increased experience such that women with 26 or more years of experience earn approximately \$18,000 less, on average, than their male counterparts. While professional inequality clearly persists within the profession, these statistics identify a problem without providing a clear path forward. Equity, with its focus on plurality and shared success, suggests actionable solutions to the problems at hand. The survey uses two equity-based frameworks to provide insights on architectural careers. “Career Dynamics” denote a number of underlying tensions that persist throughout our professional lives. “Career Pinch Points,” meanwhile, are personal and professional milestones that can hinder career progression or influence employee retention (Fig. 1, Pitts, 2017a). These frameworks shift the focus away from diversity and inclusion as a goal in and of itself, and towards understanding and ultimately solving challenges that many practitioners face, regardless of their personal identity.

When asked about their career perceptions across 14 categories from “work–life flexibility” to “perceived competence” to “firm culture,” male respondents’ average perceptions were more positive than female respondents’ in every category (Fig. 2). There were also areas of work–life that tended to be viewed more positively or negatively by all respondents: average perceptions of autonomy, satisfaction, and confidence tended to be most positive, while respondents’ average perceptions of their firms’ promotion processes, their work–life flexibility, and their workloads were least positive.

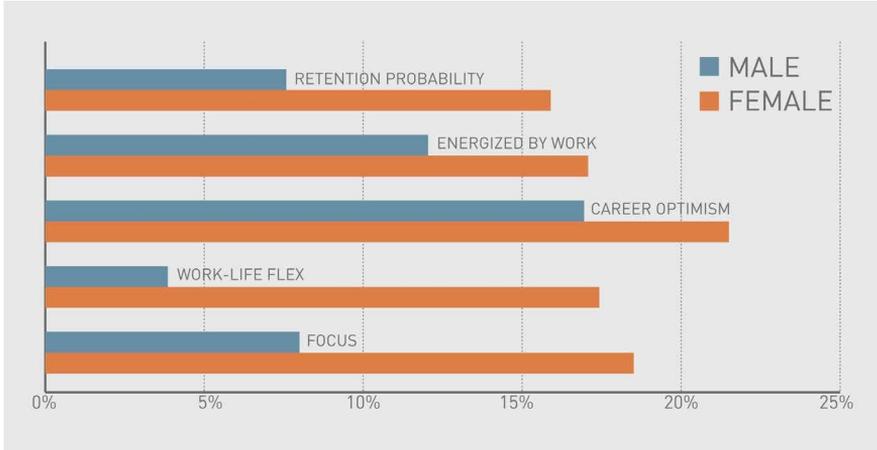


An equity-based framework can also be used to understand Professional Development. Compared to those who received no career guidance, those who turned to a senior leader within their firm were more optimistic about their professional futures, more energized by their work, and more likely to plan to stay at their current job. These positive correlations were stronger for female participants than for males (Fig. 3). Male respondents, however, were more likely than female respondents to report that they had such a mentor. Providing access to senior leaders to all employees, regardless of gender, creates conditions in which employees — and especially women — tend to thrive.

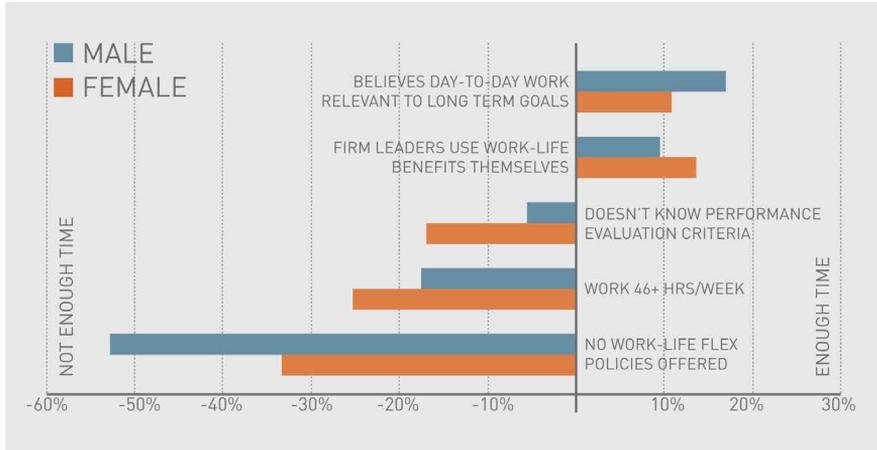
Likewise, the survey indicates that issues of caregiving and work-life flexibility have strong correlations with measures of professional success. Compared with their male counterparts, female respondents tended to report less positive perceptions of their work-life flexibility (fig. 2). The top predictors of whether a respondent reported having enough time to pursue interests outside of work, meanwhile, were consistent for respondents of both genders: whether they believed their day-to-day work was relevant to long-term goals, and whether their firm's leaders used work-life benefits themselves. Meanwhile, not knowing performance evaluation criteria, working more than 46 hours a week, and working in a firm without work-life flex policies were associated with more negative perceptions of work-life for respondents of both genders (Fig. 4).

Traditional measures of equality like the Wage and Leadership Gaps can also be reinterpreted through an equity-based framework. Other than level of experience and job title, the largest predictors of one's salary were whether and to what extent one adopted a flexible schedule. Female respondents who prioritized work-life flexibility or who used certain types of work-life benefits faced heftier financial penalties than men who reported comparable views or used similar programs. As we have shown in a “deep dive” article on this topic, the pay gap must be understood as a complex matrix of forces that produce gendered differences in workers' choice of market sector, occupation, work setting and flexibility. In other words,

➔
Fig. 3
Career
Perceptions:
Receives
Guidance from
Senior Firm
Leader vs. No
Guidance
 Pitts et
 al, 2017;
 infographics
 by Atelier Cho
 Thompson



➔
Fig 4
Top
Correlations:
"I have
enough time
and Energy
for Pursue
my Interests
outside of
Work"
 Pitts et
 al, 2017;
 infographics
 by Atelier Cho
 Thompson



simply saying that we must provide “equal pay for equal work” ignores the fact that gender is deeply entwined with the supposedly neutral criteria by which we value work in the first place (Pitts, 2017).

The Equity in Architecture Survey uses an equity-based framework to demonstrate that the gender- and race-based differences in architectural practitioners’ professional experiences might be better understood as issues of access, openness, and transparency. Those who have access to leadership, are included in their firms’ decision-making processes, work in firms that invest in employee development, and cultivate strong relationships tend to thrive. Positive correlations between career satisfaction and these conditions are stronger in some cases for women and people of color than they are for white men. We

could therefore expect professional satisfaction to increase for all employees, and could expect wage and leadership gaps to narrow, in work environments where these conditions are fostered.

Equity as a Framework for Understanding the Built Environment

Issues of equity in architecture extend well beyond the architectural workplace. The spaces that architects design mediate social relationships, and can either reinforce or challenge existing hierarchies and power structures. For too long, public spaces have perpetuated social injustices by physically manifesting patriarchal power dynamics. As we will see, these spatial injustices often occur in cases in which some conditions of equality are present, but equity has not been achieved. Analyzing a project's impacts on the lives of its end users proves to be critical to understanding where a design solution falls short, and in developing more inclusive alternatives.

In her landmark book on the spatial dynamics of social power, Leslie Kanés Weisman demonstrates the ways in which the dialectical relationship between physical and social space has been leveraged to create a symbolic universe in which the ideologies of the dominant class are normalized to engender “spatial dichotomies” that justify and support the continued dominance of patriarchal society (Weisman, 1992, pp. 10-11). This symbolic universe, she writes, is encoded through a process of dichotomization whereby “classifying people into opposing groups of ‘rich/poor’, ‘white/black’, ‘young/old’, ‘straight/gay’ and ‘male/female’ creates a social system that justifies and supports human exploitation and white male supremacy” (Weisman, 1992, pp. 10-11). These social dichotomies are related to spatial dichotomies at multiple scales – the human body (up/down, right/left), built space (public/private, upstairs/downstairs, front door/back door), and human settlement (city/suburb, commercial/domestic, skyscraper/landscape). Through a dialectical process whereby physical and social space mutually reinforce power relations to construct a symbolic universe, the dominant class is able to make socially constructed inequity appear inevitable to the point of invisibility.

This assertion of cultural hegemony occurs in the built environment in myriad ways. For instance, building codes have been written around normative (i.e. male) notions of physical comfort. In the United States, engineering standards for thermal comfort are based upon the heat output of a man wearing a lightweight suit. Women, who are smaller on average, typically generate less heat, and who tend to wear lighter-weight clothing, are destined to be uncomfortable in these spaces (Lydgate, 2015; Belluck, 2015). By assuming that the typical occupant of an office building is male, these antiquated standards produce a thermal

environment that is likely to be too cold for all occupants, male and female, because the total heat generated by occupants is lower in a mixed gender space than it would be in an environment containing only men. In this way, design assumptions grounded in heterogeneity create an environment that is uncomfortable for all, and especially for those who don't conform to an expected norm. Thermal systems that provide individual users with control, should therefore be considered tools not only for sustainability, but also for equity.

At the scale of built space, bathrooms are among the clearest examples of social hierarchies bleeding into the allocation and design of built space. The traditional apportionment of equal amounts of space, and similar numbers of semi-private stalls within male- and female- designated restrooms ignores research demonstrating that women typically spend more time in the restroom than men (Chemaly, 2016). This equal apportionment of resources therefore results in an inequitable outcome as women are forced to wait in longer lines to use the restroom than their male counterparts, particularly in large assembly or transit spaces such as airports, and stadiums (Weisman, 1992, pp. 35-37). Moreover, the exclusionary practice of installing gender-segregated restrooms can alienate and even endanger the health of transgender, non-binary and gender-nonconforming individuals (Sanders & Stryker, 2016; Pacheco, 2016)

Both public policy and design play a role in promoting equitable access to restrooms. Several cities and public institutions have adopted gender-neutral restroom policies and design standards that accommodate fair access to these public facilities. Designers are part of the solution as well, proposing private, gender-neutral restrooms that are essentially a row of individual toilet stall "rooms" with full doors that open onto a common area where everyone can wash their hands at a row of sinks (Fixsen, 2016).

Systemic spatial inequity extends beyond the scale of the body and the single building, and into the ways in which the public realm operates at an urban scale. Weisman's patterns of dichotomization and territoriality can be observed in the racial and socioeconomic segregation of neighborhoods in American cities like Chicago. With a network of over 20,000 publicly and privately owned surveillance cameras, the City of Chicago's Operation Virtual Shield (OVS) is the nation's most extensive surveillance system (Schwartz, 2013). Operated by the Chicago Police Department, this network of cameras represents former mayor Richard Daley's dream of a "camera on every corner of the city" (Daley, 2006, cited in ACLU Illinois, 2011).

On the one hand, this system might be considered an equalizing force, manifested through a uniform blanket of data collection devices distributed throughout the

metropolitan area. This even distribution of cameras guarantees that the city's occupants are under constant supervision, regardless of race, age, gender, class, or geographic location. While this uniform network of cameras provides equal potential for surveillance over the city's inhabitants, an examination of the system through the lens of equity clearly demonstrates that OVS plays a very different symbolic role in the predominately African American and Latinx communities of the city's South and West Sides than it does in the city's more affluent and predominantly white northern neighborhoods.

On the city's south and west sides, the network's physical manifestation – the cameras themselves – carry with them symbolic ties to a law enforcement system that has come under national scrutiny for its discriminatory practices (US Department of Justice, 2017). In these areas, OVS's core is comprised of a network of Police Observation Devices (PODs) (City of Chicago, 2008). These cameras, which are housed in white boxes emblazoned with the insignia of the Chicago Police Department and topped with flashing blue lights, were first installed on street corners and public spaces with a history of violent crime. These devices have been designed to deter crime, with their prominent symbolism reminding passers-by that a remote police force has them under constant supervision (City of Chicago, 2008). The cameras' placement in locations afflicted by deadly violence symbolically ties police control to a funerary landscape, reminding residents that they are endangered in their own neighborhoods, even as authorities ensure their own safety by engaging in remote surveillance rather than community policing. Given these communities' historically fraught relationships with the police, it's reasonable to assume that these reminders of police surveillance might be unwelcome.

As the OVS program spread from these historically marginalized neighborhoods to other parts of the city, the physical properties and the symbolism of the cameras shifted. Later-generation PODs are more compact, and do not bear police department insignia (City of Chicago, 2008). Shane Shifflet's maps demonstrate that the police department controls many more cameras on the south and west sides than it does in the city's northern neighborhoods (Shifflet, 2011). The balance of the OVS system in the city's majority-white neighborhoods is made up of cameras installed in public amenities and controlled by public service agencies, and of privately owned and operated cameras networked into the city's emergency management system.

While all of Chicago's occupants can theoretically be monitored at any time that they are in public, the physical distribution of cameras as symbols of authority is largely limited to the city's predominantly Black and Latinx neighborhoods. OVS perpetuates Chicago's spatial and social dichotomization as the cameras take on different meanings for the oppressors

and the oppressed. For those of privileged social status, the cameras are associated with social infrastructure and commercial properties, and act as a reassurance that they, and their property, will be kept safe. Meanwhile, for those of inferior status, the cameras serve as a reminder of past violence within their communities, and of ongoing spatial injustice.

Relating Equitable Architectural Workplaces to Equitable Design Outcomes

We have seen that equity is a useful framework for evaluating the architectural workplace, and developing practices that allow practitioners of all backgrounds and identities to thrive within the profession. We have also seen that equity-based analyses of built environments uncover injustices that equality-driven approaches might miss, and that, with equity as a goal, the built environment can be redesigned to support the wellbeing of entire communities. Is it possible that promoting equity within architectural workplaces and designing spaces that promote equity within our communities may be related, and capable of reinforcing one another?

Working on social impact projects may be beneficial for architectural practitioners, and especially for women and people of color. The Equity in Architecture Survey shows that, in addition to being underrepresented within the profession at large, women and people of color are less likely than their white male counterparts to work on social infrastructure project typologies¹. Non-white female practitioners are least likely to work on social infrastructure projects, with 64% of non-white females working on one or more of these project types, compared to 72% of white males. Those who worked on social infrastructure projects were more likely to believe that their day-to-day work was relevant to long-term goals, more likely to report that their work was meaningful and rewarding, and more likely to plan to stay in their current position for the next year, than those who worked on other project types (Pitts et al, 2017). These positive correlations were more pronounced for women and people of color than they were for white men. It's possible, therefore, that providing more social infrastructure project opportunities to women and people of color could lead to increased retention amongst these groups, resulting in greater diversity within the profession.

More diverse project teams, meanwhile, may be better equipped to address equity issues in the built environment. According to Weisman, female designers tend to be better equipped to recognize the social dimensions of architectural work (1992, p. 29). This

¹ For the purposes of our analysis, social infrastructure projects include the following: cultural, healthcare, higher education, K-12 education, justice, recreational, transportation, and government.

awareness, she writes, “enables all of us, including architects, to evaluate and transform existing buildings more successfully and to propose other, more inclusive solutions” (Weisman 1992, p. 35). This cognitive diversity is essential to a team’s ability to recognize and respond to complex issues like the social dimensions of architectural design. Stanford’s business school faculty argues that, based upon their collective research, diverse teams are more creative, and “Diversity among employees can create better performance when it comes to out-of-the-ordinary creative tasks” (Stanford GSB Staff, 1999). Meanwhile, another study (Phillips, 2003, cited in Rock and Grant, 2016) suggests that diverse teams are more likely to recognize facts, especially if these facts are presented by a minority member of the group. More research is needed on this topic as it relates specifically to architecture. The Board of Directors of American Institute of Architects recently adopted recommendations of the Equity in Architecture Commission, including a mandate to conduct academic research on the role that equity, diversity, and inclusion within project teams plays in the generation of projects that promote social equity (Rice, 2016, p. 15). The hope is that this research will provide a definitive social, design, and business case for equity within the architectural profession.

Conclusion: Equity as Benchmark for Professional Value

The architectural profession continues to overlook equity (within our workplaces and in our approach to the development of social infrastructure) at our own peril. By failing to create workplaces where all professionals are able to thrive, we lose talent. Equitable workplace conditions (access to firm leaders for mentoring and feedback, inclusion in a firm’s decision-making process, alignment of values between employer and employee, work assignments that are meaningful and relevant to one’s goals, policies and a culture that fosters work-life flexibility) are the greatest predictors of professional satisfaction, and of one’s intention to stay in a job. These conditions should be extended to all practitioners.

By failing to address the social impacts of our work in the built environment, we are complicit in the perpetuation of longstanding inequities. As Weisman argues, architects are culpable in the perpetuation of these injustices, as “our collective failure to acknowledge how buildings are designed and used to support the social purposes they are meant to serve (including the maintenance of social inequality) guarantees that we will never do anything to change discriminatory design” (Weisman, 1992, p. 35).

By failing to create equitable, diverse, and inclusive design teams and processes, we restrict the cognitive diversity of our design teams, and limit our ability to solve these complex design challenges. Equity within the architectural workplace and the architectural community’s ability to work effectively towards social justice in the built environment go hand-in-hand.

Finally, by failing to advocate for equity within our communities, we lose an important opportunity to articulate our profession's unique value to society. By capitalizing on the ties between equitable practices in the architectural workplace and socially equitable outcomes within the communities impacted by construction projects, architects will be able to articulate a new value proposition for our field: We work, not just for our clients, but for the communities that we serve (and especially for those who aren't included in the decision-making process). Our ability to empathize with, and advocate for, underserved populations is one of our greatest assets as professionals. We need to model this behavior within our firms, our professional organizations, and in our work in the public realm.

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Architectencollectief in Charkov, 1933; geheel rechts Lotte Stam-Beese

HET LEVEN VAN ARCHITECTE LOTTE S



ENTRE LA UTOPIA Y LA REALIDAD: LAS ESTUDIANTES DE ARQUITECTURA EN LA BAUHAUS (1919-1933).

EL OBJETO Y LA EXPERIENCIA TOTAL DEL ESPACIO



Fig. 1
Lotte Stam-
Beese,
fotografía
publicada en
Handelsblad
el 24 de
febrero de
1959
Conservada
en el
Bauhaus
Archiv Berlin

Fig. 2
Wera Meyer-
Waldeck
Bauhaus
Archiv Berlin,
carpeta 1,
Inv. Nº 11467

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Abstract

La singular experiencia de las mujeres que estudiaron en la célebre escuela de la Bauhaus (1919-1933) ofrece un inaudito análisis del rol global de una generación de arquitectas, diseñadoras y artistas pioneras a principios de un siglo tan insólito como fue el XX. Esta situación se torna aún más impactante cuando nos centramos en su formación en arquitectura ya que, recordemos, el propio fundador Walter Gropius (1883-1969) escribiría el 23 de febrero de 1921 en una carta dirigida a Annie Weil: “*nos manifestamos en contra de la formación de arquitectas*”. Algo sorprendente para una escuela que tenía vocación de arquitectura y cuyo alumnado femenino, en algunos cursos, representaría el cincuenta por ciento del total del alumnado. Sería pues en estos dos asuntos –mujer y arquitectura- en los que la escuela se manifestaría de un modo más contradictorio.

Sin embargo, a partir del estudio de los documentos originales inventariados en el *Bauhaus-Archiv Museum für Gestaltung* de Berlín y en la documentación de la secretaría conservada en microfichas en el *Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv* de Weimar, podemos confirmar en arquitectura la presencia femenina de un grupo de estudiantes como Hilde Friedmann, Wera Gäbler, Hilde Reiss, Lore Hesselbach, Susanne Leppien, Ricarda Schwerin, Margot Loewe, Maria Müller, Edih Rindler, Eva Lilly Lewin o Bella Ullmann. Algunas de ellas reconocidas hoy internacionalmente por su labor en arquitectura.

Keywords

Bauhaus, women, architecture, object, design

Pocas mujeres en la historia del arte han experimentado una condición tan singular como las estudiantes femeninas de la Bauhaus (1919-1933). Esta célebre escuela, pionera en aspectos artísticos, plásticos y sociales que definirían las prácticas más innovadoras en el arte del pasado siglo XX y del actual, gestionó la presencia de su alumnado femenino a través

de una singular política de género. Eran admitidas oficialmente, lo que les permitía formarse como profesionales, pero sufrieron a la vez las contradicciones más rotundas tanto en su ingreso como en su orientación académica. Esta política de género es tema central en publicaciones internacionales como las de Anja Baumhoff titulada *The Gendered World of Bauhaus* (2001) o abordadas en la parte inicial de la publicación en castellano *Otra mirada: Las fotografías de la Bauhaus*, donde se afronta la política de admisión con respecto al género y la presencia femenina general en la escuela, al igual que su entorno en los años veinte (Vadillo, 2010). En este ámbito particular de la arquitectura fue donde la escuela se mostró con más desconfianza y prejuicios hacia la capacidad de las mujeres, una de las realidades en las que la escuela no estuvo a la altura de las circunstancias. Podríamos destacar tres motivos principales que propiciaron este fenómeno. En primer lugar, el Consejo de Maestros vinculó mayoritariamente y a partir del *Vorkurs* (curso semestral preliminar para acceder a la Bauhaus) a las alumnas con el Taller de Tejido. Por otro lado, la situación de la arquitectura como asignatura dentro de los planes de estudio oficiales fue compleja y no sería hasta la llegada de Hannes Meyer (1889-1954) a la dirección del centro en 1928 cuando la Sección de Arquitectura se sistematizó como enseñanza oficial. Por último, no olvidemos el entorno que rodeó a la Bauhaus. Emilie Winkelmann (1875-1951) está considerada como la primera mujer de la historia de Alemania en estudiar arquitectura, y trabajar como arquitecta *free-lance*. Asistió a la Universidad de Hannover entre 1902 y 1906 donde se matriculó como 'oyente invitada' al Taller I de Arquitectura. Tras Winkelmann, en 1908 estudiaron arquitectura un total de dos mujeres, en 1915 lo hicieron veintiuna y en 1917 lo hicieron cuarenta en toda Alemania. Hasta la llegada de la República de Weimar y la Bauhaus en 1919, la presencia de la mujer en las escuelas de arquitectura siguió una pequeña y mínima progresión aritmética (Dörhofer, 2004).

Así, Winkelmann no fue una excepción, con ella se dio la primera generación de arquitectas que fueron inmediatamente precedentes y coetáneas a las diseñadoras, artistas y arquitectas que se formaron en la Bauhaus. Este grupo de mujeres, que destacó en diferentes ámbitos de la arquitectura, estaba ya en activo en la década de 1920. Supieron aplicar una mirada profesional como mujeres a la construcción, lo que supuso un hecho revolucionario. Ese fue el caso de Marie Elisabeth Lüders (1878-1966) quien aplicó soluciones profesionales y racionales al espacio del hogar, pensando en las tareas y labores cotidianas que las mujeres tenían asignadas tradicionalmente en ese momento. También destacarían Margarete Knüppelholz-Roeser (1886-1949), Gertrud Lincke (?-?), Marlene Poelzig (1894-1985), Ella Briggs (1880-1977), Gretel Norkauer (1892-1972) o Paula

Maria Cantal (1907-1987). Entre ellas, una clara influencia para la producción de la Bauhaus fue Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky (1897-2000) quien había estudiado arquitectura entre 1915 y 1918. Ella redefinió su famosa y moderna cocina de 1927 conocida como *Frankfurter Küche*, presentada en la muestra de Frankfurt que trataba la vivienda y su decoración interior bajo el título de *Die Wohnung und ihr Innenausbau*.

La arquitectura y los experimentos innecesarios

Con estos condicionantes y a partir del estudio personal realizado de los documentos originales inventariados en el *Bauhaus-Archiv Museum für Gestaltung* de Berlín completado con la documentación de la secretaría conservada en microfichas en el *Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv* de Weimar, podemos confirmar la presencia de mujeres en arquitectura en un grupo de estudiantes como Hilde Friedmann, Wera Gäbler, Hilde Reiss, Lore Hesselbach, Susanne Leppien, Ricarda Schwerin, Margot Loewe, Maria Müller, Edih Rindler, Eva Lilly Lewin o Bella Ullmann. A pesar de que, como sabemos, el mismo Gropius consideraba su formación como tal “experimentos innecesarios” (Vadillo, 2013).

De entre todas ellas, destacarían por sus trayectorias profesionales figuras como Lotte Stam-Beese (1903-1988) quien ya en 1929 trabajó para un despacho de arquitectura de Hannes Meyer y Hans Wittwer en Berlín donde desarrolló una trayectoria destacable en este campo (Fig. 1); Wera Meyer-Waldeck (1903-1988) se reveló como una excelente arquitecta y diseñadora industrial (Fig. 2); Annemarie Mauck-Wilke (1906-1996) diseñó mobiliario y arquitectura unifamiliar a lo largo de su vida (Fig. 3); sin olvidar a Gerda Marx (1909-2000) que a principios de la década de los treinta trabajaría con Johann Niegemann en un despacho de arquitectura en Königsberg o a la arquitecta Lotte Collein (1905-1995) quien llegaría a trabajar entre 1952 y 1954 para el Ministerio de Vivienda de la DDR en Berlín, entre otras autoras.

Entre el alumnado femenino, destacó Wera Meyer-Waldeck quien tras su experiencia en el Taller de Mobiliario estuvo durante el sexto semestre entre 1929 y 1930 colaborando con una oficina de arquitectura en el proyecto de Meyer de la *Bundesschule des allgemeinen deutschen gewerkschaftsbundes* en Bernau. Tras retomar su formación en la Bauhaus dentro de la Sección de Acabados y Decoración (anterior Mobiliario) en 1931 inició su formación en arquitectura con Hilberseimer, Engemann, Dürckheim. También se formó en el área de pintura mural con Scheper en 1932. Para la obtención de su diploma Bauhaus, desarrolló como trabajo un prototipo para una escuela de primaria y un hospital infantil para sesenta niños, como proyecto de la Fundación-Junkers en Dessau.

Junto a estudiantes como ella que llegaban a la Sección de Acabados y Decoración desde el

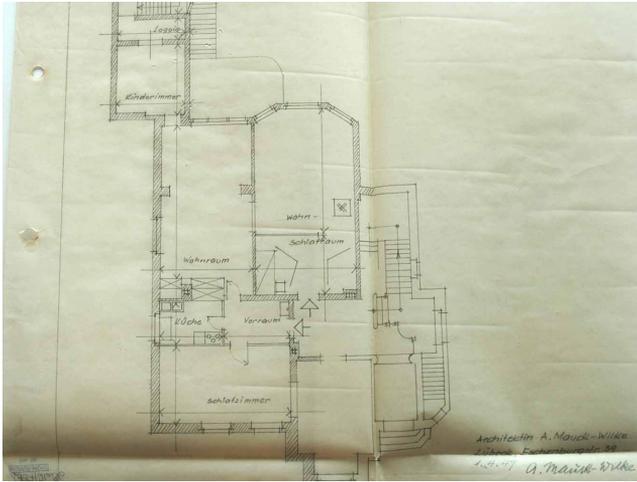


Fig. 3
Annemarie
Mauck
 Bauhaus Archiv
 Berlín, carpeta
 6, Inv. Nº
 1997/26.82

1931-1937 en la brigada de Ernst May en *Magnitogorsk*, después trabajó en un despacho de arquitectura en *Ámsterdam*” (Maasberg and Prinz, p. 43).

Entre el espacio y el objeto

A todas ellas deberíamos sumar un importante conjunto de estudiantes que no se formaron ni actuaron como arquitectas puras pero sí desarrollaron una labor profesional de impacto a través de su labor como diseñadoras de interiores. Ellas operaron en este ámbito de creación y percepción de espacio con sus intervenciones en interior o en el desarrollo de objetos.

Así, por ejemplo, destacaría por su formación en pintura mural Lou Schepers-Berkenkamp (1901-1976) quien colaboraría con el prestigioso arquitecto Hans Scharoun (1893-1972) en la famosa Filarmónica de Berlín *Berliner Philharmoniker* o con Gropius en su *Gropius-Stadt*, al intervenir en la escuela de la barriada. No olvidemos la presencia de alumnado en Pintura Mural, donde tendríamos a Elisabeth Abegg (1896-1944) quien firmó su contrato de aprendizaje para el taller con validez desde el 6 de octubre de 1919 al 5 de octubre de 1922, aunque el 8 de agosto de 1921 abandonó la escuela; o bien Ruth Mildegard Raack (1894-1975), quien lo firmó desde el 1 de junio de 1920 a la misma fecha de 1923. Una asignatura claramente orientada a la arquitectura, no a la decoración plástica. La pintura mural para la Bauhaus se entendía como diseño cromático de elementos arquitectónicos interiores y exteriores, como espacio. No olvidemos que la aproximación a la arquitectura se daría incluso al margen de la vivienda unifamiliar,

Taller de Mobiliario, tenemos a alumnas que desarrollaron su formación exclusivamente en la nueva línea docente que supuso la Sección de Construcción y Acabados implantada durante los últimos años de la sede de la escuela en Dessau. Entre ellas, Gerda Marx (también conocida como Gerda Marx-Niegemann o Gerda Bijhouwer). En 1930 estuvo inscrita un semestre en esta sección, tras lo que inmediatamente después “trabajó junto a Johann Niegemann en un despacho de arquitectura en *Königsberg*, estuvo empleada entre

desarrollándola en el ámbito específico del cine y teatro con la labor de autoras como la escenógrafa Ilse Fehling (1896-1982), también formada en la Bauhaus.

En este sentido, no podríamos ignorar que la mayoría de las diseñadoras textiles que formaron en la escuela estaban igualmente vinculadas a la arquitectura y al espacio interior (Vadillo, 2016). Aquí destacarían autoras como Gunta Stölzl (1897-1983), Anni Albers (1899-1994) o Margarete Leischner (1907-1970). Para ellas, los objetos textiles como tapices, tejidos mobiliarios o moquetas respondían a una visión global de la arquitectura en la que estos objetos estaban pensados para interactuar con el espacio arquitectónico, como una unidad total; todos sus productos estaban ligados a estos principios fundamentales que centraban al ser humano y la vivienda. Esto se debió a una amplia formación en teoría de la forma, del color, a la investigación material, a la influencia de aspectos como la sinestesia o conceptos fundamentales como la polifonía formal en composición, planteada en las clases de Paul Klee (1879-1940). En, definitiva, en palabras de Scheper-Berkenkamp “el ABC formal fue concebir y tratar el espacio como espacio, la línea como línea, la superficie como superficie; en sus atributos elementales. Fue también una serie de leyes: leyes de color, de forma, de ritmos” Lou Scheper (1985, p. 114). Todas ellas estuvieron vinculadas al objeto y al espacio unifamiliar, contemplando una visión global, cien por cien Bauhaus. Por tanto podríamos confirmar la experiencia total de la arquitectura desde tres ámbitos: la creación arquitectónica, el diseño interior y el objeto.

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LA ENSEÑANZA DEL PROYECTO ARQUITECTÓNICO CON PERSPECTIVA DE GÉNERO EN ARGENTINA

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Resumen

Esta presentación intenta construir una reflexión sobre la presencia o ausencia de docentes y profesoras mujeres en los talleres de Arquitectura o Diseño, en las carreras de Arquitectura en las Universidades Públicas. ¿Por qué es significativa la presencia o ausencia de mujeres arquitectas en estos roles? El taller de Arquitectura o Proyecto, como se le denomina en diferentes unidades académicas, es el espacio de enseñanza-aprendizaje que estructura y construye el perfil profesional del arquitecto/a, diríamos que es el espacio fundante. La perspectiva de género, dentro de este espacio, se constituye en el garante de la construcción de un proceso crítico, que permite avanzar hacia la construcción de la ciudad y su arquitectura involucrando en sus procesos de conformación a la mayor parte de agentes y personas usuarias, introduciendo pluralidad de visiones. La ciudad es la materialización de los valores de una sociedad, interpretados hasta ahora por una visión androcéntrica. Por eso es que este trabajo reflexiona sobre la presencia de mujeres, en los talleres de proyecto y específicamente en los cargos de profesores titulares o catedráticos en las universidades argentinas, profundizando el estudio, a nivel estadístico como muestra, el caso de la Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata y la Facultad de Arquitectura Diseño y Urbanismo de la Universidad de Buenos Aires.

Palabras Clave

Educación, Proyecto, Roles de género, Arquitectura

Introducción

El género es la forma social que adopta cada sexo, toda vez que se le adjudican connotaciones específicas de valores, funciones y normas, o lo que se llama también, no muy felizmente, roles sociales (Aquino, 1992, p.67).

El trabajo de recolección de datos sobre las mujeres docentes en el área de Arquitectura se inició con el análisis de las estadísticas del sistema de incentivos nacional el cual expresa que: el 50% de investigadores de categoría I y II en arquitectura son mujeres, de las cuales 19 son doctoras de un total de 80 doctores dentro del sistema, y solo ocupan cargos de profesorado titular de proyecto entre el 5% y el 12 %, compartiendo el espacio dentro de equipos mixtos. En los cargos de profesorado adjunto el porcentaje sube hasta el 20 % del total de la plantilla. Esto muestra que, si bien las mujeres participan a nivel de investigación de manera par a los hombres, en el área específica de proyecto falta mucho camino por andar.

Los números muestran una realidad poco visible hasta ahora: la falta de mujeres en el nivel de construcción de las propuestas de enseñanza-aprendizaje de la carrera de Arquitectura. Esto significa la imposibilidad de acceder a la construcción de la propuesta pedagógica de la cátedra, ya que es el profesor titular quien, a partir de contenidos genéricos del plan de estudio, plantea “*qué, cómo y desde qué teorías*” el alumnado aprende a hacer arquitectura en todas sus escalas.

Es de interés de esta presentación poder hacer un breve recorrido histórico que de alguna manera explique la imposibilidad de ocupar ciertos roles que a principios del siglo XX eran solo ocupados por los hombres. En el 1377 un decreto de la Universidad de Bolonia decía:

Ya que la mujer es la razón primera del pecado, el arma del demonio, la causa de la expulsión del hombre del paraíso y de la destrucción de la antigua ley, y ya que en consecuencia hay que evitar todo comercio con ella, defendemos y prohibimos expresamente que cualquiera se permita introducir una mujer, cualquiera que ella sea, aunque sea la más honesta en esta universidad.

Casi 600 años después, al inicio del siglo XX, por una cuestión político-legal en la República de Weimar, se escribe en los documentos de la Bauhaus que:

[...] se admiten dentro de los límites del espacio disponible, todas las personas no inhabilitadas, sin distinción de edad o sexo y cuya preparación cultural sea considerada como suficiente por el consejo de Maestros de la Bauhaus [...] Abril 1919, el Director. Hervás y Heras (2014, p.16).

A partir de estas dos citas, que marcan dos momentos históricos y las ideologías ligadas a la educación superior, se planteará un panorama sintético del rol de las mujeres en la educación superior en Argentina señalando su acceso y desarrollo en la Universidad de Buenos Aires. Esta universidad ha servido de modelo para el desarrollo de las otras universidades nacionales y, aún hoy, se constituye en un referente nacional y latinoamericano.

A partir de la promulgación de la Ley de Educación Común en 1884, aprobada por Sarmiento con el objetivo de la conformación Nacional y la construcción de una identidad homogénea sobre determinados valores, la primera mujer egresada de la Universidad de Buenos Aires en 1889, Cecilia Grierson, de la carrera de medicina. Porque, como dice la profesora María Clementina González en su artículo *Las primeras mujeres en la UBA*:

Las primeras universitarias egresadas de la Universidad fueron médicas. Tal vez porque la medicina y la enseñanza impartida en las escuelas normales para la formación de maestras constituyeron las dos orientaciones “naturales” donde las mujeres desarrollarían su vocación (2011, p.1).

En el ámbito específico de la Arquitectura, los primeros cursos en el país datan de mitades del siglo XIX en la Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA) y la Universidad de Córdoba. Los mismos se encuentran en las Facultades de Ciencias exactas. En 1880 se recibirá el primer grupo de arquitectos varones, y se deberá esperar hasta 1929 cuando por primera vez, se da el título de arquitecto a una mujer, Filandia Elisa Pizzul¹. Como nota aparte, se deberá esperar hasta mediados de los años 80, para que el título profesional represente el género del egresado ARQUITECTO/ ARQUITECTA. En 1904, por Ley Nacional, se cierra la matrícula de Arquitectos exclusivamente a los profesionales diplomados en las Universidades, lo que significa la habilitación profesional, para el poseedor del título de ARQUITECTO, independientemente del género. Se reglamenta en 1944, dándole solamente a las universidades la potestad de otorgar dicho título y de fijar incumbencias profesionales al título habilitante como “arquitecto”.

La década de 1930 en Argentina será una década de vital importancia para el feminismo porque lograrán, junto con distintas agrupaciones tanto socialistas como liberales, mantener los derechos civiles logrados en 1926 y trabajar para la obtención del voto femenino en 1947. En la década del 1960 las carreras de arquitectura construyen su propio contexto consolidándose como facultades, ello es en la UBA y la UNLP (Universidad Nacional de La Plata). Tomaremos estas universidades como muestra para verificar las estadísticas generales enunciadas al inicio de este trabajo. En ambas universidades solo una mujer accedió al cargo de Decana en la FADU-UBA (Facultad de Arquitectura, Diseño y Urbanismo) y a Vicedecana en la FAU-UNLP (Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo).

Estudios sobre las estadísticas

Se presenta una serie de cuadros con datos estadísticos sobre la Facultad de Arquitectura Diseño y Urbanismo de la Universidad de Buenos Aires (FADU-UBA) y de la Facultad de

¹ Datos de la Secretaría de Políticas Universitarias generales del 2011.

Arquitectura y Urbanismo de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata (FAU-UNLP), haciendo referencia al ingreso a la universidad en este siglo, como así también a la relación de género en los cargos de menor y mayor jerarquía en las carreras de arquitectura. Se vuelcan las estadísticas de alumnado, dividido por sexos, los números totales del equipo docente, los docentes por cargo y distribución por sexos y, por último, los datos de área específica del taller de arquitectura o diseño, como se denomina en las dos universidades estudiadas. Algunos números demuestran la inclusión de las mujeres como profesoras en algunas áreas y la ausencia de ellas en otras, dentro de la misma carrera. Se toman tres períodos, los años 1990, donde se supone que la democracia ha permitido el ingreso equilibrado a la carrera, los primeros años del siglo XXI y el período 2011-2016.

Las siguientes tablas muestran datos relativos al acceso a la Universidad en la UBA y en la UNLP según los datos de la Secretaría de Políticas Universitarias (Tabla 1)², los datos generales de alumnado y profesorado de la FADU-UBA (Tabla 2)³ y los datos relativos al profesorado del taller vertical de Proyecto FADU-UBA (Tabla 3)⁴.

Estos números permiten reflexionar sobre varias dimensiones:

1. En 70 años, desde que la carrera de arquitectura se independiza de los departamentos de Ciencias Exactas y es autónoma, tiene un sistema de ingreso que va desde la selección a través de exámenes de ingreso al ingreso irrestricto con sistemas de nivelación en la UBA que demuestran que a partir de la democracia el ingreso es equilibrado entre ambos sexos. Hay que tener en cuenta que los datos de la UBA no están desagregados por carreras y se consideran carreras como diseño de indumentaria y textil que es frecuentada por un 80 % de mujeres y esto puede desdibujar los números. A pesar de ello, los informes estadísticos elaborados por la universidad describen que de media el 55% del alumnado de la carrera de arquitectura es masculino.
2. Los datos presentados con respecto al cuerpo docente sin discriminar las áreas de actuación muestran una participación de las mujeres en los cargos de liderazgo, es decir de profesoras, con un 30% con respecto al 70% que ocupan los hombres. Cuando pasamos a los cargos de menor jerarquía los datos se equilibran.
3. Cuando analizamos los datos respectivos al área de proyecto, es decir del Taller Vertical de Arquitectura o Diseño, materia troncal de la carrera, notamos casi la ausencia total de las mujeres, en los cargos de profesor titular. Este es el cargo más alto en la

² Las tablas se han realizado con la documentación pública que produce la Universidad de Buenos Aires puesta a disposición online en el siguiente sitio: www.uba.ar/institucional/censos/

³ Los datos con los que se elaboró esta tabla son los presentes en la página web de la FADU-UBA de los talleres verticales de Arquitectura <http://www.fadu.uba.ar/post/341-49-arquitectura-i>

⁴ Los datos con los que se elaboró esta tabla son los presentes en la página de la FADU-UBA de los talleres verticales de Arquitectura <http://www.fadu.uba.ar/post/341-49-arquitectura-i>

Tabla 1
Estudiantes por universidades Elaboración propia

Sistema	Totales	Estudiantes		%	Total	Egresados		%
		Varones	Mujeres			Varones	Mujeres	
totales	1.808.415	614.241	827.600	57,4	73.442	28.782	44.660	60,8
UBA	351.200	139.150	212.050	60,3	18.124	6.611	11.513	63,5
UNLP	108.934	48.694	60.240	55,2	5870	2.118	3.752	63,9

Tabla 2
Datos generales de la FADU-UBA Elaboración propia

Alumnado							
Año	Alumnos Varones	%	Alumnas Mujeres	%	Total		
1992	6483	52,7	5828	47,3	12311		
2004	13000	55	10800	45	23800		
2011	10000	40	15000	60	25000		
Cuerpo docente total							
Año	Varones	%	Mujeres	%	Total		
1992	947	62	564	38	1511		
2004	1554	53	1377	47	2931		
2011	1129	53	977	47	2106		
Cuerpo docente discriminado por cargo y sexo							
Año	Profesores			Auxiliares			Total
	Varones	Mujeres	%	Varones	Mujeres	%	
1992	388	170	30	559	394	41	1511
2004	437	217	33	1048	1103	51	2931
2011	288	168	36	780	786	50,1	2106

Tabla 3
Datos del taller de Proyectos de la FADU-UBA Elaboración propia

Profesores de taller en el año 2016					
Categoría	Varones	Mujeres	%	Total	
Profesor titular	31	1	3	32	
Profesor adj	32	8	20	40	
Auxiliares de taller de proyecto año 2016					
Categoría	Varones	Mujeres	%	Total	
Auxiliares	230	104	31	334	

Argentina, equiparable al Catedrático de España o al de profesor de I Fascia de Italia, que solo tiene una presencia del 3% de mujeres, considerando que la única mujer que ejerce este cargo en la UBA es interina por la jubilación del titular de Cátedra. Otro caso es una profesora adjunta que ocupa ese cargo en el Taller desde 1985 y que accede al cargo de

profesor titular en la cátedra de morfología en la carrera de Diseño de Indumentaria y Textil de la misma Universidad.

4. Cuando se analiza el cuadro de los auxiliares docentes del área específica notamos que, si bien a nivel de las estadísticas de la Universidad las mujeres ocupan el 50% de los cargos, cuando se pasa a analizar el área del taller de Arquitectura o Diseño, las mujeres llegan a ocupar el 31%.

En el caso de La Plata, a nivel general de la Universidad las estadísticas públicas no muestran datos desagregados por sexos. Ni del cuerpo docente, ni del alumnado (Tabla 4)⁵. Como datos desagregados de los periodos referentes tenemos los datos de egreso por sexos (Tabla 5).

A continuación, se presentan los datos de docentes del Taller de Proyectos (Tabla 6):

La primera lectura de los datos estadísticos es que su construcción es diferente a los de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, lo que dificulta la comparación. Pero sí podemos deducir una serie de conclusiones:

1. La falta de desagregación de los datos por sexos muestra una postura ante este tema específico.
2. Los datos obtenidos a nivel general muestran el equilibrio entre ambos sexos del número de egresados, que se puede relacionar con el acceso a la carrera docente dentro del taller de Arquitectura notándose un leve crecimiento en el egreso de las mujeres con respecto a los varones.
3. Si bien los datos del taller en valores absolutos muestran una repartición equilibrada, cuando analizamos los valores desagregados por cargo vemos la gran diferencia que hay entre los cargos de mayor jerarquía, ocupados por los varones, y la poca presencia de mujeres a cargo de los talleres de Arquitectura.

Análisis de estadísticas de cargos jerárquicos

Datos de la Secretaría de Políticas Universitarias

A continuación, se presentan los datos de la Secretaría de Políticas Universitarias del Ministerio de Ciencia y Tecnología (MINCYT), del año 2014, sobre el número y la proporción de hombres y mujeres que ocupan las categorías más altas de Investigación en Arquitectura de ambas instituciones (Tabla 7).

⁵ Las tablas se han realizado con la documentación pública que produce la Universidad Nacional de La Plata puesta a disposición online en el siguiente sitio: www.unlp.edu.ar/institucional/censos/

Tabla
Datos generales de la FAU-UNLP Elaboración propia

	1996	2006	2011
Docentes	-	938	1042
Alumnos	4600	5850	7668

Tabla 5
Egresados FAU-UNLP Elaboración propia

	1996	2006	%	2013	%
Varones	-	133	52	141	48
Mujeres	-	123	48	153	52

Tabla 6 Elaboración propia

Categoría	Varones	Mujeres	%	Total
Docentes de taller en valores absolutos				
Docentes	133	98	42	231
Profesores de taller en el año 2016				
Profesor titular	21	3	12,5	24
Profesor adj	10	2	16,6	12
Auxiliares de taller de proyecto año 2016				
Jtp	20	13	40	33
Auxiliares	82	80	49	162

Para analizar estos datos, se debe considerar que en el total de la UBA están incluidas carreras como diseño de Indumentaria y textil donde las mujeres tienen más acceso. Los datos de mayores categorías en el ámbito de la investigación demuestran un mayor ingreso por parte de los varones, pero con una tendencia a equilibrarse. Es decir que la carrera de investigación en el área de la carrera de arquitectura ha tenido un ingreso equilibrado y una carrera ecua.

Cargos totales a nivel sistema Universitario Público

Los siguientes cuadros muestran cómo los cargos de mayor jerarquía y dedicación siguen siendo mayoritariamente ocupados por hombres y sólo en los cargos de menor jerarquía, es decir en el cuerpo de auxiliares las mujeres superan a los hombres (Tablas 8 y 9)⁶.

⁶ Las tablas se han realizado con la documentación pública que produce la Secretaría de Políticas Universitarias, Ministerio de Educación de la Nación Argentina (SPU 2016) disponibles en <http://estadisticasuniversitarias.me.gov.ar/#/home>

Tabla 7
Comparativa por sexos en la carrera de Investigación en Arquitectura Elaboración propia

Institución	Categoría de investigación arquitectura					
	I			II		
	varones	mujeres	%	varones	mujeres	%
Total del sistema	50	49	50	64	93	60
FADU-UBA	13	9	40	12	22	64
FAU-UNLP	6	4	40	9	4	31

Tabla 8
Cargos por categoría y género Elaboración propia

	Total	Mujeres	%	Varones	%
Total	185.503	93.428	50,4	92.075	49,6
Total exclusiva	20.355	11.099	54,5	9.256	45,5
Titular	4.702	2.068	44,0	2.634	56,0
Asociado	2.166	1.121	51,8	1.045	48,2
Adjunto	6.570	3.683	56,1	2.887	43,9
Jtp	4.901	3.007	61,4	1.894	38,6
Ayudante de 1°	2.016	1.220	60,5	796	39,5
Total semi-exclusiva	30.461	15.889	52,2	14.572	47,8
Titular	4.281	1.728	40,4	2.553	59,6
Asociado	1.114	460	41,3	654	58,7
Adjunto	7.829	3.921	50,1	3.908	49,9
Jtp	11.226	6.309	56,2	4.917	43,8
Ayudante de 1°	6.011	3.471	57,7	2.540	42,3
Total simple	105.992	46.324	44,8	57.005	55,2
Titular	8.084	2.663	32,9	5.421	67,1
Asociado	2.883	847	29,4	2.036	70,6
Adjunto	22.068	8.887	40,3	13.181	59,7
Jtp	27.674	13.561	49,0	14.113	51,0
Ayudante de 1°	34.371	18.291	53,2	16.080	46,8
Ayudante de 2°	10.912	4.738	43,4	6.174	56,6
Total otros	5.806	2.857	49,2	2.949	50,8
Total Preuniversitario	22.889	14.596	63,8	8.293	36,2

Lecturas preliminares

El enfoque de género resulta profundamente cuestionador de las relaciones de poder, de la cultura del poder desde lo político hasta lo privado, al punto tal que desnuda sin miramientos el carácter político de las relaciones que se desarrollan en el mundo privado y supuestamente no político. De ahí que su consideración, su enfoque crítico, sus

Tabla 9
Cargos de gobierno de las Universidades Nacionales por género Elaboración propia

Intitución	Total		total		Rector		Vicerrector		Sec. univ		Decano		Vice decano		Sec. Fac		Otros	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
TOTAL	1333	1996	743	1242	5	36	10	24	117	265	70	193	59	82	354	508	128	134
Buenos Aires	128	239	52	98	-	1	-	-	1	13	1	12	3	2	25	35	22	35
Catamarca	29	26	29	25	-	1	1	-	4	3	2	4	3	3	19	14	-	-
Centro	32	45	32	44	-	1	-	1	4	5	2	8	4	5	18	18	4	6
Chaco Austral	2	5	2	5	-	1	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chilecito	-	7	-	7	-	1	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Comahue	30	36	21	24	1	-	-	1	3	5	4	-	-	-	13	12	-	-
Córdoba	39	59	28	34	1	-	1	-	1	3	5	6	4	4	16	22	-	-
Cuyo	38	51	12	22	-	1	-	1	6	4	3	85	2	3	1	5	-	-
Entre Ríos	33	48	13	18	-	1	1	-	2	5	4	5	1	2	5	5	-	-
Formosa	8	28	7	28	-	1	-	1	2	4	-	4	-	3	4	13	1	2
Gral. Sarmiento	2	11	2	11	-	1	-	1	1	4	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	2
Jujuy	16	12	15	12	-	1	1	-	5	2	--	4	2	2	7	3	-	-
La Matanza	14	48	12	37	-	1	-	1	4	20	-	6	1	3	7	6	-	-
La Pampa	17	27	16	27	-	1	-	1	6	5	1	5	2	4	7	11	-	-
La Plata	114	127	81	85	-	1	-	1	3	6	3	8	5	4	14	21	56	44

planteamientos y sus propuestas resultan indispensables en todo debate o proyección política encaminada a una transformación del poder en el sentido de democratizarlo, de humanizarlo, de ponerlo al servicio de la sociedad, es decir, de los hombres y las mujeres que le dan cuerpo y alma (Rauber, 1998, p.5).

En primer lugar, se quiere hacer notar como la construcción, elaboración y comunicación de los datos por parte de las universidades son distintas aun siendo las dos públicas, por lo que no se puede hacer una clara comparación de los datos publicados. La cuestión de género, es decir, la presentación de datos estadísticos desagregados numéricamente en los diferentes claustros de la universidad, no son prioritarios. De la misma manera, la Secretaría de Políticas Universitarias no publica datos desagregados, solo números totales (se ha podido desagregar por sexos ya que la lista de evaluadores se publica con nombre y apellido y de ello se puede individuar el sexo).

De los datos obtenidos en la UBA se puede hacer una primera lectura donde el total de los profesores se divide en ambos sexos de forma equilibrada. Es decir, que el acceso a la carrera académica dentro de la misma y específicamente en las Facultades de Arquitectura de

ambas Universidades no pareciera discriminar por género, siendo coherente con el ingreso de los estudiantes y la proporción de egreso entre los géneros. No es así en los cargos jerárquicos que, como vemos en el cuadro de la página anterior (Tabla 8), muestra claramente el desequilibrio entre varones y mujeres y la baja representación femenina en cargos de liderazgo, del mismo modo que queda reflejado en el cuadro de autoridades (Tabla 9).

En cambio, se pone en evidencia en ambas Universidades que, cuando se toman los datos de los Talleres de Arquitectura o Diseño, los mismos están guiados por equipos preponderantemente conformados por varones, donde se insertan las mujeres en un número mínimo. De los 36 talleres de Arquitectura analizados en esta muestra, solo 3 tienen como profesor titular una mujer y solo uno tiene una mujer como primer profesor. Esto lleva a considerar, en segundo lugar, las propuestas pedagógicas de los talleres. Se analizó en todos los casos, y de forma particular en el taller dirigido por una mujer, si había alguna alusión a los temas de género, de minorías vulnerables, de problemáticas sociales definidas, a nivel teórico y práctico, entendiendo que la inclusión de la problemática en el aspecto formal de la educación dentro de los talleres puede ser una de las estrategias para cambiar la realidad. Luego de una atenta lectura, solo se encontró en dos propuestas pedagógicas alusión al género. En una de ellas nombrando “hombres y mujeres” como objetos de formación, reconociendo las diferencias, acomunando la formación, en un sustrato ideológico de inclusión y de respeto a los derechos humanos. En la otra, se nombran grupos vulnerables de manera genérica. En ningún caso se hace alusión a la arquitectura y el urbanismo con perspectiva de género ni se agrega bibliografía de arquitectas reconocidas y visibilizadas en los últimos años. Cabe señalar que las propuestas pedagógicas corresponden a los últimos concursos realizados en el año 2015.

Conclusiones

Ahora bien, observando las estadísticas y la relación de equilibrio en el cuerpo docente en las carreras de Arquitectura en los cargos de profesores y el desequilibrio en el área específica del Taller de Arquitectura o Diseño, se puede hipotetizar que ese es un espacio de construcción de poder. Los datos de equilibrio en las categorías más bajas de la carrera docente demuestran el interés de las mujeres por esa específica área de conocimiento y, además, que están en condiciones de acceder ya que se accede a esos cargos por concursos públicos.

¿Por qué es importante la presencia de mujeres en los cargos de profesores titulares o catedráticos? Desde el punto de vista de la planificación curricular, los talleres de

Arquitectura o Diseño son el cuerpo troncal de la carrera, son el espacio de enseñanza-aprendizaje que construye el perfil profesional, planteando a través de contenidos y modalidades de aprendizaje las competencias que el alumno debe adquirir para desempeñarse en el mundo laboral. Estas propuestas pedagógicas construyen posicionamientos ideológicos, aptitudes y actitudes ante los problemas del hábitat en una sociedad determinada.

La ausencia de miradas de género, en todos los niveles de las materias troncales, marca una falencia en la formación de nuestros futuros arquitectos y arquitectas. Es tan significativa la ausencia de este cuerpo de conocimientos como la falta de contenidos de nuevos materiales y tecnologías en las materias de construcciones. Con una diferencia sustancial, que el alumnado tiene los instrumentos necesarios para poder acceder a ese conocimiento, que en realidad es información, mientras que la introducción de la dimensión de Género en la enseñanza de la arquitectura y la equidad en el acceso a cargos de profesores titulares en los talleres de Arquitectura o diseño es una cuestión de formación, de visión de un mundo equilibrado y equitativo. Esta visión es la que permitirá construir profesionales con enfoque crítico, capaces de plantear propuestas que resuelvan las problemáticas de nuestro ambiente considerando todas las variables, observando la complejidad y diversidad del mundo en que vivimos, tomando decisiones que permitan una transformación del entorno para hacerlo accesible, democratizarlo, humanizarlo, ponerlo al servicio de la sociedad, es decir, de los hombres y las mujeres que dan cuerpo y alma a nuestras ciudades.

Desde el punto de vista de los cargos de gestión, es decir de lugares decisionales, normalmente los profesores del Taller de Arquitectura ocupan espacios como decanatos, direcciones de departamento, secretarías académicas, que es donde se definen la estructura curricular de los planes estudio y los contenidos que los mismos deben tener. Esto significa que el aporte de las profesoras mujeres del área de Taller de Arquitectura o Diseño, está representado menos del 10%, que son los cargos ocupados por ellas. Esto denota una falencia grave. Retomando una frase de Umberto Eco (1978):

Así, el arquitecto, para construir, es continuamente obligado a ser otra cosa de sí mismo. Es obligado a convertirse en sociólogo, político, psicólogo, antropólogo, semiólogo, etc. (...). Obligado a encontrar formas que construyan sistemas de exigencias sobre las cuales no tiene ningún poder, obligado a articular un lenguaje, como el de la arquitectura, que tiene que decir siempre algo más o distinto de sí misma. El arquitecto se encuentra condenado, por la naturaleza de su propio trabajo, a ser posiblemente, la única y última figura del humanista de la sociedad contemporánea, obligado a pensar la totalidad, propiamente en la medida en que se hace técnico sectorial, especializado, entendiéndolas como operaciones específicas y no como declaraciones metafísicas.

Deberíamos garantizar de alguna manera el acceso de las mujeres a esos cargos de manera equilibrada para cumplir con esa definición de arquitecto como última figura del

humanismo contemporáneo. Donde hoy, ser humanista, significa poder tener una mirada amplia e integradora de todas las dimensiones sociales que integran y construyen nuestras sociedades complejas contemporáneas.

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In cooperation with The Saudi Doll's House

*Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid - Septiembre 2016
MAV. Bienal Mirada de Mujeres - Madrid- Riyadh*



BLIND DATE: THE DOLL'S HOUSE. AN ALTERNATIVE STUDIO DESIGN PROJECT

←
Fig. 1
Final
exhibition
posters
designed by
the Spanish
Team

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Abstract

By the end of 2015, Saudi students developed a project at Prince Sultan University Department of Architecture of Riyadh in Saudi Arabia. *The Saudi Doll's house* aimed to design a model house that would look like a toy while inspiring a Saudi doll's house of the future. The final work was selected as part of the Spanish Biennial exhibition organized by *Women in Visual Arts*.

A group of young Spanish architects and students from the Pontificia University of Salamanca joined the Saudi group by doing an interpretative approach to their model houses as part of the Biennial exhibition. The process started with a series of exchanges whereby the Spanish architects first received the graphic information. The fact of being unrelated to the houses' designers, added to the technical impossibility to meet each other, was the reason why this experience was titled *The Blind Date*. The final outcome was presented and on show at the *Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid* in September 2016.

This paper addresses the teaching and learning experience developed throughout the project, starting with the design process in Riyadh, going through the confrontation with the western world during the interpretation process in Madrid, and concluding with the final exhibition. This paper intends to critically assess the experience and conclude by evaluating this exchange as a potential educational tool.

Keywords

Exhibition, Blind Date, Gender, Educational Tool, Doll's House

Introduction

As educators, we should create interesting and challenging learning environments (including real-life situations) to provide students with the tools and strategies they need to realize that they are agents of changes.

The studio design experience and methodology of this project started in a highly segregated environment in Saudi Arabia. As instructors, we have constantly tried to question the long-term impact of our teaching methods. In order to deal with gender differences and inequalities, the development of the design proposal within the studio environment was carried out through three main teaching strategies. First, designing a toy-as-architectural-object would have enabled students to substantially increase their awareness and potentialities as designers, while leading them to find a gap in the market to develop their work. Second, the confrontation with last year students from a distant place in the world would have encouraged them to think critically, about diversity, otherness and the construction of identities and narratives. Third, having to design and install an exhibition space conceived for a larger target audience, students would have been prompted to build a visual discourse in such a way that the two previous steps could be understandable even to non-specialists, crossing disciplinary boundaries.

The confrontation was consciously oriented towards a gender-sensitive approach in order to unmask the anomalies present in architectural production. This statement is supported by Wigley (1992), who states that the gender distinctions can be found at every level of architectural discourse: in its rituals of legitimation, classification systems, lecture techniques, publicity images, canon formation, division of labour, bibliographies, design conventions, legal codes, salary structures, publishing practices, language, professional ethics, editing protocols, project credits, etc.

Lina Bo Bardi has inspired our provocative use of game and toys in architectural design. The creative process of Lina Bo Bardi is based on a dual design mechanism that considers the object and the atmosphere it inhabits. She developed a sort of 'Spatial Symphony' in which both the spaces and the objects she designed are used and enjoyed as collective toys. This kind of users' involvement demonstrates her participatory approach to architectural design and urban planning. She equipped the public and collective spaces she designed with social activators thus creating playful places for leisure, social interaction, and freedom. The passing of time, instead of diminishing the collective dimension of these scenarios, has made it even stronger. Her projects provide users with a spatial experience that helps them conceptualize spaces (Sánchez, 2015).

In the *Saudi doll's house* experience, the freshman level group of female architecture students designed a doll's house. As there are no local doll's houses available in the market, the doll's house was intended as a toy-as-architecture object, with a potential to affect people's real life (Gonzalez, 2016). The students finished the project in December 2015, and it was tested in a local exhibition, where the kids from the university's nursery were invited as main guests. The project was later selected to be part of the Biennial exhibition organized by *Women in Visual Arts*, a non-profit organization based in Madrid (Spain), from March to November 2016, and awarded as a positive deep-impact project. In order to meet the expectations of the Biennial, the Saudi group started to work with a group of Spanish last year architecture students and fresh graduates from the Pontificia University of Salamanca in Madrid. After a series of exchanges, sometimes frustrated and limited, the project started. Full of questions and contradictions, the outcome is an exploratory exhibition that reproduces the space of what the group understood as a regular house.

The aim of this paper is to explore the studio design experience in which two groups from different cultural backgrounds met in an exhibition and faced with a teaching strategy that can be potentially implemented in other contexts. The methodology used throughout the experience challenges the traditional learning process in architecture, proposing to use an international production as a pretext to recognize/deal with gender inequalities.

The Saudi Dolls' House

The Saudi Doll's House was conceived in an environment in which students lack enough expressive drawing and analytical skills among other competencies. The Saudi students were required to attend two propaedeutic basic design courses related to architectural theory and design methods, because architectural education in Saudi Arabia is not part of a Liberal Arts program education and, hence, the curriculum is not supported by any other arts.

For this reason, the studio design project reoriented its own narrative to enable students to acquire the skills and design capacities to make their own decision (with one purpose: *que sea su propia decisión no una decisión tomada desde fuera*). Designing a toy-as-architectural-object would have helped them to enhance a better understanding of a process in which real-life intentions are prior to the project itself. These intentions would have been aimed at facing their own cultural spatial restrictions, promoting a better knowledge of the problematic relationship between the financial crisis and the local housing market, and raising awareness about the role of women in the society, overcoming stereotypes.

The project became a forward-looking strategy, a tool which students designed as a toy-as-architectural-object the specific challenge of educating next Saudi generations. The project

was as well intended to be a real object for real users (in this case, children) rather than a simulacrum. Having a client in mind was one of the first steps, in order to deal with reality, as already explored in other contexts and schools (Middlebrook & Maines, 2016). Designing an object, therefore, would give them the ability to understand their own world, their own questions, and further develop a vocational approach.

The lack of certain design expertise and competencies was a problem that was consciously left behind. Learning how to use the specific language and tools of architecture was crucial, but it was more important to learn how to develop each student's idea. The process was then limited to work with models, thus enhancing a way of thinking and transforming while using hands and minds. Hence, the design process was always tested in terms of structure, light and proportions. Its intentions were therefore oriented to learn how to produce ideas.

Developed initially as a response to market demand, the doll's house project slowly started to change the program of the traditional Saudi house. The design process smoothly transformed itself from a utilitarian project to a porous arena in which continuous discussions were turning the house into both a functional modern toy, and a manifesto for the house of the future, raising awareness on current issues such as environmental control, religious privacy constraints and spatial gender segregation. Among the suggested changes, the students overwhelmingly claimed for a larger participation of women in the labour force, which implies a significant reduction of their presence in the house, thereby calling into question the size of the house itself. In addition, all the students suggested movable partitions and adaptable/flexible spaces, to meet contemporary users' needs. This adaptability of the domestic space suggested a reversion of the social repression strongly present in the urban space. It equally suggested a sort of architectural resilience perhaps absent in Riyadh's contemporary urban context.

The Blind Date

From its very beginning, *the Saudi Doll's House* was conceived as an international project with the aim of empowering the students involved, trying at the same time to show the Islamic world from their point of view, against the negative impact of the terrorist attacks of November 2015 in Paris. However, it was not until January 2016, when the organization *Women in the Visual Arts* awarded the project, that it finally reached out to a wider audience. The participation in the Biennial exhibition organized by *Women in Visual Arts* required an exhibition in Spain. Having that in mind, an academic exchange program started in February 2016. Some faculties who had previously networked

in during a gender and architecture conference (Matrices, 2015) began getting in touch with each other. Due to the logistical complexity of the program, which eventually involved students and recent graduates from both the Prince Sultan University and the UPSAM (Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca-Campus de Madrid) and due to the technical impossibility to meet each other, the Spanish team named the project *The Blind Date*.

The Blind Date was expected to become a visual expression of a bilateral work, showing two different points of view, and two different ways of doing architecture. Moreover, pairing architecture and gender was a key element, first because the project cast light on the true meaning of these concepts and, secondly, because online dissemination and the spreading of its results gave it a high visibility, making it a powerful and compelling tool to empower students from both countries. For both teams the dialogue between East and West and the relationship between gender and architecture were engaging and fascinating challenges: Since gender issues are not part of their education, as recent graduates, they found it quite difficult (although challenging, at the same time) to analyse and address gender bias.

For all these reasons, *The Blind Date* was a non-design-based challenge which went beyond the disciplinary limits of architecture proving the porosity of architecture as a field. Even if the Spanish team was not supposed to design an interpretation of the house rather than a counter-proposal, nevertheless, the development of the whole interpretation process opened new and unexpected possibilities. In fact, on the one hand, the students in Madrid were used to produce drawings to think of architectural space; on the other hand, the students in Riyadh only produced models, according to their abilities and competencies. For the Spanish team, it was of fundamental importance to have a clear image of the house, something that the Saudi students, did not see as essential. On the one hand, the Spanish students had the technical skills to understand and draw the houses, but, on the other hand, the Saudi students' life experiences 'inhabited' those same houses. Therefore, the drawing process was the interesting outcome of this valuable sharing and exchange of complementary experiences and knowledge.

Nevertheless, the development process was extremely complex, and students experienced some difficulties in communication during group discussions. However, once the Spanish team decided to organize themselves the same way than the Saudi team (that each Spanish student had a Saudi partner). The members of the couple engaged in a direct dialogue with each other, thus enhancing not only the object's comprehension but also the comprehension of the personae behind the object's design and their way to understand space.

In the beginning, while reviewing the houses, the Spanish students did not really find any relevant difference or particularity. However, as stated by Miranda (1999), architectural

criticism means questioning one's world and life, therefore changing one's perspective. Moreover, after being involved in a discussion with the Saudi students at a personal level, they realized that their own way of approaching the architectural project had changed. The final design they produced together with the Saudi students had been affected by the different perspectives of these latter, becoming a site-specific project despite its modern or global appearance. The interpretation work disclosed what makes the houses local and personal, and the gender perspective issue just inevitably popped out during the analysis.

The gender approach smoothly became the centre of the discussion, making the Spanish team realize the importance of incorporating this subject into both research and postgraduate studies, on one hand, and, on the other, into the field of professional practice. They understood the importance of gender incorporation as an issue of a social justice, to recognize the role played by women in their own society.

The principles of architecture are not neutral with respect to gender architectural design has been mainly made by men, addressing men's needs and the inherent values have been passed down by men who dominate architecture schools and write books about Architectural theory¹ (Molina Petit, 1995, p. 342).

The Spanish team 'deconstructed' each house. They were trying to find out and recognize the ideas that lay behind the houses, and even its gaps and contradictions. As the houses should have been conceived as toys, the deconstruction process was more 'playful' (Huizinga, 1938). Therefore, the Spanish team played at being a woman in a house. In Throughout the game process, the Spanish team named the Saudi houses by using the description sent for the official award presentation. In this way, each house started to bear two names: one more descriptive, explaining the spatial program or the final form, and the other one enhancing an interpretation. So, the first approach to the house happened consequently by 'reading' its space through words. The second step was to understand it through a process in which ideas were constantly discussed. This transcultural approach enhanced a dynamic and active research, in which architecture has proved to be simultaneously as a way of thinking and as a way of doing. Facing the inevitable and obvious differences in the way of thinking architecture, the Spanish students were prompted to question and reconsider their own way of approaching architectural practice.

¹ «los principios de la arquitectura no son neutrales al género: el diseño de arquitectónico ha sido realizado fundamentalmente por varones, atendiendo a las necesidades de los varones y los valores inherentes han sido transmitidos por varones que dominan las escuelas de arquitectura y escriben los libros de teoría arquitectónica» (Molina Petit, 1995:342).

Saudi House

Semi-adaptable house. It starts from a 'typical plot'. The ground floor counts with fixed spaces, which include public spaces such as living and dining areas for guests, and movable spaces, which are related to the family. They can be in any place of the plot excluding the centre. It is an allegory of Saudi traditions, deeply rooted/rigid regarding social relationships, but highly adaptable with reference to individual relations. (By Sara Al Marzoqui).

Spanish Interpretation

Multiple choices. It is based on a vision in which multiple influences play a relevant role, including Arab, western architecture and local influences (textures, mashrabiyas, and so on). These spaces could be filled in a different way even promoting different lifestyles. (By Marta Serrano, Marta Ávila and Maria Alonso).

Courtyard House: The house is a place to explore, as it becomes a box of surprises full of hidden places. Kids can only explore the house once opened, due to the Islamic cultural traditions and the strong difference between private and public spaces. Closed spaces open only by moving partitions and mashrabiyas; children are taught to preserve privacy and control climate at the same time. (By Reem Al Marshad and Diar Saleh).

{a-, -as} fem: Students understood the courtyard house as a box of surprises in which reality provides hidden opportunities to empower women. This interpretation investigates student's dreams, understanding the space as full of desires and dreams [rights] of a better and more inclusive world. (By Isabel Gómez Riera and Gonzalo Lozano Arce).

Compact house: Developed as a vertical house that looks more like an apartment building in order to raise awareness about low density. Children have access to it after opening a big solid skin that preserves privacy. Students separate the spaces using different levels and avoid typical gender segregation partitions. The structure is movable to allow the sunlight to enter the house, creating a courtyard that keeps intact privacy. (By Raghad Nagshbadi and Shahad Al Shahrani).

Doll's house - keep moving: the interpretation is based on the idea of movement inside the house, which can provocatively trigger new uses under a wide range of possible influences, (By Maria Berenguel del Cerro and Laura del Valle Vela).

Mobile house. Developed as an adjustable structure that can be assembled either horizontally or vertically. Some spaces are fixed in a horizontal relation: public/guests living and *majlis*; private/family *majlis*, and dining and cooking. Bedrooms were located in an independent structure that worked by adding or subtracting boxes. All spaces can be assembled using a cylindrical staircase that becomes the backbone of the house. (By Felwa Aldugish and Alya Alshawi).

Rear window: In this case, the project was a cabinet of curiosities in which the students could look at what is was happening inside the house and imagine its users in this adjustable space. Nobody knew what the space looked like, so they built it full of western references, as it is indeed. (By Sheyla Rojo and Veronica Pena).

House as a nuclear family: Developed on a central node, solid and unchangeable, depicting the role-played by families in Saudi society. It supports a scaffold-like structure that allows it to be expandable according to the family's needs. The movable parts offered extra spaces. In terms of privacy, the students included vertical pivot windows allowing only the wind to flow through the house. (By Raghad Nagshbandi and Shahad Al Shahrani).

Temporary windows: The house is interpreted as the core of the Saudi tradition, and therefore it is represented as a series of windows in which its history is depicted. Instead of facing outwards, the windows are looking at what the core means: the first oil reserve, the Umayyad dynasty, etc. (By Ana Martin Hernandez)

The third step was necessarily oriented to design the scenario in which the process could be figured out. Since the public attending the exhibition was not only architects or related to the architectural field, both teams developed a way to display the contents in a comprehensive way. They built a particular scenario, an interpretative space of a house that represented both worlds.

The Exhibition as a 'Way of Showing'

'Way of showing' is an expression we use to describe our experience. Through a collective endeavour, we present an in-depth view of the reality of facts, the universality of both approaches (Spanish and Arabian) and the phenomena exhibited, the achievements of the process and the collective technical solutions.

The exhibition was hosted by the *Colegio de Arquitectos de Madrid*. They agreed to host the event because they recognized the importance of the proposal as an active research involving students, recent graduates and faculty members. Moving from classrooms to action (Bartolomé, 1986) is thus rewarded through this exhibition.

It recreated the space of the Saudi House by hosting, inside, a series of boxes containing the documentation of the houses, while, in the exterior, the outputs of the interpretation process were displayed. Two worlds were combined in a single space. Inside, there was a private and dark space, full of ideas and freed from the macho glaze. Outside, there was a neutral approach, smooth and critical at the same time, showing how important spaces is to think about otherness.

The exhibition was an opportunity to expand and cross our disciplinary boundaries, as it recreates the space of a house: inside, the doll's house is presented in a repetitive wood frame, symbolizing the *abbaya* or black garment that every woman must wear once inside the Kingdom. Despite a first-glance uniformity of the interior, a closer and more careful look revealed a rich variety, only visible through the details: each project interpreted the design brief and offered different solutions. In order to enhance a visual comprehension of the house, without having to bring the models from Riyadh, the students presented a video in which children were recorded playing with the houses. This form of visual communication acted as a window into every house. In the exterior, each group of students interpreted each house, trying to set up a different interpretational framework for each space. In this respect, the interpretative process envisioned the achievement of two different goals. Firstly, it should be intended as an essential step towards a foreign understanding of the space, proposing an inclusive approach to the houses through play, being other than Saudi. Secondly, it conveyed a visual statement on how the house is more

than an object, being the embodiment of people within their different geographical and cultural environments.

The visitors' comments in on the opening day and during the following month, when the exhibition remained open to the public, provided some new inputs to the research. The public particularly appreciated the dialogical approach. The numerous questions about the process details revealed, first of all, how small and local decisions could affect and change our world and our points of view, starting from the local level to reach a global perspective, and, secondly, how the relevance of female action can gently contribute to incorporate gender issues into the public debate.

The exhibition *Blind Date: The Doll's House* introduced a debate about architecture in a specific way, through the understanding of culture and gender. It involved a broader audience by first explaining the role of education in architecture and then our commitment and need to relate to otherness. The exhibition included transversal disciplines and the result is a poetic, dramatic and comprehensive space that combines two different cultures through architecture.

Conclusions

The main interest of the experience described above is rooted not in its final outcomes, but rather in the teaching/learning process. It subtly leaves behind the emphasis that is usually placed on architecture conceived as (the production of) design objects and focuses on the ability to comprehend and interpret the world. Therefore, instead of focusing on innovation and materiality, its purpose is rather to empower students with the recognition of different ways of doing architecture. The whole process, including design, interpretation and presentation in an exhibition, has revealed both potentials and constraints that needs to be actively implemented as a methodology within a studio design experience.

The experience potentially provides a way to disclose architectural limitless possibilities. We are constantly involved and concerned with the global environment, but once the particularities of an architectural object have been detected, locality and otherness appear in a clear way. The most interesting implication of using a 'toy-as-architectural-object' as a design exercise is the possibility of approaching teaching as a way of disclosing, acknowledging and constructing cultural richness and particularities.

The interpretation process demonstrated the porosity of architecture and the transversality of the disciplines in which it is necessary to use tools that are different from those used in the architectural language to encourage the comprehension of the differences. During the interpretation process, it was necessary to translate the Saudi house model into plans and drawing

documents. The same language that the young Saudi students are not yet trained to use was essential for the Spanish students to be able to understand the object.

Through the exhibition process contents were displayed for a broader audience, stimulating the comprehension of architecture using by using visual languages and providing an interpretative tool to enable foreign visitors to understand both the process and the authors' way of doing things. The issue of references was quite perplexing: Arabic references were in every detail of the doll's houses, but the Saudi students asserted they had not considered them.

During the interpretation phase, Saudi students developed teamwork and confidence, which made them able to describe and show their projects out of their local boundaries. The Spanish team developed a sense of global comprehension and, above all, a sensitivity to gender restrictions to which the Saudi group has become accustomed to. The whole experiment provided the students with enough skills to restate their adaptive capacities/skills. In addition, students gained confidence and comprehension of their world enriching themselves with others' points of views.

If we understand the design process as a learning tool based on the quality of the skills students already have, and if we expose its result to other cultural environments, the comprehension of the world will be far more suitable and complex, and therefore the construction of the architect as *persona* will be an achievement.

We consider that the interest of this type of research lies in its inter-university dialogue work and human promotion, regardless of cultural backgrounds. Given the gloomy world scenario we must face and resisting the temptation to be hopeless the objective of such cultural and educational initiatives is to offer a positive and integrative way of conceiving architecture that makes students, first, and, secondly, spectators to reflect and go more deeply into the topics discussed. In a world where overflow of information makes things blurred rather than clearer, our approach is committed to intercultural dialogue in a humanistic way.

We also try to clarify the scope of this experience that enables us to move ahead with the development of collaborative working strategies outside the academic context.

These Arabian and Spanish women had the opportunity to explain their projects and ideas and to express their hopes and concerns about the spaces we inhabit, in a place where women are rarely present; and they made it together. *Blind Date: The Doll's House* gave both teams the opportunity to become empowered within an important location for professional acknowledgement in the world of Architecture in Madrid.

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MORE than humans: introduction

Editorial board

Serafina Amoroso,
Equal Saree (Dafne Saldaña, Helena Cardona, Julia Goula)
Maria Novas,
Amelia Vilaplana



Based on a critical approach to the historical use of the term ‘human’ in western cultures, MORE than humans aims, first, to revisit the definition of this category from feminist perspectives and, second, to challenge our current relationship to the (built and nature) environment. We believe feminist criticism (applied to architecture) does not limit to unveil how gender categories underlie the space. In a ripple effect, the redefinition of political categories reaches the reformulation of humans, nature and animals conditions mediated by Architecture.

The first group of texts included in this section stresses on the tensions between humans and non-human as actants of the built environment and opens new possibilities towards cohabitation. The second group seeks to redefine our relation to the environment by questioning how we perceive it and how we sense it.

Daniela Ramos’ paper reveals that, in the construction of its branding identity, the Galapagos Islands aligned to the Darwinian discourse narrative and disregarded the legacy of the first female pioneer inhabiting the Island. The author brings back their stories and re-introduces them as part of the living history of the islands.

Karin Reisinger analyses the historical oscillation between human and non-human users in Tito’s abandoned villa in Plitvice Lakes National Park, Croatia, and in Gorongosa National Park, Mozambique. From those case studies, the author looks at the fluctuations within the “naturecultural assemblages” and questions the divide between nature and culture.



Guest speaker Joyce Hwang takes us through a selection of her projects that draw awareness to urban wildlife habitats and advocate for the inclusion of non-human subjectivities in the built environment.

From a different insight, through her video-essay, author Sarah Gunawan presents two design-research projects which leverage posthuman thinking towards a sympoietic design process or making-with our non-human neighbours.

From a neuroscience approach, Yael Reisner's paper focuses on the perception of beauty and the experience of pleasure by the human brain to stand up for its possible repercussions both in sustainable architecture and innovative design.

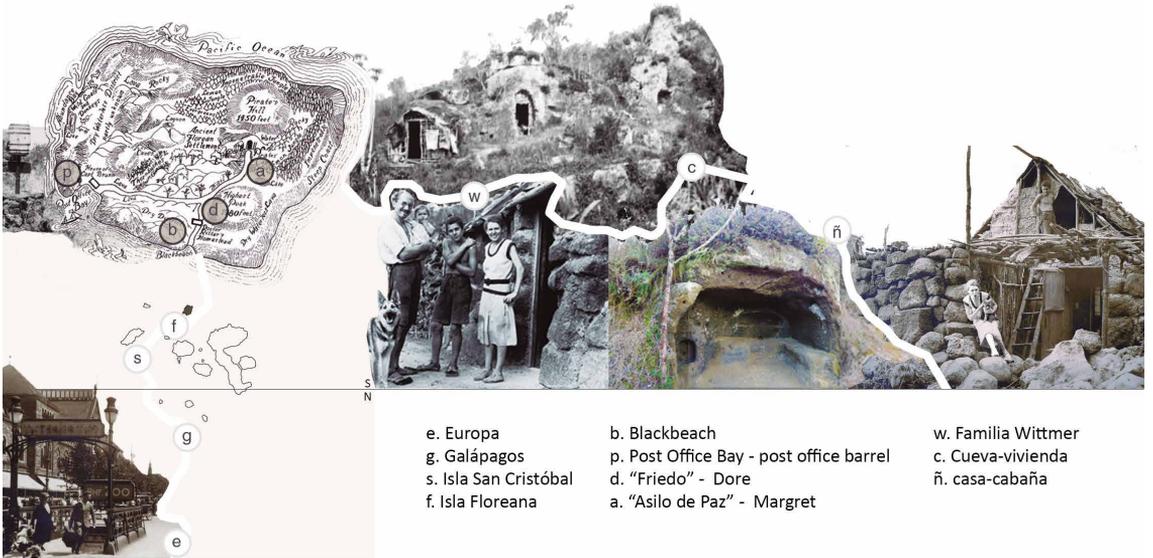
Lastly, in her paper, guest speaker Nerea Calvillo unpacks the meanings and practices of air sensing and explores a feminist approach to a new ontological and epistemological framework for environmental analysis.



MORE than humans discussion panel chaired by Amelia Vilaplana.
From left to right: Nerea Calvillo, Joyce Hwang, Eliana Sousa, Karin Reisinger,
Daniela Ramos, Yael Reisner and Amelia Vilaplana
(Photocredits: Alba Sotelo)







e. Europa

g. Galápagos

s. Isla San Cristóbal

f. Isla Floreana

b. Blackbeach

p. Post Office Bay - post office barrel

d. "Friedo" - Dore

a. "Asilo de Paz" - Margret

w. Familia Wittmer

c. Cueva-vivienda

ñ. casa-cabaña



El viaje de la familia Wittmer. Partir desde Europa para llegar a Floreana soñando iniciar una vida nueva, que se consolidaría a través de sus trabajos

Fuente: Elaboración propia

GÉNERO A-ISLADO*: LA SÚPER-VIVENCIA** DE LAS PRIMERAS MUJERES DE LA ISLA FLOREANA, GALÁPAGOS. VIAJES DESDE EL RELATO HEREDADO EN BUSCA DE RELATOS PERSONALES

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Resumen

Este artículo construye un relato a través de la metáfora del viaje. Emprendo un viaje de aprendizaje en barco. En el punto de partida se encuentran los relatos oficiales sobre los que se construye el imaginario de las islas. A medida que me voy desplazando, estos relatos se desdibujan en el fondo de la niebla que caracteriza a estas islas, y se van descubriendo nuevas voces. El relato heredado construido por la ciencia de la conservación y el turismo se presenta como una voz en off que otorga valor únicamente al endemismo característico de Galápagos. Cuando pensamos que todo está dicho, las primeras pioneras que habitaron en la isla Floreana, irrumpen en el hilo de lo 'histórico' introduciendo sus voces.

Las historias de vida de estas mujeres son re-leídas desde la noción de súper-vivencia en contraposición a la acción de sobrevivir. La súper-vivencia nos permite re-conocer y respetar las dos condiciones básicas para existir: la ecoddependencia y la interdependencia. Estas mujeres otorgaron valor a lo único que verdaderamente importa, que es vivir vidas que valgan la pena ser vividas. A través de este relato recordamos a las mujeres pioneras del espacio, que navegaron por el océano en la búsqueda de una isla para re-establecer nuevas vidas, entendimientos y miradas.

Palabras clave

Galápagos, islas, mujeres, relatos, súper-vivientes

* Utilizo este término porque quiero retomar las raíces de su origen etimológico: hacia e isla. De manera metafórica, a la vez que recalco su condición geográfica marco un paralelismo con la historia del género femenino. Una historia en la que islas y mujeres, tierra y cuerpos son excluidos.

** Esta noción conceptual se encuentra enunciada al interior del texto, sin embargo, la separación de la graffa es intencional con el fin de separar la filiación entre superviviente y sobrevivir, otorgando al término un sentido de empoderamiento y superación. Súper-vivir no es sólo un neologismo, es una denuncia social de las 6693 mujeres que estadísticamente han sido violentadas en Galápagos. Con este término aludo además al grupo feminista radicado en Sevilla: *Mujeres Supervivientes de Violencias de Género. Desde el Sur construyendo Igualdad*, al cual recuerdo con gratitud por haberme acogido.

Podría ser verdad que observamos el mundo a través de unas historias y unas imágenes impuestas de partida. Es probable que salgamos de viaje, en busca de las ciudades o los paisajes, atrapados en el magnetismo de sus nombres y en las rememoraciones que estos despiertan. De cada ciudad o cada paisaje, sobre todo de aquellos que aún no han sido nombrados, el viajero guarda un relato heredado y otro personal: llega hasta allí prendido casi siempre de un mito. Las ciudades y los paisajes son, al fin, textos y no espacios físicos (de Diego, 2005, p. 10).

Inicio mi viaje partiendo del relato heredado de otros en la búsqueda del mío personal. Recorro a los relatos biográficos de otras mujeres para reescribir 'lo histórico' a través de sus historias de vida, para que quien las lea recree imaginarios propios. Intento emular de este modo a los navegantes que al volver a puerto narraban sus viajes con la única pretensión de que quien lo escuchase imaginara tierras lejanas.

Antes de embarcar, me refiero a Galápagos como un archipiélago conformado por islas de origen volcánico cuyo punto más cercano al Ecuador continental se encuentra a 928 km. Compuesto por trece islas principales, cinco islas menores y una serie de rocas e islotes, el atractivo de Galápagos radica en los encuentros con la fauna endémica en medio del paisaje volcánico. Este relato hegemónico de las islas Galápagos como paraje natural, se institucionaliza con la creación en conjunto del Parque Nacional Galápagos y la Estación Científica Charles Darwin (1959); ambas instituciones hacen del archipiélago un objeto de estudio desde la perspectiva científico-conservacionista. A su vez, el turismo se apropia de este mismo relato para mercantilizarlas, creando una filiación indisoluble entre conservación y turismo.

La UNESCO (1978) inscribe a Galápagos como un bien natural en la Lista de los Patrimonios Mundiales, suspendiendo el relato en el tiempo a modo de una 'crónica berlanguina'¹, es decir, la reafirmación de la naturaleza pre y anti humana del archipiélago (Vasco, 2007). Así, el relato heredado del archipiélago se construye a partir de su área natural protegida; la única que se visibiliza y que corresponde al 96,7% de su superficie insular.

La Llegada. Encuentro con los relatos personales

A mi llegada, intento re-construir la parte no visible del archipiélago incorporando las voces de las 25,124 personas que habitan en el 3,3% de su superficie insular; entendiendo

¹ Vasco se refiere a la 'crónica berlanguina' haciendo alusión a Fray Tomás de Berlanga, quien en 1535 se convirtió en el descubridor, y por lo tanto, en el primer narrador del archipiélago. Berlanga escribió con fecha 26 de abril una carta al emperador Carlos V.

Texto original: "En toda la isla no pienso que hay donde se pudiese sembrar una hanega de mahiz, porque lo mas della está lleno de piedras muy grandes, que parece quen algun tiempo llovió Dios piedras; e la tierra que ay es como escoria, sin que sirva, porque no tiene virtud para criar un poco de yerba, sino unos cardones, la oja de los quales dixе que comiamos" (Latorre, 1996 citado en Latorre, 1999, p. 392).

que este ocultamiento se construyó desde una mirada hegemónica y externa que sólo muestra una visión incompleta del archipiélago que desconoce la agencia de sus habitantes. En la actualidad, tanto el espacio físico como las identidades de sus habitantes, operan en claves dicotómicas denominadas por Tuan (2007) como percepciones de visitante y autóctono. Esta dicotomía, al ser contextualizada en el territorio, se traslada al binomio científico/galapagueño. La imposición de orden global y foráneo entre la forma en que ambos binomios interpretan el mismo medio (Ahassi, 2007, p. 203), impide reconocer que tanto los primeros habitantes como los actuales han desarrollado sus propias tácticas de adaptación frente a las estrategias de orden global y desarrollo ‘sustentable’. Estas estrategias otorgaron valor únicamente a ‘lo endémico’ marginando, desde la utilización del término peyorativo: ‘lo introducido’, a todo lo perteneciente al ser humano. Busco dar valor a lo humano en un territorio conceptualizado como un “socioecosistema”², que para lograr sus objetivos necesita sostener un discurso armónico para detener la actual y constante pugna entre científicos y galapagueños. Busco relatos de mujeres, que, identificándome con ellas, he querido denominar como personales. Busco dar valor a sus historias de vida y a los modos en los que ocuparon los espacios y los transformaron. A través de ellos y de la noción de súper-vivencia, pretendo que nos re-creemos como seres dependientes de otros y de la propia naturaleza. Retrocedo ahora en el tiempo, continúo con el relato en 1832, año en el que el naciente Estado Ecuatoriano tomó posesión de las islas Galápagos enviando campañas colonizadoras. Estas fueron emprendimientos de carácter privado en los que se confinó a los primeros expulsados del Ecuador continental. Durante esta época, a las Galápagos se las asociaba con el paradigma de ‘isla desierta’. Esta asociación incluía dos connotaciones totalmente distintas. Para la sociedad ecuatoriana eran sinónimo de colonia penal, es decir, prisiones donde la ausencia de representación estatal facultaba a los regentes para obrar con leyes propias, impartiendo castigos violentos contra los habitantes. Para el imaginario occidental, lo ‘desierto’ era sinónimo de regresar a un modo de vida en contacto con la naturaleza sin gente. Este imaginario propio de los viajeros románticos se consolidó con la publicación del libro *Galápagos: World's End* (1924)³, que tras ser leído en occidente presentó el “escenario ideal para reco-

² Un sistema ecológico que comprende la naturaleza y la cultura desde sus relaciones de dependencia mutua. Haciendo necesario “resaltar los estrechísimos vínculos bidireccionales existentes entre el sistema social y el sistema natural” (Dirección del Parque Nacional Galápagos, 2014, p. 48-9).

³ Esta publicación fue producto de la expedición patrocinada por la NYZS (*New York Zoological Society*) y dirigida por el zoólogo y ensayista William Beebe en 1923. Grenier (2007) considera este libro como el inicio de la “invención turística de las Galápagos” porque superando la narrativa científica logró, en sus lectores occidentales, el deseo de visitarlas o establecerse en ellas. Esta publicación reconoce como único autor a Beebe a pesar de que cuatro de los diecisiete capítulos están escritos por otros dos miembros de la expedición: Robert G McKay y Ruth Rose. El equipo científico lo conformaban 12 hombres y dos mujeres de las cuales quiero recuperar sus nombres y el trabajo que cada una desempeñó en esta investigación. Isabel Cooper como artista científica y Ruth Rose como historiadora y comisaria de catálogos y animales vivos. Cooper y Rose fueron las segundas mujeres científicas documentadas en llegar al

menzar sus vidas, atormentadas por el bullicio de la modernidad y la guerra” (Vasco, 2007, p.23). Este es el escenario en el que me sitúo al llegar a Floreana, la primera isla en ser habitada y desde donde continuaré el relato.

Los primeros en llegar fueron Dore Strauch y Friedrich Ritter (1929-34)⁴, seguidos por la familia Wittmer (1932)⁵: Margret, Heinz y su hijo Harry, y finalmente Paulette Everard Kieffer y su esposo Manuel Rendón Seminario (1938), quienes la habitaron durante seis meses. Estas tres mujeres europeas: Dore, Paulette y Margret son importantes en cuanto que cada una marca un hito que conecta, a través de sus relatos, a Galápagos con el resto del mundo. Dore Strauch publica en 1935 su libro *Satan came to Eden*, que con ciertas adaptaciones se llevó al cine como *The Galápagos Affair: Satan came to Eden* (2013). Paulette de Rendón, con su libro *Galápagos las últimas islas encantadas* (1946) se convierte en la primera mujer en publicar un libro en la Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana. Este texto se publica también por capítulos en la revista *Letras del Ecuador. Periódico de Literatura y Arte*, N. 5-20 (1945-7), donde también fue la primera escritora (Loza, 2015; Vasco, 2007). En 1959, Margret Wittmer publica el libro *Postlagernd Floreana*⁶ y posteriormente *Floreana: Lista de Correos. Una mujer robinsón en las islas Galápagos* (1960). Además de poner en relevancia el trabajo de estas mujeres en el campo de la escritura, quiero mostrar su papel como pioneras y gestoras de su hábitat. Para ello me centraré en el relato de Margret Wittmer. Su historia de vida visibiliza las memorias de otras mujeres, principalmente ecuatorianas⁷, de las cuales no existen referencias. Su memoria escrita, aunque poco reconocida en el territorio nacional, nos muestra una visión femenina y cotidiana, desde una perspectiva histórica, de lo que verdaderamente significa asentarse, ocupar y transformar un espacio condicionado por el relato-espacio de lo desolado-deshabitado⁸.

La familia Wittmer llegó a Floreana desde Guayaquil, aunque previamente habían emigrado desde Alemania. El primer encuentro con el archipiélago es la isla San Cristóbal.

archipiélago. La primera fue la naturalista Elizabeth Agassiz en 1872.

⁴ Friedrich murió en 1934 y al poco tiempo Dore abordó un barco para abandonar la isla. Viajó a Estados Unidos donde publicó por primera vez su libro.

⁵ Floreanita (1937) y Erika (1964), hija y nieta de Margret siguen habitando en Floreana.

⁶ Esta primera edición del libro se publica en alemán.

⁷ Las familias: Zabala Osario (1937), Sanmiguel Ramírez (1941) y Cruz Bedón (1944) fueron las primeras familias ecuatorianas en asentarse en Floreana. Maruja Osario, Ercilia Ramírez y Ema Bedón carecen de relatos propios, sin embargo conocemos de ellas a través de los relatos de Paulette y Margret. Las familias Cruz Bedón y Wittmer han sido decisivas para la historia de Floreana, que atribuyéndoles valores como la tenacidad, el vitalismo y la solidez recalcan el papel determinante que tuvieron las mujeres para su historia (Andrada *et al.*, 2015, p. 77).

⁸ El relato desolado se reconstruye a partir del imaginario de un espacio deshabitado. En este sentido el relato y el espacio así como sus adjetivaciones se retroalimentan entre sí. Lo cual nos impide imaginar las islas a partir de otros relatos que no sean los que evocan las crónicas berlanguitas.

Llegan a ella después de siete días de navegación y desembarcan en la espera del siguiente barco que les lleve a su destino. Después de plantar su tienda de campaña, la familia se dirige a “Friedo”, hogar de Dore y Friedrich. “Friedo” se asentaba en un valle cercano a un manantial, y había sido el lugar escogido por Dore y Friedrich por evocarles el pasaje de la novela *Insel Felsenburg*⁹ escrita por Johann Gottfried Schnabel. Años más tarde, en su libro, Dore recuerda las palabras de Friedrich:

Este es nuestro sitio, Dore, y le llamaremos ‘Friedo’. En nombre de los Ritter tomo posesión de ti, oh precioso valle, contra todos los intrusos y te bautizo con tus puras aguas, a ti ‘Friedo’ nuestro jardín de paz (Latorre, 1999, p. 258).

Al tercer día, gracias a las indicaciones de Friedrich, la familia Wittmer emprende la caminata. La pendiente pronunciada y la carga de su mochila, recuerdan a Margret que tiene cinco meses de embarazo y que necesita descansar para recuperar el aliento y poder continuar. Han sido tres horas de caminata y aún no han llegado a las cuevas. Heinz mira su reloj y calcula el tiempo que llevan caminando: están perdidos. Afortunadamente, al alejarse de la tienda de campaña, Margret había llevado consigo un ovillo de hilo blanco y sin que “Heinz y Harry se dieran cuenta de ello, cada cien pasos [ella] colocaba un trozo de hilo en una rama del camino” (Wittmer, 2000, p. 20), táctica que les permitió retornar hasta el punto de inflexión para retomar el rumbo. Esta narración me recuerda a la leyenda griega que posiciona a Dédalo como el constructor del laberinto de Creta y por lo tanto como el primer arquitecto. Sin embargo, la leyenda cuenta que él no llegó a comprender la compleja estructura del laberinto pues tuvo que volar para escapar. Este dato pone en cuestión el estatus de arquitecto atribuido a Dédalo. En cambio, se puede argumentar que Ariadna logró la primera obra arquitectónica, ya que al entregar el ovillo de hilo a Teseo, éste pudo salir tras matar al Minotauro. Ariadna logró representar el laberinto con la ayuda de un elemento conceptual, el hilo. Como explica Beatriz Colomina (1988), la ‘primera’ transmisión de la arquitectura por un medio distinto a sí misma es también la primera re-producción de la arquitectura como un acto interpretativo y crítico. A partir de esta reflexión quiero re-conocer a Margret, a través del paralelismo de su historia con la de Ariadna, como la primera habitante en la isla en re-presentar al espacio de forma arquitectónica¹⁰.

De los distintos títulos con los que ha sido publicada la obra de Margret, quizá el más

⁹ Esta novela narra la aventura de cuatro desterrados que deciden abandonar la civilización para establecerse en un paraíso primitivo, al llegar a la isla encuentran un pequeño valle volcánico regado por una fuente y una cascada. Esta novela al igual que el libro escrito por Beebe y Rose, inspiró a Dore y Friedrich para rehacer sus vidas, lo que implicaría abandonar a sus actuales matrimonios para huir juntos.

¹⁰ Al igual que en Creta, la historia de Galápagos narra que fue el ballenero Colnett en 1793 quien construyó el primer objeto arquitectónico: el *post office barrel*, un barril de madera que hacía las veces de una oficina de correos (Ramos, 2015, p. 22).

sugerente sea el de la primera edición: *Floreana: Lista de Correos. Una mujer robinson en las islas Galápagos*¹¹, precisamente porque la escritora retoma los titulares de la prensa mundial que se habían valido del personaje de Robinson Crusoe para establecer similes entre la novela ‘ficticia’ y las vidas de las familias de la isla. Así la figura de Robinson, se impone desde una visión hegemónica que se construye desde el ideal antropocéntrico y androcéntrico, el hombre caracterizado por ser autosuficiente, es decir no necesita nada ni a nadie (Pérez, 2015, p. 11). Robinson es el hombre burgués que después de huir de la civilización vuelve a re-crearla en una isla desierta, enfrentándose a la naturaleza hostil que logra vencer con coraje y astucia. Con esta interpretación quiero recalcar que igualar a Margret con una robinson, sería desconocer su autobiografía y por lo tanto, legitimar un discurso que valora únicamente una versión masculinizada de lo humano. El relato de Margret necesita ser re-presentado al igual que la leyenda de Ariadna, deconstruyendo los dualismos jerarquizados que fundaron el pensamiento occidental: cultura/natura, hombre/mujer, objetivo/subjetivo, producción/reproducción, etc., entendiendo que el valor de sus memorias transitan en una continua dialéctica entre dualismos.

Es cuestión de súper-vivencia

Hasta ahora he querido eludir la presencia de Charles Darwin, sin embargo quiero esbozarlo en cuanto sus observaciones durante su viaje en el H.M.S Beagle (que atracó en costas galapagueñas durante 22 días¹²) contribuyeron a instaurar un nuevo paradigma en la concepción del origen de la vida. La naturaleza ya no procedía de un orden divino sino de la transformación/evolución. La publicación del libro *El Origen de las Especies por medio de la selección natural o La preservación de las razas favorecidas en la lucha por la vida* (1859)¹³, posicionaría años después a las islas en el orden de lo científico. Haciendo de Darwin el emblema de la conservación y un personaje ‘omnipresente’ en el imaginario de Galápagos.

En su libro, Darwin acuña el término “selección natural” como mecanismo para explicar la descendencia con modificación, es decir que las especies se originaron de otras pre-existentes y no fueron creadas de manera individual. En su quinta edición (1869), Darwin utiliza por primera vez la frase “la supervivencia del más apto” para referirse a la

¹¹ Esta obra se ha publicado en español en cuatro ediciones. Para la segunda y tercera edición el título se modifica por: *Una familia Robinson en las islas Galápagos* y en la cuarta edición se lo cambia por *Una vida en las islas Galápagos*.

¹² Darwin permanece en Galápagos desde el 16 septiembre hasta el 8 octubre 1835 (Darwin, 2009a).

¹³ El título del libro en su sexta edición (1872) se acorta a *El Origen de las Especies por medio de la selección natural*.

selección natural (Darwin, 2009b), un término acuñado por el sociólogo y padre del darwinismo social Herbert Spencer en su libro *Principios de Biología* (1864).

Este principio no se aplicaba según Spencer únicamente a las plantas y a los animales, sino también a la sociedad humana. La feroz competencia elimina a aquellos individuos, empresas y organizaciones que no se han adaptado bien a la sociedad o a la coyuntura (Buskes, 2009, p. 34).

Como consecuencia, el término supervivencia, en un sistema dominado por el capital y la libre competencia del mercado, y en su acepción más común, estaría ligado a preservar la vida humana donde la lucha por sobrevivir significa subordinar a otros y a la propia naturaleza, por lo tanto se vuelve una réplica contemporánea de Robinson Crusoe.

Continuando con el hilo del relato de Margret... Después de seis horas de caminata, la familia llega a las cuevas de los piratas.

Tres grandes y oscuras bocas de cavernas [que] se abren bostezando frente a [ellos]. La cueva-vivienda tiene la amplitud de una habitación espaciosa. Las paredes deben de haber sido trabajadas a mano. En una de ellas hay incluso un hornillo. La cueva no tiene más cubierta que una delgada capa de lava [y] tiene dos bancos adosados a una de las paredes (Wittmer, 2000, p. 20-1).

Lejanas al mar y cercanas a un manantial de agua dulce, estas cuevas que fueron desde 1804-9 la morada del irlandés Patrick Watkins, se levantan a las faldas del cerro Asilo de Paz¹⁴.

Ahora estaban allí, en menos de cuatro meses habían pasado de vivir de Colonia a Floreana. Habían encontrado las cuevas y sin tiempo de sentir las suyas estaban preparando el suelo para los cultivos y la construcción de su casa. La nueva vida merecía un nuevo espacio cuya construcción se consolidaría como símbolo del esfuerzo familiar. Estaban allí, pero todavía no estaban en casa. ¿Qué es estar en casa? Margret asegura que el término tomará sentido cuando llegue la primera cosecha; comer lo allí plantado les provocará una sensación agradable (Wittmer, 2000, p. 35). La topofilia, expresada por Tuan (2007, p. 130) como el “neologismo útil para incluir todos los vínculos afectivos del ser humano con el entorno material” se hace visible en el relato que refleja una rápida transformación del espacio físico de la casa para convertirlo en su hogar. Un “punto fijo” que les sirve de orientación espacial y al cual siempre vuelven después de largas caminatas en “donde [les] esperan [las] cosas conocidas, habituales, la seguridad y una fuerte dosis de sentimiento” (Heller, 1967, p. 321).

Relatar la vida cotidiana de Margret desde la llegada a la isla hasta la construcción material y subjetiva de su hogar, me permite dar un salto semántico y conceptual para establecer la diferencia entre sobrevivir y súper-vivir. Esto también permitiría posicionar a las primeras pioneras más allá de la nominación simplista de unas ‘robinsons’. Sí, sobrevivieron físicamente

¹⁴ Este nombre hace referencia a la primera colonia penal que se asentó en Floreana en 1832.

gracias a que se adaptaron y modificando el medio natural pero nunca tuvieron la perspectiva de abandonar la isla como lo hiciese el personaje de la novela. Margret eligió a Floreana como su futuro, “la nueva vida” (Wittmer, 2000, p. 5), y al igual que otras pioneras es una súper-viviente porque se re-conoció vulnerable y finita, lo que le permitió distinguir las dos condiciones básicas para existir: las relaciones de ecodependencia con la naturaleza y la interdependencia de otras personas. Re-conocerse vulnerable le permitió recuperarse afectivamente frente al a-islamiento¹⁵. En el caso de Margret el a-islamiento era físico, propiciado por la dificultad de las conexiones entre islas y con el propio continente, que a su vez le aislaba del sistema económico dominante. Esta frontera física permitió que hiciese de su hogar un centro de autoconsumo, en donde se re-organizaron y autogestionaron, retornando al término: economía ‘al origen de su humanidad’ a través de su vocablo griego: *oikos*, casa y *nomos*, administrador, es decir, el arte de administrar la casa, y aprovechando este singular espacio-tiempo es desde donde quiero hablar.

Había que desbrozar el terreno, los troncos de los árboles servirían para construir la casa mientras que las ramas serían apiladas para cuando estuviesen secas ser usadas como leña y de la ceniza hacer abono. Había que preparar el suelo para luego labrarlo y que la tierra estuviera lista para alimentar a la familia. El cultivo de sus propios alimentos creó un vínculo afectivo de entendimiento y respeto a los ciclos de la naturaleza, y por lo tanto al territorio. Esta idea se refuerza con la descripción que hace de su equipaje que se compone de lo básico: “10 cajas entre cestos, sacos y maletas que guardaban ropa, algunos utensilios, libros, cuadernos, 2 gallinas y un gallo, semillas y plantas como bananas, caña de azúcar, café, yuca, batata, nuez moscada” (Wittmer, 2000, p. 8). Todo lo demás sería materializado por ellos aprovechando los recursos que la naturaleza les ofreciera.

Su familia constituía una comunidad autónoma de filiación sanguínea. Los trabajos para la súper-vivencia eran repartidos entre iguales. No se cambiaron las diversas formas de división del trabajo (sexual, manual/mental, entre otras), sino que se sustituyeron las relaciones monetarias por principios de mutualidad, reciprocidad, el respeto a las personas y la responsabilidad por el ‘todo’ (Mies, 2004, p.120). Margret gestionaba la casa y el huerto mientras que Heinz salía de caza, construía físicamente la casa, labraba el suelo y emprendía largas caminatas para ir por el correo. Ambos empezaban sus trabajos al nacer el sol y los terminaban a su caída. Desde este marco espacio-temporal (que reitero surgió en a-islamiento) tanto el espacio público como el privado diluyen sus fronteras. Los

¹⁵ Este sentir aislado también lo experimentan las mujeres sobre las cuales la sociedad ha ejercido violencia. Ellas también prefieren que las llamen súper-vivientes. Antes fueron víctimas y hoy son súper-vivientes, que tejieron redes afectivas donde tomaron conciencia y se empoderaron para tomar control sobre sus propias vidas.

quehaceres cotidianos considerados para ambos como trabajos se entendían desde una misma perspectiva: el cuidado de la vida y por lo tanto un estado de súper-vivencia.

En este estado de súper-vivencia el único valor radica en la sostenibilidad de la vida. Este concepto acuñado por la economía feminista ha permitido visibilizar y categorizar como trabajos la reproducción social y los cuidados de las personas, entendiendo que este tipo de trabajos que involucran subjetividades son necesarios para que la vida continúe en condiciones de humanidad. Insertando en el discurso las contradicciones que tiene el capitalismo con el propio sostenimiento de la vida (Carrasco, 2014; Pérez, 2015), esta perspectiva ecofeminista reconoce y respeta la ecodependencia y la interdependencia como condiciones básicas para existir.

En un inicio fue tentador establecer conexiones entre Dore y Margret desde el mito de la solidaridad que atribuimos como una realidad en las comunidades primigenias, es decir, mirar al pasado como un punto al cual volver. Sin embargo esto sería acomodar la realidad a una propia interpretación y más aún generar falsas esperanzas para quienes leyeran estas líneas. La convivencia entre estas dos familias partía del precepto de entender la comunidad y la familia en términos de filiación sanguínea. Así, ambas familias se asientan en lugares alejados. Dore y Friedrich, buscaban alejarse de la gente y para ellos todo aquel que quisiera habitar la isla sería visto y tratado como intruso. La familia Wittmer, sin embargo, eligió Floreana porque había leído en la prensa que Friedrich era médico y pensaban que su cercanía facilitaría los cuidados durante el embarazo de Margret. Su respuesta fue un rotundo «¡No!», que cambió en cuanto la vida de Margret estuvo en peligro durante el nacimiento de su hijo Rolf. Cada familia a-islada compartía alimentos y regalos en ocasiones especiales: celebraciones y épocas de sequía, además de la entrega de correo o para suplir necesidades que no podían autogestionar entre sus propios miembros. Quiero traer ahora las voces de otras dos mujeres a manera de diálogo para explicitar lo antes dicho: Jaqueline De Roy y Carmen Angermeyer¹⁶, pioneras que aún habitan en la isla Santa Cruz.

Jaqueline:

La gente era muy amigable, pero distante, y cosas por el estilo. Hablábamos de muchas cosas, pero cada quién tenía que lidiar con su vida. El *leitmotiv* era: nosotros lo hicimos, fue duro, así que tienen que aprender. La gente tenía que aprender a cuidarse por sí sola. Podían pedir ayuda, todos aceptarían ayudar” y continua Carmen: “Pero [esperábamos] que las personas se esforzaran, ya sabes, que aprendieran y lo intentaran en lugar de simplemente pedir ayuda esperar que alguien más lo haga por ellos. ¿Cómo explicar eso? Cada quien por su cuenta... (Geller y Goldfine, 2013)

¹⁶ Jaqueline viaja desde Bélgica (1955) en compañía de su esposo y su hija mientras que Carmen a la edad de seis años viene desde España (1934) con su familia.

Como fin de este relato, quisiera nuevamente destacar y poner en valor los esfuerzos de cada una de las familias y sobre todos de las mujeres olvidadas por la historia. Las cuales re-construyeron sus vidas y sus hábitats como centros de autoconsumo, reorganización y recuperación de afectividades frente al estado de a-islamamiento. El viaje hacia una nueva vida exige del esfuerzo, la fortaleza y sobre todo el imaginar nuevos comienzos y comunidades, desde los cuales partimos con relatos heredados en busca de nuestros propios relatos personales.

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CONNECTIVE OSCILLATIONS: WONDROUS ARCHITECTURES BETWEEN THE DEVIL AND THE DEEP BLUE SEA

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Fig. 1
Fish
restaurant
near Hotel
Plitvice in
Plitvice Lakes
National
Park, Croatia,
re-inhabited,
2014
Photo: Karin
Reisinger

Abstract

This chapter identifies more-than-human actors and the connective oscillations between their agencies, examining two architectural venues which have oscillated between human and non-human uses and design throughout their situated histories. The first is Tito's abandoned villa in Plitvice Lakes National Park, Croatia, and the second is a camp in Gorongosa National Park, Mozambique, with its own contested history. The argument is made for a careful and open approach to looking at these oscillations within the naturalcultural assemblages and specifically its more-than-human architectures, underpinned by the claims to transgress the divide of nature and culture theorized by Donna J. Haraway and Rosi Braidotti and previously enacted in ground-breaking ways by Rachel Carson in *Silent Spring*.

Keywords:

More-than-human architectures, feminism, agency, preservation

The 'control of nature' is a phrase conceived in arrogance, born of the Neanderthal age of biology and philosophy, when it was supposed that nature exists for the convenience of man (Carson 2000 [1962], p. 257).

Introduction 1

More-than-human (from intersection to oscillation)

In the *Companion Species Manifesto*, Donna Haraway discusses two important issues: "1) the relation between what counts as nature and what counts as culture in Western discourse and its cousins, and 2) the correlated issue of who and what counts as an actor" (2003 p. 27). This fundamental questioning of our Cartesian categorizations by thinkers such as Haraway, Rosi Braidotti and Isabelle Stengers have influenced philosophical and STS thinking, but in architecture this approach is only seeping slowly into our thinking and doing of space and architectures.

Speaking about questions of space or architectures, we often draw on the perspectives of one prevalent group that is the client, user or producer of space. Here, I aim to bring a variety of actors into the play of designing and changing spaces: non-humans, plants and materials. This is a complicated multitude, a diverse and flexible co-existence of different participants. The MORE congress in Florence¹ has encouraged me to think with these actors, co-existing in space and (co-)shaping architectures. Therefore, I speak about architectures in plural and furthermore focus on the connective oscillations between the actors and those affected by the architectures and spatial organizations. This also requires awareness about the relationship between feminist and more-than-human perspectives. I understood this as the important but tricky task of the congress strand “more-than-human,” which I can only respond to in this essay with some modest examples of spatial symbiogeneses. More broadly, Carol J. Adams explains, “feminism does not solely address relationships between women and men, but is an analytic tool that helps expose the social construction of reality” (1995, p. 14). Generously, Braidotti adds that her “situated position as a female of the species makes” her “structurally serviceable and thus closer to the organisms that are willing or unwilling providers of organs or cells than to any notion of the inviolability and integrity of the human species” (2013, p. 80). Both these positions clearly explain the proximity between feminism and the more-than-human – in thinking, experiencing and doing. Haraway also addresses this complex relationship:

This feminist theory, in its refusal of typological thinking, binary dualisms, and both relativisms and universalisms of many flavours, contributes a rich array of approaches to emergence, process, historicity, difference, specificity, co-habitation, co-constitution, and contingency (Haraway 2003, pp. 6-7).

The perceptions of architectures discussed here are deeply influenced by Haraway’s notions of *naturecultures*². In *When Species Meet* (2008), she draws on trans-species encounters in which architectures play a significant role because they locate the encounters and determine them; they are sites of the “ordinary beings-in-encounter in the house, lab, field, zoo, park, office, prison, ocean, stadium, barn or factory” (2008, p. 5). With regard to architectures, we usually practice a thinking and doing of human exceptionalism. Think of the zoo, for example, in which a hierarchy becomes clear from the design of the units. I will attempt to question the

¹ 26-28 January 2017, <URL: <https://morecongress-blog.tumblr.com/>> (07/20). Special thanks to Amelia Vilaplana who worked on the strand “more-than-human.” This chapter was written in the year after the conference.

² Throughout the chapter, “naturecultures” are used in different ways of writing in order to sense the dynamic and complex relationships between natures and cultures, inseparable and indistinguishable components and perspectives.

human exceptionalism by unveiling some of the genealogies and contested uses of specific architectures. Although I ran into many obstacles during my research, “urgent work still remains to be done in reference to those who must inhabit the troubled categories of woman and human, properly pluralized, reformulated, and brought into constitutive intersection with other asymmetrical differences,” to use Haraway’s words (2008, p. 17). Haraway claims a “companion species” that lives intersectionally (2008, p. 18); and Rosi Braidotti provides a conceptual understanding of these intersections. In her lecture *Aspirations of a Posthumanist* (2016), she pleads for an “AND AND” instead of an “either or” and coins a term for co-existence: “we-are-in-this-together-but-we-are-not-one-and-the-same-kind-of-people.” For her, the nature/culture divide is long behind us; we find ourselves in a state of “being-in-this-together” not as one and the same but as different subjects, immersed in different relations in different ways. This difference is important for my understanding of architectures as being in connective oscillations between the specific perspectives of actors. Underpinned by Braidotti’s, Haraway’s and Greta Gaard’s aim of unveiling structures of oppression³, my intent is to study architectures which on the one hand are built to control and divide humans from non-humans but on the other hand are taken back by non-humans and become places of encounter and exchange.

Introduction 2

Rachel Carson’s oscillations (method)

In this chapter, I address oscillations in two different ways: first, oscillations between different perspectives on architectures to better understand their interdependencies and potentials, and second, oscillations as historic continua counter-acting the purification of habitats and architectures. The connections become comprehensible in these oscillations, which mirror the inspiring but often conflictual trans-species histories and encounters. Before I turn to how these relations are acted out in specific architectures by specific actors, I would like to write a few words about method by looking at Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring*. Braidotti makes us aware that “the activity of thinking needs to be experimental and even transgressive in combining critique with creativity” (2013, p. 104). What she calls “the vital, self-organizing and yet non-naturalistic structure of living matter itself”, or the “nature–culture continuum” is not only her starting point (2013, p. 2) but also what Rachel Carson had previously described in many publications on more-than-human relations. In her famous *Silent Spring*, she showed in myriads of micro-narratives and narrative reports how the

³ See for example Greta Gaard, *Living Interconnections with Animals and Nature*, in *Ecofeminism: Women, Animals, Nature* (1993).

nature-culture continuum unfolds as destruction leading to further, often unexpected, destruction. Carson assembled many situations, relations and details that illustrated the effects of transgressing the nature/culture divide. She also transgressed the borders between different scales, showing with very exact details how small, located and situated impacts can have huge effects, and on the other hand how culture and nature are deeply intertwined, for example via the use of pesticides. Carson opens *Silent Spring* with *A Fable for Tomorrow* about a town that “does not actually exist, but it might easily have a thousand counterparts in America or elsewhere in the world” (Carson 2000, p. 22). In this first chapter, Carson puts together fragments of small-scale situations that report on effects such as silence, extinction, death and pollution. They are mainly explained in negative terms: the birds had stopped singing, and the anglers are absent because the fish in the rivers had died, there were unexplained deaths among humans and non-humans – a “strange stillness” (2000, pp. 21-22). Death and dying form a dystopian image of a futuristic imaginary town⁴. This assemblage is part of the logic of a located gathering of stories of transformations, effects of substances and practices, for example in the chapter *And No Birds Sing*. Actors are “elixirs of death” such as insecticides: heptachlor, chlordane, aldrin, toxaphene or dieldrin, regularly applied in the U.S. during the 1950s, that soon had not only the expected impact on huge areas of industrial agricultures but also unexpected impacts on private households and gardens. The effects of these spraying practices, often as part of governmental programs, are embedded in ecological cycles; thus, poisoned plants or insects are eaten by birds, foxes, squirrels, salmon, or domestic animals, which equally can die. This “nature-culture continuum” shows a spiral of destruction, which can only be grasped in the complex interrelated details as Carson brought them forth⁵.

Without a doubt, humans are part of environmental interdependencies, heritages, and relations, but what can we learn for doing architecture? What roles do architectures play in Rachel Carson’s narratives? Birds are found dead in gardens. The dog comes “home” and dies because it has been poisoned by pesticides. The “housewife” dies after spraying spiders with DDT in the cellar of her home. The “home” becomes the last refuge from dangerous toxins, or it becomes a trap when the toxins are applied in the house. In *Silent Spring*, Carson seldom writes about domestic architectures but instead describes

⁴ I have already learned from Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* in order to write the chapter *Abandoned Architectures: Some Dirty Narratives*, published in *Architecture and Feminisms: Ecologies, Economies, Technologies* (2018). This chapter here, *Connective Oscillations*, more strongly emphasises the dynamic intersection of the more-than human spaces and feminism as a way to look at them.

⁵ See also Isabelle Stengers’ “open reference to the wisdom of naturalists who have learned to think in the presence of ongoing facts of destruction” within an ecology of practices (2005, pp. 185-6).

relations and interdependencies in and between various domains and sites such as homes, tobacco plantations and hop farms (see also Reisinger 2018). She manages to combine a myriad of sites and architectures – which become traps, prisons or refuges for humans and non-humans, oscillating between the different perspectives but demonstrating that all are interdependent as in Braidotti's term “we-are-in-this-together”.

Bears in Tito's villa

We need new genealogies, alternative theoretical and legal representations of the new kinship system and adequate narratives to live up to this challenge (Braidotti 2013, p. 80).

Haraway also speaks of learning “how to narrate this [trans-species] co-history” and reveals that this relationship is “full of waste, cruelty, indifference, ignorance, and loss, as well as of joy, invention, labor, intelligence, and play” (2003, p. 12). So, too, are its stories. The venues of these stories are actually everywhere, but I would like to start in areas set aside for nature, on the “margins” of our human societies. “It is very crowded on the margins” says Braidotti (2016), and in Carson's publications as well “intervention often comes from the margins” (Edwards 2017, p. 211). Therefore, I look at architectures found in territories of so-called nature preservation areas (see also Reisinger 2014; 2018). These areas are set aside for nature and eco-systems, but they are highly complex and managed areas, globally intertwined with further areas of the same categorization and organization. What looks the most “natural” is often highly managed in national parks. Therefore, these examples also show that there is not only given nature and constructed culture (see also Braidotti 2013, p. 2), but likewise there is constructed nature.

In preservation areas, conflictual genealogies often result in elastic architectures, serving as dispositions for fluid practices and as homes for human and non-human inhabitants. Nonetheless, their use in preservation is determined by macro-practices, macro-narratives and macro-policies. Deeply immersed in the dispositions of the past, these architectures are functionalized in their current environments often by non-humans, which in turn affects the micro-practices and micro-narratives of humans and non-humans (see also Reisinger 2016). This complex setting leads me to connective oscillations of perspectives to draft co-histories of humans and non-humans.

In Plitvice Lakes National Park (Croatia), a contested area since recorded human history due to its position on the border between religious territories, a number of significant buildings are decaying. This decay has happened for economic reasons and as a result of concentrated violence during the Balkan wars in the nineties. The first armed conflicts occurred directly in the national park.



Fig. 2
Vila Izvor in
Plitvice Lakes
National Park,
Croatia. Great
hall with open
doors

Photo: Simon
Bučan © 2018



Today the Kozjak restaurant is slowly falling apart, as is the neighbouring building, the fish restaurant at Hotel Plitvice built by architect Marjan Haberle in the 1950s (Fig. 1). Trees are growing inside both of these former restaurants and show that “living organisms are active agents” (Carson 2000, p. 62), transforming architectures.

After having been plundered by people from nearby towns, Tito’s villa in the woods, *Vila Izvor*, is sometimes used by bears (Fig. 2)⁶. My first contact with this villa was the videos on youtube that show several men entering the building. A popular, masculine practice is filming oneself while discovering Tito’s heritage in ex-Yugoslavia. Although the men in this video were surprised by bears in the villa and fled screaming, this building being taken over by nature still fascinates and attracts many people⁷.

What caused these architectures to be abandoned and left to nature? In these examples, preservation, civil war or drastic political changes. The weather, the insects and the bears follow them. However, changes, transitions and transformations for a myriad of complex reasons cause radical conversions of the architectures. In these situations, the non-human can become the dominant user – and is sometimes displaced again later on.

⁶ See also <URL: <http://www.brajdo.com/blog?p=7911>> (01/18).

⁷ See in a myriad of youtube videos of adventurers exploring the abandoned villa.

Oscillations. Bears had explored Tito's villa especially because the villa is located in a national park where the park management takes care of the bears' habitat⁸.

The non-humans who live in the numerous abandoned houses of the natural AND cultural world heritage Plitvice Lakes National Park are not domesticated. They come with their own needs, desires and agencies. Their access can be hindered, but how they appropriate the architectures cannot be controlled.

Between lions and cockroaches: the house of a researcher family

Just *who* is at home must permanently be in question (Haraway 2003, p. 50).

Gorongosa National Park in Mozambique serves as the second venue for discussing Haraway's question and exploring architectural narrations (see also Reisinger 2018). Chitengo camp was built during colonial times and became a place where the rich, astronauts and celebrities met to watch wildlife and go on guided safaris. The land had been used before by the indigenous people, but international practices of architecture were imported: bungalows, restaurants, a shop, etc. within a fenced area. The park and especially the camp became targets during the wars of liberation from Portuguese colonial rule, which ended in 1975, and also during the long civil war conflicts in the park continued. Although the camp has been revitalized, today warthogs use some of the abandoned buildings for their family life, and the remaining foundations of former houses serve as the backdrop for assemblies of monkeys (Fig. 3).

Material home stories may sound like this:

New materials move into and through the houses, ... Nearby, in an earlier camp destroyed by a flood and abandoned by humans, windows were broken, and first the insects, then the larger non-humans, and finally the lions arrived to occupy the architectures. Unexpected forms of life flourished in unexpected places. Furniture was re-used, and an assortment of insects moved into the slits and cracks of the houses. Plants grew where once a wooden floor had been polished weekly. During colonial times proud lions were seen standing on the flat roofs of houses (Reisinger, 2018, p. 207).

Materials also became crucial for the operating assemblage due to the difficulty in reaching the site and financial shortcomings. This might be a good point to go back in history to an example of when Western ecologists and environmentalists started to care about the ecology of the specific environment. To learn about architectures shared with non-human inhabitants, I draw on the remarkable writings of the researcher and artist Lynne Tinley. She is married to

⁸ In addition to own interviews with the park management in 2014 see the *National Park Plitvice Lakes Management Plan*, published by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, ed. Šikić (2007).

Kenneth Tinley, who is seen as a pioneer in thinking about the environment in a larger context and who planned the recently implemented extension of the national park. Moving to the area with their children in 1968, both researchers documented and analysed the ecologies of the region. Their results later served as the basis for Kenneth Tinley's successful dissertation⁹. However, Lynne Tinley delivered outstanding explanations of the architectural environments of the researchers, carefully describing the domestic struggles of settling down on the "plains of Grongosa" as she called it. In the biography *Drawn from the Plains* (2007 [1979]), Lynne Tinley dedicated one chapter, *A Casa Maluca*, to the house where the family started making a living in order to study the ecology of the area:

A Portuguese artist visiting Chitengo once remarked with amusement that we lived in a *casa maluca*, a mad-looking house. I was quite hurt; but then I looked again at our small dwelling, squashed between the two barn-like porches we had added, the whole thing topped off with a sagging, blackened thatch reeking of bat dung, and I saw what he meant. Perhaps it was a *casa maluca*—but it served us well (Tinley 2007, p. 111).

Her descriptions give an overview of the practices of sharing the house with non-humans:

There was a lot of work to be done in the house even though it was small. We waged a constant war against cockroaches, so big and hungry that they would chew the plastic covering from electric wires; and mould, that would creep over shoes and books if cupboards were not aerated. Antonio [the family's "helper"] would wash the clothes and each article would have to be ironed because of a parasite fly which lays its eggs on damp clothing. If not killed by a hot iron the larva of this fly burrows into human flesh, creating a large itchy swelling (Tinley 2007, p. 112).

These and further practices for making a living in the harsh plains in the late 1960s/early 1970s shed light on the precarious settlement of a "pioneering" family that produces ecological data. The elaborateness and the reiterations of this special domestic work of sharing with non-humans resemble practices similar to the renovation of Chitengo camp after the civil war. Every piece was carefully renovated. Resources were limited, and architects had no seat at the table. I have already spent too much time criticizing this from the perspective of a Western education in architecture; more interesting is to analyze the ecologists' building practices, their improvised planning and building.

⁹ Kenneth Lochner Tinley's *Framework of the Gorongosa Ecosystem* (1977) is a fundamental work that explains the ecological complexities of the area and indicates why it is important to increase the area of preservation—which was finally accomplished in 2007 as a buffer zone for the park.

opposite page
Fig. 3
The
foundations
of a destroyed
building in
Chitengo camp
in Gorongosa
National Park,
Mozambique,
re-inhabited,
2011
Photo: Karin
Reisinger



Conclusion 1

Connective oscillations, or how to look at the architectures of more-than-human assemblages

In layers of history, layers of biology, layers of naturecultures, complexity is the name of our game (Haraway 2008, p. 16).

The assemblage of conservation is heterogeneous. In addition to lively human and animal bodies, it comprises nature reserves, fences, and guns; scientific instruments, maps, papers, and databases; legal designations, action plans, and market mechanisms; and films, websites, and online transfers ... Assemblages allow certain actors to speak for, commodify, govern, and thus shape the world ... They are haunted by pasts, groove present practice, and serve to anticipate different futures (Lorimer 2015, p. 10).

In *Wildlife in the Anthropocene*, Lorimer describes conservation assemblages as “always partial and dynamic” and as conveying process (2015, p. 10). The author shows that the theory of preservation is also an assemblage. Lorimer’s definition of a preservation assemblage is very useful because it is dynamic and process-oriented and unfolds within our architectural understanding in the composition of details and objects. Yet to challenge our object-based architectural thinking, we have to include various forms of subjects and actors into the assemblage to get an “idea of subjectivity as an assemblage that includes non-human agents” (Braidotti 2013, p. 82). My main interest is to think and see symbiotic spaces, houses, and architectures along two main axes: 1) by enhancing the vocabulary and thinking “to refer to the elements of our posthuman embodied and embedded subjectivity” (Braidotti 2013, p. 82) after the divide between nature and culture, and 2) by counteracting and counterthinking a hierarchy that places humans at the center of hierarchical understandings. One way might be to understand architectures as “string figures tying together human and nonhuman ecologies, evolution, development, history, affects, performances, technologies, and more” (Haraway 2016, p. 63) and not as fixed entities; instead, we should try to understand their genealogies and unexpected becomings. Architectures can be seen to house different stories, different everyday lives, fulfilling different needs simultaneously AND one after the other. Bringing symbiosis together with process, Haraway suggests looking at *symbiogenesis* – “[n]othing makes itself” (2016, p. 58). What shapes what, as materials determine our environments, and who shapes whom, as actors are constitutive in their *becoming with* each other, and who shapes what, which is simply architects and non-humans adapting architectures, and what shapes whom, as material worlds determine what we can do. These complexities and multiple and simultaneous perspectives can help us to transgress the divides of nature and culture. Especially in the co-habitation of preservation, activities often foster a purification of the “original” or the species “worth being protected” while they live in their environments in expected ways¹⁰.

The architectures I have assembled here are contaminated with life. Braidotti explains life as “a multiplicity of empirical acts: there is nothing to say, but everything to do” (2013, p. 189-190). Life doesn’t discuss or care about programs and structures, nor about eco-governmentality. Without any breaks, it re-claims architectures as soon as human maintenance and disturbance pause, but architectural structures affect life¹¹. To come

¹⁰ See also Haraway’s critical view on conservation in *When Species Meet* (2008, p. 218).

¹¹ See also Joyce Hwang’s ground-breaking architectures for animals and transgressions of the borders between human and non-human habitats, <URL: <http://www.antsoftheprairie.com>> (01/18).

back to Carson's *Silent Spring*, “[f]or each of us, as for the robin in Michigan or the salmon in Miramichi, this is a problem of ecology, of interrelationships, of interdependence” (Carson 2000, p. 169). The anticipatory composition of Carson's *Fable for Tomorrow* is followed by precise descriptions of interdependencies, which materialize in each individual narrative. She draws attention to dependencies of larger and complex relations.

In *Practicing Feminist Political Ecologies*, Wendy Harcourt and Ingrid L. Nelson describe their aim of “creating connections and knowledge on environment, gender and feminism” and “collectively sharing and understanding our common ‘naturecultures’” (2015, pp. 1 and 3) and diverse worldviews with appropriate care, for example by acknowledging the importance of rootedness in place and history¹². In the compounds of stories and narratives in this chapter, architectures are also the sites of the stories of non-humans and directly connected to their histories. Beyond epistemological connections, the subsequent stories also become forms of creative critique “to make sense of the complexities we find ourselves in” (Braidotti 2013, p. 11) and also to think ahead to possible worlds.

Conclusion 2

Caring for the (diverse) stuff that assemblages are made of

We relate, know, think, world, and tell stories through and with other stories, worlds, knowledges, thinkings, yearnings. So do all the other critters of Terra, in all our bumptious diversity and category-breaking speciations and knottings. Other words for this might be materialism, evolution, ecology, sympoiesis, history, situated knowledges, cosmological performance, science art worldings, or animism, complete with all the contaminations and infections conjured by each of these terms (Haraway 2016, p. 97).

Co-constitutive companion species and co-evolution are the rule, not the exception (Haraway 2003, p. 32).

In light of such observations, my stories of non-human architectures may seem optimistic or even naïve, but they show a vital bond “based on sharing this planet, territory or environment on terms that are no longer so clearly hierarchical ...” (Braidotti 2013, p. 71). In this vital bond lies the typological resilience of architectures that are used and transformed otherwise. That is exactly what their sustainability is composed of. Carson called it “[t]he Obligation to Endure” (2000, pp. 23-30), seeing the “history of life on earth” as “a history of interaction between living things and their surroundings” (2000, p. 23). Although this might therefore not be the place of individual heroes and pioneers, “[a]ctual places ... are worlds worth fighting

¹² Wendy Harcourt and Ingrid L. Nelson in the introduction to *Practising Feminist Political Ecologies*, (2015, pp. 1-7). Further discussed in Reisinger (2018).

for; and each has nourished brave, smart, generative coalitions of artists/scientists/activists across dangerous historical divisions” (Haraway 2016, p. 98). Unfortunately, harmony is not what we may expect. As we know, co-housing with insects is not always comfortable, but careful ways of trans-species cohabitation offer wondrous options between the devil and the deep blue sea. The architectures I have followed have shown a subtle resilience, housing political leaders and bears, researchers and cockroaches. Non-human and human histories become interwoven in shared habitats. Architectures are built and decay in relation to their environment. These moments also require care in order to open up new possibilities.

Alternative material embodiments, such as the ruins of a camp embodying the history of civil war, require care concerning their materialities, histories and dispositions: for the snakes that like concrete streets heated by the sun, and simultaneously for the visitors interested in the history of the environment. In *Vibrant Matter*, Jane Bennett describes a vital materialism in her assemblages to transgress “human-centered theories of action” to look at “practical implications ... a theory of action and responsibility that crosses the human-nonhuman divide” (2010, p. 24). Material becomes a potential actor and operates in alliances. Especially in the light of austerity, materialities become decisive.

“‘[T]o care’ more strongly directs us to a notion of material doing. Understanding caring as something we do extends a vision of care as an ethically and politically charged *practice* ...” Maria Puig de la Bellacasa’s approach (2011, p. 90) to care for sociotechnical assemblages, related sets of human and nonhuman components, offers a perspective of maintaining rather than creating anew, a way of looking at “neglected things,” not only in their present condition and relation but also in a prospective manner; we also must take care of and responsibility for the *becomings* of things and for what they do not become; for what holds together and for what falls apart.

This chapter has looked for a careful way of thinking about dynamic assemblages of human and non-human actors, thereby providing the basis for connective oscillations. In this process, I had to visit abandoned architectures and places of first settlers where either the human or the non-human is transgressing the borders to expand our conceptions of natures and architectures. There, I found “new transversal alliance[s]” (Braidotti 2013, p. 103) and, thinking with Haraway, we can understand architectures as “polite greeting[s]” (2008, p. 19) between the species, bringing together the actors. With such polite alliances we enter worlds of high complexity:

Multiplicity, oscillation, mediation, material heterogeneity, performativity, interference—and the list of metaphors for making and handling complexity in ways that escape the dualism between order and chaos could be extended further. ... there is no resting place in a multiple and partially connected world (Law and Mole 2002, p. 20)¹³.

We “have to desire otherwise to become otherwise” according to Braidotti (2016) and Haraway calls for “sympoietic thinking and action” (2016, p. 67)¹⁴ and thus points out the importance of this thinking and its situatedness in our present troubles. As if she would speak to us architects, Braidotti adds that “[i]ntensive spaces of becoming have to be opened and, more importantly, to be kept open” (2013, pp. 80) although that might need some “visionary fuel” (2013, p. 192). I have offered some connective oscillations with this kind of thinking and looking at dynamic spaces and architectures that oscillate between human organization and non-human appropriation (and vice versa) with different styles and intensities of vitality in the hope that they become tools for thinking and doing architecture otherwise.

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¹³ See also Marilyn Strathern, *On Space and Depth*, in *Complexities* (2002).

¹⁴ In this demand, Haraway explicitly refers to Anna Tsing, *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins* (2015).

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ARCHITECT AS ADVOCATE: MAKING THE CASE FOR CROSS-SPECIES DESIGN

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Fig. 1
Bat Cloud
Photo:
Joyce Hwang

Abstract

To be an advocate is to defend the cause of another, or to support the interests of another. This is a term that one might find readily in the realm of law, politics, and activism. But what does it mean for Architecture to be a form of advocacy? In this essay, I will first discuss several projects developed through my research and practice that draw awareness to urban wildlife habitats, in efforts to advocate not only for architecture's critical role in urban ecology, but also to promote the inclusion of new (non human) subjectivities in the built environment. I will reflect on how fundamentally rethinking architectural structures and building typologies can suggest a more palpable, resonant environment that not only impacts species and habitats, but also human perception and experience. Further, I will expand upon the idea of "Architect as Advocate" as a strategy to reconsider models of design practice, moving beyond power structures inherent in conventional architect-client relationships, and toward a cultivation of new forms of empowerment through collaborations around mutual agendas. Along these lines, the essay will include a short discussion about my recently published, co-edited book, *Beyond Patronage: Reconsidering Models of Practice* (Actar, 2015).

To be an advocate is to defend the cause of another, or to support the interests of another. This is a term that one might find readily in the realm of law, politics, and activism. But what does it mean for Architecture to be a form of advocacy? In this presentation, I will first discuss several projects developed through my research and practice that draw awareness to urban wildlife habitats, in efforts to advocate not only for architecture's critical role in urban ecology, but also to promote the inclusion of new (non human) subjectivities in the built environment. I will reflect on how fundamentally rethinking architectural structures and building typologies can suggest a more palpable, resonant environment that not only impacts species and habitats, but also human perception and experience. Further, I will expand upon the idea of "Architect as Advocate" as a strategy to reconsider models of design practice, moving beyond power structures inherent in conventional architect-client

opposite page
Fig. 2
Bat Tower
Photo:
Albert Chao

relationships, and toward a cultivation of new forms of empowerment through collaborations around mutual agendas.

In my research and practice, I've become preoccupied with the conflicted perceptions of urban wildlife – and particularly the notion of the urban “pest.” In our collective imagination, cities and suburbs – and the buildings that occupy them – are not typically considered as “animal territory,” I would argue, despite the fact that animals are an important part of our urban ecosystems. Encountering birds in the park, in a tree, or at birdfeeders is commonplace and even desirable; yet, the notion of “sharing” buildings with animals tends to evoke disgust. Much of the urban fauna in the United States is categorized as “nuisance” animals, and legislation is in place to enable us to kill certain species at any given moment. Yet despite the regulations we place on the environment, our buildings and urban landscapes are almost always appropriated in different, unexpected ways. By default, they are almost always become occupied by unintended inhabitants – for example, bats roosting in attic spaces and birds nesting on building ledges.

Indeed, the fact that we *share* our cities with many species needs to have a much broader cultural resonance. In the building and construction industry, accepted conventions that address animal occupation – such as the ubiquitous use of bird prevention spikes – need to be challenged.

But a hurdle in challenging the status quo is the conflicted attitudes that we humans have toward animals in cities. We might, on the one hand, see birds as desirable creatures. But, on the other hand, when they encroach and intrude on “our” territory in unwanted ways, they are seen as unwanted “pests.”

Taking this imperative into consideration, a number of years ago I began to speculate on the possibility of rethinking building typologies and formal conditions through a series of studies – titled “Pest Wall” – that looked at how building facades could be designed to be more animal-friendly. In addition to developing these spatial explorations, I simultaneously started developing a number of small-scale projects as a step toward initiating what I've been considering as a campaign for urban wildlife advocacy. With aims to raise awareness of non-human species and promote their critical importance as part of our ecosystem, I am interested in the public reception of these kinds of projects, and how they can instigate curiosity. For example, Bat Cloud (Fig. 1) – installed in 2012 at Tiffit Nature Preserve in Buffalo, NY – stands in contrast to the *aesthetics of invisibility* typically ascribed to bat houses – that is, what I perceive to be the collective desire to hide the presence of animals through artifacts that we construct for them. Conceived of as a looming artifice that one might stumble upon in an unexpected location while walking along

a “nature trail,” Bat Cloud would be perceived as a floating mass from afar, but up close, one could see that it is composed of a series of hanging pods for bat habitation. In addition to its visual effects and spatial habitat conditions, it is also a potentially self-sustaining system. If the pods are occupied by bats, guano could drip down and fertilize the vegetation planted in the baskets hanging below. As another example, Bat Tower (Fig. 2) – installed at Griffis Sculpture Park in East Otto, NY, in 2010 – derives its textual ‘character’ from a condition that is typically incorporated into human-made bat houses: tight, thin spaces, between structure and boards. Drawing from this bat house ‘vernacular,’ the spatial and tectonic idea of the installation was one of layering spaces to create a lot of small crevices



between boards that are grooved, allowing bats a surface to land and climb on. The spatial qualities of ‘layering’ extended also to the base, which also served as a planter for a number of herbs and vegetation, intended to attract insects that would also attract bats. Deploying similar spatial sensibilities, Habitat Wall is a prototype for an exterior wall that could be built on an existing building, or as a stand-alone structure. Thin spaces are layered between sequentially arranged boards, some of which include salvaged wood and other recycled materials, such as old window shutters.

In addition to exploring ways to invite animals to inhabit the built environment, I am also interested in how the built environment has impacted animal populations, specifically thinking about how certain building characteristics might be dangerous to urban animals. One example that I have been exploring is consequence of bird-glass collisions. Due to the fact that birds cannot see transparent or reflective glass, they often collide into glass, rendering it one of the leading causes of fatality of birds in urban areas. To bring ‘visibility’ to this issue, I developed a temporary ‘renovation’ of a glass window that incorporated a visual ‘interference pattern’ to deter birds in flight. Titled No Crash Zone (Fig. 3), the project makes visible the logics of bird-strike prevention through this graphic grid pattern on the glass, while also



↑
Fig. 3
No Crash Zone
Fig. 4
Bower
 Photo:
 Joyce Hwang

appealing to the humanist desire for framed views by invoking a single-point constructed perspective. Along similar lines, I also recently developed, in collaboration with artist Ellen Dricoll, an installation for birds. Titled *Bower* (Fig. 4), this project is a series of building-like fragments scattered across the landscape, each with a number of bird nesting boxes. The fragments also hold a series of glass windows, which are custom designed with drawings that include anti bird-strike patterns to draw attention to this peril.

Certainly, the impact of small, interventionist works can start to provoke new ways of thinking about broader issues, and begin to advocate for a set of beliefs. As such, it is important to see these projects not only as end products, but rather, as a way to produce an aggregation of effects within a larger territory. Vacant properties in cities, for example, can be reinterpreted – not as empty, abandoned spaces, as they typically are seen – but rather as potentially “productive” landscapes, with the possibility of providing habitat for urban wildlife and vegetation. It is imperative, however, that the *process of architectural advocacy* extend beyond simply identifying issues and developing projects to address

them system, and toward a more holistic, and perhaps systemic way of looking at the world and acting upon our environment. Here I will outline a series of points to expand on this imperative.

First, Advocacy requires identifying a condition and recognizing the potential of something that might be overlooked. In thinking about the notion of “pests,” I often consider the moment in 2010 after a massive flood in Pakistan – when spiders ran up into trees after a flood and produced enormous tree-webs. Spiders and their webs might typically be seen by humans as nuisances to be cleared away. Yet in this instance, not only were these accidental webs stunning, but they also apparently relieved the town from mosquitoes momentarily. This moment illustrates a point that architects need to embrace: Before we take action, we need to first recognize the potential of unexpected situations in the ecological world and consider their consequences – not only in terms of potential ‘fear’ – but also more broadly about their spatial and performative contributions.

Second, advocacy requires making a concerted effort to shift attitudes and public reception. We often hear about the value and benefit of organisms, we now understand the role of animals as a form of ecosystem services for our cities. Think of bats eating mosquitoes, spiders eating insects, or stray cats eating rats. Yet, we won’t be able to take advantage of new, innovative opportunities that will arise, until we overcome our fear and loathing of so called pests, or “nuisance” species. As examples of this potential conflict between innovation and fear, scientists at North Carolina State University are experimenting with cockroaches, outfitting them to find trapped earthquake victims, a major step forward in the world of search-and-rescue operations. Yet, this effort is still being met with squeamish comments from the public, such as “I’d rather die under a collapsed building than be approached by a roach.” (Anon., 2013). Similarly, scientists at UC Berkeley are developing robots modeled after cockroaches as a kind of emergency “first responder,” and again, public comments reflect a sense of fear and disgust, for example, “To be honest, I’m not sure I’d want them to find me” (Milman, 2016). Third, advocacy encourages us to more fully challenge the status quo.

In order to advocate for cross-species design in what is now considered to be the age of the Anthropocene, I believe that architecture needs to be reconsidered in a more fundamental way – to address subjectivities that were not included. We share our world with many species, not only other humans. That fact needs to have a more profound cultural resonance. As urban dwellers, we typically address situations of unwanted animal occupation by way of ‘tweaking’ and ‘fixing’ existing conditions, such as covering vent holes in attics to exclude bats. These are obviously modes of working that are widely accepted as viable solutions, and indeed have proven to be effective. But instead, I would like to challenge us to imagine how we can allow

these forces of ‘nature’ to move us toward a more poignant form of architecture. Once we are able to think beyond notions of ‘fixing’ things, we can start to reimagine the built environment in a much more fundamental way, by giving agency to a more ‘collective,’ or ‘inclusive’ population and welcoming their influence in determining how spaces are organized, formed, and built. Could we imagine, for example, how animal occupancy might begin to reshape the notion of a façade, from a thin, applied membrane to a thickened, spatial layer? Could we start to envision an expanded type of roof (Fig. 5), one that is also thickened to incorporate attic-like conditions for wildlife occupancy? Or could we imagine a building that is grounded by a similarly ‘thick’ foundation, or an expanded volume of ground that provides spaces for subterranean and terrestrial species?

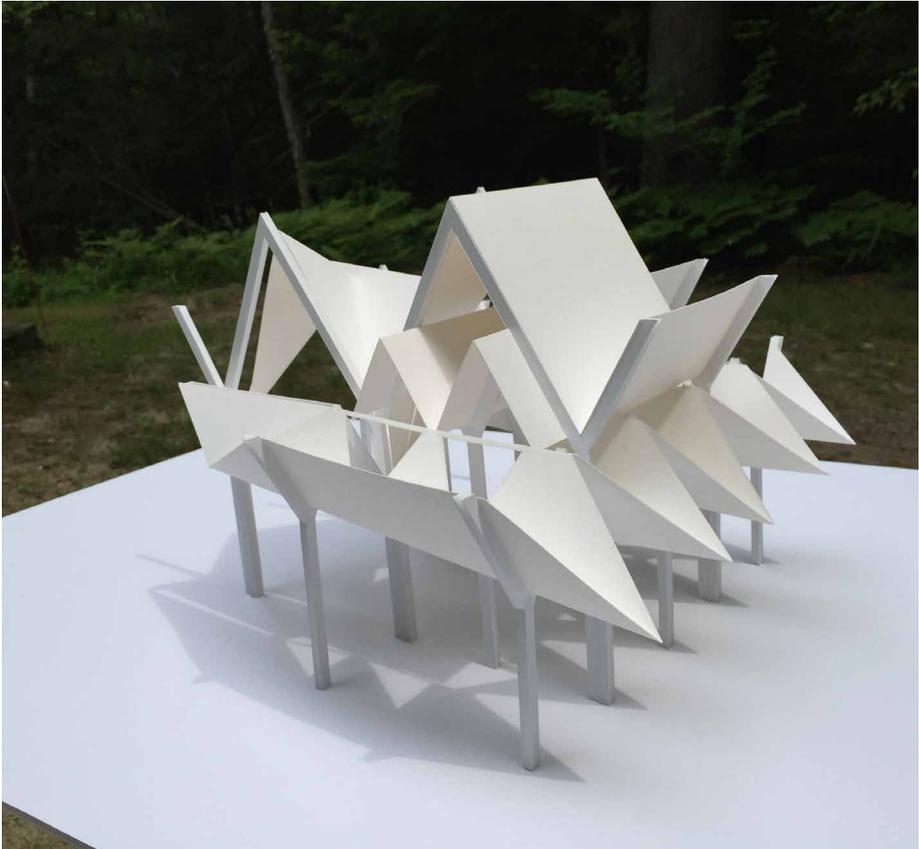
Fourth, advocacy asks us to reflect on our own ethical positions.

In thinking about the trajectory of cross species design, we will reach a point when we as architects will need to grapple with ethical dimensions of including and instrumentalizing animals as part of our ecosystem. As animals begin to occupy a more visible place in the conception and construction of urban environments, we will need to revisit the question of how we are defining the limits between ‘our’ world and that of the ‘other.’ As we begin scripting animals into our plans for buildings and cities, we will need to ask ourselves: how will we consider their ‘value’ not in terms of performance and aesthetics, but also as sentient forms of life?

These four imperatives – 1) to identify and reveal overlooked conditions, 2) to focus on shifting public attitudes, 3) to change the status quo of what has been conventionally accepted, and 4) to reflect on ethical positions – lead us to think about larger questions around the role of Architecture as a service industry. If Architecture is indeed a form of “service,” who exactly are we serving? Through my research and practice, I have become interested in the notion of an “audience” that is neither a client nor an ‘official’ stakeholder. These are users – both human and nonhuman – who are unwittingly affected by architecture and contend with its consequences, yet they do not have a voice in architecture’s processes. In order to proactively engage these audiences, therefore, it is critical to explore design practice in a different way.

Focusing and expanding on these issues of redefining audiences and stakeholders, I recently co-edited (with Martha Bohm and Gabrielle Printz) a book titled *Beyond Patronage: Reconsidering Models of Practice* (2015). As we well understand, the profession of architecture centers on the conventional notion of “patronage” and is shaped by its implications. Patronage – or relationships between clients (patrons) and architects (those in service to the patrons) – has indeed had a defining role in our understanding of

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Fig. 5
Co-Occupancy
Photo:
Joyce Hwang



architectural practice. Key relationships between architects and private clients have enabled the development and realization of some of the most significant canons of work. Today, conventional patronage is still thriving, and, of course, it is necessary to maintain the profession. Yet, we have to be aware that embedded within these relationships are power structures that tend to give advantages to wealthy patrons and people connected to them, and established networks and circles (such as ‘old boys’ clubs’). These established forms of patronage tend to feed a system in which dominant cultures remains dominant.

In initiating the *Beyond Patronage* project, we were interested in what we perceive to be a shifting landscape of patronage today. We see an increasing number of designers who are engaging in broader collaborative relationships and finding forms of *enablement* outside of these dominant modes of practice, and actively redefining the role of sponsorship in architecture and design.

Added to that, there is a growing sense of urgency around pressing issues today – whether they are economic, political, or ecological issues – that is influencing practices in different ways and provoking designers to confront our own disciplinary priorities and assumptions. These emerging issues are ultimately asking us a number of questions: How can architecture transcend its status as a “service” industry to move beyond primarily serving those who can afford it? How can architecture be more inclusive of diverse interests and audiences? How do we initiate work on projects that advocate for what we believe is important and urgent?

To start addressing many of these issues, in 2012, we organized a symposium at the University at Buffalo, State University of New York — which was then expanded into the book — that centered on three themes:

1. Architect as Initiator: architects who seek out ways to initiate and fund their own project through forms of creative entrepreneurship, or by forming new processes of collaboration.
2. Architect as Detective: architects who conduct research and deploy strategies to reveal the unknown, finding clues to ‘discover’ projects where they were thought not to exist.
3. Architect as Advocate: architects who find and define ‘clients’ and ‘audiences’ where they were thought not to exist. These architects reach out to communities beyond the conception of the typical moneyed client, they engage-underrepresented populations and reconsider who the audiences and users are, and their subjectivities.

At one level the book was about expanding on models of practice, reflecting on ways to move architecture beyond the status of ‘service’ and toward a vehicle for advocacy or revealing knowledge. And already since the writing of the book, we have seen a multitude of new examples emerging in both the academy and practice. But at another level, the symposium and book also advocate for thinking about architecture beyond the dominant master narratives, and to consider a much more pluralistic view on architectural issues, and ways of practicing. It should be noted that the *Beyond Patronage* project was conceived of with a decidedly feminist agenda, one that would also advocate for women in architecture. Indeed, we invited all women speakers to the initial symposium to make a statement. Today, when one sees an ‘all male panel’, it is hardly a disruption in the status quo. Although we now see an emerging number of online and social media watchdogs monitoring the frequency of all male panels – such as “Congrats you have an All Male Panel” (2017) – it is still infrequent that one might find a panel or event consisting of all women, without it explicitly being labeled as a ‘women’s event. Citing Lori

Brown's research presented in *Beyond Patronage* (2015), in the 2011-12 academic year, out of 73 U.S. schools of architecture's lecture series, 65% had no woman or 1 woman in its series, and 34.3% – that is, over one-third of all schools – had no women as part of its public programming.

Now in the 21st century, we may like to think that we are already in a post-gender, inclusive world. However, many events of even the immediate past – such as the results of the 2016 presidential election in the United States – have shown that this is not the case. Not only are the rights and dignity of women still being challenged, but so are the rights and dignity of so many others, due to their race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, and gender. Indeed, approaching our work as Advocates is essential to undertake, now more than ever. It is imperative, as in the spheres of society and politics, that we as architects must resist the urge to move smoothly along with the tides – that is, to go along with 'business as usual'. That kind of complacency, especially in the face of the challenges before us, will not only impede any social, environmental, or cultural progress that has been made, but more fundamentally, it will slowly and unperceivably drive a stake into the heart of humanity itself.

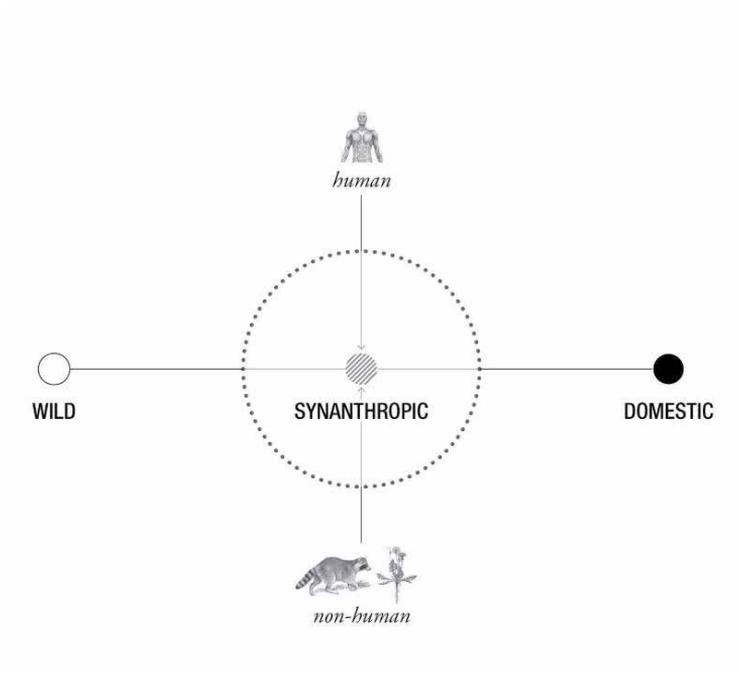
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Synanthropic condition

Species who benefit from living in close proximity to humans



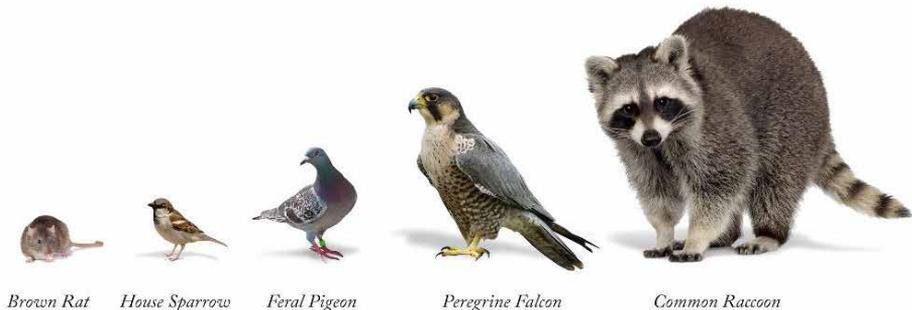
Urban bestiary: Compendium of synanthropic beasts

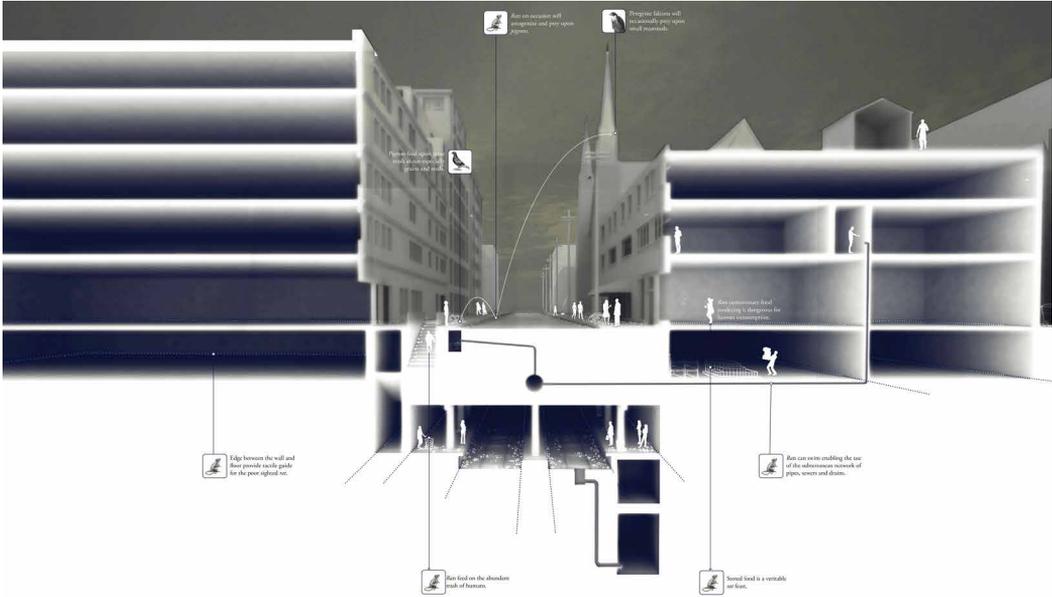
Ongoing Research, Sarah Gunawan

Animals are invading the city. Once wild animals are now adapting to the urban ecosystem and a new human animal relationship is emerging. Between the domestic and the wild are the synanthropic species, defined as animals who benefit from living in close proximity to humans yet, remain beyond their control. Within our posthuman reality, architecture has the capacity to engage and negotiate human-animal conditions.

Representing the Other presents two design-research projects which leverage posthuman thinking towards a sympoetic design process, or making-with our non-human neighbours. The ongoing research project *Urban Bestiary* examines a selection of synanthropic species and the specific cities they inhabit to unpack the conditions of our shared urban environments from alternate perspectives. Experimental drawings and detailed biological and cultural cataloguing give representation to our overlooked animal neighbours and reveal how anthropogenic patterns of urbanization inherently enable multi-species cohabitation.

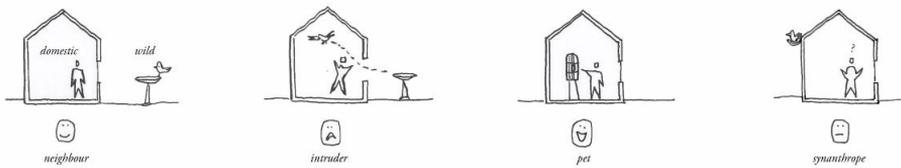
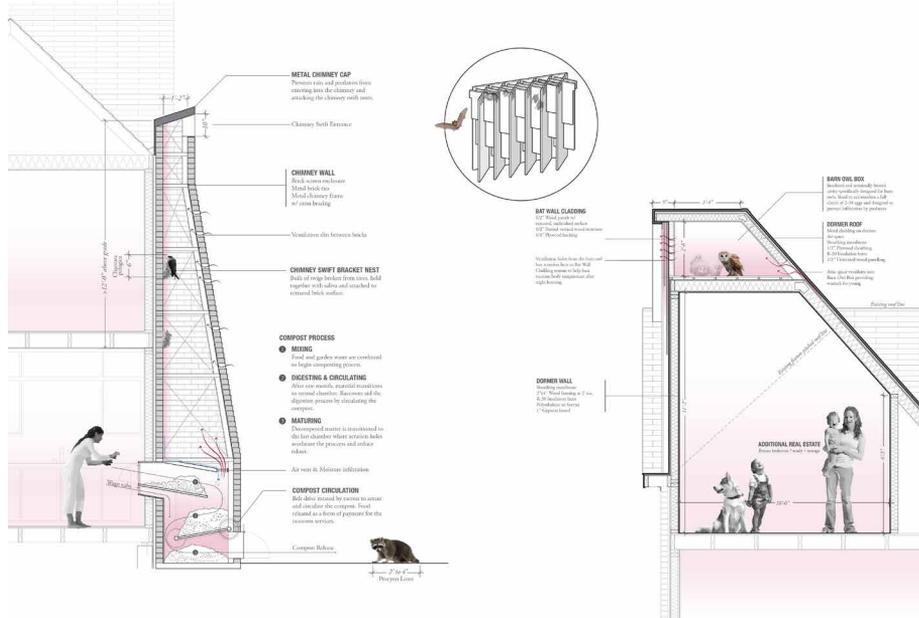
Synanthropic Suburbia intervenes within the expanding landscape of North American suburbs, focusing on the space of greatest tension between human and animal – the domestic territory of the house. The project re-structures human animal interactions through a series of architectural prosthetics, which subvert the banal architectural language of single-family homes. When multiplied across communities, the prosthetics establish new spatial patterns capable of supporting a diversity and density of human and non-human species





Urban Umwelt Rat's perception of the built environment, Sarah Gunawan

Urban Umwelt Pigeon's perception of the built environment



++ From within the house, the bird is perceived as a friendly neighbour, even admired as a form of "wild" in the city.

++ Opening the window blurs the physical limit between inside and out. *Control* is relinquished and the bird is now capable of entering the domestic realm.

++ A cage is used to contain and control the actions of the bird. The relationship between human and animal is restructured within the house.

++ Cohabitation between human and animal occurs in the thickness of the building envelope. The physical limit of the house provides habitat for the bird and blurs the degree of *control* the human has over the bird.

control perception

The building envelope is an architectural boundary that divides interior from exterior and provides the human occupant with *control* of its domestic environment.

Human *perception* deems the presence of the bird within the house as undesirable. It is disruptive, *uncontrolled* and a threat to the conditions of domesticity.

The *perception* of the bird is that it is a pet, treated with respect and kept within the house for entertainment and companionship.

The conceptual limits of human and animal territory are poorly defined. For some humans this may be tolerable, for others it could be considered perverse.

Synanthropic Suburbia Compost Chimney & Habitat Dormer Sections, Sarah Gunawan
Synanthropic space of interaction Influence of control on human perception of and interaction with non-humans, Sarah Gunawan



The Bologna Holocaust Memorial proposal, Panoramic View, Bologna, Render, 2015
Yael Reisner Studio - Design team: Yael Reisner, Director in collaboration with: Abel Maciel, Architect / Computer Engineer & Nick Cramp, Partner @ Max Fordham, Senior Engineer and light specialist. Architectural Assitants: Claudia Tanskanen, Viktor Johansson, Elin Daun and Maja Linse

THE BEAUTY ENIGMA, ITS NEW MAGNITUDE IN SUSTAINABLE ARCHITECTURE AND THE POSSIBLE REPERCUSSIONS ON INNOVATIVE DESIGN PROCESS

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Abstract

In the architectural world, since the late 1940s, aesthetic consideration and active visual thinking became repressed and ceased to exist as leading generators in the design process. It started when function took over as the form generator, augmented by the critique on the 'hegemony of the eye', and the intellectualisation of the thought process, undermining primary qualities in architecture.

The paradox is that the first measure to judge architecture is still its capacity to create a great aesthetic experience.

By 2014, the neurobiologist Semir Zeki proved that when we experience different types of beauty — visual, musical, mathematical and moral — each lead immediately to an increased pleasure measured in the emotional brain, and the intensity can be quantified. The experience of beauty leads to humans' well-being and physical health.

We cannot define beauty in simple terms nevertheless our civilisation couldn't exist without the recurrence of experiencing beauty.

It is time for architects to respond. New meanings in sustainable architecture should be explored through a new pursuit of beauty — leading to radically innovative design process, along inventiveness, while differentiated by designers' culture — aspiring to increase human well-being, bearing in mind that without beauty the whole idea of sustainability fails.

Keywords

Beauty, visual, intellectualisation, sustainability, interdisciplinary, neurobiology

The Denigration of the Eye Regime through the twentieth century in Architecture and the Visual Arts

In Western culture, in architecture as in the visual arts generally, the human sense of vision became the most slandered of our senses through the twentieth century and culturally discredited of its added values, and extensively so. Aesthetic consideration, particularly an active

visual thinking with the incentive and aspiration for beautiful architecture became mostly repressed.

Aiming at newness is a primal human endeavour, nevertheless, this historically new cultural shift affects our society and the environment we live in, quite negatively since, as confirmed scientifically, the daily experience of beauty is an essential part of our neurobiological structure. Our civilisation couldn't exist without the recurrence of the pleasurable experience of beauty.

Hence, we need to understand the resistance amongst architects, to focus on creating aesthetic pleasure in architecture, so as to find a way to diffuse the repression of the pursuit of beauty.

Servicing society through the implementation of ethic, not aesthetics

In architecture, until the late 1920s, the sense of vision was pre-eminent and leading triumphantly for thousands of years the aspiration to beauty, as in the visual arts. One of the latest successful episodes was contributing to early modernism a distinctive vocabulary and language. Thus, Early Modernism in architecture came out with a new and very clear aesthetic, as the historian Reyner Banham (1960) reminded us — Mondrian's abstract art¹ was followed and adopted in the early 1920s, by Mies van der Rohe's Red Brick Villa, Rietveld's Schroeder House, Le Corbusier's Terraces House, and the rest of the world followed —. Those turned to the 'winning image' of the twentieth century, fresh appealing, and reflecting on the 'depersonalisation of art' as well as symbolising a universal beauty.

But, by the early 1940s, as Banham claimed (1960), the architectural world nearly forgot that sequence of events, after the modernist's logic and aesthetics were shifted to a practical notion of functionality, due to the three well-known historians' interpretation and influence — Sigfried Giedion, Alberto Sartoris, and Lewis Mumford —, while acting as the modernism's apologists, in Germany, Italy and the USA. Thus, the aesthetic tendencies were eliminated unless based on logical and economic grounds, and led to the change of the modernist scene, to what became its attribute — 'Form Follows Function' — for many years to come.

As a result, since the late 1940s, the architect's ethos of servicing society was expressed through the implementation of practicality and objectivity when function took over as the form generator. That turned a cultural myth for at least thirty years. Generations of

¹ Mondrian's 'composition with line', 1917.

architects used the expression ‘aesthetic is embedded in ethics’ and took it for granted, while undermining the significance of anything to do with aesthetic consideration. The ethical discourse was the invested one and consciously part of the design process, whereas visual thinking was taken for granted. That notion turned a cliché, as is reflected in an equivalent expression — ‘Less Aesthetics More Ethics’ —, the 2000 Venice Biennale’s title.

Moreover, as part of the socio-political agenda, democracy’s public opinion took over individual taste and power (Ong, 1967), acting as another reductive factor, regarding not only the presence of individuality but towards what seems to be subjective, endorsing what is understood as fair and objective.

The Intellectualisation of the thought process

The cultural historian Marvin Perry (1993) explains that the intellectualization of the visual thought process started with the introduction of script and the alphabetic typography during the fifteen century, followed by the invention of the ‘perspective’, by Alberti, and the increased use of maps, as further abstraction of visual description. One witnesses that during the late twentieth century in informational data and statistics, where a growing appreciation of factual reports, expressed in diagrams and graphs, gathered popularity, along factual observation and recording — X-ray or MRI scans, for example —.

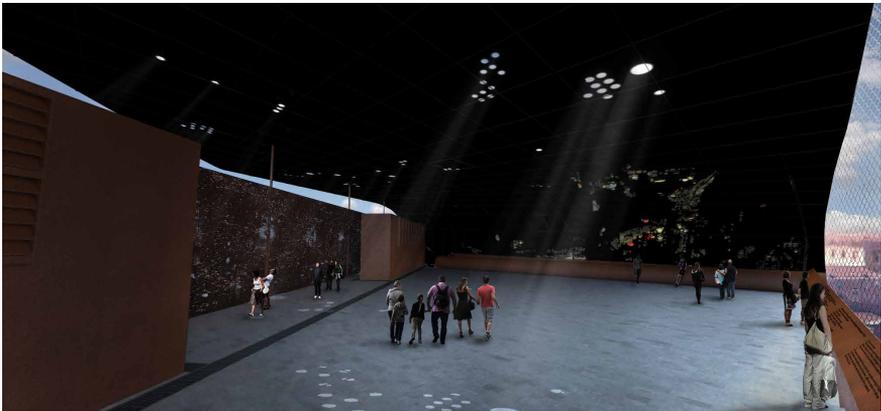
Both, procedures of abstractions and five hundred years of scientific revolutions, have encouraged in people a trust in the rational faculties. The intellectualisation of the thought process domineers, and interferes with our visual thinking, and due to its sweeping mode, the significance of intuition and instincts is undermined, and with it what is perceived as subjective, including aesthetic judgment.

A contempt for the visual dimension in the visual arts, including architecture, brought in a hard language against visual thinking, such as blaming it for the ruling ‘eye regime’ or for the rule of ‘the Autonomy of the eye’, and culturally, in time, visual thinking was perceived if not deceptive, then absolutely superficial, and as lacking an intellectual depth. By the 1990s, the denigration of the ‘hegemony of the eye’ (Jay, 1993) was there to stay. It gathered an abusive cultural trajectory.

I believe that what reflected on the intellectualisation of the thought process, was the moment when the three architectural historians acted as the apologists of modernism, but actively brought a total shift — to what the protagonists initiated — towards a rational thinking leading through objectified utility. That phenomenon was augmented by Mark Wigley, at the end of the 1980s, when he curated the ‘Deconstructivist Architecture’ at the MoMA (1988) wiping a whole decade of projects where the architects believed that “...art, not design, is



**The Bologna
Holocaust
Memorial
proposal**
Interior view,
Render, 2015



the supreme mission of architecture...” as summarised by James Wines. Wigley promoted, through the catalogue and the show, Derrida and Deconstructivism, where Bernard Tschumi and Peter Eisenman were in support of, but not at all the other exhibitors Wigley selected for the show, as Frank Gehry, Coop-Himmelblau, Zaha Hadid, Daniel Libeskind, and Rem Koolhaas. The interesting phenomenon, as in the first round, by the three historians in the 1940s, Wigley brought a shift to the architectural scene as a whole, and particularly to the architectural education. Derrida’s philosophy was introduced to schools of architecture’s curriculum, followed by Deleuze later on, and the practising architects’ thirst for objectifying knowledge was, yet again, re-endorsed.

Moreover, until the late 1970s, in neuroscience, the seeing mechanism was erroneously understood as a passive one, and even when the opposite was proved, more than thirty years ago (Zeki, 2009), the dissemination into culture, as we can witness, is still hardly

there, since the negative attitude towards the ‘eye regime’ is still shared by many architects, who miss completely the facts about the seeing mechanism role, participating in human’s creative thinking, as well as in providing the daily needed visual pleasures.

A good example is the influential book by Juhani Pallasmaa, published first time in 1995, sold out, and re-published in 2005; *The Eyes of the Skin, Architecture and the Senses*, Academy Editions, highlighting the critique on Western ocularcentric tradition, while blaming modernism and even more the period between 1960s to 1990s for extending the ‘hegemony of vision’ to a fault. Most titles in the book’s first part captured his approach: ‘Critics of Ocularcentrism’, ‘The Narcissistic and Nihilistic Eye’, ‘Retinal Architecture and the loss of Plasticity’, ‘An Architecture of Visual images’.

Science dissemination is slow when in contradiction to cultural beliefs, and even when its findings are studied and quoted, cultural historians, often, sift new knowledge through their set of beliefs, as we can witness through Harry Francis Mallgrave’s books since 2011, where he communicates a new scientific advances, though his conclusions take the reader back to his older cultural standing, and in agreement, as it happens, with Juhani Pallasmaa overriding Existential view of the world.

The early digital scene in architecture

The intellectualisation of the design process was well reflected through John Frazer’s ‘Evolutionary Architecture’, or Greg Lynn’s early work. Lynn borrowed terminology from Mathematics and Philosophy, Leibniz and Deleuze², and opted for a biological model, the embryonic model, in 1997. Through the embryological House Lynn re-thinks the notion of the manufactured house, moving from the modernist idea of a form based on modules to a form based on potentially unlimited iterations derived from a basic form; gaining speed and variability. But the point I wish to make is that Lynn’s angle was far more infectious than Gaetano Pesce’s brilliant design, concept and application, of a similar idea, the ‘mass production of originals’ thirty years earlier, since the unlimited variety was achieved through exciting digital tools, along its pseudo-scientific intellectual approach (Reisner & Watson, 2010, p.114). Same when Lynn edited the AD magazine issue ‘Folding’ — which was sold out and revised — the conceptual discussion through digital architecture was incredibly fresh and original — bringing in, of course, Deleuze too, though ‘folding’ was already seen designed by Enric Miralles, Ron Arad, and others. Lynn’s success was not only due to his fresh digital design speculations, but also due to the intellectualized design pursuit — .

² Deleuze’s philosophical texts became popular in 1990s amongst architects, following the focus on Derrida’s texts.

Nevertheless, the pseudo-scientific turn was over by the early Noughties, when digital architecture was firmly embraced by the architectural community at large and emerged beyond pure speculation, delivered practicality, speed, and efficiency. Yet, digital opportunities led to a new turning point.

Digital architecture and the different second phase

The fascination with enriched design procedures, software development and programming, as well as architectural design, was revealed already by 2010, and furthermore these days, wherein the most familiar design procedures — the CAD-CAM³ system — there is a reliance on the craftsmanship of the design produced, and often the architects have the best skills for producing the most progressive drawings in terms of sophistication and complexity. Clearly, it resides in and controlled by the drawing, and that reality is reflecting on a meaningful change, though culturally still inconsistent with the general anti-subjectivist digital approach.

Architects turned from thinkers that activate others, to makers through drawing. A revolutionary shift from the visionaries who often led design processes through the crafts of others, to the craftsmen themselves, where the craft is in their own drawings; an unexpected challenge to the state of authorship, and to the intellectualisation of the design process.

The return to the author⁴ became already a reality during the last few years⁵ in the creative fields of writing⁶, music⁷, dance⁸, and in design and architecture too, the author status is back to conversation, though naturally with some modifications.

When robots are the manufacturers, and when sharing digital files is common, authorship turns to ownership. Nevertheless, the human authorial voice is acknowledged again through augmenting the digital intelligent design with human perception, awareness and intuitive decision making, so as to be able to go beyond the digital gains.

Yet again cultural biases affect the academic advances, this time in digital architecture, where inconsistencies and fascinations have their own resistance, thus the anti-subjectivist approaches still continue to thrive, and indeterminacy as self-organised systems are popular in design procedures, in digital fabrication, as in socially driven architecture.

opposite page
The Bologna Holocaust Memorial proposal
 Exterior view from the bridge, which articulate a large fresco of flowers. based on the photography of the artist Ori Gersht, as explained in the article

³ Computer Aided Design – Computer Aided Manufacturing

⁴ As opposed to the popular ‘death of the author’ in literature and visual arts initiated in the late 1960s, and effected architecture.

⁵ The novelist and theorist Seán Burke in his book entitled *The Death and Return of the Author*, shows how the attempt to abolish the author is philosophically untenable, and demonstrates that the concept of the author remained profoundly active.

⁶ Contemporary novelists, such as Jonathan Franzen is known to be the skillful author behind an authentic creation.

⁷ PC Music collective

⁸ Spangberg Marten — performer / Dance.



The remarkable paradox in architecture

The remarkable paradox is that in spite of all the cultural issues mentioned through this section, the first measure to judge architecture is still its capacity to create an aesthetic experience. Surprisingly that yardstick has never changed.

What makes architecture often complex, since the second half of the twentieth century, particularly amongst practising architects, is that there are many contents involved. The significance attached to each of the contents is changing in time, as the list itself or its hierarchy. The same happens when the design process is analogue, digital⁹, or both combined, environmentally driven, or based on social project, and so on. Engaging with different contents is depending on the architect's approach to design. The content's list might include, a brief, program, budget, structure principles, technologies and materials application, ecological considerations, environment, socio-political issues, cultural context; collective and personal, and ethics. The number of contents one is engaged with might fluctuate, but the fascinating aspect is that the characterised aesthetics of a project is achieved by its visual nature that is slowly evolved through the design process. There is a moment when all the contents dissolve into one coherent synthesised body of work — the project — whereas its aesthetics is the cohering entity. The visual characteristics are slowly generated, created, sometimes coerced,

⁹ In digital architecture since its early days in the 1990s, the pursuit of 'form' took the lead and content often is 'fused' with form (perhaps due to the status of speculations or pure academic research, opting for parameters' reduction). Hence form making is discussed, but since the anti-subjectivist inclination is still prevalent, there is no conversation on aesthetics or contents.

and tweaked, from concepts, ideas, and personal culture — that is often a reflection on a collective culture — and the ingredients developed, then differentiated, until all fall into place — a pleasing moment in design —.

Architects, for example, Glenn Murcutt, or Thom Mayne, take pride in the contents they manage to bring together, while insisting that any aesthetic consideration is not involved in their design process, undermining the significance of their aesthetic judgment. That paradoxical conundrum has an explanation too. Our visual sense works continuously, as a secret weapon, along the design process of form or placemaking. When assessing an aesthetic judgment — as confirmed scientifically by Semir Zeki¹⁰ — a sifting process is taking place, while only what looks pleasing is sifted through, and what's not goes somewhere else.

The eye regime - not the right term anymore

The eye is not there by itself to see the world, but our sense of vision is a result of an active collaboration between the eyes and the visual brain. The visual brain is a quarter of our brain and there is a whole brain mechanism that is responsible for what we see, comprehend what we see, and have a judgment about it.

The neurobiology of the visual brain moved on a long way since those fierce cultural battles started. Shedding these modernist clichés and wrong beliefs about the human sense of vision could lead to a remarkable gain.

The beauty enigma

I was compelled for a long time to discover more about the elusive nature of the experience of beauty and started meeting, in summer 2014, Semir Zeki to discuss the fascinating subject. Zeki is a professor of neurobiology, and neuroaesthetics (the neurobiology of aesthetics), at UCL. As he confirms, we cannot define beauty in simple terms, and yet, he added, our civilisation couldn't exist, evolutionary wise, without the recurrence of experiencing beauty, which is an essential part of our neurobiological structure.

The experience of beauty and the emotional brain

In 2011 Zeki discovered that there is a single set of characteristics defining beauty, and it actually comes from the brain! The only thing that all beautiful works of art have in common is the common denominator of the many different experiences of beauty, and

¹⁰ A British neurobiologist, a world expert of the visual brain and the neural correlates of affective states, such as the experience of love, desire and beauty that are generated by sensory inputs.

it resides in our brain, and not in the work of art, or in nature, as was regarded before. An immediate judgment by the brain gives us the pleasure that is caused by all the different types of beauty, visual, musical and moral, all registered in the same area of the emotional brain (Ishizu & Zeki, 2011). In 2014, the experience of Mathematical beauty was added to that arsenal of beauties (Zeki *et al.*, 2014), when Zeki discovered it was registered in the very same brain area, which is surprising and made it even more of a fascinating observation, since mathematical beauty is a highly cognitive experience, whereas, a biological beauty, such as of beautiful face or flower, is a sensorial one.

Zeki also discovered in 2011, that the pleasure reward of any type of the emotional, aesthetic experience of beauty, the different sensations of these subjective states of beauty, were registered, all in the very same area of the emotional brain, which is the Medial Orbito Frontal Cortex (mOFC), a region in the emotional brain (Ishizu & Zeki, 2011).

In other words, the experience of beauty rewards people neurobiologically with an immediate reaction of an aesthetic pleasure, which leads to actual physical health and a feeling of wellbeing. Zeki found that when we look at things we consider to be beautiful, there is increased activity in the pleasure reward centres of the brain. There is a great deal of dopamine in this area, also known as the ‘feel-good’ transmitter. “The reaction is immediate”¹¹. We immediately know when we experience beauty, and the intensity of that emotional experience can be quantified digitally and scientifically these days.

That discovery welcomed the celebration of Einstein’s hundred years of the theory of relativity that took place in November 2015, and fascinatingly as was described, at that week’s issue of *The Economist*,

The theory... was quickly and widely accepted, [in 1915], not least thanks to the sheer beauty of its mathematical expression; a hundred years on, no discussion of the role of aesthetics in scientific theory seems complete without its inclusion.

The unshaken trust in the role of Aesthetics in Mathematical Physics today

In parallel to these findings, another claim of cultural interest is taking place these days, especially in Mathematical Physics. Robert Dijkgraaf¹² asserts¹³ that our days are the golden days of the relationship between Mathematics and Physics, as there is more scientific evidence than ever that mathematical beauty plays an important role.

¹¹ Semir Zeki, <https://neuroaesthetics.net/2011/08/21/toward-a-brain-based-theory-of-beauty-ishizu-zeki-2011/>.

¹² Robert Dijkgraaf, the mathematical physicist who has made significant contributions to string theory and the advancement of science education. The Director of the Institute for Advanced Study and Leon Levy Professor since July 2012.

¹³ At his augural lecture at MIT, when he became the director of the Institute for Advanced Study (IAS).

It is still quite astonishing to realise that mathematicians seek out patterns — subjectively — through an active thought process, and use them to write new formulae about nature's order guided by mathematical beauty, and then these beautiful formulae — usually after years of further research by other scientists — are proved right!

That is enigmatic for the laymen as for the leading physicists and mathematicians.

Beauty in mathematics, in architecture, in art: all share similar characteristics

As the English mathematician, Hardy wrote:

...The beauty of a mathematical theorem depends a great deal on its seriousness, even in poetry the beauty of a line may depend to some extent on the significance of the ideas which it contains..." (Hardy, 1940, p. 88). On 'pure aesthetics' in theorems, Hardy wrote: "there is a very high degree of unexpectedness, combined with inevitability and economy (Hardy, 1940, p.112).

Just as in mathematics (Aharoni, 2014), when we experience beauty in architecture it is a quality that is unexpected, fresh, significant, and clear (economical). When we design, we are familiar with the moment, like the mathematicians, when all fall into place. We are pleased since that moment is when the beauty was noted. "The sensation of beauty arises when order is suddenly revealed in disorder" (Aharoni, 2014).

The unexpected difference between Mathematical physics and the Visual arts

Amongst mathematicians and physicists, the appreciation of beauty never wind down, on the contrary, they had a lot of reasons to put further trust in the lead of beauty in mathematical equations as guidance to truth.

When mathematicians sift through the many options while developing a new theory, their thought process is often guided by beauty (as in a design process, but architects, are mostly dis-interested, or take it for granted).

In Mathematics, historically, it never stopped, and this tendency was enhanced through the twentieth century and more so during the last twenty years.

It is a reminder of the long history in the visual arts, and of the days when aspiring to beauty was a goal amongst most artists and architects. Nevertheless, it is not a common design's generator for nearly eighty years.

The major part of our Brain's mechanism to Gather Knowledge takes place in our visual brain

People associate gathering knowledge with reading books, visiting libraries, or more popularly these days, learning online, and surfing through the Internet to get to know more. But apparently, it was discovered that the role of our sense of vision is the major tool to gather knowledge, about the world.¹⁴ That was discovered by Zeki who claims, after studying the organization of the visual brain for many decades, that unlike what was believed for a very long time we understand our world through seeing, while seeing is not a passive impression — like an image on a camera's film —, as was misunderstood for a very long time.

A fascinating biological mechanism was unravelled, during the last quarter of the twentieth century. The human's seeing mechanism is taking place mostly in the brain, where the visual brain is responsible for seeing, judging and interpreting what we see, and all pretty much at the same time. Humans are particularly visual creatures. There is no difference between our brain knowledge and what is out there; our reality is only our brain reality (Zeki, 2009).

Zeki found, by 1978, that the retina is responsible only for the initial stage of seeing, and part of elaborate machinery designed to see, extended from the retina to the brain's cerebral cortex, where the major part of the machinery is located.

Zeki's conclusion was that the brain handles different attributes of the visual scene in different, geographically distinct, subdivisions; there are many visual areas in the brain. "...in fact, we now know that there are many visual areas outside area V1, in the cortex surrounding it" (Zeki, 2009, p.32),

all specialised to process and perceive different attributes of the visual scene, in a parallel processing (Zeki, 1999).

A remarkable discovery by Zeki was that to gather useful information, in an environment that is constantly changing, the brain actually constructs our colour vision (Zeki, 1999, pp. 227-229).

Anything that we perceive leads to us being conscious of it, while consciousness is not unitary but a plural phenomenon. It is biologically a survival tool to be driven by micro-consciousnesses, an unsynchronised fragmentary process, gained through the different brain activities, not losing time by waiting for a unitary one. That reflects on the revolutionary shift in our understanding that seeing and understanding both happening along each other.

¹⁴ Prof. Zeki was the first amongst the neurobiologist to bring that to conversation as he proved it through his scientific body of work.

The architects' aspiration to focus on objective and rational design processes, while suspect intuition¹⁵ and lateral thoughts — since, tragically, both don't count as rigorous thinking — brought to an environment which is alienating and to life which is impoverished, while holding back the health and joy that pleasurable architecture brings, as the experience of beauty.

Back to the aspiration for beauty through a new approach to sustainable architecture. Through the twentieth century, most architects haven't considered enough the environmental impact or the related psychological effects of their work on the city dwellers. The ambition was to build up an autonomous world separated from the sun's control; a world of controlled interiority where real nature is kept at bay, not enough experienced and too often abused.

These days, most architects are occupied with sustainability, in practice and academe, and yet, sustainable architectural design is still in its beginning, conceptually, philosophically and artistically.

In the basic diagram that explains sustainability, one can observe that a sustainable development is found only when the three territories — environmental, economic and social — are coming together; superimposed. The social one is about human's well-being and health, which as we know by now, could well achieve through introducing the emotional experience of beauty.

Architects, perhaps, should be less resistant and dismissive about designing architecture with the highest motivation to create spatially new experiences of beauty, creating new meanings in architecture. It is our role to bring new *beauty* to cities, substituting alienation with a wider pallet of emotions involved, and more importantly, in the context of ecologically designed environment.

New meanings explored through a new pursuit of beauty

My activity as a practising architect could be characterised by few design paths of research projects such as the *Orchidacea* installation (an on going project), *Take My Hand* installation built in Barcelona (2014), or the Bologna Holocaust Memorial competition proposal (2015).

The proposal for the Bologna Holocaust Memorial competition was a collaborative project with the computer engineer, Dr Abel Maciel, and the artist/photographer, Ori Gersht.

¹⁵ In the Free Dictionary intuition is: "The faculty of knowing or understanding something without reasoning or proof." Intuitions take place in creative thinking and often visualized first before being phrased.

The memorial square is looking West, into the open horizon, above a railway station, with numerous rail tracks, leading to Auschwitz, amongst other European destinations. That view led to the main set of ideas, where the embedded artwork aimed at adding to the content and its aesthetics, provoking thoughts and emotions in the beholder. We introduce new meaning to the photography, as well as to the walls it was applied. Two large epic photographs embedded into the 'scroll-wall' and two others into the 'wing-wall', all became new large frescos, perforated, embossed, and pigmented.

The concept of duality prevailed through the project, as the views from the memorial square, and the epic photography in it were very different in character from the views seen outside of the installation, where the passer-by would see different imagery, along the daily, mundane context. Dual relationship of the memories of the tragic history versus thoughts of an emphatic future, the horror lived by the victims versus momentarily pleasure drawn from beauty. We designed the dividing surfaces so the sunrise light would enhance certain views and atmosphere in the square vs. others in sunset time; the two extreme conditions along the daily light changes as the sun moves through the sky¹⁶.

'Beauty' is not a singular idea. The beautiful is many, as always was. The experience of beauty, especially in times of aiming at social inclusiveness helped by participatory architecture, is worthy an active pursuit, bearing in mind that without beauty the whole idea of sustainability fails.

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¹⁶ More at www.yaelreisner.com

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So far, technocratic responses to environmental deterioration are not having the desired effects, or at least they do not seem to be enough, as each climate change summit reveals. This research suggests that we should begin by expanding the ways we understand and become aware of the environment, admitting complexity from a diversity of perspectives, or in other words, changing its ontological and epistemic framework. This can be done with drying riverbeds, polluted oceans, or tropical deforestation, but this text is about urban air. It aims to unpack the meanings and practices of air sensing and explore a feminist approach to sensing our environment. It will focus on two embodied sensing practices: tuning the body to be affected, and collective attunements.

Feminist philosopher Luce Irigaray speaks of the importance of recovering air's materiality, lost in modern western philosophy. To leave aside the notion of air as an empty exteriority -an isolated entity floating over our heads- underlining the physico-chemical relationships it establishes with humans and more-than-humans is needed. Yet because these relationships between air pollution and other entities cannot be sensed simply by measuring concentrations of gases and particles per cubic meter, as scientists and policy-makers do, we will expand the notion of 'sensing' the environment; from 'measuring' — counting — techniques, to practices closer to the notion of 'feeling'¹.

This epistemic expansion has a double objective. Instrumentally, it aims to provide more material for architects, urban planners, and policy-makers to engage with the air and take it into account in urban and architectural projects. Critically, it intends to engage with the air not as a 'matter of fact' provided by science, but as what Bruno Latour termed a 'matter of concern' (2004, pp. 225–48), which asks “how many participants are gathered in a thing to make it exist and to maintain its existence” (2004, p. 246). This engagement is an assembly

¹ It is interesting to notice how in English both meanings can be addressed through the same verb, sensing, while in other languages like Spanish there is no common word for it, and that is why we will use the compound measure/feel from now on.

process, a ‘practice of critique’, expanding the realms of intervention and our capacity for action. So, this text aims to identify other contexts that are already sensing the air differently and to consider how we can use, validate, and legitimise these new types of data as political and architectural material/matters.

One type of sensing practices usually considered alternative modes of sensing are low-cost, DIY sensors designed and built by citizens, like the Smart Citizen or the Air Quality Egg, whose purpose is to produce alternative data and multiply measuring points. These technologies of participation have been found to connect everyday practices with ways of acting upon the environment, yet more importantly, how the political capacities of an object are performative, acquired on deployment (Marres, 2004, pp.510-33). From this perspective, more than the technical capacities of the sensors, what matters is how they are arranged, who uses them, who commits to building them, etc. Thus, we can see how DIY sensing projects shift the capacity to measure and care for air pollution from science to citizens. So, if sensing practices are as relevant as the technologies used, there are countless contexts engaging with the air that we can turn to, from evidence on a cathedral’s stonework to changes in vegetation. Yet just as measuring stations ingest thousands of air particles a day, human bodies do the same, simply breathing.

We will inquire into human bodies, invisibilised by the hard sciences as subjective and non-accurate as sensing devices. Within the social sciences, several studies have shown how citizens’ complex understanding of air is gathered through perception (Barry, 2001), cultural and social practices (Bickerstaff and Walker, 2003, pp. 45–68), and everyday experiences (Macnaghten, 2003, pp. 63–84) — perhaps not solely individual but also collective —, and how it can alter public perceptions of the air. In order to go beyond our connection to the air through our lungs, we will draw on the concept of ‘breathers’ (Choy, 2010) to approach connections through different practices, experiences, or economic relations, aiming to understand how these bodily engagements bring us closer to what Choy (2010) calls the ‘tactility of the atmosphere’. These embodied practices will be considered sensing processes where the main sensing device is the human body, not as the recipient of subjective sensations, but from a Whiteheadian perspective, as a mediator of experience — the process of matter excitation (Halewood and Michael, 2008, pp.31–56) between the air and the bodies it penetrates. This excitation is an affect produced in the process of tuning between different agents, a toxic bodily interaction where all are affected. What follows are two different approaches to this interaction, firstly by tuning the body to be affected, and then through collective atmospheric attunements.

Tuning the body to learn to be affected

Until the Enlightenment, the senses of natural philosophers were an essential part of their experimental apparatus, training and tuning both their body and senses to the object of research in their experiments, ‘learning to be affected’ (Latour 2004).

This kind of sensing was less about spontaneous sensations than long processes of testing, adjusting, synchronising, and attuning². In terms of air pollution, one of the senses most commonly trained for affections was smell — it was, in fact, the first account of an air quality sensing device, in 1856, with nuisance inspectors in Birmingham visiting factories and assigning the toxicity of certain smoke through smell. Today smell is being legitimised again in certain contexts, to the extent that it has been regulated by the EU as a means of measuring when there are no official sensors.

The effects of using trained human noses are varied; firstly, it acknowledges other components of the air such as waste or pollen, for example, introducing cultural value related to histories of colonialism, class, or gender (Schaffer, 2004, pp.147-94). Secondly, it requires movement — as opposed to static institutional or citizen sensors —, sensing the city by navigating it. Thus, it reorganises the places of sensation in the city as processes, including who is able to sense and providing means of knowledge production for engaged citizens/collectives. Just as technological devices acquire normative implications, so does the body understood as a sensing device. Smell, for example, has disciplined both the air — by measuring and regulating it — and the body — with hygiene projects deodorising it in 19th century Europe (Jones, 2006). It has even disciplined institutions — such as the Paris Railway Network (RATP), which had to define and construct the smell of a train line to provide a feeling of security and hygiene (Thiery, 2005) —, and even the city — with the opening of ‘slums’ by Enlightenment planners to circulate ‘fresh air’ and control the population (Foule, cited in Jones, 2006).

Collective atmospheric attunements

Beyond individual bodily tuning and affections, it can be argued that air-related syndromes are collective ways of sensing the environment, where bodies are not seen as active and voluntary measuring devices, but passive sensors affected by different aerial concentrations. These syndromes — Sick Building Syndrome for indoors, Environmental Syndrome for outdoors, or Multiple Chemical Sensitivity Syndrome for both indoor and outdoor spaces

² And which has been a silent aspect of scientific practices until now, as Natasha Myers has found in her fieldwork on biomolecular research. Myers N. 2015, *Rendering Life Molecular: Models, Modelers, and Excitable Matter*, Duke University Press, Durham.

— become visible across a wide range of effects on the body such as stinging eyes, nausea, runny noses, or fatigue. This is not about us letting the air speak or manifest itself (Stengers, 2010), but rather it is the air itself speaking through human nuisances. In these modes of sensing, the senses are not referenced to the ‘technological’, as in the case of smell, but to other modes related to the common empathy of sensation, distress, or anxiety. The process does not begin by defining a common interest, but occurs in the everyday, over time, without events, connected to the daily practices of every individual affected, in a collective network of symptoms or indicators. They are *atmospheric attunements* (Stewart, 2011, pp. 445–53); ways in which people collectively attune to suspended chemicals, specific places, or temporary atmospheres in a wide range of manners and intensities, as a way of inhabiting an urban space that attends to smells, materials, toxic intimacies, and again, *breathers*.

In these atmospheric attunements, knowledge is produced by the collective process of materialising chemical exposures, manifested through their effects on breathers’ bodies, multiple and not easily identifiable, but perceptible and real. Despite being “simply unreliable by our contemporary standards of scientific truth” (Murphy, 2006, p.9), they are nonetheless contested by communities of experts or laypeople. This knowledge emerged from collectively generated atmospheres, in real time, via small talk, spreading the word of these nuisances until they were able to activate the development of practices and devices (research, laboratory trials, labour rights) to produce ‘legitimate’ evidence of these exposures (affects). Yet, “the struggles to render chemical exposures perceptible was not only to observe errant molecules, but also who legitimately observed and who experienced exposures” (Murphy, 2006, p.84). So, the transformative capacity of this sensing process is not just in legitimising exposures, but also in constituting certain bodies as “living detectors”³, transferring the sensing capacity to the collective. It involves sharing and managing affections, breaking down the dichotomies of body/mind and individual/context, where the effects experienced by people cannot be separated from their physical environment⁴. The question is how can such non-linear (and in appearance immaterial) processes of sensing air pollution through/with bodies and attunements affect the city and the air. According to law sociologist Sheila Jasanoff (2010), the only way of putting ‘thin air’ in proper places, of affecting the materiality of the city, is by changing public

³ This is how one of the doctors involved in the MCs in Madrid defines affected people. Accessed June 23, 2013, <http://carlosdeprada.wordpress.com/toxicos-y-salud/enfermedades-y-toxicos/la-sensibilidad-quimica-multiple-multiple-chemical-sensitivity>

⁴ To expand on this see (Shapiro N., *Attuning to the Chemosphere: Domestic Formaldehyde, Bodily Reasoning, and the Chemical Sublime*, «Cultural Anthropology» vol.30, no. 3 (n.d.), pp. 368–93.

space regulations, creating ‘smell free zones’ for example (Fletcher, in Howes, 2005, pp. 380–98). These spaces open access for chemical-sensitive bodies by changing the composition of the air eliminating some of its components and suggest new ways of thinking about the materiality of urban space in terms of how they relate to the air. They are places where air-design happens through the material configuration of the public space, where the air is activated by its problematisation, framed as the air of exposures where what matters is where and how aero-physical interactions take place. This is to say that air pollution needs to be spatialised, not only an issue of public health but also of environmental justice.

We have drawn attention to the practices that bring the air and humans together, focusing on ways of attuning single and collective bodies to gases and particles, with the hope of reimagining sensing from feminist modes and expanding the realms in which we can engage with air pollution. One of the merits of working with human bodies as living detectors is that it enables citizens with no technical expertise to sense and engage with pollution, and challenges scientists to legitimise alternative practices of knowledge production and other forms of evidence. Moreover, it reveals a wider more complex range of variables and features of the air to work with, for architects, urban planners, and policy-makers. This can provide new frameworks to rethink, interpret, and intervene in our cities and the environment.

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Keynote speakers: introduction

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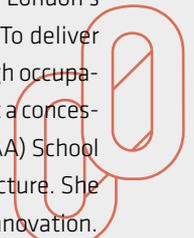
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Maria Novas,
Amelia Vilaplana

Liza Fior and Liisa Horelli were the keynote speakers at #MORE Congress. Their lectures took place on January 26th and 27th 2017, at the Main Hall of the Rectorate Building of the UniFi.



Liza Fior was born in London (UK) where she co-founded *muf architecture/art*. Since 1994, *muf* have established a reputation for pioneering and innovative projects that address the social, spatial and economic infrastructures in the public realm. *muf* are not only specialists in the build environment and the world of art, but also bring unsolicited research to every project. Their work negotiates the frictions between the built and social fabric and the public and the private sector, particularly focusing on East London. *muf* were the authors of the British Pavilion at the Venice Biennale in 2010 and have worked with/in the cities of Pittsburgh, Gothenburg and

Cologne. They have been awarded the 2008 European Prize for Public Space (the first for the UK) for a new 'town square' in Barking, East London. During the austerity days with sparse local investment, *muf* had an important role in both creating public spaces and making spaces public. This work includes their project for the galleries of the London's Science Museum and their collaboration to the Victoria & Albert Museum. To deliver quality and strategic durable projects that inspire a sense of ownership through occupation, is a constant pursuit in *muf* work. The practice philosophy is 'access is not a concession but a gorgeous norm'. Liza has taught at the Architectural Association (AA) School of Architecture, the Royal College of Art (RCA) and the Yale School of Architecture. She is also part of the seminar teaching team on the MA Architecture: Cities and Innovation. Her lecture at the *III International Conference on Gender and Architecture* was titled 'Keynote Creche'. Liza Fior deepened on her working philosophy, always driven by an ambition to realize the potential pleasures that exist at the intersection between the lived and the built. As the author empathises, *muf* "attempt with limited budgets to create places of



dignity, celebration and mystery. Spaces which can host the best and worst of times, settings for the theatre of everyday life, the places used by everyone but more by those not in paid work, whether young people, the carers or the disenfranchised". Through exceptional examples, the author reinforces the importance of research. Even if most of the research in their studio is unsolicited, all their work 'is' actually research. Liza Fior acknowledges how "research is not (or only very rarely) part of the brief" and kindly invite us to expand the brief, to expand the project, and to finally expand architecture.

Liisa Horelli was born in Espoo, Finland. She completed her Ph.D. in environmental psychology in 1993 at the Helsinki University of Technology (now Aalto University), where she continued developing an intense career. After an initial period researching on the dwelling as a psychological environment and the conditions for growing up in Finland, she conducted evaluations from a gender-based perspective for The National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health in Finland (NAWH). In the meantime, she participated as an expert in different European selection and evaluation processes. In 2004 she got the position of Senior Researcher at the Helsinki University of Technology where has been working as professor in the Department of the Built Environment. Since 2009, she supervises academic dissertations and manages projects on the subject of participatory e-planning & Smart Cities. Throughout her career, Liisa has carried out activist research and extensively published in academic and popular journals, writing and editing several articles and books on participatory urban and regional planning –especially focusing on human, gender-sensitive and inter-generational environments. Liisa was the President of the Finnish Evaluation Society and a member of the Board of the European Evaluation Society, being especially active in



its Thematic Working Group on Gender and Evaluation. In 2017, she was studying gendering the self-organisation around Smart (and Wise) Cities, as well as its consequences for urban planning, community development and local co-governance. Among other passions, she loves literature, languages and salsa. Her lecture at the III International Conference on Gender and Architecture was titled "Engendering Urban Planning, successes, constraints and expansions". Liisa Horelli deepened on the existing lack of gender-awareness regarding the supportive infrastructure of the everyday life. Following the author, the relevance of this infrastructure is key; it can help to promote equal opportunities for all the people from different backgrounds in the complex daily settings. Her text argues how engendered expanded urban planning (EP) represents a major opportunity to identify the unresolved environmental challenges related to inequality. Ultimately, to finally create, in the triangle of gender, space and power, a favourable way for our daily life.

People attending keynote lectures

In the first row (Left to right) Amelia Vilaplana, María Novas, Liisa Horelli and Joyce Hwang.

Second row: Paula Vilaplana, Helena Cardona, Dafne Saldaña, Serafina Amoroso and Merea Calvillo.

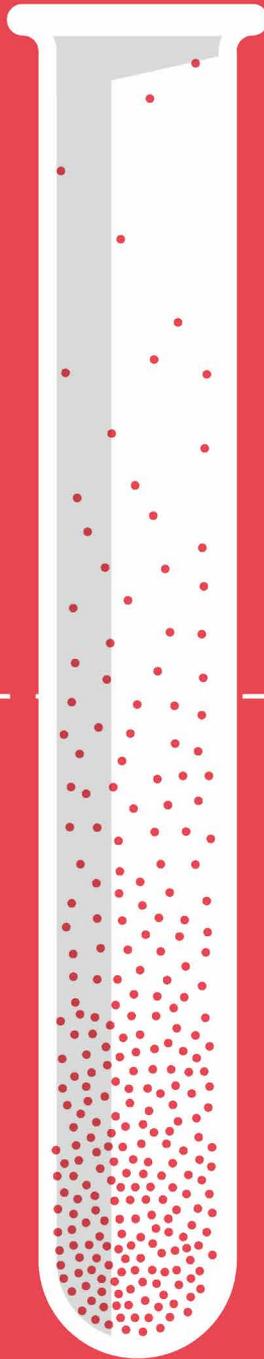
Florence, UniFi - Main Hall of the Rectorate Building, 2017.

(Photo credits: Alba Sotelo)





**KEEP ABOVE
THE LINE
IN 2017**



CONTRIBUTION

COMPROMISE

COMPLICITY



Fig. 1
muf
measuring
device for
projects
Source:
author's
elaboration

Accepting an invitation to a generous and ambitious conference such as MORE is the means to reflect on the work of 'muf architecture/art', established in 1995 by myself, Juliet Bidgood, Katherine Clarke and Katherine Shonfield.

Katherine Clarke (artist) and I still work together as 'muf architecture/art'. Katherine Shonfield sadly died in 2003, but I am lucky enough to still spend time with Juliet and her ever expanding bodies of research.

When my children were small, an invitation such as this was more challenging to honour than it is now, requiring me as it did to leave both the studio and childcare responsibilities. I try not to forget how hard it was. This not forgetting was the reason I suggested that rather than give a talk, I could host a 'Keynote Crèche' and take care of the children of participants. This proved to be a step too far for MORE 2017, although my offer stands for future events. As a keynote speaker at MORE, my paper was not peer-reviewed. In fact, there was no paper – where would I find the time to write one, and would I even know how? Instead I accepted the invitation as a permission to leave the everyday of the studio and its very particular twin pressures of

- a. making sure our work and its outcomes are of a certain quality and
- b. paying the rent.

The luxury of conversations in which time is not allocated was described by Elke Krasny, Jane da Mosto and myself in our chapter in *Feminist Futures of spatial practice* (2017).

Talking together, understood as thinking out loud while listening to each other, is at the core of the conversations of resistance. This thinking aloud in the midst of so much doing is the so-called 'luxury' and thus challenges theoretical thought just as much as practical thought. Our conversations are not a debate, they are not about winning arguments, but much rather about opening perspectives on how to better understand the issues intersected by a question that arises through the course of the conversation. Arriving at the question in order to continue reworking the answers points to both the social and the political dimensions of the conversation. It requires the skill of listening. It allows for the nuanced elaboration of what has been said before as well as the subtle prodding of what has previously remained unsaid. This social dimension of the conversational mode can be understood as the production of shared meaning. The political dimension of the

conversational mode can be understood as a practice of giving equal importance to all the speakers. Shared meaning, as we understand it, is connected with matters of public concern and common interest (Fior, Krasny & da Mosto, 2017, p. 160)

Some years ago, maybe 10, we stopped applying for grants for research. Instead we fund it ourselves and recognise that all research in the studio is unsolicited – though in a sense all our work ‘is’ research, research is not (or only very rarely) part of the brief.

Our built work follows something of the pattern which shadows my transactions with the MORE conference. Step by step: first check it meets my first ‘yuck factor’ reaction - to use the technical term generally found in medical ethics - say yes, and only then find a way to contribute.

Unlike the MORE conference, most commissions are unsavoury in some way. It is inevitable as so-called austerity measures kick in even further and the public sphere is under-funded.

This diagram (Fig. 1) is the in-house, muf measuring device for projects.

After all, any acceptance of a brief suggests complicity. You have to feel around, knocking things over. Sometimes it is you who gets bruised (the compromise) and then it’s about finding the means to make a meaningful contribution to a situation.

muf’s work is predicated on a site-specificity, an accuracy, a getting close to a site through both observation and the ways we worked with those who live in a place. As described by Jane Rendell, “For muf the design process is not an activity that leads to the making of a product but is rather the location of the work itself” (Rendell, 2011, p. 26)

In order that the design proposal is the ‘right fit’, deep hanging out is recommended. But as projects grow, you might find that you are spending more time in meetings than in the place you are working. At that point you need this, a small piece of wood, easily kept in a pocket to wedge open the door where decisions are made, in order to invite others in.

The wedging open of the door of a room we might have finally found ourselves in can be seen as a checking of privilege, and to refer directly to feminism and explorations of intersectionality which can be learnt observing the continual adjustment of (say) the Women’s March as an organisation.

The wedged-open door describes a process, but it also describes the ambitions for the public spaces we design.

We attempt with limited budgets to create places of dignity, celebration and mystery. Spaces which can host the best and worst of times, settings for the theatre of everyday life, the places used by everyone but more by those not in paid work, whether young people, the carers or the disenfranchised.

This is as much about the processes of sharing as it is about the ‘built thing’. I use the *Ospedale degli Innocenti* as a local example, to describe how a building can be simultaneously described as both an architectural artefact and as the wider boundary of the other networks of influences beyond the building line – a fuzzy territory between urbanism and architecture. The loggia and steps address the square beyond, the terracotta roundels celebrate the foundlings and at the same time the archives of the foundation detail the network of wet nurses far beyond the building - an enviable infrastructure of care.

Conceptually, the wedge in the door is the means to expand the definition of the client and the site, to slow down the process of design and, finally, to design schemes which hold within them something unfinished and open to appropriation. Use can change meaning.

I will now use 2 of the 6 examples presented at the talk. These projects are very different in scale but in both cases, there was a stretching of the definition of who was the author because other knowledge was brought in, and a stretching of where the site of the pavilion began and ended because we entered into a 6-month spat with the Biennale and expanded on the title ‘People Meet in Architecture’ by inviting the people of Venice in.

Example 1 — small, temporary

The site was the British Pavilion in Venice, built in the *Giardini* which house pavilions of numerous countries. For the 2010 Biennale we built a timber tribune (1:10 scale of the London Olympic Stadium), a live saltmarsh, and a meeting between Ruskin notebooks and an archive of photographs by Alvio Gavagnin, a former *vaporetto* driver brought together by Wolfgang Scheppe (2010). But we also worked with Venice collaborators to invite Venetian citizens to ‘take advantage’ of the pavilion as curators, as makers. The timbers have been re-purposed, the saltmarsh thrives but, most substantially, the collaboration and conversation is now a grass-roots campaigning organisation: *We Are Here Venice* continues.

Example 2 — Ruskin Square, Croydon

Ruskin Square is a privately owned 24 hectares of land beside a busy railway station, one of those privately owned publicly accessible spaces. In this project, the open spaces came before the buildings: we had the opportunity to establish the parameters of what was to come.

A door kept open is an invitation to enter

The first expansion of who was the client and what was the scope of the brief was expressed as an agreement to fund the making of a publicly accessible garden with full-size cricket nets on site for the two years before construction began. Cricket nets because cricket was a passion

shared by the young people supported by the Refugee Council, local to the site; cricket because this coincided with a passion of the client.

This use of the site was intentionally symbolic – a first stretching of the definition of user beyond the commercial tenants. The cricket nets built for one group but usable by others, the nets themselves in their form like oversized model buildings. Stretching what was desirable on the site included the protection of the one and only extant tree, the exaggerated effort to protect it during construction, a symbolic commitment to a ‘real’ landscape.

Open invitations are inscribed into the built project itself

There are places to sit, room for 100 people to gather, there are no playgrounds but rather an anticipation of play. For example, a cliff edge (carved from a quarry) is laid horizontally, every sharp edge given a gentle radius. Child-sized chairs and a lion to climb on are inserted into the adult seating.

The wilderness of the derelict site of our first site visit – wild plant enthusiasts used to give guided tours – is reproduced in an intentionally biodiverse understorey planting to the trees which mark the edges of that outside room for 100. The planting is designed to make places of intimacy whilst long views are established so that these same spaces are overlooked and feel safe.

Conclusion

Say yes to invitations, stay awake when you are in the room and if you can, wedge the door open to expand the brief and then the project itself for those who were not invited in in the first place. See you at the Keynote crèche.

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ENGENDERING URBAN PLANNING, SUCCESSES, CONSTRAINTS AND EXPANSIONS

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Building is dwelling, cherishing and caring for the worlds
(Martin Heidegger, 1954)

Due to climate change, massive migration, digitalization and increasing urbanization, cities are rapidly transforming into complex places which traditional approaches to urban planning have difficulties to deal with. The new EU- and UN-urban agendas (Urban agenda for the EU, 2016; Acierno, 2016) still lack gender-awareness concerning the *supportive infrastructure of everyday life* that enhances the opportunities for both women and men with different backgrounds and orientations to muddle through in the complex daily contexts.

So, the problem is how to engender urban planning in these complex contexts. And, why should the supportive infrastructure of everyday life be one of the key concepts for gendered urban planning? First of all, most urban planning theories are currently process-based and they tend to neglect the content or substance of planning (Allmendinger, 2009). Secondly, there are several publications on gendered urban planning that describe what a “non-sexist city” (Hayden, 1991/2005), a “fair-shared city” (Sánchez de Madariaga & Roberts, 2013) or a “gender mainstreamed city” (Damyanovic et al., 2013), looks like and these include the above mentioned concept. Thirdly, there is plenty of evidence from environmental psychology which indicates, how a supportive environment enhances the wellbeing of residents (Kyttä et al., 2016).

The aim of my article is to present theoretical and empirical evidence concerning engendering urban planning and development in general and how its meaning varies in particular, in different planning contexts. I argue that engendering urban planning requires, besides gender mainstreaming, different approaches from the gender perspective in varying contexts in which the substance of planning and a set of diverse methods and tools play the key role.

As this article is a summary of my presentation at the Moore conference in Florence 2017, which I have further elaborated into an article, I will focus only on the main points of the presentation and refer for the rest to my recent article (Horelli, 2017). Thus, I will start by describing the formation of the person-environment relationship and how it becomes

gendered. Secondly, I will provide examples, how this relationship might get transformed at the collective level, in the cohousing milieu. Thirdly, I will focus on gendered urban planning in different contexts at the neighbourhood or city level and draw conclusions from the examples, leading to a new argument on the necessity to engender Expanded urban planning.

The environment as a gendered medium of psycho-social regulation

The person-environment (P-E) relationship can be seen as a transactional cycle of action and experience the aim of which is to maintain a sufficiently coherent Self in order to be able to survive in the world. There are three interrelated instruments of self-regulation: 1. The so called *psychic work* with mental images, models, schemata, emotions and thoughts, which is the coordinating instrument. 2. *The bodily work*, which is not only based on the nervous and hormonal systems but also on the movements in the city, in the form of “psycho-social flesh”, as Teresa Boccia bluntly puts it (see Boccia, 2013). This means further that the human scale of the setting becomes an important characteristic of the environment, which was also recognised by the Vitruvian man of da Vinci. 3. *Transactions with the social and physical environment*, meaning that besides communicating with peers and other people, we communicate with the physical environment by shaping it, according to our intentions. The criterion for the perceived quality of the environment is based on the P-E fit or congruence. However, a group of boys and/or girls, women and/or men can have collective environment fit, when they share the perceived quality of that setting.

Environments can be perceived as having positive or negative opportunities for action which Gibson (1977) called affordances. Men and women tend to wear different “affordance-glasses”, due to their varying interests and social status that can be seen, for example, in the surveys on the works of male and female architects in Finland and elsewhere in Europe.

The self-regulation of the P-E relationship can also be examined as communication. Women and men can read the emotional and implicit meanings and symbols that are embedded in the non-verbal cues of the environment (Rapoport, 1982). Socio-cultural information is encoded in the environmental cues, which the users decode and interpret. If the code is not known and shared, the environment does not communicate and consequently, it does not function well. Anthropologist Edward Hall (1966) helps this reading and self-regulation process by dividing the environment into fixed-features (community structure, location of the building, size, walls), semi-fixed features (removable

walls, interior decoration, furnishings, clothes etc.) and free elements (dynamic spatial relations, distance, gestures, stance), which can be appropriated.

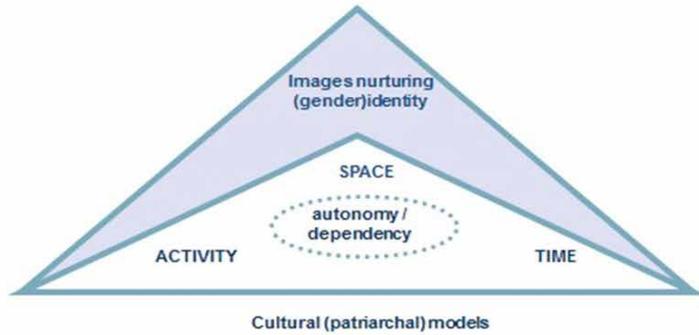
The above described apparatus of self-regulation can be seen, for example in housing studies. My dissertation on 21 households of self-planners and self-builders from the working class and blue colour background, at the outskirts of Helsinki (Horelli, 1993; 1995) demonstrates, how the dwelling gradually develops into a meaningful psychological environment. It then acts as an arena for both internal and external action, as a psycho-environmental medium of regulation and as a mirror reflecting multi-layered meanings. The residents produced housing solutions that varied structurally, spatially and decoratively. The houses abounded with gratifying personal and cultural symbols as well as “breathing spaces”, such as the sauna or the bedroom. The breathing space is a space between everyday reality and illusion in which occasional flows or restorative experiences of freedom could be enjoyed. Residents experiencing personal conflicts had no or very few such spaces. Most residents had a floorplan that was congruent with and supportive of family cohesion. Thus, the residents could in this context apply as their media of self-regulation both the fixed-features (the plan of the entire house and each house was somewhat different from one another) and the semi-fixed features. The latter reflected the local cultures, as the residents with a rural background had real saunas and vegetable gardens, whereas the urbanites had electric saunas and lawns. All residents tended to project pleasurable symbols and avoid negative ones in their dwellings, as well as sought to provide psychic wellbeing through breathing spaces.

The dwelling and gender identity

The dwelling also turned out to be a gendered space. The residents had no difficulty interpreting the dwelling as a gendered structure. The results of the Repertory grid (Kelly, 1955) indicated that the sauna, the entrance hall and outdoor spaces (except for the garden) were interpreted as masculine elements. Feminine elements included the kitchen, the bedroom and the garden. Sexually neutral elements were the living room and the dwelling as a whole. On the basis of both the interpretation and use of the spaces, the housing community as a whole included men’s own (masculine) spaces (the cellar, the basement), shared feminine spaces (the kitchen and the bedroom) and shared neutral spaces (the living room and the dwelling as a whole). There were, however, no exclusively feminine places that were used only by women, in this working-class milieu in the 1980s. These interpretations were affected by the daily activities of men and women in certain spaces, their different temporal patterns and the cultural or paternalistic models which influenced, why women and not men use certain spaces, such as the kitchen for example.



Fig. 1
The co-construction of gender identity in dwelling takes place through action in time and space that produces gendered images, under the influence of cultural patterns



The results showed that the transaction between the person and the dwelling is structured by the duration and type of activity in a specific space, which in turn activate the psychological tension between emotional dependency and autonomy. This dialectical process reproduces images that are connected with the activity in space and which simultaneously nourishes (gender) identity and the associated gendered images. The term gender identity is used here to refer to the group of mental images which occupy a central position in the psychological work and in the way gender is experienced by the human being of different sexual identities (see Figure 1).

For example, women spent more time in the kitchen, which on the other hand affected both the interpretation of the space as feminine and the images that reproduced the feminine identity. However, environmental transactions do not take place in a vacuum, as they are influenced by the dominant cultural and patriarchal models. Who spends time, where, how and why are culturally dependent phenomena. Therefore, gender can be regarded as, besides being a societal structure, a psycho-corporal and socio-cultural process that is reflected in spatio-temporal patterns of use and mobility.

In sum, the results of the study indicated that while self-planned housing enabled the residents to shape and communicate with their environment, which led to high satisfaction in terms of P-E fit, it tended to reproduce the existing (traditional) gender roles. The latter does not easily change within the nuclear family (Horelli, 1995).

From self-regulation to gendered self-organisation through co-housing¹

The previous section described the various instruments that we have as individuals to regulate our environmental relations. However, gender equality in practice seems to

¹ Cohousing is here referred to as a form of housing with communal spaces, shared facilities and activities.

require support from the collective level, from gender networks or the co-housing settings. The history of co-housing started over two thousand years ago when Pythagoras founded Homakoeion, a vegetarian commune, based on intellectualism, mysticism and the equality of the sexes (Meltzer, 2006). The modern examples of the collective organisation of activities and spaces in a co-housing context have demonstrated, how the sharing of duties (cooking, cleaning) and hobbies between men and women, girls and boys, leads to more equal gender contracts. The communal culture, but also well-designed collective spaces play an important role in the transformation of traditional gendered patterns (Williams, 2005; Vestbro & Horelli, 2012; Horelli, 2013).

Today's development of alternative types of housing with communal spaces has been influenced by utopian visions, practical proposals and implemented projects far back in the past. The analysis by Vestbro and Horelli (2012) of the driving forces behind the various models of communitarian settlements, cooperative housekeeping, central kitchen buildings, collective housing and collaborative residential experiments disclosed that the driving forces behind the selected communal living models have strongly varied. However, gender equality throughout the community has been significant in all models, except for the one stressing the central kitchen as a provider of paid services. The reduction of housework has been important in all models, while the equal share of responsibilities for work at home has appeared only in the New Everyday Life-approach and the Swedish BiG-model based on self-work. All models have rich communal spaces, but only the material feminists, at the turn of the 19th century USA (Hayden, 1981), and the models appearing after 1970 have sought to promote community and cooperation among the neighbours.

Irrespective of the lack of comprehensive theory on cohousing, a variety of relevant concepts exists that can be applied in the analysis of different aspects of the phenomenon. The Nordic models of cohousing (the so called BiG-model) and the collective self-organisation of everyday life concerning the role of shared space for community building and maintenance are the most relevant ones here.

The Nordic models of cohousing and collective organising

The BiG-model was created in the 1970s by a group of Swedish women who wanted to have a voice in housing issues. BiG refers to Swedish 'Bo i Gemenskap' (Live in community). The BiG-women rejected the idea of separating productive and reproductive work. Nor did they agree with the Modernists that housework should be minimized. Instead, they maintained that housework was part of the women's culture and it should be regarded as a valuable contribution to society. According to them, the disadvantage with traditional housework was that

opposite page
Fig. 2
The action
model for
building the
intermediary
level

it is carried out in isolation by a small household. The BiG-group claimed that cooking and child rearing together with others is enjoyable, and it also saves time.

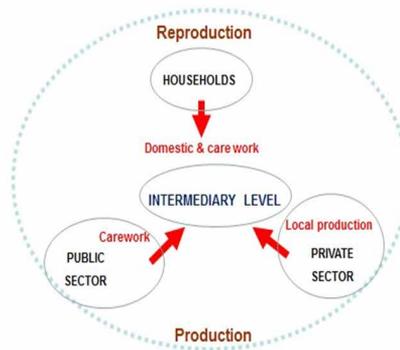
The BiG-model was based on the idea that the appropriate size for the new type of co-housing should be between 15 and 50 households. If each household transfers ten percent of the normal apartment space, the collective will get a substantial amount of communal facilities without increasing costs. For example, 40 households can get access to a central kitchen, a common dining room cum assembly hall, a laundry, a TV room, a workshop, a children's playroom, a library and other common spaces by abstaining from only ten percent of normal space standards in private apartments. The BiG-model was defined as "the small collective housing unit, based on togetherness through common work".

The New Everyday Life-approach was created by the Nordic women's network on 'Housing and building on women's conditions' in 1979 (Research group for the New Everyday Life, 1991). It provided 1. a critique of the difficult conditions to balance work and private life, 2. a vision of a just society, and 3. a model of action. The central motives for action were the needs of children and women, as well as the social reproduction of people and nature. The yearning for personal and collective wholeness and integration was inspired, in addition to the early utopians and American material feminists, also by the critical texts of Henri Lefebvre (1971).

Its vision was a concrete utopia of a post-industrial, mosaic-like society consisting of varying self-governing units that are responsible for the use of local resources. Important elements were work (paid and unpaid), care and housing, the separation of which was to be replaced by their integration in the living environment.

The theoretical framework comprised two central concepts: everyday life as a process and the Intermediary level as a new important structure to be developed. According to Birte Beck-Joergensen (1988), the root of everyday life lies in the reproductive actions that form the psychosocial forces with which people transform societal and cultural conditions into phenomenal experiences, enhanced or constrained by the built environment. Structural change can take place in the inter-subjective arenas – free living spaces – that are characterized by deliberations and digressions from the generally accepted ways of orientation.

The Intermediary level, as a mediating structure between individual households, and the public and private sectors, was developed as a concept that referred to the structural and functional basis for the reorganisation and integration of housing, work, and care in the neighbourhoods (Figure 2). As a new structure in the neighbourhoods the Intermediary



level was also to comprise an environmentally friendly housing, services, employment, and other activities, which may support the residents irrespective of age and gender (Horelli & Vepsä, 1994).

The action model in Figure 2 comprised the creation of the functional basis of the Intermediary level by bringing to the neighbourhood some of the daily tasks normally located in different sectors and places. The care of domestic chores and children could be transferred from private homes to communal spaces, as in the examples of cohousing. Environmental planning and management, as well as care of older people, would be delivered in the neighbourhood and not in centralised institutions of the public sector. Even the private sector could occasionally find it interesting to create production to serve the local community. These transactions were to result in new activities, called the local housework, local care, local production, and local planning and management (The Research group for the New Everyday life, 1991).

Geographically the Intermediary level was to be a locally limited territorial whole, varying in size from a group of dwellings or a block to a neighbourhood, village or part of a town. As a physical phenomenon, it was to comprise shared arenas and spaces of communication. In fact, its architecture would support different modes of housing and the identity of the local culture. It could be regarded as a mixture of New Urbanism and the Just City.

The current applications of The New Everyday Life-approach can be structured according to the level of aspired communality and the degree of informal/formal economy. This has resulted in a range of examples, such as a well-functioning housing area with shared spaces (for example the neighbourhood of Tinggård outside Copenhagen); cohousing communities or collective houses similar to the ones that the BiG-group has proposed; communes of different sizes; service house communities with both cohousing and an exchange of unpaid and



Fig. 3
Different
types of urban
planning
contexts apply
varying ways
and methods
to engender
urban
planning

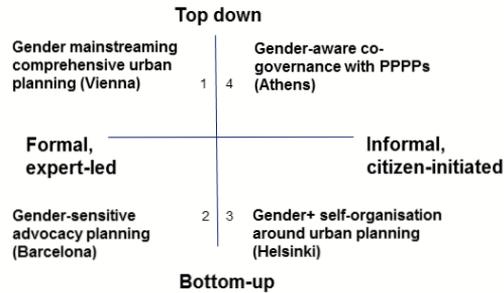
paid services; and lastly communities in which members work in the same residence in which they live, such as Svaneholm in Denmark, kibbutzim in Israel and the eco-village Findhorn in Scotland (Fromm, 1991; Durrett, 2009; Meltzer, 2010).

The local care in the Intermediary level has made it possible to conceptualize services in terms of social and material support networks. Later these were defined as the ‘*supportive infrastructure of everyday life*’ (Horelli & Vepsä, 1994; Gilroy & Booth, 1999; Horelli, 2013). Thirty years later, The New Everyday Life-approach, which sought to embed the self-work model of cohousing in the neighbourhood context, still seems to be valid. It is currently being applied in a number of gender-aware neighbourhood projects in Germany, Spain, Austria, Italy and Finland (Horelli & Wallin, 2013). These examples seek to transform the neighbourhood settings into a supportive infrastructure of daily life in the same way that Dolores Hayden (1991/2005) speculated about the design of the non-sexist City. In sum, physically cohousing has meant less private, but more semi-public and public spaces. Mentally and practically this form of collective self-organisation has relieved women some of the extra housework so that they can participate in other activities either in the house or in the outside world. However, cohousing has also expanded the traditional male role, which now entails a larger number of activities around daily reproduction than in “normal” dwelling (Vestbro, 2010). Thus, the emancipation and empowerment of both women and men provide a model to become also active in the shaping of the neighbourhood and/or in the city.

Irrespective of its long history, cohousing still constitutes only a tiny fraction of the total housing stock even in those countries, such as Denmark and The Netherlands, where this form of dwelling is fairly frequent. This is unfortunate, as according to Tummers (2015), co-housing initiatives are not just idealist experiments, but they present micro laboratories or new urban models for social interaction and integrated practice of care services and labour, sustainable neighbourhood development and housing distribution. However, the challenge lies within local authorities and institutions, as well as planning authorities, to support and invest in collective forms of living and support networks (Fromm, 2012; Droste, 2015).

Engendering urban planning in different contexts

I have claimed in my previous work that, in addition to the super-strategy of mainstreaming gender equality, there is a need for an expansion of engendering urban planning, which requires different ways of dealing with varying types of planning from the gender perspective (Horelli, 2017). The results of an explorative study have corroborated



the claim by testing with examples a framework for engendering urban planning in different contexts. The framework comprises two procedural dimensions that are relevant from the gender perspective. One is top down – bottom up which represents the potential of both coordination and participation. The other is formal, expert led – informal, citizen-initiated, representing the significance of different kinds of knowledge production. These bring about four types of gendered planning that can be illustrated and analysed by examples from different cities in various parts of Europe (Figure 3): 1. Gender mainstreaming comprehensive urban planning (Vienna), 2. Gender-sensitive advocacy planning (Barcelona), 3. Gender+ self-organising around urban planning and development (Helsinki) 4. Gender-aware co-governance with public, private, people-partnerships (Athens).

Unfortunately, urban planning has been one of the least affected policies by gender mainstreaming (GM). Therefore, gender planning as a concept has replaced gender mainstreaming in this area (Wankiewicz, 2016). Due to the strong focus of GM on the policy level and its partial adoption by some administrations, its application has been top down and rather bureaucratic, as many of the best known examples demonstrate (see Madariaga & Roberts, 2013). Therefore, I use engendering or gender planning as a general term and not gender mainstreaming (GM), which in practice has become a formal and official way of integrating the gender perspective in urban planning.

Thus, engendering urban planning can be defined as the application of a set of gender, age and culture-sensitive concepts, visions, strategies, and practices in the different scales, phases and arenas of the planning and development cycle. The interrelations between space, gender and power cannot be separated, as they are intertwined in the policy and planning processes (Wotha, 2013). Consequently, engendering also implies a gender analysis which focuses on the roles, responsibilities, resources and interests of men and women in a given context. Critical questions are then, how to transform the short-term practical gender

interests into long term, strategic ones (Molyneux, 1985). And, is change taking place from a liberal, gender-neutral perspective (inclusion), from a radical women's perspective (reversal), or from a post-modern gender perspective in which different gender categories are deconstructed and the focus is on the transformation of gender structures (Squires, 2005).

Gender-sensitive urban planning tends to combine participatory spatio-temporal processes, enhanced by a variety of enabling tools and digital techniques, with concepts dealing with substance (Damyanovic & Zibell, 2013; Damyanovic et al., 2013; Horelli & Wallin, 2013). One of the core concepts for gendered content is the *infrastructure of everyday life*, as indicated in the earlier sections of this article. It was later elaborated after the Nordic New Everyday Life-research group by European colleagues in the EuroFEM-network of human settlements. It then became to refer to the physical, functional, economic and participatory structures that the local citizens can appropriate and transform into a supportive culture that enhances place identity and sense of community (Hayden, 1991/2005; Horelli & Vepsä, 1994; Gilroy & Booth, 1999). The concept is not universal, but it has been applied in planning and development in several European countries with varying results (Sánchez de Madariaga & Roberts, 2013; Dymen et al., 2015). Consequently, it turns out to be in practice a bundle of resource attributes and a hybrid network of people, places, activities, services and technology that assist in making glocal (global and local) connections. These intersecting and interdependent people-place-network-relations enable support to the diverse gendered realities (Jarvis et al., 2009). The principles of gender-aware urban planning have been applied at different scales, but mostly at the neighbourhood and city level. At best, especially in Vienna, they have enabled the city of short distances, which in turn enhances the co-creation of conditions for safe neighbourhoods and commoning (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013). This allows dealing with issues, such as the balancing of work and care, the interplay of public-private spheres, accessible mobility and communication systems, as well as a mix of different types of dwellings, including co-housing.

Comparison of the examples

The examples can be read from my article (Horelli, 2017), but the meaning, successes and constraints of engendering have been summarized in Table 1.

The comparison of the examples shows that the meanings and strategies of engendering vary in the different planning contexts, but they all deal with the substance of planning. Irrespective of the differences, all approaches also include either doing or undoing

Table 1
The meaning and strategy of engendering in different types of planning contexts with successes and constraints

Types of engendering	Meaning & strategy of engendering	Successes	Constraints
1. Gender mainstreaming urban planning in Vienna	Quality assurance. Inclusion of women and girls. (Un)doing gender.	Comprehensive, enhancement of infrastructure of everyday life. Some changes in gender roles.	GM hardly at the policy level. Lack of self-organisation and co-governance
2. Gender-sensitive advocacy in Barcelona	Positive action & empowerment of different groups Reversal. (Un)doing gender	Ad hoc improvements in the neighbourhoods with impact on safety & habitability	Lack of influence at the policy level and only minor systemic impacts
3. Gender+ self-organising around urban planning in Helsinki	New networks of e-planning & co-production. (Un)doing gender+	A dynamic urban culture with ad hoc improvements. A very compact master plan for Helsinki	Women active in "small" issues; men in structural decisions
4. "Gender-aware" co-governance with PPPPs	Opening partnerships in space-keeping policies for women & men. (Un)doing gender	Co-governance as a partial deliberative system; an opportunity & battlefield for women & men.	General lack of knowledge, how to handle the complex situation

gender, although this seems to be the only, implicit strategy in Types 3 and 4. However, actively doing or undoing gender in which gender stereotypes either diminish, for example in the case of Vienna or become consolidated, like in Helsinki, where the majority of influential lobbyist are men, does not guarantee the desired results for both sexes.

The outcomes also reveal that all examples have succeeded in meeting the so called practical gender needs (Molyneux, 1985) in the form of small improvements in the daily settings, but the strategic gender interests lag behind. Even in Vienna, where gender mainstreaming as quality assessment has brought about a well-functioning infrastructure of everyday life for a new town (Lake City Aspern), lovely parks, flexible mobility systems and versatile housing solutions, GM has not become a strategic interest for both sexes at the policy level.

In this respect, it is interesting that the relatively new phenomenon, Gender+ self-organising in cities, which has boosted urban pop-up culture by female participants in many places besides Helsinki, such as Berlin, Amsterdam and Milan, has enabled the male dominated movement to fulfil its strategic interest: More City to Helsinki in the form of a tight master plan. The example of self-organisation in Helsinki reveals how, irrespective of the women's

conspicuous activism, the traditional gender system is maintained through horizontal and vertical segregation, leading to unequal, gendered patterns of power (Hirdman, 1990). Thus, self-organising without feminist consciousness is a 'wild card', as it has both positive and negative impacts.

Although the constraints vary even more than the successes of engendering, there is one obstacle that is shared by all the examples, namely that of institutional resistance. While public and even private institutions may be content to implement isolated activities or actions in support of gender equality, these generally do not lead to radical transformations that might threaten the existing values and practices of institutions (Ortiz Escalante & Gutiérrez Valdivia, 2015). Thus, the impact of the initiatives does not easily lead to systemic changes. Another constraint is the top-down continental planning system, which does not support civil engagement and hinders the tactical urbanism in which different groups start to organise themselves around urban space, putting pressure on local co-governance (Lydon & Garcia, 2015).

One of the greatest challenges is gender-aware co-governance. Irrespective of the readiness for co-governance with varying partnerships in Athens in which both sexes could participate in public space-keeping policies, the planning practice was not ideal in terms of the complex urban situation. In addition, the Athens-example was not really gender-aware, in the sense that it would support the varying gender interests of the participants with different backgrounds.

In sum, the results demonstrate that there is a need for combining different gender strategies and hybrid methods depending on the context. However, the constraints that emerged in the different contexts also showed that the formal planning systems and procedures do not enhance at the policy and structural levels a gender-aware approach, nor do they manage to deal with the increasing urban complexity. Consequently, the problem still remains, how to engender urban planning in complex situations and contexts, meaning how can urban planning contribute to the transformation of urban structures into ones that support individual P-E and collective fit, as well as doing gender+ in the global everyday life settings.

Engendering Expanded urban planning

As urban planning theories are contingent with the evolving surroundings (Allmendinger, 2009), *Expanded urban planning* seems to be currently a most suitable candidate to be engendered. Thus, the new argument goes: there is a need to engender Expanded urban planning that might alleviate the above described constraints.

Expanded urban planning (EP) is a new approach that is based on the integration of pragmatic, communicative and complexity theories. It implies a multi-scalar visionary concept in which planning expands from physical planning to community development and co-governance (Horelli, 2013; Staffans & Horelli, 2014; Horelli et al., 2015). It is enhanced by information and communication technologies (ICTs) and supported by multiple participations in the form of self-organisation around urban issues, focusing especially on the fluency of the glocal everyday life. Thus, it seeks to connect the planning process with the content of the context. The expansion also covers the participation of different stakeholders in the different stages starting from strategic and statutory planning, to implementation, monitoring and evaluation. In addition, EP seeks to deal with the different types of complexities: simple, disorganised and organised (Baynes, 2009; Portugali et al., 2012; Wallin, forthcoming). However, EP is not particularly gendered.

Engendering EP requires the capability to combine different types of gender planning depending on the context (see Figure 3). Thus, it includes methodological capacity building in how to recognise gender footprints in urban planning, such as the different building blocks at different scales of the infrastructure of everyday life that support girls and boys, women and men in their varying tasks, like in the examples of Vienna and Barcelona. This comprises the identification of unsolved environmental challenges related to inequality and unmet aspirations among women or men as underrepresented or disadvantaged groups in various settings, which can be dealt with a variety of measures (Lindberg & Forsberg, 2015).

Secondly, it means efforts to transform the top-down planning system towards citizen engagement in the form of public participation, self-organising and even gendered everyday practices (Wallin, 2019).

Thirdly, it implies pressure towards hybrid governance that could function as a gender-aware deliberative system at varying scales, seeking to secure the supportive infrastructure for different groups so that they can shape and appropriate their settings (Jarenko, 2013; Wankiewicz, 2016). This kind of governance might be able to tackle different urban complexities, by finding solutions to simple problems through gendered planning or by studies based on gender-disaggregated statistics and modelling, which assist in reducing disorganised complexity into a set of simple solvable problems. Even unsolvable, organised complexity, which was described by Jane Jacobs (1961) long ago, might be alleviated by gender-aware deliberation of different partners, politicians, administrators, academia, business and ordinary citizens. Thus, the triangle of gender, space and power might interact in a favourable way for our daily settings. Engendering Expanded urban planning is, no doubt, a vision that has not yet taken place, but its brick-stones are here, just waiting to be tried, tested and studied.

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Cities best practices

Cities best practices: introduction

Editorial board

Serafina Amoroso,
Equal Saree (Dafne Saldaña, Helena Cardona, Julia Goula)
Maria Novas,
Amelia Vilaplana

This third edition of the International Conference on Architecture and Gender emphasizes the connections between theory and practice and encourages the dialogue between public administrators and other key actors in charge of the design of the built environment. The selected case studies illustrate the urgency to embrace hybrid and trans-disciplinary processes in the revision of our cities. This section wants to make visible selected best practices that further inclusive urban transformations promoted by local authorities.

Eva Kail writes about the institutional Gender Planning in the city of Vienna, an internationally renowned initiative, started in 1991 and intensified in the following decades. This twenty-five-year process sets a tools and strategies catalogue for urban inclusive design. Núria Parlon (Mayor of Sta Coloma de Gramenet, Spain) and Zaida Muxí (Urban Planning Director of Sta Coloma de Gramenet, Spain) introduce Sta Coloma de Gramenet feminist-theory-inspired urban agenda. Avoiding major and technocratic interventions, Sta Coloma promotes urban planning based on the 'shopping list'. This means taking care of people and prioritizing their daily needs. María Novas, on the behalf of the Department of Equality, Economic Development & Tourism of the Municipality of Santiago de Compostela (Galicia, Spain), presents the initiative *Compostela, Territorio das Mulleres* [Compostela, Women's Terrain]. The project links the public body, the economic private sector and the social actors of the city to promote a more inclusive urban space. The mapping of Santiago de Compostela visualizes the role of different facilities, institutions or organizations and contributes to enhance the collective memory of women in public space. Valentina Talu presents the tactical actions and XS transformations prompt by *Tamalacà San Donato* (Sassari, Italy). *Tamalacà* is a multidisciplinary all-female group including researchers and practitioners working in the School of Architecture, Design, and Planning of Alghero, University of Sassari. Tamalacà is actively involved in supporting local municipalities on urban design, regeneration policies and





projects. Mónica Sánchez, from the District Department of Women of Bogotá (Colombia), presents a cycling tour around monuments representing women in Bogotá that becomes a symbolic action to recover (her)story in the city. Claudia Roselli writes about 'Inshallah-Shalom', an art project that explores cultural meetings between women from Jewish and Muslims communities in the space shared by the Mosque and the Synagogue in Sant'Ambrogio neighbourhood (Florence, Italy).

These case studies take us on a journey from the more consolidated urban policies of Vienna and the transversal strategies of Santa Coloma de Gramenet and Santiago de Compostela, to the tactical urbanism in Sassari and the creative approach of Bogota and Florence.



Cities best practices

From left to right: Mónica Sánchez Bernal, Valentina Talu, Nuria Parlón, Zaida Muxí, María Novas, Serafina Amoroso and Amelia Vilaplana. Presentations. Florence, Santa Verdiana, School of Architecture, 2017 (Photo credits: Alba Sotelo)







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Fig. 1
Fillgrader-
straße: bar-
rier free
redesign of
a sidewalk
in the Gen-
der Main-
streaming
Pilot Distri-
ct Mariahilf.
Source
Photographer
MA 28

Vienna is the Austrian Capital and a Federal state. 23 political district boards decide about the financial means for public space. Vienna is a green city, but the green belt and the green areas in the outskirts contrast the high density and lack of open space in the inner districts. 60% of the population live in flats of social or subsidised housing. Due to the extensive public transport system the share of public transport is higher than the share of motorized individual traffic. During the last years the number of inhabitants is constantly increasing; at the moment Vienna has 1,9 Million inhabitants; this rapid urban growth means a considerable challenge for urban development and public resources.

How institutional Gender Planning was established

Gender specific aspects of urban planning were first addressed in the exhibition “To whom does Public Space belong -Women´s Everyday Life in the City” in 1991. The exhibition ‘Who owns public space’ showed the different daily patterns of eight women and girls. 30 years ago, the term Gender Planning did not exist yet, but the main principles were already used: to show women and girls in different social roles, life phases, social and cultural backgrounds. For the first-time spaces of well-being and spaces of anxiety were identified and the mobility data of women and men were analysed separately. The impact of public space was shown for the quality of everyday life. For the first time the spatial conditions for unpaid work became a topic. The exhibition was quite a success and got a lot of public attention in Vienna, but also in Germany and Switzerland.

In 1992 the Women´s Office was established, a small department dealing with equality issues and the empowerment of women. I became the first head. As an urban planner I was together with Jutta Kleedorfer the initiator of the exhibition. Research and Pilot projects in housing and safety issues started in the women´s office. In 1998 the Coordination Office for Planning and Construction Geared to the Requirement of Daily Life and the Specific Needs of Women was established at the Executive Group for Construction and Technology. For eleven years the

City of Vienna had its own unit at a high administrative level to develop a gender sensitive planning culture. This was unique in Europe. Personal continuity- three female experts working closely together over many years, political support of the three city councillors of women affairs, planning and housing and some small financial means were crucial for the success of the following activities. In 2010 a reorganisation of the Executive Group for Construction and Technology took place. The Coordination office was dissolved and gender planning experts were transferred to other units of the Executive Group. With the naming of the planning unit “Competence Centre Overall Planning, Smart City Strategy, Participation, Gender Planning” gender planning gets back visibility in 2017. The main focus of Gender Planning was always to improve the conditions for reproduction work, on a spatial level traditionally given much less priority than other functional issues, and to emphasize leisure and sport interests of girls and women and their mobility patterns.

As Vienna has pursued Gender Planning activities over 25 years, offering institutional support and producing a broad field of practical implementation, the city is seen as a role model also at an international level.

opposite page
Fig. 2
FWSTI: flexible
flat layout by
Elsa Prochazka.
Frauen-Werk-
Stadt layout
Elsa Prochazka
Source: graphic
Andrea
Neumann

Key strategical elements

Looking back, it is possible to identify the key elements of a strategy, which was developed just in doing.

The outcomes of research projects and spatial analysis created *awareness* and convinced decision makers, successful pilot projects produced *visibility* and proofed, that gender planning methods lead to reasonable results with a high user quality and produce positive media resonance- an important factum for politicians.

Lead projects and Pilot Processes widened *practical experience*. Based on 60 realised projects manuals, planning recommendations and lists of criteria supported the *sharing of knowledge* in and outside the City administration.

The branding of “Fair Shared City” and the publicity of the Pilot projects supported the *dissemination* of the most important aims. Specific gender trainings, Lead Projects in various departments, the participation as gender experts in numerous juries lead to the *mainstreaming* of gender planning methods and contents.

Most of the time planning deals with conflicts of goals. In the Planning Mainstream they are just discussed as functional ones. Gender Planning makes it possible to support a social sensitive decision making.” To stand in different shoes” in a systematic way is also valuable for the *prioritisation of measurements*.



Gender sensitive Housing

The aim of this first activity field was to facilitate household and family work, to provide a practical environment and to create a safe neighbourhood for kids to raise their autonomy. The housing complexes should also provide space for informal contacts to support a neighbourhood feeling. “Social space” and a safe, attractive residential environment has in certain phases of life a significant higher importance. The quality of secondary rooms was also seen as a primary issue.

We have been criticised to reinforce traditional gender roles in the design process. We are convinced, that share of labour between the sexes cannot be influenced by architecture, but to neglect aspects of unpaid work creates gender blindness in the design process. Unpaid work has to be done and has to be considered in planning.

The first model project Frauen-Werk-Stadt I had the dimension of a small neighbourhood with 360 flats. It is still the largest project at least in Europe, realised by female architects following gender sensitive criteria. The competition for the urban design already asked for the layout of the flats. Eight female architects had been invited. Additional to the winner of the urban design Franziska Ullmann, Elsa Prochaska, Gisela Podreka and Lieselotte Peretti were chosen for the realisation. First tenants moved in 1997. Due to the positive media echo it is still one of the most known housing projects in Vienna. Its outstanding characteristics are

to offer a great variety of open spaces and to support social space by design. Elsa Prochazka developed a flat type, that is flexible and adaptable to all phases of life.

Vienna started quality for subsidised housing. For larger areas developer competitions became obligatory. I as a gender expert became a member of the jury. Single projects are assessed by an advisory board, which is supported by a prequalification by administrative experts. Gender aspects are part of it. A Criteria list for gender sensitive housing was developed to create transparency. More than 1500 projects with more than 150 000 dwelling units have been assessed over the years. Being part of the decision making of considerable financial means has proved to be essential for the Mainstreaming of gender sensitive criteria. The increase of the quality of entrances and staircases, of secondary utility rooms, of the layouts of flats and open space and playgrounds was considerable over the years.

For the design for Frauen-Werk-Stadt II (140 housing units, move in 2004) already a developer competition took place. One thematic focus was assisted living for elderly, as a senior residence is situated nearby.

Three co housing projects were developed by the association “ro*sa”. Due to the concept, they are smaller (40- 50 units), but with a lot of innovative aspects and activities (move in 2009, 2010, 2014).

opposite page
Fig. 2
Treffpunkt:
gender
sensitive park
design: one
outcome of the
Participation
process
Draschepark
Source:
photographer
Wolfgang
Gerlich

Gender sensitive design of parks and playgrounds

This project can be seen as an example of effective Mainstreaming. First a socio-scientific survey on the different use of playgrounds by girls and boys took place. Two feminist sociologists stated, that girls in the average appropriate space with noticeable less confidence than boys. Restrained space in the small parks of dense areas is claimed by more assertive groups. The design and the equipment of playgrounds favour the interests of boys and male teenagers.

Due to the outcomes of this research working group with people from the administration and politicians started. In 2000 gender sensitive park design was defined as a strategic project within the City’s Strategy Plan to offer girls and women equal opportunities in parks.

Since 1999 six Pilot parks have been redesigned. For two parks a competition took place, three female landscape planners were invited for each park. For the other parks different forms of participation and active involvement of girls were tested. Based on the outcomes of five usability and fourteen design analysis planning recommendations for gender sensitive design of public parks were formulated, involving youth workers, external experts



and the Park Department. These guidelines became a base for every park design or redesign. Since 2007 an additional focus has been placed on the specific needs of elderly people. For the new parks in the large brown field development areas international gender sensitive competitions took place including gender aspects in the tender, and a gender expert in the jury: Rudolf-Bednar Park- Nordbahnhof, Helmuth Zilk Park- Sonnwend Viertel and recently Park am Seebogen- Lake City Aspern.

Gender sensitive planning of mobility issues

In 2002 Mariahilf, the 6th district, was nominated “Gender Mainstreaming Pilot District” by the City councillor for planning. The aim was to include a gender sensitive perspective concerning to the activities for public space. All the co-worker of seven department concerned with public space in this district were part of the process. A Gender training took place, but more important was learning by doing. In several Gender Workshops the different departments presented their ongoing activities, partly new methods were developed with the help of the coordination office and a consultancy board. A detailed analysis of the 27 km of district street and the quality offered for pedestrians took place at the beginning. Main concerns were broader sidewalks, barrier freeness, safe crossing facilities, pedestrian friendly traffic lights, safety issues, good maintenance of sidewalks -important for wheel chair users- and the surveillance of sidewalks cafes to use not too much space. After three years the outcome was quite impressive: widening of 1km of sidewalks less than 2m, 40 street crossing and

5 barrier-free pavements, 26 new or improved street lamps, a lift near a long public staircase, redesign of 2 small squares and 9 additional seating facilities. Those small but consequent improvements raised the overall quality for pedestrians to a considerable degree. A comprehensive methodical toolkit was an additional outcome of this process.

Fairness Check

For a Gender Pilot project dealing with healthy ageing in two specific neighbourhoods a qualitative assessment of all proposed measurements through gender, integration and inclusive design experts took place. For five project specific target groups the impact of the different measurements was graded in a qualitative way. This Fairness Check was also used for the new Concept for Mobility and the Concept for Public Space. In all the cases of the strategic concepts some of the proposed measurements were modified or new one amended.

Social Space Analysis

The first time, gender sensitive social space analysis took place for the redesign of Meidlinger Hauptstraße, a local shopping street in a migrant neighbourhood. It combined quantitative data analysis of the population structure with qualitative research. Site inspections, walks and site discussions helped to identify the pattern of use and the needs of different groups. The analysis was part of the tender; the two experts were also involved in the prequalification of this international competition. The jury included me as a gender expert and discussed finally two projects: one with high aesthetical value, but quite neglecting the social aspects of the tender, and one sensitive to the different user needs, offering various places of sejour with different qualities and a robust and barrier free design, but with a less convincing design quality. The social sensitive project won after an intensive discussion, getting the votes of all jury members.

Also, for the redesign of Mariahilfer Straße, the largest shopping street of Vienna, a social space analysis was combined with different methods of participation. The Street was changed in its central part to a pedestrian zone and in the other parts to Shared Spaces, the prototypes of new seating facilities were assessed by different groups.

Outcomes of Gender Mobility activities and Revaluation of Public Space

After those many years of gender sensitive mobility planning activities pedestrian issues have now a significant higher importance. Traffic modes are fairly equally treated, the quality of sojourn of streets and squares is paid much more attention. Reduced

calculative speed is used for the programming of the traffic light circuits for pedestrians in the neighbourhood of senior residences. Lightning is an important factor for the subjective feeling of safety. A checklist was developed for the lightning department to support the decision, where to use a higher lightning class. In 2012 a mobility agency was installed to raise the attractiveness for bike and foot traffic.

The revaluation of public space is perceptible. There are a lot of active citizens, neighbourhood gardening is flourishing, the open spaces of street trees are used as small street gardens. The city supports micro sites on parking space with small subsidies and offers the possibility for citizens to use the open space of the trees in the street as small gardens.

Urban Development

Master plans and urban design concepts impact already equal opportunities in daily life. Block dimensions and building typologies influence the quality of future flats and the figuration and shading of the open space in the blocks. At that level also the provision with public parks and public space is determined, mobility conditions are impaired. Therefore, a gender sensitive approach must already be embodied. A number of pilot projects of varying dimensions were implemented, the number of flats ranged from 700 (Bombadiergründe) to 8500 (Lake City Aspern).

To develop the urban design as the base for the zoning plan of Nord West Bahnhof (a brown field development of a railway station) a competition took place. It was also a Gender Mainstreaming Pilot Project of the department, which is in charge of land use planning. In the concept outline the gender relevant aspects were sustainable building densities, high quality open spaces and a good walkability. They became part of the tender for the invited competition. The gender specific prequalification of the competition entries included criteria like walking distances to key infrastructure facilities, block sizes, maximum wing depth and building height, the size and shape of public green, a plan showed the configuration of the open spaces of the blocks. As a member of the jury I could refer to this gender specific prequalification. The competition was won by the Swiss architectural studio enf, their design was also under gender aspects the most convincing one.

Lake City Aspern, a former airport, is with 220 ha one of the largest development areas in Europe. The Gender Mainstreaming Pilot project took place there during the detailing of the Masterplan. An everyday route check was developed to assess the “City of short distances”. On the basis of respective sites eight target groups like working adult with caregiving tasks and their daily trip chains were defined and visualised for four different residential locations. The purpose design proofed to be suitable, but the block structure had to be reshaped

in some parts to deliver better quality for the integration of the kindergartens and their need of adequate open space. The development of Lake City Aspern is ongoing and the gender planning experts of the City have been involved in developer competitions, park design and school competitions and mobility workshops. Very positive under gender aspects is the first managed shopping street. Developers had to accept that in the central area the renting of the shops in the ground floor were organised by a shopping street society, so a good and rather complete supply was facilitated just from the beginning. And all the personal street names are female.

Manual Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development

In 2013 a manual was produced therefore based on the planning approaches and methods developed within the various projects. Basic principles, different life phases and the needs of the different user groups are explained. Objectives and quality criteria of gender sensitive planning for the different planning levels and main topics were described (Masterplans and urban design, land use and zoning plans, public space, housing and public purpose buildings). The Manual was also translated to English.

Also, the three manuals for Social Space, Participation and Cooperative dialogue orientated Stakeholder Planning Processes include a gender perspective.

Challenges in a fast-growing city

Gender budgeting and “Arte Povera”: how to handle the necessary cost cuts, due to the financial restraints almost all European Cities are forced to submit by neoliberal policies, in a gender sensitive way? It is crucial to reach a high quality of use in everyday life also with poorer means.

A satisfying *Green and Social Infrastructure* is essential for a gender sensitive urban development. High density needs also enough open spaces. This includes adequate sites for educational facilities. Also, on the block level the quality of the open space on site has to be considered carefully.

Engendering the *emerging new topics* in urban development is necessary, but just at the beginning: How to handle the consequences of the climate change, how to avoid urban heat islands and improve the micro climate, how to shape the Smart City and the Digital Society strategies in a gender sensitive way?

In any way: to implement a gender perspective in urban developments in a systematic way is necessary to reach a Fair Shared City with high sustainability.

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MORE THAN A CITY: SANTA COLOMA DE GRAMENET, ACCIONES DE GOBIERNO DESDE LOS FEMINISMOS

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Fig. 1
Área de
Conservación
Renovación,
Santa Coloma
de Gramenet,
España
Fuente:
Zaida Muxí
Martínez

Santa Coloma de Gramenet es una ciudad de tamaño medio situada en el Área metropolitana de Barcelona a orillas del Río Besòs. Nuria Parlón es alcaldesa desde 2010, y el objetivo de su gobierno es una ciudad más justa con políticas de la diferencia pensadas desde los feminismos.

La política urbana de un gobierno feminista, como el de Santa Coloma de Gramenet, se distingue por pensarse desde el reconocimiento de la diferencia y priorizando la igualdad. Este enfoque permite tener en cuenta las diferentes necesidades para llegar a una gobernanza más justa, igualitaria y democrática.

La ciudad es pensada desde la proximidad, desde la experiencia cotidiana, con una lógica inductiva y con una planificación participativa. Los proyectos de ciudad al estar están pensados desde la cercanía, la atención y cuidado por cada detalle y por cada persona marcan cada acción política. En términos de urbanismo, no solo se actúa en los proyectos de impacto, sino que las pequeñas actuaciones como el mantenimiento y la limpieza se sitúan en igualdad de condiciones. Se trabaja con sistemas de comunicación que permiten a cada persona que habita el municipio aportar desde su experiencia.

Una política urbana desde los feminismos se basa en la proximidad real, huyendo del urbanismo espectáculo y los grandes gestos, en la que se valora especialmente aquello que ha sido descartado por el urbanismo más tradicional y tecnocrático. Un urbanismo basado en la “Lista de la compra”, utilizado en contra de nuestras políticas de manera despectiva, y aun así retomada por nosotras con orgullo. Es decir, cuidar y considerar el detalle cotidiano en igualdad de condiciones que las cuestiones más estratégicas y alejadas del día a día. No se desechan estas últimas sino que se equiparan en valoración.

Para este urbanismo próximo la relación y cercanía con la población es básica, las relaciones de quienes gobiernan y las personas técnicas en la calle en el día a día, sin olvidar los procesos de participación de diferente alcance y envergadura. Un sistema de comunicación directa de la ciudadanía articulado en una plataforma para que puedan hacer llegar sus quejas,

inquietudes y aportaciones a las personas técnicas y políticas, nos permite programar las acciones diarias de mejora y mantenimiento del espacio público, atender a problemas reales que puedan afrontar personas vecinas o comunidades, en definitiva conocer el discurrir cotidiano de la ciudadanía desde su propia voz y que conforma un conocimiento directo de la ciudad que alimenta las decisiones de actuaciones técnicas y políticas.

La gestión de la ciudad organizada en cuatro grandes áreas, políticas y técnicas, que hacen desaparecer áreas de primera o segunda categoría y en donde lo estratégico se mide y se relaciona con lo cotidiano. Estas cuatro áreas están dirigidas por cuatro mujeres, y realizamos un trabajo horizontal, transversal y colaborativo.

El urbanismo en Santa Coloma de Gramenet se nutre del conocimiento social. Es una ciudad trabajada a pie de calle, abierta al diálogo, a la inclusión y a la diversidad. Santa Coloma más que objeto, más que ciudad, más que academia y más que humana.

Breve Introducción de la ciudad

Santa Coloma de Gramenet es la novena ciudad de Cataluña por población, con 118.000 habitantes provenientes de 117 países; la renta media familiar disponible es de 24.935 €/año, siendo la menor de Cataluña. La superficie total de 7,5 Km², de los cuales 5 Km² son urbanos y ya están urbanizados, y en una gran proporción el territorio es orográficamente accidentado. La ciudad creció exponencialmente entre 1945 y 1975 debido a las migraciones internas del estado español derivadas de la guerra, pasando en 30 años de menos de 20.000 a 140.000 habitantes, como resultado de la velocidad del crecimiento la ciudad afronta continuos procesos de mejora y rehabilitación en todas las escalas, desde las alcantarillas a los edificios. En ese proceso vertiginoso la ciudadanía fue agente activa en la construcción de la ciudad, lo que creó ciertas deficiencias en cuanto a la calidad de la edificación, al planeamiento (estructura urbana de grandes manzanas, con calles con mucha pendiente, parcelario de grano muy pequeño...) y a la falta de equipamientos, como suele pasar en las ciudades o barrios en que la gente auto produce su hábitat en que lo más difícil es la parte pública de la misma; sin embargo, por otro lado, las dificultades ligadas a la ciudad hecha a mano generaron una sociedad muy combativa y organizada que fue fundamental a partir de la recuperación de la democracia en las ciudades con los primeros comicios en 1979.

Estas características físicas y sociales hacen de la ciudad un laboratorio perfecto del futuro ya que plantea cuestiones cruciales en un planeta antropizado y superpoblado, en el que la mayoría de la población vive en ciudades no planificadas y con escasos recursos, en el que las mujeres sufren las peores consecuencias por falta de seguridad, falta

oportunidades de acceso a recursos, y menores ingresos (Kalin et al., 2004). Ante esta situación, ¿Cómo mejorar y transformar una ciudad ya construida?, ¿Cómo hacer políticas urbanas que sean inclusivas?, ¿Cómo trabajar para que la ciudad sea un soporte adecuado para vidas cotidianas con tantas dificultades?¹.

Las políticas urbanas llevadas a cabo en Santa Coloma Gramenet son transversales, complejas y pensadas desde y para una realidad que se conoce de cerca.

SCG más que objetos

La ciudad ha apostado por la rehabilitación residencial no como una solución aislada y privada, sino desde la comprensión de la ciudad como un todo, en la que desde las políticas públicas se incide en la mejora de las condiciones de vida de las personas en sus viviendas. El proyecto del Área de Conservación Renovación², conocida coloquialmente como Pirineos que es el nombre de la calle que vertebra la primera actuación, consiste en que el Ayuntamiento se erige en agente rehabilitador que dirige, proyecta, financia y gestiona las obras de mejora de edificios privados previa conformidad de las comunidades. Esta conformidad conseguida a través de un complejo trabajo de mediación y diálogo con comunidades muchas veces desestructuradas. Con este proyecto se consigue que las subvenciones públicas a la mejora y rehabilitación de viviendas puedan llegar a comunidades con menor capacidad organizativa y de ahorro previo, resultando en una distribución más equitativa de los recursos públicos (Fig. 1).

El proyecto de rehabilitación del antiguo edificio de la fábrica CIBA situado en la que podemos denominar una de las puertas de la ciudad, ya que se halla en la primera esquina al cruzar uno de los puentes sobre el Río Besòs. El programa previsto para este edificio está basado en la economía social y colaborativa con perspectiva de género. Se trata de una propuesta de un nuevo tipo de equipamiento en el que la producción y la reproducción puedan conjugarse en el tiempo y en el espacio. El proyecto se abordará de una manera contenida, es decir, que busquemos que con actuaciones mínimas recuperemos un edificio y generemos un condensador social. Será el centro de las políticas públicas feministas siguiendo la idea de la zona de recursos para mujeres³. La idea principal de un centro o zona de recursos para las

¹ Las mujeres trabajan en el mundo 2/3 de las horas de trabajo, produce más de la mitad del alimento mundial, 2/3 de infantes no escolarizados son niñas. Ganan 10% de los ingresos mundiales (grandes diferencias salariales, a igual o mejor preparación menor paga para mujeres), 40-60% de asaltos sexuales son cometidos contra jóvenes (niñas) menores de 16 años. Poseen menos del 1% de las propiedades inmobiliarias mundiales.

² Seleccionada Buena Práctica por la Federación de Municipios de Cataluña y la Fundació Pi i Sunyer http://www.bbp.cat/ficha_completa_diba.php?su_idioma=&on=fora

³ Idea que desarrollamos inicialmente con Shivani Bhardwaj de la ONG Sathi All For Partnership en 2009 para Delhi y posteriormente en proyectos concretos trabajamos con las arquitectas de Equal Saree <http://equalsaree.org/>



Fig. 2
Actividades participativas en Plaza Baró, Santa Coloma de Gramenet, España
 Fuente: Zaida Muxí Martínez

mujeres es integrar las cuatro esferas de la vida de manera que las mujeres no queden excluidas, especialmente, de la producción por las obligaciones derivadas de las tareas de género asignadas. Por ello, proponemos espacios de formación y espacios para la aplicación de los conocimientos adquiridos a través de la generación cooperativa y colaborativa de empleo, al tiempo que ofreceremos espacios para las personas dependientes, especialmente niñas, niños y jóvenes. También el edificio albergará el centro de información y recursos para mujeres; el archivo de mujeres de Santa Coloma de Gramenet y una biblioteca feminista.

Fig. 3, 4
Siluetas de mujer y de hombre alternándose en un semáforo, Santa Coloma de Gramenet, España
 Fuente: Zaida Muxí Martínez

SCG más que ciudad

La ciudad no se conforma con atender a su ciudadanía con los parámetros mínimos legales, sino que ha construido una red de 8 guarderías⁴ públicas que atienden a las personas más pequeñas de la ciudad, facilitando las tareas de la reproducción y más específicamente facilitando que las madres, máximas responsables estadísticamente de los cuidados, puedan disponer de tiempo para tener oportunidades de trabajo productivo. Las guarderías se fundamentan en la pedagogía de la vida cotidiana dándole valor a todas las situaciones del día a día, son escuelas laicas, no sexistas que trabajan por la igualdad, el respeto por las otras personas y el entorno, partiendo de intereses y necesidades de niñas y niños.

Los espacios públicos son primordiales en las ciudades como espacios de encuentro, de juego, y de representación social, cultural y política. En una ciudad tan densa como Santa Coloma los espacios públicos – plazas son escasos, por ello es muy importante que en su conformación se considere a todas las personas usuarias y trabajar la idea de red de espacios públicos en los que aquellos que estén próximos se complementen. Una red de espacios públicos lo conforman las plazas de Montserrat Roig o dels Safareigs (los lavaderos), la plaza del Olimpo y la plaza Baró. Sin embargo, hemos observado como cotidianamente la Plaza del Olimpo está sobre utilizada por todas las generaciones provocando algunas situaciones de incompatibilidad, especialmente el juego con pelota y el correr por la plaza con personas mayores dependientes que viven en la residencia de mayores, que está en la misma plaza. Y al mismo tiempo la Plaza Baró, muy cercana y que no implica el cruce de ninguna vía principal, como sí ocurre con la plaza Montserrat Roig, desde la Escuela primaria Torre Balldovina que es la que provee la mayoría de usuarios infantiles, no es utilizada. Con esta diagnosis de falta de uso hemos organizado una serie

⁴ Espacio educativo para edades comprendidas entre 4 meses y 3 años que no es obligatoria en el Estado Español y, por lo tanto, no es asumida por otros estamentos gubernamentales.



de actividades con niños y niñas del barrio y de la Escuela. Las arquitectas de Equal Saree organizaron *Fem Dissabte*⁵, que consistió en dos sábados de actividades en la misma plaza para que niñas y niños del barrio participaran de una manera lúdica en la diagnosis y en la propuesta de usos de los espacios de la plaza. Con estos resultados se organizó, de manera coordinada con el área de educación del ayuntamiento, un taller para el 5º curso de primaria de la Escuela Torre Balldovina con el objetivo de diseñar propuestas de anteproyectos de la plaza: materiales, colores, vegetación, zonas y actividades. A partir de los resultados las arquitectas están desarrollando el proyecto para su ejecución (Fig. 2).

El espacio público es el soporte que nos posibilita y nos visibiliza en nuestras acciones cotidianas. Es también a través de los espacios públicos sus símbolos, actuaciones, representaciones que nos construimos como sociedad. Por ello son importantes los mensajes que transmitimos a través de él con acciones de microacupuntura urbana. Entre estas acciones resaltamos la incorporación de figuras de mujer y de hombre alterna en algunos semáforos (Figg. 3, 4); el nombrar calles con nombres de mujeres de los movimientos vecinales de la ciudad, o relevantes de la cultura general. Para el día de celebración del orgullo LGTB, 28 de junio de 2016, pintamos 6 pasos de peatones simbólicos con los colores del arcoiris, uno

⁵ Fem dissabte: expresión catalana utilizada para designar los días de limpieza y orden general en las viviendas.



Fig. 5
Pasos de peatones simbólicos con los colores del arcoíris LGBT+, Santa Coloma de Gramenet, España
Fuente: Zaida Muxí Martínez

opposite page
Fig. 6
Espacio natural recuperado para ocio y deporte en el río Besós, Santa Coloma de Gramenet, España
Fuente: Zaida Muxí Martínez

por distrito de la ciudad, de esta manera se visibilizó la voluntad de la ciudad de ser inclusiva y no discriminar (Fig. 5).

La igualdad y la no discriminación por ninguna razón son los fundamentos principales de nuestras políticas públicas que dan lugar a estas acciones de visualización de derechos que se ven complementadas por acciones educativas y de formación no reglada. Especialmente dirigidos a las personas jóvenes de la población son los talleres de co-educación en los que se fomentan investigaciones, diálogos críticos y acciones sobre ética y filosofía contemporánea. En el año 2016 se trabajó especialmente los derechos de las mujeres, la igualdad y los feminismos, generando el almanaque 2017 con los resultados de los talleres y que sirvió también para la presentación de diferentes grupos de mujeres jóvenes que trabajan desde los feminismos para los derechos, la memoria histórica, la diversidad cultural, etc.

SCG más que academia

La gran diversidad y calidad de la cultura culinaria de la ciudad están en la base de la apuesta de la ciudad por la formación en restauración, que llevó a buscar y generar sinergias con diferentes actores. Así en el año 2014 se iniciaron los cursos en el Campus



de la Alimentación de la Universidad de Barcelona en Torrelibera⁶, hecho que jalona la voluntad política de hacer de Santa Coloma de Gramenet también una ciudad universitaria. Entendiendo la Universidad como un hecho de valor diferencial que puede permitir a la ciudadanía nuevas expectativas y que puede generar sinergias positivas en la economía y en la formación de la población. A las tareas educativas universitarias se une el esfuerzo del ayuntamiento que en este curso 2017-2018 ha inaugurado la Escuela de Restauración municipal en el rehabilitado Pabellón Canigó.

En el año 2015 se inauguraba la Biblioteca de Fondo que está especializada en comida y nutrición, y que tiene la particularidad de contar con una sala de conferencias-cocina para charlas y cursos. Este espacio es el que funciona de intersección entre las dinámicas universitarias y la población general de la ciudad, ya que no se trata de tener una universidad burbuja, sino que establezca puentes y relaciones con la sociedad dando y tomando conocimientos y saberes.

SCG más que humanos

⁶ Recinto hospitalario psiquiátrico de arquitectura *noucentista* que comenzó a funcionar en 1930, realizado por los arquitectos Josep M^o Pericas y Rafael Masó para la Mancomunidad de Cataluña.

Nuestras políticas se distinguen por ser muy sensibles con el medioambiente y los animales, a pesar de ser una ciudad muy densa trabajamos por generar espacios de contacto, respeto y aprendizaje con la naturaleza. El río Besòs, que llegó a ser en los años 80 el más contaminado de Europa, es desde el 2000 un espacio natural recuperado y un gran espacio de ocio y deporte para las personas de la ciudad (Fig. 6). Se han recuperado sus aguas y el entorno, contándose actualmente con más de 170 especies de aves y una gran variedad de peces. El río es también un espacio de aprendizaje, ya que realizamos allí con el área de medioambiente actividades y talleres especialmente dedicados a niños y niñas. Ecometropoli, es el centro de educación ambiental de nuestra ciudad, dedicado a compartir conocimientos y a fomentar los valores de protección de la naturaleza y de la sostenibilidad urbana. Se encuentra ubicado en el Pabellón Montserrat del Recinto Torribera, y su objetivo es sensibilizar a la población colomense y del área metropolitana de todas las edades sobre la importancia de proteger el medio ambiente y difundir la biodiversidad del entorno natural de la ciudad.

El parque de Can Zam, que nació a raíz de las reivindicaciones vecinales de los años 70, es el gran espacio verde de la ciudad en el que convergen lo urbano y lo natural, tanto en espacio como en actividades. Y para terminar querríamos destacar la colocación de un gran espacio de juegos inclusivos como mensaje inequívoco de la inclusión que propugna la ciudad.

Nuestro objetivo es hacer posible la ciudad abierta, la de las oportunidades, la imperfecta e inacabada. Pues no aspiramos en nuestro mandato político a ser trascendentes. Más bien nuestra meta es hacer posible el encaje perfecto de relevancias múltiples que permitan existir y resistir con dignidad. Parafraseando a Gloria Fuertes (1961/2017), Santa Coloma no quiere ser maestra de nada pero sí una lección de algo.

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WOMEN'S
TERRAIN



WOMEN'S TERRAIN
COMPOSTELA,
TERRITORIO DAS MULLERES

Queres dar un paseo pola cidade?

Buscas un Restaurante?

Buscas un Hotel en Santiago?

SCROLL

PROMOTING EQUALITY IN A CULTURAL CAPITAL, THE CASE OF 'COMPOSTELA, WOMEN'S TERRAIN'

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Fig. 1
Compostela,
Territorio
das Mulleres
website at
the #MORE
Congress,
during the
session
Cities Best
Practices on
the morning
of January
26, 2017
Source:
'MORE than
a Gallery' by
Alba Sotelo

Santiago de Compostela, Capital of Culture

For those of you who don't know where Santiago de Compostela is, I will simply say that is walking distance. You probably know the city of Santiago because of its ancient European way (the Way of St. James, *El Camino*), the outstanding Baroque façade of its Cathedral and because the old town was declared a World Heritage Site by the UNESCO¹ in 1985. Certainly, a place which is well worth visiting.

Santiago is also the capital of the historical region of Galicia, in the northwest of Spain, and it has a population of over one hundred thousand inhabitants, without including the approximately 30.000 students of the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (USC) and the people living in the metropolitan area. Santiago is an administrative capital, the seat of Galician government,² but also a cultural one; the historical significance of the phenomenon of pilgrimage and its ancient University, with more than five centuries of tradition,³ are just two examples of its inherent cultural tourism.

So, what is 'Compostela, Women's Terrain'?

'Compostela, Territorio das Mulleres' in Galician language, seeks to implicate citizens in the construction of a more inclusive, equitable and woman-friendly city. It is a cross-cutting initiative encouraged by the Department for Equality, Economic Development and Tourism of

¹ The outstanding singular value of the squares and narrow streets of the Old Town of Santiago de Compostela, that contains "Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, and Neoclassicist buildings," is described as "not only a harmonious and very well-preserved historical city, but also a place deeply imbued with faith. The cathedral, considered as a masterpiece of Romanesque architecture, keeps the remarkable Pórtico de la Gloria, a jewel of the medieval sculpture. However, the authentic symbol of the city is the Baroque western façade of the cathedral, which forms one of the sides of the square of Obradoiro, one of the world's most beautiful urban areas" (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2018, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/347>).

² The 'Xunta de Galicia' or Regional Government of Galicia is based in Santiago de Compostela, and has delegations in other four Galician capital cities such as A Coruña, Pontevedra, Ourense and Lugo.

³ *Universidade de Santiago de Compostela* (USC) is a historic institution whose origins date from 1495, <http://www.usc.es>.

the City Council,⁴ that aims to create an area of confluence between the public administration, the private economic sector (business or tourist accommodations such as hotels, restaurants or bars) and civil organizations (social actors). The project included the creation of a website. The web domain tm.santiagodecompostela.gal (fig. 1) was released in 2016, and it incorporates a digital map that displays all the singular points, locations and facilities that actively contribute to build a fairer city.

This is the first definition of the project but is not a final one. Even though very little time has passed since it was released, it is continuously evolving and changing, diversifying its lines of action and integrating different perspectives, to ultimately move towards its main goal; to contribute to promote effective equality. But, how can we connect all these ideas with the built environment? One strategy is creating visibility by mapping the territory of Santiago de Compostela.

The Map

Mapping means performing a collective process that seeks to modify hegemonic approaches to territories. In a visual way, you can point out different locations, experiences or stories from those of the dominant power. For this purpose, *Compostela, Women's Terrain* uses new information and communication technologies to encourage a participatory process through the website and the map of *Compostela, Women's Terrain*.

In this map you can learn more about women-friendly tourist accommodations⁵ (by choosing the categories “hotels”, “restaurants-bars”), about spaces where women collective memory in the city is visible (category “places”), see proposed cultural touristic routes (category “walks”) and know more about related organizations and facilities (category “resources”) —including all the existing facilities in the city for the promotion of gender equality.

Women-friendly tourist accommodations

To be displayed on the map, business and tourist accommodations have to assume the ‘Decalogue of Commitments’ including, among others, the following requirements: the public area of the space must be universally accessible, must not present sexist imagery, must facilitate breastfeeding, must be a secure and safe environment for victims of gender-based violence and must not use sexist language in all its different platforms.

opposite page
Fig. 2
'As dúas Marias'
in Santiago de
Compostela.
Source:
'Compostela,
Territorio das
Mulleres'.

⁴ The City Council of Santiago de Compostela, in collaboration with other public bodies, is the local authority responsible of the public spaces of the city, <http://santiagodecompostela.gal/>.

⁵ More tourist information can be always found in the official website of the Central Office for Tourist Information of Santiago de Compostela <http://www.santiagoturismo.com/>



Places where Celebrate Women's Collective Memory in the City

The section 'places' displays those spaces where celebrating women's collective memory in the city. It aims to make visible and vindicate those locations related to women's memory in public space of Santiago de Compostela, such as commemorative public art (monuments), memorials or other commemorative urban practices including urban anthroponomy or place-naming. The target is to situate and make visible local women's history (and stories) from a gender-based perspective, empathizing those historical figures or collective fights that have played an important role in the history of the city. The sculpture of 'As dúas Marías' (*The two Marías*, fig. 2), for example, acknowledges two sisters from a republican family that was persecuted during the Spanish Civil war and that, after this trauma, became widely known for walking around the city in brightly-coloured clothing. Another example are the places where the intrepid traveller and distinguished writer Edith Wharton, author of *The Age of Innocence*, visited when she was Compostela at the beginning of the twentieth century. Also, the building where it was located the first woman professional photographer in Galicia, María Calderelly. María Calderelly was the author of a famous portrait of the most important Galician writer of all times Rosalía de Castro, ca. 1865.



**Washerwomen
in 'Carme's
Church' public
laundry space
in the 1940s**

Source: 'Camiños
da auga,
lavadoiros'
publication,
2016, p. 11



Recommended Walks

The suggested walks highlight and restore the memory of the thousands of anonymous female workers who inhabited the city in the past. In 2016, there were release two routes: 'The Ways of the Water: Ancient laundry public spaces' and 'The Ways of the Water: Fountains'.⁶

Fountains and public laundry spaces (fig. 3) were distinguished facilities in popular and civil Galician architecture that, for centuries, were exclusively used by women; carrying water home or washing line in nearby streams or rivers were just one example of the many commonly unpaid works performed by women throughout history — before the water supply infrastructure even existed. Particularly 'lavadoiros' are specific stone made constructions located near a river, a canal or a fountain that, depending on its complexity, could be covered by a roof tile. Certainly, an ancient space associated with the reproductive work and the domestic sphere which, in former days was performed in the public realm (Novas & Paleo, 2018).

As still can be noticed today particularly in places where there is no running water (as Galicia was before the sixties), water tasks were a business of women. Younger female family members were, mostly, the ones in charge of this tough and time-consuming labour were. Despite the difficulty, the fact of working in a communal way facilitated the

⁶ "Camiños da auga, lavadoiros" and "Camiños da auga, fontes", respectively, in the Galician language.

creation of support and solidarity networks, becoming spaces for collective organization and expression outside the household. Washerwomen used to share stories or even compose and sing songs, transforming these spaces into a definite hive of popular culture.

Besides disseminating two small publications including all suggested walks' information, the City also organized guided tours. They were a great attendance success.

Resources and facilities

Finally, the map of 'Compostela, Women's Terrain' includes a collection of resources and facilities (fig. 4) to guarantee an easy access to related services scattered all over the city. This includes women's information centres,⁷ offices for gender equality,⁸ different feminist collectives and organizations⁹, support networks for survivors of gender-based violence or sexual exploitation,¹⁰ or even feminist bookshops,¹¹ among others. Finally, in the website of 'Compostela, Territorio das Mulleres' you can also find other important sections besides the map, such as:

Be involved

The section 'be involved' displays additional information and invites business, tourist accommodations, collectives, organizations or institutions to active participate or join the project in an open way.

Observatory

The Observatory for Gender Equality is a tool promoted by the Department of Equality, Economic Development and Tourism of the City of Santiago de Compostela that has a double purpose: "on the one hand to analyse and shed light on the gender gap that exists in all areas of our lives; and on the other hand, to create and design tools to integrate a gender-based perspective in local policies." In this section you can find, among others, existing information and research about living conditions of women in the city regarding different fields such

⁷ Including the Information Office for Women of Santiago's local government (*Centro de Información ás Mulleres* (CIM), in the Galician language).

⁸ Including the Gender Equality Office of the USC (University of Santiago de Compostela).

⁹ Including, among others, the Commission of Equality of the Council of Galician Culture (*Consello da Cultura Galega*). Among others, this commission coordinates the digital archive 'Album of Galician Women' (*Album das Mulleres*), that seeks to "gradually facilitate the access to information, data, voices, images, documents, works and individual and collective paths of Galician women and/or women linked to Galicia," <http://culturagalega.gal/album/>.

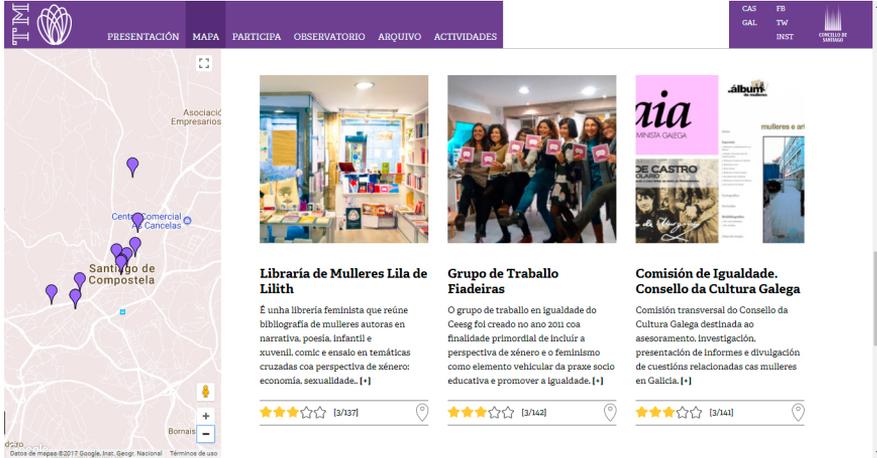
¹⁰ Including the programme "for specialised psychological assistance to help women who are victims of gender-based violence, their children and other people who live with them" created by the Official Psychology Association of Galicia, or the programme 'Vagalume,' which seeks to "provide a comprehensive response to the needs and requirements of those women who are linked to prostitution and/or are victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation."

¹¹ 'Lila de Lilith' is a feminist bookshop in Santiago de Compostela that also organizes many activities and events.



Screenshot of the digital map which shows the section 'resources'

Source: 'Compostela Territorio das Mulleres'



Compostela in Black performance in 2016

Source: 'Compostela Territorio das Mulleres'



as gender-based violence, access and use of economic resources, access to political and economic power, access to education, education and knowledge, use of times, welfare, culture, social and political involvement, public spaces and sports.

Activities

Lastly, 'activities' is the section where the latest news or updates are posted. One relevant event is, for example, the campaign *Compostela in Black* (*Compostela en Negro*). It was firstly released on the 25th of November 2015, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, and each year increases its influence. During that week, business, shops, tourist accommodations, public bodies and collectives turn into mourning to stain the city black (fig. 5).

Santiago de Compostela, Women's Terrain

As mentioned at the beginning of this short text, Santiago is the capital of the region of Galicia, an administrative capital, but also an international cultural one. Hence the importance of integrating feminist narratives in the city, especially considering its key role in cultural tourism. In this context, the city of Compostela aims to continue shaping an equality and inclusive domain. The path has already been set. Let's continue spreading *Compostela Women's Terrain*.

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CONURBAN REGENERATION AND WOMEN PARTICIPATION AND EMPOWERMENT. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CITY OF SASSARI

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Fig. 1
FLPP aims to recognize and to claim the right of citizens to play freely and independently in the public spaces of the city, which is often denied or severely compromised

Tamalacà

Tamalacà is a spin-off of the Department of Architecture, Design, and Planning of Alghero of the University of Sassari (Sardinia, Italy). It is a multidisciplinary all-female group of researchers and practitioners actively involved in supporting local municipalities in urban design regeneration policies and projects, especially at the neighbourhood level. The focus on those policies and projects aims to enhance the quality of urban life for social groups that specially face inequality and discrimination in society - children, women, elderly people, people with different disabilities, and so on -, that are not fully “capable” (à la Sen) of using the city as it is. The general aim of Tamalacà’s research activity is defining a new concept of quality of urban life based on the Capability Approach theory (conceived by Amartya Sen and further developed mainly by Martha Nussbaum).

From a capability perspective, it is possible to identify two fundamental issues that urban planners, architects or policymakers could consider in order to promote inclusive urban policies and projects:

- To redefine the concept of quality of urban life through the looking glasses of capability. This means to focus on the ability of each inhabitant to use the city in order to pursue functionings they value, rather than assuming intrinsic urban functions and features that can be automatically understood as an overall (pre)determined well-being level. In other words, it means to adopt an individually-centred perspective to focus on the inhabitant-city interaction rather than in the city itself.
- The capability approach becomes particularly useful to enhance the quality of life of disadvantaged social groups, whose functionings and capabilities are limited by the inherent configuration of the built environment. In fact, even when urban policies and projects seem apparently neutral, they can produce spatial configurations and organizations that tend to exclude some people, particularly when they are not able to understand the specific needs and abilities of such individuals.



→
Fig. 2
 During the last municipal elections in Sassari, in Sardinia, Italy, children played an active role: having an impact during the election process, as well as in the result, in a creative, innovative and simple way

Besides its research activity, Tamalacà has conceived and developed several low-cost, short-term and extra-small policies and projects, mainly at the neighbourhood-scale, seeking to promote the involvement of the most disadvantaged inhabitants in urban regeneration processes; to finally instigate long-term change.

With the intent to involve especially the most disadvantaged and “unheard” groups of inhabitants, Tamalacà uses different non-conventional tools:

- Games and storytelling to engage in a playful-way people who otherwise would have difficulties to be involved, and to make easier how to deal with those problems that usually arise in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.
- Ironic, sometimes provocative, urban performances and urban communication campaigns focused on disseminating, in an innovative way, underestimate or forgotten messages. For example, the need to re-design streets and public spaces in order to meet the specific spatial needs and desires of women and children.
- Tactical Urbanism, an approach to urban transformations that use low-cost, short-term, bottom-up and scalable actions in order to quickly improve the urban quality and accessibility of the “everyday” city, instigating long-term change at the same time.

Tactical actions and XS transformations in the neighbourhood of San Donato, Sassari

Tamalacà, with the support of the Department of Architecture, Design and Planning of Alghero and in collaboration with the Municipality of Sassari, has carried out in San Donato — a disadvantaged neighbourhood in the old centre of the city of Sassari — several tactical actions and extra-small transformations with the aim of instigating an integrated regeneration process.

All the actions and micro transformations have been intentionally designed and carried out in collaboration with the local primary school, in order to involve the entire school community: children, teachers and parents, especially mothers.

The central role played by the primary school has been crucial for designing an inclusive process, especially-conceived for women and children. Thanks to this process a group of mothers decided to establish a formal cultural association with the aim of supporting all the initiatives that promote quality of urban life in San Donato neighbourhood.

FLPP – Fronte di Liberazione dei Pizzinni Pizzoni

The project FLPP started in 2012 and continues. Its main goal is to (at least partially) free streets and small public spaces from parked cars for the benefit of pedestrians and playing children.

Freeing the public space from the impact of private car is one of the biggest challenges in urbanism. It always implies conflicts among stakeholders such as children, parents, other adults, politicians and the elderly people. In order to reach the goal, Tamalacà decided to engage the neighbours of San Donato, starting from children. Engaging neighbours is a difficult task, especially when the project must deal with the complexity of the problems of a disadvantaged area of the city. The 'classical' approach to urban rights, liveability and the right to play would not work here. The challenge was to engage the whole neighbourhood, starting with children, without predetermining specific outcomes.

While working with teachers, Tamalacà devised a game involving all the school students in a single playful mobilization. The game was based on a dystopian tale that takes place in the city of Sassari in 2046, as a way of conveying to children an urgent message from the future. All the children accepted the challenge and decided to help their 'great-grandchildren' to reach their goal: to change this dystopian future (2046) by acting in the present (2012).

Guided by children, almost all the inhabitants joined the cause in an informal and intuitive way.



Fig. 3
Jane's Walk,
organised in
collaboration
with Zaida
Muxi Martinez

Fig. 4
The project
consists in the
liberation and
transformation
of a small part
of a square in
front of the
primary school
of San Donato,
full of parked
vehicles (and
thus no longer
available for
the collective
use)

The target was to redefine the micro-urban space, six meters wide and three meters long, situated in front of an old ruin. A small protected area was delimited, both laterally and in height, with a pergola. Some wooden seats (by cutting scaffolding planks: a durable and very low cost material) were built in the interior part.



The first tangible result of the process was the organisation of different urban events. During those events the neighbours – together with municipal administrators, teachers, architects and urban planners – were ‘infected’ by the enthusiasm of the children and encouraged to claim the ‘forgotten’ and neglected public spaces of their neighbourhood through colouring, building by themselves small urban furniture and playing (fig. 1).

After two years, during 2014, with the aim of keeping attention of local administrators on the neighbourhood, in collaboration with the teachers and the women association, Tamalacà developed a joyful, ironic, viral and provocative political campaign (during the real local campaign), and several playful urban events (fig. 2).

Then, in 2016, Tamalacà organized a Jane’s Walk and a performance (fig. 3) for claiming the re-design of the streets and public spaces in order to put into place the specific spatial needs of women and children.

In 2016, Tamalacà organized in the school a pop-up carpentry where children, their parents (mainly women) and some artisans of the neighbourhood were involved in the implementation of a tactical intervention to transform three parking lots in an extra-small public space (fig. 4).

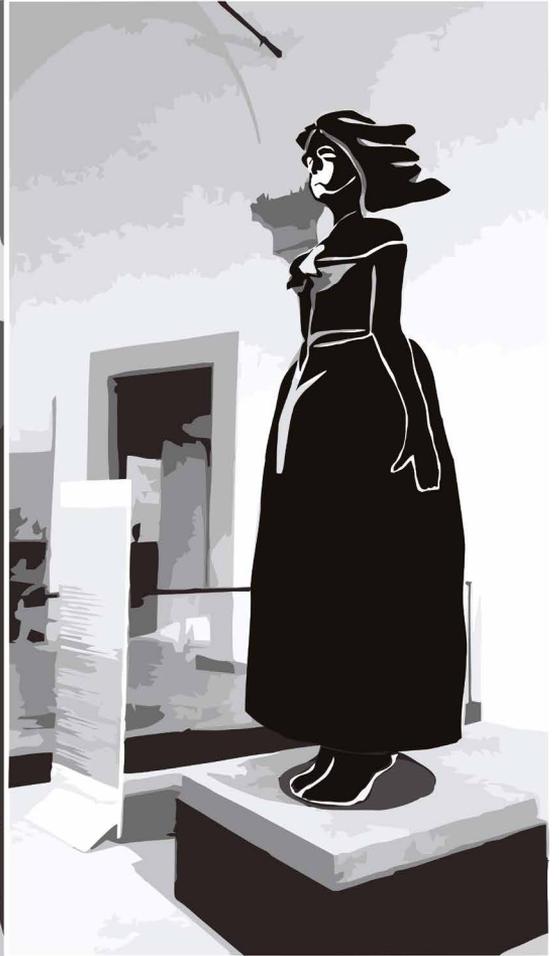
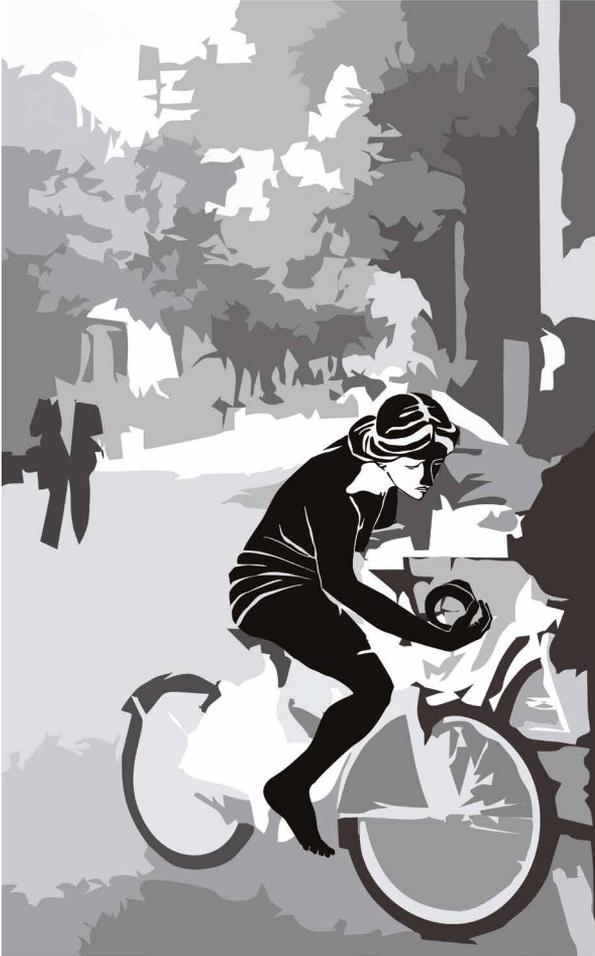
From here on

These tactical actions and XS transformations have been useful for activating a process.

However, socio-spatial inequalities and exclusion of non-dominant groups of inhabitants – such as women, but also children, people with disability and the elderly people – are very challenging issues, which have to be handled with systematic, bold and strategic policies and projects.

The Municipality of Sassari has now the opportunity to design an integrated regeneration process using the innovative tool ITI - Integrated Territorial Investments (a tool that can make possible to coordinate ERDF and ESF resources more effectively than through mono-fund programmes).

Thanks to ITI, the city council of Sassari can go one step further, implementing more relevant and long-term projects, for example using the many abandoned small buildings in the neighbourhood, in order to create public spaces and facilities that will promote the empowerment of people of San Donato.



UN DIÁLOGO URBANO ENTRE LA REBECA Y FIORENZA A PARTIR DE LOS BICIRECORRIDOS PATRIMONIALES EN BOGOTÁ CON PERSPECTIVA DE GÉNERO



Fig. 1
La Rebeca
visitando
en bici a
Fiorenza
esperando
su traslado
Fuente:
elaboración
propia, 2017

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Esta ponencia, presentada en el marco del Congreso MORE, se concentró en una acción simbólica desde la perspectiva de género desarrollada en Bogotá, Colombia, basada en un recorrido temático a realizar en bicicleta por los monumentos que representan a las mujeres en el espacio público del centro urbano, que hoy hacen parte del patrimonio material de la ciudad.

Florenza, Fiorenza

Antes de entrar en los contenidos de Bogotá es imposible desligarse de la visita a Florenza, Italia, ciudad que acogió la Tercera Conferencia Internacional en Arquitectura y Género, para introducir el sentido de conexión y de apropiación de la ciudadanía con el soporte cultural de la ciudad visitada y reflexionar sobre el uso de la bicicleta como medio de transporte sostenible en relación con las mujeres en dos aspectos: el primero, al recorrer las calles de Florenza, vale resaltar la presencia de la bicicleta tanto en la vida cotidiana de las mujeres que la usan con frecuencia como hacer evidente que la edad, la vejez, no les significa un impedimento para subirse en ella. Vivencia tan usual en Florenza, tan distante en Bogotá, que sugiere preguntarse qué cambios deben formularse en infraestructura y en transformación cultural para una mayor decisión de las mujeres a optar por la bicicleta como medio de transporte en todos los ciclos de la vida; el segundo aspecto, el momento coyuntural cuando, preciso en los días de la cita para compartir las experiencias en torno a la arquitectura y los asuntos de género, la municipalidad presentaba a la ciudadanía y al público extranjero la más reciente escultura a instalar en la ciudad, una obra en bronce del artista plástico Giampaolo Talani (2017). Fiorenza, presencia femenina en medio de esculturas masculinas de reconocimiento mundial, quien para el momento y por unas cuantas semanas ocupaba un espacio privilegiado al interior de las arcadas de las galerías del Palacio del Vecchio, en el Cortile della Dogana, y que posteriormente sería trasladada de este espacio central turístico, patrimonial y cultural a otro alejado, en la periferia del centro histórico, por tanto de la actividad del

conocimiento: la Plaza de San Jacopino. Un pequeño espacio en un barrio de corte más residencial levantado de las cenizas de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Desplazamiento que demuestra nuevamente que las mujeres (y lo que las representa) no son consideradas prioridad ni centro de atención dentro de lo urbano. Fiorenza también nos alerta acerca del uso de la imagen aún estereotipada de la mujer vista tan solo y sobre todo como madre. Mirada persistente que invisibiliza otras capacidades, roles y aportes de las mujeres que siguen siendo ligadas a la vivienda, ámbito de lo privado de donde cuesta tanto verlas estar en el afuera sin ser estigmatizadas. En cada presencia urbana, las mujeres tienen otra fuerza de acción como las luchas por la reivindicación de sus derechos y por asegurar que las ciudades sean seguras y disfrutables también para las mujeres y las niñas. Las cifras demuestran múltiples tipos de violencias, ejercidas contra las mujeres en el espacio público y en el espacio privado: escenarios a refundar para las mujeres, conquista inacabada. El construir sobre lo construido-destruido y el tratar de revitalizar un espacio destruido décadas atrás, podrían llegar a dar sentido a la ubicación definitiva de la Fiorenza. Sin embargo queda la duda global del porqué no instalar a las mujeres en el centro de la ciudad y de la historia.

Bogotá, la Rebeca

Acercarse al tiempo al uso de la bicicleta y al inventario de las esculturas urbanas desde un enfoque de género, simbólicamente convoca a las mujeres a pensarse las ciudades de otras maneras. A ocuparlas reconociendo el valor de los esfuerzos de tantas mujeres, presentes y ausentes, para hacerlas visibles a la luz de una historia que capta en objetos estáticos la esencia intrínseca de un momento clave y de sus protagonistas. En respuesta a una historia dada que consecutivamente ha dejado de contar a las mujeres como artífices de la construcción de la ciudad misma, y que tampoco las tiene en cuenta como habitantes que experimentan otras realidades para quienes, como consecuencia, sus dinámicas no son reflejadas en las características de los proyectos y trazos urbanos.

En una promoción de las ciudades, a través de las prácticas urbanas y de los saberes locales, el proceso particular en Bogotá pone de manifiesto la demanda de las mujeres organizadas, quienes analizan y exigen del gobierno más participación incluyente y decisoria en asuntos de orden territorial, y en la misionalidad del ente competente que busca formas y mecanismos para lograr esa ciudad esperada. La aproximación presentada, entre otras tantas acciones que responden a la Política Pública de Mujeres y Equidad de Género del Distrito Capital (Decreto 166 de 2010), es detonante de una iniciativa de bajo perfil (en términos de que no se trata de una acción que convoque a grandes masas), pero

que no deja de ser significativa al ofrecer una lectura urbana que abre un horizonte de posibilidades al conocimiento de lugares e hitos para las mujeres y de reconocimiento a través de éstos y de las figuras femeninas representadas en piedra o bronce, palpable desde la experiencia personal de quien recorre las calles, las plazas, los monumentos que la municipalidad resalta con guía especializada.

La ponencia, convertida en artículo en 2017, señaló entonces, como uno de los aportes de las mujeres y de la política al territorio, la riqueza de establecer la pluralidad como camino andado: en vez de una perspectiva Bogotá aborda tres enfoques que son el enfoque de género, el enfoque diferencial y el enfoque de derechos de las mujeres, derechos priorizados por las mujeres que a su vez son ocho, entre ellos el derecho al hábitat y la vivienda digna, el derecho a una vida libre de violencias, el derecho a una cultura libre de sexismo, y el derecho a la participación y representación en equidad. La posibilidad de recorrer el territorio de otras maneras, a pie o en bici, a velocidades distintas permiten a las mujeres disfrutar de la ciudad, de sus hechos históricos, de su esencia, respirar otros aires, acercarse de otra manera, apropiarse su entorno, hacer memoria, registrar huellas; hacer visibles y presentes espacios significativos para ellas en terreno o poder resignificarlos cuando ocurren hechos de violencia que impactan la vida, emociones, percepción y alerta sobre el riesgo para otras mujeres en sororidad, en rechazo y autocuidado; conocer y reconocerse en las esculturas de orden patrimonial alusivas a las mujeres (desde la Rebeca, la primera en ocupar el espacio público en Bogotá en 1926, aguadora semidesnuda, desplazada y víctima de agresiones físicas, pasando por la Pola, joven fusilada hace 200 años, mujer rebelde y activista por la independencia del país, la Rita 5:30, mujer negra quizás transgénero y en ejercicio de prostitución, la Diosa del Agua Sie mujer indígena poseedora de saberes ancestrales de una cosmovisión en equilibrio con el agua y la tierra fundamental para la continuidad de la población antes de la conquista española, y la Loca Margarita quien pierde la cabeza en medio del conflicto armado y de la violencia generalizada en el país que ha dejado padres, hijos y maridos muertos y desaparecidos y que convirtió los cuerpos de las mujeres en botín de guerra por medio de violaciones impunes); aumentar el número de mujeres en bici que se sumen a ejercitar el cuerpo por salud, bienestar y sostenibilidad ambiental, hacer uso de los kilómetros de ciclorrutas dispuestos por el Distrito, garantizar la calidad, cualidades y mantenimiento para su uso más frecuente, inclusive durante la noche, horario que sigue siendo de alto riesgo transitar y de abstinencia especialmente para las mujeres; y de cómo integrar a poblaciones con discapacidad que suelen ser excluidas de este tipo de actividades a partir de materiales divulgativos táctiles, por ejemplo, con siluetas y textos en braille ante la restricción de tocar las esculturas. Para quienes tengan interés en profundizar en la actividad de los bicirecorridos, los

monumentos visitados y los retos que implica consolidar y sostener la acción, se sugiere remitirse al artículo complementario titulado “Mujeres, patrimonio y ciudad: en bici por monumentos y espacios simbólicos de y para ellas en Bogotá”, publicado en el Dossier del número dedicado a la *Movilidad urbana y género: experiencias latinoamericanas* en la Revista Transporte y Territorio (2017).

Un diálogo entre el mármol y el bronce

El detenerse paralelamente, en parte en la experiencia en Florencia y en parte en la experiencia en Bogotá, permite dar importancia al cómo acercar a las ciudadanas a su propia historia, a través del recorrido y la pausa, y encarar el instante eterno materializado en monumento. Y ver la movilidad como medio para escuchar a las ciudades, leídas por capas, donde las más ocultas revelan esos otros modos de habitar, distintos pero válidos. Si imagináramos un diálogo urbano entre la Fiorenza florentina y la Rebeca bogotana asistiríamos seguramente a un debate profundo sobre el lugar que ocupan en la sociedad las mujeres y su relación con los espacios públicos y políticos, con lo que representan para la ciudad y el desplazamiento forzado hacia las periferias al que han sido sometidas. Avances y retrocesos de una participación democrática aparentemente neutral que sigue teniendo sesgos al momento de tomar decisiones urbanas, en la localización del ser situado y en la memoria que recoge u olvida lo que se construye, teje y aborda en el día a día desde la base, de abajo hacia arriba (Fig. 1).

Al perfume y la degustación de un té traído prácticamente de los Jardines de Boboli, este diálogo nos recuerda de una época cuando una mujer, Eleonora, Leonor Álvarez de Toledo, a contracorriente de las ordenanzas, lograra actuar como dirigente de la ciudad-Estado como duquesa consorte y, a través de su acciones, lograra además el respeto y cariño de su pueblo a raíz de un gobierno ejecutado con programas que mejoraron la calidad de vida de la ciudad pensando en la ciudadanía y de consolidar un acervo cultural a través del arte.

Pasos para retomar a menos de una década de celebrarse el centenario de la Rebeca en el espacio público, en una retrospectiva que da cuenta de resistencias para situar a las mujeres, de carne y hueso o de piedra y bronce, en el centro del escenario político y del escenario cotidiano, lugar de decisiones trascendentales y de la vida misma. En perspectiva, este encuentro de saberes y prácticas sugiere preguntarse si será que a cien años las futuras bicisuaris -niñas, jóvenes y viejitas-, cuando visiten a Fiorenza o a la Rebeca, gozarán de ciudades con puntos de encuentro urbanos donde las mujeres se sientan y sean representadas, protegidas, acogidas, respetadas, valoradas por sus pares y entre sí.

¿Constituirán ellas y todas las demás esculturas una red de referencia global para el conocimiento y el encuentro que conmemore sus luchas y la resignificación de los espacios urbanos como conquista de las mujeres?

Entendida como una buena práctica, la introducción de los enfoques de la Política Pública de Mujeres y la Equidad de Género en actividades que promueve la ciudad sirve para impulsar procesos de apropiación urbana y provocar afectos con el entorno cotidiano en doble sentido: entre las mujeres y las ciudades. Igualmente sirve para cuestionar los horrores humanos ocurridos en el territorio que transitan, padecen, analizan y habitan las mujeres. También para comprender qué falta por ajustar con miras a lograr que las ciudades y los espacios públicos sean efectivamente agradables y seguros para las mujeres.

Listado de referencias y bibliografía

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A NARRATIVE OF INSHALLAH-SHALOM: AN ART PROJECT IN SANT'AMBROGIO NEIGHBOURHOOD (FLORENCE)

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Fig. 1
Synagogue
in Florence
Source:
Claudia
Roselli

In 2016 I presented to the public the first part of my visual art project untitled *Inshallah-Shalom*¹. *Inshallah* is a word which comes from the Arab language, it means “If God would like”; *Shalom* is a Jewish word and it means peace. Joined together, they looked like an exhortation for peace and respect among diverse religions, cultures and traditions.

In Sant’Ambrogio neighbourhood, there is a Jewish Synagogue from the late nineteenth century (Fig.1.). Its sacred architecture has an old history in the city and in the neighbourhood itself. Apart from this one, the Jewish community has also other encounter points in this area, such as the kindergarten, the elementary school and a Kosher restaurant, located close to the entrance of the Synagogue.

The Mosque Al Taqwa (Fig. 2.) is located within a walking distance from the Synagogue, in Borgo Allegri, its presence is relatively recent. Also, for the Muslim community, not only religious architecture facilitates encounters; in the neighbourhood, for example, you can find the halal shop and small butchers’ shops too.

The Mosque, located very close to the Ciampi square, attracts every day a lot of people coming from different parts of the city. There are many other spaces for Muslim prayers scattered all around the city of Florence, but this one, is the most alive and frequented and, consequently, of great influence for the peoples’ daily lives in this central part of the city.

These two places of worship have been the starting point for analyzing the area, a special zone for the mixing of diverse cultures and sensitiveness. Even if the prayer time and the main days of worships are different, the cultural interaction between the two communities, as well as the local one, happens here. Sant’Ambrogio changed with the arrival of the Mosque,

¹ I won a grant for artists working or living in Tuscany. The open call was promoted by Le Murate, Contemporary Art Project, an art space in Florence. The first part of the project was created and presented thanks to the financial support of the Regional Government of Tuscany and the Association MUS.E in collaboration with the Culture Department of the City of Florence and the RF Kennedy Center for Justice & Human Rights, and the Center for Contemporary Art Luigi Pecci in the context of the regional project “Cantiere Toscana Contemporanea”. The exhibition which presented the first results of the project “Inshallah-Shalom” was inaugurated in February, and it was open until April 2016.



Fig. 3
Mosque in
Florence
 Source:
 Claudia Roselli



opposite page
Fig. 3
Imam Elzir
Izzedin in
dialogue with
Claudia Roselli

Fig. 4
Joseph Levi in
dialogue with
Claudia Roselli
 Source:
 Claudia Roselli

especially during the Ramadan period, at the end of the evening, when crowds of believers are crossing its streets and pour back into the city.

The Synagogue has different prayer days and times for regular religious ceremonies than the Mosque. The territorial proximity between these two spiritual places stimulated my reflection on the shared use of urban spaces by different social groups. That means between themselves but also in their interaction with the city, other inhabitants and their local routines. This case study is, for now, the only documented one in Italy, and perhaps even in Europe. While analysing it, I was not only interested in the religious meeting places of the non-Catholic communities, in their prayers and beliefs, but also in the act of listening to their different rhythms, their questions, and some personal and particular stories.

With that in mind, I created two audio-visual dialogues: the first one with the Imam Elzir Izzedin and the second one with the Rabbi of the Florentine Synagogue, Joseph Levi². Both videos were filmed inside the religious space: in the Mosque in a public living room-office close to the entrance (Fig.3.), and in the private studio of the Rabbi inside the protected area of the Synagogue (Fig.4.). Each dialogue is kind of video interview in

² Joseph Levi was the Rabbi of the Florentine Jewish Community for twenty years, until 30th June 2017. The new Rabbi is Amedeo Spagnoletto.



which I asked questions about the religious community and I explained my ideas and wishes related to the project “*Inshallah-Shalom*”. In both cases, I introduced to the spiritual guides the first ideas of the art project focused on the encounter between the two religious traditions and the different cultural overlaps in the same territory. It was during these dialogues³ when I realized that the Imam (who is from Palestine) and the Rabbi (who is from Israel) have a very good relationship. I noticed that, for a long time, the two spiritual guides wanted to improve the intercultural dialogues between the two communities and, in fact, they were already promoting and participating in a project called the “Keys of the city”: a cultural project for students from elementary school to high school to visit both spiritual places, allowing to them to exchange cultural knowledge, not only related to religious matters but also to food and other activities.

During the process, I met different people from both communities and then I realized that I would like to start an in-deep dialogue only with women. For this purpose, I asked for authorization and for official consensus to each spiritual guide. Affirmative responses were received in both cases. The approach that I chose was conditioned by the intense heterogeneity between the two groups of women from both communities. In the Mosque, for example, it was possible to gather with a considerable group of women only on Friday before lunchtime, when they are in the female prayer room, separated, from the main hall of the Mosque, from the weekly communal prayers. During the exhibition at the Contemporary Art Space ‘Le Murate’, I presented, together with the video-dialogues, a selection of photos taken inside the Mosque. The images depicted women from the Muslim community⁴ in their own sacred space. The physical movements of Muslim female prayers is an ancient religious practice connected with their cultural roots. The female Muslim community from Florence includes

³ Interviews took place in June and October 2015, respectively, with the Rabbi Joseph Levi and the Imam Elzir Izzedin.

⁴ From the Jewish community I photographed Shulamit Furstenberg Levi, the wife of the Rabbi Joseph Levi. The photo was taken in their house during the preparation of the traditional bread of the Sabbath (Jewish Saturday). This Jewish bread is called *challah*

women from all over the world. This is also the case for the Jewish community. During our dialogue, we conversate about daily prayers but also about different actions and thoughts, exploring their relationship with the city of Florence: their needs, their dreams and their fears. Coming from a different cultural background, sometimes the cultural shock is unavoidable, and this affects to the conversation. It happened to me particularly with the Muslim community. Even if I had experience working with Muslim groups the dialogue does not immediately flow naturally and, for example, taking photographs inside the prayer room was a sensitive issue that required negotiation, even if I was welcomed there. Once there, I became aware of the significance of the prayer room; it is also a place for meeting, and it is beautiful to experience how women speak to each other about their daily life, how they play with children, how they talk about Arab or their places of origins. Inside the room it is also possible to listen to several languages and different sounds. It is a real sacred place, also from a contemporary anthropological point of view. To start a closer approach, I decided to conversate in great depth with one woman from each community. I contacted Shulamit Levi, after the first dialogue-interview with the Rabbi. Shulamit is the wife of the Rabbi, and she is engaged in a lot of initiatives in the Jewish community. From the Muslim community I met Sanaa Amhed. They meet each other for the first time in a public gathering of the group “*Donne per la pace*”⁵ that was organized inside the Mosque Al Taqwa in Florence. After starting a dialogue on sacred books and old rituals connected with the female body and presence, I shared a narrative on the element of water and they started to talk about the presence of the water in their ancient traditions such as in the pre-marriage rites or other meaningful moments in a woman lifetime like puberty, menstruation and marital sex.

From the dialogues emerged very interesting stories that constituted a space of encounter for both cultures. For the women that were participating directly in the research was also new and meaningful to discover unexpected but logical similarities between them. Generally speaking, the water is a strong symbolic element for purification. Both in the Jewish and Islamic tradition, the use of water was related to the sexual initiation, to the marriage and to the purification of the body after the period. During the talk they continued to put

⁵ “*Donne per la pace*” is a group formed in 2015 thanks to the initiative of Tami Eyal, Sanaa Ahmed and Daniela Misul. The idea came from the Israeli / Palestinian “Women Wage Peace”, which brings together women (and not only) from different nationalities and religions, especially Israeli and Arabs, religious and secular, in order to promote dialogue and cultural activities showing that it is possible to collaborate by bringing together artistic, creative and existential paths. The group is open to anyone who would like take part of it. Nowadays the group is composed by women and man from different ethnicities and cultures, what is clear it is that they meet and share time and experiences in order to build pacifist dialogues.

into relation the female body and the water rituals; one recurring theme was the instrumental use of water for women's purification⁶.

The second element was music. From the beginning of the project I started a research on the chants and the use of music in both communities, considering it an extremely important cultural element. After the dialogue with the Rabbi, we began an exploration in the use of female voices during religious rituals on the sacred Jewish songs. Particularly, I was introduced by Shulamit Furstenberg Levi in a group of women that since 2013 in Florence are trying to renew Jewish culture through the introduction of female voices in the sacred Jewish songs that normally are just for men. The first part of this exploration began with a group of Jewish women that have been learning to sing together for years, according to the local Florentine rite of the Synagogue. The innovation was important because this was a male tradition and after this happened, women became involved. The Rabbi described this wish, expressed collectively by the women as a sort of democratization of the ceremony.

As a result, during some special days of the Jewish calendar, thirty women were in a circle and each one read or sang the part of the song which she prepared. The result was a beautiful song chanted from several female voices. This, according to Rabbi opinion, constituted a new community space where women can express themselves ritually. The woman and some professional musicians worked together to learn how to sing, and now they are re-establishing one oral tradition that was not allowed for them, but where they can take part now. The choir rehearsal used to take place not inside the Synagogue, but close to it, in another room. By the end of 2016, I continued visiting both groups of women, participating more actively at the meetings of *Donne per la Pace* in Florence. I noticed some of the women I had conversate with where now there participating in these cultural meetings where women used to share their knowledge: food recipes, lessons about interculturality, peace and history.

It was during these meetings that women created new urban intercultural spaces; not only in the spaces offered by the religious community but also in cafés in the neighbourhood, or sometimes, even in private houses. These opportunities are a specific example of how a small group of people, motivated by strong social and cultural inputs, can build a new landscape of encounters of tolerance and diversity⁷.

⁶ At the vernissage of *Inshallah-Shalom* on 18 February 2016, I presented the first steps of the second part of the project, inviting Shulamit Furstenberg Levi (Jewish community) and Sanaa Amhed (Muslim community) to an open artistic talk. Together we spoke about the common elements of female rituals and other ideas developed in the project.

⁷ I was recently selected together with a musician and urban researcher for a new residency to continue the project "*Inshallah-Shalom*" of Tempo Reale; Centre for Music Production, Research and Education in Florence. I will participate with Nicola Di Croce at the residency KATE, residency in the memory of Caterina Poggesi, artist and collaborator of the centre who recently passed away. In 2018/2019 new steps of the project will be shared.

Workshops

AMORE

*Your intimate feelings regarding your city.
A collaborative confession.*

Credits

AMORE design and performance: Amelia Vilaplana.

Shelleystein device design and construction: Amelia Vilaplana.

ameliavilaplana@gmail.com

Thanks to FabLab Alicante (Juan Carlos Castro) for the sponsorship in the production.

Special thanks to Paula Vilaplana and Julia Goula for her collaboration during the performance.

The Urban Fear Oral Archive is a project by otespace, a multidisciplinary group composed by Diego G., Ana Cadena, Heura Posada, Joana Rosa and Amelia Vilaplana, professionals from various fields such as architecture, art, sociology and critical practices.

Photo credits Alba Sotelo

AMORE (The *Urban Fear Oral Archive* in MORE) was a collaborative action aiming to construct an oral manifesto to further in the transformation of our cities and leaving a trace of our presence in Florence.

During a break, MORE participants received a little card asking them to anonymously confess their private feelings regarding their cities. The cards were then collected and randomly redistributed. Each participant was invited to read aloud the card she/he had received: by turns, participants entered an empty room to confess the feelings featuring in their cards to the Shelleystein recorder device. By doing this she/he was publicly sharing an anonymous intimate relation with a particular city, and embodying the personal unutterable feelings from an unknown colleague. Such feelings overlap with the city's development plans and lead to the construction of spaces which are not legitimate or entitled. The testimonies were spatially distributed in the room according to the cities they were referring to. We collaboratively build with our bodies an oral map of emotions from the cities attending MORE.

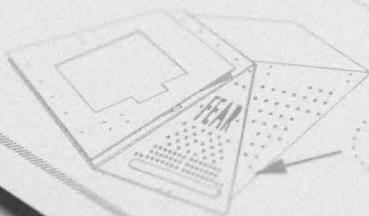
*Please, in a few words explain one of your personal fears regarding your relationship with your city.
Please, briefly explain one personal desire regarding your city. Which city are you talking about?*

AMORE action is related to *Urban Fears. An Oral Archive*, a techno-performative project which aims to construct an archive that gathers the unheard voices of the city, collecting confessions of fears and desires. Fears and desires are mental impressions establishing borders, cuts, folds, and overlaps that blur the urban map. The project works with post-feminist and decolonial strategies to make audible the hidden frequency of the city, combining performance, curatorial practices, and participatory urbanism.

Urban Fears. An Oral Archive traces its origins to the (MORmobile), an urban traveling device developed for the Revolutionary Oral Museum MOR, a project led by Paul B. Preciado, in the (MACBA) Museum in Barcelona. The MORmobile acted as a container for revolutionary manifestoes belonging to racial, gender, sexual, and corporal minorities. After its debut at the MOR, this mobile device has been used to register fears, desires, and even environmental worries by random street goers or individuals our team has selected. The accumulation of these confessions constructs an oral manifesto for cities, revealing the physic, the psychic and even sociopolitical uncertainties of our time. Those confessions are collected, geolocalized and are reproduced in the streets with the use of a mobile device. We call it Shelleystein because it was conceived as a trans-technological and post-feminist version of Frankenstein's monster, gathering the feelings, the thoughts of different bodies (citizens), that are sometimes incongruent and just put together as they coexist in the city, sometimes with painful stitches. This device adopts the form of a post-organic body that goes beyond the biological modes of studying the city. It is a dysfunctional model for rationalism.

A.MORE

Express feelings regarding your city
A collective, anonymous confession



Please fill and
deposit it here

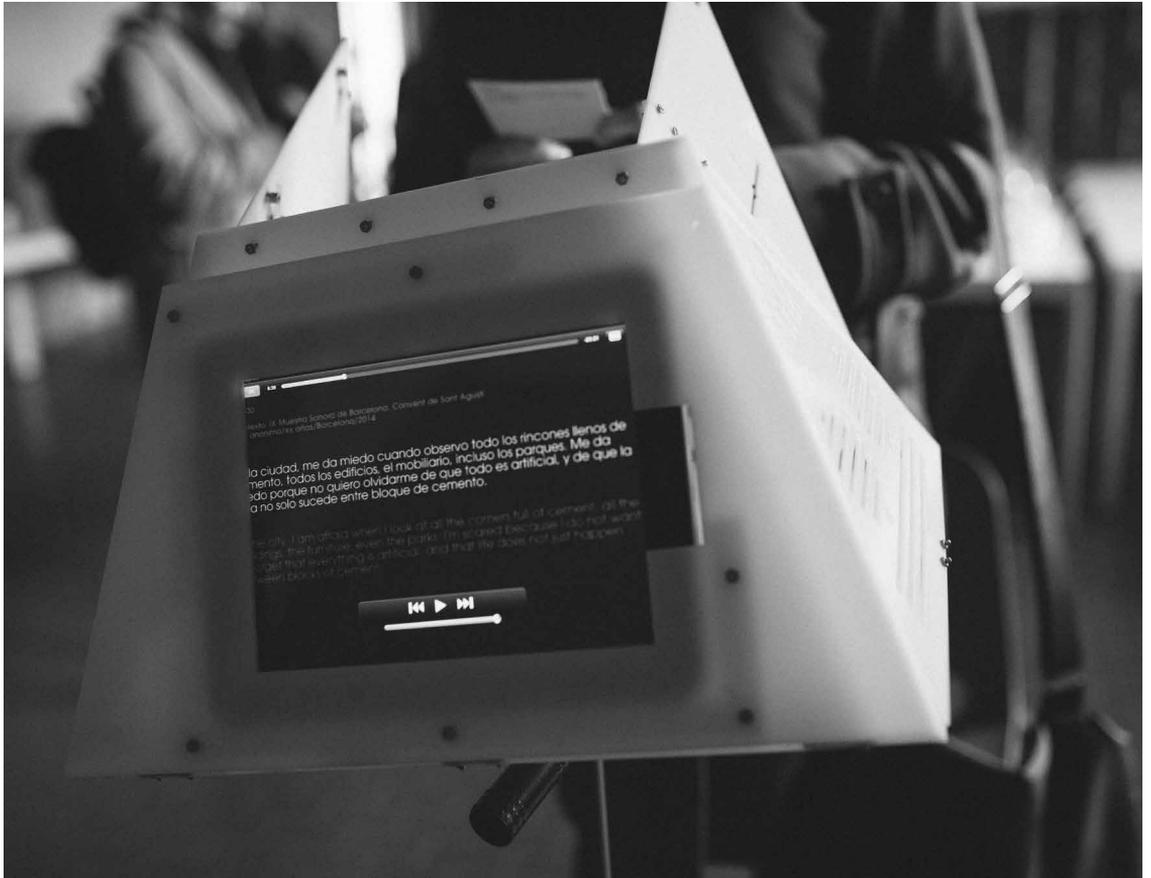


AMORE. Collaborative action

Amelia Vilaplana during the presentation

previous page

Detail of the cards



AMORE. Collaborative action
Detail of the Shelleystein recorder device

The perception of everyday spaces from a gender-based perspective

Workshop in Figline e Incisa Valdarno

Credits *Equal Saree*
hola@equalsaree.org

Photo credits Alba Sotelo

Introduction

Throughout MOREcongress the participants have been able to discuss about architectural research and practice related to gender and space.

The different texts in this book illustrate that spaces are not neutral and they function as systems of ideological reproduction, fostering or avoiding attitudes and behaviours and allowing or preventing activities or uses.

Through this workshop, we encouraged participants to look at themselves and reflect on their own experiences. During a walk through the city center, we asked participants to think about their relationships with the different spaces they use in their everyday life and eventually share it with the others.

Description

The aim of this workshop was an individual and collective reflection on gender inequalities and their impact on the perceptions and differentiated uses of urban spaces. The workshop was articulated in two blocks, a first part of awareness-raising based on individual and collective reflection and a second part of critical analysis through an urban walk.

Part 1 *Awareness-raising from individual perception and collective debate*

The first block proposed to reflect on the intersection of different dimensions in our spatial and urban perceptions: the social dimension, which is related to power structures; the psychological dimension, which is related to our life experiences and the spatial dimension which is related to the environments we inhabit. We worked on 3 different types of daily spaces: one private space (a space of intimacy: our home, our room), one public space (a space for encounter and relation with other people, outdoors or not) and one work or study space (the university, the office, the factory...) and we analysed them through 4 axes (gender, age, social status and sexuality). The aim of this first exercise was to think about the relationship of power structures and their articulation in different spaces in order to visualize how places can play a key role in the reproduction of inequalities.

Part 2 *Urban walk*

The second block proposed a collective walk through Figline e Incisa Valdarno everyday spaces. We created different teams that, during the walk, had to put on the hat of a particular character: a teenage girl, a father of two children, an elderly man, a woman in a wheelchair and a young woman who worked at night. We observed how public space design, public facilities and mobility infrastructures facilitate or not the daily activities of our character. We stopped several times during the way in order to share impressions and discuss together. We collectively analysed the influence, both positive and negative, of the configuration of urban spaces on people's perceptions.



The perception of everyday spaces from a gender-based perspective
On the background (from left to right) Sera*na Amoroso and Equal Saree in the presentation of the activity



The perception of everyday spaces from a gender-based perspective
Participants



The perception of everyday spaces from a gender-based perspective
Urban walk

MMOOREE

More than people

Photo credits: Alba Sotelo







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about the editors

Architect **Serafina Amoroso** obtained her Ph.D. degree in Architectural and Urban Design in 2006 (Reggio Calabria, Italy). She holds master's degrees in Feminist Studies (UJI, Spain) and Advanced Architectural Projects (ETSAM, Spain). She has extensive experience working as a lecturer, design studio tutor and visiting teacher in architectural higher education (UNIFI, Italy; ETSAM, Spain; AA School of Architecture, UK). Architects **Dafne Saldaña**, **Helena Cardona** and **Julia Goula** are the founding partners of Equal Saree, a collective based in Barcelona that applies a feminist approach to architecture and urban planning. Architect **María Novas** is a Ph.D. candidate in architecture (US, Spain), a lecturer and a guest researcher (TU Delft, The Netherlands). She holds master's degrees in Feminist Studies (UJI, Spain) and Urban Regeneration and has experience in working with public bodies and organisations. Architect **Amelia Vilaplana** designs landscapes, buildings and installations exploring formats to connect people and spaces. Amelia holds master's degrees in Narrative Environments (Central St Martins, UK) and Critical, Theoretical and Museum Studies (UAB, Spain). She is a co-founder of Vilaplana&Vilaplana studio. Amelia teaches at the Bartlett School of Architecture and Oxford Brookes. She previously taught at the AA School of Architecture.



The present volume *MORE: Expanding Architecture from a Gender-Based Perspective. III International Conference on Gender and Architecture Proceedings* collects the papers, lectures, video-essays and workshops presented during a three-day-session (26th to 28th January 2017) which took place at the School of Architecture of the *Università degli Studi di Firenze* (UniFi, Italy) and Figline e Incisa Valdarno. #MOREcongress provided a meeting space for communication between professionals, researchers, educators and activists from an interdisciplinary approach. After two conferences held in Spain (*ArquitectAs*, Universidad de Sevilla, 2014) and Portugal (*Matrices*, Universidade Lusófona de Lisboa, 2015), the 3rd meeting was held in Italy to make visible and reinforce the work in South-European countries. The III International Conference investigates the application of feminist strategies to architecture and provides plural and integrated spaces for debate. The section LECTURES includes scientific products of various formats organized through four conference tracks — More than Objects, More than Cities, More than Academia and More than Humans —. The section CITIES BEST PRACTICES brings together the experiences of public administrators and other key agents in the design of the built environment who shared their knowledge and exchange examples of best practices during a focused session. Participants could learn about inclusive urban transformations from the examples of Vienna, Santiago de Compostela, Bogotá, Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Florence and Sassari. Finally, the section WORKSHOPS presents a summary of *AMORE Collective Action* and the *workshop* held in Figline e Incisa Valdarno, which encouraged and fuelled the debate, creating an open space for performative actions and promoting a critical revision of urban spaces.



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