

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

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

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Abstract

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

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

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

Resumen

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Source: Authors

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

renovation, rehabilitation, restoration); use (administrative, accommodation, social care, commercial, cultural, sports, educational, facilities for children/elderly people, public space, industrial, infrastructure, monument, museum, religious, residential, healthcare, single-family housing); location; coordinates; dates (of project and/or work); decade (197X, 198X, 199X and 200X); scale (S: <100 m²; M: 100-1,000 m²; L: 1,000-10,000 m²; XL: >10,000 m²; XXL: landscape/territory); surface area; recognitions (awards or nominations obtained); visitable (yes/no) and type (private building, public building, public space).

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

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: SITUATED ANALYSES

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

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

Margarita de Luxán (1 work) from the Polytechnic University of Madrid (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Clock diagram indicating the names of the architects, scale, decade, type and use of their works

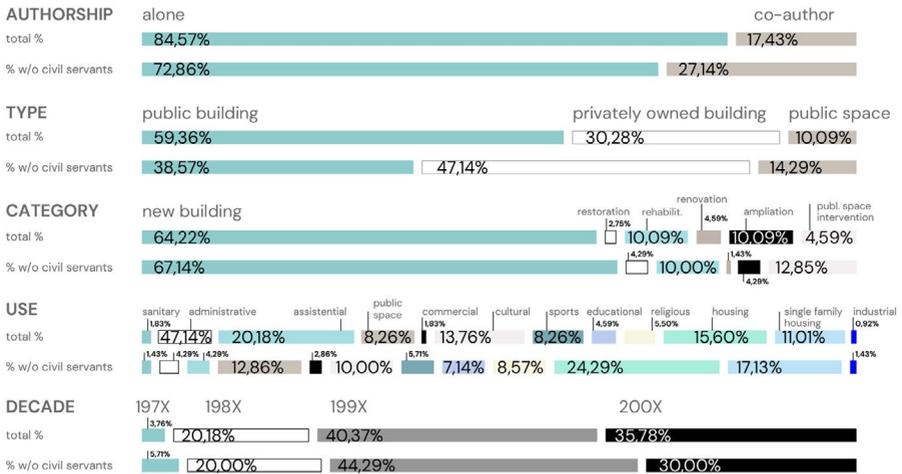


Source: Authors

Two cases deserve special mention, those of Carmen Gil (20 works) and Isabel Huete (19 works), whose combined production represents more than a third of the total registered (35.78%). This is due to their status as civil servants employed by Madrid City Council and, therefore, to the fact that their projects have been disseminated *inter alia* in institutional publications.

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

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



Source: Authors

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

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

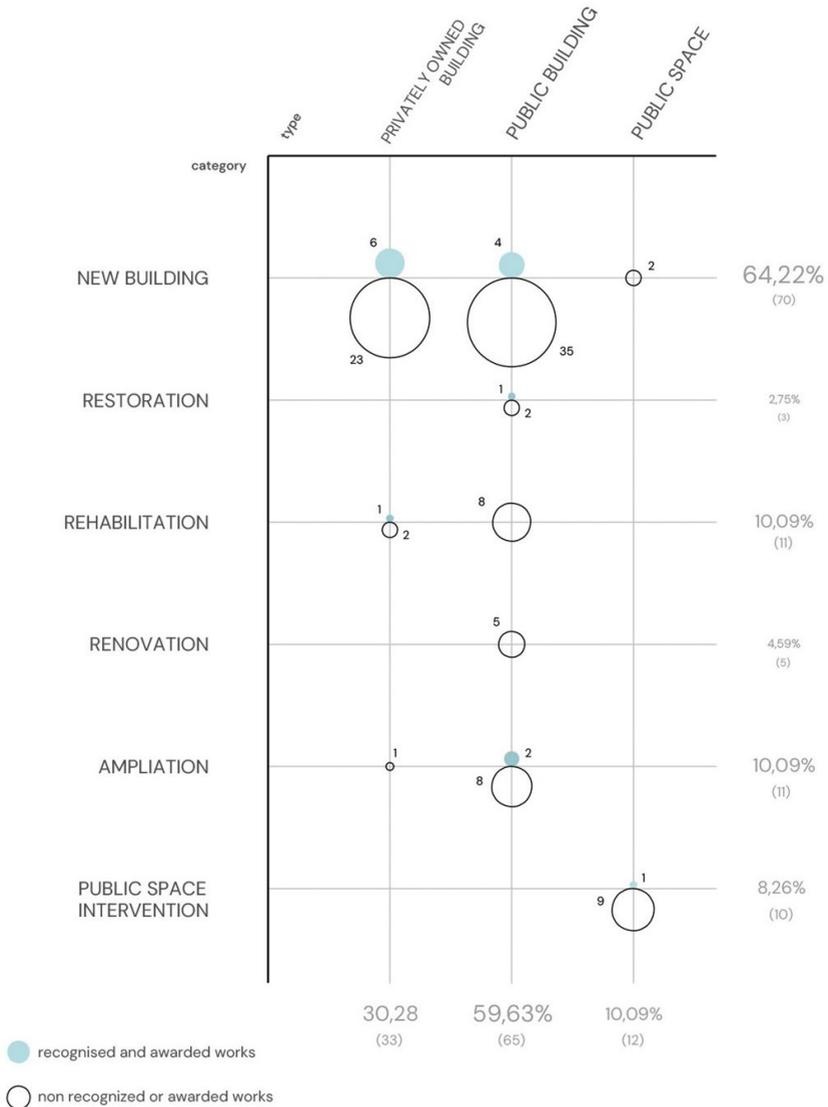
and Huete into account, public buildings (65) represent 59.63% of the total, compared to 30.28% of private buildings (33) and 10.09% of public space projects (11), a distribution far removed from realities such as in Catalonia, where the activity of women has not only been concentrated mainly in landscape architecture, but has also reached levels of excellence in their field⁵. In our case, only the remodelling of calle Dulcinea where it meets calle Artistas (Cristina Hernández, Patricia Leal and Lucila Urda, 2003-2006) has received recognition (Madrid City Council, 2007).

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

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

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

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



Source: Authors

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

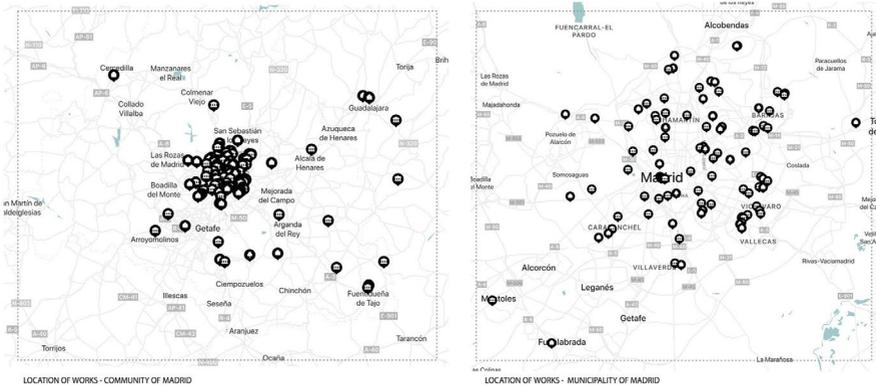
The profile we obtain by solely analysing the works of women architects in private practice confirms that their main source of work relates to housing, whether single-family or collective, followed by projects in public spaces and cultural buildings. Among the single-family houses, the Casa Pajares-Bausá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

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

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

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

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



Source: Authors' work based on NAM surveys

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

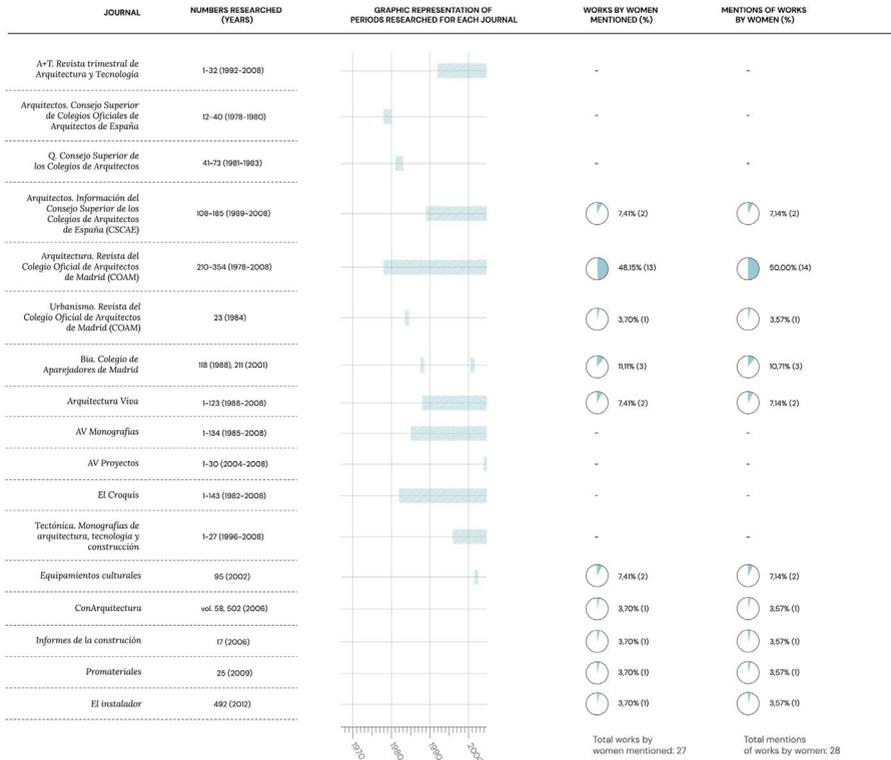
Journal <i>Bia</i> of the Colegio de Aparejadores (Association of Quantity Surveyors) of Madrid (present in Dialnet and CARHUS)				
1988	118	52-64	74 subsidised housing units in the Madrid-Sur Operation	Carmen Callizo
			Dwellings in the Madrid-Sur Operation, Plaza Asamblea Block	Lilia Maure
2001	211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

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

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

Source: Authors

Figure 5. Graphical representation of Table 2



Source: Authors

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

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

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

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

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

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

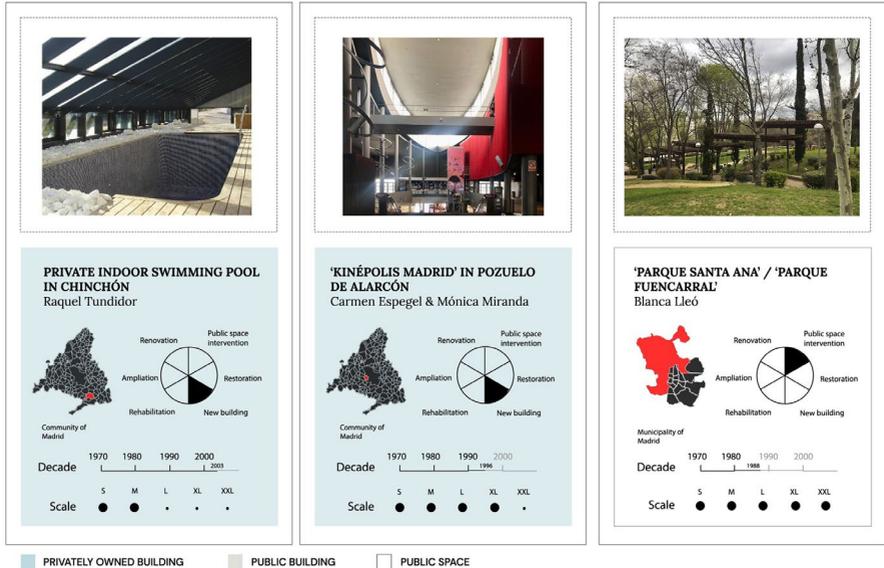
Figure 6. Analysis sample: works by Carmen Espegel & Concha Fisac; María Luisa López Sardá



Source: Authors

A similar commitment, which uses the most suitable construction techniques to achieve its purpose without compromising on aesthetics, can be found in the private indoor swimming pool in Chinchón by Raquel Tundidor in 2003-2004, a small-scale exercise (110.50 m²) of great sensitivity to respect pre-existing features and the surrounding landscape. The palette of materials, textures and colours celebrates the bathing experience, both water and sun, in all its dimensions. At the opposite extreme in terms of scale (32,000 m²), Espegel and Miranda's Kinépolis in 1996 (Espegel Arquitectos, 2023a), in Pozuelo de Alarcón, dignifies one of those «non-places» (Augé, 1993) by designing its two long façades as two curved screens that hide, literally and metaphorically, what is going on behind them. Inside, the entrance hall is conceived as an active sculptural space. Its character as a meeting and gathering place is accentuated by the integration of a skylight in the roof (Figure 7).

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



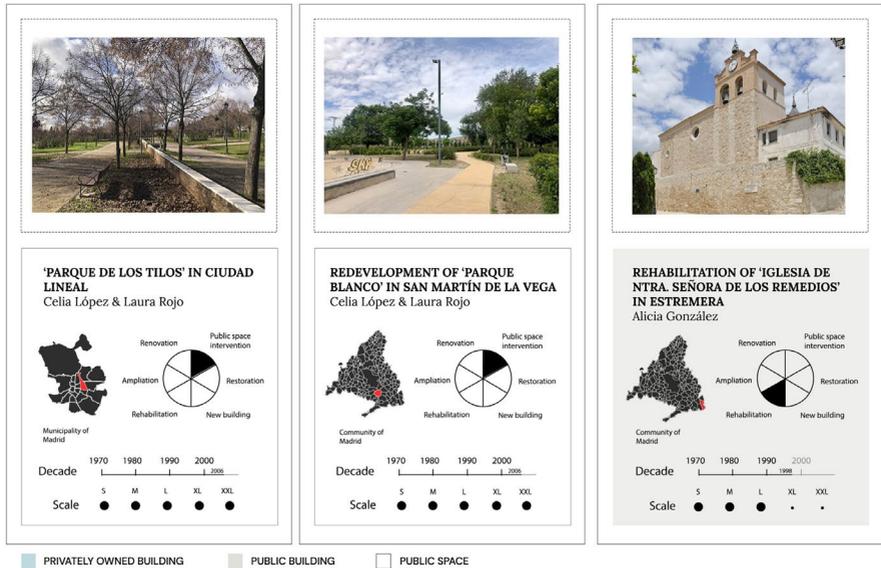
Source: Authors

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

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

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

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

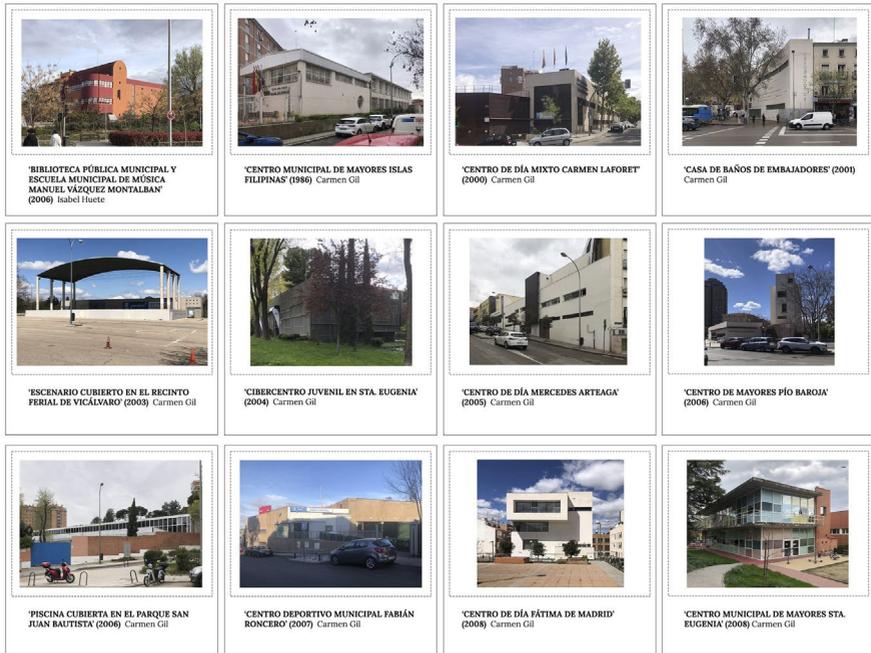


Source: Authors

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

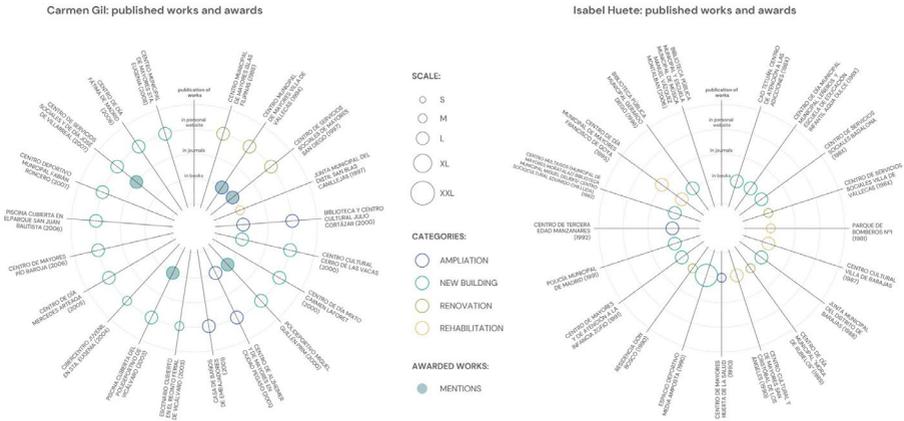
Madrid City Hall from 1991. The new administration introduced a call for prizes, with their publication, a dynamic which disadvantaged women, in contrast with competitions, such as those of the Empresa Municipal de la Vivienda y Suelo de Madrid, EMVS (Madrid Municipal Housing and Land Company).

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



Source: Authors

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



Source: Authors

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

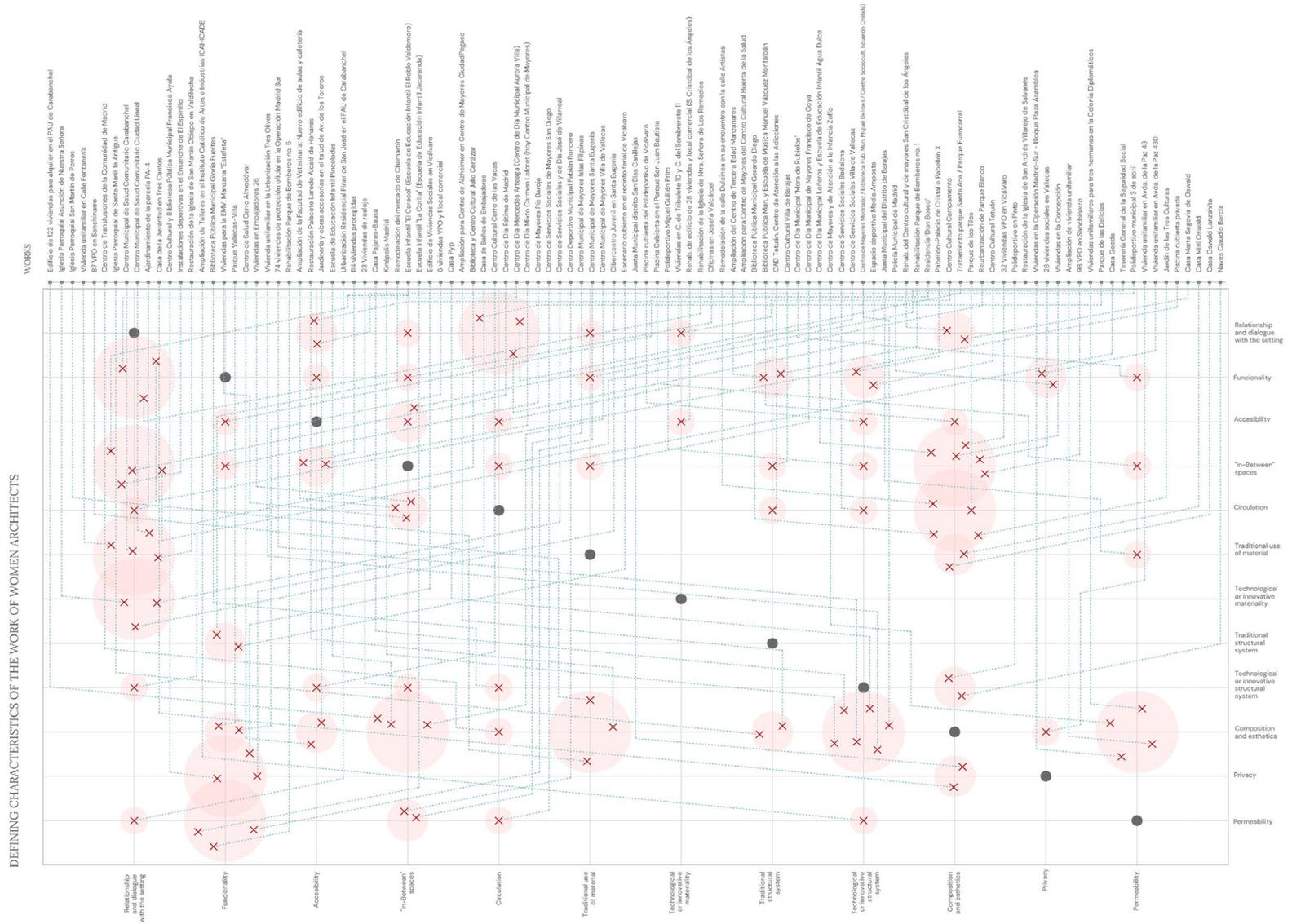
without showing off, but without inhibition, dismantle the prejudice that women are not interested in building. On the contrary: the work is the moment of truth, and they are there to carry it out. This does not detract from the fact that it has been and still is a hostile world, especially in terms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

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

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

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

Figure 11. Diagram of the most prominent quality in each woman's work



Source: Authors

5. FUNDING

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