

# INCLUSION OF WOMEN ARCHITECTS INTO THE CULTURAL FIELD OF SPANISH COMPETITIONS: STRUGGLING FOR PROFESSIONAL RECOGNITION FROM THE PERIPHERY (1978-2008)

## INCORPORACIÓN DE LAS ARQUITECTAS AL CAMPO CULTURAL DEL CONCURSO ESPAÑOL: LUCHANDO POR EL RECONOCIMIENTO PROFESIONAL DESDE LO PERIFÉRICO (1978-2008)

### Authors / Autores:

Asunción Díaz-García  
Universidad de Alicante, Spain  
[asuncion.diaz@ua.es](mailto:asuncion.diaz@ua.es)  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7454-1203>

José-Luis Oliver-Ramírez  
Universidad de Alicante, Spain  
[jose Luis.oliver@ua.es](mailto:jose Luis.oliver@ua.es)  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0348-6889>

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ASUNCIÓN DÍAZ-GARCÍA &  
JOSÉ-LUIS OLIVER-RAMÍREZ

### Abstract

A retrospective look at the architecture competitions held and reported in Spain between the years of transition to democracy and the aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2008 allows us to verify, from a sociological and historiographical approach, the progressive inclusion of women into the complex and traditionally patriarchal cultural field of the architecture competition. The end of Franco's dictatorship, and the growing vitality of the Autonomous Regions prompted the call of numerous open consultations throughout the country. These calls continued throughout the last third of the 20th century, until eventually experiencing a decline in the new millennium. These open and anonymous competitions provided a framework in which many women architects were able to ascend through merit, even attaining important positions within the process: firstly, as recognised participants and later as jury members. Highlighting the value

of these women's contribution to architecture has always been subject to disinterest, hesitancy or even outspoken reticence, typical of an eminently patriarchal structure, to which were added those inherent to any competitive structure where the struggle for the domination of symbolic power is inescapable. On the basis of architectural journal articles and illustrative case studies, this paper reviews the published media conditions of this difficult ascent in which the subordinate territories peripheral to the centres of production of architectural culture—Madrid and Barcelona—proved to be a space of opportunity and competition in which to build professional legitimacy. A great deal of Spanish women architects who were regular contestants achieved their recognition through silent logic, far removed from flashy celebrity, an issue that has left a deep imprint on their ways of approaching the practice of their profession, in general, and of participating in the cultural field of the competition, in particular. From this common thinking, this article aims to pay them a well-deserved tribute.

**Keywords:** women architects; Spain; architecture competitions; professional recognition; symbolic capital; cultural field; media; architecture magazines; periphery.

## Resumen

Una mirada retrospectiva a los concursos de arquitectura convocados y difundidos en España entre los años de la transición democrática y el impacto de la crisis financiera global de 2008 permite comprobar, desde un enfoque sociológico e historiográfico, la progresiva incorporación de las mujeres a la estructura competitiva de este complejo campo cultural, entonces todavía demasiado masculinizado. El fin de la dictadura franquista unido a la efervescencia del Estado de las Autonomías favorecieron la convocatoria de numerosas consultas abiertas repartidas por todo el país. El fenómeno se prolongó con oscilaciones coyunturales durante todo el periodo finisecular, hasta alcanzar su ocaso a principios del nuevo milenio. Estos concursos, abiertos y anónimos, constituyeron un andamiaje fundamental a través del cual muchas arquitectas españolas pudieron ascender meritoriamente hasta conseguir posiciones relevantes en los procedimientos: primero como participantes reconocidas, posteriormente como miembros de jurados. La puesta en valor de las aportaciones de estas mujeres a la arquitectura siempre ha estado sometida a ciertas resistencias, incluso a resistencias ciertas, propias de una estructura tradicionalmente patriarcal, a las que también se sumaban las inherentes a cualquier sistema competitivo donde la lucha por la dominación del poder simbólico es ineludible. A partir de vaciados de revistas de arquitectura y estudios de caso ilustrativos, este trabajo revisa las condiciones mediáticas de este difícil ascenso, en el que los territorios subordinados periféricos a los centros de producción de la cultura arquitectónica —Madrid y Barcelona— se revelaron como espacios de oportunidad y competencia donde construir su legitimidad profesional. Muchas arquitectas españolas fueron asiduas concursantes —incluidas también todas aquellas que no alcanza a mencionar este texto— lograron su reconocimiento según

unas lógicas silenciosas, ajenas a las de la ruidosa celebridad, cuestión que ha dejado una profunda impronta en sus modos de abordar el ejercicio de su profesión, en general, y de participar en el campo cultural del concurso, en particular. Desde este pensamiento coral, el presente artículo pretende asimismo rendirles un merecido tributo.

**Palabras clave:** mujeres arquitectas; España; concursos de arquitectura; reconocimiento profesional; capital simbólico; campo cultural; medios; revistas de arquitectura; periferia.

## 1. SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITION: *HABITUS*, FIELD AND CAPITAL

Currently, several critical historiographical reviews highlight the contributions of exceptional women architects of the past to the discipline, i. e., of those «pioneering women» (McLeod & Rosner, 2014), acting as authentic «heroines of the space» (Espegel, 2018). Sociological studies also abound on the situation and perspective of today's women architects in professional practice—many of them anonymous, but equally heroines of their own stories. The contents of these two types of research pay special attention to both the life and work of these women architects, regardless of the professional field in which they were involved: *inter alia* architecture, landscape architecture, art, design, and criticism. In this research, both disciplines, historiography and sociology, (con)fuse their epistemological limits, and dilute the opposition between past and present. Perhaps because, as the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu pointed out to historians, «the present is not the temporal present, it is what is still sufficiently alive to be the object of struggles» (Bourdieu & Chartier, 2015, p. 16). Highlighting the value of these women's contribution to architecture has always been subject to certain reluctance, even outspoken unwillingness, typical of a traditionally patriarchal structure, to which were added those inherent to any competitive structure where the struggle for the domination of symbolic power is inescapable.

In this sense, power becomes authority only when it manages to legitimise itself, indeed, in sociology, the three types of legitimate authority are traditional, rational, and charismatic (Weber, 1978). There is no doubt that architecture competitions have been a significant aspect of the social

legitimation process in any architect's career. Research such as that carried out by H el ene Lipstadt (2000, 2003, 2005) has explored this sociological aspect of the architectural competition in greater depth, based on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural fields. The French sociologist applies a model of analysis to society in which it is observed as a series of interrelated and, at the same time, relatively autonomous social fields such as economic, political, and cultural. Each of these fields is a dynamic social space of action, and influence in which a network of power relations of the agents that inhabit them converge, in constant struggle for a type of effective symbolic capital within the field. The individuals who possess this capital become the forgers of symbolic power, and therefore of the symbolic violence that allows its perpetuation. Moreover, all agents participating in the field are governed by the same *habitus* or forces inscribed within it, durable and transferable, which will integrate the historicity of the field's past practices, but, in turn, will also shape its future practices (Bourdieu, 1993).

Bourdieu's seminal work (1993, 1995, 1996) on cultural fields points to the role of relevant audiences as agents of 'consecration' with authority to produce symbolic capital. The ability to impose judgements of symbolic legitimacy, or the power to consecrate, in cultural fields allows participants to reproduce their positions. The autonomy of a cultural field (artistic or scientific) is greater to the extent that it generates its own rules to evaluate its works, leaving aside questions, *a priori*, alien to the field. However, this autonomy historically achieved by the different fields of cultural production is relative and never definitive. In particular, the public meaning of an architectural competition, together with that of the projects presented, originates in the process of their circulation and consumption as symbolic goods dominated by the objective relations between the agents involved in the process. Therefore, the autonomy of the contest, like that of any field of cultural production, also runs the risk of being relativised due to the growing capacity of direct and indirect media pressure on the symbolic capital generated, which adulterates the logic of consecration with that of celebrity. Bourdieu (1993) associates symbolic capital with consecration, distinction or prestige, traditionally gained from a professional's peer circle. It is the key differentiator between consecration and celebrity: consecration relies

on gaining the recognition of peers, whereas celebrity relies on gaining the recognition of a broader public audience.

Although Bourdieu approached literature and the plastic arts as cultural fields, he never tackled architecture, as he considered it too dependent on other fields such as economics, politics and the media. However, Lipstadt (2003) has been defining a line of research based on Bourdieu's theory that shows that when architects participate in competitions, their practice ceases to conform to that of other professions such as doctors, lawyers, and engineers, coming closer to the autonomous practices and pure research of the arts or sciences. Therefore, in this field of the profession, architecture configures a field of cultural production in the genuine Bourdieusian sense. Assimilating the hypothesis put forward by Lipstadt, the architectural competition, understood as a field of cultural production, would obey a particular law that is unique to all autonomous production: a 'supposed disinterestedness' detached from the logic of economic profit. Certainly, in an open call with a hundred or so participants, the chances of getting a commission are extremely low; the effort of the participants is disproportionate to the likely chances of winning, so that there is a certain economic irrationality latent in the whole process. Therefore, why compete?

According to Lipstadt, the answer to the question encapsulates one of the key elements of any Bourdieusian cultural field: the relative freedom implicit in the participant's creative process. Certainly, the wide spectrum of solutions to the same call for proposals provides a good insight into the degree of autonomy of the project design for a competition. Indeed, a survey conducted by *Architectural Record* and Van Alen Institute (2015) under the title *Design Competitions Fair or Unfair?* gathered opinions on the method among more than 1,400 architecture professionals from 65 different countries. Its results revealed that for most respondents the attraction of the competition lay in the possibility to work freely, while the lack of financial compensation was identified as the biggest drawback. Moreover, many of the most internationally recognised works of architecture have emerged from a process of competition of ideas, and therefore, as a field of cultural production, it seems to offer proven results.

However, the symbolic capital associated with the winning project is not everything, and it is not always the case that the winning project is more

valuable than one that has not won or is the only one with value. Finalist proposals, which were never built, can be as influential as the winners, and this prestige or symbolic capital gained by the architect as a participant can become, in turn, another form of capital. If we investigate the historicity of the procedure, we can see how the competition, by making itself known through different media—from *Le Vite* of Vasari onwards—set in motion a complex mechanism for the construction of legitimacy. The values associated with the competition constitute a transhistorical substratum in which a whole series of experiences that have shaped and consolidated its construction as an institution in the present day are condensed. Today, the competition is an institutionalised social construction linked to equal opportunities. In turn, it is sustained by a series of cultural meanings related to the emancipation of architecture as a profession in the Academies; and whose original imprint is found in the civilising archetypes of virtue, merit, and effort found in the myth of *Agon* in Greek competition. All this work composes a systemic social imagery whereby the ways in which knowledge generated by the results of these consultations has been disseminated and managed have been decisive.

## 2. THE BOURDIEUSIAN CULTURAL FIELD OF THE SPANISH COMPETITION FROM A GENDER APPROACH

In the case of Spain, although from the mid-19th century, the training of architects was separated from the Academies of Fine Arts and structured according to the French model of polytechnic training, in the context of an architectural competition, the figure of the architect continued to be analogous to that of the artist. The disposition of the *habitus* of Spanish architects turned the act of competing into a virtuous activity, although always at the mercy of the conditions of a Bourdieusian cultural field with changing rules of the game. A first important turning point was the inclusion of tendering in Spanish contract law in the early 1950s, a procedure that broke with the general rule of awarding contracts to the best economic offer by auction. Tendering became a historically constituted play/fighting space with its laws and operating regulations. Since then, in Spain, the architectural competition

has gone through different phases that can be summarised in four stages in relation to the way it is disseminated in the Spanish professional magazines.

To identify and explore these four stages (1950-196X; 196X-198X; 198X-199X; and 199X-200X), the research has been conducted according to a quantitative and qualitative methodology based on the characterisation of each magazine, and the selection of a hundred case studies from among the thousand contests gathered from indexes of more than 2,000 issues published in Spain between 1950 and 2010<sup>1</sup>. It is only a small part of a wider-ranging doctoral dissertation whose investigation has provided the first evaluation of the entire Spanish competition system (Díaz-García, 2022). Indeed, there were no works to date that had focused exclusively on the Spanish competition system and its media, let alone from a gender perspective.

Between 1950 and the 1960s, years of autarchy and subsequent development of a country subjected to a dictatorial regime, the media coverage of the competitions was oriented towards the significant advances in architecture, especially the abandonment of historicism and the key encounter with

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1. Over these decades, some Spanish architecture magazines were the primary medium for reflection, production, and dissemination of the country's contemporary architectural culture: *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* (1948-1958); *Arquitectura: Revista del Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid* (1959-); *Cuadernos de Arquitectura: Revista del Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Cataluña y Baleares* (1944-1970); *Cuadernos de arquitectura y urbanismo: Revista del Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Cataluña y Baleares* (1971-1980); *Quaderns d'Arquitectura i Urbanisme: Revista del Col·legi Oficial d'Arquitectes de Catalunya* (1981-); *Hogar y Arquitectura* (1955-1977); *TA-Temas de Arquitectura* (1958-1967); *Temas de Arquitectura y Urbanismo* (1968-1980); *El Inmueble, arquitectura, decoración y hogar* (1966); *Forma Nueva-El Inmueble* (1967); *Nueva Forma* (1967-1975); *Arquitecturas Bis: Información gráfica de actualidad* (1974-1985); *Jano Arquitectura & Decoración y Humanidades* (1972-1973); *Jano Arquitectura & Humanidades* (1973-1975); *Jano Arquitectura* (1975-1978); *B/CSCA* (1975-1976); *Consejo Superior de los Colegios de Arquitectos* (1976-1980); *Q: Consejo Superior de los Colegios de Arquitectos* (1981-1983); *Revista del Consejo Superior de los Colegios de Arquitectos* (1984); *Arquitectos: Boletín informativo de la profesión* (1984-1985); *Boletín Arquitectos* (1986); *Arquitectos: Información del Consejo Superior de los Colegios de Arquitectos de España* (1987-); *El Croquis* (1982-); *A&V Monografías de Arquitectura y Vivienda* (1985-1994); *AV Monografías* (1995-); *Arquitectura Viva* (1988-); *av proyectos* (2004-); *TC Tribuna de la Construcción* (1992-1993); *TC Cuadernos* (1993-); *Pasajes de Arquitectura y Crítica* (1998-2019); *Future Arquitecturas: Periódico de concursos de arquitectura* (2006-2017); and lastly, a series of peripheral magazines (1978-201X) which are too many to be listed in this article.

modern architecture. From the early 1960s to the late 1980s, in the face of the crisis of the principles of modernism, the competitions were interpreted in the media as spaces for research in a period of progressive openness and political transition. With the end of Franco's regime, the adoption of social democratic policies and the move towards a State of Autonomous Regions, isolation was abandoned and, between the late 1980s and the mid-1990s, the competition method entered fully into international forums. These were the years in which calls were issued for the most iconic events to symbolise the great changes that were occurring in the country. Gradually, through the media's treatment of these competitions, the architects became celebrities, and their public image began to surpass their architecture. This trend reached a tumultuous peak between the late 1990s and the first decade of the new century, a period of neoliberal policies in which Spanish competitions were transformed into perfect stage sets for the global spectacle of architecture. This last stage ended abruptly with the economic crisis of 2008, ushering in a time of uncertainty that also introduced important paradigm shifts in the media treatment of the competition.

Applying Bourdieu's social model to these four stages, we can see how in each of them the cultural field of the contest defined a competitive system of relations between the positions of all its agents—whether dominant or more subordinate—according to the accumulation of the symbolic capital that was at stake in that field, such as legitimacy, prestige or transcendence, that is to say, cultural consecration itself. The architectural competition constituted a basic framework through which many young Spanish architects were able to rise to important positions, not only in the cultural and professional panorama, but also in the competition procedures themselves, first as recognised participants, and later as members of the juries with accredited competence. In the specific case of Spanish women architects, this rise presented a series of particularities that invite us to consider the possibilities (and limitations) of appropriating Bourdieu's social theory to approach the cultural field of architectural competition from a gender perspective.

Bourdieu's social model—*habitus*, field and capital—offers numerous points of connection with contemporary feminist theory (Adkins & Skeggs, 2004). For example, Judith Butler (1999) has established relations between gender performativity and *habitus*, since, in both concepts, the norm is



materialised through its reiterated repetition. Another case is that of Toril Moi (1991) who has also mobilised Bourdieu's theoretical resources to think through the dynamics of gender in the field of literary cultural production. Specifically, Moi suggests that just as Bourdieu himself defined 'class' as a structuring category of the general social field, within his sociological model, 'gender' could also be understood as a dispersed and deeply structuring category, i. e., as a «particularly combinatory social category, one that infiltrates and influences every other category» (Moi, 1999, p. 288). For the topic at hand—the architecture competition and the woman architect—Moi's reflections on the literary field and what she has called «Beauvoir's dilemma» (Moi, 2008) faced by the female writer are particularly interesting.

Moi draws on the beginning of *The Second Sex*, in which Simone de Beauvoir (2011) exposes through a simple example the tension between the forced elimination of her gendered subjectivity and the forced imprisonment within it<sup>2</sup>. Transposed to the literary field, Moi explains how a woman writer—in contexts of provocation—is forced to 'eliminate' her gendered subjectivity under a categorical 'I am not a woman writer' to disguise herself under the skin of a kind of universal being, thereby devaluing her real experiences as a human being embodied in the world. This dilemma was already evident in Virginia Woolf's classic *A Room of One's Own*, a 1929 essay that is a plea for women's access to literature in which, however, the author herself praised a fictional young writer who wrote as a woman who has forgotten that she was a woman (Woolf, 2005). Moi (2008) suggests that, regardless of theories of how such gender arises, is produced or constructed, for Simone de Beauvoir's dilemma to be triggered it is sufficient that the author in question has been designated by another as a woman. Conversely, situations in which a man denies his gender, even when working in a profession associated with women, are more anecdotal.

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2. In the Introduction to her influential *The Second Sex*, first published in 1949, Beauvoir claims: «I used to get annoyed in abstract discussions to hear men tell me: 'You think such and such a thing because you're a woman.' But I know my only defence is to answer, 'I think it because it is true,' thereby eliminating my subjectivity; it was out of the question to answer, 'And you think the contrary because you are a man,' because it is understood that being a man is not a particularity; a man is in his right by virtue of being man; it is the woman who is in the wrong» (de Beauvoir, 2011, p. 5).

In the face of this gendered subjectivity and inescapable bodily presence of the woman who is designated as such, anonymity has been an effective strategy for positioning herself in the literary cultural field: «Anon [Anonymous], who wrote so many poems without signing them, was often a woman» said Woolf (2005, p. 49). If one breaks down the Greek etymology of the word *anonymous*, it is composed of the prefix *an-* as negation, and the word *-onoma* meaning name, i. e., absence or deprivation of name. The woman writer, in abandoning her name, was abandoning her gender subjectivity and her body because both were considered obstacles to positioning herself in the literary cultural field. This strategy of anonymity has presented variations ranging from the ambiguity of the initials of a pseudonym to the use of an explicitly male pseudonym, and even hiding behind the specific name of the husband or partner. According to Moi (1991), from a Bourdieusian perspective, gender is always a socially variable entity that has different values of symbolic capital (class, race, age, among other things) depending on the context, however, «in most contexts, maleness functions as positive and femaleness as negative symbolic capital» (p. 1036).

Obviously, Beauvoir's dilemma posed by Moi for literature is accentuated in cultural fields historically associated with men, so it is easy to find examples that allow us to extrapolate it to architecture. When in 2017 Danish architect Dorte Mandrup (graduated in 1991) was included in *Dezeen's* list of 50 inspirational female architects and designers (Frearson, 2017), she responded to this recognition with a controversial opinion piece published a few weeks later in the same magazine and entitled: «I am not a female architect, I am an architect» (Mandrups, 2017), erasing at a stroke her gendered subjectivity by seeing herself being imprisoned in it. There is no right solution to this dilemma, but there is the option of pointing it out as such and refusing to choose between two options that seem to be equally uncomfortable for women in a profession originally associated with men. Therefore, during the second half of the 20th century, for a woman architect participating alone or in a team with other women in the cultural field of open competition, the anonymity linked to the procedure could add an extra value to the obvious guarantee of equal opportunities and creative freedom perceived by a male architect: the concealment of her status as a woman.

If, for centuries, women writers, artists, and composers had to use a male pseudonym or simply not name themselves to successfully publish and/or market their works, it is not unreasonable to think that the condition of anonymity required in the consultations was reassuring for those early women architects who decided to participate in the proceedings. This situation was reflected in Spain, where Spanish women architects found in the architecture competition a field of equal opportunities for their career advancement. The primary aim of this paper is to address the media conditions of the Spanish women architects' promotion through the architecture competitions' field and the role that the subordinate territories peripheral to the hegemonic centres of production of architectural culture—Madrid and Barcelona—had as spaces of opportunity and competition in which to build legitimacy and professional recognition, i. e., symbolic capital.

### 3. THE SLOW AND OVERDUE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN ARCHITECTURE COMPETITIONS IN SPAIN

In the specific case of Spain, a survey conducted in 2009 by the Higher Council of Architects Associations in Spain (Consejo Superior de Colegios de Arquitectos de España, CSCAE) showed that architectural competitions were a more important field of work for women architects (34.8%) than for men architects (25.5%) (Agudo Arroyo & Sánchez de Madariaga, 2011). Evidently, for Spanish women architects the process of structuring the *habitus* associated with the cultural field of the competition was not identical to that of their male colleagues. An exploration of the most discussed competitions published in professional journals throughout the second half of the 20th century shows the gradual increase in the presence of women and the consequent production of circumstances that led them to participate regularly in the proceedings until they became a preferred field of work. However, this dissemination also reveals biases in the treatment that should be qualified, as they will be crucial in understanding the particularities of their *habitus*. Obviously, like any summary, this article has selections and omissions due to its limitations, but it attempts to provide a sufficiently representative sample of cases to support the argument.

### 3.1. Pioneering Women Architects in the Competitions of the Late Franco Era

In Spain, until the early 1960s, there were only two Schools of Architecture (Madrid, which was founded in 1844, and Barcelona, which opened in 1875), so access to them involved all kinds of difficulties with onerous admission processes restricted by *numerus clausus*. At the beginning of the 1950s, the number of students was around 1,600, a figure that did not change until the beginning of the next decade. From this point onwards, the trend was upwards, reaching 4,000 students in the mid-1960s, a number on a par with that of practising professionals (Consejo Superior de Colegios de Arquitectos de España, 1986a; Martín Moreno & De Miguel, 1976). Thus, the figure of the professional architect in this period was elitist, privileged, and eminently associated with men, as at the end of the 1950s there were only eight women graduates in the country<sup>3</sup>. Even if this number increased to forty in the 1960s, conservative ideology, and the dominant patriarchy continued to keep women out of higher education whilst giving them a one-way path toward caregiving (Agudo Arroyo & Sánchez de Madariaga, 2011).

In this context, although during the 1950s there was no evidence of Spanish women architects taking part in the competitions published in national professional journals, this situation changed in the calls for entries published at the end of the following decade, when pioneering women did occasionally participate. Some of the names found in the most publicised calls for entries published in journal issues of the 1960s (*Arquitectura del COAM*, *Cuadernos de Arquitectura del COACB*, *Nueva Forma* or *Temas de Arquitectura*) are: Margarita Brender Rubira (ETSA Barcelona, 1962), a solo architect, and the only woman among the 15 participants in the competition for the creation of a new neighbourhood in Sardanyola in Barcelona in 1966; María Aroca Hernández Ros (ETSA Madrid, 1966) who, in collaboration with José Luis Arana Amurrio, was awarded a runner-up prize in the competition for a cultural building on the site of the Teatro Principal in Burgos

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3. Matilde Ucelay (ESA Madrid, 1936), Cristina Gonzalo (ESA Madrid, 1940), Rita Fernández Queimadelos (ESA Madrid, 1941), Cruz López Miller (ESA Madrid, 1945), Juana Ontañón (ESA Madrid, 1949), Margarita Mendizábal (ESA Madrid, 1956), María Eugenia Clemente (ETSA Madrid, 1957), and Elena Arregui (ETSA Madrid, 1958).

in 1967, this being the only mixed team of the 17 entrants; and Carmina Mostaza Martínez (ETSA Madrid, 1966) who, in team with Andrés Perea Ortega and Gabriel Delgado López, was also awarded a runner-up prize in the competition for the Autonomous University of Bilbao in 1969, in which 20 teams participated. Also worth noting is the case of Eulalia Marques Garrido (Universidad de Córdoba, Argentina, 1973; ETSA Madrid, 1978), employed in the studio of Fernando Higuera and Antonio Miró, who was given a certain amount of coverage in the professional magazines of the time; among her achievements were the runner-up prize in the competition for the University of Madrid, which had 27 entries, and her acknowledged participation in the international competition for the Montecarlo Leisure Centre, both in 1969. However, with these exceptions, the media presence of women architects was hidden under the initial letter of a female name that was difficult to decipher or lost among the names of their male colleagues because of poor billing. This small number of women architects, and their limited presence as participants in competitions, inevitably meant that they were totally absent from the juries, whose members were supposed to have a certain amount of experience and prestige.

However, this professional landscape was inexorably changing. Social movements that rebelled against the authoritarianism of the political and military elites of 1968 had reached a global scale. In Spain, Franco's regime was beginning to decline at the same time as the increasingly numerous and more politically articulate workers and university students were rising. The prevailing need for professionals to serve the model imposed by the developmental policies of the State was translated into successive reforms of technical training that facilitated access to higher education. Added to this was the creation of new Schools of Architecture (Seville, 1958; Pamplona, a private School, 1964; Valencia, 1966; Valladolid, 1968; Las Palmas, 1968; A Coruña, 1973; Sant Cugat del Vallès, 1973; San Sebastián, 1977) which resulted in a considerable increase in the number of architecture students, and consequently the number of graduates. Schools were losing their elitist character of the previous decade, as opportunities to enter the higher education system were becoming more democratic.

By the late 1960s this increase was a palpable reality. The number of students in the schools exceeded 9,000, a figure that would rise even higher

in the mid-1970s to almost 13,000 enrolments, doubling the number of practising professionals at the same time (Consejo Superior de Colegios de Arquitectos de España, 1986a; Martín Moreno & De Miguel, 1976). The transformation of ideologies and mindsets was also beginning to favour women's access to technical education; the proportion of women started to become significant, although still far from parity. In years marked by the second and third feminist waves, an increasing number of Spanish women architects were practising architecture during the debate on the crisis of modernism and the beginning of post-modernist culture. However, their presence as participants in open competitions remained like the previous decade, i. e. very occasional and in mixed teams, as did their presence on juries, which was almost non-existent until the 1970s, and relegated to the status of secretary. It would be over the following decades that Spanish women architects would begin their steady path toward legitimisation through the competition.

### 3.2. Transition (197X-198X): Competing from Anonymity for Legitimisation

At the commencement of the decade, architecture and the architectural profession had lost prestige, having left in its wake the furious speculative development of the urban peripheries and tourist complexes, as well as irreparable damage to historic centres. Architecture journals also began to develop a critical awareness that continued throughout the following decade regarding tendering methods in public procurement because of their lack of safeguards. With a professional landscape that showed signs of a surfeit of architects, the restricted competition started to appear to which only a small number of renowned national architects—all men—were invited to enter by the initiative of mainly private institutions. Established male figures would see in these restricted calls a response to a nostalgia for their privileges, an exclusive sphere of work whose access was unattainable for women architects, still subjected to the symbolic violence of the patriarchal system. In fact, it was not until the mid-1970s that Law 14/1975 of 2 May reformed certain articles of the Civil Code and the Commercial Code on the legal status of married women, and their rights and duties, including obedience to the

husband and the abolition of marital '*licencia*', which required the husband's permission to sign deeds and other legal instruments, and finally allowed every woman to open a bank account independently.

In contrast to the restricted competition, the open competition formula was beginning to acquire other connotations; it required added enthusiasm on the part of the younger applicants, as it still entailed serious problems of guarantees for the winners. However, the economic oil crises of the 1970s, together with the uncertainties caused as a result of the assassination of President Carrero Blanco and the subsequent passing of Franco, were not conducive to promoting calls for public proposals. Faced with this dearth, groups of architects made a virtue out of necessity and, through successive competitions for their own collegiate headquarters, organised the necessary spaces to debate new approaches after the break with the project of modernity.

In these invitations to tender, widely published in professional journals, some women architects in mixed teams were found to participate, for example, Roser Amadó Cercós (ETSA Barcelona, 1968) associated with Lluís Domènech Girbau in the competition for the extension of the Official Architects Association of Barcelona in 1976. Another case is that of Cristina Grau García (ETSA Valencia, 1976) who, together with her brother Camilo, and EVV group (Antonio Escario, José Antonio Vidal y José Vives), won third prize in the competition for the new headquarters in Valencia of the Official Architects' Association of Valencia and Murcia in 1977. Another regular participant in the competitions of this period was Lola Artigas Prieto (ETSA Madrid, 1975) who, together with Rafael Pina Lupiáñez and Vicente Patón Jiménez, won a mention in the competition for the Burgos branch of the Official Architects' Association of Madrid in 1979. Looking deeper into the records of the many responses to the call (Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, 1980) among the 120 participants, 14 mixed teams could already be found, although only two were made up exclusively of women: Esther Pérez Hernando (ETSA Madrid, 1978) solo architect; and the team composed of Celia Barahona Rodríguez (ETSA Madrid, 1979) and Sara Pérez Urizarna (ETSA Madrid, 1977).

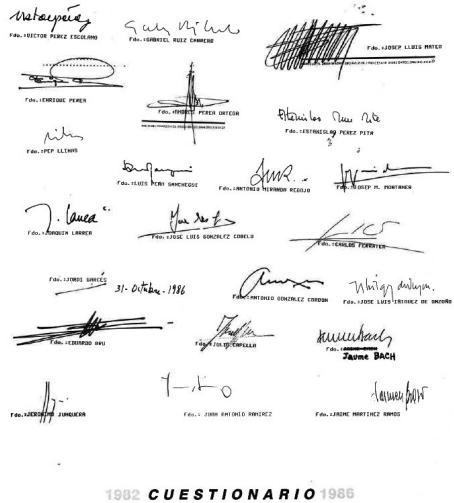
These percentages were very similar to those of the international competition coordinated by the UIA for the Madrid Islamic Cultural Centre also held in 1979 (Secrétariat Général de l'Union Internationale des Architectes, 1980), with a total of 455 entries of which 212 were Spanish; 24 mixed teams could be found among the proposals, but only two were made up exclusively of women: Carmen Barbero Sánchez (ETSA Barcelona, 1973) and Margarita Colorado Hernández (ETSA Madrid, 1976), both solo architects.

The 1980s brought with it the definitive mass development of Architecture Schools and the profession. In 1985, the number of students was close to 19,000, a figure higher than the number of practising professionals of 14,600, which, in turn, was more than double the required target number of architects recommended for Spain by the UIA (Consejo Superior de Colegios de Arquitectos de España, 1986b). Although at the beginning of the decade the percentage of women in the student body of Architecture Schools was only 15%, the growth reflected a clear upward trend (Agudo Arroyo & Sánchez de Madariaga, 2011). Certainly, after the death of the dictator and the establishment of the 1978 Constitution, reforms were completed that eliminated the traces of discrimination against women from the Civil Code, with its consequent positive effects, although they still experienced more social and caregiving burden than men.

More women architects began to enter competitions than in the 1970s, an upward trend that continued steadily over the next decade. However, they generally continued to compete in teams or in pairs with male colleagues who, in the latter case, might be in a relationship or have family ties. Some women's names began to appear on the juries as members and chairpersons, but mainly linked to the political sphere or because of delegations from their initially appointed male colleagues. Many of the magazines of the time (*Arquitecturas Bis*, *Arquitectura-COAM*, *Quaderns-COAC*, *El Croquis* or *A&V Monografías de Arquitectura y Vivienda*) still reflected a professional panorama dominated by male architects, who were greater in number, and logically reflected in the selection of the juries (Figure 1).



Figure 1. From left to right: cover of *El Croquis*, 27 (Jan 1987) on its 5th Anniversary entitled «Annotations on the Spanish architecture of the eighties»; inner page with the 22 critic participants in the questionnaire, all of them Spanish male architects



Source: Cuestionario 1982-1986 (1987, cover and p. 19)

At the same time, the establishing of the first Autonomous Regions and the establishment of the first social democratic government set in train so many initiatives and projects in their administrations that their technical staff were unable to take on the task, an issue that encouraged the calling of numerous public tenders. Among the teams that received recognition in these competitions, the young Catalan couple Enric Miralles and Carme Pinós (ETSA Barcelona, 1979) stood out, who won second prize in their first joint participation in the competition for a building in the Plaza España in Alcañiz (Teruel) in 1983. The couple's efforts culminated in numerous awards, including the 1984 competition for the Igualada Municipal Cemetery Park (Barcelona). In parallel to all these peripheral competitions, entry into the EEC and the two major events planned for 1992—the Olympic Games in Barcelona and the Universal Exhibition in Seville—led to a succession

of restricted competitions in which only national and international male architects were invited—except in the case of mixed foreign teams. These restricted competitions laid the foundations, not without a certain enlightened despotism, of the concept of ‘value added’ by a renowned architect, and more specifically, if the firm was foreign. While the established national figures maintained their privileges by competing with ideas in a restricted way and trying to preserve and strengthen their hegemonic positions, the emerging generations struggled to break into the same field, mainly through open competitions held in the peripheries. If participation in the latter was sufficiently assiduous and coherent, it could help shape its own trajectory. The prestige and legitimacy acquired thereby could open access to the field of restricted competition by invitation.

In the case of young Spanish women architects, we can highlight some figures who began to promote their careers through the mechanism of the competition during the 1980s. Today many of them have excellent professional and/or academic careers. In 1987, Carmen Espejel Alonso (ETSA Madrid, 1985) and Concha Fisac de Ron (ETSA Madrid, 1984), together with a mixed team won third prize *ex aequo* in the competition of ideas for the development of the left bank of the river Tormes in Salamanca, the first of many subsequent awards won as a pair (Figure 2). In the open national competition for the construction of lighthouses at different points along the Spanish coast in 1988, which had a total of 300 entries, Blanca Lleó (ETSA Madrid, 1983) won first prize as solo architect for her lighthouse at Nules in Castellón (Figure 3). In the same competition Carme Pigem (ETSA Vallès, 1987) in tandem with the other members of RCR won another first prize for her horizontal lighthouse at Punta Aldea in Gran Canaria. That year, the first European was also held, whose winners could include teams composed exclusively of women architects: Anna Noguera (ETSA Barcelona, 1987) together with Isabel Benassar (ETSA Barcelona, 1988) with their project for 140 dwellings in Asturias (Figure 4); and, as solo architect, Mercedes Peláez López (ETSA Madrid, 1978) with her residential project in Vallecas, Madrid. The publicity for the achievements of these women architects was reduced to an editorial with images of the winning project in magazines or books published by the promoters and the provincial professional associations in

which the competition had been held, or simply to brief reviews in the main professional magazines<sup>4</sup>.

**Figure 2.** Carmen Espegel Alonso, Concha Fisac de Ron, Margarita de Vicente Rodríguez, Fco. Javier Fernández Clavé, J. Ignacio Ferrando Álvarez, and J. María Rubio Moreno's competition entry for the left bank of the river Tormes in Salamanca

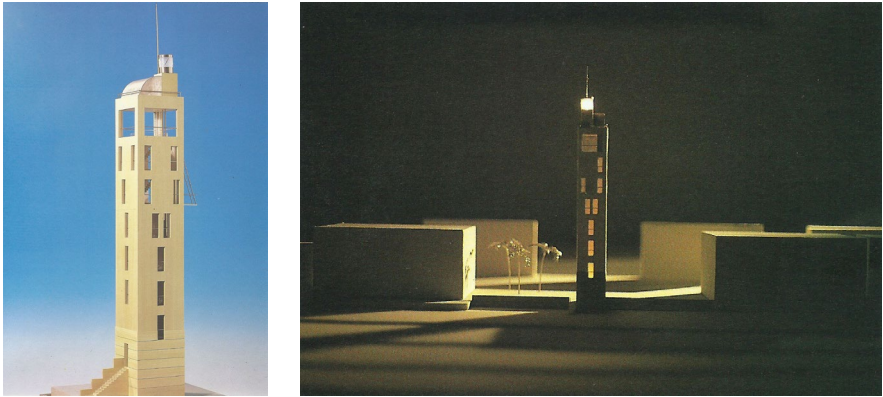


Source: Patón (1988, p. 48)

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4. In the article that the magazine of the CSCAE devoted to the celebrated lighthouse competition, Blanca Lleó's proposal was not published despite being one of the winners. See «Concurso de ideas para la construcción de faros en distintos emplazamientos de la costa de España» (CSCAE, 1988, pp. 32-45).

Figure 3. Blanca Lleó's faros 88 competition entry



Source: Dirección General de Puertos y Costas (1989, pp. 88-89)

Figure 4. Anna Noguera & Isabel Benassar's European 88 entry



Source: de la Mata, Nieto & Sobejano (1989, pp. 68-69)

Despite the scant publicity given to the achievements of Spanish teams led exclusively by women architects in the Spanish architecture media of the time, during the 1980s there were international cases that did manage to

contribute to the construction and strengthening of their *habitus* concerning competitions. In 1980, the 53-year-old Italian Gae Aulenti was the winner of a restricted competition for the renovation of the interior of the 19th century Gare d'Orsay in Paris as a museum. A year later, 22-year-old American Maya Lin, a recent art graduate, won the open competition for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., which attracted 1,441 entries. In 1983, the Anglo-Iraqi Zaha Hadid at the age of 32 won first prize in the international competition for the design of the Peak Leisure Club in Hong Kong, with 539 entries. Competing anonymously, women architects of different nationalities and generations won competitions as solo architects and managed to accumulate symbolic capital through the international media. Although competition adjudications in Spain also began to recognise the work of Spanish women architects, their potential symbolic capital would remain on 'standby', accumulating quietly for decades compared to that of their male counterparts.

### 3.3. Globalisation (199X-200X): Resisting from Legitimisation against Celebrity

In the early 1990s the architecture profession in general was starting to become fiercely competitive, especially in competitions. Open competitions were attracting hundreds of entries, a testament to an overpopulated landscape, in which the number of practising professionals in Spain in the mid-1990s was already close to 25,000, a figure that, in 2012, would double to 51,000 (Consejo Superior de Colegios de Arquitectos de España, 2017; Mirza & Nacey, 2015), driven by the creation of new Architecture Schools (Reus, 1991; Granada, 1993; Alicante, 1996; Alcalá de Henares, 1999; Málaga, 2005; Cartagena, 2009; Toledo, 2010; Zaragoza, 2011; as well as the group of private schools). It also reflected the gradual increase in the presence of women. In fact, in 2007, for the first time, 50% of the students enrolled in the first year of Spanish architecture schools were women. Five years later, this translated into a significant increase in the total percentage of women architects in the country, which reached 25% (Agudo Arroyo & Sánchez de Madariaga, 2011; Mirza & Nacey, 2015). This was contemporaneous with the processes of globalisation, which had already taken hold in the professions and universities. The advent of the Internet and the mobility programmes of

the new European Higher Education Area had completely effaced borders. The system of local masterships, which had established the hierarchy of the local professional scene, was rapidly weakening.

Indeed, in Spain, those invitation-only competitions of the post-transition years that limited participation to prestigious Spanish male architects widened the battlefield to the international 'happy few', a select group of architects, also male, or very exceptionally in mixed teams. The only woman architect ever invited was Zaha Hadid, who had become a celebrity in the international media after accumulating symbolic capital through her participation in open competitions. The traditional formula of the competition by invitation to the country's local elite became obsolete and its application was effectively reduced to Spanish pavilions for universal exhibitions, such as the construction for the Universal Exhibition Hanover in 1998. In this last case, for the first time, the call featured a mixed team: the couple composed of Enric Miralles and Benedetta Tagliabue. Indeed, despite 14 years of successful partnership, after the dissolution of the Miralles-Pinós studio in 1991, the professional legitimacy of Carme Pinós (ETSA Barcelona, 1979) was unjustifiably reduced—a common phenomenon for women after their emancipation from mixed teams. It took two decades for Pinós to regain the level of recognition achieved in the eighties, mainly through her participation in open, international and national competitions<sup>5</sup>.

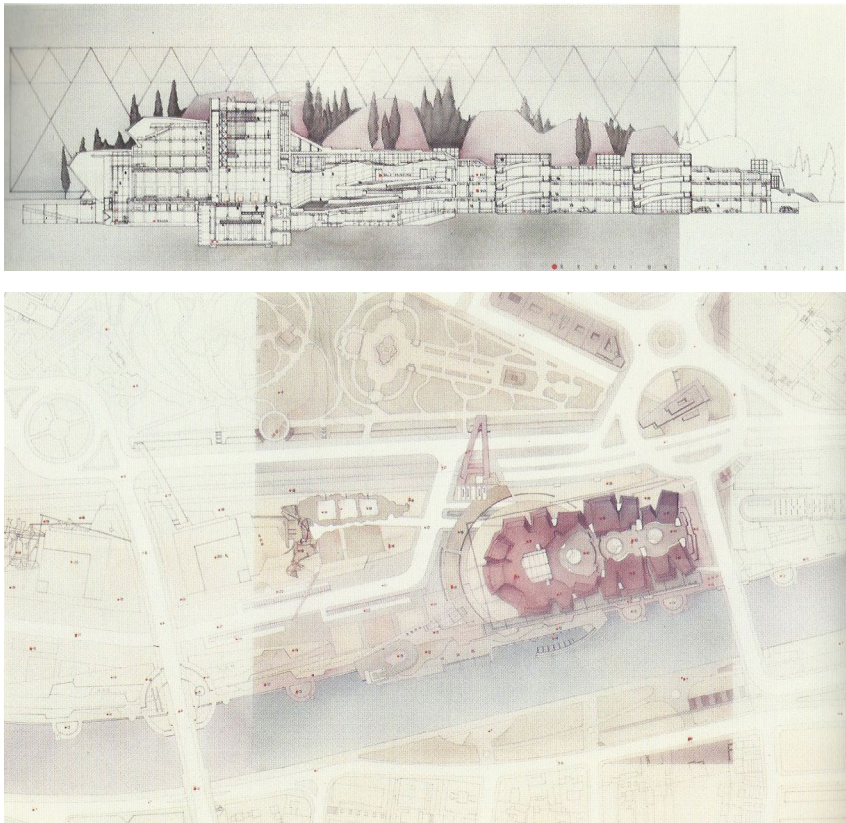
In this period, the Spanish open competitions for major works appealed strongly to architects who did not belong to the *star system* and offered a panoramic view of the cultural field of competition in Spain. In the records of the national open consultation for the Palacio Euskalduna (Conference Centre and Concert Hall) in Bilbao in 1992 with 94 entries (Sanz Fernández de Retana, 1993), three belonged to solo women architects: Concha Lapayese Luque (ETSA Madrid, 1988), María Ángeles Negre Balsas (ETSA Barcelona, 1986), and the interesting proposal submitted by María Teresa Muñoz Jiménez (ETSA Madrid, 1972). The latter, a regular participant in competitions since

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5. Finally, three decades later, Carme Pinós was awarded the National Architecture Prize in 2021, the highest Spanish recognition that values the work of a person who has made an extraordinary contribution to the enrichment of Spanish architecture or urban planning within and beyond Spanish borders.

the 1970s, was also one of the most relevant women architects specialising in architectural thought and criticism in the country (Figure 5). Moreover, of the 11 mixed teams that took part, three were awarded prizes: the couple Federico Soriano and Dolores Palacios (ETSA Madrid, 1986) were awarded first prize; Fuensanta Nieto (ETSA Madrid, 1981) and Enrique Sobejano were selected as first runner-up; and the second runner-up was Beatriz Matos (ETSA Madrid, 1985) with Alberto Martínez Castillo.

**Figure 5.** María Teresa Muñoz's Palacio Euskalduna competition entry submitted under the motto 'Global Village'



Source: Sanz Fernández de Retana (1993, pp. 60-61)

Women architects in practice continued to increase, as did their success in competitions. The 1991 European II competition, in which Ángela García de Paredes (ETSA Madrid, 1983) and Ignacio García Pedrosa won first prize, testified to this. Other examples were the international open competition for the Prado Museum in Madrid in 1996 with 154 Spanish entries, in which Beatriz Matos and her partner won one of the only two runners-up prizes; or the decision of the national open competition for the Congress Centre and Auditorium in Badajoz in 1999, which awarded its trio of prizes to mixed teams: first prize to Lucía Cano Pintos (ETSA Madrid, 1992) together with José Selgas Rubio; second prize to María José Aranguren (ETSA Madrid, 1983) and José González Gallegos; and third prize, again, to the Matos-Castillo pair. Also noteworthy is Atxu Amann's (ETSA Madrid, 1987) participation as a member of the mixed team *Temperaturas Extremas*, winning awards in open residential housing competitions such as the international housing competition for 400,000 dwellings in Catalonia in 2003 or the national competition *Hacemos Ciudad* for 5,688 state-of-the-art subsidised housing units in 2006, with 256 and 341 entries respectively.

By the mid-1990s, the presence of women from the political arena on jury panels was already commonplace. Carmen Alborch, the socialist Minister of Culture had been the president of the jury panel in the first competition for the Prado Museum, and it was common to find women councillors in public competitions in peripheral regions of the country. Moreover, women architects were finally included more regularly as full jury members. At the turn of the millennium, architects such as Blanca Lleó (ETSA Madrid, 1983) or Carmen Espegel (ETSA Madrid, 1985), with two decades of professional and academic achievements, began to be considered as jury members for important open competitions such as European IX (Spain), in 2006, or the consultation for the headquarters of the Francisco Giner de los Ríos Foundation in Madrid, in 2004, respectively.

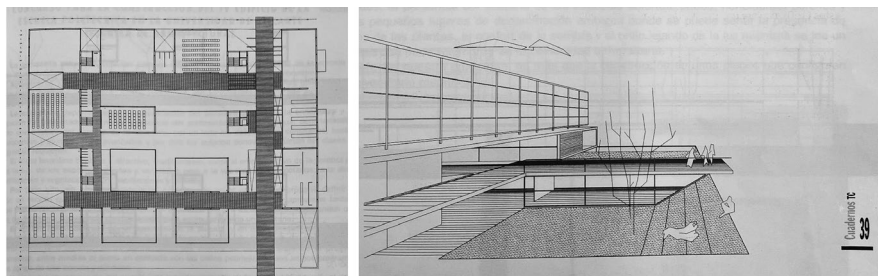
Many of these open competitions of the 21st century achieved great media coverage in the Madrid professional magazines (*El Croquis*, *Arquitectura Viva*, *AV Proyectos*, *Arquitectura del COAM*, *Arquitectos del CSCAE* or *Pasajes de Arquitectura y Crítica*) and a new generation of women architects, mainly graduates of the ETSA Madrid, began not only to win prizes in their first anonymous competitions but also to visibly accumulate greater legitimacy and symbolic capital than in previous decades.



Many of them participated in mixed teams such as *inter alia* Victoria Acebo (ETSA Madrid, 1995) associated with Ángel Alonso with her first prize in the open competition for the Centro de las Artes de A Coruña, in 2001, to which 75 entries were submitted; Belinda Tato (ETSA Madrid, 1997) and her studio *Ecosistema Urbano* with her first prize in the competition for the Vallecas Eco-boulevard in Madrid in 2004; Clara Murado (ETSA Madrid, 1997), together with Juan Elvira, finalists in European VI, was awarded second prize in European VIII and first prize in European IX; Cristina Díaz (ETSA Madrid, 1998), together with Efrén García, took part in the competition for the Francisco Giner de los Ríos Foundation's headquarters in 2004 mentioned above. To a lesser extent, they were joined by leading women architects from their own studios, such as Izaskun Chinchilla (ETSA Madrid, 2001), winner of European VII in 2003.

Apart from the dominant media of the cultural poles of Madrid and Barcelona, the magazines of the various regional architects' associations that began to be (re)published from the 1990s onwards, as well as province-based publishing houses—the so-called cultural media periphery—reveal the fact that other less-renowned competitions were becoming an important mine of work and experimentation for women architects, who practised the profession alone or in teams with other women. This is illustrated by a brief survey of the media in the Valencian Community and the province of Alicante (Gutiérrez-Mozo et al., 2022); in these publications we find cases such as the winning proposal by Lola Alonso (ETSA Valencia, 1976) for the 1997 Alicante University (UA) School of Architecture competition (Figure 6); the first prize in the II Competition of the Valencian Housing Institute (IVVSA) in 2000 by Marta Pérez Rodríguez (ETSA Valencia, 1998); the Silvia Alonso de los Ríos's (EPSA Alicante, 2003) distinction in the 2003 Final Degree Project competition organised by the Valencian magazine *ViA Arquitectura*—she was the first woman to graduate from the UA Architecture School and recipient of several prizes, such as the European 10; the award-winning design by Elena Albajar Molera (ETSA Madrid, 1977) and Ruth Céspedes de Pablo (ETSA Valencia, 2004) for the 2007 Alicante Market Memorial competition; the first prize in the 2007 Social Housing in San Antón-Alicante competition by Sonia Miralles Mud (EPSA Alicante, 2004) and Maribel Requena Barbellido (EPSA Alicante, 2006); and others.

Figure 6. Lola Alonso's University of Alicante School of Architecture competition entry



Source: Alonso (1997, p. 39)

Certainly, the cultural and geographical periphery has always been fertile territory for the growth of women's careers, evidenced by the participation of Carme Pinós (ETSA Barcelona, 1979) in Alicante competitions such as the Benidorm Cultural Centre in 1997, the Santa Pola Seafront Promenade in 2002, the Faculty of Education of the UA in 2005, or her invitation to the restricted competition for the failed 'La Sangueta' Congress Centre in Alicante in 2006. In addition, Pinós's works for Alicante city councils have been awarded prizes such as the Footbridge and Landscaping in Petrer in 1991 (Finalist VI BEAU, 2001) or the Torrevieja Seafront Promenade in 1996 (Premio COACV, 1999-2000). The latter was one of the first major solo works of the Catalan architect, who, after two decades of excellent career and external/peripheral recognition, was invited to the heavily mediatised restricted competition of the *CaixaForum* Zaragoza in 2008. She decided to participate—and won—despite her manifest distaste for the hackneyed game-playing between celebrities. A similar search through the peripheral Spanish media would reveal more names of women architects who participated and were recognised in regional competitions. They include, *inter alia*, in Galicia, Pascuala Campos de Michelena (ETSA Barcelona, 1968); in the Canary Islands, Magüi González (EA Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1978); in the region of Navarra, Maite Apezteguia (ETSAU Navarra, 1979); in Andalusia, Blanca Sánchez Lara (ETSA Sevilla, 1988), and also Elisa Valero Ramos (ETSA Valladolid, 1996).

#### 4. SYNTHESIS OF A SILENT CONSECRATION

A look back at the architecture competitions organised in Spain and published in architecture magazines during the late Franco era exposes the gradual incorporation of Spanish women architects into the competitive structure of this complex cultural field belonging to a traditionally patriarchal profession. While the presence of women in mixed teams was very low, their presence on their own was almost non-existent, resulting in zero representation on the jury panels. After the death of Franco, over the democratic transition, despite the progressive increase in women's participation in competitions in mixed teams, the presence of women alone or in women's teams remained equally low until the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. Furthermore, in this latter period, women from the political sphere were included on the jury panels much earlier than those from the architectural profession.

At the height of the burgeoning Autonomous Regions, favoured by the cultural investment plans promoted by the socialist government, the new communities began to compete to offer an attractive image capable of boosting their identity and economy. Architecture became a symbol of renewal, formalised through direct commissions or competitions—open and restricted—which, with accession to the European Economic Community, were opened to the international arena. During these years, there were already many mixed teams who were successful in major open competitions, widely publicised in the main media compared to teams led by women architects whose visibility was confined to the peripheral media. This contrasted with the restricted competitions that continued to mainly promote male architects. Gradually, the architects' personalities extended beyond their works, ushering in the future architecture of the *auteur* and the increasingly frequent invitations to the so-called *star system*.

Indeed, in Spain, the prolific decade of restricted competitions dates back to the mid-1990s, continuing in all its plenitude until the first decade of the new millennium, a time when the indulgence of iconic 'white elephant' architecture seemed to reach its peak, and the first signs of crisis appeared in the cultural import formula of the late-capitalist and neoliberal apothecosis before the financial crisis of 2008. During these years, most mixed

teams, especially Spanish women architects working alone or in pairs, were systematically excluded from the typical institutionally organised invitation-only competitions. Women graduates of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s did not participate in the celebrity game until the 21st century, and in very small numbers. However, most of them were able to add to their *curricula vitae* by participating in numerous competitions, open and anonymous, with or without recognition, making this one of the most important areas of their practice.

At present, critical reviews that feature the work and contributions of women architects to the discipline show that many of those women who built their legitimacy from the anonymity of competitions and began to enjoy a certain celebrity in the new millennium, have shown themselves reluctant to see their work become merchandise in a global cultural market, from which they were excluded in the past. Especially when the objective of this market seems to be to achieve a media-friendly iconic and/or politically opportunistic architecture. This question raises an open discussion between those who defend the need to problematise the link between the embodied experience of the woman architect and architecture, and those who erase the author's body or replace it with an exclusively architectural corporeality. The two propositions, contrary and disjunctive—and even paradoxical—relate back to Beauvoir's dilemma for women writers referred to at the beginning of the article. Nevertheless, it is not a secret that caregiving was—and still is—one of the main barriers for women architects to fully develop their professional careers, since it reduced their involvement in the architecture labour market and, as a consequence, their participation in architecture competitions, which entails lots of extra work hours conflicting with their also unpaid care work.

Besides these controversies, it is worth noting that the 'consecration' analysed by Pierre Bourdieu for the literary cultural field is of a different status to that of 'celebrity'. Consecration comes from the merits and achievements of individuals in open competition in the public sphere, which recognises them as unique individuals with singular talents. However, celebrity is explicitly commercial, rather than the work, it is the *auteur* who becomes the fetish. The cases investigated speak volumes about the fact that Spanish women architects who were regular contestants—including all those who are not

mentioned in this article—achieved their consecration according to a silent logic, far removed from flashy celebrity, an issue that has left a deep imprint on their ways of approaching the practice of their profession, in general, and of participating in the cultural field of the competition, in particular. From this very approach, this paper can also be read as a well-deserved tribute to these women.

## 5. FUNDING

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