

International colloquium

Gender dynamics
and practices
in
architecture
urbanism
and landscape
architecture

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GENDER DYNAMICS AND PRACTICES IN ARCHITECTURE, URBANISM AND LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

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INTRODUCTION

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THE PROFESSIONS OF SPATIAL DESIGN: FROM THE DYNAMICS OF FEMINIZATION TO THE CONSIDERATION OF GENDER

By Isabelle Grudet and Stéphanie Dadour

The project of holding this colloquium dates back to 2018. The first objective we set was to pool research on the place of women in the professional world of architecture. As part of the architectural milieu ourselves, and as witnesses to the *#metoo* movement, we felt that there was work to be done on this subject and that it had been studied too little in France, in comparison with the research conducted on the history or sociology of architecture in other countries. Our aim was to gather what research already existed and to foster dialogue between this knowledge and scholarship from elsewhere. The elsewhere we had in mind was geographical, but also disciplinary – since it was a question of opening up to gender studies – and professional – since it concerned the different professions involved in designing space. So, starting from this impression that research on the feminisation of the world of architecture in France was fragmented and lacking in visibility, we decided to organise an international, interdisciplinary and interprofessional colloquium. It was to be devoted to the situation of women architects in France today, to the condition of women in other countries or women working in other professions of spatial planning and design, as well as to the concept of gender and its relevance in research on professions. These three points are developed below.

Feminisation of the world of architecture and the state of research in France

1. They now account for 57% of the workforce and, since 2006, have been in the majority among those qualified to manage projects in their own names (*Habilitées à la Maîtrise d'Œuvre en leur Nom Propre*, HMONP).

2. Elise Koering, “‘We are preparing for a career full of struggle’. Press reception and discourse regarding women architects in the first half of the twentieth century: the case of the Maître d'œuvre” in this volume.

3. Jacques-Franck Degioanni, “Architecture – Les femmes remontent la pente dans les agences”, *Le Moniteur*, 25 December 2020, 10.

4. Solange d'Herbez de la Tour, a Franco-Romanian architect who emigrated to France after her architectural studies in Bucharest, founded the French Union of Women Architects in 1960. In 1963, she founded the International Union of Women Architects in order to give greater scope to the association.

5. The Association pour la Recherche sur la Ville et l'Habitat (Arvha) has been awarding the French Women Architects Prize every year since 2013. The Mouvement pour l'Équité dans la Maîtrise d'Œuvre (Mémo) federates architects, urban planners and landscape designers in France.

6. Olivier Chadoin, *Être architecte : les vertus de l'indétermination. De la sociologie d'une profession à la sociologie du travail professionnel*, (Limoges: Presses universitaires de Limoges, 2007).

7. Nathalie Lapeyre, *Les professions face aux enjeux de la féminisation*, (Toulouse: Éditions Octares, 2006).

8. Catherine Marry, *Les femmes ingénieurs. Une révolution respectueuse*, (Paris: Belin, 2004).

The situation in France today is paradoxical. The legitimacy of women to train as architects has not been an issue for some time now. Women have in fact made up the majority of students in architecture schools since 2004¹. This phenomenon is the result of a progressive historical process over the course of the twentieth century. It began in 1883 when the École Spéciale d'Architecture (ESA) first admitted female students. In the 1960s and 1970s women formed a significant part of the student body, nearing parity in the 1990s, then finally reaching parity and surpassing it some fifteen years ago. And yet, there is no shortage of reasons for women architects to feel dissatisfied. They can rightfully complain about a lack of visibility, of less access to commissions and significant income gaps with men. Representative bodies and the professional press reported on this subject again very recently, as have professional associations. From an article published in 1928 in the *Maître d'œuvre*² to an insert published in 2020 in *Le Moniteur*³, from the French Union of Women Architects founded in 1960⁴ to the contemporary associations Arvha or Mémo⁵, there is a clear continuity to the demands expressed in response to persistent inequalities and a sentiment of unease, despite the increase in the proportion of women in schools.

In the early 2000s, two sociologists, Olivier Chadoin⁶ and Nathalie Lapeyre⁷, examined this phenomenon of feminisation in the world of architecture. The former analysed it in parallel with the diversification of modes of practice and statuses and emphasised the over-representation of women in the employee category. The latter observed the gradual narrowing of the professional gap between men and women. Since 2018, parity has been achieved among new members of the Ordre des architectes under the age of 35. Have other limits been pushed back in the last twenty years? If so, how do we explain the persistence of symbolic barriers in terms of recognition and income? How have the trajectories of men and women changed in an increasingly competitive context ?

Detours: other professions and research conducted outside France

The research carried out on other professions involved in construction, spatial design or artistic creation is also likely to provide subject matter for further reflection, which is why we called on researchers from outside the world of architecture to join the scientific organising committee of this colloquium and we issued a wide call for contributions. We first turned our attention to that other incarnation of the male order, the engineering world. Catherine Marry's comprehensive study on women engineers published in 2004⁸ provided a useful overview. While it took longer to increase the number of female students in engineering, some institutions, such as the École des Ingénieurs de la Ville de Paris, have made progress

9. Lucile Biarrotte, "(Dé)gender l'urbanisme. Cultures et organisations de genre dans les milieux de l'urbanisme en France (1919-2019)", (PhD diss. in Spatial Planning and Urbanism, Université Paris Est, 2021); Karine Darmon, "Ingénieur-E-s : combien êtes-vous, les filles ?", *Studyrama Grandes Écoles*, 23 March 2017, <https://grandes-ecoles.studyrama.com/ecoles-d-ingenieurs/choisir-son-ecole/ingenieur-au-feminin/ingenieur-e-s-combien-etes-vous-les-filles-1787.html>.

10. Studies published in 2014 and 2016 on the professional integration of young planners: CNJU, "L'insertion professionnelle des jeunes urbanistes diplômés : l'intégralité des résultats de la 4^{ème} enquête nationale du CNJU", *Collectif national des jeunes urbanistes*, 07 November 2018, www.jeunes-urbanistes.fr/?p=3289; CNJU and APERAU, "L'insertion professionnelle des jeunes urbanistes diplômés : état des lieux en 2014", *Collectif national des jeunes urbanistes*, 12 December 2014, www.jeunes-urbanistes.fr/?p=2541.

11. Corinne Luxembourg, Emmanuelle Faure and Edna Hernandez-Gonzalez, *La ville : quel genre ? L'espace public à l'épreuve du genre*, (Paris: Le temps des cerises, 2017).

12. Lucile Biarrotte, "The feminisation of decision-making roles in urban planning at Paris City Council since 2001 and contemporary consequences of this process" included in this volume.

13. Sylvie Octobre and Frédérique Patureau, *Normes de genre dans les institutions culturelles*, (Paris: Daps et Presses de Sciences Po, 2018).

14. Stéphanie Dadour, "Des pensées de décentrage au pragmatisme : la question de l'identité dans l'espace domestique (Amérique du Nord, 1988-2008)", (PhD diss., Université Paris Est, 2013).

almost comparable to architecture schools⁹. We then turned to current research on training courses in urban planning, which reveals a similar gendered evolution to that seen in the world of architecture, although it cannot be tracked as accurately. According to the Conseil National des Jeunes Urbanistes (CNJU), women now make up 64% of graduates in the field¹⁰ and a number of them are working with architects on changing professional practices regarding gender mainstreaming in urban policies, as documented by Corinne Luxembourg¹¹ and Lucile Biarrotte¹². Finally, we look at the significant field of art schools and culture professions, which Frédérique Patureau¹³ in particular has worked on, and the professional group of landscape architects, one of Bernadette Blanchon's research subjects.

Broadening our scope to professional situations and research outside of France helps when it comes to critically assessing the situation in France, which only came to be studied at a late stage. Since the 1977 publication of the collective work *Women in American Architecture: a Historic and Contemporary Perspective*, on the occasion of the exhibition of the same name in the United States, to more recent publications, particularly in English-speaking countries, numerous scientific studies and events over the last forty years have led to the emergence of an important scientific literature, built up in parallel with feminist thinking and reflections on the architectural field, as studied by Stéphanie Dadour¹⁴ for example. This research approaches the issue from a different perspective but, on the whole, converges towards quite similar results. Incentive programmes such as MoMoWo (Women's creativity since the Modern Movement) have generated momentum for research on a European scale, some of whose results are presented by Giuliana di Mari and Alessandra Renzulli. Compendium projects have forged global networks people working on the subject, notably those initiated by Lori Brown and Karen Burns in the context of an encyclopaedia on women architects in various geographical zones.

The contribution of the concept of gender and its issues it raises for research on professions

These studies, like many others carried out in various fields¹⁵, incite us to go beyond the categories of 'women' and 'feminisation', to replace them with 'gender', a concept theorised in the 1970s that induces a political dimension. Indeed, while this interest in the category of 'women' has the advantage of making these architects visible, particularly in a professional sector, it has its limits when it comes to identifying the mechanisms of power and domination in place. Gender is a social construct that refers to socially and culturally constructed roles to differentiate women from men, or the feminine from the masculine. Gender-based relations of domination were identified from early on in the field of architecture and have been

15. Jacqueline Laufer, Catherine Marry, Margaret Maruani, ed., *Le travail de genre. Les sciences sociales du travail à l'épreuve des différences de sexe*, (Paris: Éditions la découverte, 2003).

16. Eliane Viennot, *L'âge d'or de l'ordre masculin. La France, les femmes et le pouvoir, 1804-1860*, (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2020).

enriched in recent years by an 'intersectional' perspective incorporating a multiplicity of factors linked in particular to race, social class, religion, physical appearance, gender identity or sexual orientation.

Looking at professional issues from a gender perspective makes it possible to go beyond the calculation of the proportion of men and women according to modes of practice, income or recognition. It offers a different approach to analysing the mechanisms that produce architects, in terms of the socially constructed categories of male and female, and of studying the ways in which they are rejected or integrated into the very identity of a profession. To what extent did the consolidation men's domination over women in the nineteenth century fundamentally shape this profession, at a time when it was defined in terms of project management skills and the status of the professional in private practice? What remains today of what some view as a 'golden age'¹⁶? How have representations of masculine and feminine been instilled in training for this profession over time and what is the situation today? The question of gender offers a means of investigating the symbolic dimension, which covers elements as varied as the construction of theories, regulations, employment conditions and the forms of reputation. This historical legacy is still extremely prevalent. It is tied to the fundamental questions driving the research on processes, skills and professions that has been broadly undertaken in France over the last fifty years or so and which has unfortunately neglected these questions. This is all the more unfortunate given that gender is a powerful prism through which to see the world of professional practice for what it is, revealing where progress has been made and where there is inertia, both in terms of processes and intellectually.

A colloquium that reframes the questions

When drafting the call for papers for the colloquium, we identified three areas of study. The first concerned the teaching of architecture, with the aim of examining the profiles and motivations of female and male students, the practices of female and male teachers and the policies of art, engineering, architecture and landscape schools or urban planning institutes. The second focused on the effects of feminisation on professional practices. The third was dedicated to methodology and theory, reviewing the tools available to researchers to analyse these phenomena, particularly in light of how frequently there is a lack of visibility for women's career trajectories, in terms of recognition but also in of sources and archives.

The responses to the call for papers did not divide equally among these three areas: the question of the place of women in architectural-related professional practices was by far the most represented subject, or, more precisely, the stronger presence of women within the profession and the persistence of the difficulties they face in terms of recognition and visibility. Questions of teaching and method also run through some texts.

Beyond these general observations, our attention was drawn to some common themes or conclusions. They are difficult to categorise given that the mechanisms involved in the marginalisation of women are so numerous and interwoven. In discussions on gender, sexual and racial discrimination, or on the tendency for women to make themselves invisible, the question of visibilisation comes up again and again. When linked to a personal trajectory, to a person's private life or biographical factors this question is separate from the issue of training. For example, the case of Liselotte Ungers studied by Giulia La Delfa and Alberto Geuna shows that Ungers developed an interest in architecture as a result of her marriage to an architect. The workings of a collaboration are always open to interpretation, but where couples are concerned, history demonstrates that recognition most often goes to the man, while the wife is kept in the background. Caterina Franchini, Alessandra Renzulli and their team revisit the personal stories of women who practised in collaboration with their husbands, or, more exactly, in their husbands' shadow. The built works of these women, while often ignored, made a mark on architecture. Elise Koering's contribution examines the mainstream and specialised press of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to understand the status society and the profession attributed to women architects or *ensemblières* in the interwar period, as well as the discourse that was used in relation to them.

This question of visibilisation is linked to representations, particularly to recognition. The art historian Linda Nochlin published *Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?*¹⁷ in 1971, and Griselda Pollock responded with *Differencing the Canon*¹⁸ in 1999, yet some of the texts we received bring to mind the question asked in 2016 by the architectural historian Despina Stratigakos: 'Where are the women architects?'¹⁹ Several contributions describe the deliberate process by which certain figures in the architectural field, in particular that of the exile, have been rendered invisible. Stéphanie Bouysse-Mesnage demonstrates how a significant proportion of foreign-born female students enrolled in French architecture schools between 1880 and 1968 were effectively excluded from the *Ordre des architectes*, since it primarily admitted French nationals in the early years of its existence. Drawing on feminist and gender studies as well as exile studies, Tanja Poppelreuter discusses how historiographic methods can be applied to revise canonical history. She proposes a history of forgotten architects (both female and male) in order to account for the contributions of a disparate group of exiled women architects. This history is centred on the individual subject, social organisations and the relations between subjects and organisations rather than on the essentialisation of a category or group. Contributions on more recent corpuses seek to elucidate the impact of subjectivities on architectural production. For example, Olivier Vallerand considers the case of lesbian architects to reflect on these same mechanisms of invisibilisation, but more importantly on the challenges posed by traditional biographical narratives in representing marginalised practices.

17. Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?", *ARTnews*, 1971.

18. Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories*, (London: Routledge, 1999).

19. Despina Stratigakos, *Where Are the Women Architects?*, (New York: Princeton University Press, 2016).

Today, women architects, urban planners and landscape architects are well established, and represented in large numbers. The feminisation of these disciplines, along with the presence of women or people who have been discriminated against themselves, is generating an awareness of gender issues, whether programmatic and methodological or related to design, project implementation or pedagogy. Thus, in view of the growing awareness of inequalities, many researchers are turning their attention to the contributions women have made to the design professions. In the landscape sector, Bernadette Blanchon and Sonia Keravel underscore the specific contributions of certain women landscape architects to rethinking training and the profession, moving from a horticultural approach to that of territorial planning. Above all, they identify certain characteristics specific to these pioneers: 'attentiveness – to the client, to partners, to collaborators within the team, etc. – and the interest in the living matter of soil and plants, which determines the landscape project. Also worth noting is their ability to anticipate evolutions that have now been confirmed: the influence of ecology, the shared project, the comprehensive approach, the importance of history, the attention to rural territories, the interest in the heritage issue, etc.'

Lucile Biarrotte applies this approach in the field of urban planning through a study of planning professionals at Paris City Hall. Her research finds, among other things, that cisgender men, who are young enough to have been sensitised to issues of gender inequality during their training, are more attuned to these issues than women maintaining a 'neutral' posture. She therefore raises the question of how gender might be integrated into initial and continuing training. Lidewij Tummers provides some answers in her contribution. Based on the findings of a teaching experiment, she explains that before students can specialise in 'gender studies', they need to be trained in 'gender-aware planning'. The Master of Architecture module she presents thus addresses the issue of how inclusion and diversity are incorporated in architecture and planning practices.

Conversely, architectural education is full of situations that crystallise inequalities. Based on a survey conducted in France over the last five years, Serge Proust and Corine Vedrine examine the processes that reinforce the internalisation of gender norms by the different actors in architecture schools (students, teachers, administrative staff). They argue that school is one of the places where gendered divisions are perpetuated and '(unequal) power positions [are] internalised by female students'. In these environments, where representations are still very much male after all, rules, norms and habits persist. Hierarchical positions play an important role in these inequalities. Christine Schaut and Ludivine Damay describe, through a series of testimonies, the female experience of the building. Highlighting the strategies and tactics adopted by women, their study reveals the ambivalence that exists between the desire to overturn the rules or to play with them. Whatever the case, the glass ceiling seems to persist.

Several of the contributions already mentioned highlight the importance of sisterhood. Non-mixed women's networks or associations participate in women's career trajectories and empowerment. As drivers for feminist action, they challenge both gender and professional norms. Violette Arnoulet's research, although not focused on this type of network, sheds light on a professional milieu that is highly feminised in France: urban planning. Adopting a historical perspective, she examines the case of a town in the Seine-Saint-Denis département that was largely transformed by three urban renewal projects between 1999 and 2018. The generational transition between women she highlights looks beyond the conditions governing entry into the profession to acknowledge those women who occupied roles as urban planners without having the title. This is a familiar approach in the feminist historiography of architecture, from Dolores Hayden and Annmarie Adams to Alice Friedman, and of which Doris Cole has been a pioneer since the publication of her book *From Tipi to Skyscraper: A History of Women in Architecture*.

20. Martine Delvaux, *Le Boys Club*, (Montréal: Les éditions du remue-ménage, 2019), 19.

Finally, as we know: 'the repetition of a figure, of an image, is the sign of a system.'²⁰ So how do we change up the system, how do we question it? This is the task that Mary Pepchinsky has recently undertaken by proposing a figure that has always been present, but rarely shown. Must one occupy a stage in order to conquer it? In the continuation of what could now be considered a tradition, the history of women architects has given Mary Pepchinsky no end of subject matter, as notably illustrated by the exhibition *Frau Architekt. Over 100 years of women in the profession of architecture* held in 2017-2018 at the Deutsches Architekturmuseum in Frankfurt am Main. In this vein, her contribution here looks back on what drove or inspired women in architecture in Germany in the twentieth century, with a focus on feminist and emancipatory issues.

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Mary Pepchinski, professor emerita for Architecture and Society at the Technical University of Dresden, researches the emergence of women architects in the 20th century. Her publications and co-edited volumes include studies about gender and public space in Imperial Germany; women architects in Socialist Europe; and the intersections of 20th century political agendas and female architectural professionalism. In 2017 she co-curated the *Frau Architekt* exhibition at the *Deutsches Architekturmuseum (DAM)*, Frankfurt am Main.

Abstract

The 2017 exhibition, *Frau Architekt*, at the *Deutsches Architekturmuseum (DAM)* in Frankfurt am Main, presented 22 women architects who were active in Germany from 1900 until today, or an alternate 20th century architectural history drawing upon content that is considered marginal. Because professional women in Germany confronted (and continue to grapple with) intense sexism, many of the architects in the exhibition engaged in a feminist architectural agenda, that is, they strove to reinvent architecture to accommodate difference. This included: producing exhibitions to demonstrate the quality of women's work; seeking solutions to house single women and negotiate changing feminine ideals; and creating single-sex professional organizations to lobby for parity and forge community. The success of the *Frau Architekt* exhibition in making women architects visible in Germany can be seen as a work of feminist architectural advocacy too.

ADVANCING A FEMINIST AGENDA:

WOMEN ARCHITECTS IN GERMANY, 1900-2020

By Mary Pepchinski

1. Mary Pepchinski, Christina Budde, Wolfgang Voigt und Peter Schmal, ed., *Frau Architekt. Seit mehr als 100 Jahren: Frauen im Architektenberuf*, Exhibition Catalogue, Deutsches Architekturmuseum, Frankfurt am Main, 30 September 2017 to 8 March 2018, (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 2017).

In 2017, I co-curated the exhibition *Frau Architekt* at the *Deutsches Architekturmuseum* (DAM) in Frankfurt am Main. Conceived of as an alternative narrative of 20th century architectural history in Germany, it presented the lives and work of 22 women architects who practiced between 1900 and the present day¹. By alternate narrative I do not mean one all-encompassing linear argument, but a collection of disparate stories about issues that are normally considered marginal, namely the lives of women and their buildings. By presenting these stories at the DAM — the most important venue to put forth ideas about architecture in Germany today —, we proposed that the marginal was a radical proposition with the potential to transform how we perceive both architecture and architect. Needless to say, our alternate narrative starkly contrasts with the manner in which architectural history is taught in Germany, where there is a focus on a few masculine protagonists and, most importantly, the development of built form.

Throughout the 20th century in Germany, women architects confronted intense and sustained disdain regarding their abilities. Misogyny was rampant. It is therefore not surprising that one theme that appeared in numerous biographies was the desire to engage in a feminist architectural agenda to counter these sentiments. Many of the women architects on display were activists, who created spaces, buildings, and new modes of practice to challenge the status quo, accommodate difference, and rethink what architecture can be. To show how these themes unfolded, I will present three areas of activity: Advocating for a Feminine Public Sphere (1900-1914); Housing the Single Woman (1920-1990); and Sisterhood: Women Architects and their Professional Organisations, 1963-today. My goal is to explore a few themes from this alternative narrative and suggest that the influx of women into this profession has the potential to transform how we view architects, architectural practice, and the built environment².

2. Mary Pepchinski, "And then we were the 99%: Reflections on gender and the changing contours of German architectural practice", in James Benedict Brown, Harriet Harriss, Ruth Morrow, James Soane, ed., *A Gendered Profession. The Question of Representation in Space Making* (London: RIBA Publishing 2016), 220-32.

Advocating for a Feminine Public Sphere (1900-1914)

During the second half of the 19th century, German bourgeois feminists boldly addressed gender issues and called for the public sphere to be reimagined to allow for the equal participation of both sexes. Around 1900, they advocated that women should leave the domestic sphere and contribute their *weibliche Eigenart* (special feminine traits), that is, their assumed innate, emotional and nurturing qualities, to the public sphere through participating in cultural and charitable activities or working in certain professions, like the fine and applied arts³.

3. Ute Frevert, *Frauen-Geschichte Zwischen Bürgerlicher Verbesserung und Neuer Weiblichkeit* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Suhrkamp, 1986), 72-145.

This was a bold undertaking, as women professionals in the arts had to negotiate deeply entrenched, sexist attitudes regarding their abilities⁴. The German Werkbund, for example, the most influential professional organisation in support of applied arts reform prior to 1914, looked upon women designers with disdain and ridiculed 'feminine bad taste'. Its members were convinced that women were incapable of three-dimensional thinking and therefore could only be consumers or designers of two-dimensional works, like decoration and textiles.

4. Mary Pepchinski, "Wie die Designerinnen unsichtbar wurden", in Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden/Tulga Beyerle, Klara Němečková, ed., *Gegen die Unsichtbarkeit. Designerinnen der Deutschen Werkstätten Hellerau 1898 bis 1938*, Ausstellungskatalog, Kunstgewerbemuseum Dresden, Dresden, 3 november 2018 to 3 March 2019 (München: Hirmer, 2018), 28-31.

Prior to 1914, the exhibition — from simple displays in galleries to sprawling events at fair grounds with numerous pavilions — was the most important popular medium to disseminate ideas about contemporary issues, from design reform to pressing social concerns, in Germany. The planning of exhibition architecture was an important task for architects too, although by 1914 so many exhibitions had been staged that 'exhibition exhaustion' had set in, and new attractions were required to entice the public to visit them.

In 1914, feminist activists seized the medium of the exhibition to challenge their detractors, constructing two pavilions at major trade exhibitions to display applied and fine arts, interior design, and architecture by women.

At the German Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne, the *Haus der Frau* [The Woman's Building], created by a young, applied artist, Margarete Knüppelholz-Roser (1886-1949), featured a symmetrical, one-story edifice with a central atrium. At the International Book and Graphic Exhibition in Leipzig, the *Haus der Frau* by the established architect, Emilie Winkelmann (1875-1951), contained 20 rooms of varying sizes like a sprawling bourgeois home. Nonetheless their impact as feminist propaganda was uneven. The Cologne *Haus der Frau* had been plagued by intrigue on the part of male Werkbund members during its gestation and had struggled to secure adequate financing. As a result, the interiors were sparsely furnished. Along with the rest of the Werkbund exhibition, it closed upon the declaration of war in August 1914 and was used as a lazarette. Meanwhile, local businesses had generously supported the Leipzig pavilion, and it was filled with exhibits and pleasing decor. Like most of the Leipzig fair, it remained open until the end of October 1914, when Emilie Winkelmann received the event's highest honour, a gold medal for architecture⁵. Contemporary architectural publications dismissed the Cologne building, while the Leipzig one received a more positive reception, due in part to the respect that Emilie Winkelmann enjoyed among architects. Her large office was based in Berlin and she was considered a construction expert. Progressive women's magazines were more enthusiastic about the Leipzig pavilion, considering it to be a fitting expression of *Eigenart* in its attempt to reinterpret the domestic realm, with its perceived, intrinsic feminine qualities, as a public venue for women.

5. Mary Pepchinski, "Vom Women's Building zum Haus der Frau: Kulturexport, Typologie und das Problem der Repräsentation, 1893–1914", in Anke Köth, Kai Krauskopf, Hans-Georg Lippert, ed., *Building America: eine große Erzählung*, Vol. 3 (Kulturexport, Dresden: Thelem, 2008), 183–205; Despina Stratigakos, "Women and the Werkbund: Gender Politics and German Design Reform, 1907-14", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 4 (2003): 490–511.

Housing the Single Woman (1920-1993)

Although publicity was crucial to discount prejudice towards women architects, after World War One, other pressing problems demanded attention. Wartime conflict had created a lopsided adult population, with two million more single, adult women than men. These women were desperately in need of housing. Viable solutions were elusive: women earned less than men and could only afford modest rents; landlords rejected them because it was assumed that they had loose sexual morals; and, once a female renter had found a room, she often shared cooking and sanitary facilities and lacked privacy⁶. For decades to come, identifying an adequate means to house single women was an issue for architects, both men and women.

6. Susan Henderson, "Housing the Single Woman. The Frankfurt Experiment", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68, no. 3 (September 2009): 358-77.

Housing the single woman was a thorny task. On the one hand, marriage and motherhood were considered to be the normal, natural state for an adult woman, but because of the war, for many, this was no longer possible. On the other hand, middle class women were beginning to reject the assumption that they should marry and bear children, choosing careers and independent lifestyles instead. Although the 'New Woman' was met with fascination by the popular media in Weimar Germany, women's

desire for self-determination and the disruption that this notion posed to traditional gender roles was viewed with alarm. Therefore, designing apartments for single women had to strike a balance, emphasising the social and moral need to house unmarried women, while downplaying the use of architecture as a vehicle to facilitate a woman's emancipation.

While working for the city building department in Frankfurt-am-Main in the late 1920s, the young Austrian architect, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky (1897-2000), investigated both propositions. First, she included top-floor rental units for single women in the row houses that were being constructed on the outskirts of this city. In one film about Frankfurt's new architecture, a woman lodger is shown alone in her top-floor flat and then joining the family and helping with childcare when she ventured below. This spatial arrangement allowed her to be an independent, working woman who remained in touch with her maternal instincts whenever she visited the family downstairs. For a second project, displayed at the 1928 *Heim und Technik* [Home and Technology] exhibition in Munich, Schütte-Lihotzky created a model apartment with a balcony, compact bathing and cooking facilities, and details like a built-in bookshelf and a desk. This more radical proposal presented a home for a female inhabitant who is content to pursue remunerative work or intellectual activities alone, without the need to engage with family life to affirm her feminine identity⁷.

Following the Second World War, two opposing German states were established in 1949. The construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 deepened divisions and, until reunification in 1990, women architects in East and West Germany had little contact with one another. The German Democratic Republic (GDR or East Germany) came under a socialist political-economic system where gender equality was state ideology. Meanwhile, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG or West Germany), adopted a democratic-capitalist structure and propagated traditional gender roles. Here, second-wave feminism took hold, and apartment complexes to house single women continued to be built⁸.

After 1945, the two world wars had effectively produced a double generation of 'surplus' women, as those who could not expect to marry and start families were often identified. In West Germany, this amounted to almost 5 million more adult women than men. They were a heterogeneous group and included the displaced; the old and the young; and many who worked and supported family members⁹. Diverse housing solutions were required for their individual needs. For example, in 1950 in Stuttgart, the *GEDÖK - Gemeinschaft Deutscher und Österreichischer Künstlerinnen* [Society for German and Austrian Women Artists], constructed a five-story building with small, live-in ateliers for women artists and collective spaces for cultural events and socializing. Designed by a young woman architect, Grit Bauer-Revellio (1924-2013), the apartment block had communal sanitary facilities on all levels to lower the costs of construction and maintenance. It is perhaps revealing that the popular media depicted the inhabitants

7. Renate Allmayer-Beck, "Margarete Schütte-Lihotzkys Tätigkeit am Frankfurter Hochbauamt", in Peter Noever/MAK – Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, ed., *Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky. Soziale Architektur. Zeitzeugen eines Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996, 2. Auflage), 71-82, here 79-82; Christine Zwingl, "Mustereinrichtung Einliegerwohnung Praunheim, 1927", in Peter Noever et al, *Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky. Soziale Architektur. Zeitzeugen eines Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996, 2. Auflage), 103.

8. Christiane Droste, Sandra Huning, "Frau Architektin und Frau Architekt. Rahmenbedingungen für die Werdegänge von Architektinnen in BRD und DDR", in Mary Pepchinski, et al ed., *Frau Architekt. Seit mehr als 100 Jahren: Frauen im Architektenberuf*, Exhibition Catalogue, Deutsches Architekturmuseum, Frankfurt am Main, 30.09.2017-08.03.2018 (Tübingen: Wasmuth 2017), 59-68.

9. Kirsten Plötz, *Als fehle die bessere Hälfte. "Alleinstehende" Frauen in der frühen BRD 1949-1969* (Königstein, Tanus: Ulrike Helmer Verlag 2005), 30.

10. Kerstin Renz, "Raum schaffen für die Kunst", GE-DOK e.V. Stuttgart/Christiane von Seebach, Rita E. Täuber ed., *50 Jahre Gedok-Haus Stuttgart* (Tübingen: Was-muth, 2005), 11-26.

11. [Conversation with Nina Kessler and Isolde Winter-Efinger], "Wohnungen für Alleinstehende in Porz/Rhein, Bremen-Huchting, Bremen-Osterholz-Tenenver", *Bauwelt* 62, no 42, 1971, 1682-1683; [No author], "Versuchs- und Vergleichsbau in Bremen-Huchting: Wohnungen für Alleinstehende mit und ohne Kinder nebst Kindertagesstätte / ...", *Bauen + Wohnen* 27, n° 6, 1973, 245.

12. Myra Warhaftig, *Emanzipationshindernis Wohnung, Die Behinderung der Emanzipation der Frau durch die Wohnung und die Möglichkeit zur Überwindung* (Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1985); Gerald Adler, "Zwischen radikaler Hoffnung und pragmatischer Realisierung. Myra Warhaftigs feministischer Architekturtheorie und praxis im Westberlin der 1980er Jahre", in Katia Frey, Eliana Perotti, ed., *Frauen Blicken auf die Stadt. Architektinnen, Planerinnen, Reformerrinnen* (Berlin: Reimer, 2019), 199-229.

as being exclusively young women — thus suggesting that being a single female artist was a temporary phase in life before marriage. In reality, there were older inhabitants too¹⁰.

The 1960s witnessed growing numbers of women in the workplace, increased sexual activity outside of marriage, and a rising number of single mothers. With this in mind, Nina Kessler (1909-1973), in collaboration with the West German Federal Ministry of Housing, built several model housing projects for single mothers, the most prominent being an 8-story tower on the outskirts of Bremen. The tower's small units contained one room that could be partitioned into two separate sleeping areas, for a mother and her child, respectively. Because the mothers worked, a childcare facility was constructed at the base of the tower¹¹. The limits of this scheme are clear: it functions well when a child is small, but what happens when she grows older —or when a mother has several offspring? In response, Myra Warhaftig (1930-2008), who lived in West Berlin and herself was a single mother of two daughters, devised a solution that allowed for greater flexibility. She criticized German social housing regulations that defined a kitchen as a small, cramped room, thus isolating a mother from her family while she performed household work. She also rejected planning requirements that called for bedrooms to have different sizes — a large one for a married couple and ridiculously small ones for children. Her ideal apartment had a central space with one generously dimensioned, combined kitchen-dining-living area. Bedrooms that were more-or-less the same size were directly accessed from this central space, thus eliminating the need for a hallway. This plan kept the woman integrated in the household and allowed the family to gather informally. Over time, the bedrooms could be adapted for different needs, such as a space for an adult child, a grandparent, or a home office¹². It is noteworthy that Myra Warhaftig identified this housing as 'emancipatory living', a solution that no longer was justified by the destruction of war or deviant societal change (such as the rise of unmarried mothers), but rather the positive desire for women to forge new, independent lives.

Sisterhood: Women Architects and their Professional Organizations, 1963-today

Myra Warhaftig's project leads me to my final theme, Sisterhood : Women Architects and their Professional Organisations, 1963-today. Warhaftig's concept was realized under the auspices of the West Berlin *Internationale Bauausstellung* [International Building Exhibition], also known as the IBA, and was completed in 1993. Sustained protests on the part of activists in West Berlin, who called for the inclusion of feminist planning proposals in the IBA, insured that her building, along with those by Zaha Hadid (1950-2016) and Christine Jachmann (1946), which explored similar issues, were realized.

13. Christiane Droste, Sandra Huning, "Frau Architektin und Frau Architekt. Rahmenbedingungen für die Werdegänge von Architektinnen in BRD und DDR", in Mary Pepchinski et al, ed., *Frau Architekt. Seit mehr als 100 Jahren: Frauen im Architektenberuf*, Exhibition Catalogue, Deutsches Architekturmuseum, Frankfurt am Main, 30 September 2017 to 8 March 2018 (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 2017), 59-68.

14. Hans-Jürgen Rehfeldt et al., ed., *Wir Frauen vom Bau* (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1971).

15. Harald Engler, "Between State Socialist Emancipation and Professional Desire: Women Architects in the German Democratic Republic, 1949-1990", in Mary Pepchinski, Mariann Simon, ed., *Ideological Equals. Women Architects in Socialist Europe, 1945-1989* (London: Routledge, 2017), 7-19, here page 9, footnote 23 and 12-13.

16. Nina Biermann-Kessler, "Gründung der Internationalen Architektinnen-Union anlässlich des 1. Internationalen Architektinnen-Kongresses in Paris", *Der architekt*, 2 February 1964, 48-50; Berta Rahm, "Die erste internationale Architektinnenkongress in Paris 1963", *Schweizerische Bauzeitung* 81, no 39, (1963): 687-88. The publications of the West German section of the l'UIFA include: *Architektinnen-historie: zur Geschichte der Architektinnen und Designerinnen im 20. Jahrhundert; eine erste Zusammenstellung*; exhibition, 11 to 30 October 1984; *Frauen in der Architektur der Gegenwart: Katalog zur Ausstellung*, 11 to 30 October 1984 on the occasion of the 7th Congress of Women Architects, Urban Planners, Landscape Planners at the Technical University Berlin; *Mitwirkung der Betroffenen bei der Gestaltung ihrer Umwelt: Bericht vom 2. UIFA Workshop in Berlin*, 12-13 June 1981.

Between 1949 and 1990, the different strategies to create parity for women in architectural practice emerged in divided Germany¹³. In East Germany, the state controlled architectural practice and almost all architects found jobs in collective, government-run offices. Gender equality was state ideology, and the government controlled all initiatives to increase the number of women professionals, although they certainly did not advocate for a critical, feminist agenda. In 1970, the East German Ministry of Building published a book, entitled *Wir Frauen vom Bau* [We Women from Construction], highlighting female professionals in the building industries and proclaiming that gender-prejudice had been eliminated from these traditionally masculine lines of work¹⁴. Every year for International Women's Day, the March issue of the East German architecture magazine, *Architektur der DDR* (Architecture of the GDR), featured buildings by women. By the 1970s, women students were in the majority at East German architecture faculties, and, in the 1980s, the government established an initiative to boost the presence of women in managerial positions in the state offices¹⁵.

In West Germany, the private office remained the dominant form of professional practice. Women architects, frustrated by widespread sexism and inspired by second-wave feminism, flocked to single-sex professional organisations to advocate for parity and demand more socially responsive architecture. In 1963, West German women comprised the largest national group at the inaugural meeting of the l'Union Internationale des Femmes Architectes or the l'UIFA, and the West Berlin architect, Nina Kessler, was elected as the secretary general of this organization. Well into the 1990s, the West Germans were extremely active, producing exhibitions, writing the first history of women architects in Germany, and documenting their exchanges with colleagues in the USA, among their many activities¹⁶.

The women architects who joined the l'UIFA largely hailed from West Berlin, but there were other initiatives in West Germany. For example, in the 1980s, Verena Dietrich (1941-2004), an architect and educator based in Cologne, oversaw her own feminist architectural group and produced an invaluable documentation about women architects in German-speaking Europe, entitled *Architektinnen* [Women Architects]¹⁷. In the 1980s and early 1990s, the *Feministische Organisation von Planerinnen und Architektinnen* [Feminist Organization of Women Planners and Architects], known as FOPA (pronounced *faux-pas*), based in Dortmund, propagated new urban planning paradigms to address the needs of overlooked users, like women and children. Their lobbying efforts also led to the construction of the feminist housing projects at the West Berlin IBA¹⁸.

Since 2000, the number of women students at architecture faculties in Germany has increased steadily, and now they are in the majority (58%). Women are still in the minority, though, when it comes to establishing their own offices, winning prizes, receiving large public commissions or university professorships. Beginning in the 1980s, first in West Germany and since 1990 throughout Germany, women architects — and this

17. Wolfgang Voigt, "Feminist, Aktivistin, Madame de Stahl : Verena Dietrich", in Mary Pepchinski et al., ed., *Frau Architekt. Seit mehr als 100 Jahren: Frauen im Architektenberuf*, Exhibition Catalogue, Deutsches Architekturmuseum, Frankfurt am Main, 30 September 2017 to 8 March 2018 (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 2017), 213-20. Verena Dietrich, *Architektinnen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1986).

18. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feministische_Organisation_von_Planerinnen_und_Architektinnen, accessed on 15 October 2020.

designation includes interior and landscape architects as well as urban planners — have established working groups within the local Chambers of Architects. They have names like *architektinnen initiative*, *Bau Frauen*, *pia*, and *n-ails*. Some are focused on advocacy, demanding that women architects be selected for public commissions; others network, socialize or identify problems and propose solutions, like calling for more childcare facilities in rural areas. In February 2018, they organized an international conference, 'Yes, we plan!', at the *Deutsches Architekturmuseum* (DAM). Held on a Sunday so that mothers could more easily organize childcare, it was by far the most popular event among all those held in conjunction with the *Frau Architekt* exhibition.

But let me return to the beginning of this presentation: Can an exhibition like *Frau Architekt* change our perception of architecture? As I was completing this paper, I received two Emails: One from the head of the *BDA*, *Bund Deutscher Architekten* (the Association of German (male) Architects) informing me (personally!) that the name of this organisation now has been officially changed to: *[der] Bund Deutscher Architektinnen and Architekten* (the German Association of (female) Architects and (male) Architects). They were inspired by information from *Frau Architekt*, where they learned that Therese Mogger (1875-1959), the first female member of the BDA, joined the Association in 1919. The second Email arrived indirectly from the new female president of my university, the Technical University of Dresden. She requested proposals for the renaming of buildings and lecture halls on campus after women. The Faculty of Architecture agreed to nominate Marie Frommer (1890-1976). In 1919, she became the first woman in Germany to receive a doctorate in architecture, earning this degree at the Technical University of Dresden. Frommer was a public intellectual, a feminist, and an architect, who practiced in Berlin and in New York. Needless to say, she appeared in *Frau Architekt* too. I do not know how this story will end, but it suggests that a marginal activity — making women architects visible —, can impact how architecture is perceived and who we recognize as having a right to be a part of this profession.

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PART 1

URBAN ENGINEERING:
DYNAMICS OF
FEMINIZATION

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Abstract

Focusing on urban renewal policy, this paper examines the feminisation of this field in the French context, where a strong correlation between urban and social action went hand in hand with an early feminisation of professions. Through the ethnographic study of a working class municipality in the Parisian banlieue, it sheds light on how a women-only professional milieu has persisted since the 1990s. The militant approach to missions and their lack of codification made it possible for women with few qualifications – many of them immigrants and activists – to hold positions including urban planning responsibilities. However, the institutionalisation of urban renewal policy has revealed the limits of this feminisation by reintroducing a subtle gendered hierarchy within urban project management. In this context, the arrival of recently graduated women perpetuates the gendered exclusivity of the professional sphere while reinforcing the competition for positions between women, to the exclusion of those originating in the city.

FEMALE-ONLY TEAMS AND GENERATIONAL RENEWAL IN URBAN RENEWAL POLICY: THE AMBIGUITIES OF A TRANSITION BETWEEN WOMEN

By **Violette Arnoulet**

The current feminisation of the French urban renewal policy field is striking for the novice observer. Whether one attends the annual trade fair of the French National Agency for Urban Renewal (Agence Nationale de la Rénovation Urbaine, ANRU) or a meeting of a large intermunicipal structure in the Greater Paris area or one visits a specialised resource centre, it is plain to see that the majority of positions are held by women.

French urban renewal policy, first introduced into France in the 1980's under the name of 'city policy' (*politique de la ville*) is an area based policy, that promotes social and urban initiatives in deprived social housing estates, or so-called 'sensitive' neighbourhoods (Tissot, 2007). It concerns a variety of professions drawn from the fields of social work, volunteering and urban planning. The strong feminisation of the sector comes as a surprise, as urban renewal policy projects call on skills that do not correspond to those of historically feminised professions, in which the denial of qualifications is compounded by a legitimisation borrowed from the domestic sphere (Maruani, 2005). The national programme for urban renewal launched in 2003 is a case in point. Highly significant for the scale and technicality of its projects, the programme offered urban planners opportunities to hold project management and project coordination positions, as found in many urban projects and one would typically expect to find a stronger presence of men in these roles. Nonetheless, the few surveys available confirm the feminisation of the programme: in 2012, 56% of local project managers were women (ANRU, 2012) and within the ANRU, the public agency in charge of steering the programme at the national level, women make up 63.6% of employees (ANRU, 2013).

Based on a localised ethnographic survey, this paper explores the reasons behind this feminisation through the example of a municipality in Seine Saint-Denis that was largely transformed by three urban renewal projects between 1999 and 2018. These projects are characterised by their scale: half of the municipality's population was affected by the demolition of hundreds of social housing units, the construction of as many new units and the creation of public spaces and amenities. They are also notable for having been managed by an almost exclusively female project team throughout the period. In order to understand this feminisation, we will cross-reference observations of the team's activity between 2014 and 2018 with the analysis of a series of interviews and urban renewal policy archives dating from the 1980s onwards. By adopting a broader historical perspective, we seek to reconstruct the plurality of trajectories by which women came to be part of this team and in this way to understand the circumstances in which durable 'female-only'¹ teams came about.

1. This notion of the exclusively female [*entre-soi féminin*] is borrowed from Delphine Naudier, whose study on novelist Victoria Thérèse's writings on female-female relations and the female literary world, published by *Des femmes*, has inspired our approach in this paper (Naudier, 2006).

In the 2000s, at a time when urban renewal policy began to focus more narrowly on urban intervention projects (Epstein, 2013), two generations of women were involved in the local teams: the 'pioneers', who had already been active in urban renewal policy in the 1990s, and the 'newcomers' who got involved in urban renewal after 2006. In retracing their intertwining trajectories, we look at the transition that took place between these professionals in the 2000s on urban renewal projects: what career paths had been followed by the women in office in that period and what kinds of continuities, cooperation or competition existed between them at a time when their professional domain was undergoing major restructuring?

Box 1 - An 'ordinary municipality'¹ of the former red suburbs

The municipality concerned by our study resembles many other former working-class areas in the Parisian suburbs.

Rapidly urbanised after the Second World War by the construction of social housing estates, it now has a population of just under 40,000, the majority of whom are still working class: in 2016, workers and employees thus represented 71% of the total workforce. The qualification rate is low and unemployment is high, including for women, with 21% of the female workforce unemployed. The population living in the municipality is also young and the over-representation of foreigners indicates that the Parisian suburbs still play a role of welcoming immigrants: young people under the age of 25 accounted for 40% of the population in 2016 and 25.5% of the inhabitants were non-French nationals in 2015, compared with an average of 7.1% in France.²

In 2014, the municipal council was still run by a coalition led by the Communists, but also including Socialists since 1965, as well as representatives of associations and environmental activists since the 1990s.

1. I borrow this expression [*une commune ordinaire*] from Samir Hadj Belgacem's doctoral dissertation on the town of Blanc-Mesnil (Hadj Belgacem, 2015).

2. INSEE, General census of population, 2015 and 2016.

Constitution of a feminised field of intervention

A pioneering team of women

It was in the 1990s that the municipality first adopted a structured urban renewal policy: ten community associations were funded, urban operations got underway and a coordination team called 'MOUS' was set up. While not part of the municipal administration, this team was employed by an association chaired by the mayor. It was in charge of negotiating and distributing the subsidies granted by various French ministries and the social action fund. In this capacity, it organised the funding of urban projects as well as that of associations involved in the social aspects of this policy. Up to 2016, MOUS employees were almost exclusively women.² Several of them spent their entire careers with MOUS and reached key positions in the municipal administration. The existence of this all-woman team in fact allowed young women of atypical backgrounds – they were often foreign, with few qualifications – to pursue professional careers, proving their legitimacy by tapping into their activist backgrounds, which gained fresh relevance in the Communist networks and the networks of local associations strongly involved in urban renewal policy decisions at the time.

2. Between 1991 and 2016, MOUS had 13 employees, of which only one was a man. The small size of the team, ranging from two to four people over the entire period, is also reflected in the associations as well as the urban renewal team mentioned in the second part of this paper. This facilitates the detailed reconstruction of individual career paths, shedding more light on career variations and conditions in the urban renewal policy sector.

In fact, the career paths of these women are reminiscent of other urban renewal policy pioneers who were able to avail of the opportunities that arose when the field first emerged and the required competencies were not yet defined. Like them, they underwent a 'militant conversion' (Tissot, 2005), turning their previous commitments into an asset to help them acquire and legitimise their positions. Thus, MOUS was initially headed by a female trade union activist and former social centre director, and subsequently by an Iranian human rights activist who came to France as a refugee.

Through their personal trajectories and their connections, they are part of a wider circle of women active locally in municipal politics: one was the head of the social centre and an Argentinean refugee, another the director of a community restaurant and a Communist exile from Chile, or another the director of a youth association and a trade union delegate. Although a professional hierarchy existed between these women, the similarity of their backgrounds and the over-representation of women in the team points to the existence of local conditions favourable to female participation in municipal politics.

In this Communist-run city, these converted activists clearly bear certain hallmarks of Communist militancy. Indeed, their involvement in community associations and their work 'for the district' is reminiscent of an older gendered distribution where the extra-partisan commitment of Communist women was reserved to the local sphere, housing problems and family and women's associations (Boulland and Mischi, 2015). Their pursuit of militant and professional activities in tandem with their spouses or partners

Box 2 - Ana and Chereh: the careers of two former activists

Ana and Chereh¹, two pioneers of urban renewal policy, are both political exiles: one was a Communist in Argentina under the dictatorship of J. R. Videla, the other a human rights activist after the Iranian revolution. They both arrived in the municipality before the age of 25, along with their husbands and children: in 1982 for Ana and in 1985 for Chereh. This arrival came after a short stay in a home where they established links with French Communist networks. Ana and her husband directly contacted the Parisian section of the party on the advice of Argentinean militants. Chereh and her husband meet the Association for the Education and Training of Immigrant Workers (Association pour l'Enseignement et la Formation des Travailleurs Immigrés, AEFTI), closely affiliated to the CGT trade union, which provided French classes. These contacts facilitated their access to social housing and then to temporary employment, while their respective husbands joined the local branch of the Communist party (PCF) and the CGT. Ana, who used to work at a land registry office in Argentina, became an activity organiser in schools and then a coordinator of the women's association in which Chereh, a former nurse, gave workshops on health. The development of the city's urban renewal policy opened up new opportunities for them: in 1991 Ana was appointed director of the new social centre and Chereh became a 'local development officer' at MOUS, going on to be its director in 1996. Both were supported by Manon, a former director of the social centre and a CGT activist, who headed MOUS from 1991 to 1994. They both resumed their studies: with two children, Ana struggled to obtain her history degree and preferred to talk about her 'diploma in the management of large public establishments' adjusted to her position as director of a social centre. Chereh, for her part, obtained a master's degree in 1995 and then a DESS (post-graduate diploma) in 2006. In the meantime, her career advanced, and her husband also took up positions of responsibility in the neighbouring municipality.

1. All first names have been changed.

also harks back to a certain familialism in Communist activism: of the five women cited, three were married to a member of the local Communist party.

Although this context made it acceptable for women to be involved in the new field of urban renewal policy as it was emerging, it was not in itself sufficient to facilitate a career change for each of them, rather it was the opening, in 1986, of a women's association offering socio-cultural activities among women that created the conditions for this to happen. Most MOUS members started their careers in this association by using skills perceived as spontaneously feminine: cooking, sewing, but also listening, empathy and parenting. This influential association enabled them to overcome the handicap of immigrant status or a lack of qualifications to take a first step into the domain of municipal policymaking. They then converted know-how acquired both in the militant sphere and through their position as women and built up the necessary legitimacy to hold other jobs.

First steps in urban planning activities under male patronage

While women were able to hold key positions in the municipality – managing funding, directing associations – from the beginning of the 1990s, participation in strictly speaking urban planning tasks proved to be an additional challenge. In fact, decisions on urban transformations were first

and foremost the reserve of men, who made up the majority of technicians working for social housing companies and state services, but also of mayoral and prefect positions. During the 1990s, urban interventions mainly concerned housing refurbishment programmes: these were managed directly by the social housing bodies and left little room for MOUS. At the end of the period, however, urban renewal projects were initiated. As the first demolitions got underway in the large tower-block estate, a residents group called for the rehabilitation of another estate and urban studies were carried out to this end. The all-woman team of MOUS then took charge of three tasks: following up the studies, preparing financial agreements and mobilising residents.

The first two tasks revealed the limits of feminisation. In fact, the studies were initiated in the 1980s by a municipal engineer, a future deputy mayor and then director of a social housing body. The choice of a man who had qualifications and was well established in Communist networks, was seen by the women present as a sign of the importance given to the project: 'Obviously, it was necessary to have a very well-qualified man from within the administration to oversee the first "Housing and Social Life" operation. We were negotiating the first urban renewal project in the [district].'³ In 1999, the subsequent studies were entrusted to consultancies with a large number of men and closely monitored by the mayor. 'The MOUS ladies'⁴ were principally occupied with drawing up financial agreements to carry out urban operations.

These led to the creation in 2001 of an ad hoc structure responsible for the operational management of the urban project. This structure was in place from 2001 to 2005 and employed two men. Both were engineers and went on to become managers of social housing bodies and design offices. Thus, although MOUS was in charge of urban projects until 2001, it paradoxically participated in a gendered reorganisation of roles to the benefit of a team of qualified men who were closer to the world of social housing than to community activism and who were effectively entrusted with steering the urban project under the close supervision of the mayor.

Following this reorganisation, the women of the team nevertheless took charge of one area – resident participation– which led to the creation of municipal offices in the neighbourhoods undergoing renovation. In this way, the 'MOUS ladies' increasingly took on managerial responsibilities that were a source of legitimacy in their future careers. In 2014, they jointly managed ten municipal facilities, including for the municipal police and the mediation service.

The two women who headed MOUS from 1996 to 2016 thus had careers that stand out both for the importance of their responsibilities and for the fact they maintained a marginal status: without attaining the status of civil servants, they remained employees of the association and strongly dependent on the mayor. When the mayor retired it caused the association to be dissolved and these women were forced into early retirement.

3. Interview with the former director of the social centre who has worked for the municipality since 1986, July 2018.

4. Recurrent expression used by the association's employees to designate the two women who headed the MOUS team from 1996 to 2016.

Redefining the female-only team at a time of change for urban renewal project management

New arrivals

In 2006, the signing of an urban renewal agreement inaugurated one of the biggest projects in the département. It consolidated the involvement of actors that had previously been absent – the ANRU and the intermunicipal council – who undertook to redefine the management of urban projects by creating an intermunicipal urban renewal team. As the team members were co-funded by the ANRU, they adhered to a national definition whose standardisation contrasted with the openness of the previous period: both the qualifications required and the missions to be carried out were pre-defined. The team members were responsible for monitoring funding and studies, coordinating project management and worksites, and also organising decision-making bodies and consultation. The creation of this team meant that urban renewal policy was no longer decided by the municipal administration; MOUS was relieved of its responsibilities regarding urban transformations and henceforth concentrated on its work with community associations.

From 2006 to 2018, the urban renewal team was composed exclusively of women whose common point was that they were all engineers or urban planners with master's level qualifications. They were also at the early stages of their careers: three out of six had just graduated and the other three were under 35 years old; four became civil servants when hired for their new positions. Their career paths stand in contrast to those of the previous generation: none of them lived in the municipality, they were not involved in local associations or in the Communist party. Unlike MOUS members, they describe their recruitment in this municipality as a matter of chance: rather than local involvement, they emphasise their job descriptions as the most important factor.

Given their age and qualifications, they belong to the new wave of female urban production professionals observed since the 2000s stemming from the feminisation of graduates. Their appointment mirrors the gender distribution found among architects (Chadoin, 2013), which favours women's access to public jobs. Since 2003, the national urban renewal programme, by structuring a new professional space that offers many public jobs, has provided opportunities for young female graduates emerging from the feminisation of urban planning and engineering schools. In fact, in the municipality studied here, these positions, which are not very popular with men,⁵ offer these women urban project management positions in line with their degrees and aspirations relatively early in their careers. Although the reasons for this gender distribution have yet to be explored at the national level, it raises a question concerning the consequences of the arrival of these young female urban planners in the local context.

5. In 2014, of the 25 employees of the department encompassing the urban renewal teams at the inter-municipal level, only three were men. Another example: in 2017, when a new project manager was being recruited, only two of the 15 candidates for the position were men.

Subdivisions among female teams

When this new team arrived, local urban renewal policy underwent a re-definition, subdividing into three main units, all of which were largely feminised. The first and the second shared steering functions: MOUS, which oversaw social and associative matters aspect thanks to the support of the mayor, and the urban renewal team, legitimised by its technical know-how and the financing of the urban project. Meanwhile, in associations, new female directors were taking over from the former activists. They were often born in the municipality, had few qualifications when they were hired and were recruited on the basis of being known. Although they were not members of the bodies making urban renewal policy decisions, their activity was strongly dependent on the funding discussed by the latter.

The tensions generated by this subdivision resulted in a loss of influence for MOUS, which lost part of its mandate, including urban transformation, but also the control it had hitherto exercised over new hires. Indeed, until the early 2000s, many female directors of associations financed by urban renewal policy were recruited on the advice of MOUS, but in the following decade these structures became more independent as the sources of funding became more diversified. Thus the overall evolution of urban renewal policy undermined the possibility of an exclusively female professional network within the city controlled by MOUS.

Although largely feminised, these three units offered contrasting and unequal careers, in which differentiated access to diplomas is an indicator. While all these women held managerial positions, the urban planners stood out for holding university degrees early in their careers: this was a condition in their recruitment and also points to the social capital they enjoyed as children from managerial-class backgrounds. Conversely, many association directors or MOUS employees returned to study after being appointed. Obtaining a degree, facilitated by their place of employment, was an acknowledgement of the responsibilities they had taken on. It normalised their position by matching their professional position to their level of qualification, in an 'attempt to adjust' (Naudier, 2006) to the expectations of the professional field.

Interviewer: 'Why did you go back to school? [...] In 2005, you were already well settled and successful in your professional life...!' MOUS manager: "I knew that in order to be accepted by the municipal administration, I would have to fit the role. And without having a proper degree, it wasn't easy. I didn't want to remain a "nurse", in their minds, see what I mean?"⁶

6. Interview with the former head of MOUS from 1996 to 2017, October 2018. Before working at MOUS, she was a nurse.

While urban planners used their experience in the municipality to increase the value of their degree on the wider labour market, both the directors of the association and the employees of MOUS saw the qualification as a

means of securing their current positions. These positions were the culmination of professional trajectories, strongly attached to the local area where they were known and had proven themselves. In contrast to the urban planners, they often stayed in their positions for a longer period of time or even spent their entire careers in the municipality.

Maintained feminisation and redefined mandates

The arrival of a new team also called into question the pre-existing division between the ‘technical supervision’ of urban projects by men and the ‘consultation’ activities overseen by women. As we have seen, it was

Table 1 - Differentiated access to a degree as an indicator of professional inequalities

	Associations and social centre	MOUS	Urban Renewal Team
Between 2006 and 2018	10 directors, including 8 women	4 employees, all women	6 employees, all women
Ages in 2018	6 out of 10 are between 40 and 50 years old 2 are over 60 years old 2 are under 40 years old	2 are over 60 The 2 others are under 40	All are under 50 And 3 are under 40
Managerial-level family background	3 out of 10	1 out of 4	4 out of 6
Degrees	6 out of 10 have a 4 or 5 years of higher education. 1 has 3 years of higher education 3 only have secondary school diplomas	3 out of 4 have a 4 or 5 years of higher education.	All have 5 years of higher education
Study conditions among graduates	Of the 6 degree-holders, only 2 had a Master’s level degree before they were recruited by the association. 4 returned to studies while employed at the association	Of the 3 degree-holders, only 1 had a Master’s level degree before being recruited by MOUS. 2 out of 4 returned to studies while employed at MOUS	All of them had already graduated before being hired.
Time spent in this position up to 2018	More than 20 years for 4 of them Less than 5 years for 6 of them	More than 20 years for 2 of them Less than 5 years for 2 of them	Less than 10 years for all Less than 5 years for 4 of them

not straightforward matter for women to obtain managerial roles on urban projects. When they did so, it participated in the general evolution of the urban planning field, however it also contributed to this managerial role shifting more towards 'consultation' in the broad sense. The evolution was given concrete expression by the former MOUS officer in charge of 'resident consultation and participation' joining the new urban renewal team in a key role as deputy manager. It also coincided with a reformulation of tasks in terms that brought them more in line with the gendered order that prevails in this professional space and evoke naturalised feminine skills (listening, adaptation) even if the majority of the tasks actually performed remain the same. Finally, it led to the transmission of practices and values between female professionals, from MOUS to urban renewal, during seminars or training courses, but also more informally by maintaining regular relations and by the sharing of experience or contacts. Ultimately, this transmission favours atypical professional trajectories: only two women stayed in urban planning, the others branched off into local development, the associative world or research.

Conclusion

Observing that women represent the majority of the municipality's urban renewal policy team, we sought to investigate how such a female-only milieu comes to be formed. Did the fact that an all-women team was maintained since 1991 bring about a unified space for the defence of common interests? Is this a 'pocket of resistance' (Tissot, 2014) in a context of gendered inequality in urban planning careers?

At the end of our analysis, two periods stand out. The first saw female pioneers being appointed to positions of responsibility pertaining to limited aspects of urban production, which otherwise remained under male patronage. The second favoured the presence of women across the board in the management of urban projects and urban renewal policy. The perpetuation of a feminised domain therefore went hand in hand with the renewal of potential career paths and access conditions. After 2006, the feminisation of university courses was also, paradoxically, synonymous in our municipality with a narrowing of opportunities that favoured more highly qualified women and restricted newer generations of women from the city to a more precarious, peripheral positions. In fact, it contributed to an internal hierarchisation of the professions encompassed by the professional domain of urban renewal policy and of the women who practising therein. Consequently, the only female exclusiveness that remained was in the external perception of the local situation, as shown in the efforts made after 2014 to recruit men, in the name of an ideal of gender mix according to which there are 'always too many or too few women' (Le Feuvre, 2016).

To conclude, by shedding light on an ambiguous transition between two generations of women, this study argues for a reading of gender dynamics in urban planning beyond the question of how women enter the profession. Indeed, while having a degree became a crucial factor in being appointed at the end of the period under study, it was not initially the case. By only considering the career paths of women who hold degrees and therefore entitled to call themselves urban planners, there is a danger one may fail to understand the feminisation of this sector. In fact, this limited focus reinforces the invisibility of women who have not followed a conventional path but are, in practice, carrying out urban planning tasks without having the title. In the end, such a focus could well underestimate the importance of longer processes of feminisation and propagates the idea that the feminisation of graduates came about thanks to a historical breakthrough while masking the role played by certain pioneering women.

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Abstract

Since 2001, an anti-discrimination policy within the City of Paris has encouraged the recruitment of women to decision-making positions, including to technical departments in the field of urban planning. As the feminisation of urban planning training courses had started several decades earlier, with variations depending on specialties, the City of Paris had no lack of qualified women candidates. My contribution will concentrate in particular on the Engineering School of the City of Paris.

Furthermore, for several years now, gendered strategies have been increasingly and explicitly developed in Parisian planning projects. While political will is essential to this dynamic, is it also possible to relate this phenomenon to the feminisation of training courses and departments in the field of planning? How does the presence of a critical mass of women, including in decision-making positions, explain this cultural evolution in urban planning today?

THE FEMINISATION OF DECISION-MAKING ROLES IN URBAN PLANNING AT PARIS CITY COUNCIL SINCE 2001 AND CONTEMPORARY CONSEQUENCES OF THIS PROCESS

By Lucile Biarrotte

1. Claire Varin, Secretary of State, The Women's Programme, & Tandem Montréal 43. *J'accuse la peur: Actes de la Conférence montréalaise sur les femmes et la sécurité urbaine* (1992); Aboubacar Sylla & Hélène Heurtel. *Enquête victimation et sentiment d'insécurité: Les spécificités de genre* (Paris: Institut d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme, 2016).

2. Sophie Louargant (ed.), *Mobilités: Toutes et tous égaux ?* (Grenoble: Éditions Université Grenoble Alpes, 2019).

3. My fieldwork study, spanning from 2014 to 2018, consisted of about twenty semi-directive interviews with elected representatives, staff, and external project management teams, as well as participative observation inside and outside Paris City Council at numerous internal or public meetings. I also analysed written documents and official communication materials.

For several decades now, public urban planning and development policies in a number of cities have been taking gender inequalities into account in terms of urban uses and experiences. Many feminist studies, including Francophone ones, have demonstrated that, as a social group, women experience a greater sense of insecurity than men in public spaces (Lieber, 2008), a finding that has been corroborated by public surveys¹. Combined with the way gender roles are differentiated in the sharing of paid and domestic work as well as in cultural or sporting activities (Maruéjols-Benoit, 2014), this feeling of insecurity and illegitimacy produces inequalities in mobility² and urban uses (Enjeu and Savé, 1975), to the detriment of women and gender and sexual minorities, resulting in a lesser enjoyment of their 'right to the city'.

These findings of gendered inequality in urban uses raise a number of questions, including that of participation in designing cities, in political, civic and professional terms. What are the positions of the groups and individuals who are responsible for deciding on the political orientation of these spaces (elected representatives, but also citizens involved in participatory schemes) and of the people who produce them (specialised professionals)? Do the gendered composition and culture of these groups explain, at least in part, the inequalities of use observed, by encouraging or reproducing them through certain urban forms?

My dissertation focuses on this precise question of the evolution of cultures and gender norms in the field of French urban planning over the last century, with Paris City Council³ providing the main contemporary case study. I followed the council's proj-

ect for the large-scale redevelopment of a number of public spaces, namely the following plazas: Bastille, Panthéon, Madeleine, Italie, Nation, Fêtes and Gambetta. In 2016, for the first time in the history of Parisian urban planning, the call for tenders required the presence of gender specialists in the four external project management teams (Delarc, 2018). I therefore had the opportunity to observe the planners grapple with these theoretical questions and see evolutions in their practices, both internally and externally to the council, in relation to this contemporary project that required them to factor gender inequalities into their thinking.

As it is common to hear that the consideration of gender inequalities in urban planning has lagged behind in France compared to many other countries (which is both true and false, but I do not deal with this point here), I sought to identify the potential causes that led to the explicit emergence of gender issues at this point in time in Paris. While the policies adopted by Anne Hidalgo, the Socialist mayor since 2014, officially seek to be increasingly feminist, this factor alone cannot explain the assimilation of egalitarian ideas and behaviour into such a large (55,000 employees) and compartmentalised organisation as the Paris City Council, because it takes a long time for mentalities and power relations to change (Perrier, 2015). Could this cultural evolution have come from further back? I had noticed that, contrary to the idea that urban development and planning are sectors still largely run by men, the Planning and Major Projects departments (Service Aménagement et Grands Projets, SAGP), a sub-division of the Roads and Transit Division (Direction de la Voirie et des Déplacements, DVD), was highly feminised, particularly at the decision-making level. What was the reason for this demographic peculiarity? And could it be linked to the broad assimilation of the gendered approach?

To explain this surprising discovery, I needed to look further back into the history of municipal management, to the 2001 election of A. Hidalgo's predecessor, Bertrand Delanoë, under whom she acted as deputy mayor (Hancock, 2017). I also examined the major demographic changes that have occurred in the training courses that lead to these posts. In this paper⁴

I therefore propose to consider individual career paths within the planning department (looking in particular at differences between the technical engineering specialities and the more social specialities of urban policy) in relation to the equality policies adopted and the demographic changes that have occurred in training courses and in local government civil service since the 1970s. On the basis of this reconstruction of a political and demographic evolution spanning the last two decades I form hypotheses about the recent development of explicitly gendered approaches in major projects for public spaces in Paris. In this way, I link the phenomenon of feminisation (which up to now has been assumed rather than actually demonstrated in the French urban planning sector) to the evolution of contemporary professional cultures and practices in a large municipal authority.

4. This text is composed of several excerpts from my thesis manuscript in the process of being finalised.

Decision-making and administrative parity: a strong political change under Delanoë

The election of Socialist B. Delanoë as mayor of Paris in 2001 had significant consequences for professional equality among Parisian civil servants. Indeed, an anti-discrimination policy, both within the executive team and among municipal employees, encouraged the appointment and recruitment of women to important and non-stereotypical decision-making positions, something which had been exceptional in previous administrations. This stance had an impact at the time in the urban planning and development sector, and continues to influence the organisation of certain departments today.

5. République Française, "Loi tendant à favoriser l'égal accès des femmes et des hommes aux mandats électoraux et fonctions électives", Pub. L. no. 2000 493, (2000).

6. Cited in Danielle Bousquet et al., "Quel partage du pouvoir entre les femmes et les hommes élu-e-s au niveau local ? État des lieux de la parité aux niveaux communal, intercommunal, départemental et régional", Haut Conseil à l'Égalité entre les femmes et les hommes, report n° 2012-01-27-PAR-026, (2017).

Non-stereotypical portfolios for deputy mayors

Elected one year after the adoption of the law on parity in politics⁵, Delanoë made it a point of honour to promote parity among his deputies, in quantitative terms but also qualitatively. He avoided allocating thematic portfolios according to a stereotypical gendered logic, for example promoting Anne Hidalgo to the symbolic position of first deputy mayor in charge of male-female equality and the Time Office (*Bureau des Temps*). In his second term, she remained first deputy mayor, this time in charge of transport, water and urban planning, while men were placed in charge of early childhood and school life. This went against the stereotypes still prevalent in the distribution of portfolios, as demonstrated by Michel Koebel and summarised in the following table, which nonetheless focuses on medium-sized cities (but the departmental and regional trends are comparable).⁶

Allocations	Share of women	Share of men	TOTAL GROSS
Finance	20.0%	80.0%	80
Urban planning / Construction	23.4%	76.6%	77
Sports	26.7%	73.3%	60
Construction / Traffic / Safety	29.0%	71.0%	107
Culture	37,3%	62,7%	67
Environment	44,6%	55,4%	56
Communication	45,0%	55,0%	20
Human resources / General affairs	47,7%	52,3%	44
Citizenship / Democracy	50.0%	50.0%	24
Youth	53.8%	46.2%	13
Employment / Training	55.6%	44.4%	9
Prevention	57.1%	42.9%	35
Civil status / Relationship with the citizens	58,1%	41,9%	31
Tourism / Commerce	63.0%	37.0%	46
School affairs	71.4%	28.6%	70
Activities / Community life	73.7%	26.3%	19
Neighborhoods	75.0%	25.0%	24
Social affairs	78.0%	22.0%	82
Children / Early childhood / Family	93.0%	6.7%	30
TOTAL GROSS	426	468	894
TOTAL IN%	47,7%	52,3%	100%

Figure 1: Deputy mayor duties in mid-sized cities according to gender (Koebel, 2014)

7. Frédéric Edel cites in particular the circular of 6 March 2000 pertaining to the 'preparation of multi-year plans to improve women's access to jobs and senior management positions in the State civil service', as well as the law of 9 May 2001 pertaining to 'professional equality between women and men', also applicable to the civil service.

8. Interview with two DVD employees, Mairie de Paris, 21 June 2016.

9. Interview with a DVD employee, Mairie de Paris, 22 June 2016.

Promoting women to decision-making positions in the administration

Tackling de facto inequalities, as had started to happen in the civil service in the early 2000s (Edel, 2013)⁷, Delanoë implemented a policy of professional equality within the municipality, including catch-up measures in departmental management structures to feminise decision-making positions, which was a radical departure from previous administrations as described by a DVD employee⁸:

When we went from Tiberi to Delanoë, it was a big leap forward! Clearly, Delanoë set the tone from the outset: there were as many women as men... from the outset, in his municipal team. There was a willingness to put women forward in management roles. I remember hearing unimaginable things! Before, ALL the department heads were men without exception. It was very, very macho! This was huge progress!

It is very likely that previously women's careers in these positions were subject to many obstacles: F. Edel cites the example of a civil servant working for the Lyon Urban Community whose complaint for indirect gender-based discrimination was recognised in 2012 by the Defender of Rights. Recruited in 1970 as an engineer, her professional advancement progressed at half the speed of her male counterparts, considerably stunting her career, which ended in 2007. The impression of improvement within the Paris City Council undoubtedly stood out all the more in comparison. This is confirmed by a female engineer⁹ who had been working for the City since the early 1980s and now held an important position within the SAGP:

In terms of promotion, for example, things have changed quite a bit. When I started working for the City, appointing a woman engineer in chief or putting a woman in charge of a section of the city, the parks and gardens or the roads, was still a bit unusual [laughs], well. Things have evolved now, very positively I think. In fact, to my knowledge, there are no longer any limitations in that sense. These things have to come down from the top, the fact managers are being told there has to be parity necessarily causes a trickle-down effect.

This choice of positive discrimination in favour of women whose careers had reached glass ceilings even encouraged some to actively seek jobs within the City. For example, an architect working in the same planning department explained to me that she had applied to all possible job announcements when B. Delanoë arrived and that she had succeeded in getting recruited in 2002.

More recently, other measures or practices have probably been put in place via human resources, particularly following the Sauvadet law of 2012, which imposed quotas of at least 40% of each gender in new appointments to senior posts in the three levels of the civil service since 2017 (Bereni and Revillard, 2015). However, due to the temporality of my investigation and my lack of knowledge of this law (which is not the central focus of my study), I did not observe any effects it may have had.

A constantly expanding pool of professionals trained since the 1970s

10. The data presented are divided into three categories: women (in turquoise), men (in yellow), indeterminate (in squares). The statistics are extrapolated from the first names of graduates, leaving a degree of indeterminacy for mixed first names in the 1970s (the most common being Dominique, Claude and Camille) and first names of foreign origin, particularly Asian first names, which were increasingly represented from the end of the 1980s onwards. There is occasional information on the marital status of some women when their marital names are registered, but this concerns only fourteen women between 1980 and 2000. Those who identified themselves by a gender other than their administrative first name were categorised according to their administrative first name, which effectively makes them invisible.

If women could be recruited to decision-making positions in technical services such as planning, it was because in the 2000s there was already a critical mass of women trained in engineering, architecture and urban planning, and who also had acquired the necessary years of experience, having started their careers between the late 1970s and the 1990s. Indeed, the City Council had no shortage of qualified women candidates, as the feminisation of urban planning training courses had begun several decades earlier (with some variations according to the areas of specialisation). The Ecole des Ingénieurs de la Ville de Paris (EIVP), for example, was attracting more women on average when compared to other engineering schools. In the historical part of my work, I have been able to reconstruct the proportion of feminisation within this school from 1969 to 2016 (see the graphs below)¹⁰.

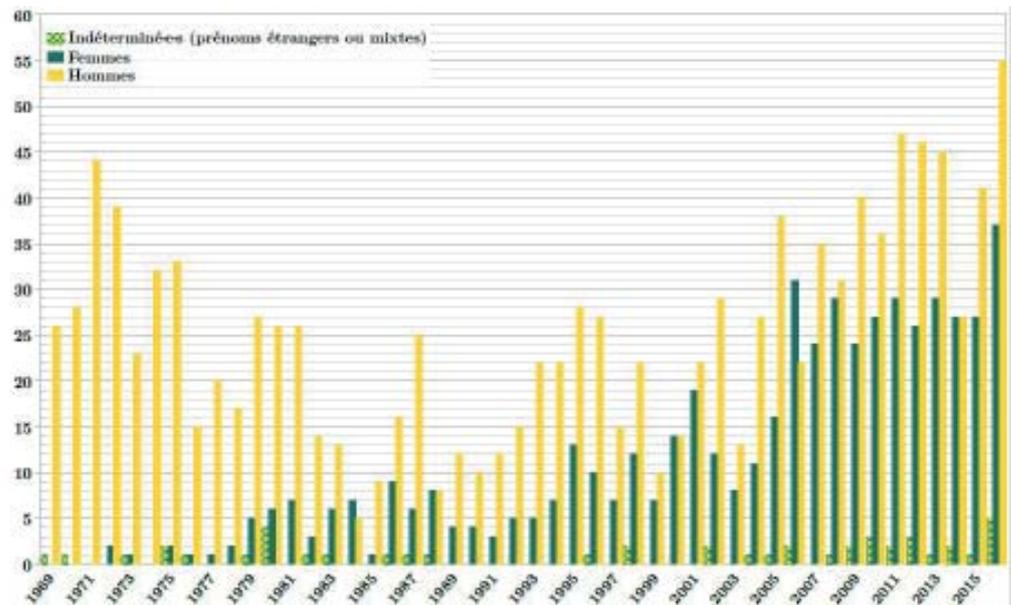


Figure 2: Graduates of the école des ingénieurs de la ville de paris (EIVP) by gender, from 1969 to 2016, comparison of gross numbers. Lucile Biarrotte

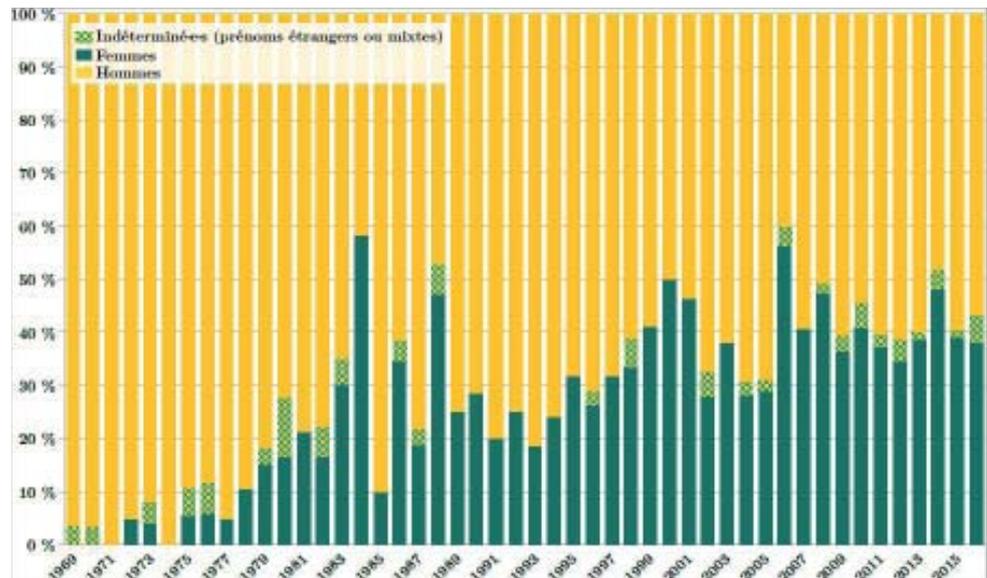


Figure 3: Graduates of the école des ingénieurs de la ville de paris (EIVP) by gender, from 1969 to 2016, comparison of gross enrolment numbers, cumulative percentages. Lucile Biarrotte.

These graphs summarise the available data on the gendered evolution of EIVP students from the late 1960s to the present. Of the 1788 graduates from this period, at least 534 are women from an administrative point of view, which represents 30% of the total number, with strong variations depending on the period. 45 people have first names that did not allow me to identify their administrative gender, which is mainly attributable to mixed male/female first names and also foreign names. There are 1209 male graduates, 68% of the total.

In the first three years of the series as well as in 1974 there were no female graduates (although there is the uncertainty of two mixed first names). The rest of the 1970s shows, with certainty, between one and two female graduates per graduating year, with the total graduation group size ranging from 17 to 41 over this period. A slight increase in the number of women is then observed from 1978 to 1994, each year showing between three and nine female students in graduation groups of between 12 and 36, except for 1985, when there was only one woman for a group of only 10 graduates. Over this period, women represented between 10% and 58% of the total number of students, with a record of 7 women out of 12 graduates in 1984.

By 1995, the increasing presence of women had become constant and significant, and from then on the proportion of women no longer fell below 26%. In 2000, parity was achieved, whereas at the same time women represented on average 22% of students enrolled in Paris engineering Grandes Écoles, including 14.2% at Polytechnique, 15.1% at Centrale Paris, and 18% at Ponts et Chaussées. Yet, the figures in schools focusing on the environment, agronomy or chemistry were much higher (Marry, 2004). Despite dropping in the next few years, the number of female graduates per class grew again quite significantly thereafter, exceeding 50 in 2005, and totalling almost 100 graduates in 2016. Over the last 11 years, the propor-

11. According to Jacqueline Magnier and Clémentine Marchal, 61% of local authority civil servants are women, compared to 52% for the State civil service, which can be seen in the differences in the feminisation rates of the Grandes Écoles leading to senior civil service posts, those of the Institut National des Études Territoriales being higher than those of the École Nationale d'Administration, for example.

12. I determined the gender of the people on the basis of their first names in the organisation charts I was able to consult, which leaves room for error and renders people invisible if they don't recognise themselves in the gender traditionally attached to their first name.

13. The organisation chart I had been given presented employee functions in their feminised forms

14. It is still difficult today to put these figures into perspective with precise national statistics: the available analyses are all generalist. According to the 'Fiche thématique sur les caractéristiques principales des agents de la fonction publique'[Fact sheet on the main characteristics of civil servants] included in the 2018 Annual Report on the Civil Service, in 2016, women accounted for approximately 61% of the municipal and total local government civil service (FPT) workforce, but only slightly more than 40% of the workforce in technical areas, which include urban planning departments. However, the share of women in senior management or executive positions and bodies in the FPT fell to 30.8%.

15. Interview with a DVD employee, 18 December 2017.

tion of female students at the EIVP has averaged 40%, ranging from 29% (in 2005) to 56% (in 2006), whereas the average rate of feminisation in public engineering schools was 30.2% at the start of the 2014 academic year (Métayer et al., 2015, p. 140).

My investigation did not focus on the reasons for the greater feminisation of this school compared to other engineering schools, as my priority was to find statistical data to provide me with a framework to study the gendered evolution of urban planning professions. However, I can offer two related hypotheses to explain this phenomenon: first, the attractiveness of the local government jobs to which the EIVP leads for women, and, second, the fact that there may be less competition at the level of recruitment competitions, this school being less prestigious than the Ponts et Chaussées for example (Magnier and Marchal, 2015).¹¹ This question clearly deserves to be explored further.

The progressive feminisation of decision-making positions in the planning services has therefore also been based on the demographic phenomenon of the feminisation of training and then of professions since the 1980s as far as local authority engineering is concerned.

Contemporary consequences of these demographic developments and political choices

This decision to promote women's careers in areas where they faced more obstacles than men has consequences that are still palpable today in the composition of organisational charts.¹² Surprisingly, while 'women are strongly under-represented at the head of large local authorities' (Sam-Giao, 2015), the number of women managers seems to be quite high despite the 'pyramid of glass ceilings'.

The SAGP, a practically gender-equal technical department run by women

In 2016, the SAGP was composed of 26 women (45% of the workforce) compared to 32 men.¹⁴ Interestingly, women occupied the four most important positions, the management of the department and the three sub-departments (the architectural and technical studies offices as well as operations management, and the financial affairs and general administration division).¹⁵ In addition, most of the administrative support positions (secretarial and accounting: six women/one man) were also held by women, while the positions that appeared to be highly specialised and solitary were all held by men.

There was an awareness of these gender specificities among many people working in these departments. A female engineer in charge of monitoring one of the seven plazas explained these gendered sub-segmentations to me as follows:¹⁶

16. Catherine Marry et al. "Le genre des administrations. La fabrication des inégalités de carrière entre hommes et femmes dans la haute fonction publique", *Revue française d'administration publique*, vol. 1, no. 153 (2015): 45-68.

In this department, yes, I find it very balanced. However, when you're working on a building site, I don't! That's for sure, on a building site in general I'm the only woman, or there are two of us [...] In fact in projects like ours, that is to say projects that are less super technical, and more about the big picture, with more coordination, there are more women [...] For example we have four architects and now it's four men, but last year we had two men and two women, so it was more balanced. The engineers doing the project management are only men. There are more men than women doing the drafting, but there are also women. But when it is super technical, really only about the technical side, then yes, there are more men than women.

This observation was one of the first surprises during my survey, which did not correspond to the idea of a city 'made by and for men', in the same way as what the historical statistics later suggested. Obviously, it would be interesting to compare the organisation charts of all the offices and departments involved in planning, and to find out whether certain specialities are more feminised than others (such as transport, green spaces, security, urban policy, civic participation, etc.).

Another detailed DVD organisation chart I was provided with allowed a gender-based count of management and deputy management roles, but not functions below that level, for which only the employees' initials were provided. The managerial functions were shared by four women and eight men, supported by four female and five male assistants (as well as two persons of unidentified gender). This corresponded to between 35% and 43% of women in leadership positions at the DVD in September 2016. This result contrasts with Clara Greed's descriptions of Britain in the 1990s, where few women had yet reached 'senior' positions in the planning sector: less than 5% of such positions were held by women in London (Greed, 1994, p. 25). For the French local authorities of the 1990s, according to Muriel Sam-Giao, only 10% of senior management positions were held by women, and 20% to 25% of deputy general management positions, compared to between 55% and 60% in senior management positions (which seems to correspond more closely to the level studied here). Details of the distributions by speciality are not easy to find, however, and I remain confronted with comparative limitations when it comes to finding contextual data, with the largest studies focusing mainly on the State civil service.²

Clara Greed argued that putting in place policies and attitudes that are attentive to women (and therefore to gender today) requires that a critical mass of women professionals reaches these positions. I would therefore like to consider whether there is a correlation between the significant proportion of women currently in decision-making positions in Paris (although this remains to be demonstrated in all departments) and the emergence of the question of gender in some of the City Council's projects.

What influence do 'concerned parties' have on the explicit appearance of gender in Parisian projects?

The theme of gender and public space has emerged as an important issue in the last five years within Paris City Council, notably with the publication of a dedicated handbook, the *Guide référentiel : Genre et espace public*¹⁷ and the integration of gender expertise in the call for tenders for the re-development of seven major plazas.¹⁸ Can a link be made between professional trends showing increasing feminisation and the explicit appearance of gender as a concept within urban planning practices?

17. Service Égalité Intégration Inclusion, *Guide référentiel: Genre et espace public* (2016), <https://api-site.paris.fr/images/85756>.

18. See in particular the proceedings of the 2015 seminar 'Réinventons nos places' and the toolbox on public spaces available on the site of the Atelier parisien d'urbanisme (APUR), <https://www.apur.org/fr/nos-travaux/reamenagements-7-places-parisiennes>.

While I had the opportunity to observe these major demographic changes in training and the departments, and was also able to explain them in terms of political will, at this point it is still difficult for me to go beyond hypotheses with regard to the role of the 'concerned parties' affected by gender discrimination and how policies take them into account. In the latter category I include people who may have suffered gendered discrimination in the course of their lives and professional careers, and who have also potentially been educated in a logic of 'care', which is to say mainly people with a female gender identity, but also sexual and gender minorities (Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer – LGBTIQ+). It can also include men who have experienced discrimination, namely racist discrimination.

This hypothesis that the emergence of gendered approaches is in part due to the demographic evolution of the professional environment and to the current presence of a critical mass of parties concerned by discrimination stems from the counts I made at awareness-raising talks, working meetings and training sessions. The vast majority of the people speaking at these events and attending them corresponded to female gender identities (when I had access to the list of registered participants) or had passed as females. A notable fact stood out regarding the men present at meetings dedicated to local authorities, such as those organised by the Centre Hubertine Auclert: they were mostly racialised. Did the experience of racism make them more aware of discrimination in general, and sexism in particular, than men who had not experienced racism? This line of intersectional analysis merits further research.

Finally, being a woman is by no means enough to be aware of gender inequalities, as some of my interactions have shown me. Many women architects or engineers in important decision-making positions, having spent their entire careers in an environment that remained predominantly male, seem dubious about the gender issue. It would seem that the posture of 'neutrality' that they have sometimes adopted during their careers, precisely to make people forget that they are women, is in contradiction with the explicit political demand to address gender inequalities through their work. Conversely, younger cisgender men who have become aware of the subject in their training may be much more sensitive to this approach. In this sense 'concerned parties' may more accurately refer here to people

who are concerned by gender inequalities and who adopt feminist postures. Hence, perhaps, the interest in developing gender studies in initial and continuing training.

The significant presence of professional women in a technical planning department of a large city council, linked to these cumulative factors (the feminisation of urban planning training, the feminisation of the local civil service, positive discrimination) in any case debunks the idea that urban planning is still mainly carried out by men today. Nonetheless, I am not in a position to generalise this result, either at the level of French metropolitan areas or to all French local authorities. In order to understand how this demographic particularity may or may not influence the dominant values in this professional environment, ways of thinking about planning, and for whom and for what uses, it would be important to much more precisely measure the gendered evolutions of these environments. The figures I refer to here are only preliminary exploratory avenues that merit further research on a wider scale.

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PART 2

ARCHITECTURE AND LANDSCAPE

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Abstract

The slow feminization of the Order of Architects raises questions: has a process of gender discrimination been at work? The analysis of the registration mechanisms (1940-1968) with the Regional Order of the Paris district (Ile-de-France) shows that two logics were put in place in 1940: a verification of the competence of the applicants via the architectural diploma, on the one hand, which is part of the movement towards professionalization of the profession; an exclusion of Jews and foreigners on the other hand, which refers to the anti-Semitic and xenophobic policies of the Vichy regime. Although foreign women represent an important part of students and graduates of architecture schools, it seems that this process of exclusion has not been very effective for women: women born abroad are present from 1942 in Order and represent 30% of registrants and women authorized to practice after 1950. It is possible that some of them acquired French nationality before entering the Order, but also that the registration rules foreigners and the recognition of foreign diplomas became more flexible in the 1950s and 1960s.

THE FRENCH ORDER OF ARCHITECTS VIEWED THROUGH THE PRISM OF GENDER:

ANALYSIS OF THE REGISTRATION AND SELECTION PROCESSES AT THE ÎLE DE FRANCE (GREATER PARIS) REGIONAL CHAPTER, 1942-1968

By Stéphanie Bouysse-Mesnage

In France today, the Order of Architects counts some 8500 women among its 29,700 members (28.6% of the total). This figure shows that, some 80 years after its creation, this institution still has not achieved equal representation of women and men. Although the statistics concerning new memberships are more 'encouraging' (48.9% of members in the under 35 category are women) and point to a progressive and continuous feminisation of this professional order, the persistent gap between the rate of feminisation of architecture schools (close to 60%) and that of the Order of Architects raises questions.¹

1. See data for the year 2017 in the "Archigraphie 2018" (Report, Observatoire de la profession d'architecte, Ordre des Architectes, 2018), 16 and 18.

Sociological studies indicate, on the one hand, that the feminisation of the architectural profession, which began in earnest in the 1970s and 1980s, i.e. three decades later than in other so-called "liberal" freelance professions (Lapeyre, 2006, p. 89), went hand in hand with a reconfiguration of the sector, whereby men practised as freelance architects and women worked as salaried employees of offices, a status that does not necessarily require registration with the Order (Chadoin, 2013, p. 69). The fact that women entered the profession in a context marked by economic crisis and a sharp increase in the number of graduates (a context that prevented them from entering the professional world in the traditional way) has been identified, on the other hand, as one of the reasons why women do not automatically

enroll in the Order after graduation (Lapeyre, 2006, p. 92). Other causes, such as some members dropping out of the Order in the course of their careers, have also been identified.

2. For example: the first gendered statistics of this professional order were compiled in the early 1980s.

We propose to conduct an additional analysis concerning the little-studied period prior to 1968.² This historical study is developed from the institution itself, examining its membership procedures through the category of gender (Scott, 1988), in order to understand the mechanisms at work in the membership process. In the first decades of the Order's existence, was it difficult for women to become members?

The initial hypothesis is that, within the Order, a selection was made from among the applicants at the moment of their registration with a regional chapter and that this was a gendered process particularly affecting women who, after being sworn in, nevertheless remained registered for several consecutive years.

Did those applying for registration with the Order of Architects undergo a selection process? And if so, on what basis? Is gender a relevant category of analysis to study this process? If so, what does it reveal? Is the Order, in short, an institution that makes women invisible?

3. Stéphanie Bouysse-Mesnager, "Pionnières et maître-sse-s d'œuvre en France, 1940-1975. Les femmes du 3^e atelier d'Auguste Perret à l'École des beaux-arts" (PhD thesis in History, University of Strasbourg, in progress).

Elaborated as part of a doctoral dissertation,³ the following text presents a number of findings, based on the analysis of regulatory texts⁴ and archives. It is centred on the Île-de-France chapter of the Order of Architects – the chapter that has historically had the highest number of members in France.

4. As the Order of Architects is a private body responsible for public service missions, it is governed by regulatory texts (laws, decrees, orders) which determine its organisation.

Our original intention had been to cover the period between the creation of the Order and the 2000s, but we narrowed the time frame to 1942-1968 in order to produce a more relevant study on these earlier years preceding the sharp increase in the number of women graduates and registrations (from 1969 onwards) while seeking to develop a differentiated view according to the periods.

The Creation of the Order, a stage of the institutionalisation process

The Order of Architects was created at the end of 1940, following the example of other professional orders, such as that of doctors, pharmacists and dentists (Rouso, 2016, p. 52). While this falls in the political context of the Vichy regime, the Order's foundation has to be seen more broadly in the long process of institutionalisation of the architectural profession going back to the nineteenth century. Professional societies of architects, the first of which (the Société d'Architecture) appeared as early as the 1810s, attempted to organise the profession and campaigned, in particular, for the creation of a degree as a guarantee of competence. This finally took place in 1867 and was officially confirmed by legal decree in 1874, while

the title of 'Architecte Diplômé par le Gouvernement' was instituted by decree in 1914. It should be remembered that one of the main concerns for the profession in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was to separate the wheat from the chaff, i.e. to weed out the incompetent architect-contractors, surveyors' clerks and other incompetent 'con artists' who called themselves architects. At the time, the title of architect was not regulated, one simply paid for a commercial licence to practise as one (Dumont, 1989, p. 6). In 1895, Julien Guadet wrote a founding text known as the *Code Guadet*, which defined the architect's professional status, distinguishing it from the commercial status of the contractor. During the interwar period, several draft laws were presented and debated concerning the protection of the title of architect and the regulation of the profession, however they were never adopted (Boucher-Hedenström and Voldman, 1992, p. 33-4).

Between the 'law instituting the Order of Architects and regulating the title and profession of architect' of 31 December 1940 and the texts promulgated until 1947, which, in particular, extended the application of the founding law to Algeria and French overseas territories, a whole set of regulatory texts defining criteria for membership of the Order and the use of the title of architect were promulgated. These texts remained in force until the end of the 1970s.

The four main conditions defined by the law for access to the Order (to be of French nationality, to enjoy full civil rights, to hold a degree and to present the necessary guarantees of morality) are highly selective: Danièle Voldman points out that, of the 12,000 practitioners registered before the Second World War, only 6,400 remained registered when France was liberated (Voldman, 2020, p. 195).

While, to our knowledge, few women were members of the professional societies of architects – some, like Jeanne Besson-Surugue and Marie Sappareva, were members of the Society of Government Certified Architects (Mesnage, 2009, p. 58) – and while it is not known whether or not they participated in the debates concerning the regulation of the profession, they were nonetheless among the first to be registered with the Order from 1940. Although they are not specifically mentioned in the regulatory texts pertaining to registration conditions (which is not surprising in a context where women were pushed out of the professional sphere by a regime that encouraged them to procreate (Capdevila et al., 2003)), there were no criteria prohibiting women from becoming members. The fact that a group of 16 women were sworn in on 1942 seems to indicate that some women had been waiting for the creation of such a body or that they had hoped, at least, to become part of the project management community to which they still had little access (Bouysse-Mesnage, 2018, p. 74).

The graph displaying the number of women (per year) affiliated with this regional chapter of the Order as registered architects, 'foreign architects'

5. The years 1944, 1947, 1959 and 1969 show very small numbers compared to the other years studied: this is explained by the absence from the archives of the registers for the years 1944, 1945, 1947, 1948, 1960 and 1970. For some years therefore, the data are incomplete.

(with the status of *architecte étranger*, AE) or 'honorary architects' (*architecte honoraire*, AH) (Fig. 1), reveals a steady increase over the years.⁵ A total of 142 women joined this regional chapter between 1942 and 1968. However, they were still in the minority, representing 0.60% of the workforce in 1942, 1.43% in 1960 and 2.42% in 1968. It should be noted that ordinal population changed little after 1950, when it stabilised at around 4,000 (Fig. 2).

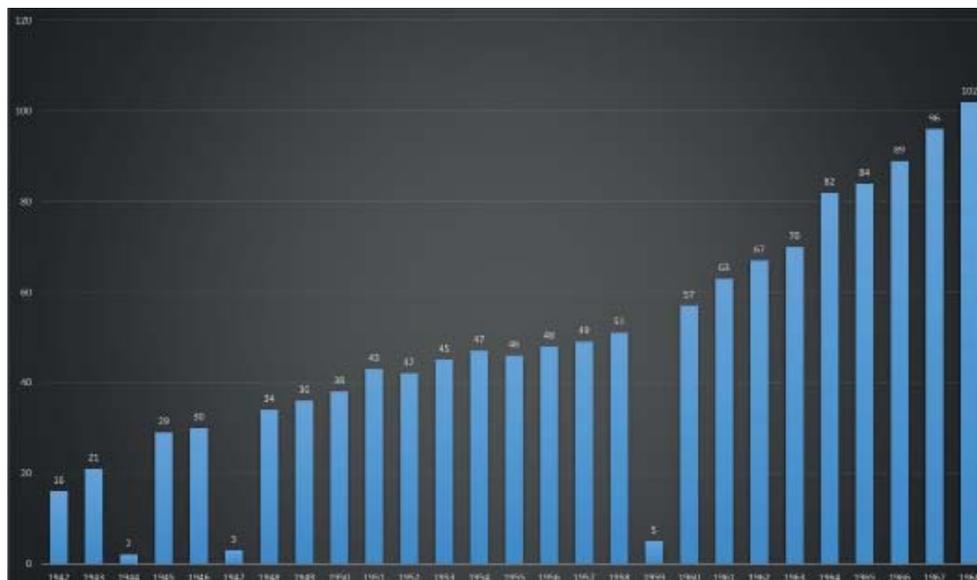


Figure 1

Year	Number of women (registered or 'foreign architects' or 'honorary architects')	Total number of architects (registered or 'foreign architects' or 'honorary architects')	Proportion of Women
1942	16	2850	0,56%
1950	38	4020	0,95%
1960	57	4000	1,43%
1968	102	4220	2,42%

Figure 2

6. Archives de Paris 2327W/26.

In concrete terms, how did a practitioner become a member of the Order? Candidates who wished to join submitted an application file, which was examined and for which a favourable or unfavourable opinion was issued. The consultation of some of the favourable and unfavourable opinions recorded in the registers (1942-1979)⁶ (Fig. 3), sheds considerable light on the procedure used for examining applications. While the identity of the person (or persons) issuing the opinion is not known (a commission?), the name of a rapporteur is sometimes mentioned. In the event of an unfavourable opinion, the candidate sometimes appealed and the application was then examined by the High Council (*Conseil Supérieur*), which could ask for further investigation or rule to reject the application definitively. A provisional analysis of these registers tends to show that the evaluation of applications consisted mainly, at least in the years following the creation of the Order, in checking that the applications satisfied the criteria defined by the regulatory texts, with the obvious aim of excluding incompetent

N°	Noms	Date de naissance	Qualité	Date de l'acte	Délibération du Conseil Supérieur	Observations
1	André Jaquez	8.6.42	architecte, architecte, architecte sans titre et architecte	11.5.42	complément d'inscrit. ECP architecte	
2	Christiane Marcella	13.2.42	en position administrative d'architecte	19.2.42	10.1.43 ECP architecte / 22.4.43 Admis par décision de son ordre professionnel	
3	André Jaquez	23.6.42	architecte sans titre	11.8.42	12.4.42 ECP architecte	inscrit à partir de profession à 23.4.42 Admis - inscrit
4	Clément Regis	6.8.42	en exp. de patrice en fait et de droit sans inscription	16.7.42	21.10.42 ECP architecte	
5	André Fille	5.11.42	jeu de golf, cours prof. d'architecture, directeur de St. S. St.	8.4.42	11.2.43 27.1.43 complément inscrit / patrice architecte ECP architecte	
6	André Jaquez	5.11.42	patrice inscrit	15.5.43	complément inscription ECP architecte	
7	André Jaquez	16.12.42	architecte sans titre	1.1.43	patrice inscrit inscription Admis	
8	André Jaquez	9.1.43	St. S. St. directeur de St. S. St.	9.2.43	1.5.43 ECP architecte / examen Admis	en position inscrit Admis
9	André Jaquez	9.1.43	architecte sans titre	12.2.43	12.2.43 ECP architecte	
10	André Jaquez	16.5.43	architecte sans titre		sans inscrit	
11	André Jaquez	29.5.43	architecte inscrit		en son ordre - Admis	inscrit ECP
12	André Jaquez	13.5.43	architecte sans titre		Admis et inscrit	inscription inscrit
13	André Jaquez	4.7.43	architecte inscrit		en son ordre	

Figure 3

7. Order of 31 May 1941 (JO no. 155 dated 05/06/1941), Law of 21 September 1941 (JO no. 275 dated 05/10/1941).

8. Order of 6 January 1942 (exception: ECP degree awarded between 1 September 1924 and 1 September 1939) (JO no. 12 dated 14/01/1942).

9. Order of 25 May 1943 (JO no. 135 dated 06/06/1943).

practitioners. The reasons given for an unfavourable opinion thus mainly refer to the absence of a patent and/or a degree (the comment 'no degree or patent' recurs frequently). With regard to the degree, it should be remembered that, initially⁷, degrees awarded by four schools before 31 July 1942, were recognised (the architecture section of the École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts (ENSBA), the École Spéciale d'Architecture (ESA), the architecture section of the École nationale supérieure des arts décoratifs (ENSAD), and the École spéciale des travaux publics, du bâtiment et de l'industrie (ESTP), which awarded an architectural engineering degree); subsequently only ENSBA⁸ and ESA⁹ graduates were allowed to join. Nonetheless, these schools were not the only ones training architects in France, since engineering schools had also been providing this training since the beginning of the nineteenth century (Callebat, 1998, p. 231).

The practice of a professional activity that does not fall within the scope of architecture (property administrators, road officers, quantity surveyors, etc.) was the other main cause for rejection, particularly if carried out as a contractor. The so-called 'Finet' law of 31 August 1947, which re-enacted the provision of the 1940 law allowing civil servants and patent holders to register with the Order, was mentioned regularly in one of the registers after 1947, without it being clear why. Were applicants wrongly invoking the Finet law as grounds for registration when their situation did not correspond to what was designated by the text of the law? More occasionally, false declarations or the illegal use of the title of architect were mentioned as grounds for refusal. Although the presentation of guarantees of good character was one of the criteria stipulated by the Order's founding law, how exactly rejections could be motivated by questions of reputation and

morality is unclear. Does this criterion of morality serve to exclude practitioners whose reputation would be detrimental to the image of the profession – in keeping with the aim of professionalising the practice? Or was it a way of excluding undesirables, which would imply that this procedure included a selection of candidates? Danièle Voldman states that known opponents to the government and Freemasons were excluded from the Order when it was created (Voldman, 2020, p. 195). Was this criterion used to exclude such individuals? There is no evidence of this to date.

Women rarely feature in these registers; in the register supposed to summarise all the unfavourable opinions issued between 1942 and 1963, only three women were identified (Édith Aujame, Renée Desnoul and Hermine Laurent). An unfavourable opinion was issued in the 1950s concerning two of them, due to the non-conformity of their degrees.

The exclusion of Jews and foreigners by the Vichy regime

In parallel to this process of professionalisation, a process of exclusion or quasi-exclusion of certain populations was taking place within the Order, as part of the antisemitic and xenophobic policies implemented by the Vichy political regime.

Jews were virtually excluded from the Order as early as 1941, with the introduction of a 2% quota¹⁰ which probably remained in effect until the repeal of the racial laws in 1945.

10. No. 4133, decree of 24 September 1941 regulating the practice of architecture by Jews (JO no. 266 dated 25/09/1941).

While foreigners were not subject to quotas as far as we know, the criteria defined for entry into the Order in the 1940s made it virtually impossible for them to join. For those who did not hold French nationality, the law stated that 'nationals of foreign nations will be authorised to practise the profession of architect in France under the conditions of reciprocity stipulated by diplomatic conventions and on proof of qualifications equivalent to the degree required of French architects'. This authorisation was granted by decision of the Secretary of State for Public Instruction taken in agreement with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and after the approval of the High Council of the Order of Architects. Finally, the text of the law specifies that 'these architects will not be members of the Order, but subject to its disciplinary oversight'. The archives of the *Journal Officiel de l'Etat Français* (JO) contain records of the ministerial orders authorising, on a case-by-case basis, foreign architects to practise in France: for example, in 1942, Georges Popesco, a Romanian national residing in Gap, was authorised to practise as an architect in France by an order issued on 14 October 1942.¹¹

11. JO no. 311 dated 28-29/12/1942.

Thus, the procedures in effect discouraged foreign architects from joining the Order. Besides, they could not become full members and be sworn in, but simply authorised to practise. Assigning foreigners to this sub-category

deprived them of the symbolic and professional benefits of bearing the title of architect (as recognised and legitimate practitioners displaying membership in a professional body, etc.). It is not known up to what date this virtual exclusion of foreigners from the Order was maintained. Although the regulatory provisions did not change until the law on architecture of 3 January 1977, it seems that, in practice, these prohibitive measures were relaxed in the 1960s – we will discuss this point further below.

We are assuming the hypothesis that women were particularly affected by this exclusion of foreigners, since a significant proportion of female students attending French architecture schools between 1880 and 1968 were born outside France.

Women first entered these schools in the late nineteenth century (Laura White was the first student at ESA in 1883; Julia Morgan was the first woman to be admitted to study architecture at ENSBA in 1898), and from 1915-1920 onwards women were enrolling continuously; however, they remained a small minority of the overall student body (the 570 female architecture students enrolled at ENSBA during 1898-1968 represent only 3.14% of the total number of students for that period)¹² and it was not until the end of the 1960s that their numbers increased more significantly, when the system of architectural education was reformed. Many of these female students were foreign-born, as was the case of the two pioneering American women cited above, and the Russian architect Lydie Issacovitch, ESA's first female graduate (1906).

Coming from all over the world (Europe, Asia, America, Africa), the majority of these female students were born in a Central European country (Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, former Yugoslavia), in Russia, in the United States or in a country of North Africa or the Middle East (Algeria, Morocco, Egypt). They often arrived with a solid academic background, as in the example of Vera Jansone, who had obtained three degrees in Latvia (bachelor's degree, higher education certificate, state architect's degree) and had started a PhD in architecture at Vienna Technical University (Bouysse-Mesnage, PhD) when she was admitted to ENSBA in 1945/1946. The arrival of these female students is partly explained by the worldwide reputation of French teaching (especially at ENSBA), but also, and perhaps above all, can be attributed to the diplomatic relations that France maintained with these different countries and to the global geopolitical context (Cabanis, 2009). Thus, for example, many women (especially Jewish women) oppressed by the Russian Empire and excluded from universities in 1863 chose exile to pursue higher studies (Gouzevitch and Gouževitch, 2000, p. 61-62).

While gender and country of birth statistics are not available for all students at these schools, we can provide some indications: 26% of the 360 female students at ESA (1880-1968)¹³ and 15% of the female students at ENSBA (1898-1968) were born abroad – a percentage (15%) that is reflect-

12. See the dissertations of Lydie Mouchel, "Femmes architectes 'une histoire à écrire'", 2000, and Stéphanie Bouysse-Mesnage, "Pionnières et maître-sse-s d'œuvre en France, 1940-1975. Les femmes du 3e atelier d'Auguste Perret à l'École des beaux-arts" (PhD thesis in History, University of Strasbourg, in progress).

13. Statistics from the PhD work in progress

14. Statistics drawn from the *Dictionnaire des élèves architectes*. See *Dictionnaire des élèves architectes de l'École des beaux-arts de Paris (1800-1968)*, AGORHA, (Paris: Institut national d'histoire de l'art), <http://www.purl.org/inha/agorha/001/7>, consulted 1 June 2020.

ed in the share of foreign-born women among the graduates of the latter school, between 1930 and 1949.¹⁴

At the level of the Paris area chapter of the Order, an analysis of the countries of birth of new registrants or authorised architects (1942-1968) (Fig. 4) shows that, for the 1940s (1942-1949), foreign-born women represented only 9.09% of new members (or authorised foreign architects, AE), while for the following two decades the phenomenon seems, surprisingly, to be reversed with the percentage standing at around 30% (1950-1959: 33.33%; 1960-1968: 30.65%). These data tend to demonstrate that 1950 was a pivotal year between a period in which few foreign-born women joined the regional chapter and a period in which foreign-born women accounted for a third of new registrants. It is therefore not so certain that the Order, and this regional chapter in particular, excluded foreign women. The question remains, however, whether or not these women acquired French nationality in the meantime (an analysis that has been impossible to carry out to date).

Country of birth of women newly registered or newly authorized to practice as 'foreign architects', Ile-de-France chapter of the Order of Architects, 1942-1949

Country of birth of women (registered or foreign architects)	Percentage
France	70,45%
Foreign countries	9,09%
Country of birth not known	20,45%
	100,00%

Country of birth of women newly registered or newly authorized to practice as 'foreign architects', Ile-de-France chapter of the Order of Architects, 1950-1959

Country of birth of women (registered or foreign architects)	Percentage
France	56,76%
Foreign countries	32,43%
Country of birth not known	10,81%
	100,00%

Country of birth of women newly registered or newly authorized to practice as 'foreign architects', Ile-de-France chapter of the Order of Architects, 1960-1968

Country of birth of women (registered or foreign architects)	Percentage
France	66,67%
Foreign countries	30,16%
Country of birth not known	3,17%
	100,00%

Figure 4

15. Total number of women registered, women authorised to practise as foreign architects and honorary architects.

What status did women have within the Order? Our analyses show that, among the new registrants (or those authorised to practise), the proportion of women authorised as foreign architects (AE) was minimal compared to the number of registered architects: the average number of women AE per year was 0.5 (Fig. 5), representing between 3% and 10% of the num-

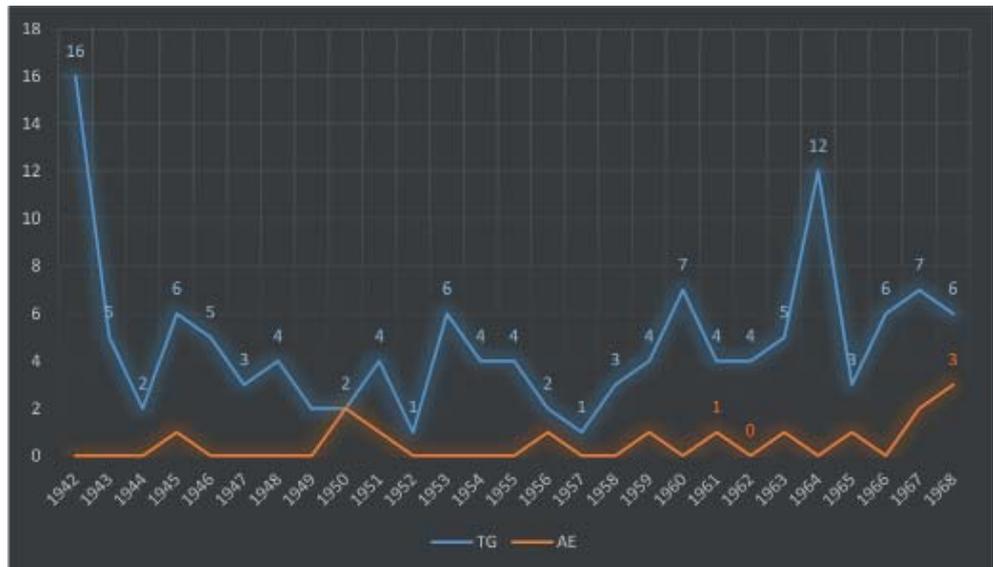


Figure 5

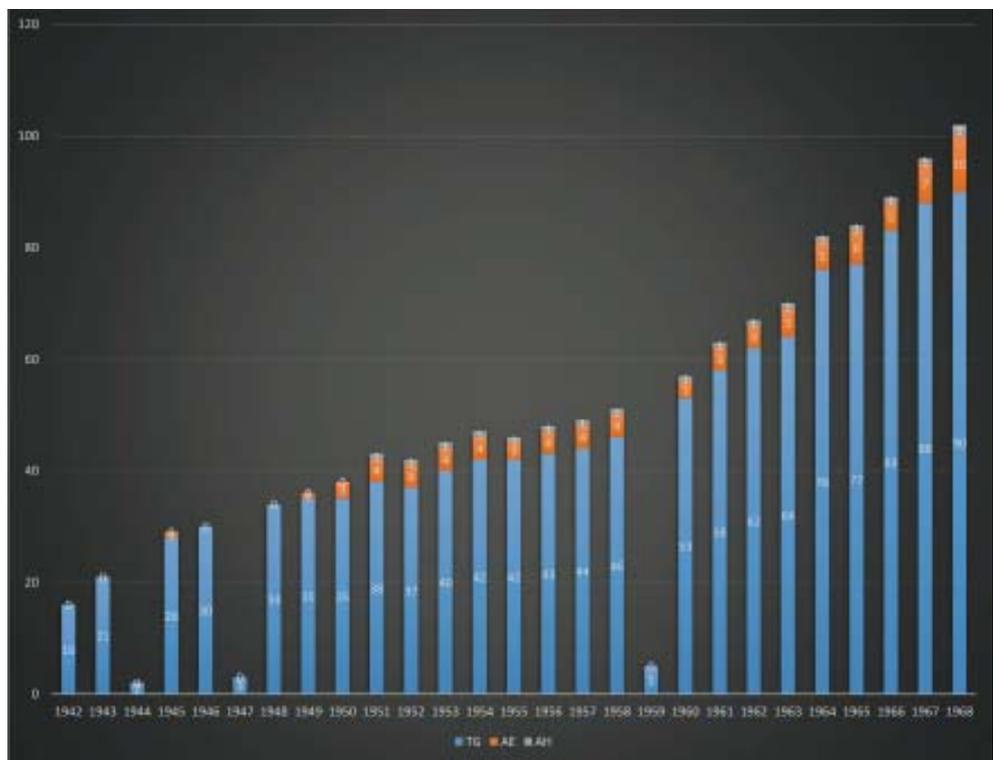


Figure 6

ber of women registered or authorised¹⁵ (Fig. 6) per year with this regional chapter over the period 1942-1968. Thus, not all women born abroad were counted among the ‘foreign architects’ authorised to practise, as a proportion of them were registered as full members.

It is possible that some of these women acquired French nationality, for example through marriage, and that they possessed a French degree, two ‘key’ conditions for access to the Order; this is the case of Bucharest-born Nadia Godar (Devinoy), who graduated from ENSBA in 1958 and who acquired French nationality through marriage (1950). It may also be possible that the rules concerning the registration of non-French architects in the Order were relaxed in practice.

16. Archives de Paris, 2327W/26.

While the opinions recorded in the register show that some women were refused authorisation to practise as AEs in the 1960s due to the lack of reciprocity agreements (for example, Alicia Listowska or Listowski, born in Lodz in 1932, a graduate of Warsaw Polytechnic, received an unfavourable opinion in 1967, as there was no diplomatic agreement with Poland at that time),¹⁶ an analysis of the degrees held by newly registered or authorised women AE suggests that the rules concerning the recognition of foreign degrees were relaxed in the 1950s and especially in the 1960s. Indeed, one can observe a gradual increase in degrees obtained abroad and their diversification: the share of women with a foreign degree rose from 0% in the 1940s to 20.24% in the 1960s (Figs. 7, 8 and 9) – a decade in which women AE accounted for 12.70% of new registrants (or new ‘AE’ authorisations) on average. In short: women who did not hold a French degree were regularly registered with this regional chapter of the Order, even before the conditions for registration officially changed (in 1977), which shows that a relaxation or modification of the regulations concerning the recognition of foreign degrees took place in the 1950s and 1960s.

	<i>Share of women who graduated from a foreign institution</i>	<i>Share of women graduates of French institutions</i>	<i>Share of women whose degree is not known</i>
1940-1949	0%	86,36%	13,64%
1950-1959	13,51%	86,49%	0%
1960-1969	20,24%	76,19%	3,57%

Figure 7

Conclusion

These findings will not be complete without a relational analysis taking into account all new members (women and men); nevertheless, the research we have conducted tends to show that during this early period in the existence of this regional chapter of the Order, women, who only represented a small part of architecture graduates at the time¹⁷, gradually entered to the institution. A female presence was constituted, made up of architects who had mainly studied in France, the vast majority of whom held French nationality. There were few foreign-born women present before 1950 – the exclusion of foreigners may have discouraged women from applying for an authorisation in the 1940s. After 1950, the situation changed and calls for further research to understand whether, in fact, a relaxation of the rules took place allowing for the recognition of foreign degrees and the awarding of membership to architects who did not hold French nationality.

17. For example, it is estimated they represented 2% of ENSBA graduates (architecture section) between 1930 and 1949.

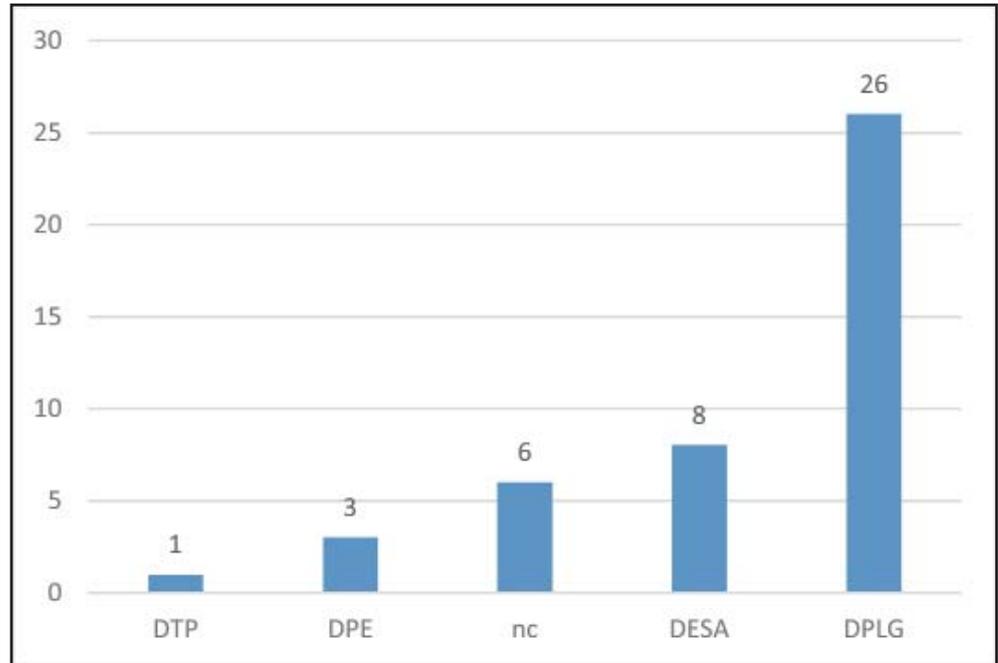


Figure 8

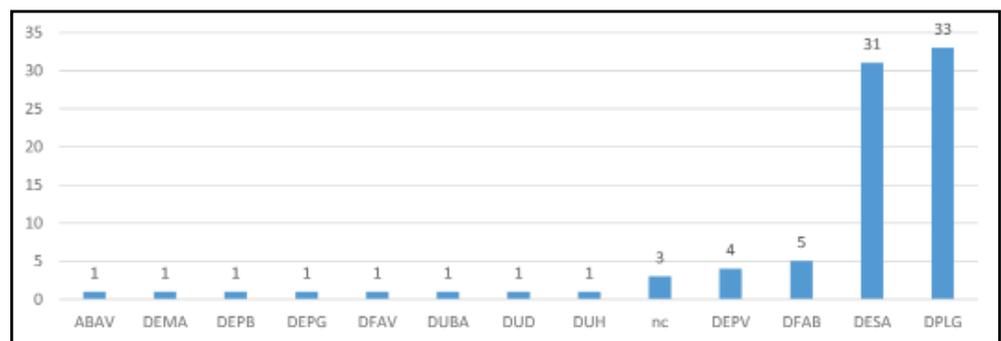


Figure 9

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Abstract

Today many women work as landscape architects. The history of this profession is still being defined and is better known in terms of its male protagonists. We know however that women landscape architects played a significant role in the emergence of this profession, which is both new and rooted in the historic tradition of garden art. Our presentation is based on research we have been doing since 2009, and will situate the place and role of women in the development of training for landscape architects in France from 1945 to the recognition of the title of "Paysagiste-concepteur" in 2016, in particular by looking at cross-currents with architecture schools of the time. Within this framework, a look at a few careers that are as unique as they are characteristic will shed light on the contribution of women to the diversification of practices, to the development of teaching and to the recognition of the profession. Born for the most part before 1950, the women we discuss here were chosen for the pioneering aspect of their careers and for the way they were consistently able to invent their own resources.

THE ACTIVISM OF WOMEN LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS IN FRANCE SINCE 1945:

REFERENCE POINTS AND PROFILES

By Bernadette Blanchon with contributions by Sonia Keravel

Today, there are many women landscape architects in practice, more than half of state consultant landscape architects are women and, in terms of student numbers, more than 60% of future landscape architects are female. This was not always the case, although women landscape architects contributed significantly to the emergence of this profession, which is at the same time still new and rooted in the ancient tradition of garden arts. The singular role played by women landscape architects in the evolution of training courses will serve as the framework of this paper (Blanchon, Donadieu and Santini, 2021) as well as the central focus in relation to which the professional, theoretical and social activism of the women under study will be situated.

From the creation of a new curriculum to the recognition of the landscape architect (1945-2016)

In December 1945, the Landscape and Garden Arts Section (Section du Paysage et de l'Art des Jardins, SPAJ) was inaugurated in Versailles, with the explicit goal of training professionals to join the teams tasked with rebuilding a devastated France. As was the case some years earlier for architects, the challenge was twofold: to dissociate the figure of the contractor from that of the designer, and to obtain recognition of a specific qualification – the Order of Architects created in 1940 had prohibited

landscape designers from holding the title of *Architecte-paysagiste* (Architect-Landscaper). However, it was not until 2016 that recognition was obtained for the specificity of the profession with the title of *Paysagiste-concepteur* (Landscape Architect). In earlier articles, we highlighted the parallel between large-scale housing estate programmes (*grands ensembles*) and the creation of the contemporary landscape architect profession (Blanchon, 1998; 2007). In this paper, we will see that women largely contributed to these programmes and actively participated in the struggles leading to the formation of the landscape architecture profession as we know it today.

The contribution of women landscape architects to the development and promotion of the profession, but also to rethinking teaching curricula so as to better adapt the profession to its new socio-economic context, is examined in terms of three periods, which correspond to the phases in which the teaching of the discipline was structured. The selection of profiles presented here are characteristic of this genealogy but also refine, expand on and enrich a history often centred on male figures.

1945-1962 – The beginnings: horticultural engineering, classical tradition and the French school of urban planning

The first period is dominated by teachers such as André Rioussé (1895-1952) and Théodore Leveau (1896-1971), architect-urban planners from the *École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts* (ENSBA). They oversaw the design workshops, passing on the legacy of the 'Great French Century' taught by Gromort at the ENSBA along with that of eminent practitioners E. André, F. Duprat and J.-C. N. Forester (1861-1930). It wasn't until the sixth SPAJ cohort that a female name featured among the students: Michèle de Créty. There is no information extant as to her professional practice. The following year, the name of Lucienne Tailhade appeared: she went on to be a landscape designer and renowned teacher at the *École du Breuil* and the *École Nationale Supérieure du Paysage* (ENSP) until the 1990s. The state-qualified landscape architect, bearing the title of *paysagiste DPLG* (the professional title in effect from 1960 until 2015), gradually acquired a status distinct from that of the gardening contractor and laid claim to an intermediate position between the architect and the horticultural engineer. Unregistered students, especially from abroad, supplemented numbers however they were not entitled to a degree, as in the case of a young German woman mentioned below.

Ingrid Bourne, the influence of new practices from the north of Europe at the SPAJ

Ingrid Bourne attended the SPAJ as an unregistered student in 1954, after completing practical training at an agricultural school in England. Her multinational references stimulated debates within the design studio and

challenged the classically inspired French instruction given by the architect and urban planner Théodore Leveau, who had worked with Jean-Claude Nicolas Forestier. In particular, she shared experiences from her summer work placements in Germany: plant associations, made up of rustic or 'indigenous' species, learned from Karl Plömin, the author of the highly popular exhibition park *Planten un Blomen* in Hamburg (FIG. X); or motorways designed by Alwin Seifert (1890-1972) during the Third Reich in order to 'stitch up the landscape when the motorway passes through it'. More than just a material, plants were considered in Germany as living beings to be respected, whereas in France they were used as ornamentation to line roads and parks. On the strength of these references, she and her husband Michel Bourne developed the principles of an alternative vision of landscape practice, centred on plants and adopting a different scale in the approach to design (Blanchon, 2015-1; 2018).

The invention of the landscape architect profession in the feminine

The Bourne couple ran two companies in the Lyon region: Michel was the director of a gardening company whose work followed the building sites, while the design office was managed by Ingrid. When the office was awarded the experimental project for the Bron-Parilly neighbourhood¹, a new type of commission without budget or initial studies, Ingrid was soon left to manage it alone, due to her husband's departure for the army. She planted local, hardy species adapted to sterile and compacted soils, using forest plantation techniques – as in Germany (Blanchon, 1998; 2007). The recognition the couple gained from the many *grand ensemble* projects in which they took part in the region thereafter enabled them to devote themselves to their landscape architecture office, the *Atelier de Paysage de Saint-Marcellin*, from 1967, and to extend their activities to campuses, new towns and public spaces. In this context, with several commissions to manage, Ingrid Bourne devoted herself to her own projects², from design to completion, drawing on her international heritage and emphasising the importance of dialogue with the client.

The Bourne couple's profile typifies the transition from contractor to landscape designer at this time, through the takeover of a family business in a region where the profession of landscape designer was unknown: 'At the time, in the French provinces, you wouldn't be credible if you weren't a contractor, as people weren't familiar with the profession of landscape architect. Often designers were paid directly by the contractor for their work³. They were active in the defence of the profession, but only occasionally involved in teaching, in nearby architecture schools.

1. Unité de voisinage de Bron-Parilly, "Secteur Industrialisé", OPHLM du Rhône, 1951-1963; architects Bourdeix, Gagès and Grimal, 75-acre site, 2607 housing units.

2. In particular: Parc Paul Mistral (1966-71), Grenoble, Winter Olympics, 1968; Ville neuve d'Echirolles, Grenoble-Ouest, new neighbourhoods and 22-acre park.

3. Michel Bourne, interview with the author, Lyon, 20 November 1995.

1963-1970: Renewal of the SPAJ, opening up to urban planning and the environment

4. See Jacques Sgard, SPAJ 1946 graduating year, IUP PhD dissertation, 1958 (Blanchon, 1998; 2007).

After the latency period experienced by the SPAJ in the mid-1950s, young landscape architecture graduates – Jacques Sgard⁴ (b. 1929) and Jean-Claude Saint-Maurice (1924-1989) – updated the curriculum by developing studio subjects in line with the changing nature of commissions, shifting from the design of private gardens to the landscaping of urban public spaces. From 1962-63, they introduced a sensitive approach to plazas with the visual artist Bernard Lassus (b. 1929). They succeeded in creating a – memorable – course on plant ecology by the botanist Jacques Montégut (1925-2007). Although the teaching body remained very male, except in Art History and Gardens where Madeleine Huguency had succeeded Marguerite Charageat, female students were now more numerous and sometimes made up more than half the class (1964-66 and 1966-68). Three profiles attest to their specific contributions.

The search for complementary university courses

Caroline Mollie, Isabelle Auricoste and Marguerite Mercier participated in the renewal of a curriculum that the new programmes sought to break free from dominance of horticulture. Isabelle Auricoste and Marguerite Mercier had both done studies in other disciplines (EHESS, IUP) which brought them into contact with sociologists and philosophers such as Henri Lefebvre and Antoine Haumont. These studies prompted them to take an interest in issues relating to the city and urban development. They also expressed their activism through their professional practice. As for Caroline Mollie, she furthered her training in plant ecology and visual arts following her graduation. For all three, this openness to interdisciplinarity went hand in hand with political commitment. In this period of societal upheaval, the rise of environmental issues was in fact integral to the critique of the prevailing consumerism.

Landscape, a concrete driver for societal transformation

Isabelle Auricoste in particular was close to the world of architecture and militant action. Together with Hubert Tonka, her husband, and Jean Baudrillard, she took part in the creation of the ‘councilist’ Marxist group of the journal *Utopie*. Contrary to the architects she worked with, who refused to ‘compromise’ themselves by building, she considered this new profession to be free from the denounced fraudulence of industrial society.

At the end of the 1960s, increasingly in demand and recognised, the rare young graduates took part in the construction of the new towns inaugurated in 1965 and in major regional development projects, particularly in the tourist sector. Caroline Mollie worked for a time with Jacques Sgard, on a project linked to the development of the Aquitaine coast. During an internship in Denmark, she was struck by the equality that existed between the landscape architect and the architect, the quality of attention within

the multidisciplinary teams and shown towards the residents, as well as the simplicity and efficiency of the project implementation process in this country. In the same period, in France, the landscape architect's role was essentially to enhance the value of the buildings by means of compensatory greenery, particularly at the foot of large housing estates. For Isabelle Auricoste, as earlier for the Bournes, these green spaces surpassed of the scale of the garden and the horticultural question to become, for these professionals, symbols of the alienation produced by landscaping and the domination of the building industry.

From political commitment to local action: research-action and institutional structures

Upon her return from Denmark, Caroline Mollie opened the 'PAYSA' design office with Paul Clerc and contributed the initiative he had undertaken with Pierre Dauvergne to develop landscape research. Within the Groupe d'Études et de Recherches en Paysage (GERP), she took part in the collective work *Le paysage rural*⁵. The studies published therein opened up the discipline while fostering links between scientific ecology, the knowledge of environments and landscape, something which the new Ministry of the Environment (1971) was soon to take up.

5. Caroline Baudelot, Paul Clerc and Pierre Dauvergne, (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1975).

In the same period, drawing from the fertile terrain of militant sociology Marguerite Mercier had acquired the steadfast conviction that landscape had a major role to play in territorial planning. After a brief stint in an architectural firm, she became an employee in institutional structures where she was involved in overseeing the project consistency across decision-making scales, from design to completion. First at the Établissement Public de la Ville Nouvelle de Saint Quentin en Yvelines (1972-1976), where she worked on the network of public spaces in the city, then at the Mission Interministérielle pour l'aménagement touristique de la Côte Aquitaine (1976-1989), the MIACA. In these positions, she demonstrated how an environmental approach could be applied in its landscaping, ecological and forestry dimensions. She concluded her career by spending seventeen years at the Departmental Directorate of Public Works in the Gironde, where she promoted this culture of the landscape project internally and with external partners, State services or local authorities (Blanchon, 2015-1; 2018).

Inspired by their readings of the journals *Anthos*, *Landskab* or *Urbanisme*, the three female practitioners mentioned here were united by a characteristic commitment to diversifying modes of practice, within an environment that at the time was resolutely practice-oriented and quite male; their paths crossed on various occasions and they adopted common positions regarding the dissemination, training and opening up of the profession.

1970-1975: From the territory of architecture to the rural landscape

At the time, in order to take into account the strong trend towards urbanisation, the Ministry of Agriculture decided to revamp its training courses and to close the SPAJ in August 1972. Within the Section, teachers Pierre Dauvergne (b. 1943) and Jacques Simon (1929-2015) asked landscape architect Michel Corajoud (1937-2014) to 'save this course in distress' and to come and share the knowledge he had acquired at the Atelier d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme (AUA) in Paris (Blanchon, 2015-2). Michel Corajoud focused the teaching on plan drawing and the design of projects inspired by the theoretical texts and methods of architects Kevin Lynch, Vittorio Gregotti and Enrique Ciriani. In this atypical situation, this new teacher, from an architectural and urban background, broke with previous approaches inspired by Northern European practices and the 'great landscape' dimension – which was resurfacing in a different form.

A recognised practice on public urban space, driven by couples

Some of the students from these final SPAJ cohorts would become major figures in French landscape design and public urban space projects from the 1980s onwards and would earn international recognition for the French school of landscape design. The protagonists of this generation, the teachers and students who trained in these atypical years, often formed private and professional couples in which the male partner is better known. Most of them were teachers, such as Elisabeth Mortamais and Jean Magerand, Linda Leblanc and Jacques Coulon. Claire and Michel Corajoud, for their part, structured their office on the basis of the winning project for the Parc du Sausset in Villepinte in 1980. This was followed by numerous acclaimed works and awards (Grand Prix du Paysage 1992, Grand Prix de l'Urbanisme 2003, etc.). Laurence Vacherot joined forces with Gilles Vexlard to create 'Latitude Nord' in 1981. More than 400 projects followed, on all scales: studies, rehabilitations of *grands ensembles*, open-air and leisure centres, national and international competitions, parks, master plans, and so on, to which she applied the rigour of her family's scientific culture in biology. The recognition this generation earned came essentially from public commissions and the major projects of the ruling left. Women were well represented and active, as they were at the newly founded ENSP.

Research-action on landscape at the regional level

When the SPAJ was closed, and after an unfinished Landscape Institute project, an original and ephemeral course emerged under the auspices of the Centre National d'Étude et de Recherche du Paysage (CNERP) (Donadieu, 2018). Caroline Mollie was involved in its creation in 1972, as were some of the young teachers from the Section, along with the Centre's own resources (studies and research) and inter-ministerial resources (notably from the Ministry of the Environment created in 1971). The course, which was discontinued in 1979, was devoted to the management of urban

and rural landscapes and was aimed at engineers, landscape designers and architects. It inspired the creation of the Mission du Paysage in 1979.

1975 – 1991: The École Nationale Supérieure du Paysage and the affirmation of the central figure of the designer

Finally, a new school, the École Nationale Supérieure du Paysage (ENSP), was created in 1975 by Jacques Chirac, Minister of Agriculture, alongside the École Nationale Supérieure d'horticulture (ENSH) on the site of the King's Kitchen Garden in Versailles. This new school, which extended the training of DPLG landscape architects from two to four years, took over the educational missions of the CNERP and the Section. Created without appointing full-time teachers and dependent on the administration of the ENSH, the ENSP gave pride of place to design studios, overseen jointly by Michel Corajoud and Bernard Lassus. Both came from artistic backgrounds and helped finalise the break with the horticultural component; henceforth, the competency of the landscape architect was clearly defined as both technical (soils and plants) and artistic.

The landscape artist-designer, a central figure... but not the only one

The instructors remained predominantly male. In the 1980s, Isabelle Auricoste took part in teaching alongside Michel Corajoud, but struggled to find her rightful place in the prevailing culture of conflict, in which Corajoud's vision clashed with that of Bernard Lassus. During her time at the ENSP in Versailles, she supported students who didn't fit in with these dominant approaches, such as Yves Brunier (1962-1991), with whom she would later form a partnership. In conjunction with the neighbouring school of architecture, she was involved in setting up a course on the history of garden arts, a subject that influenced her own practice (Blanchon, 2015-1, 2018) but was disregarded at the ENSP at the time⁶.

The proportion of women enrolled varied from year to year, but from the 1980s onwards there was a regular mix of male and female students, sometimes in equal numbers or sometimes with a female majority. The visible part of the history of landscape design in France is that of the practitioner-designers from this period. Where its female dimension is concerned, we will only mention a few names here: again we have couples, Christine Dalnoky and Michel Desvignes or Christine Schnitzler and Michel Pena; but also determined entrepreneurs such as Jacqueline Osty (SPAJ 1977), winner of the Grand Prix de l'Urbanisme in 2020 and a lecturer in Blois, or Pascale Hanneltel (SPAJ 1979), who taught for a long time at the ENSP in the wake of Gilles Vexlard, and is recognised for her approach to water-related issues, her work on *grands ensembles* and her involvement with the Ministry of Culture and UNESCO. Or Catherine Mosbach⁷ (SPAJ 1982), a lecturer in the United States and involved in the creation of a professional and theoretical journal (*Pages Paysage*).

6. A nuanced approach is required in analysing these questions: see Michel Corajoud, Jacques Coulon, Marie-Hélène Loze, "Versailles. Lecture d'un jardin", *Les Annales de la Recherche Urbaine*, no. 18-19 (1983): 105-17.

7. Louvre Lens, 2012.

While there were many female designers, some also entered project management, such as Jacqueline Varier Gandois (b. 1946, SPAJ 1984) who joined the Green Spaces Department of the Conseil Général du Val-de-Marne in 1990, a tenure that is notable for her work on the Parc des Lilas project. In 1993, together with Pierre Dauvergne, she created the landscape delegation office within the Urban Planning Department where, for the first time, the question of landscape was considered on a departmental scale. This office was staffed by salaried designers (Blanchon and Keravel, 2013).

Opening up and dissemination of the profession, institutional and international structures

Buoyed by the experience of the CNERP and its complementary training, Caroline Mollie took the opportunity to join the newly created Mission du Paysage (landscape office) at the Ministry of Public Works in 1979, under the leadership of Anne Kriegel, formerly of the CNERP. It provided a springboard from which to lead the institutional battles about to take place for the recognition of the profession and its qualifying courses.

In this role, Caroline Mollie produced numerous exhibitions and publications, in particular the reference work *L'urbanisme végétal* (1993), based on a historical retrospective and highlighting the structuring role of plants in the urban project. During the 1990s, she set up the national photographic observatory for landscape (Observatoire Photographique National des Paysages, OPNP), in order to establish an archive of images to monitor the evolution of 'ordinary' landscapes, supervising its development and promotion. From 1986 to 1991, she was president of the French Landscape Federation (Fédération Française du Paysage, FFP), of which she is now an honorary member. During her tenure, she created the journal *La feuille du Paysage* and hosted the International Federation of Landscape Architects (IFLA) in Paris in 1987, where the key person was Ingrid Bourne, present internationally as always, and where Isabelle Auricoste gave a workshop devoted to the question of landscape heritage and the role of history in landscape projects.

1991: In Bordeaux, the opportunity to develop a training course based on architecture

During her presidency of the FFP, Caroline Mollie defended the development and diversification of teaching by creating a training course for landscape architects at the Bordeaux School of Architecture (ENSA Bordeaux), with the support of landscape architect Alexandre Chemetoff, who had replaced Michel Corajoud for a few years as head of the design studios at the ENSP. She took advantage of the opportunities offered by Simone Veil's presidency of the European Year of the Environment and the fact that the director of ENSA Bordeaux, Vincent Auzanneau, an engineer from GREF in office since 1987, had an interest in landscape. Her initiatives resonated with an idea that Marguerite Mercier was

working on at that time to create a new school to train more landscape architects. Isabelle Auricoste joined the team in charge of designing this new landscape architecture course under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture, and for 17 years participated in a pedagogy combining practice and theory, teaching and research. Following this experience, she moved to the Charente department where she has been a local councillor since 1989 and continues a professional practice enriched by numerous collaborations and various modes of intervention. In 2000, she became the only woman to be awarded the Grand Prix du Paysage. Like Caroline Mollie in her institutional action, and Marguerite Mercier in the field of project management, she has constantly sought to combine theoretical reflection and concrete action and to broaden the role, within the curriculum, of the landscape architect as 'artist-designer', as was developed at Versailles at the time.

Four other schools were created while a satellite of ENSP Versailles was also set up in Marseille on the initiative of A. Chemetoff. Courses were opened up to international students and research laboratories were established. The ENSH left Versailles in 1995 for Angers and the ENSP became an independent school, in charge of maintaining the King's Kitchen Garden. In 1992, the status of teacher-researchers at the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries was redefined⁸. Teachers and teaching methods diversified, practices evolved, as did the definition and recognition of the profession of landscape architect.

8. A recent development for the landscape architecture schools (ENSA) overseen by the Ministry of Culture and Communication.

Conclusion

In 50 years, landscape design has distanced itself from the horticultural approach, landscape architects have reclaimed the field of territorial planning, and a grounding in history and culture has made landscape a discipline in its own right, to which researchers contribute. Women have largely contributed to this broader vision of training and the profession. The female profiles encountered here have been witnesses, resources and drivers of this dynamic of constant renewal.

We focused on these four figures because they stand out in the history of teaching and the profession. Indeed, it is striking to observe the convergence of their fundamental contributions: attentiveness – to the client, to partners, to collaborators within the team, etc. – and the interest in the living matter of soil and plants, which determines the landscape project. Also worth noting is their ability to anticipate evolutions that have now been confirmed: the influence of ecology, the shared project, the comprehensive approach, the importance of history, the attention to rural territories, the interest in the heritage issue, etc. These figures attest to an openness to multidisciplinary as well as a commitment as designers

to serving public landscape policies, constantly nourished by the dialogue between practice and reflection.

They have helped define a French school of landscape architecture, based on the idea of learning from the existing site and designing the project in relation to the memory of the place and the dynamics of the living world. For these designers with multiple profiles and fields of intervention, the know-how of the landscape project occupies a special place, through the drawing of the ground and its levelling as the foundation of any project.

At a time when the history of the training of landscape architects is the subject of increased interest within landscape architecture teaching and research establishments abroad and more recently in France, the female aspect of this genealogy has been largely neglected. It is an open and promising field of study, the premises of which we sought to set out here.

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Abstract

In 1973 women were approximately 2% of the licensed architects in the USA. We organized and slowly affected some change, but definitely not enough. In 2021 there are significant demographic differences between France and the United States; women represent 50% of our populations, but that is where the similarities end. In the USA, our current mantra and reality is DIVERSITY. It is predicted that by 2045 minorities will become the majority in the USA. The 22% of women architects does not begin to reflect the 51% of women in the USA. There is hope that this will change soon since women are now approximately 50% of the students in architectural schools, and the representation of minorities is gradually increasing in the profession. Fifty years have passed since the revolution of 1970. Is 2021 the beginning of another revolution?

THE MESSAGE IN THE BOTTLE:

HELLO FROM CAMBRIDGE, MA, USA

By Doris Cole

My Paris, 1963

In 1963 I came to Paris to work, having just received my architectural degree from the Harvard Graduate School of Design. With letters of introduction, I was able to work for architectural offices in Paris. In these offices, there were several women architects: a stern German; a perky Japanese; a serious Italian; a forthright American; and me. There were no French women architects. In my naïve ignorance, it did not occur to me that it should have been different. Eventually it was evident this was not for me. So, I packed my bag filled with stylish French clothes and went home to join the USA feminist revolution of the 1970s.

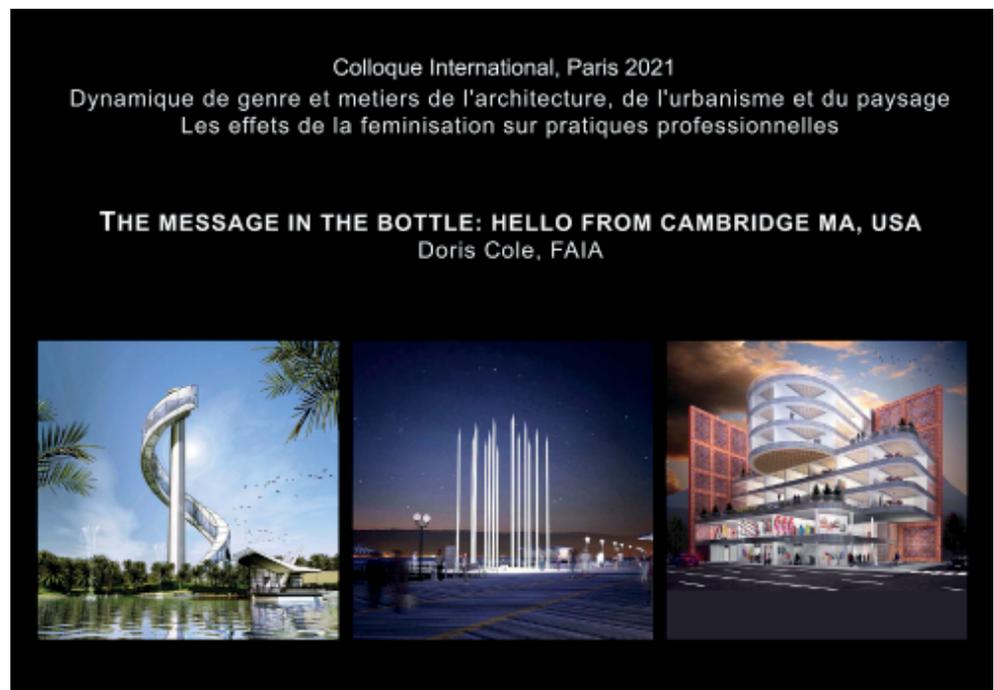


Figure 1. Left to right: Tall Emblem Structure Competition, Dubai City, UAE, Doris Cole, FAIA, Architect, 2009. ION-Viz rendering. ACB Holocaust Memorial Competition, Atlantic City, New Jersey, USA, Doris Cole FAIA, Architect, 2010. ION-Viz rendering. Benetton Building Mixed Use Competition, Tehran, Iran, Doris Cole, FAIA, Architect. 2009. ION-Viz rendering.

USA Feminist Revolution 1970s

Our 1970s revolution in the USA actually started with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This Act, initiated by President Johnson to increase opportunities for minorities, also transformed opportunities for professional women, including architects. In 1973 women were approximately 2% of the licensed architects in the USA. It was a tumultuous time for our nation with Vietnam War protests, sexual revolution, and the rise of feminism. In architecture, we organised women's groups, wrote books and manifestos, founded design schools, were generally rebellious, and slowly affected some change, but definitely not enough.

France and the United States

The parallels between our countries in the quest for "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" and "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness" extend over several centuries with our political revolutions and two world wars. France gave the Statute of Liberty to our country; French and American architects exchanged ideas. With the desire for equality, American women finally got the vote in 1919 and French women in 1941. Perhaps the current questions are: "What have we done with our votes? Is the political situation better? Is there more justice, liberty, and equality for all?" Similar questions might be relevant for women architects in 2020 as we become more equal in numbers to our male colleagues.

1. "World Population Review" is source for approximate demographics for population in France. The 1872 French law prohibits making any official distinction among its citizens in terms of race or religion in its census statistics.
www.worldpopulationreview.com/countries/france-population/

2. "United States Census Bureau Quick Facts", is source for demographics for population in the United States, www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045218

3. "Gender, Racial, and Ethnic Diversity Increases Among Emerging Professionals", Data. NCARB by the Numbers, Architecture, 12 June 2017, www.ncarb.org/press/2017-architecture-diversity.

France¹ and USA Population Statistics²

In 2020 there are significant demographic differences between France and the United States; we each have approximately 50% women, but that is where the similarities end. France has 85% white, 10% North African, 3.5% Black, 1.5% Asian and approximately 9% Muslim. The United States, the land of immigrants, is much more varied racially, culturally, and religiously. These differences affect our professional, personal, and community lives in the USA.

Although there are right wing politicians with substantial followings in the USA, our current mantra and reality is DIVERSITY. It is predicted that by 2045 the minorities will become the majority in the USA. Currently, our population includes only 60% white non-Hispanics or Latinos, 18% Hispanics and Latinos, 6% Asian Americans, and 13% Black or African Americans. The 22% of women architects does not begin to reflect the 51% of women in the USA. The 8% of minority architects is far below the 40% of minorities in the general population. There is hope that this will change soon since women are approximately 50% of the students in architectural schools, and the representation of minorities is gradually increasing in the profession³.

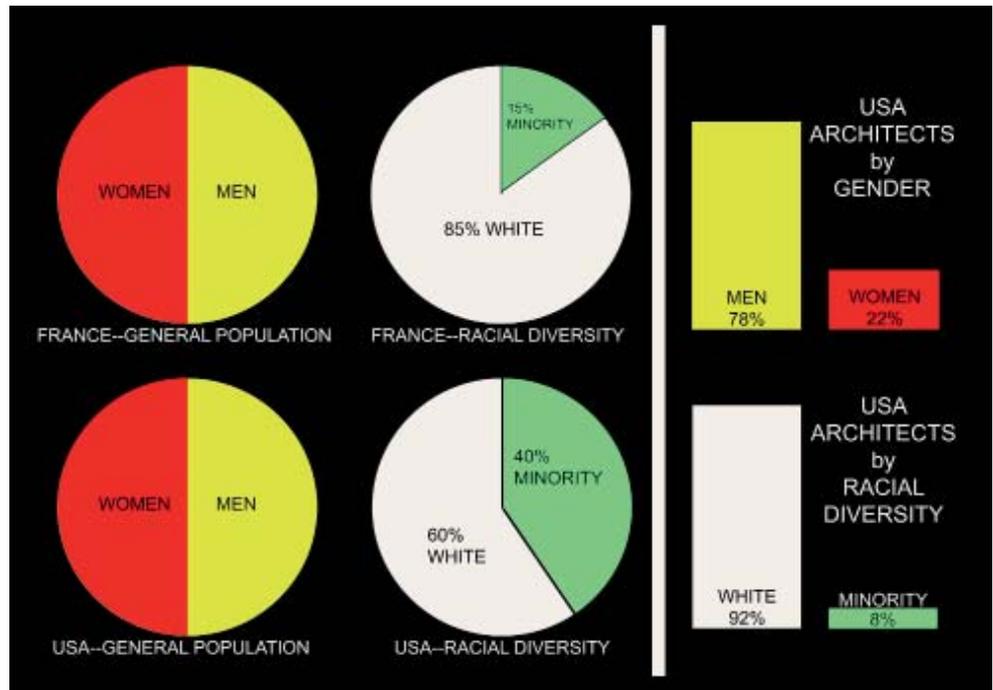


Figure 2. Left top: France-General Population for Women and Men. France-Racial Diversity in General Population. Left bottom: USA-General Population for Women and Men. USA-Racial Diversity in General Population. Right top: USA-Architects by Gender. USA-Architects by Racial Diversity.

USA Women in Architecture

The inequality of women in architecture has become an issue for the profession with the #MeToo accusations and gender gap in firm leadership. Firms and organisations are scrambling to highlight women architects. For example, the Boston Real Estate Times 10 Outstanding Women of 2019 Award⁴, and the Architectural Record Women in Architecture Forum & Awards⁵ are now part of the chatter. On a practical level, firms do not want to get sued, and on a professional level they want to win commissions. Many governmental agencies, universities, and even corporations expect or require architectural teams to have women leaders. In Boston, women architects have celebrated their accomplishments for over twenty years. Even the American Institute of Architects, by sponsoring the sixth AIA Women's Leadership Summit 2019 in Minneapolis, finally understands that equity for women must be addressed.

4. "Boston Real Estate Times 10 Outstanding Women of 2019", 5 November 2019 at Westin Hotel in Waltham, MA.

5. "Architectural Record", Women in Architecture Forum & Awards (New York, 30 October 2019).

Continuing the Revolution 2020

Fifty years have passed since the revolution of 1970. Is 2020 the beginning of another revolution? The existentialist questions still remain: "What are we doing with our newly found professional voices? Are built and natural environments better? Is there more beauty, utility, and commodity in our buildings?" These are the questions that our freedom loving French and American sisters face. As demographics change in the United States, these

questions will be discussed jointly by women and men architects from diverse cultural and racial backgrounds. We might not agree with or understand all the conclusions, but our strong voices will be part of this important discussion as we work toward a better future for all of our diverse citizens.



Figure 3. USA Women in Architecture. Left to right top: Photograph, The Women's Leadership Summit 2009, Minneapolis, MI, USA, sponsored by the American Institute of Architects. WLS was founded a decade before by Carole Wedge, FAIA and a group of New England-based architects. Photograph, Patricia Saldana Natke, AIA, founding partner of Urbanworks, LTD discussing a project with colleagues, Chicago, IL, USA. Announcement, Boston Real Estate Times 10 Outstanding Women of 2019 call for nominations. Left to right bottom: Announcement, 20th Anniversary Celebration & Exhibition for Women in Design Award of Excellence Recipients, Boston Society of Architects, March 2020. Photograph, Harvard Graduate School of Design Women in Design, September 2015. Ines Zalduendo, Sarah Kantrowitz, Doris Cole, Jessie Booth, Sarah Bolivar.

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Figure 4. Continuing the Revolution 2020. Commentary Poster, Ancient Ways..., watercolors and text by Doris Cole, FAIA. Exhibited at Harvard Graduate School of Design Loeb Library 2017. Commentary Poster, Again..., watercolors and text by Doris Cole, FAIA. Exhibited at HGSD Loeb Library 2017.

PART 3

EDUCATION THROUGH THE LENS OF GENDER

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Abstract

In schools of architecture marked by increasing feminization, female students aren't socially different from male students. They come from the same social background and from the same scientific division in high school, their (high) success rate at the baccalaureate being identical. If they have shown the same ascetic commitment to work throughout their secondary school years, they encounter more difficulties related to the agonistic forms that this asceticism takes during the graduate studies. Pedagogical practices and especially evaluation of the student's work tend to reproduce the gendered inequalities, female students pointing out greater difficulties in both their relationships with the institution and their interactions with teachers, with whom they show greater distance and distrust.

THE INTERNALISATION OF GENDER NORMS IN ARCHITECTURE SCHOOLS

Serge Proust et Corine Védrine

Traditionally, in France, the question of the democratisation of the school system focuses on the social background of the parents. Pierre Merle criticises this focus, which he views as insufficient, and emphasises the need to also take gender into account. In adopting this approach, he asserts that ‘the rate of feminisation of the various areas of education is one of the indicators of the democratisation of the school institution’ (Merle, 2000, p. 18). From this point of view, architecture schools, in which female students account for 59% of total student numbers¹, appear to be democratic institutions of higher learning.

However, Pierre Merle also calls attention to the need to examine whether legal equality between men and women is accompanied by genuine egalitarian practices. In this respect, our survey of the professional socialisation processes of students at several higher education establishments under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture, including two architecture schools, yields a number of points to be analysed. The results of a questionnaire and the feedback gathered during interviews (see box for the presentation of the survey and its methodology) incite us to hypothesise that alongside this feminisation, segregation processes are still in place and tend to sustain the internalisation of gender norms by the various actors of architecture schools (students, teachers and administrative staff).

In order to understand these processes, we propose, after presenting our survey sample, to examine, first, how gender norms are internalised during secondary education and influence the choice of post-baccalaureate orientation. We will then describe how this internalisation is expressed in the two architecture schools included in the study.

1. Ministère de la Culture, *Les études supérieures d'architecture et de paysage en France* (Paris: Ministère de la Culture, november 2019), p. 12.

*Presentation of the 'Professional socialisation and territorial impact' survey :
"A closer look at corpus and methodology"*

The 'Professional socialisation and territorial impact' survey² was conducted between 2014 and 2019. The aim was to report on students' experience of studying art and architecture, documenting the path followed throughout their education and the resulting evolution in the representation of the profession. This comparative study was carried out on the basis of a corpus of schools in three artistic fields (architecture, art and design, theatre). The schools are located in two cities (Lyon and Saint-Étienne) and are very different in many respects.

In both theatre schools, the training lasts only three years, with students required to be at level 4 (with a diploma such as a BTS³, a DMA⁴, etc.). ENSATT⁵ in Lyon offers ten courses (acting, scenography, lighting design, sound design, costume, directing, etc.). The École de la Comédie de Saint-Étienne only trains actors. The ESADSE⁶ in Saint-Étienne, which runs a five-year course, trains visual artists and designers (in various specialities). At the two architecture schools included in the survey (ENSASE⁷ and ENSAL⁸), the training for State-qualified architects lasts five years (plus one additional year to obtain the qualification to be a project manager in one's own name (Habilitation à exercer la Maîtrise d'Œuvre en son Nom Propre, HMONP).

We conducted observations at different times in the lives of the schools (following the different course formats, ways of presenting work, meetings and commissions, social and festive times such as student parties, graduation ceremonies, etc.) concerning the cohorts entering the five schools in 2014. The study continued over the entire period of their training, i.e. three years for the two drama schools and five years for the other three schools. These direct observations provided an opportunity to conduct numerous informal interviews with all those involved in the schools (students, teachers and administrative staff).

The formal and semi-directive interviews, all recorded and transcribed, involved four members of the administration of the two architecture schools (Écoles Nationales Supérieures d'Architecture, ENSA), 27 teachers and trainers (including 8 in the ENSA) and 57 students (including 15 in the ENSA). These 15 students from the ENSA formed a cohort that we followed for five years (11 of the students were in Lyon and 4 in Saint-Étienne). They were interviewed at the end of the autumn semester of the first year of their bachelor's degree (Y1), at the end of the third year of the bachelor's degree (Y3) and at the end of their two-year master's degree (M2), or even after graduation in some cases.

A survey, carried out by questionnaire in 2016 and 2017, involved these five schools as well as ENSBA⁹ in Lyon and the Department of Visual Arts at the Université Jean Monnet in Saint-Étienne. The inclusion of the latter institution allowed for a more specific comparison, in the same aesthetic field, between students from two third-level schools and those from a university department. 890 students responded to the questionnaire, including 657 enrolled in the six schools

2. This survey was funded by Saint-Étienne Métropole.

3. BTS: Brevet de Technicien Supérieur (Advanced Technician's Certificate)

4. DMA : Diplôme des Métiers d'Art (Diploma in Artistic Professions)

5. ENSATT : École Nationale Supérieure des Arts et Techniques du Théâtre. This school has been based in Lyon since 1995. It was previously located in Paris, on the Rue Blanche, by which name it was known for a long time.

6. ESADSE : École Supérieure d'Art et Design de Saint-Étienne.

7. ENSASE : École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Saint-Étienne.

8. ENSAL : École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Lyon (this school is based in Vaulx-en-Velin).

9. ENSBA : École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts.

From secondary school to architecture school: the internalisation of school norms

10. In our study, 75% of first-year students doing initial training in architecture schools (there are also continuing professional training courses, which are not included in our study) sat the baccalaureate the previous year and 17% did so two years earlier. Therefore, the median age in the first year is 19, while the median age for first-year students in theatre schools is 23

11. The State architecture qualification (Diplôme d'État d'Architecture) is obtained after five years of study (master's degree). It authorises the holder to practise as an architect, but in order to register with the French Order of Architects and to manage construction projects in one's own name, one must also have the HMONP. The latter is obtained following six months of professional experience, which then enables the graduate to do work-study training in an architecture school (150 hours), or by validating experience acquired over three years of practice in an architectural office.

12. The same type of tension is found within the French Ministry of Culture, both in terms of its internal organisation and in its various publications and statistical categorisations.

13. Sylvie Le Laidier and Fanny Thomas, "Le baccalauréat 2014. Session de juin", *Note d'information* 29 (July 2014) Ministry of National Education.

Among the higher education establishments recognised by the Ministry of Culture, all of which practise student selection, those of architecture have several specific characteristics. First, they are not a continuation of the artistic education provided at the secondary level, where there is no architecture-related training in the form of specialities or options. Unlike the other types of higher education institutions in our corpus, which take in older students who have had diverse experiences in higher education, they most often take in young students who have just done their baccalaureate,¹⁰ without any specialised prerequisites in the field of architecture. These students are therefore more easily accessible to a 'transformative socialisation [involving] to various degrees, a transformation of the individual, on one level or another' (Darmon, 2011, p. 119). Furthermore, these schools are at the heart of system that produces a closed labour market (Paradeise, 1988) since they award degrees that condition the practice of the architectural profession and project management.¹¹ Finally, they are marked by the statutory uncertainty that characterises architects and their relationship with art. In analysing professional categorisation processes, Pierre-Michel Menger maintains that architects are among the 'professions endowed with a long-stabilised artistic identity placed at the centre of the group' of artists (Menger, 2010, p. 209). However, in this same article, he draws on international statistics used by Eurostat that place architects outside the category of 'writers and creative or performing artists'¹² (Menger, 2010, p. 209). The technical, functional and largely industrial character of the goods and services produced by architects, as well as the closed nature of the labour market, which makes architects (which, like doctors and lawyers, are represented by a professional order) more akin to a profession, explains this difficulty and places this group in a grey area between art and culture.

Like other higher education institutions, architecture schools are characterised by a very high level of feminisation and in many respects the results of our questionnaire survey show that female students at architecture schools differ little from male students. They come from the same social backgrounds (mostly professional and management categories, but with a significant proportion – around one third – from non-management categories: mainly employees or intermediate professions) and emerge from the same school stream (62.8% of male students and 66.3% of female students obtained a baccalaureate with a specialisation in science) whose various subjects they have followed in the same proportions. They show the same rate of Good or Very Good grades in the baccalaureate as the male students (62.8% for boys and 63.8% for girls), which in fact represents a much higher score than the median rates across all secondary school students in this area, which was 35% in 2014.¹³

14. Certain more traditional elements of gender distinction come to light in the relationship to culture. Female students, more than male students, have had cultural practices outside of school and have frequently taken an artistic option during their secondary studies.

15. 54% of female theatre students have mothers with a background in education and the cultural sector, while it is the case for only 29% of female architecture students.

16. The proximity of female architecture and theatre students does not concern actresses among the latter, but rather those who enroll in the most 'technical' departments of ENSATT (sound design, lighting design), whose courses content favours students from the scientific stream.

17. At the start of the 2013 academic year, they represented 45.9% of the final year cohort in the science stream. Ministry of Education, *Repères et références statistiques* (Paris: 2014), 113.

18. *Idem*, 169.

19. Ministry of Culture, *Les études supérieures d'architecture et de paysage en France*, (Paris: 2019), 12.

20. Gouyon, Guérin, 2006.

21. Bataille, 2013.

From a social and academic point of view, female students in architecture schools are closer to the male students of these same schools than to the students of the other art schools in our study.¹⁴ Indeed, in the latter, especially in the theatre schools, students are more likely to come from families belonging to the 'public sector managerial' categories (in the educational and cultural sector in particular and especially where their mothers are concerned)¹⁵ and much less likely to come from the 'non managerial' categories. Academically, female students at the other schools in the corpus also differ from female architecture students in that they are much less likely to hold a baccalaureate with a specialisation in science and much more likely to hold one with a specialisation in literature (18% and 44% respectively for art and design and 36% and 45% for theatre), with much lower rates of Good and Very Good scores (60% for theatre and 26% for art and design).¹⁶

The massive presence of female students in these two architecture schools is a first indicator of gender effects. In fact, after the baccalaureate, where female students make up almost half of the final year in the science stream,¹⁷ female students are represented very differently in two selection-based fields study that are typical outlets for this final year. Only 28.1% of all engineering students are women,¹⁸ whereas women represent 59% of students in all architecture schools,¹⁹ thus accentuating the feminisation of the architectural profession that has been underway for several decades (Lapeyre, 2004). While we do not consider this increased feminisation as a sign of downgrading (Cacouault-Bitaud, 2001), it could be an indicator of several types of transformation taking place. First, reinforcing the Ministry of Culture's supervisory role, it could be viewed as marking higher education's integration into the artistic sphere and its growing distance from the technical and scientific sphere (a point mentioned by the interviewed students when they explain their choice of studies). Second, it can be seen as a reflection of the transformations occurring in this profession, which is marked by an internal tension between a dominant male group (architects registered with the Order of Architects, heads of firms) and a large body of female architects, occupying different 'architectural jobs' (Chadoin, 2007). This point brings us back to the fairly general processes by which women tend to favour professions not because their academic level is insufficient, but because they have low 'confidence in their abilities in these subjects' (Duru-Bellat, 1990, p. 79). As a result, even if they do better academically and study longer in higher education, the choices made at each stage lead them towards sectors with lower remuneration (Rosenwald, 2006).

Among the various factors explaining the feminisation of art schools (the academic strategies adopted by families who push boys to achieve excellence;²⁰ gendered attitudes that lead to the choice of gendered fields of study²¹), the selective nature of the schools, which think of and present themselves as 'superior' institutions [écoles supérieures], is central.

First, schools select students who, through their results, have already demonstrated their capacity to make a regular effort at school. Second, the schools' pedagogical organisation emphasises and imposes permanent commitment as a condition for academic success and professional recognition. In fact, this constant effort and self-control (including control directed against oneself), which let people think of themselves as superior to others, underpin the legitimacy of the dominant group or those who aspire to positions of dominance (Lahire, 2006). This asceticism corresponds to the internalised dispositions of girls, who – as Sylvie Cromer (2005) and Baudelot & Establet (1992) point out – tend to be more respectful of social and educational norms due to their modes of socialisation.

22. Here too, they are closer to architecture students than they are to students from other schools: only 34% in theatre schools and 35% in art and design schools state that they often work after midnight.

23. Male architecture students report a satisfactory state of health (57.5%) or an average state of health (21.7%), compared to 42.2% and 38% respectively for female students.

This asceticism, which is already evident during secondary education, continues in architecture schools. Female students indicate in the same proportions as male students that they often work after midnight (72%).²² However, the effects of these efforts are more detrimental for female students, who state that they are in poorer health, have more frequent medical visits²³ and suffer more exhaustion than male students (96.5% of female students compared to 88.7% of male students). Similarly, more female students (72.1%) than male students (61.3%) report sleeping problems. Statistics do show, however, that female students eat better; fewer of them consume fast food from vending machines or bakeries, and more of them bring home-prepared meals to school: 18.3% compared to 7.7%.

These differences may be due to male students finding it harder to express the difficulties to which their own asceticism leads them. They may also result from female students' greater difficulty adapting to new teaching methods. Up to the baccalaureate, girls show themselves to be better prepared for the demands of the 'profession of pupil' (Perrenoud, 1999) because of the differentiated modes of socialisation already induced 'in the educational practices of parents, which appear to be more rigid towards girls' (Duru-Bellat, 2008, p. 134). However, in architecture schools, we can assume that they find it harder to cope with the new modes of work and assessment of design projects they discover. In certain respects, this pedagogy confronts students with modes of judgement that exist within artistic fields and the way criticisms are formulated in response to the students' work can be experienced by them, at least at the beginning of their studies (i.e. when they have not yet adapted to design project culture) as a personal judgement that engages their identity (Heinich, 1995).

It's really different from secondary school, in secondary school, when we're wrong, it's because we're wrong, whereas here, when we're wrong, it's our ideas that are wrong, so it affects us more, in a personal way, whereas when an analysis is wrong it just means that you didn't do it properly! But when your project is wrong, it's harder to take.

24. All first names have been changed.

The above statement, made by Isa²⁴ in 2015, when she was in the first year of her bachelor's degree, expresses how she was destabilised by the teaching methods used in studio and the lower marks she was receiving compared to secondary school.

Isa academic record was very good: she had been in the science stream in secondary school, she enrolled in a double architecture-engineering degree, for which, in her own words, 'controlled' the workload while being careful of her health, paying attention to the quality of her food, playing badminton and piano with weekly lessons, and she was sleeping quite well (she never went to bed later than one in the morning during the so-called 'charrette' periods). Then some signs of anorexia appeared at the end of the second year of her bachelor's degree, increasing to the point where she lost 15 kilos in four months during in the second year of her master's:

Up until year three we have a lot of work, so I was controlling my work so much, and even if I was a little unhappy with everything, I didn't lose any weight and then in the first year of the master's, as I had a lot less architecture work, all of a sudden, I had the impression that all the control I had in architecture was transferred to food. I'm pretty fixated on being organised. As I was putting a lot less pressure on myself in the final year, it was transferred to something else. Except that that this year the pressure is coming back with the final year project [PFE] and the pressure with food hasn't really gone away. [...] I try to eat very small portions. I've just come out of a month in hospital.

Drawing from several studies, including those conducted by Nicole Mosconi (2017), Marie Duru-Bellat points out that the 'loosely structured' rules of life inculcated in boys 'in fact appear to constitute an environment that is more favourable to the cognitive development of the child, from a Piagetian perspective, the subject being confronted with rules but also learning to interpret their conditions of modulation and to react in a more flexible and active way to the many disruptions and novelties that take place in the learning process. It would therefore be justified to speak in terms of girls being handicapped, even if, in the short term and in certain respects, they find themselves better prepared for the 'job of pupil', especially in primary school' (Duru-Bellat, 2008, p. 134). This type of socialisation would therefore appear to prepare boys better for the forms of competition faced by young students, contrary to girls who, in a world still marked by male domination (Bourdieu, 1998), arguably find it more difficult to assert their potential in higher and professional studies (Mosconi, 2017).

Gendered differences incorporated into ironic distance: the 'academic' student and the 'daring' student

From year one, forms of competition become established between students, calling for communication skills and political dispositions that, in terms of the 'differential valence of the sexes' (Héritier, 1996), are most frequently associated with male attributes (charisma, authority, power, control) (Goffman, 2002).

The formats of presenting work and even the very way in which they are justified reveal incorporated gendered differences. Body postures are less relaxed in girls and the formats, both graphically and orally, reveal more disciplined models in girls.

Even for the end of studies presentation Lorène and I did something very focused, very academic with our little cards... And then you see some people like Maxime presenting in a much more offhand style... the boys are more daring.

The above statement by Sophie (in September 2019, after graduating in a double architecture-engineering degree) is echoed by Boris (2019, at the end of his master's):

I like making things fun. When I do a presentation, I can't resist stirring it up a little. In the last one, I added a whale and justified it by saying that it was a benchmark in relation to a context that was 30 metres long. It got a laugh. [...] And I think that's important. Maybe it's more a thing guys do than girls, for that matter. I've always been amazed at how mature the women are. I've never understood how they manage to be so mature at such a young age. [...] We tend to do stupider things. In the way we manage our time, for example.

'Stupid things' are interpreted by jury members (who are both men and women, although women are almost always in the minority, except in degree juries where there is parity) as having to do with creativity, daring and assertiveness, which are ultimately highly valued qualities; whereas the 'seriousness' of female students can instead be judged precisely as a lack of boldness and as a sign of academic conformity, which is ultimately belittled.

The internalisation of male domination and its effects in pedagogical situations

The design studio pedagogy and presentation formats thus tend to strongly favour gendered predispositions, all the more so as the studio instructor is most often represented by a male figure. The figure of the 'heterosexual fifty-something white male' is in fact sometimes mentioned by male teachers themselves, in a self-deprecating reference to their own hegemonic position (Connell, 2014). There is an awareness of this male domination in the interactions between students and teachers, but also between teachers.

Alexis, currently in year three of his bachelor's, remarks: 'It is clear that when there is a woman on a project jury, she has less time to speak and when she does speak, I have noticed that she often leans forward, even if she is a teacher who can hold her own'. What's interesting in this testimony is not whether what Alexis observed is true, but the very fact that he interpreted the female teacher leaning her body forward as a way of her imposing herself in relation to her male colleagues. Another male student, Boris adds: 'I've seen female teachers being taken down a peg or two because they were women speaking in the presence of a man who thought that his male attributes made him more knowledgeable' (Boris, end of master's). This echoes the results of research cited by Hilde Heynen, which shows that 'in judgements on projects presented by students, female jury members seem to be systematically less solicited than their male colleagues and their opinions given less weight' (Heynen, 2007).

In our sample, female students also report feeling less valued and/or having more difficult relationships with the institution and/or faculty. 74% consider their teachers to be benevolent compared to 85.4% of male students. Interviews and observations show that the incorporation of a gendered habitus, as mentioned above, leads female students to be more distant, reserved and cautious in their relationship with teachers and in defending their projects. Some are reluctant to ask their studio instructor for help for fear of either having to listen to 'harsh' critical feedback on their work, or of having to face a tone that they judge to be authoritarian or sexist: 'we are quite often reminded that we are only girls all the same', confides Sarah, currently in year three of her bachelor's degree. She specifies: 'it's a particular tone... they speak to us as if we were a bit slow'. Another student testifies: 'when we were at the Grands Ateliers de l'Isle-d'Abeau (GAIA), at the end of the workshop, when we were putting away the pallets, a teacher said "boys, go and help Chloé". I said: "actually no thanks I don't need any help!!!!". What was that supposed to mean?' (Chloé currently in year three of her bachelor's degree). On the other hand, students, both male and female, more readily speak of their rare female studio instructors²⁵ as (equally gendered) mothering figures, mentioning supposedly inherently female attributes such as gentleness or benevolence.

25. At the time of the survey, one third of ENSAL teaching staff were female (20 women to 43 men), and more specifically one third taught in the Theories and Practices of Architectural and Urban Design (TPCAU) field (7 women and 16 men). At ENSASE, women were more strongly represented (40% of staff, or 27 out of 76 teachers) but were represented in the same proportion in the field of architectural and urban design (10 women and 24 men). In comparison, at the ESADSE, the college of professors is made up of 27 men and 11 women (at the start of the 2020 academic year). Within ENSATT, 10 men and 9 women are at the head of the 10 training departments.

These interactions, which reproduce 'classical' postures, are reinforced by situations and behaviours that incite some female students to adopt strategies of avoiding teachers they are afraid of. These can take several forms: the student may attend the studio while avoiding having to present her project (by letting others solicit the instructor at their table and sneaking away at the end of the session) or asking to change groups on the basis of various pretexts. Céline (at the end of her master's, 2019) describes her experience:

Without naming specific people in the master's programme, the misogyny in architecture schools... it's quite... flagrant. We had a conference in the third year, I was one of the two students working on the organisation. [...] And then, it was really weird because the professor in question would come and see us, say hello and shake hands with the male student but he would just say hello to me and he would never shake my hand. It was outrageous. Ridiculous, even. [...] He completely snubbed me ... and during the conference he sent a message to one of his doctoral students asking her how fast she could type. Which was clearly inappropriate and misogynistic. The email was horrible: 'As a woman, I'm asking you your typing speed'.

These power relationships can also be seen in the different instances of the schools, through body postures, the way people speak publicly, and the tone used. As Françoise Héritier writes : "The language of domination [...] involves denial, contempt, denigration, belittlement: what are generally called stereotypes, prejudices or clichés, but which go far beyond the category of 'stereotypes from another era' that should be 'swept away with the stroke of a pen'; they are not swept away just like that, that is the nature of the language of domination." (Héritier, 2014, p. 175)

This language of domination is incorporated by women, who in turn transmit it. For example, a student party was organised at ENSAL in February 2020, called 'ENSAL Hop' (which in French reads as *en salope*, meaning 'in sluts') by its organisers, boys and girls, most of whom found the play on words amusing (others having been offended).

The internalisation of male dominance by female students may primarily affect how they assimilate studio codes, which they do not question and go on to reproduce in the working world. In this respect, the role of internships, which are not sufficiently present in this survey to draw any conclusions, should be explored in greater depth. For some, this internalisation has an effect on their acceptance of inappropriate remarks or even gestures from some of their teachers, either because they do not see – or because they refuse to see – their inappropriate nature, or because they fear reprisals for their continued studies. Behaviours range from simple contempt to sexual assault, to remarks about how they are dressed, hair-

26. Based on two questions about their weight and height, we were able to establish the body mass index (BMI) of the students in these schools. A residual proportion of all respondents is 'overweight', with almost all of them in the 'normal' weight range (BMI between 18.5 and 25) but close to the lower limit, the median value being 20.8. A significant proportion of female students (16.4 per cent compared to 6.2 per cent of male students) have a BMI below 18.5

style, or appearance that reduce them to objects of desire and negate their skills as architecture students. Judgements about physical appearance, which particularly affect female students (Provansal, 2016), occur at strategic moments (recruitment, end-of-the-cycle evaluations), which most frequently take place in early summer, when bodies are revealed and often conform to social norms that impose rules of thinness or even skinniness on (young) women.²⁶

This again echoes Bloomer's work as cited by Hilde Heynen, who, in 1996, demonstrated that female students were judged 'more by their appearance than by the quality of their projects' (Heynen, 2007, p. 5). This is something that some female students manage to turn into 'small advantage' (Goffman, 1975), playing on their charm with receptive teachers.

It wasn't so great with our studio instructor in the first semester either [...] it wasn't so much what he was asking us to do, it was more the way he treated us, the way he dealt with the topics. He spent a lot of time with certain people and some people he didn't care about at all [...] it had more to do with the gender of the person he was talking to...! He spent a lot of time with the girls... (Boris, 2014)

* * * * *

Architecture schools occupy an intermediate position within higher education in various ways (their selective nature, students' academic success, students' social characteristics). They are not part of the grandes écoles system, and they are also clearly different from universities. Considered in this light, the massive feminisation of these schools may appear to be contributing to the (complex and progressive) dynamic of women gaining access to positions traditionally occupied by men, following the example of the feminisation observed in other 'male' professions with real social prestige, such as that of the engineer (Marry, 2004).

In fact, in many ways, these female students differ little from their male counterparts. They come from the same social backgrounds with equivalent academic success rates in the same dominant scientific stream. However, architecture schools also constitute a specific space-time in which gendered inequality and segregation takes place. Although they are adjusted to the demands of ascetic work, due to their previous schooling, female students appear to be less well equipped to deal with the intensity of the work and its competitive nature. They are also further disadvantaged by the standards by which students are judged in schools, female students' 'seriousness' being devalued in relation to male students' 'creativity'. For this very reason, architecture schools also remain a locus for the renewal of gendered divisions of labour and (unequal) power positions internalised by female students. This is why, when question about entry into the job market, female students show less 'ambition' than male students; 54% of them

27. Although our survey only concerned students up to master's level, it should be noted that the proportion of women is lower in the HMONP course. As an indication, at ENSAL, out of a class of 66 in September 2019, there were 29 women, that is nearly 44% of the total (compared to around 60% in the initial degree).

aspire to getting the HMONP qualification compared to 64% of males²⁷ and 57.4% of them aspire to creating an agency compared to 78.3% of males, thus demonstrating a general trend whereby women prefer salaried employment to independence, and, by the same token, revealing the 'gendered attributions and the gendered nature of selection criteria' (Provansal, 2016, p. 12).

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Abstract

In 2010, Gender_Archland, the former Gender and Diversity platform of Leibniz University Hannover (Germany) offered a module for Master students in Architecture and Planning. This paper discusses the chosen didactics, their impact on the students and the outcome of the module. Most students were not aware of gender differences related to professional practice, but developed skills to identify gender issues and to discuss inclusion and diversity dimensions of architecture and planning praxis.

Based on the course evaluation, it is argued that a feminist approach to teaching leads to a *different road to graduation*, one that supports students to develop a critical professional attitude, and thus contributes to creating a 'non-sexist' community of practice. The paper concludes that before offering 'Gender Studies' as a specialisation, students need to be offered education for 'gender-aware planning'.

A DIFFERENT WAY TO PRACTICE?

ADDRESSING GENDER & DIVERSITY IN ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION

By Lidewij Tummers

1. Between 2008 and 2019, until the chair of Architectural Sociology and Planning Theory was abolished in 2019. <https://www.gender-archland.uni-hannover.de/> [10 March 2020].

This contribution reports on an experience in academic teaching, based on feminist approaches to architecture and urbanism. The course was set up in 2010 by *Gender_Archland* (GAL), the former *Gender and Diversity platform* of Leibniz University Hannover (Germany)¹. The learning objective of the course was twofold :

1. to enable students to reflect on the institutional conditions that frame everyday professional decisions, and
2. to develop a critical perspective on their future professional practice.

The general aim for *Gender_Archland* was to present a diverse scope of professionals and occupations, representative of actual professional practice. Like in other technical faculties, the architectural departments often fail to present a diverse image of experts and professionals to the students. Beside a lack of female role models, the '*star-architect*' is the dominant image of professional culture, ignoring diverse and inclusive ways to practice. This does not respond to the changes happening in current planning practice, which present new challenges and demand different skills. Also, it causes drop out, especially of young female professionals (Graft-Johnson, Manley, Greed, 2003). In collaboration with the Lower Saxony Chamber of Architects, a network of female

role-models in senior positions was set up for the module. Student teams were then coupled to a firm or department of their choice, and combined field observations with interviews, literature and desktop research to develop their findings.

This paper discusses the chosen didactics and their impact on the students and the outcome of the module. The methods applied increased the number of female role models and stimulated interdisciplinary and intercultural collaboration amongst Master students in Architecture, Landscape Planning and Environmental Engineering. In the case discussed, practise-based teaching has enabled students to reflect on the concrete experiences and gender stereotyping in their future professions. Based on the course evaluation, it is argued that feminist didactics lead to '*a different road to graduation*'. Feminist didactics are conceived here as teaching which supports students to develop a critical professional attitude (Webb and al, 2004), and thus contributes to creating a 'non-sexist' community of practice (Ahrentzen, 2003).

The paper is structured as follows: first, the teaching module is outlined in its context, followed by presentation of the results. Thirdly, a discussion of the potential impact of practice-based feminist teaching in architecture, critically reflects the assumptions used for this course. Finally, it leads to conclusions and recommendations for 'gender-aware teaching in architecture', rather than 'teaching gender in architecture'.

Context

In 2009, GAL obtained a Maria Goeppert Mayer (MGM) Grant which funds a one-year visiting professor to promote internationalisation of German Universities. GAL's objective was to integrate gender-aspects into the faculties' education, hence they recruited an architect/planner with both professional and teaching experience teaching in this field (Tummers, 2015 and 2017). In Hannover, an introduction to gender-studies was part of a mandatory course in the first years of the curriculum, however, optional courses with 'gender' in their title had drawn little attention. Also, there was a limited offer for visiting (non-German speaking) students and it became clear that getting to know local practice and architects was the main reason for students to come to Hannover. The MGM professor designed a module (in English) for Master students from different study-levels that connected theory and practice in a three-month research and design project, supported by the Lower Saxony Chamber of Architecture and involving a range of regional professionals. The module was not intended to be a *Gender Studies* course such as for example the prototype module proposed by Athena (Lada 2009), which transfers knowledge on gender-dynamics in urban space or architecture. Rather it aimed to equip students to produce architecture while being aware of gender-inequalities in the profession.

Without mentioning the words 'feminism', 'diversity' or 'gender', the course was positioned as a fundamental criticism to the system producing urban space as well as 'star-architects'. The announcement (Figure 1) was illustrated with the all-male crew responsible for a controversial mega-project. Its learning objectives were formulated as follows:

- Getting to know the complex constellation of stakeholders involved in urban design and architectural production;
- Acquiring gendered understanding of architectural praxis
- Critical *Auseinandersetzung* [positioning] with professional environment, specifically :
 - o Recognizing the diversity of user-groups; and the variety of spatial needs
 - o Understanding major contemporary design challenges
 - o How to operate as a spatial designer in complex societal trends

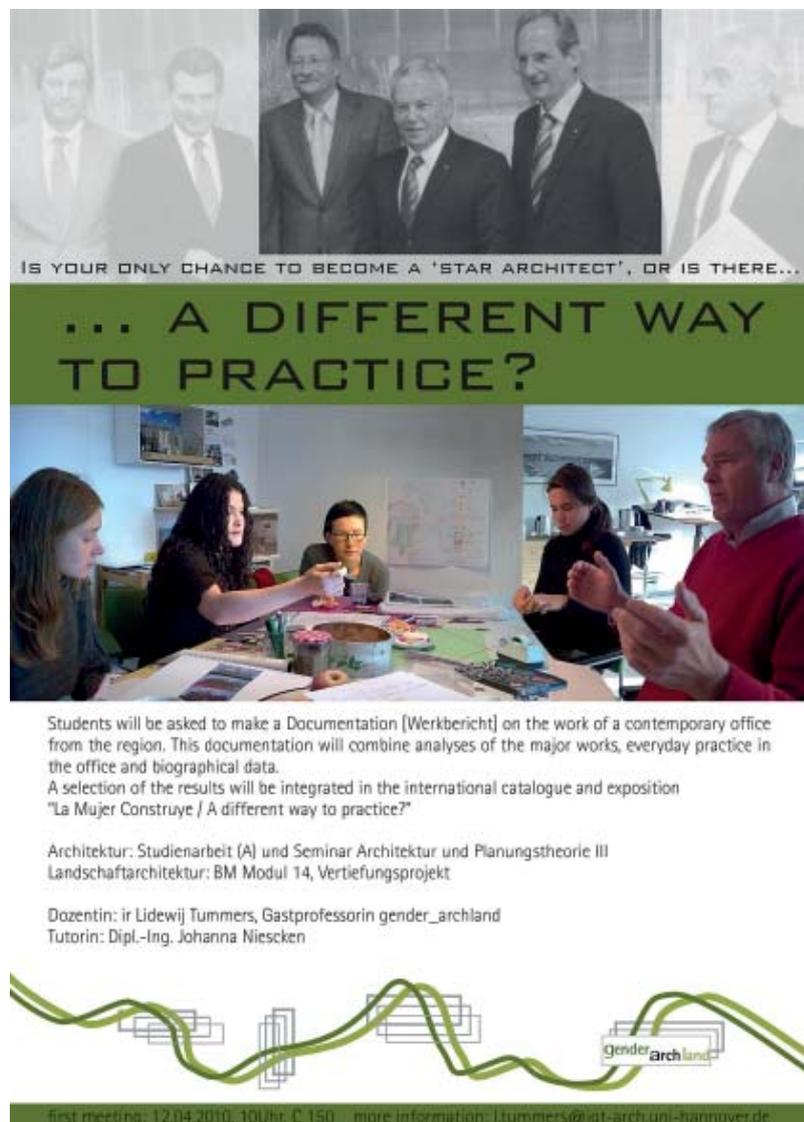


Figure 1. Course announcement positioning the course as a fundamental criticism to the system of star-architects [picture: L. Tummers & J. Nieschken]

Module Design

The program was structured following the phases of development and building projects as formally established through professional codes, in this case: German Regulation fees for architectural and engineering services (*Verordnung über die Honorare für Architekten und Ingenieurleistungen: HOAI*)². While the seminar sessions were 'neutrally' named after HOAI-phases, the way the research was framed was far from neutral and strongly influenced by feminist epistemology.

2. https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/hoai_2013/, consulted, 10 March 2020.

During the first meeting, the 25 students were asked to form international teams, and select one of the participating offices as their focus for research. The research comprised analysis of the major architectural works, the planning process and everyday practice in the office as well as biographical data of the leading architects. The possibility of international comparison contributed to understanding how individual practices are framed by professional institutions and conventions. As final products, we challenged the teams to make a Work Report [*Werkbericht*] as well as a Design Proposal reflecting the constituent features of the selected office. This meant they had to define a 'typical' project, follow the design process as cultivated in the office and present it in a form that could be recognised as representative. Transforming research findings into design, makes research activities plausible and attractive for future architects. Furthermore, the documentation of female architects was to be integrated in the catalogue and international exposition "Women who build"³.

3. <http://lamujerconstruye.blogspot.com/>, consulted 10 March 2020.

Following the HOAI structure, each weekly seminar session dealt with one of the consecutive *Leistungsphasen* [contractual performance phases] thus covering every step of the realisation process of an architectural project. As homework, student-teams observed in, and discussed with, the partnering office how the specific *Leistungsphase* looked like in practice seeing the type of projects and mission statement of the office, together with staffing and based on workflow organisation. These experiences were exchanged in class, leading to discussions about the tasks, roles and expertise of architects. Comparative study of the nationalities represented in their team was encouraged as a didactical device to enhance communication within the teams and stimulate students' reading of the HOAI text.

Partners

The participating architectural, urbanist and landscape offices were originally approached through the *Architektenkammer* [Chamber of Architects]. In exchange, the *Architektenkammer* was invited to present its work to future professionals⁴, assist as visiting critics to presentations of students work and advertise in the exposition.

4. In Germany, membership of the *Architektenkammer* is mandatory to practice independently as an architect.

5. For an overview, see volume 2 of *Weiter Denken* (Thinking Beyond), the *Gender Archland academic journal*: "A different way to practice?" Niesken and Tummers, 2012 available at: <https://www.gender-archland.uni-hannover.de/746.html> (scroll down), consulted 10 March 2020.

A large number of offices were available for the experiment and offered hospitality to the student team at no costs. The offices were very different in nature; 'star-architects' as well as esthetics- or participation oriented firms⁵. The prospect of exposure in an international exposition was a considerable incentive, although the English language occasionally posed difficulties. To avoid false expectations, information beforehand underlined that the students should not be seen as 'interns' but as researchers. The documentation of the offices' work could well include a critical position to both the architectural performance and the practices routines.

Some of the architects, and a variety of other professionals were invited as guest speakers. Together, they covered a wide range of generations, positions, and specialisations with architecture grade, for example: public office, investors and process engineers. While demonstrating different career options, and giving insight into their career choices, they were in addition invited to talk about their personal day to day activities, while highlighting what positive and negative experiences had influenced their work.

A different way to learn

The course attracted students from 16 countries and different architecture, planning and engineering related disciplines. The universities course evaluation system showed that participants especially appreciated the opportunity to practise and work in international teams. The image of self-realisation as creative genius that many architecture faculties cultivate, includes a perception of the legal and societal planning institutions that surround everyday practice as restrictive for artistic freedom. Rather than ignoring, a feminist approach aims to identify the structuring principles that frame architectural projects (such as regulations, land-market, political decision-making, demographics) and to question their impact both on the design process and its results.

Illustrative of this is that many of the Master students were not aware of HOAI- comparable regulations in their home countries. This led us to intensify the comparative study and to devote one session of the seminar to the institutional framing of architecture. The international comparison of the HOAI with branch guidelines or legal acts in other countries was extremely effective to become aware of the different roles and status architects and planners can have, including the varied expectations of the public towards architects and institutions⁶. The students gained insight into the complex constellation of stakeholders involved in spatial development. This type of knowledge is relevant for example when working in urban renewal neighbourhoods where residents have different cultural backgrounds (Ortiz Escalante, Gutiérrez Valdivia, 2015).

Issues addressed during the students' research covered many different aspects, for example:

6. Reported in *Weiter Denken* 2 of *Gender Archland*.

- Responsibilities: implicit and formalised in contracts
- Clients involvement and architects' freedom in design decision-making
- Running an office vs being an employee
- Specialist/small part in large firm vs generalist/involvement in a small office
- Stereotyping (eg by gender, age or ethnicity) and expectations by consulting engineers, public offices and contractors.

The module enabled participants to make informed decisions on their professional future. Most students found that everyday practice differs from their expectations, and many discovered new potential positions after graduation (Figure 2).



Figure 2. The modules' final presentation with the participating architects recognising their different ways to practice [picture: L. Tummers, 2010]

Gender Impact

At an early stage in the semester, students became aware of the all-female line-up and raised questions. The tutor/moderator proposed counter-questions, such as: 'Would you have noticed if we had invited only men?' and: 'What makes the difference?' that sparked a lively discussion! On this basis, the students themselves acknowledged the gender-dimension and incorporated gender variables in the research. For example, they asked the offices about role-models and dress-codes on building sites. Their research produced evidence of important and multiple gender gaps, for example: the (large) difference in payment between Male & Female (M/F); that superiors assign different tasks to M/F; that clients react differently, and so on. Following up on the HOAI comparative study, they started to compare the gender gap in the home-countries of their team-mates and question the different conditions that result in equality or marginalisation.

Most students had not been aware of gendered differences related to professional practice, or ignored them. Yet without explicitly being asked to, students practiced identifying gender issues and without knowing the concept of 'intersectionality' discussed inclusion and diversity dimensions of architecture and planning praxis. They acquired skills to be aware of different user groups and the lack of data on potentially different needs related to housing and public space.

7. Amongst others, in *Future City - Diverse City. Equal Opportunities, Planning, Participation: For Whom, by Whom, How?* (Berlin: Senat department for Urban development and the Environment, 2013).

8. Hannover 2011, Valencia 2012 und Wien 2014, catalogue see: https://www.jovis.de/de/buecher/product/on_stage.html, consulted 10 March 2020.

The course set in motion a gender impact beyond the work of 25 students. First, the reports were published in volume 2 of the *Gender_Archland academic journal*: "A different way to practice ?" which has been presented at several conferences⁷ and was available on the GAL website until this was moved to. The travelling exposition "Women who build" went to several countries and led to another catalogue called 'On Stage'⁸.

Collaborating in the project made the *Architekten Kammer* analyse statistics concerning their own membership, and raised awareness of the low female membership, which persuaded them to develop a strategy to attract more practicing architects.

Also, we found that most architects and professionals like to talk to students and appreciated the design proposals as a method for 'self-reflection'. The student presentations, for which the leading architects were invited, were seen as an opportunity for networking, which we facilitated by organising informal get-togethers after the formal sessions.

Questioning assumptions

As a typical pioneering project with no budget, it was necessary to create win-win situations to involve such a large number of external parties. To do this, we relied on conventions, such as the desire of the *Architektenkammer* to attract members, a general interest in getting publicity, and the status of teaching at an international academic seminar. The response was more positive than we anticipated, meeting a genuine interest in the 'new' ways of 'thinking architecture' that emerged during the seminar. In 2010, these were not as articulate as today in post-crisis architecture. For scholars familiar with feminist research and literature on gender and planning, the questions asked will be familiar and do not seem very revolutionary. However, in a context of an introductory seminar and a concrete regional planning culture (the region of Hanover, Lower Saxony in Germany) they represented a new and different way of reflecting architectural creation, particularly on gendered careers in architecture.

One example of an assumption that we built on was that the all-female line-up would raise questions. The discussion emerged even earlier than we expected, which was no doubt beneficial for the research. But in order to steer it to a structural understanding of 'gender' as an analytical

concept to be used in research requires framing - and pre-knowledge of the tutors. Furthermore, in the following steps students need support (eg reading suggestions) to work on gender, inclusion and diversity issues and to establish connections with architecture and planning. The issues that arose during classes should not simply be seen as prejudices or taboos, but be embedded in the complexity of 'gender studies' to prevent deadlocks such as nurture-nature polarisation, or denial of inequalities by diluting the gender perspective into a fuzzy (mis-)interpretation of 'intersectionality'.

The naming of the seminar sessions after HOAI-phases gave candidates the assurance that the seminar was practice-oriented. At the same time, the way the sessions were programmed and visualised responded to feminist criteria of representation and inclusion. While initially we avoided labelling this modus operandi, it was clear that the seminar offered a critical form of education. The question presents itself : is this a 'Wolf in sheepskin' strategy? Jarvis argues:

Ultimately, in order to transform the sexist city into a more progressive place, it is necessary to unsettle the attitudes, assumptions and practices underpinning the professional training of architects, designers, planners and local government officials. (Jarvis, 2014, p. 19)

What if we had attracted students who strongly resist feminism? It may have been the diversity of the (international) group itself that gradually developed a classroom culture that included gendered approaches. Ahrentzen calls this the hidden curriculum:

The hidden curriculum are those tacit values, norms, and attitudes embedded in the social milieu of the course or studio that shape and determine the course content as well as the process or method of instruction and learning of that content. (Ahrentzen, p. 18)

In hindsight, we conclude that in applied sciences (such as architecture) transformative teaching is in doing, rather than in talking (Spit, Zoete, 2006, p.188-189).

"I remember the course and really appreciate it. I followed Sabine Rebe in her work and it was very interesting as a student to already ask myself : which way do you want to practice? Do you as architect have to specialize? What kind of business do you want to develop? and for which clients?" (Roua Khaled, e-mail 18-10-2021)

The quotation of Roua (text box) also underlines the findings of Ahrentzen [ibid] that:

When school programs ignore the dynamics of the hidden curriculum, they not only turn away potentially talented students but also contribute to the crippling of a profession that must operate in a rapidly changing cultural and economic context.

Conclusions : gendered knowledge in Planning and architecture

Demand

These rapidly changing cultural and economic contexts produce a new demand for gendered approaches of planning and architecture. One major illustration is the 2014 French law on equality⁹ which has produced a number of studies, handbooks and planning instruments as well as opening a treasure-box of '*Matrimoine*'. This knowledge is still not perceived as a professional requirement that needs to be integrated in the curricula of architecture and planning faculties. Several scholars have argued that the transformative potential of feminist teaching and practice has been neglected, and connections need to be made between the subject of gender studies (or urban studies) and how we teach feminism in the different space-related and applied sciences. Gender equality issues concern all aspects of the architectural process: from involvement in decision-making, co-production and communication with really diverse groups; to technical expertise and types of skills acquired earlier in life. It also includes lifestyle choices such as how to raise children as well as have a career. In the current situation, hardly any faculty is prepared for Gender Equality and Inclusive Education. It is not sufficient to write gender equality in the mission statement; and it does not only concern content (i.e. gender & housing) but also method. However, insight into feminist didactics is lacking in architecture and urbanism educational institutes. Concrete measures are needed to integrate the transformative principles of feminist teaching in Architecture curricula.

Supply

The course 'A different way to practice' aimed to develop didactics that empowers future professionals to be agents of change, and to implement principles of equality and inclusiveness in planning practice. Moreover, it increased the diversity of role models and through them the image of the diverse ways to practice planning and engineering. It achieved this, by designing a program addressing contemporary architectural practice and institutions, while applying didactics based on gender and intersectionality theories.

9. Law No. 2014-873 of August 4, 2014 for real equality between women and men: <http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORF-TEXT000029330832>.

Unfortunately, gender equality is still mostly seen as a separate issue, rather than an intrinsic aspect of contemporary architectural and environmental challenges. Before offering 'Gender Studies' as a specialisation, students need to be offered education on 'gender-aware planning'. Moreover, a special 'gender' program is subject to marginalisation and budget cuts, as happened in the case of Gender_Archland which ceased to exist in 2019 after 25 years of productivity and innovation. Currently, the Faculty does not offer any alternative for BA and MSc students who want to address gender in their thesis.

Role models in architectural offices and planning departments are a major asset, and the demand for representative staffing has nowadays relative strong legal backing. However, employees must also be encouraged and supported to profile themselves as a role model and make sure their role is visible in schools; university boards, and teaching, as well as being promoted : through journals, talks, in advertisements, ...

Finally : in applied sciences, seminars are not enough: staff need training, and students learn through practice. Rather than celebrating ego as professional practice, methods based on direct experience must apply the feminist principle 'the personal is political' to be effective. The seminar-format 'A Different Way to Practice' is one experiment that can be up-scaled to be further embedded in master programs.

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PART 4

FROM THE INVISIBLE TO THE VISIBLE

Olivier Vallerand is a community activist, architect, historian, and assistant professor at the École de Design, Université de Montréal. His research focuses on self-identifications and their relation to the built environment, on queer and feminist approaches to design education, and on alternative practices of architecture. *Unplanned Visitors: Queering the Ethics and Aesthetics of Domestic Space* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020) discusses the emergence of queer theory in architectural discourse. <https://recherche.umontreal.ca/nos-chercheurs/repertoire-des-professeurs/chercheur/is/in33100/>. olivier.vallerand@umontreal.ca

Abstract

Until recently, a majority of studies on the relationship between sexuality, gender, and the built environment have focused on gay men at the expense of lesbians and trans people. Two situations seem to combine to lead to this invisibility. First, the privileged position of men in the discipline allows them to express their sexual orientation with less risk than women who already face challenges because of their gender. Second, women architects have had to focus on issues of gender equality, a problem that has obviously not yet been resolved. It remains necessary to make queer architects, urban planners and designers visible in order to create a more inclusive discipline, to encourage the younger generations through positive role models and to diversify the lived experiences that inspire the design of spaces, thus better responding to the needs of a diverse society.

GENDER AND...?

THE IMPACT OF MULTIFORM DISCRIMINATION ON THE VISIBILITY OF WOMEN ARCHITECTS

By Olivier Vallerand

1. The interviewees were identified following a review of the literature or through recommendations received in previous interviews, as part of a larger project on feminist and queer methods in architectural teaching (see Olivier Vallerand, "Learning From... (or 'the Need for Queer Pedagogies of Space')", *Interiors: Design | Architecture | Culture* 9, no. 2 (2019): 140-56; Olivier Vallerand, "Beyond Design Education: Queering Pedagogies of Space", in Nicole Kalms, Gene Bawden, Jess Berry and Timothy Moore, *Contentious Cities: Design and the Gendered Production of Space* (London: Routledge, 2021), 194-203. As I show in this chapter, the pool of non-heterosexual women architects with a public profile is very limited, so I approached all the architects whose names were suggested to me. The length of this paper does not allow for a detailed presentation of their thinking, but interviews with Katarina Bonnevier, Naomi Stead and Jane Greenwood will be mentioned later. The fourth interview, with one of the members of the QSPACE collective, contributed to the analysis presented here, but was not directly quoted in the text.

In one of her latest works, the architectural historian Despina Stratigakos asks 'Where are the women architects?' (Stratigakos, 2016) as a starting point to explore the challenges faced by women in architecture, including their lack of visibility. In this paper I examine how the intersection of gender and sexuality gives rise to a rarely acknowledged invisibility.

Building on the feminist research that preceded it, queer theory in architecture has shown that lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans (LGBT) issues affect experience, built space and, consequently, design choices (Vallerand, 2016). However, unlike other disciplines, where women have taken the lead in challenging heteronormative assumptions, in architecture gay men have overshadowed women, both in the choice of study topics and in the people writing on them. The analysis presented here is based on a review of queer scholarship in architecture and design in the English and French-speaking spheres of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, as well as interviews conducted in 2017 and 2018 with four women architects in order to understand in what ways and why lesbian architects are less visible¹. For the sake of simplicity, the term 'lesbian architects' is used in this text, but it is important to note that several other terms are used by women who identify themselves as non-heterosexual and that while these identifications are sometimes almost synonymous for some, for others they reflect distinct understandings of their identities. The objective of this study is not to identify all lesbian architects, but rather to consider the impact the multiple discriminations experienced by women have on their visibility, as well as on the challenges posed by traditional biographical narratives in representing marginalised practices.

In search of lesbian architects: stories and practices

A review of both academic and mainstream literature reveals how little discussion there is specifically about lesbian architects, both in LGBT studies and in architecture. For example, *Lesbian Histories and Cultures: an Encyclopedia* (2000), edited by Bonnie Zimmerman, contains a single entry of just over one page on architecture, written by Elizabeth Cahn, whose observations are unfortunately still very true today:

In architecture, as in many male-identified and male-dominated professions, [...] the lesbian presence is often shadowy and can be discovered indirectly by locating women-identified women and women's networks. (Cahn, 2000, p. 53).

For example, Cahn cautiously introduces Julia Morgan, noting that 'scholarship remains mute on her intimate relationships'. She also mentions that the Cambridge School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture (1915-1942) 'supported the development of extensive, supportive networks of women design practitioners' and that while 'histories of the school do not provide direct information about the sexual orientation of the female students or teachers', Eleanor Raymond, whose 'companion' was Ethel Power, the editor of *House Beautiful* and also trained as an architect, studied there. The other early twentieth-century figure discussed by Cahn is Eileen Gray, who, according to Peter Adam's biography, 'had several affairs with men and women'² and was part of a social circle that included several well-known lesbians.

Cahn notes that the development of new perspectives during the 'second wave' of feminism did not give the issue of sexual orientation greater visibility in architecture. She mentions, for example, that the Women's School of Planning and Architecture's (WSPA) stated goals of '[offering] women a separatist experience' and '[exploring] the possibilities for designing and building new environments for an evolving women's culture' are implicitly close to lesbian activism, but are not explicitly presented as such in a 1983 essay written by Leslie Kanés Weisman and Noel Phyllis Birkby (Cahn, 2000, p. 54). Surprisingly, Cahn does not specify that Birkby was a militant lesbian feminist, having, for example, co-edited the lesbian feminist anthology *Amazon Expedition*³ published in 1973. In total, Cahn thus limits herself to fewer than five distinctly lesbian or bisexual figures, with much of her discussion being devoted to women's spaces and movements that are not necessarily exclusively lesbian.

Lesbian women are also absent from publications focusing on the relationship between sexuality and architecture. The two books on gender and sexuality by critic Aaron Betsky exemplify this trend: in the 236 pages of *Building Sex* (1995) there is only one mention of Eileen Gray and Julia Morgan, while in the 231 pages of *Queer Space* (1997), six pages deal with Elsie de Wolfe and Julia Morgan and two pages focus on lesbian

2. Peter Adam, *Eileen Gray: Architect/Designer*, (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1987), quoted in Elizabeth Cahn, "Architecture", in Zimmerman, Bonnie (ed.), *Lesbian Histories and Cultures: an Encyclopedia*, (New York: Garland, 2000), 53-4.

3. Phyllis Birkby et al., *Amazon Expedition: A Lesbian Feminist Anthology*, (Washington: Times Change Press, 1973).

4. Beatriz Colomina, *Sexuality & Space*, Princeton Papers on Architecture, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992).

5. Naomi Stead and Jason Prior, *Queer Space: Centres and Peripheries*, (Sydney: University of Technology Sydney, 2007).

6. Sara Holmes Boutelle, *Julia Morgan, Architect*, (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988),
7. Cited in Nancy Gruskin, "Designing Woman: Writing About Eleanor Raymond", in Frederickson Kristen and Webb Sarah E (ed.), *Singular Women: Writing the Artist*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 152.

7. Naomi Stead, interview with the author, 23 March 2018.

neighbourhoods (Betsky, 1995; 1997). Similarly, in the influential *Sexuality & Space* (1992) edited by Beatriz Colomina, only the chapter 'Female Spectator, Lesbian Specter: The Haunting' by Patricia White deals with lesbian women through the film *The Haunting* (1963)⁴. More recently, in *Queer Space: Centers and Peripheries* (2007)⁵ two out of 35 presentations look at how lesbian women experience architectural and urban spaces, but none are dedicated to lesbian architects as such. Similarly, the 2017 issue of *Log* devoted to gay and lesbian issues includes only four women out of 18 contributors.

The way in which the sexual orientation of women designers is addressed (and more often not addressed) says a lot about how the relationship between sexuality and design is perceived. Discussing the importance of Ethel Power's influence on Eleanor Raymond's career, Nancy Gruskin notes that:

Personal relationships are not standard subject matter in most studies of women architects. Indeed, many consider the issue irrelevant, arguing that women architects had to work too hard to maintain a life outside the office or that their private lives were of no consequence to their career. (Gruskin, 2003, p. 152).

For example, Gruskin points out that Sara Holmes Boutelle, the architectural historian who 'rediscovered' Julia Morgan, dismissed any discussion of her sexuality in the introduction to her monograph, stating that 'devoted to her career, [Morgan] seems never even to have considered marriage'⁶. Similarly in the field of the interior design, Peter McNeil notes that:

The issue of a female decorators' sexuality has been consistently suppressed in most design literature. Yet information gleaned from biographies indicates that a number of the women prominent in the field of inter-war decoration... pursued same-sex relationships. (McNeil, 1994, p. 635).

On the pretext of focusing solely on their professional careers, such statements disregard the impact of these women's experiences on their understanding of the world and, consequently, on their practice, ignoring the various challenges they experienced and the social networks used by women to develop their work.

More recently, lesbian architects have played a leading role in research and education. For example, Naomi Stead has used her position as head of the Department of Architecture at Monash University to bring attention to queer and feminist issues, both within her department and outside the university⁷. In Scandinavia, the MYCKET collective (initiated by Mariana Alves Silva, Thérèse Kristiansson and Katarina Bonnevier), as well as Hélène Frichot and Brady Burroughs have also developed queer feminist practices

8. Katarina Bonnevier, interview with the author, 22 March 2018. See also the special issue "Styles of Queer Feminist Practices and Objects in Architecture", *Architecture and Culture* 5, no. 3 (2017); Hélène Frichot, *How to Make Yourself a Feminist Design Power Tool* (Baunach: Art Architecture Design Research, 2016); Olivier Vallerand, *Unplanned Visitors: Queering the Ethics and Aesthetics of Domestic Space* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020), 142-8.

9. Olivier Vallerand, "Queer Theory", *Now What?! Advocacy, Activism and Alliances in American Architecture since 1968*, 24 may 2018.

10. Larry Paschall, "The Accidental Advocate", *Now What?! Advocacy, Activism and Alliances in American Architecture since 1968*, 20 march 2018.

11. A. L. Hu, "The Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects + Designers", *Now What?! Advocacy, Activism and Alliances in American Architecture since 1968*, 25 mai 2018.

12. Jane Greenwood, interview with author, 4 February 2019; Hal Hayes, "Reflection on Aids Activism", *Now What?! Advocacy, Activism and Alliances in American Architecture since 1968*, 27 November 2018.

13. Jane Greenwood, interview with the author, 4 February 2019.

and research that combine art and politics⁸. Despite these changes, it often seems that the silence can only be broken when a specific opportunity to talk about sexual orientation arises. The few architectural magazines that mention lesbian architects frequently do so when the project being discussed opens the door to mentioning their sexual orientation. For example, an article in *Architecture* magazine about the LGBT Centre in San Francisco begins with a short anecdote concerning one of the project's architects, Jane Cee. 'Cee realized she had been on the balcony of the building the day before [...] and that her sexual identity had been spotlighted as a result. 'At that moment', she said, 'I realized that I'd been outed by my own building' (Ward, 1998, p. 73). The very fact that the magazine considers this episode to be noteworthy speaks to the lack of visibility of lesbian architects and the specificity of the conditions it imposes on them.

Even in an inclusive and activist project such as the exhibition *Now What?! Advocacy, Activism & Alliances in American Architecture since 1968* (2018-2020), lesbian architects are almost invisible. The entry on Noel Phyllis Birkby mentions her involvement in the lesbian-feminist community, but other entries on LGBT activism focus on male architects (Schroeder, 2016). In my own contribution to queer theory, I only briefly mention Eileen Gray, and then merely as a research topic for a gay man⁹. Elsewhere, Larry Paschall testifies to his involvement as an architect with the North Texas LGBT Chamber of Commerce by stating that 'diversity and inclusion cannot stop at just women and minorities'¹⁰, unfortunately putting 'LGBTQ architects' in opposition with women and minorities and highlighting the difficulty of creating intersectional coalitions that would promote the visibility of lesbians. In another article, A. L. Hu discusses the Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects + Designers (OLGAD)¹¹, but again only mentions men. This ignores the role played by women in the development of OLGAD, including founding member Jane Greenwood, who served as its chairwoman for three years¹².

Greenwood's visibility as a lesbian architect led her to be selected as one of *Out Magazine's* Out 100 in 2017. Although she had been an activist for three decades and senior partner of her firm since 1993, this increased public exposure stemmed from the advice of her firm's PR team, which pointed out that her social activism could now be used as a selling point¹³. This is quite different from the experience of Noel Phyllis Birkby, who struggled to find work in the 1990s because of her activism, being limited to word of mouth within historically less affluent feminist communities (Schroeder, 2016).

Visibility and beyond: positive role models and their importance for more inclusive design practices

Although I did not expect to find many further examples of lesbian visibility in undertaking this review, I was still surprised at how few positive role mo-

dels I found. This absence has an impact on self-confidence, as suggested by a British survey carried out in 2015 by the *Architect's Journal*. A third of the responding LGBT architects stated they 'felt discouraged in their careers by the lack of senior [LGBT] employees', stressing that positive role models in senior positions are essential 'to demonstrate that sexual orientation is not a barrier to success in the construction industry' (Rakesh, 2015). Subsequent surveys by the *Architect's Journal* have revealed other worrisome trends, such as a decline from 80% in 2016 to 73% in 2018 in the number of respondents stating that their sexual orientation is known in their workplace. In addition, 30% of respondents in 2018 reported feeling that being LGBT created barriers to their career advancement compared to 24% in 2016 (Waite, 2018). But even the way in which these results are presented, by including women within a broader group of 'lesbian, gay and bisexual architects' without specifying the particular discrimination that affects them, highlights the particular challenges faced in the representation of non-heterosexual women. To address these challenges, one must first acknowledge the existence and presence of lesbian architects, the structures that make them invisible, and the double, triple or quadruple discrimination at play, as highlighted by the complete absence of non-white women in the examples found.

Sexuality is most often considered as irrelevant to the discussion of what someone designs, and moreover, as problematic. However, in architecture and design, as elsewhere, 'the history and culture of heterosexuals is taken as given and has influenced all areas of education and life accordingly' creating a world where 'the lives and experiences of lesbian women seem seldom to be mirrored back to them' (Walker, 2007, p. 91).

Furthermore, Jane Greenwood suggests that the absence of a lesbian 'flag bearer' may be due to the fact that the responsibilities expected of women are much broader and that for lesbians in architecture, political 'responsibilities' may be 'lost' behind work and family responsibilities. She also points to a social context in which non-heterosexual orientations are still perceived negatively, something which may endanger professional security¹⁴. Greenwood thus highlights the structural inequalities that frame architecture, and more generally society, and which render the lives of lesbian architects invisible. This forced invisibility is a problem because sexual orientation, like other aspects of identity, has an impact on the lived experience and therefore on design choices. Lesbian women must be rendered visible in order to create a more inclusive discipline that better responds to the diverse needs of society, but one that also provides space for architects to consider how their own experience impacts on their work. However, as art historian Diane Walker points out:

Progress in these areas should not be contingent on intrepid individuals, but could be part of a larger drive by educationalists to increase opportunities [...]. In order for this to happen, there needs to be an assumption that

14. Jane Greenwood, interview with the author, 4 February 2019.

not everyone is heterosexual, whilst, at the moment the opposite often seems true. (Walker, 2007, p. 95).

In conclusion, it seems there is a need to invert some of the questions asked. Instead of wondering what makes lesbian architects invisible, perhaps we should ask instead whether we are looking in the right direction when we try to identify lesbian architects for their individual projects. Should we be looking for outstanding examples, as most architectural histories do, or should we focus instead on the networks and influences that shape architects' careers? Feminist scholars have argued that the traditional emphasis in architectural history on individual figures is problematic because it contributes to the perpetuation of power relations that mark architectural practice while obscuring the fact that the built environment is never the work of a single individual¹⁵. Likewise, the study presented here suggests that we must both make lesbian architects visible and recognise the contribution of lesbian communities, beyond individuals, to the design of the built environment. An examination of Phyllis Birkby's work and her contributions to WSPA, for example, clearly highlights the influence of lesbian separatist movements, even if the school itself was not exclusive to lesbians. Nonetheless, many of these 'lesbian' spaces (communes and campsites, music festivals, art galleries) are rarely represented in traditional architectural archives.

While a first generation of feminist and LGBT scholars focused on the visibility of positive role models, a subsequent, more theory-oriented generation questioned the importance of this visibility as a first step to societal change. However, a project such as this one makes it clear that, although we must indeed more actively and profoundly challenge hetero-normative visions of architecture, doing so will not be possible until this first step of achieving visibility is completed – and we are still a long way from reaching this goal.

15. Barbara Caine, "Feminist Biography and Feminist History", *Women's History Review* 3, no. 2 (1994): 247-61. Abigail Van Slyck, "Women in Architecture and the Problems of Biography", *Design Book Review*, no. 25, (1992): 19-22; Julie Willis, "Invisible Contributions: The Problem of History and Women Architects", *Architectural Theory Review* 3, no. 2 (1998): 57-68.

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Abstract

The limited visibility of professional women continues to affect the collective imagination and, above all, these women's own self-awareness, career, and life. Critical reinterpretations often carried out by men who omit women - perhaps through simple negligence - from histories of architecture and construction, have certainly contributed to this situation. But the internalized legacies of deeply rooted traditions and training can also contribute to these women's attitudes, ingrained humility sometimes leading to adoption of less visible or marginal roles by choice, in the shadow of a father, brother or husband, and confinement to the domestic sphere or to educational duties. Based on our experience of the MoMoWo project, our contribution aims to trace and reconstruct - even for individual cases - fragments of the history of women in construction. Tracing the missing threads in this history of women in construction includes analysing architecture and design awards. The paper also aims to investigate the role of activism in associations as a response to the problem of gender inequality. Even in recent times, gender equality in the field of construction has not been fully achieved.

TOTEMS AND TABOOS:

ACKNOWLEDGING THE WOMAN IN ARCHITECTURE

By **Giuliana Di Mari, Caterina Franchini, Emilia Garda, Alessandra Renzulli**

Gender equality in the construction world remains to be achieved. The veil of invisibility on professional women and their work is still concealed in collective perception, especially in the awareness of themselves, their careers, and their lives. In the world of construction, the gap between men and women regards not only the access to the engineering and architecture professions - where women were often relegated to an 'ancillary' position in the shadow of their fathers or husbands - but also the recognition of the authorship of their works.

The aim is to make visible the European cultural heritage created by women in architecture, engineering, design, and landscape. The European project MoMoWo - Women's creativity since the Modern Movement has examined persistent prejudices, broken down old taboos, and uncovered a world of hidden creativity, tracing and reconstructing - even in specific cases - fragments of the history of women in construction. A story that refers to women's contribution to the quality of living in the city and all those boundary places, interstitial places between public and private space, between architecture and furnishings, interior and exterior, between built and surrounding environment. Tracing the missing threads in this history of women's constructions includes an analysis of architecture and design awards. The article also investigates the role of associationism as a response to the problem of gender inequality.

On the recognition of the woman's career and work in the official awards: from Scott Brown to the couple Farrell and McNamara

Most professional women can recount horror stories about the discrimination they have suffered during their careers. Mine includes social trivia as well as grand trauma. However, some less common forms of discrimination came my way when, in mid-career, I married a colleague and we joined our professional lives just as fame (though not fortune) hit him. I watched as he was manufactured into an architectural guru before my eyes and, to some extent, on the basis of our joint work and the work of our firm. (Scott Brown, 1989)

These are the preliminary words of the essay *Room at the Top? Sexism and the Star System in Architecture* written in 1975 and published in 1989 by Denise Scott Brown Venturi (born in 1931). A Californian architect and urban planner, born in South Africa, Scott Brown lived the discomfort of not being recognised as an equal partner of Robert Venturi (1925-2018), architect and husband with whom she managed the professional studio.



Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi. Photo © George Pohl

In the essay, she tells of how the first discriminations began after their marriage, and her professional role was erroneously eclipsed by society in favour of her husband's one. It was commonly believed that her work was the one of 'Bob' and that she gave herself merit for it with her signature. Therefore, some journalists ignored her during interviews and often treated her unequally during social trivialities.

1. Robert Venturi's comment added to the signature of the petition in favour of the award denied. Stratigakos Despina, *Where Are the Women Architects?* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2016).

2. "Denise Scott Brown on the Pritzker Prize", *Architect's Journal*, last modified November 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qioE-be7eng4>.

This way of thinking was rooted not only among the men of the time but also by women and professionals themselves. These thoughts are confirmed by the news of the Pritzker Prize award in 1991 to Robert Venturi only, although the couple had always worked in partnership, as Venturi himself confirmed ('Denise Scott Brown is my inspiring and equal partner¹'). This response was due to the wrong criteria and approaches to awarding the prize, as Scott Brown explains in an interview with the *Architect's Journal* in 2016: 'It must be a finished building, it must be one genius architect and it must be in our mould, which is the old white male mould of giving prizes²'. Her voice, her history and professional struggle against such injustices still echo today. Over time, the architect's failure to recognise

3. 2016 AIA Gold Medal awarded to Denise Scott Brown & Robert Venturi, AIA, December, 2015, <https://www.aia.org/press-releases/2316-2016-aia-gold-medal-awarded-to-denise-scott-b>.

4. On the history of architect Lu Wenyu, the only interview given is for the Spanish newspaper *El País*, where she explains the reasons for her rejection of the Pritzker prize. "La arquitecta que renuncio al Pritzker para evitar la fama", *El País*, October 2013, https://elpais.com/cultura/2013/09/30/actualidad/1380569553_963993.html.

his work has inspired many people, including those of a group of Harvard's Graduate School of Design students, who in 2013 launched a petition to ask the jury to review his position. Among the signatures collected with the petition were well-known names, including six Pritzker awards, first of all, Robert Venturi. Although the petition had collected 20.180 signatures, the inclusion never happened, and, only in 2016, was her collaboration with Venturi recognised by the American Institute of Architects (AIA) with the award of the Gold Medal to both³.

Several awards have been given to women in various fields of design, such as those at the Triennale di Milano, but for a long time, there have been no changes in the field of architecture. The Pritzker prize has been a male prerogative for twenty-five years : it was not until 2004, with Zaha Hadid's award ceremony, that it was awarded to a woman for the first time. Despite this important achievement and Kazuyo Sejima's victory in 2010 with Ryūe Nishizawa, the discrimination against couples continued. Emblematic is the case of architect Lu Wenyu, Wang Shu's wife and collaborator, who, following the Pritzker's awarding to her husband in 2016, decided not to oppose her exclusion from the prize. In opposition to the experience gained by Denise Scott Brown, the decision was based on two reasons: the first was cultural, the second personal. The only interview that the architect granted was to the Spanish newspaper *El País* during which she openly declared that she feels more comfortable in the anonymous, especially in her own country. She says that in China if you are famous you immediately lose your private life on all levels and that she would rather be with her son than live the fame day by day⁴. She also explains that she did not really feel she deserved the award because she considered herself an architect by choice and not by vocation (she wanted to be a biologist).

For these reasons, the injustice inflicted upon her was not considered by the architect Wenyu, but was recognised by Wang Shu who, not believing it was right, struggled to share it. She herself, however, declined her husband's proposal, since she did not feel the prize was her own.

In 2011 she was awarded the Shelling Prize, shared with her husband. The prize was accepted, but only because 'I knew it wouldn't change my life'.



In order: Doriana Fuksas. Photo © Gianmarco Chierigato; Lu Wenyu at the degree show at the China Academy of Art in Hangzhou. Photo © Ping Wei; Yvonne Farrell and Shelley McNamara. Photo © Alice Clancy.

The wide-ranging analysis carried out within the European MoMoWo project showed that local and national awards set up by architects' and designers' organisations have proven to be more inclusive towards professionals than international or European ones.

Over the past century, creative women have at first gained recognition in the traditional 'feminine' design sectors, such as textiles, ceramics, and glass design. For instance, the prestigious Triennale di Milano prized women designers especially since the late 1950s, while women in industrial design received late recognition, as occurred for the Compasso d'Oro Prize, organised by the Associazione Per Il Disegno Industriale. To encourage equality in a profession with a strong predominance and visibility of men, women architectural prizes appeared in European countries only recently. These prizes aim to highlight the works and careers of women architects so that the younger generations of female architects can draw inspiration from existing professional experiences.

The national awards include Spain's Architecture Prize of the Higher Council of Architects, France's l'Equerre d'Argent Prize, Slovenian's three awards (Plečnik Award, Golden Pencil Award and France Prešeren Award for Architecture) and lastly the German Designer's Association Iconic Award. Local prizes were also considered⁵.

MoMoWo surveys have shown that national and local awards pay more attention to the figure of women in the field of architecture, recognising them as architects and not as women architects.

Compared to international awards, Zaha Hadid was the first woman to win the Pritzker Prize, and was also the first awarded (2012) with the AJ Women in Architecture Awards. Subsequently, she received the RIBA Royal Gold Medal for Architecture in 2016. Instituted by Her Majesty Queen Victoria in 1848, this medal is one of the oldest in Europe and in its 171 years of existence (1848-2019), only four women have been awarded (2,3%) out of 169 architects (Franchini, Garda, 2018)⁶.

An exception was the marginalisation of Doriana Mandrelli from the Italian National Career Award given by IN/ARCHLazio to her husband and collaborator, Massimiliano Fuksas, in 2018. The injustice was immediately grasped by the militant group RebelArchitette and the VOW Architects collective, which initiated a petition to recognise the credit and value of Mandrelli's work within Studio Fuksas. As in the case of Scott Brown, the action started from the bottom, it was the first in favour of an Italian architect to be supported at national and international level by all those who have recognised the importance of changing a system that still sees an imbalance towards male colleagues. In addition to the Fuksas couple, among the many signatures there are, those of many prominent personalities including Denise Scott Brown and Rem Koolhaas.

5. Including Fundació Princesa de Girona Arts i Lletres - FPDGi Prize, Barcelona Foment de les Arts i del Disseny - FAD Awards; Portugal Leading Design Hotel Prize; Architetture Rivelate Prize (Turin); Golden Amsterdam Architecture Prize.

6. The methodology used for the development of the MoMoWo guide includes a research on the quality of the works to be included based on a careful examination of European awards and prizes.

Although many steps have been taken to include female professionals in the architectural and engineering fields, the rate of awarding prizes to women is still extremely low. For example, the Pritzker Prize, was only won until 2019 by three women (Zaha Hadid in 2004, Kazuyo Sejima in 2010 and Carme Pigem in 2017), one of whom was single and the other two in teams with partner(s), out of 44 prizes awarded.

It was only in 2020 that the jury awarded the prize for the first time to an all-female team, the Irish architects Yvonne Farrell and Shelley McNamara.

Co-founders of Grafton Architects in Dublin, curators of the Biennale of Architecture in Venice in 2018 and winners of the RIBA Royal Gold Medal in 2020, stand out in a profession that is still dominated by men. A model to follow for all women who want to embark on their professional career, this victory represents a further breakthrough in a debated dialogue that has gathered evidence and continuous struggles from professionals in the sector and confirms the need to continue to oppose gender discrimination.

The dualism of women: between professional career and wife status

Women, more than men, have run their offices in partnership. Women belonging to the generations that preceded the Second World War habitually worked with male relatives and were often in their shadow. Although the Modernist paradigm was based on creative teamwork, combining designers from different fields, in which the gender of each participant was supposed to be irrelevant, the fact was that within these teams, men were represented as protagonists while women were for the most part side-lined. The mainstream historiography of architecture and design often reverberates this inequitable narrative. During the entire span of time from 1918 to the present, it is noticeable that the husband-wife design agencies are in the majority all over Europe. These cases of professional and life coupling are still numerous today since it makes it easy for women to run both work and family life.

Thus, the recognition of co-authorship is one of the priorities of the MoMoWo project, which has also given voice to studies such as those on the collaboration between Lilly Reich (Berlin, 1885–1947) and Mies van der Rohe, Aino Marsio Aalto (Helsinki, 1894–1949) and Alvar Aalto, Charlotte Perriand (Paris, 1903–1999) and Le Corbusier and many others masters of the Modern Movement. For example, Aino Marsio-Aalto, one of the most important Finnish architects at the beginning of the 20th century, was Alvar Aalto's professional and personal partner from the start of his career until she died in 1949. However, like other female partners of renowned architects, Marsio-Aalto worked behind the scenes. The examination of her work revealed the rationalistic principles of the Modern Movement, emphasising functional and practical aspects, the use of natural materials

and large-scale production. She created projects with exquisite sensitivity to detail, colour, materials, and textures. Aino Marsio-Aalto focused on small-scale projects to improve everyday life.

All these female pioneers from the beginning of the 20th century, who were among the first to work in the field of architecture as graduates in this sector, laid the groundwork for women's emancipation. Their personal stories need to be revealed to give them their due recognition. In architecture, women have frequently worked in the shadow of their husbands, indeed in the art world, their actions have been decisive but often ignored.

Elles jouent en Europe, depuis le XVIIIe siècle, un rôle essentiel dans le processus de reconnaissance posthume de l'œuvre et de la carrière de leur compagnon : [...], gardiennes de l'œuvre et de sa mémoire, [...], promotrices auprès des galeries, des musées, des critiques et des historien.nes d'art, donatrices, elles sont des actrices de premier plan dans la vie posthume des œuvres mais aussi dans l'animation de la vie culturelle et artistique. (Verlaine, 2020)

Among these 'stratégues de la notoriété' (Lizé, Naudier and Sofio 2014) are the names of five women and one man, designated by Julie Verlaine as 'the widows' : Sonia Delaunay, Nina Kandinsky, Jeanne Kosnick-Kloss, Nelly van Doesburg, Lily Klee, Hans Arp and Tut Schlemmer (Verlaine, 2020). Their contribution, in the years of the Second World War, included the organisation of exhibitions in galleries and museums, the sale of the deceased husband's works to private collectors and public institutions and the publication of articles, catalogues and monographs to achieve maximum notoriety for the deceased. These women had two competing public identities: that of a widow, responsible for the memory and transmission of her husband's work, and that of an artist, who wanted to see her work recognised as an autonomous creation. Although they have never been recognised, these cultural intermediaries have managed to complete their memory and heritage mission. This situation can be explicitly found in the story of the visual artist Sonia Delaunay, who lived several years in the shadow of her late husband, initially putting her work in the background.

Rien n'est moins indiqué pour un peintre que d'être la femme, puis la veuve, d'un peintre et qui pis est, d'un grand peintre. Et rien n'est moins indiqué, non plus, que d'avoir participé très intimement et de la façon la plus active à ses recherches les plus personnelles. (Verlaine, 2020)

With these words begins, in 1953, the account of Sonia Delaunay's crucial solo exhibition at the Bing Gallery in Paris. Twelve years after Robert

Delaunay's death, the artist's work is still related to that of her partner, as well as her career, her choices, and her style. Referring to Sonia Delaunay's creative work most of the time means, for her critics, making a list of what Robert owes to Sonia, without devaluing it. Robert's famous return to colour in 1911 is said to be due to Sonia. However, the idea prevails, reinforced by the man's death, that his wife should continue Robert's work with her canvasses and gouaches, which amounts to inequality of status, talent, and originality between the two. The question is whether Sonia Delaunay has her style, and whether her work is autonomous: in short, whether Robert Delaunay's partner can also claim the socially accepted title of 'artist'.

The collaboration with art dealer Henri Bing and Sonia Delaunay reflects the gradual change that the artist has undergone. Initially, Bing had agreed to buy the works of her husband Robert Delaunay, before the presentation of the exhibition *Hommage à Robert Delaunay*, whereas Sonia Delaunay's works were placed in storage and offered for sale. Gradually, Sonia Delaunay became more autonomous, and her work really entered the art market. A value, both aesthetic and financial, begins to be recognised. Starting in the mid-1950s, Sonia Delaunay gained confidence as an artist and refused to allow the paintings on deposit to be considered the gallery's propriety. As the dispute escalated, Bing and Sonia Delaunay called in their lawyers, who reached an amicable agreement in 1957: the artist left 14 of her paintings on deposit with Bing, who undertook to organise an exhibition of the Delaunay couple's works. Sonia is now forced to make a clear distinction between her work and that of Robert. It is noteworthy that it was the women who accompanied her in this process, first gallery owners and then museum curators. In New York at first, Peggy Guggenheim and especially Rose Fried made a powerful statement of 'empowerment' and encouraged Sonia Delaunay to step out of Robert's shadow, to take her rightful place.

The role of women's associations in the construction world

The world of art therefore shows how the union of women has been fundamental in the recognition of women as independent artists, unrelated to their status of wives. This union of women takes concrete form in architecture in the need to create associations that can defend the rights of designers. As a silent flutter of wings, the failure to recognise architect Denise Scott Brown at the Pritzker Prize awarded to her husband and architect Robert Venturi has reverberated over time a need for revenge on the part of women architects. After more than ten years, in fact, a group of young students from Harvard University founded Women in Design in order to repair 'the mistake' made by the Pritzker jury.

Gender issues in the professions of architecture and engineering have triggered since the early twentieth century, when women began to fight for emancipation in several sectors, the creation of networks of associations that require the achievement of equal opportunities in the workplace. A first contribution was made by four young architecture students in North America with the foundation of the 'Confrerie Alongine', converted in 1922 into a national association, open to all universities, called 'Alpha Alpha Gamma'. This was the starting point for the creation of women's associations also in Europe, first in the field of architecture in Finland and Italy (Franchini, Garda, 2018).



In order: Francesca Perani. Photo © Francesca Perani; #Timefor50 Report; Blog Un día una arquitecta (undiaunaarquitecta.wordpress.com)

Pioneering associations still exist nowadays and with new groups they aim to restore the visibility of women in the architectural and engineering professions. The technological era has favoured the spread of awareness of women's activism in every country, giving all women the opportunity to express themselves freely on issues specific to the professional sector and at the same time increasing their visibility. As if connected by an invisible thread, each association is aware of the work and support of the others, providing a union that goes beyond geographical limits, overcoming the barriers of the specific sectors in which the professions of the construction world are declined. As individual groups linked by a special relationship, whose totem lies in the affirmation of gender equity, there are collaborations that differ in structure and nation that pursue the same goals.

Inspired and supported by MoMoWo, the RebelArchitette group was formed by architect Francesca Perani in 2017 to break the stereotype that sees women relegated to the role of collaborators in architectural firms. A female project promotes a less sexist vision of the profession by helping women find a voice in clichés. The term « architette » is used to move away from the patriarchal model on which our society is based. As mentioned above, among the battles faced by RebelArchitette there is the request for recognised equality for Doriana Fuksas, excluded from the Architecture Career Prize awarded to Massimiliano Fuksas, her working partner and husband. On the very same day that Fuksas received the 'discussed' award in Rome, the RebelArchitette group launched the #timefor50 campaign, equality time, in which a petition is also included. The Italian collective wrote the report #timefor50, providing an immediate consultation tool that further clarifies the current state of the profession from a national perspective, showing a disarming situation on the invisibility of women in architectural events.

In the Italian national context, there is also *Ingenio al femminile*, a project carried out since 2018 by the National Council of Engineers (CNI) under the guidance of Ania Lopez, which addresses women in the engineering professions for economic emancipation and recognition of obligations and rights, preventing them from becoming a stereotype through paths, knowledge, and gender comparison in synergy with appropriate political reform.

At the international level, the Architectural Association School of London raised awareness of the women who were trained at this university by celebrating the centenary of female students through a multimedia project that included several events (exhibitions, lectures, conferences, and publications). In the international context, the blog "Un día, una arquitecta", carries forward thought and action, continually confronting traditional paradigms that perpetuate, in history as in the present, the neglect, underestimation and under-representation of women. Finally, let's mention the WikiD of "Architexx" web page.

Women's associationism reveals itself, in its most disparate forms, to be an indispensable tool for increasing individual resources, overcoming differences, promoting a sense of belonging, positively supporting the cultural, social, economic, and environmental changes that characterise the evolutionary process of today's society.

Conclusion

Even today, gender inequalities represent a deep-rooted social and cultural phenomenon; an increasing need to fight for equal real rights is growing. In the examples given above, it is clear how many changes have taken place and how the women's professional role has been legitimised. Each event is intricately linked to another; for example, committees made up mainly of men may have unintentionally led to women being disadvantaged in official recognition. It does not seem accidental that the jury of the 2020 Pritzker Prize also counted the presence of four women (including a Pritzker Kazuyo Sejima) and Wang Shu, husband of the award-winning Lu Wenyu. The committee's heterogeneity led to an equal judgment by rewarding the work of the two designers Yvonne Farrell and Shelley McNamara.

Although there have been many steps forward in achieving gender equity, there is still a long way to go. The possibility of creating a network that has no territorial boundaries and the different areas of dissemination of the theme will effectively support and pursue the issues that have been addressed so far. Projects such as MoMoWo, therefore, leave a legacy that can be enjoyed by all, which continues to reverberate over time, acting as a motivation for future generations so that the work and struggles of women of the past are not forgotten, and those who will carry on architecture will not be left invisible.

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MOMOWO

MoMoWo – Women’s creativity since the Modern Movement, is a research project devoted to women - architects, civil engineers, and designers - active in the construction world. It results from the cooperation between seven institutions (in France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Spain) under the coordination of the Politecnico di Torino. The international research project has been co-funded for four years (2014-2018) by the European Union’s Creative Europe Programme. MoMoWo is pioneering because it has given visibility to women designers for the first time on a European scale. It has helped revalue the experience that women have built up since the Modern Movement to create a bridge between generations of female designers.

The title of the project refers to the Modern Movement, a historical phase in which professional women have known their emancipation from the work perspective. Despite this first success, this period is emblematic because of the disparity it establishes, some states favour emancipation, others oppose it; on the one hand, women are allowed to pursue careers in traditionally male fields, and on the other hand, they have often had to put strategies into practice so that their name does not reveal the gender.

The several activities of the MoMoWo project were conceived in close relationship with each other and started with the « International Design Competition » for the creation of the logo and promotional items. MoMoWo’s identity was created through a ‘bottom-up’ approach, involving under-35 designers (women and men) from all over the world for the design, while the creation of the objects was entrusted to the inmates of the Direção-Geral de Reinserção e Serviços Prisionais (DGRSP) in Lisbon.

The research has produced an in-progress GIS database that, in addition to collecting the gathered data, has encouraged other studies and initiatives aimed at revealing the cultural, material and immaterial legacy of women designers. The conception of the Database with the application of a Geographic Information System (GIS) has opened the way to making maps of the careers of women architects, civil engineers and designers, and of their works in the fields of architecture, landscape architecture, urban planning, architectural and urban restoration, civil engineering, interior and furniture design, from the past to the present time. The released online map⁷ displays part of the results issued from the principal research tool created to build an interactive and participatory platform for sharing knowledge and fostering new studies that can pass the limits of MoMoWo partnership in its future developments. According to this aim, a ‘conceptual architecture’ was set up in order to drive data collection, following a vision of a long-term work in progress. Through the scientific methodological approach adopted for the Database, each multidisciplinary partner’s team contributed to gathering the biographical data and info’s on women’s works at various stages of research.

These stages comprised:

- the preparation of the International Travelling Exhibition 100 Works | 100 Years | 100 Women (which opened in July 2016 at the University of Oviedo),
- the cultural-tourist itineraries for the Guidebook MoMoWo. Women Architecture & Design Itineraries across Europe (published in September 2016),
- the three International Historical Workshops on Women Designers, Architects and Civil Engineers between 1918 and 1989 (Leiden, 2015; Ljubljana, 2016; Oviedo 2017),
- the Symposium Women’s Creativity since the Modern Movement (1918–2018): Toward a New Perception and Reception (International Conference, Politecnico di Torino, July 2018).

The results of the project's activities were presented by several open access publications⁸ to ensure greater access to documentation and knowledge, and numerous public presentations and the organisation of Open Days in Women's Professional Offices⁹. Through the simultaneous opening to the public of the professional studios, these extraordinary media events have allowed the involvement of the younger generations going well beyond the gender issue and promoting intergenerational and interprofessional dialogue.

Moreover, the photographic reportages on the homes of women designers, as a result of the MoMoWo International Photo Competition, have underlined the problematic conciliation between home and work and have allowed, through a travelling exhibition, to spread the knowledge of female professional profiles in many European cities.

The International Travelling Exhibition is one of the primary means of dissemination of the European cultural cooperation project, MoMoWo. The exhibition started travelling across Europe by visiting the partner cities, namely Oviedo, Lisbon, Grenoble, Amsterdam, Ljubljana and Turin, before moving on to other cities. The exhibition is organised into two sections, indoor and outdoor, and intended for specialists and the general public. The indoor section consists mainly of an interactive digital exhibition entitled MoMoWo. 100 Works in 100 Years. European Women in Architecture and Design. 1918-2018 that shows the first results from the MoMoWo database. Through imagery and slogans, the exhibition's indoor section presents the public with iconic and lesser known works that represent the three historical periods: 1918-45, 1946-68, 1969-89, which all relate to significant periods of cultural, social and political changes in Europe. The works displayed show the creativity of 100 women professionals from over twenty-six countries. Besides this impressive collection of works, the indoor section also presents the MoMoWo. Women. Architecture & Design Itineraries across Europe. The MoMoWo's international team designed eighteen cultural-tourist itineraries to promote 125 works of women architects and designers in four cities – Barcelona, Lisbon, Paris, Turin – and two countries the Netherlands and Slovenia. The outdoor section is designed to be visited in urban public spaces, such as roads, squares, train stations, and presents the winning projects of the International Photo Competition, which showcased women designers' own homes.

Although the MoMoWo project officially ended in 2018, exhibitions continue to be required by many international institutions. The research carried out by MoMoWo reveals issues and analysis that can disclose the different cultural gender barriers that need to be admitted and tackled to create new narratives of history.



MoMoWo publications (available on www.momowo.eu). In order: MoMoWo – Women Designers, Craftswomen, Architects and Engineers between 1918 and 1945; MoMoWo – 100 Works in 100 Years. European Women in Architecture and Design – 1918-2018; Women's Creativity since the Modern Movement (1918-2018). Toward a New Perception and Reception (MoMoWo Symposium 2018 Programme and Abstracts of the International Conference); Women's Creativity since the Modern Movement (1918-2018). Toward a New Perception and Reception; MoMoWo, A European Cultural Heritage.

7. www.momowo.eu/database-webgis

8. On the website www.momowo.eu

9. "Open Days" have been organised in all partner countries, every March 8th for three years as and from 2015

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Abstract

In Belgium, as elsewhere, the studies and profession of architect are becoming more feminine. However, this progression should not hide the survival of gender inequalities at the different stages of the career, nor the glass ceiling that remains for the highest positions in the hierarchy of the profession. This article focuses on a particular scene in the architect's profession, that of the building site, insofar as the architect is confronted with the world of construction, particularly connoted as virile and masculine. Based on semi-directive interviews conducted with women architects at different stages of their careers, we describe the trials (including heavy and insistent glances, whistling, lack of recognition) they go through on building sites and the strategies (including those which hide or accentuate femininity, those which aim to be recognised) they develop in order to take and keep their place there.

“MEN ONLY”

Christine Schaut and Ludivine Damay

The workers present on the site spoke directly to O., even though I’m in charge of the project and he’s there to assist me. At that moment, O. stepped aside and said ‘in fact I’m only here to assist her’, they continued to address him. (Architect, partner in a firm, 47)

1. The concept of career is understood in the Beckerian sense of the term. It implies the way in which, at its different stages, an individual’s history is constructed at the heart of social interactions and a labelling process.

In Belgium, as in other European countries, architecture studies and the architecture profession are becoming more feminised. However, this progression should not gloss over the persistence of gender-based inequalities at the different stages of an architect’s career (Becker, 1985)¹. We will consider these inequalities in the first part of this article. Then, after presenting some characteristics of the world of the building site, the article examines the gender issues in this particular environment, describing the difficulties women architects face because of their gender and the strategies they develop to take and keep their place there.

This article is based on interviews that were conducted in two stages. In the first stage, thirty interviews with women architects working in offices or in public administrations were done by students from the 'Architecture and Human Sciences' option of the La Cambre-Horta Faculty of Architecture at ULB during the 2017-2018 academic year. These interviews focused on the women's professional careers and their perceptions of their profession. It was through the analysis of these interviews that the building site emerged as one of the strong contexts in which gender was questioned. In this article, we use four interviews conducted by these students, with two women architects aged between 25 and 30, one of whom is an employee in a firm and one a civil servant; a 40-year-old woman architect who has become a real estate agent, and a 48-year-old woman architect who works in an office. In a second stage, we conducted seven interviews ourselves with women architects who have experienced building sites or still frequent building sites in their jobs. Three of them are aged between 25 and 30, of which two work for firms and one is a civil servant; of the four others, aged between 45 and 55, three work as freelance architects while the last one is a partner in a firm. Four of them are also teachers. An interview was conducted with a job counsellor for the building sector (35 years old) who had trained as a mason and who we found offered a different perspective on the gendered reality of the building site. Finally, an interview was conducted with a male architect (53 years old) who is the head of a firm and has a long experience of building sites.

This survey is exploratory and will be expanded in the future by interviews, in particular with women architects working in more rural areas or integrated into large teams where the division of labour is stronger, and by direct observations of building sites.

The place of women in architectural professions and the world of construction

2. These are the architecture faculties of the ULB and UCLouvain in Brussels (Loci). In 2017-2018, women accounted for 49.2% of enrolments at ULB and 50.2% at UCLouvain.

3. As Pierre Bourdieu has shown, women inevitably fulfil the image of themselves that the patriarchal culture assigns to them. By giving this role the appearance of naturalness, they reinforce what is in fact socially produced. Mothers (and their daughters) tend to insert themselves into these roles when choosing studies and professions, thus contributing to this self-fulfilling prophecy linked to the symbolic domination of the male.

Architecture studies and the architecture profession are becoming more feminised in French-speaking Belgium. For example, in 2017, in the two Brussels architecture faculties², males and females were equally represented at the beginning of the school curriculum, with an over-representation of young female graduates. Their representation within the Order of Architects is also steadily increasing, but remains low, since women are very much in the minority: in 2012, they made up 30% of the architects registered with the Order, and 33% in 2017. This slow progression has not prevented gender inequalities from persisting. Thus, while in 2017 women represented the majority of interns registered with the Order of Architects (53%), they are much less likely to be an *auteur(e) de projet* [project designer] (28%), a status that gives them the right to sign plans. The statutory hierarchy within the Order thus reflects the symbolic gender hierarchy and tends to confirm the existence of a real glass ceiling within the professional career of the freelance architect (Laufer, 2004). The interviews confirm the existence of gender inequalities at different points in the careers of the women interviewed. Prior to university, the choice of pursuing a career as an architect is sometimes met with reluctance on the part of both fathers and mothers (Bourdieu, 1998)³: 'Wouldn't you prefer to be an interior designer or a draughtswoman?' is what one

mother said to her daughter when the latter expressed her desire to study architecture. Some interviewees felt that later on, during their studies, they were not treated as equals to male students, and teachers were sometimes more paternalistic towards them, giving them more care than they felt justified, or on the contrary were less attentive to them than they were towards their male counterparts. Moreover, university is also a professional environment: although women largely occupy administrative positions or give theoretical courses, they have a lesser presence in the design studios where the profession of architectural design is taught and which are still considered to sit at the top of the hierarchy of architectural education. There are some figures available to attest to this, even if they are not representative since they only concern the La Cambre-Horta Faculty of Architecture at the ULB: female studio project professors represent 21% of the teaching staff in the first three years of the university curriculum and 23% of instructors in the master's studios.

Although integration into the job market does not seem to be more difficult for women, the Order's figures reveal an under-representation of women the later stages of architectural careers. Our survey highlighted what was already known: the disappearance of women from the profession appears to be partly linked to them moving towards more stable jobs, particularly in the civil service or in associations where building expertise is expected. This often occurs when women plan to have children and/or when the project to live as a couple stabilises (Lapeyre, 2004). This orientation towards salaried positions illustrates the permanence of the internal segmentation process (Lapeyre, 2004, p. 49). The following excerpt shows that a woman architect's departure from her office seems almost taken for granted in the eyes of male colleagues from the moment she becomes a mother. A naturalisation process is at work here, even though it is sociologically questionable:

When I left to work in administration, I left because I didn't like the office I was in, but I left just after I got married and then I had a baby the following year and I think in their minds they were thinking "she left because she wanted a baby". They didn't take my leaving badly, and there was a sort of reverse misogyny when one of the male colleagues [...] left the office [...] to work in administration, he was very badly treated when he left, they were very critical of him doing that. (Architect, civil servant, 28, student interview).

The glass ceiling phenomenon, from which women working in architectural offices are not exempt, has been particularly well documented (Laufer, 2004). It is built up through small actions, gestures and omissions, which go almost unnoticed and yet, imperceptibly, make a difference: women state that they are slower to go to the building site than the male colleagues of their age, or are more often assigned to administrative tasks while

4. Stéphanie Gallioz's work on the gendered division of the construction industry makes the same observation. It is still much clearer and undisputed than in architecture. Administrative work is largely reserved for women and is considered unproductive by those, mostly men, who work on the site outdoors.

their male colleagues are given so-called creative tasks such as project design (Gallioz, 2006)⁴. The numerous *charrette* situations, i.e. the fact of working to a deadline without counting the hours in order to complete a project, can prevent women, who are socially more invested than men in the upbringing of children and housework, from asserting the same commitment to the architectural profession.

I had my children, I was already 35. I'd been working in this office for a few years. It changed more from the moment I went part-time... It became a bit of a pretext for not giving me any responsibility. When I stopped working for them, sometimes I would stop by to say hello and it's true that one day one of the bosses greeted me by saying 'It's the mamma.' That was it, things were clear to me, I made my choice. (Freelance architect, 48, student interview).

The glass ceiling is also reinforced imperceptibly when peers gather to evaluate the quality of architectural projects. Women architects can be criticised for a lack of radicalism or too much concern for users, which makes them meek and not very daring.

I remember an anecdote, a competition with another architectural firm that only had one female partner. Her proposal took future uses into account. The project was ridiculed by her partners, it wasn't radical enough in their eyes, they told her she was waffling, but I thought what she said made sense. In the end we did what the men said. (Architect, 27, trainee in an office).

Other testimonials make similar points, such as that of a woman architect who, unlike her male colleagues, feels uncomfortable and not listened to during the theoretical discussions that take place at the beginning of any project.

Before discussing the place of women architects in the world of the building site, let us first state what we know about this environment. The collective imagination associates the world of the building site with the hoarding that surrounds it and which, symbolically, is a reminder of how little we actually know about it (Duc, 2002; Jounin, 2014). As soon as it finishes, the building site is forgotten as if it were merely a hiatus in the history of the architectural work designed by the architect. This omission illustrates the power of the architect over the building site and its workers: 'we need the building site but it does not participate in the symbolic value of the work'⁵. Does this mean that the building site is totally subservient to the work? No, because its characteristics guarantee it a large degree of autonomy. The world of the building site is constructed both on a very strong hierarchy, which must one know and respect, and on a real code of honour that values cooperation, mutual aid, solidarity and physical strength (Duc, 2002; Bernard, 2008, p. 100). These characteristics make

5. Livio Vacchini quoted by Luc Weizmann, contribution during the study day "L'intelligence des chantiers", organised by the Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine, 23 January 2019, https://www.citedelarchitecture.fr/fr/videos/collection/4018/annee/2019/personne/4021?ff%5B0%5D=im_field_video_intervenants%253A453&text=, consulted 04 April 2020.

6. Architect, 30, employee at an architecture firm.

it a world of its own, one that from the outside at least is homogenous, but also a world capable of standing up to the project manager. A young female architect likens the weekly site meetings between the architect, the project manager, the managers and the site foreman to battles, mainly financial ones, in which there is explicit and tense conflict⁶. The power of the architect is not absolute either, because, even if he has a panoptic view of the building site and an overall understanding of it, the practical skills of the teams are often outside of his expertise. The teams know how to put the technical knowledge of the site workers to the test of reality, they handle the materials, test their resistance and put them in place on a real scale. They experience the site, which is not the case for the architect. Site workers implement other strategies to mitigate the architect's power: during his visits, for example, the site foreman, knowing the site by heart, shows him what he wants to show him. He distracts him, he keeps him busy. Sometimes the workers let him make mistakes to make sure he'll be held accountable: 'they let you do stupid things to corner you and then cover up for you with a "we won't say anything"'. (Male architect, partner in a firm, 53). The existence of implicit rules, of ways of doing things and behaving, also reinforces the power of the different professions present on the site, and conversely, weakens the architect. The anecdote below shows the 'power' of the building site world and its conventions (Becker, 1988):

It was very hot on the building site, two workers were smoothing concrete in a small, overheated, non-ventilated room. I felt sorry for them. At the end of the visit, I went to the supermarket to get some beers and I came back to the site with bags full to give to the workers. This was taken badly by the foreman: 'do you think I don't look after my men?' he said to me. Cold beers were waiting for 'his' men in the site fridge. (Architect male, partner in a firm, 53).

The world of the building site is also masculine and virile as the following extract illustrates:

I've never had a female contractor, a female accountant working for a contractor, yes... A female plumber, mason, electrician, no... You'll find some female painters, and some women doing finishing work, yes. And then there you have female clients. (Freelance architect, teacher, 55)

The 'maleness' of the site is also illustrated in the percentages below, which provide an objective view of the scarcity of female workers in the construction sector in Belgium.

Percentage of women	Construction professions
3.1	Building manager
2.0	Building supervisor
85.0	Office worker
0.7	Multi-skilled building worker
0.6	Mason
2.0	Carpenter and building carpenter
2.0	Zinc roofer
3.0	Floor and wall covering installer and tiler
1.3	Plasterer
2.1	Plumber and pipe fitter
4.6	Building painters and wallpaper fitters
0.4	Electrician
0.0	Mechanic, fitter
0.0	Machine operator
4.3	Total

Source: Statbel (Direction Générale Statistique - Statistics Belgium), Enquête sur les forces de Travail, Moyenne de 3 années : 2016-2018.

7. Finishers complete the structural work (roof, walls, floors, electricity, plumbing). These trades include tiling, painting and wallpapering.

8. Pascale Molinier and Daniel Welzer-Lang, "Féminité, masculinité, virilité", in Hélène Hirata et al. (ed.), *Dictionnaire critique du féminisme*, (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 2000), p. 71-6, quoted by Pascale Molinier, "Virilité défensive, masculinité créatrice", *Travail, genre et sociétés* 1, no. 3 (2000): 25-44 (p. 26).

9. Frédéric Rasera and Nicolas Renahy, "Virilités : au-delà du populaire", *Travail, genre et sociétés* 1, no. 29 (2013): 169-73 (p. 169). See also Haude Rivoal, "Masculinités, travail et classes populaires", *Mouvements*, 17 September 2018, <https://mouvements.info/masculinites-travail-et-classes-populaires/>, consulted 20 November 2020.

On closer inspection, the 4% female representation is achieved through administrative jobs. In the other jobs in the sector, women are either totally absent or very poorly represented. As S. Gallioz notes in his article, their presence is a little stronger in the finishing trades⁷ (Gallioz, 2006, p. 111). The same author also points out how the 'symbolic exclusion' of women from the outdoor construction site is a social construct, whose reproduction and naturality are sustained by socialisation mechanisms (Bourdieu, 1998). This exclusion would appear to be linked to the firmly rooted idea that the world of the building site is a world where physical strength and the cult of manliness dominate: 'to work in building site trades, physical strength is required, which does not seem to be part of female genetics' (Gallioz, 2006, p. 102). Manliness, understood as the expression of 'social attributes associated with men and masculinity: strength, courage, the ability to fight, the right to violence and the privileges associated with the domination of those who are not, and cannot be, manly: women and children' (Gallioz, 2006, p. 102)⁸, is not exclusive to the world of manual labour. It cuts across all social classes, even if it is expressed in different ways⁹. In the working class, largely present in the world of the building site, physical strength, camaraderie, endurance and pride in the work accomplished are the qualities that are valued (Dugré, 2006, p. 51).

How do the women architects we met deal with this world where they find few female workers? The second part of the article seeks to answer this question.

Women architects on the building site: enduring and playing along

For the women we met, the building site is never an easy experience. The tone used to describe it is sometimes mocking, often light. Sometimes it is more serious. The interviews reveal pain that is still vivid and persistent.

First visits to the building site highlight the stark distinction between men and women:

The first time I felt it [*editor's note: male-female distinction*] was on the building site. I was supervising a construction project [...]. I already had a theoretical idea of the building site before setting foot on one, and what's more entering a world of men for both the contractors and the workers. [My aim was to] participate manually and understand the techniques. And then I heard a few remarks, 'what's a girl doing there', 'you don't know how to help us'... As a result, I was asked to do technical drawings in the site office. I couldn't take part manually, or have normal relations with the workers... (Architect, civil servant, 30)

Going to a building site for the first time means exposing yourself to stares and whistling :

It was about ten years ago, when I was working on big projects, when I was often on site, I would arrive, the little chick, and they'd be whistling me... It was just not very nice, I wasn't at ease, and so on. (Architect, real estate agent, 40 years old, student interview).

The heavy stares that follow them when they enter a building site become even more pronounced when they are dressed as 'women'.

In our profession as architects, it's clear that when you end up going to a building site when it wasn't planned and you're not necessarily dressed appropriately, as a woman you're going to stand out. As a man, if you are wearing a suit because you had a meeting, people will say you are well dressed. As a woman you should always have a change of clothes in the car. If you arrive in heels or well dressed, you'll be whistled at. (Freelance architect and teacher, 46).

Alongside these insistent stares, some women also mention the absence of eye contact from the moment the exchange becomes professional. Non-looking and non-listening then become the norm, experienced as so many denials of recognition:

There are guys who walk past me and greet me by lifting their chins and who then address my colleague who takes a step to the side saying that he is there to assist me. Yet they continue to address him. It's just that it's not compatible, not in the picture, there's something wrong, something that doesn't fit. (Architect, office manager, 47).

This difficulty in having one's place recognised is at the heart of many interactions with building site workers. According to one interviewee, the nature of the interactions is linked to the positions the women occupy. Especially when the woman architect is young; interactions are more tense with the site foreman than with the more protective, paternalistic workers. This is probably to be understood in terms of the competition between two relatively close professional positions aiming to establish and constantly re-establish the balance of power between them. Interactions also appear to be more tense between the woman architect and the site foreman when there are spectators present, as if the site foreman were trying to consolidate his standing in front of 'his' men. Some of the women architects interviewed noted the same difficulty with male clients and contractors. This difficulty earning credibility is not exclusive to young female architects. They may face similar tests at a later stage. To prove oneself, to be recognised, requires constant effort. Even if most admit to gradually finding their place through different strategies or, at least, by learning to get used to conditions, this lack of recognition causes pain even to those who have gained experience on the building site.

I've never had any physical problems, let's say I've never been physically assaulted or anything, but morally I have [...]. At the beginning, I went to see a psychologist, because when I went to the site and everyone was whistling at me, well it bothered me, so I only wore trousers, I tried not to sway too much when walking, in fact I tried to control my femininity, you could say, and after a while it got me down, I didn't feel very good about myself and I had to talk to someone. (Architect, real estate agent, 40, student interview).

The women we met were not passive in dealing with the trials of the building site; they used strategies to overcome their discomfort and sometimes took control of the site.

Some of these trials are related to the way they dress (Rennes, Lemarchant and Bernard, 2019, p. 24). Skirts, dresses, low necklines and high heels

are off limits. This certainly can be viewed as a pragmatic adaptation to the conditions of the worksite, to the comfort needed to move around it and to the safety standards in effect. However, also, and above all, it is a strategy of avoiding stares and whistling. After all, it is hard to see why a dress would be less comfortable than jeans. In order to avoid being caught displaying too much femininity, many women architects take a change of clothes in their car.

I never go on site wearing a skirt or a dress, but it's true that I don't spontaneously wear them a lot. [...] I don't have to change myself, but as I see things, I would never go on site in a skirt or a dress... If I ever wanted to express my femininity, I wouldn't do it on a building site. (Architect, civil servant, 30).

Dressing in jeans to escape sexist stares does not, however, prevent some women architects from playing 'feminine' (Dugré, 2006, p. 87) in order to get what they want from the workers. L. E., a 47-year-old architect, admits that she sometimes acts naive, overplaying her incompetence and weakness, because she knows the workers are sensitive to this and like 'to take women under their wing [because] it makes them important and motivates them... It makes them want to work.' Another plays on what are considered to be more feminine qualities of negotiation and listening in the case of conflict and deems herself more gifted than a man at appeasing others.

Here we are perhaps viewing examples of what Bourdieu refers to as 'learned helplessness', that is to say the process by which the more a woman is treated as a woman, the more she becomes one (Dugré, 2006, p. 88). This strategy of 'playing the female role' therefore reflects a kind of alienation from the acquired and perpetuated condition. At the same time, however, one cannot help but see it as a strategy of using to the imposed game to serve one's own purposes.

Others insist on taking the opposite tack: (over)demonstrating their competence, proving themselves and proving their credibility. One must not 'lose ground' when entering the site, even if perceived as a stranger there. Several young architects said that they have to be extra 'sure of themselves', forcing themselves, to show that they will not let themselves be 'stepped on'. You have to 'stake your place and take it' (Architect, civil servant, 30, and architect, 27, employee at a firm – student interview). For others, this strategy involves raising one's voice, even if it means calling oneself... hysterical:

I arrive at the site... I notice the poorly placed frame. I wonder why and ask. The contractor's first reaction is to blame my plans. I know all the dimensions by heart. A

worker tells me that he hasn't understood the dimensions. I show him: '51 cm'. And the guys insist... Then it gets heated and I yell at them. A woman screaming on the building site is death. We make them think of their mother, their sister, their girlfriend. N., my partner, can yell, curse and so on. If I do the same thing, it's carnage. We can't shout. They were all speechless, petrified. Thanks to Freud and hysteria, we get labelled, whereas a man gets away with it. (Freelance architect, teacher, 48).

Finally, another strategy is to play the humour card to negate the effects of domination. In a professional setting, 'humour can be used to limit conflicts between dominant and dominated groups by preventing their respective symbolic codes from becoming naturalised in insoluble conflict' (Le Lay and Pentimalli, 2013, p. 142). It can also be used to 'test' a worker and make him part of a collective by confronting him with the things that hold the group together, as sexist representations can do (Le Lay and Pentimalli, 2013, p. 146).

It's more teasing than anything else. You can't get worked up about it. We have to play along. They make jokes about each other, about their own wives... If there's a joke about blondes, because again, I regularly have these jokes directed at me, I think it's funny, actually. If I get worked up, they'll see it and it will amuse them to make jokes about blondes. I usually laugh about it. With humour, things go really well. (Mason, job counsellor, 35).

Conclusion

This way we have of laughing. At our own desires. The way we laugh at ourselves. To keep one step ahead. This way in which we are programmed to kill. To kill ourselves. Best not to think about it. (Lévy, 2020, p. 132-3)

The world of the building site is a world where the question of gender is subject to tensions and rendered forcibly visible. In response to the difficulties they undergo there, women architects (but also women construction workers, as G. Dugré's research points out), use various strategies to challenge the status quo. Following de Certeau, we should ask ourselves whether these are real strategies capable of overturning the rules of the dominant and masculine order, or rather tactics (de Certeau, 1990), that is, ways of playing the game imposed on them, without succeeding in changing the rules. Do these methods succeed or, even if they enable women to get by without too much damage, do they not in fact serve to reproduce male domination? Evidence gathered by the survey shows that the lines seem to be shifting: awareness-raising campaigns are being

conducted in the construction sector, and the women interviewed seem themselves to note generational differences in the world of architects and building sites, with a more pronounced concern for equality among younger professionals. However, these developments should not make us forget the persistence of the glass ceiling and its effects, as discussed.

On the building site, women architects are confronted with a double strangeness: because of their gender and because of their status as architects. If, because of their gender, they suffer 'affronts' and denials of recognition, they enjoy a statutory power (Piganiol, 2016), that of project manager, which gives them a favourable position, provided their firms give them a place on the building site that enables them to establish a position of strength in relation to the other professions. Indeed, this rebalancing process prompted one of the young female architects we met to comment that, despite its toughness, in her view the building site was less plagued by gender issues than the firm where she works. In her opinion, the reason for this discrepancy is that on the building site you have different trades with their own specificities and hierarchical positions that are more clearly defined than in the offices, where most of the workers are architects.

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PART 5

METHODS OF SOCIO HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

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Abstract

Among the German and Austrian refugees who fled the Nazi regime to the USA between 1932 and 1940 was a small number of women architects. Although they came from comparable middle-class and mostly Jewish backgrounds, their country of birth, age and place of practice varied. Some had graduated recently, others had broad working experience in a variety of offices or had led independent practices. Few continued to practice architecture in exile but most established careers in related fields.

The question of which methodology is most suited to analyze their work determines the scope of this paper. Its focus is proposing a research methodology to study these women architects in American exile. It critically assesses existing methodologies and suggests shifting the focus from individual architects to the contexts which provided support and led to work opportunities. This moves the attention away from focusing on the careers and work as stand-alone products and regards them as a result of complex intersecting parameters.

WOMEN ARCHITECTS IN EXILE: METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES IN HISTORIOGRAPHY

By Tanja Poppelreuter

1 "Mrs. Bloch, wir haben 7 Millionen Arbeitslose, unsere Architekten verkaufen Bleistifte und Äpfel an den Straßenecken." Karola Bloch, *Aus meinem Leben* (Pfullingen: Günther Neske, 1981), 127.

'Mrs. Bloch, we have 7 million unemployed, our architects sell pencils and apples at street corners.'¹ Architect Karola Bloch (born Piotrkowska, 1905-1994) recalled in her autobiography this response by the US Consul in Vienna to her inquiry about obtaining a visa to the United States in 1938.

Bloch and her family were among the great number of mainly Jewish refugees forced into exile by governmentally sanctioned systematic discrimination, persecution and violence that commenced in Germany with Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) seizing power in 1933 and in Austria after the country was annexed into Germany in 1938.

Among the refugees was a small number of women, such as Bloch, with an education in architecture. The list of their names is short and, in all probability, incomplete.

Born before 1900: Marie Frommer (1890-1976), Liane Zimmler (born Juliana Fischer, 1892-1987) and Lilia Skala (born Sofer 1896-1996).

Born between 1901 and the beginning of the First World War.²

o Elsa Gidoni (born Mandelstamm 1901-1978), Karola Bloch, Hilde Reiss (1909-2002), Wera Gaebler (born Itting, 1909-1965), Elisabeth Close (born Scheu, 1912-2011), and Melita Rodeck (1914-2011). All arrived in the United States between 1933 and 1940 as refugees.

o Adelheid Lesser (1884-1961), Eva Weininger (born Fernbach, 1903-2007), Mathilde 'Mathy' Wiener (1932-1952 Beckmann, 1909-?) and Hildegard Oswald (born Korte, 1913-?) on the other hand had found refuge in an European country, Israel, Canada or Shanghai during the war and immigrated to the United States after 1945.

2. This list of names and biographical information was compiled from: Myra Warhaftig, *Deutsche jüdische Architekten vor und nach 1933 - Das Lexikon* (Reimer: Berlin 2005), Corinna Isabel Bauer, *Architekturstudentinnen in der Weimarer Republik. Bauhaus und Tessenow Schülerinnen. Genderaspekte im Spannungsverhältnis von Tradition und Moderne* (PhD Universität Kassel, 2006), Collections in the International Archives of Women in Architecture (IAWA), Blacksburg, VA. This list does not include women, such as Franziska Hosken, who studied architecture after arriving in the United States or women, such as Lotte Klopsch-Schmidt, who immigrated to the United States before 1933.

3. Sabine Plakolm-Forsthuber, *Künstlerinnen in Österreich 1897- 1938: Malerei – Plastik – Architektur* (Wien: Picus, 1994), 16.

4. Despina Stratigakos, "Reconstructing a Lost History: Exiled Jewish Women Architects in America", *Aufbau (The Transatlantic Jewish Paper)* 68, no. 22 (2002): 14.

5. Susanne Businger "Deutschsprachige Architektinnen im Exil zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus: Anmerkungen zu einem nahezu unerforschten Gebiet", *Zwischenwelt: Literatur, Widerstand, Exil* 28, no. 1-2 (2011): 34-8.

6. "Ein Leben, zwei Karrieren: Die Architektin Liane Zimble", Matthias Boeckl ed. *Visionäre & Vertriebene: Österreichische Spuren in der modernen amerikanischen Architektur* (Berlin: Ernst&Sohn, 1995), 295-309.

The critical publications on these practitioners apply in most instances a narrowly defined scope and focus on biography, routes into architectural education and practices in a particular place and context. Austrian art historian Sabine Plakolm-Forsthuber was, in 1994, among the earliest scholars who addressed this subject matter. She explained that exiled women had been forgotten because the time during which they practiced and were expelled had not been given much attention in Austrian scholarship.³ The same cannot be claimed for German scholarship but in 2002 American architectural historian Despina Stratigakos and in 2011 German scholar Susanne Businger saw the need for 'Reconstructing a Lost History'⁴ of women in architecture who found exile in the United States and called for research on '*Deutschsprachige Architektinnen im Exil zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*'⁵ (German-speaking Women Architects in Exile during the Time of National Socialism).

Reasons for the scarcity of research on this topic is determined by the lack of primary material. This was caused by the fractured and disjointed biographies in Europe and the United States, the flights into exile and often the absence of family networks who could have retained material. Most information available on Frommer, for example, is available in a few articles published during her lifetime as well as in letters that survived in estates of her friend Lotte Jacobi and in mentions in the memoirs of her university friend Lotte Cohen. The content of Frommer's apartment, where she lived from the 1940s to her death in 1976 seems to have been lost; Frommer never married, had no children and her only surviving family were a niece and a nephew in England. Both died in 2004 and because they too did not have children, the executor of their estates did not retain any personal belongings such as letters or photographs.⁶ In addition to the lack of material, a study on this disparate group of women, who had little in common apart from their professional education and being forced into exile / immigrating to the United States, causes a number of methodological and theoretical challenges.

Among them is that the subject matter situates a study on refugee women within the fields of Refugee Studies, Exile Studies and studies on Women's History. These fields of scholarship have relatively recently been developed and are understood as inter-disciplinary and transnational. Theoretical considerations and methodological approaches developed furthermore in response to specific questions and followed aims and purposes particular to each field. A review of theoretical questions can therefore guide the inquiry towards a reconstruction-project of the lost history of German-speaking women in exile in the United States.

Questions, that this paper asks are; in which ways a study of the careers of a small and disparate group of women might contribute to the historiography of 20th-century architecture. How should this history be constructed without repeating or reinforcing bias, essentialist or binary thinking, all of

7. See for example Hermann Arnhold, *Bauhaus and America*. Exhibition catalogue LWL-Museum für Kunst und Kultur (Bielefeld: Kerber Art, 2018), Margret Kentgens-Craig, *Bauhaus-Architektur: Die Rezeption in Amerika* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1993).

8. Friedrich Achleitner, "Die geköpfte Architektur: Anmerkungen zu einem ungeschriebenen Kapitel der österreichischen Architekturgeschichte," in Hochschule für Angewandte Kunst, ed. *Die Vertreibung des geistigen aus Österreich* (Wien: Zentralsparkasse und Kommerzbank, 1985), 196. Boeckl ed. *Visionäre & Vertriebene*.

9. Thomas W. Gaehtgens, ed. *Künstlerischer Austausch: Artistic Exchange*. Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongressess für Kunstgeschichte, Berlin, 15.-20. Juli 1992 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

10. Stephanie Barron, ed. *Exiles + Emigres: The Flight of European Artists from Hitler* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1997) and Stephanie Barron, *Exil. Flucht und Emigration europäischer Künstler 1933-1945* (München: Prestel, 1997).

11. Bernd Nicolai, *Architektur und Exil: Kulturtransfer und architektonische Emigration von 1930 bis 1955* (Trier: Porta Alba Verlag, 2003).

12. Charmian Brinson, Jana Barbora Buresova and Andrea Hammel, eds., *Exile and Gender II: Politics, Education and the Arts* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, Rodpoi, 2017). See also Helga Schreckenberger, *Networks of Refugees from Nazi Germany: continuities, Reorientations, and Collaborations in Exile* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, Rodpoi, 2016).

13. Liisa H Malkki, "Refugees and Exile: From 'Refugee Studies' to the National Order of Things", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 498. Alice Bloch, "Reflections and directions for research in refugee studies," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43, no. 3 (2019): 436-59, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1677928>.

which historiography has been criticised for in the past. To approach these questions, it is necessary to review theoretical studies on the subject matter and on history writing so that this paper discusses theoretical discourses with the aim to develop a response to these questions. The selection of literature is based on its content but is also reflective of the area of expertise, interests and concerns of the author. It does not seek to provide readers with a comprehensive overview but instead prioritises literature relevant for the particular object of study at hand.

Part I: Refugee Studies / Exile Studies

Theoretical considerations about exile, refugees, displacement, diaspora, migration and related concepts have been addressed in a range of fields. Within the humanities and in particular within art and architecture the work of modernist architects who fled or immigrated to the United States and the influence of the Bauhaus have been discussed for some time.⁷

During the 1980s this focus broadened from well-known practitioners to lesser-known ones and was addressed in the 1985 book *Die Vertreibung des Geistigen aus Österreich (The expulsion of the spiritual/intellectual from Austria)*⁸ and also by Thomas W. Gaehtgens' in the 1993 congress *Artistic Exchange*⁹ as well as in the 1997 exhibition *Exiles + Emigres* by Stephanie Barron.¹⁰ Bernd Nicolai adapted a global perspective in focussing on the mechanisms of cultural transfer by modern European architects through travel, immigration and exile in the 2003 anthology *Architektur und Exil*.¹¹

A recent title that discusses women in art and architecture in exile is Charmian Brinson and Andrea Hammel's 2017 anthology *Exile and Gender*¹² where women from a range of professions are discussed who fled to the UK and Ireland. Brinson and Hammel examine concepts of gender, interactions between exiles and apply – as had Nicolai – a broad perspective across an extensive timescale.

Such research has provided detailed insights and context about expulsion, routes into exile, mechanisms of acculturation and the experience of exile – most of the women mentioned above, have, however, not been analysed within scholarship in Refugee or Exile Studies.¹³

14. Malkki, "Refugees", 498.

15. Ibid., 501.

16. Bloch, "Reflections", 437 and Malkki, "Refugees", 507.

17. Malkki, "Refugees", 508.

18. Barry N Stein, "The Refugee Experience: Defining the Parameters of a Field of Study", *The International Migration Review* 15, no. 1/2, *Refugees Today* (Spring Summer, 1981): 320-30.

19. Malkki, "Refugees", 508.

20. Ibid., 511.

21. Ibid., 511.

The term 'refugee' in its modern and contemporary configuration as a global social category developed after the Second World War in Europe when refugee law, settlements and camps were created to respond to the unprecedented displacement of individuals¹⁴ and when the term 'refugee' was defined at the 1951 'Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees'.¹⁵

'Refugee Studies' emerged as an interdisciplinary field during the 1970s and 80s and in particular with the formation of the Refugee Studies Programme at the University of Oxford in 1982 and the *Journal of Refugee Studies* in 1988. Its theoretical framework was developed by importing theoretical concepts from other academic fields, which – anthropologist Liisa Malkki argues already in 1995 – led to the application of problematic research methodologies where the 'refugee' is considered a category or group placed outside normative society.¹⁶

The use of an 'implicit functionalist model of society'¹⁷ in particular was applied in the study "The Refugee Experience: Defining the Parameters of a Field of Study" by Barry N. Stein raised Malkki's concern.¹⁸ Stein suggested a successive range of experiences that refugees pass through. These stages commence with 'perception of a threat', 'decision to flee' to 'settlement', 'repatriation' and 'adjustment and acculturation'. In her review, Malkki argues that this constitutes a binary system within which the experience of the refugee is placed outside of society so that it is defined as an anomaly and in contrast to the autochthonous society. Analysing the refugee experience in stages also suggests that each stage can be viewed as a stand-alone experience so that a person's identity, culture and ethnicity does not transmute from one stage to the next. Such categorisations do not therefore enable an analysis of the permutations of the refugee experience.

Furthermore, where localised, sedentary objects of study are in focus of scholarship, methodologies do not take into consideration the movement and displacement of an object of study. As a consequence, movement and displacement is easily assumed to inevitably entail a loss of identity and culture rather than a continuation or adaptation of it. Malkki's main point of critique of Stein's analytical framework is that it is based on suppositions that are binary (native land as ideal habitat vs asylum country as strange and alien) and therefore limiting.¹⁹

To Malkki, the concern in scholarship to define the experience of refugees has led to the problem that it 'posits a single, essential, transhistorical refugee condition'²⁰ and presupposes a cohesive experience. This reflected the tendency of a range of disciplines 'to seize upon political or historical processes and then to inscribe aspects of those processes in the bodies and psyches of the people who are undergoing them.'²¹ Pointing towards the

mobile and unstable condition that exile entails a definition of what might be an essential trait of 'the refugee' is limiting in that a culture or distinct identity is created with the effect that refugees are regarded as sharing a common condition that is distinct from non-refugees.

A different approach to the perception of displaced individuals was expressed in Edward Said's (1935-2003) 1984 essay "Reflections on Exile" that recalls the 'unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place'²² caused by exile.

The differences in approach between Stein and Said are reflective in the approaches between Refugee Studies – a field that belongs, among others, with sociology and anthropology – and Exile Studies, a field of inquiry that predates Refugee Studies and that developed within literary studies of exile. Here, Said's "Reflections on Exile" is important as it provides with more than a legal definition and instead considers the perception being in exile:

The word 'refugee' has become a political one, suggesting large herds of innocent and bewildered people requiring urgent international assistance, whereas "exile" carries with it, I think, a touch of solitude and spirituality.²³

This statement in Said's essay differentiates the term 'refugee' and 'exile' and outlines the perception of refugees as a 20th-century mass-phenomenon in contrast to individual figures in exile. This contrast relates to long-standing differences in perception, Malkki explains:

The word 'refugee' evokes not just any persons who happen to have sought sanctuary or asylum but rather, ... a 'kind' of person ... 'Exile' connotes a readily aestheticizable realm, whereas the label 'refugee' connotes a bureaucratic and international humanitarian realm.²⁴

In *The Poetics of Displacement*²⁵ Caren Kaplan observed that literature studies about exiles or literature by exiled authors (such as Said) has come to utilise 'exile' as a metaphor and prerequisite for original thought. The exiled writer in modernism was considered as in a privileged position because isolation, alienation and uncertainty were considered preconditions for 'great art'.²⁶

These mechanisms of thought, Malkki argues, determined how exiles are represented in a range of fields of studies and can be detected in writings in, for example, critical theory, cultural studies, and history. To idealise exile can lead to a depreciating of the challenges experienced in exile or to cemented ways of representation.²⁷

22. Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 180.

23. *Ibid.*, 186-7.

24. Malkki, "Refugees", 513.

25. Caren Kaplan, *The Poetics of Displacement: Exile, Immigration, and Travel in Contemporary Autobiographical Writing* (PhD diss., University of California Santa Cruz, 1987).

26. *Ibid.*, 13-4.

27. Malkki, "Refugees", 515.

28. When comparing the indices of mid-20th century architectural historiographies authored by Nikolaus Pevsner (in 1936) and Reyner Banham (in 1960) to Curtis' 1996 book, the increase of women – not all are architects – named is from two (Margaret Macdonald, 1864-1933 and her sister Frances McNair, 1873-1921) *Pioneers of modern design* and one (Alison Smithson, 1923-2003) in *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* to ten in William JR Curtis' 1996 edition of *Modern Architecture since 1900*. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* (New York: Frederick A Stokes, 1936). Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design of the First Machine Age* (London: Architectural Press, 1960). William JR Curtis, *Modern architecture since 1900* (3rd ed. London: Phaidon, 1996).

29. Mary Pepchinski, Christina Budde, Wolfgang Voigt, Peter Cachola Schmal, eds. *Frau Architekt* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 2017).

30. *Ibid.*, 11.

31. Susana Torre, ed. *Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1977).

32. International Union of Women architects (IUWA) Vorbereitungsgruppe Architektinnen-Historie (ed). *Architektinnenhistorie: Zur Geschichte der Architektinnen und Designerinnen im 20. Jahrhundert. Eine Erste Zusammenstellung*. Berlin 1987. See also: Verena Dietrich, *Architektinnen. Ideen – Projekte – Bauten* (Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1986), Dorothea Bernholz, *Historische Betrachtung der Entwicklung des Frauenstudiums an der Technischen Universität Dresden von 1946 bis 1966* (PhD diss., TU Dresden, 1968), and Juliane Mikoletzky, U. Georgeacopol-Winischhofer, M. Pohl, "Dem Zuge der Zeit entsprechend...": *Zur Geschichte des Frauenstudiums in Österreich am Beispiel der Technischen Universität Wien*. Schriftenreihe des Universitätsarchivs der Technischen Universität Wien, Vol. 1. (Wien: WUV, 1997).

Part II: Histories about Women in Architecture

It is not unsurprising that in the field of Women's Studies, binary systems and essentialism were also analysed. In architectural history, women have rarely been mentioned²⁸; an omission that has been criticised for some time as providing little understanding of the heterogeneity and multifaceted contexts within architecture. In Germany and Austria scholarship on the history of women in architecture between the late 19th century and the Second World War has increased since the 1990s. Authors have successfully retraced practices and generated contextual knowledge on obstacles and opportunities that women encountered when entering higher education and practice. Such titles appeared alongside and in relation to discourses that addressed methodological and theoretical challenges. The historiography on women in architecture was therefore not merely based on a revisionist impulse that wished to incorporate women's achievements into existing narratives; scholars engaged with questions about the premises, preconceptions and consequences of history writing.

Among the most recent publications on women in German architecture was the 2017 exhibition and catalogue book *Frau Architekt (Woman Architect)*²⁹ that drew the attention to women who were 'rendered invisible' in architecture.³⁰ The format of the book is similar to earlier publications such Susana Torre's 1977 exhibition on *Women in American Architecture*³¹ and the 1987 exhibition and catalogue on *The History of Women Architects* prepared by Helga Schmidt-Thomson, Kristine Jackmann for the International Union of Women architects (IUWA) in West Berlin.³² All were initiated to increase knowledge and awareness of women in architecture and were crucial in identifying individual practitioners and finding primary material.

In the following years, studies, that contextualised the conditions of women's education, practice and perception, offered theses to explain the absence of women in historiography. The above-mentioned book by Plakolm-Forsthuber on *Women Artists in Austria*³³ outlined how historical research in Austria focussed on the art of the Vienna Secession and avoided modernisms between 1918 and 1938 so that the women, who practiced and were expelled during that time, were forgotten. She also showed that the Vienna School in Art History – Alois Riegl (1858-1905) and Ernst Gombrich (1909-2001) in particular – and the theoretical considerations about the genesis of style in art – which was synthesised in the term 'Kunstwollen' – also contributed to the exclusion of art produced by women. Style was understood as developing based on evolutionary principles. This way only art produced within patriarchal concepts and systems was acknowledged. To provoke change, Plakolm-Forsthuber advocated a methodology based on social history and a women-specific reading of societal and economic circumstance.³⁴

33. Plakolm-Forsthuber, *Künstlerinnen*, 10-3.

34. *Ibid.*, 18-9.

35. Despina Stratigakos, *Skirts and Scaffolding: Women Architects, Gender and Design in Wilhelmine Germany* (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr, 1999). Anja Baumhoff, *The Gendered World of the Bauhaus: The Politics of Postwar at the Weimar Republic's Premier Art Institute, 1919-1932* (Frankfurt, New York: Lang, 2001). She offers insights to the gender politics of the Bauhaus that led to the segregation of women within the school.

36. Bauer, Bauer, *Architekturstudentinnen*.

37. Ute Maasberg and Regina Prinz, *Die Neuen Kommen! Weibliche Avantgarde in der Architektur der zwanziger Jahre* (Hamburg: Junius, 2004), 8. They offered further context on women in architecture during the Weimar Republic. The authors pay particular attention to how societal and political changes impacted on women born between 1890 and 1910 and argue that these allowed women in architecture to develop new ways of understanding and approaching the architecture of modernism.

38. Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" *Women, Art and Power and Other Essays* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 145-76.

39. Rozika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).

Further scholarship on early women in architecture such as Despina Stratigakos' 1999 PhD thesis *Skirts and Scaffolding* discussed the late Wilhelmine era to the First World War and also shifted towards social history.³⁵ Corinna Isabel Bauer's 2003 PhD thesis focussed on women studying architecture at the Bauhaus as well as in the seminar of Heinrich Tessenow (1876-1950) at the Technische Hochschule Berlin-Charlottenburg.³⁶ Her thesis provided a multi-faceted narrative on the ways in which women were taught, their subsequent careers and opportunities in the context of the Weimar Republic.³⁷

Such titles on women in German and Austrian architecture until 1933 developed alongside a theoretical discourse that reflected on modes and consequences of history writing. This discourse originated in response to the omission of women in historiography. Among the earliest texts in this context was Linda Nochlin's 1971 paper "Why have there been no great women artists?"³⁸ Reflecting on how historiography was constructed in art history she regarded it insufficient – even contra-productive – to aim at an inclusion of women in the canon of art history. This would not challenge but adopt underlying and pre-existing methodologies. Nochlin promoted a rethinking of standards often applied to judge value and 'greatness' in the work of men and women. The absence of 'great women artists' in art history was, for example, not caused by a lack of capability but instead a sign of social systems that did not permit women to access the same opportunities and institutions.

In response to Nochlin, Rozika Parker and Griselda Pollock's 1981 *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* extended the methodological scope.³⁹ Their Marxist, semiotic and psychoanalytic approach led to a focus on mechanisms of patriarchal prejudice. The idea of history is described as in flux which allows the signification of 'woman artist' to change over time and in different places. *Old Mistresses* did not argue, as Nochlin had, that women would receive equal recognition, once opportunities were provided. Rather, they noted, women continue to encounter sexism, obstacles and prejudices. The fundamental structures of society and patriarchy assign meaning and values to objects of art and are therefore the creators of inequality. Equality is, however, not possible as the woman artist/architect can never cease to be a woman and as such cannot be removed from the signification of the term 'woman'. A 'woman artist' is therefore always perceived differently to a male artist. This is explained as the outcome of a system within which art is understood as an entity that creates culture and has imbued meaning and signification of the terms 'woman' and 'man' as binary opposites. Artists and architects operate in this system and perpetuate it because it is considered natural. The writing of art history and architectural history is also part of this cultural system. That only a few women have been acknowledged in historiography is therefore a symptom of this ideology that does not permit a female artist to be regarded in the

same ways as male ones. Parker and Pollock thus argue that feminist writing should eschew terms such as 'woman artists'. Such terminology establishes categories that might be understood as universal and unchanging and that cement notions about essential traits that all women share across time and in all contexts and cultures.⁴⁰

40. Ibid, 84. Michael Hatt and Charlotte Klonk, eds. *Art History. A critical introduction to its methods* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), 156.

41. Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis", in Elizabeth Weed, ed. *Coming To Terms: Feminism, Theory, Politics* (London, New York: Routledge, 2012), 81.

42. Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women's History in Transition: The European Case", *Feminist Studies* 3 (1975-6): 90.

43. Scott, "Gender", 83.

This way of analysing the effects of history writing and the role of the historian within it is also at the core of American historian Joan Wallach Scott. In her 1986 essay "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis"⁴¹ she adopted the term 'gender' as it allowed to move away from biological determinism and binary systems that the words 'man' or 'woman' implied. The term was also a means to aid in broadening the range of questions asked in the investigation of interactions, sex roles, sexual symbolisms in diverse societies and historical periods to understand ultimately how social orders were maintained or have changed.⁴² The term 'gender' helped to establish a theoretical framework for historical analysis of women's history. It was also based on the observation that women's history studies developed into a marginalised field in history due in part to the prevalence of descriptive studies lacking the potential to progress theoretical or methodological concepts.⁴³ As a result, women's history was becoming a contained field that was perceived as addressing topics such as domesticity and sexuality and as a history separate from political and economic history.

Scott argued for a revision in methodology that would include questions such as 'How does gender give meaning to the organization and perception of historical knowledge?'⁴⁴ Gender was not understood as based on biologically determined differences but a 'way of denoting "cultural constructions" – the entirely social creation of ideas about appropriate roles for women and men'⁴⁵. The understanding of the term is thus based on the premise that social identities of men and women are subjective.⁴⁶

44. Ibid., 83.

45. Ibid., 84.

46. Ibid., 85.

At the core of Scott's argument is the refusal to apply ways of thinking that affirm individuals into fixed, permanent and preconceived categories and binary systems – as a term 'gender' lend itself as it was understood as an inclusive one. Instead, a 'genuine historicization and deconstruction [in the sense of Jacques Derrida] of the terms of sexual difference'⁴⁷ was called for as well as an awareness of hierarchical constructions and contexts within which binary oppositions operate and develop.

47. Ibid., 92.

Scott's scholarship seeks to scrutinize methods of analysis, assumptions, investigate interconnectedness of processes and causes for events. To acquire meaning, historians must study the individual subject, social organisations and their interrelationships as their correlations are crucial in gaining an understanding of gender interactions and of how change is generated.⁴⁸

48. Ibid. 93.

Conclusions

This review of literature and methodological approaches points towards three matters of concern that have been addressed in studies on refugees, exiles and women in architectural history which are relevant in formulating a theoretical framework for a critical analysis of the above-mentioned group of architects. The first relates to the scholarship in refugee studies and women's studies which has long pointed toward the limitations that binary and essentialist thinking poses and which have determined significations of 'the refugee' or the 'woman architect' as definite, unchanging and universal categories. Assignations of 'essentialist' traits to a person were being rejected in the field of women's studies as well as refugee studies. The disparate groups of individuals who merely have in common the legal definition 'refugee' should not be viewed as belonging with a culture and as sharing an identity. The second element relates to the role of the historian as perpetuator or reinforcer of these significations through the application of methodologies. The ways in which studies on women in architecture are marginalised and siloed within history, is the final element that concerns the development of a methodology.

The analysis and contextualisation of forgotten women in architecture and research on modern architecture has since the 1990s led to a range of excellent scholarship that nevertheless did not strongly connect women's history and architectural history. These studies provided explanations of the mechanisms leading to the omission of women in Austrian historiography, uncovering details about the segregation of women at the Bauhaus, outlined in multi-faceted ways and supported with a great number of materials the contexts within which women studied. Such publications generated further studies and a range of material is now available that is – one might provocatively argue – generated by women, on women and for women. This siloing of women's history from other histories had already been observed by Scott in 1986 and it still exists. It is still possible for architectural historians to claim that 'There are no significant women in architecture before 19xx' or – to paraphrase Scott 'My understanding of the architecture of the Bauhaus does not change if I know that women were involved.'⁴⁹ A way in which the marginalisation of studies on women in architecture might be addressed is in aligning narratives of their practices with those of equally overlooked male practitioners. A number of the women who came to the USA as refugees during the Second World War and as immigrants after the war worked in collaboration with male colleagues or in employment for lesser-known offices. This appears to offer an opportunity to construct a historiography of mid-20th-century architecture from the vantage point of those who were previously not included in historiography. In focussing not on the gender of the architect but on the narratives of the overlooked an alternative history can be uncovered. Such a narrative can yield a history where questions about quality and opportunity are ana-

49. Ibid., 83.

lysed based on parameters other than gender. A methodological approach might not be able to study the individual subject outside the categories 'architect', 'refugee' or 'woman' but it can hope to acquire nuanced and diverse meaning by – as remarked by Scott – also studying the interrelationship and gender correlations.⁵⁰

A study on German-speaking women and their interrelationships with architects in Europe and the United States may therefore develop a history of practitioners who did not gain recognition in historiography but who nevertheless are responsible for the perpetuation, translation and execution of a range of modern architecture before and after the Second World War.

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Abstract

In the early decades of the XXth century, and especially in the 1920s, the growing presence of women in the profession became sufficiently tangible for the press to take an interest in the issue of “the woman architect”. In the context of a recently-initiated research on the reception of women architects in the French press in the XIXth and XXth centuries, as well as on the discourses produced by their contemporaries and by themselves, we focus here on a novel case: the ‘*Femmes-architectes*’ survey published by Jean Royer in the journal *Le Maître d'Œuvre* in 1928. A first attempt at analysing is thus proposed to better grasp the motivations and the stakes of this investigation – one hypothesis being that it serves as a pretext to praise the avant-gardism of the ESA, the first French school of architecture open to women. The figure of Royer is also scrutinised, along with the testimonies of these professionals, which are centred on the reality of their situation and the strategies they adopt. The analysis reveals the construction of a stereotypical discourse regarding their natural qualities or their missions, and highlights the persistence of questions and judgements relating to their presence in the profession during the XXth century.

“WE ARE PREPARING FOR A CAREER FULL OF STRUGGLE”

DISCOURSE AND CHALLENGES SURROUNDING THE FEMINISATION OF THE ARCHITECTURAL PROFESSION IN THE INTER-WAR PERIOD IN FRANCE: THE CASE OF *LE MAÎTRE D’ŒUVRE*

By Elise Koering

1. Laura White enrolled at the ESA in 1883; Julia Morgan joined an ENSBA studio in 1898.

2. Engineering schools for example.

1968 marked a turning point in the feminisation of architecture in France, particularly within schools (Lapeyre, 2004), however the process had been set in motion both in practice and training in the late nineteenth century and was further boosted by the entry of women into the profession, whether graduates or not, after the First World War. Indeed, while at the dawn of the twentieth century, a few women¹ were enrolled at the École Spéciale d’Architecture (ESA) or the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (ENSBA) (Clausen, 2009-10; Mesnage, 2012; Koering and Mesnage, forthcoming 2021), the initial feminisation of the profession took place in the 1920s, particularly so in the second half of the decade we would argue, accompanied by the arrival of women who were not trained in architecture or who had trained elsewhere². A number of factors contributed to this early wave of feminisation, including the opening of schools to women, access for some women to ensemblière (interior design) work – a potential stepping stone into architectural practice (Koering, 2018) –, the importance of pioneers as role models or, more broadly, the post-war context, marked by the feminisation of tertiary jobs (including for white-collar professionals) and changes in women’s behaviour, particularly in the middle class (Duby and Perrot, 2002).

3. Will Darvillé, "Une femme architecte", *La Construction moderne*, 7 October 1905, 3.

4. Frantz Jourdain, "Femmes-architectes", *Le Maître d'Œuvre* 21, March 1928, 7.

This first wave may not have been a tidal wave, it was nevertheless real; so real that it was picked up by the French press. Thus, 'the architect in petticoats'³, 'the architect of the fairer sex'⁴ or more commonly, 'the woman architect' was the subject of articles in the general and specialised press – the earliest of which were devoted primarily to the first female graduates in the discipline, both abroad and in France. The fact that women architects were featuring in the press was obviously a consequence of their emergence in the profession and raises many questions that serve as the starting point of a research project that we chose to initiate this year in the context of the health crisis.

In seeking to produce historical knowledge on women architects or women designers of the inter-war period, one is confronted with the difficult task of finding records of their careers, and even of their existence. This difficulty is linked to several factors, including the absence (in some cases) of any mention of 'gender' in school registers, the disappearance of their names on certain building permits (Mesnage, 2012, p. 42), the use of unisex first names, the substitution of marital names for maiden names or the use of a pseudonym (sometimes a male one). Similarly, their assimilation into firms, their early and long-term choice to collaborate with a man, often their spouse, the fact that some of them moved abroad, the fact that others took 'the road less travelled' (Mesnage, 2012, p. 46), or the scarcity of archives, particularly in institutions, make the researcher's task even more difficult.

In this context, the press, especially the specialist press, is a valuable, if not to say indispensable research tool. It is thanks to the press in particular that we have been able to identify a large part of the *ensemblières* working in France before the Second World War (Koering, 2018). Today, our aim is not only to use the press as a tool or a source of information, but as an object of study in its own right in order to better understand the history of these female builders. With this goal in mind, we undertake a critical examination of the general and specialised press of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to determine how women architects were welcomed by society and the profession, and what kind of discourse their arrival and architectural production generated. Our study therefore seeks to analyse the presence of women architects in the press, their representation and the discourse constructed around this figure. To this end, we have chosen to examine a significant number of articles from architecture, decorative arts and art journals, and to use the *Retronews* website in order to complement a list of general press articles collected over the past few years. Investigating the many questions raised by this material, which can only be briefly outlined in this paper, we will seek to evaluate when the press begins to take an interest in these professionals and whether the way they are viewed evolves over the course of the century. For example, at what point do articles devoted to the phenomenon of the 'woman architect' become less frequent? This approach should also enable us to understand how the issue is addressed and who is interested in it, with,

obviously, an internal and nuanced analysis of the publication in question. Many questions arise also concerning the contexts in which the discourse was produced as well as the types of discourse produced by the authors or by the women architects themselves, as well as the way in which the press chooses to present and represent them. At the current stage of our investigations, we can, for example, note that the articles rarely take an interest in the works produced by a woman architect and likewise rarely provide illustrations thereof. Finally, we look in particular at the texts written by these women architects, at their inventory and at the analysis of their content.

The reception and the discourse of women architects in the French press is the subject of a long-term study. In the context of this colloquium, we have chosen to focus on one particular case: a survey published by the journal *Le Maître d'Œuvre* in 1928 on 'Women-architects'. A first attempt at presenting and analysing this exceptional survey is proposed here.

Doing research on 'Women-Architects'

Le Maître d'Œuvre (1926-1930) followed in the line of an earlier journal, the *Bulletin de l'Amicale de l'École spéciale d'architecture*, created in 1922 by the third committee of the 'Amicale', a society founded at the ESA chaired by the architect-urban planner Jean Royer, to keep members 'informed of its work and development' and to facilitate 'friendly relations'⁵. While its purpose was to report on the actions of the Amicale and the ESA, this *Bulletin* quickly sought to broaden its address the 'profound architectural movement that followed the post-war period'⁶. In 1926, it was transformed into a fully-fledged architectural journal, henceforth called *Le Maître d'Œuvre*, with a greater focus on urban planning and architecture-related events, fairs and exhibitions, and contemporary production. It produced theoretical articles and featured columns on politics, economics or the property market, as well as two surveys⁷. While the first, conducted in 1926 and 1927, asked a clear question – 'Is the architect only an artist or a technician?', the second, announced for December 1927 under the title 'Women Architects??' was in fact published in January, February, March, April, May and July 1928 with the title 'Women-Architects'. After initially amplifying the question by doubling the punctuation mark, as if to strongly emphasise doubt, the journal proposed an affirmative title, making the purpose of the survey difficult to define, even if Royer introduced as follows: 'We thought it would be interesting to survey several of our friends and colleagues about the profession we are particularly interested in, to ask them what they think about women's entering a career in architecture'⁸.

Although we have no information the methodology of this survey, the 12 published responses (from seven men and five women) suggest that Royer had previously defined a series of questions. In the first issue, the text

5. Charles Recoux, "L'Amicale de l'École Spéciale d'Architecture", *Bulletin* 1, September 1922, 1-2.

6. Jean Royer, "Un programme" *Bulletin de l'Amicale de l'École Spéciale d'Architecture* 3, August 1923, 2.

7. The issues published between July and October were not available from the BNF and could not be consulted. ESA archives have remained inaccessible due to the pandemic.

8. Jean Royer, "Femmes-Architectes", *Le Maître d'Œuvre* 19, January 1928, 13.

written by a woman architect familiar with the *Bulletin*, Thérèse Urbain, and the interview with the woman architect Adrienne Gorska, reveal that the approach taken was to examine the obstacles faced by these women, their legitimacy, the areas they had imposed themselves in or rather to which they had been admitted, and the balancing of their professional and private lives. Thus, congratulating and thanking the ESA 'Board of Directors' for being 'one of the first French technical schools [to open its] doors to women', Urbain addresses the 'obstacles more particularly facing women' through four headings: 'Office work', 'Commercial affairs', 'Construction management', 'Profession and family life'⁹. As for Gorska, she was invited to respond to the question of the 'great difficulties' faced by a woman in building up a clientele and supervising a building site¹⁰. Had her responses not been guided by Royer's questions, she would have voiced her opinions differently; the discourse produced here (especially that of women) therefore seems to be determined by the way in which the subject is approached.

9. Thérèse Urbain, "Femmes-architectes", *Le Maître d'Œuvre* 19, January 1928, 13-4.

10. Adrienne Gorska, "Femmes-architectes", *Le Maître d'Œuvre* 19, January 1928, 14.

Moreover, contrary to what Royer's short introduction suggests, not only are the 'colleagues' interviewed not exclusively men, but their views are also not given priority. The first two issues report on 'what the interested parties think'¹¹ : first, two ESA graduates (respectively from 1920 and 1922), Urbain and Gorska, then a first class student of the ENSBA, Denise Malette. Men only appear in the third issue. The survey then divides between the points of view of male architects, the reproduction of an article from *L'Intransigeant* ('Women Architects') devoted to Elisabeth Scott, architect of the Shakespeare Memorial Theater, a response by Gorska to statements by Charles Maillard, 'construction professor' at the ESA¹², and the opinions of a so-called feminist writer and author of popular novels (Huguette Garnier)¹³, as well as those of Marguerite Huré, master glassmaker and collaborator of Auguste Perret. The survey concludes with ESA director Gaston Trélat.

11. Jean Royer, "Femmes-architectes", op. cit.

12. "Femmes-architectes", *Le Maître d'Œuvre* 21, March 1928, 7.

13. Pseudonym of Berthe Nerson.

A survey to 'maintain the influence and prosperity of the École Spéciale d'Architecture'?

The editorial stance of emphasising the views of women was neither insignificant nor in all likelihood innocent. Clearly, the journal wished to give voice to the 'voiceless' and have others hear their views (Perrot, 2014, p. 30), before listening to the point of view of the 'profession' (through sometimes eminent figures in the field) regarding the possible success of these increasingly numerous professional women. Our ongoing research suggests that this was the first, and probably last time for many years, that a survey of this scope was conducted. It is also certainly the first time that women builders expressed, in their own names, their views on their role and future in the profession, their perceived qualities or the obstacles they had to overcome. It was not the first time, however, that the Amicale had welcomed contributions from women or shown an interest in their

14. According to the *Bulletin de l'Amicale de l'École Spéciale d'Architecture*.

production. Adrienne Gorska, Thérèse Urbain, Andrée Garrus, Elisabeth Dadiani, Irène Declair, Geneviève Trélat or Mlle Norton were members of the Amicale – some of them involved in the committees –¹⁴, and two of them, Garrus and Urbain, had contributed articles to the *Bulletin*. This presence of female authors in an architectural journal is sufficiently rare to be highlighted, but it only lasted for the lifetime of the *Bulletin*. *Le Maître d'Œuvre*, for its part, did not publish any article signed by (or dedicated to) a woman architect, and its first survey did not consult any. Nevertheless, it sometimes cited, without any illustrations, the work of *ensemblières* and women architects presented in exhibitions, such as the one held by the Amicale – mostly that of current or former ESA students.

Le Maître d'Œuvre, like the *Bulletin* before it, reserved a prominent role in the publication for the director of the School. Nevertheless, one can discern a relative distance between the latter and the editors, confirmed by certain remarks by Royer. The journal could therefore be considered both as the official mouthpiece of the School and as a space of freedom where ideas not much appreciated by its management were published. In 1926, Royer clearly stated the type of architecture defended by the journal and, in fact, by the School: an architecture far removed from the 'narrow thinking' of those faithful to the 'old methods', but also in disagreement with ideas that are far removed from common sense and logic¹⁵. He praises a practice that is rooted in the tradition of the 'old-fashioned master builder', the cathedral builder, who, as should be the case for contemporary architects, advocated 'clarity, precision, logic', 'progress' and 'refinement'¹⁶. This position illustrates the shift initiated by Trélat in the 1910s towards teaching that was more innovative but also more academic in its organisation or in its predominant architectural spirit (Seitz, 1995). According to Frédéric Seitz, Trélat rejected the representatives of the Modern Movement; as evidenced by the famous dismissal of Robert Mallet-Stevens in 1925, which was not mentioned in the journal.

15. Jean Royer, "Le Maître d'Œuvre", *Le Maître d'Œuvre* 1, March 1926, 4.

16. Ibid.

Although the editorial presentation of the new format was imbued with this 'Trelatian' conception, the *Bulletin* and *Le Maître d'Œuvre* did not hesitate to publish or defend modernist ideas, such as those of Le Corbusier or of architects from the school, such as Djo-Bourgeois or Mallet Stevens. 'All the members of the « Amicale », grouped together in the same atmosphere of beauty and science, have only one strong desire: to maintain the influence and prosperity of the Special School of Architecture'¹⁷. In our opinion, this desire is not unrelated to the survey, ESA being the first school in France to welcome women (1883), to award a degree in architecture to a foreign woman (Lidye Issacovitch, 1906) and shortly thereafter to a French woman (Geneviève Trélat, 1910) (Koering and Mesnage, forthcoming 2021).

17. Charles Recoux, cité par Jean Royer, "Où en sommes-nous ?", *Bulletin de l'Amicale de l'École Spéciale d'Architecture* 2, April 1923, 2-3.

However, contrary to what the title suggests, 'Women-architects' is neither an assessment – of 22 years of women graduates and trained or self-taught women architects – nor a presentation of the artistic approach or production of women architects. Instead, Royer chooses, rather belatedly

18. L. C., "L'Exposition de l'École Spéciale d'Architecture", *L'Esprit Nouveau* 23, 1924.

in our opinion, to open a debate on their opportunities for success in the profession. His motivations merit scrutiny. We will limit ourselves here to mentioning the probable goal of exalting the avant-gardism of the ESA, so as to counter those describing it as 'obscure and inconspicuous in recent years'¹⁸. Recalling the school's pioneering role in the training of women, without boasting about it, as Émile Maigrot sought to do for the ENSBA, was also a way of showing up its rival institution for being behind in this domain. Could this be the reason why Royer chose an ENSBA student alongside the two ESA graduates? It should also be noted that out of ESA's ten female graduates since 1906, only two express themselves in the survey.

Jean Royer: architect-urban planner and defender of women-architects (from the ESA)?

19. Research on Royer is ongoing; it was interrupted due to the current health crisis.

Royer, who had graduated from the ESA in 1921 and from the Institut d'urbanisme in 1924, was 25 years old at the time of the survey¹⁹. It was therefore as a representative of the younger generation that he took on this question. Co-founder of *Urbanisme* in 1932 – an offshoot of *Le Maître d'Œuvre* – Royer is famous for his urban projects, his collaboration with Henri Prost and his role as chief urban planner at the Ministry of Reconstruction and Urban Planning. What is less well known is his involvement in the exclusive architectural training of women, in a singular pedagogical context. Indeed, Royer was a 'travelling companion' to Paulette Bernège, who, from the 1920s onwards, inspired by American domestic economists, had fought for the application of the principles of scientific management to housing and for the professionalisation of the status of the housewife, in conjunction with the creation of a university course (Martin, 1987). In 1925, Bernège called for women to take on a new role as 'household architect' (Koering, 2016), a university-trained professional who would design the plans and rational layout of the home. Five years later, she founded the École de Haut Enseignement Ménager in Paris, where scientific courses were taught over a semester, including one on architecture and urban planning by Royer. Although it is not known when and how Royer met Bernège – he was familiar with her magazine *Mon chez moi* and mentioned her book *Si les femmes faisaient les maisons* in *Le Maître d'Œuvre* before announcing the creation of the School²⁰ – one may presume that the collaboration was harmonious since, in the early 1930s, Royer produced a model of Bernège's major (unbuilt) project: the Institute of Domestic Sciences.

20. À l'École du Haut-Enseignement Ménager', *Le Maître d'Œuvre*, no. 48, (December 1930), p. 11.

Whether or not it was a consequence of being part of the ESA, Royer was clearly in favour of women being actively involved in the field of architecture. His commitment to their training indicates as much, as does, it would seem, the choices made for his survey. While he included several women architects and let them express their views before the men, he also gave a platform to several personalities who were open to the feminisation of the profession. While some, such as Frantz Jourdain or Alfred Agache –

21. Frantz Jourdain, op. cit.; Alfred Agache, "Femmes-architectes", *Le Maître d'Œuvre* 22, April 1928, 18.

22. Charles Maillard, "Femmes-architectes", *Le Maître d'Œuvre* 21, March 1928, 7.

23. Gaston Trélat, "Femmes-architectes", *Le Maître d'Œuvre* 25, July 1928, 18.

24. Jean Cloquet, Paul Lafollye and Louis Brachet were willing, for their part, to let women work in the field of interior architecture.

a frequent contributor to the journal and the only male architect to have written for *Mon chez moi* – proclaimed their faith in 'absolute gender equality' and spoke of their fruitful experience with 'women who have studied architecture'²¹, others (including ESA instructors and the ESA director) were more ambiguous, arguing for women's right to practise as long as they 'do not forget their duties towards society and nature'²² or 'do not eclipse the masculine value'²³. Thus, of the twelve personalities interviewed, three architects consider that 'architecture is a profession of manly labour' inaccessible to women for physiological or social reasons²⁴. While the representativeness of this survey was still not clear, it should be noted that Royer refrained from questioning the Moderns denounced by Trélat, who were often favourable to women entering the profession.

The discourse of women architects, stereotypes and defence mechanisms

Most professional women can recount horror stories about discrimination they have suffered during their careers. (Scott Brown, 1975)

While the era was not very inclined to exposing people's sentiments (or resentments), the 1928 survey was undoubtedly an unprecedented and unique opportunity for some women to describe the reality of their situation. It also provides a wonderful window on the profession since it reveals what professionals thought about women and how they behaved towards them, as well as the defence mechanisms adopted by the latter, even if only three women were interviewed. While we do not have space here to go into great detail, we will highlight some major trends in the discourse of these women architects.

First of all, although they emphasise their status as free women and their confidence in the future, all of them, without exception, describe their situation as a struggle. 'We are preparing for a career full of struggle', commented Gorska²⁵. A struggle that would be played out on the professional field alone, the profession of architect being, according to these women, perfectly compatible with having a family. This stance put them at odds with many contemporaries or post-war figures who were concerned about the wife becoming too separated from the home, household chores, the upbringing of children and her role of 'precious comforter' to the 'husband' (Laprade, 1952). Surprisingly, none of them mention the legal status of the married woman who, being under the tutelage of her husband, could not sign a labour contract without his consent. For these women architects, the struggle was therefore not only against the director of the firm, the client or the contractor. Urbain speaks of 'the atmosphere in which [the architect] is *lucky* to start out in' as a factor and underlines the obvious inequality between men and women,

25. Adrienne Gorska, op. cit. (n° 19), 14.

who are invariably perceived as novices: 'Currently, many employers are still surprised and do not admit that a woman can be an architect, and because of this purely psychological factor, a woman finds work less easily'²⁶. This observation confirms the undoubtedly widespread nature of the misogynous attitudes of Brachet and Cloquet mentioned above.

26. Thérèse Urbain, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

While Gorska claims that she has no problems either in building up a clientele or in her relations with workers or contractors, Jourdain confirms Urbain's remarks by denouncing the bawdy mentality of the building sites²⁷. Clearly, Gorska's cheerful testimony is not an accurate reflection of reality, although it does serve to highlight the different postures and/or personalities of the women interviewed, some being more feminist than others. It is interesting to note that, when attacked by Maillard, Gorska took a different tone in a reply published in April, abandoning her carefree attitude and denouncing gendered professions, inequality in the face of celibacy, men's contempt for housework or their taste for 'run of the mill women'²⁸

27. Frantz Jourdain, *op. cit.*

28. Adrienne Gorska, "Femmes-architectes", *Le Maître d'Œuvre* 22, April 1928, 19.

The few women interviewed also reveal their determination to overcome the obstacles and describe the ways in which they think they can do so. We discover, in this probably unprecedented way, the defensive strategies they used. First of all, these women insisted on their status as trained intellectuals who were no different from their male colleagues. For example, Urbain states that 'one should not confuse the profession of architect with that of site foreman', while Malette and Gorska refute the label of 'amateurs'²⁹. They present themselves as professionals, in line with Royer's description of the master builder of yesteryear, and, by extension, of the ESA graduate: 'Being a 'Master builder' represented, after years of apprenticeship, effort and study of the works of past generations, an ability to practice an art in which one was at the same time creator, technician and builder'³⁰. Gorska makes the same point: 'Their future? ... But brilliant, very brilliant! ... Provided of course the woman really has quite thoroughly 'swotted up' on the studies indispensable to the exercise of the profession. Because you obviously shouldn't learn architecture the way you used to learn piano or embroidery'³¹. In response to the prevalent discourse of the time concerning the inability of the 'weaker sex' to think in terms of volume or to calculate the resistance of materials, one argument repeated by all and considered irrefutable was that women who had not trained in architecture should not be considered as architects, meaning women such as Eileen Gray, Blanche Klotz, Claude-Lévy, Charlotte Perriand or Sophie Taeuber-Arp. This segregation in the category of women architects brought to light one more obstacle that some women faced at the time.

29. Thérèse Urbain, *op. cit.*, 14; Denise Malette, "Femmes-architectes", *Le Maître d'Œuvre* 20, February 1928, 20; Adrienne Gorska, *op. cit.* (n°19), 14.

30. Jean Royer, "Le Maître d'Œuvre", *op. cit.*, 4.

31. Adrienne Gorska, *op. cit.* (n° 19), 14.

In an era that was witnessing the advent of the *new woman* enamoured of physical culture, these women also claimed to be all sportswomen – an affirmation that allowed them to dismiss the recurrent and perennial criticism of their alleged inability to work on a building site, to climb scaffolding or a ladder, but which also stigmatised architects of previous generations. Finally, to prove their legitimacy, these women architects

put forward other justifications, such as their greater motivation and dedication, examples of women who had succeeded in other professions, the compatibility of architectural activity and keeping a household, or their superiority in certain fields – a final argument that is as crucial as it is pernicious.

Natural qualities and dedicated role: the beginnings of confinement and the illusion of control

To justify their place alongside men who would not give up theirs, some women did not hesitate to declare that they possessed exclusive feminine qualities that allowed them to better manage human relations or to be better at designing the project in general and certain programmes or fields in particular. Malette, who nonetheless went on to work as an urban planner (Koering and Mesnage, forthcoming 2021), stated: 'The female influence can only be beneficial to certain questions concerning residential buildings, workers' housing estates, school buildings, hospitals, nurseries etc., for which modern architecture has done so much and where women can bring to bear their taste, finesse and practicality to decoration and interior design'³². Yet this exaltation of qualities that are specifically feminine, essentialist or constructionist – ingenuity, delicacy, sensitivity, imagination, etc. – was not without danger for the practice of these women, who were laying the foundations here for a potential 'polemic' later denounced by Simone de Beauvoir (1949, p. 31). Inevitably invoking to the idea of the complementarity of the sexes, this argument in fact participates directly in locking women into a predefined professional framework or dedicated programmes, or even into the restricted role of the 'household architect': a professional who knows better than any man what the users need and therefore how to conceive interior design or architecture for children, care and housing. Sometimes stripped of the dimension of superiority, this motive is moreover often used by men, especially those who negotiate women's admission to the profession or who essentialise their status by referring to 'the' woman architect.

32. Denise Malette, *op. cit.*

33. Marguerite Huré, "Femmes-architectes" , *Le Maître d'Œuvre* 23, May 1928, 14; Gaston Trélat, *op. cit.*

34. Adrienne Gorska, *op. cit.* (n° 19), 14.

35. See in particular: Bibliothèque des arts décoratifs (MAD), *Le Comité des Dames. La formation artistique des femmes au sein de l'Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs (1892-1925)*.

The predestination of women, even graduates, for decorating or interior design positions was a familiar refrain at the time. In *Le Maître d'Œuvre*, several personalities asserted 'that for certain installations in homes or shops, women were more specifically suited' or that they were 'superior when it came to interior installations'³³. While Trélat entitled his article 'Woman's Spirit of Initiative in Private Architecture', an unusual choice to say the least, Royer asked Gorska: 'Is it not true to say that the woman architect was initially pictured in a role where she was an employee in a male colleague's office, doing office work there, or devoting herself solely to interior decoration?'. Gorska answered: 'Yes, initially'³⁴. Indeed, when women gained the right to enrol in schools, they were encouraged of to enter decorative arts schools and produce decorative work³⁵. As it kept

the woman in her domestic space, the study of decorative techniques by women was supported. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century were thus marked by this close association between decorative arts and women – which was denounced in some quarters, including by Le Corbusier (Koering, 2018). While 1920s opinion seems to consider that a woman’s natural qualities predestined her for interior architecture, two points are nevertheless worth emphasising.

First of all, the architects questioned here seem to escape this categorisation: Malette went on to open an urban planning office, and Gorska constructed buildings, garages and department stores, becoming a specialist in cinema architecture in collaboration with Pierre de Montaut. Although we still have little information about the careers of women architects in general, Gorska and Malette do not seem to be exceptions (Koering and Mesnage, forthcoming 2021). Subsequently, and beyond the context of offices and women trained in architecture schools, this strict division – man-architecture, woman-decoration – is contradicted by the reality of the time. Indeed, in the period 1900-1930, women were in the minority in *ensemblers* positions in France (Koering, 2018). In 1928, with only four women exhibited an ensemble at the Salon d’Automne and/or the Salon des Artistes Décorateurs. Although not representative of the production of the time – after 1925, there were only a dozen or so *ensemblères* – this shows that, contrary to what is (still) asserted, women did not reign in this field. It also shows that going to an architectural school was probably the best way to become an architect in the inter-war period, even if some *ensemblères* managed to build in the late 1920s and 1930s, for example Eileen Gray, Blanche Klotz or Claude-Lévy.

Although brief and summarised, this analysis of the *Le Maître d’Œuvre* survey casts some light on the complex situation of women in the world of architecture in the inter-war period. It also reveals a reality that our ongoing research seems to progressively confirm: the persistence, throughout the twentieth century, of reactions, questions and judgements relating to the presence of women in the profession. Seven decades later, the journal *ArchiCREE* repeated Royer’s gesture with a feature on ‘women in architecture and construction’ that deals in particular with difficulties experienced on the building site, the role of women, their intrinsic qualities or their ability to combine family life and work. 1928 already strikes us as late for this debate to be initiated, but the 1999 feature shows just how much France is lagging on the issue and, in certain respects, how little views on these professional women have changed, as highlighted by Claude Vasconi’s remark: ‘An office with a strong female presence is a smiling office, with a dash of stylishness’³⁶. This quite recent echo encourages us to further explore these fundamental issues of the representation of women in a profession that is confronted, more than ever today, with its gendered reality.

36. "Équipages mixtes", *ArchiCREE* 291, 1999, 52.

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Abstract

This work inserts the relationship between Liselotte and Oswald Mathias Ungers in the larger context of couples of architects and other intellectual professionals in the Second Post-War period. The paper is structured in three parts. The first part introduces the case study at hand: the contribution of Liselotte Ungers to the intellectual production of her husband, Oswald Mathias Ungers. The second part raises the methodological difficulties of researching 'grey work', placing this case study into the discourse of contemporary gender critique. The third part evaluates the impact of this methodology on the trope of the architect's couple, challenging its possibilities and limitations.

INTELLECTUAL HOUSEWORK

THE CASE OF LISELOTTE UNGERS

By Giulia La Delfa, Niccolò Suraci, Alberto Geuna and James Cleverley

This work places the relationship between Liselotte and Oswald Mathias Ungers in the larger context of couples of architects and other intellectual professionals in the Second Post-War period. The paper is structured in three parts. The first part introduces the case study at hand: the contribution of Liselotte Ungers to the intellectual production of her husband, Oswald Mathias Ungers. The second part raises the methodological difficulties of researching 'grey work', placing this case study into the discourse of contemporary gender critique. The third part evaluates the impact of this methodology on the trope of the architect's couple, challenging its possibilities and limitations.

Placing Liselotte Ungers in the Picture

1. Liselotte Ungers told the local Cologne newspaper *Blickpunkt Müngersdorf* that a friend invited her to that party purposely to introduce her to 'a toller Typ' (a nice guy). *Blickpunkt Müngersdorf* 9, Winter 2006/2007.

Liselotte Gabler met her future husband Oswald Mathias Ungers at a party in 1956 during her studies in business administration at the University of Cologne¹. Both were born in 1926 in the Ruhr area: Liselotte was the daughter of bourgeois construction developers from Wuppertal, while Oswald Mathias was of more humble origins, being the son of a postman from the small village of Kaisersesch. By the time the two met, Oswald Mathias Ungers was already actively involved in architecture, having graduated in 1950s from TU Dortmund, and had started his own office the same year in Cologne. His practice would soon attract the attention of the architectural press as a rising star in the German architectural panorama. The couple married later that year, initiating a relationship that would last

2. Famously, a visit by Italian architects Aldo Rossi and Giorgio Grassi in 1960 resulted in the publication of a seminal article on Casabella. Aldo Rossi, "Un giovane architetto tedesco: Oswald Mathias Ungers / A Young German Architect: Oswald Mathias Ungers", *Casabella* 244, October 1960, 22-37.

3. Alberto Geuna, Niccolò Suraci, and Giulia La Delfa, "Go West OMU", *San Rocco* 16 (2018): 62-8.

4. The library is located in the former courtyard of the Belvederestrasse villa, originally built in 1958.

5. An anecdote from the interview, involving the Ungers children throwing snowballs at Colin Rowe, was featured in Log 46. Cynthia Davidson, "Observations on Snowballs", *Log* 46 (2019): 60.

6. As Sophia Ungers stated during our interview: "When we were in Germany, my mother had worked in the office and helped in that way". Her statement was corroborated by Anja Sieber-Albers: "In the US there was not an office to organize, so she had time to let her interests emerge more. Especially political activism".

until the death of Oswald Mathias Ungers in 2008. About a year after the wedding the design for a family house on the Belvedere Strasse in Cologne was initiated. The villa, which Ungers designed for himself, his newly married wife and infant son Simon (born 1957), invested him with international fame². Despite the numerous relocations the Ungers would undertake over the years this house would remain the centre of the family's universe, serving in turn as home, architectural office and, more recently, as the seat of the Ungers Archive for Architectural Research. It is in this location that, in May 2017, we had the chance of recording a conversation with Sophia Ungers (daughter of the couple) and Anja Sieber-Albers (wife of Joachim Sieber and lifelong collaborator and friend of the Ungers), which constitutes the main direct source for this article, and which was the prompt for our considerations of how to account for labour that has been historically hidden or forgotten through gender dynamics. Methodologically it became a research imperative to think about how Liselotte's work has been hidden in the shadows of her husband, and how we, as researchers, might go about uncovering that work.

The interview was enabled by the mediation of Pier Paolo Tamburelli on the occasion of our contribution to the architectural journal *San Rocco* 16³. It was conducted by Alberto Geuna and Niccolò Suraci in the library adjacent to the Belvederestrasse house known as Kubus⁴. Except for some short greetings in German the language spoken was English. While only Sophia Ungers was intended to participate in the conversation, Anja Sieber-Albers organically joined in. The conversation was recorded via laptop, meaning no technical recording equipment was visible in the room. We suspect this, paired with the familiar and domestic environment, played a role in shaping the conversation, which was friendly, colloquial, and rich in personal anecdotes and tales⁵.

The original intention of the interview was to investigate the crafting of the Ungers 1972 book *Kommunen in der Neuen Welt: 1780 – 1972*, which was written in Ithaca (New York) while OMU held a position as professor at Cornell University. The topic quickly shifted to the contribution of Liselotte Ungers. The initiative to write the book, Sophia revealed, was largely the making of Liselotte, who saw it as an intellectual reaction to stimulus of the newly discovered American context. In particular it was the transfer to Ithaca that enabled Liselotte to play such an active role. The Ithaca years are thus particularly interesting from our standpoint, as the role of Liselotte becomes explicit through her participation in the production of published work.

While we are aware from the conversation that Liselotte had a role in the architectural office in Cologne and Berlin in the late 1950s and 1960s, presumably as a chief operation officer and office manager⁶, her exact influence over her husband's work remains undocumented during this time. Furthermore, we are not aware of any formal work contract stipulated between the two. These difficulties are practical obstacles to

the uncovering of hidden, suppressed or forgotten labour according to gendered power dynamics. It is the challenge of the researcher to work to reveal that which has not been officially acknowledged in these spaces before, either through accessing direct testimony or through the reconsideration of published work and archival documents. Liselotte's work belongs to a grey history of the influence and contributions of women into professional industries, a contribution that has not been acknowledged until recently and whose approach requires ad hoc methodologies adapted to the specific availability of information.

In this sense the move to the US was critical in revealing Liselotte's contribution. During this time O. M. Ungers' architectural practice would be heavily reduced (O. M. Ungers would not build again until the late seventies) and his research would take a turn, drifting away from the contemporary European debate and focusing mainly on theoretical questions regarding morphology and the processes of urban change.

In this context, Liselotte started observing different living phenomena, from the alternative communities that were popping up throughout the land to the traditional native American settlements⁷. An interest towards the forms and practices of dwelling that she shared deeply with her husband. As Sophia states:

There was a lot of curiosity. They discovered something they did not know very well, until that moment. They used their intelligence to create some links between something they were seeing and some historical roots. So, they decided to write the book together.

The result of this interest was a series of travels that the family undertook over the summer holidays, visiting alternative communes and Native American towns across the USA and Canada⁸. The result of these trips was collected in the first two books authored by Liselotte and published in German by the publisher Kiepenheuer & Witsch in the Series "Pocket". The first, called *Communes in the New World 1740-1972*⁹ and co-authored with O.M.Ungers, was a detailed ethnological study of a series of exemplary American alternative communities. The second, *The Return of the Red Man*¹⁰, focuses on the Native American communities and their architecture, from the pueblos to the reservations.

Not being an architect herself, Liselotte was never formally or officially identified as a part of a designer's couple, nor are we led to believe she acknowledged herself as part of one. As we will see, an analysis of her written work rather leads us to infer that Liselotte saw herself as an author of books about architecture and as a privileged observer to O. M. Ungers' work. Indeed, except for a handful of publications directly signed and attributed to her, she was never directly acknowledged as a contributor to her husband's work. Yet, as we previously argued in an article published

7. As Sophia Ungers stated during our interview: "The Faculty (at Cornell) was, how can we say, on traditionalist positions. Especially about Vietnam and Women. Anyway, she sometimes went in front of the architecture department, with other people, screaming slogan against the war... That was not good at all for OMU's image".

8. As Sophia Ungers states: "In the end of the 60s to the early 70s there were a very fragmented situation in America: there was the relationship between little communities and the others, the Indians who were fighting for their rights, the Vietnam war, a lot of activism, the political activism, it was a very intellectual, exciting and social time. OMU and my mother, thanks to the clear categorization of the historical communities, made a comparison between them. In particular, that allowed my parents to explore the reasons for alternative, hippie and free way of life".

9. Liselotte Ungers and Oswald Mathias Ungers, *Kommunen in der Neuen Welt 1740-1972*, Köln: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1972.

10. Liselotte Ungers, *Die Rückkehr des Roten Mannes: Indianer in den USA*, Köln: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1974.

11. Alberto Geuna et al, *op. cit.*

12. Florian Hertwerck and Sebastien Marot, *The City in The City. Berlin: a Green Archipelago. A manifesto (1977)* by Oswald Mathias Ungers and Rem Koolhaas with Peter Riemann, Hans Kolhoff, and Arthur Ovaska. Zurich: Lars Müller Publishers for UZZ Ungers Archiv for Architectural Research, 2013.

13. Liselotte Ungers, *Die Suche nach einer neuen Wohnform*, München: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1982.

14. All pictures in the book belong to the authors. Sophia Ungers testifies that the site visits took the form of family trips. Visits to communes happened during weekends, while the travelling for the book on Native Americans was done during the Summer semester break.

15. Oswald Mathias Ungers, *Die Thematisierung der Architektur*. München: Deutsche Verlags Anstalt, 1983.

16. Oswald Mathias Ungers and Stephan Vieths, *The Dialectic City*. Lausanne: Skira, 1999.

on the Magazine San Rocco in 2018¹¹, these publications allow for the recognition of Liselotte as a ghostwriter¹² of sorts, whose influence is recognizable and detectable in O. M. Ungers work. As Sophia Ungers states :

She studied economics, but she was very connected to every book written by O.M.U. She did not study sociology, she used to read a lot of books on middle class families. I am pretty sure she read engineering books. She was a book lover.

When the family moved back from the United States, Liselotte returned to her occupation as office manager. Yet, she would continue to write and publish. *The Search for a New Living Form*¹³, published in 1983, is an ideal prosecution of the themes developed previously in the American books. While focusing on a markedly different topic (the book focuses on the Siedlung projects of Czechoslovakia and the Weimar Republic of the 1920s), the method employed in the research is reminiscent of the one the Ungers used in the United States, as the archival research is complemented by extensive site visits¹⁴. In this way the original designs of the settlements are juxtaposed to the contemporary dwelling practices that characterize them, allowing for a comparative evaluation and serious considerations regarding the development of modern architecture throughout time. The innovative sophistication of this analytical method doesn't merely demonstrate the intellectual depth of Liselotte Ungers herself, but also illustrates how the reflections developed in the same time period by O.M.Ungers in publications such as *The Thematization of Architecture*¹⁵ adhere and complement his wife's work.

Liselotte published her fourth and last book in 2002, titled *Über Architekten - Leben, Werk und Theorie*. This last publication, which appears after a significant gap in time, is quite different from the previous ones, as it constitutes a collective biography of famous architects. The book is a comparative study of the theories and works of these figures. Of the 23 architects involved, 21 are male. Denise Scott - Brown and Alison Smithson, the only two female architects on the list, are included as part of the couples they formed with their respective husbands: Robert Venturi and Peter Smithson. In the section dedicated to her husband Oswald Mathias Ungers, Liselotte makes no mention of her own contribution to his career, nor does she paint herself in the picture as part of an intellectual couple. The choice of architects in the book is not neutral: the 21 cases are examples of architects that constitute a precedent for O.M. Ungers, being figures that developed an architectural theory alongside their built work. Again, the book enters into a dialogue with O.M. Ungers own written work, being published shortly after Ungers' most comprehensively theoretical book: the *Dialectic City*¹⁶.

'Grey Areas'

The case of Liselotte Ungers, in particular her relative obscurity in relation to male figures in architecture from the era, not least her husband, provides a good example of the dynamic of the trope of the 'architect's couple'. While we can certainly find numerous examples of architect's couples in the literature, these tend to have been only recognised as separate cases. Indeed, the architect's couple has rarely been named or commented on as a post-war phenomenon belonging to the wider narrative of the increasing participation of women in architecture, part of a broader pattern of engagement in professional labour.

This paper sees the work of Liselotte Ungers as an example of the work of women in architecture that belongs to this transitional period. This is part of a grey area, in which women have been somewhat hidden behind the men who were part of their lives. We propose Liselotte's functions as a 'missing link' between the women in these architect's couples, and other patterns which have begun to be recognised.

Liselotte was responsible for office management, day-to-day communication, administration and, after co-writing books with her husband, she published her own books. Her case is a prime example of what we are calling 'intellectual housework', following the arguments of feminist writers such as Federici, who argued for the legitimacy of women's labour, and who challenged the patriarchal capitalist society for failing to provide wages for housework and other gendered labour. Interestingly, our research has uncovered another scholar who has used this term and used it to describe a case that bears many similarities with the patterns and phenomena with which we intend it. Ursula Huws, (Professor of Labor and Globalisation at the University of Hertfordshire) uses the same term to describe the work of her aunt, Jaqueline Tyrhwitt, who was an influential figure in 20th century Urban Planning and Design: 'one of the most important people you never heard of'¹⁷. Huws describes Tyrhwitt's labour thus:

She brought people from across the disciplines together in networks, organised conferences, designed courses, wrote textbooks, put together grant proposals, edited and translated other people's work, negotiated with publishers, founded and edited journals, intervened tactfully to bring peace between warring egos, encouraged young scholars and artists, introducing them to potential employers and patrons, and generally facilitated the flowering of others' work. Much of her career was precarious, slipping from one short-term post or freelance contract to another, denied tenure and dependent on the goodwill of male sponsors.

17. Ursula Huws, "Being Got. Or Not", *Ursula Huws' blog*, 29 October, 2016, <https://ursulahuws.wordpress.com/2016/10/29/being-got-or-not/>

This research, which promises to uncover ‘intellectual housework’ and other forms of grey areas that have been hidden in the shadows of historically prominent male figures in history, has the potential to assist not only in re-righting and re-writing the wrongs of oppressive gender structures in the past, but in contributing to the work of undoing gendered assumptions about talent, intellect, opportunity and ability in the present.

In this sense the case of Liselotte acquires a peculiar meaning due to the presence of a published body of work. Her books allow for an examination of the contribution to her husband’s work based on tangible documents. From the publishing of *Communes in the New World 1740-1972* Liselotte’s books generate a dialogue with her husband’s publications that demonstrates the existence of a meaningful intellectual contribution on her part, while also alluding to a wider conversation on architecture between husband and wife over the decades.

Evaluating the Impact

As we have seen, the conversation with Sophia Ungers and Anja Sieber-Albers allowed us to unveil part of the contribution of Liselotte Ungers to her husband’s work. It is important to note that this result was a byproduct of research dedicated to the study of a specific book, the only one in which OMU and Liselotte were both recognised as authors. It is this key moment of recognition that allowed for the establishment of a hypothetical recognition of the Ungers as an architect’s couple. In terms of data collection, the study of the book provided for a concrete backdrop on which the shadow of Liselotte assumed a clear delineation. In the absence of it, the content of such an intimate and informal conversation would have a merely anecdotal value.

The importance of Liselotte Unger’s underestimated role became clear in the course of the conversation with Sophia Ungers and Anja Sieber-Albers and it surprised us. Prior to the conversation we assumed the 1972 book to be merely a slightly dissonant chapter in O. M. Ungers’ production as an author. We approached the subject of the *Commune* book as a group of young architects interested in exploring new perspectives on O.M. Unger’s work, but following the conversation we realized that this objective could not be achieved by merely studying the figure of the architect in isolation. The network of people surrounding O.M. Ungers, and Liselotte in primis, became the focus of our attention.

In this sense the research, started initially by Alberto Geuna and Niccolò Suraci, found in Giulia La Delfa’s interest in domesticity a fundamental addition. We started observing the work of O. M. Ungers not as an authorial research, but as a collective product of the intellectual environment of the Ungers household, particularly focusing on the role of his wife Liselotte.

Yet, as we started interpreting the subject in terms of gender relations, we felt the need to include a specialized figure in the team. We thus contacted James Cleverley, who holds a PhD. in German Studies with a focus on post-war gender relations, to help us make sense of the information at our disposal.

In order to understand more clearly the changes and shifts that occurred in the decades after World War II, there is a need to interrogate the archive thoroughly, looking for details and documents which may not have previously been considered so important when tracing the history of architecture. This research constitutes what this paper suggests as the 'next steps' in the historical, social and political refiguring of our understanding of women in architecture. Just how crucial it is to understand the precise contribution of the pioneering women in architecture is clear, as Huws writes: 'perhaps we are all shaped by larger patterns which have persisted over the last century despite the huge changes that have been made in women's public positions.'¹⁸ Evidence of the 'grey work' of women architects, and professional women (like Ungers) working immediately adjacent to and with architects, will help shed light on the 'grey history' of the influence and contributions of women into professional industries which still fail to fully acknowledge the roles of those who went before. The case of Liselotte Ungers allows us to question established narratives on gender dynamics of married couples in the history of architecture, reframing the role of the male author in light of a more inclusive perspective.

18. Ibidem

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CONCLUSION

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to address some concluding and prospective elements on the gender of architecture. What are the contemporary and future challenges from the point of view of gender and gender equality, within the professions of architecture, town planning, planning and landscape? In a context of accelerated feminization of architecture training courses, in France as elsewhere, and starting from the postulate that gender is a strong paradigm for analyzing the transformation of the professional worlds studied, three major challenges under the prism of gender are discussed. After having exposed some configurations of the dynamics of feminization crossing the different professional groups, the effects of the dissemination of public policies promoting gender equality and gender mainstreaming are discussed. Finally, the article highlights the new perspectives opened up by feminist epistemologies.

THE GENDER OF ARCHITECTURE: ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

By Nathalie Lapeyre

1. I would like to thank Isabelle Grudet and Élise Macaire, as well as the members of the Scientific Committee, for proofreading this text and making suggestions for its improvement.

The purpose of this text is to discuss some conclusions regarding the gender of architecture as well as the outlook going forward¹. What do all the studies and all the analyses presented during the various debates and roundtables tell us, or what could they tell us, about contemporary and future issues concerning gender and gender equality, within the professions of architecture, urbanism, planning and landscape architecture? In this analytical overview, I shall highlight some of the strong points of each session of the colloquium, as well as the aspects that stood out for me personally and which incite broader reflection on the significance of gender dynamics within the different professions and professional groups under consideration. I am also conducting this analytical exercise through the prism of my own research work on the themes of gender, labour and equality policies, some of which has focused on specific facets of the feminisation of architecture (Lapeyre, 2006; 2020). The initial studies I conducted, featuring surveys on women's and men's professional trajectories, careers and the articulation of work and family in the early 2000s (Lapeyre, 2004; 2008), are quite dated now, but they were carried out at a time when architecture as a professional body was not easily accessible either to women (when only 17% of practising architects in France were female) or to research.

For a long time, academic interest in the field was quite limited, as were funding prospects for sociologists doing research on architecture. There were very few of us in France at the time (see the study by Olivier Chadoin, 1998) investigating the early stages of a phenomenon of feminisation in the sector, which, despite the gendered segregation that we observed, was already beginning to gather the momentum that would see it emerge fully in the decades to come. There was also a fairly conspicuous lack of interest in these issues in the cultural sphere, despite a few studies sounding the alarm internally (Prat, 2015). This situation continued up to recently, resulting in a marked difference between this sector and other public policy sectors where gender equality issues had been foregrounded and institutionalised for years, even decades. I therefore decided, somewhat reluctantly, to abandon my research on architects and gender due to lack of funding. This had not happened with the research I conducted on other professional sectors in the context of comparative analyses on feminisation, namely on women doctors and lawyers. Indeed, the professional bodies and trade union organisations in these professional sectors were keen to measure the effects of the massive increase in the representation of women that was taking place and/or was about to take place in their workforces.

When gender gets involved

The feminisation of architectural training courses has taken off exponentially in the last ten years, a very short time frame when compared to other highly qualified professions, in which feminisation began some fifty years ago. Parity in female/male graduates from French architecture schools was achieved in 2010. Ten years later, due to continued feminisation, female graduates became the majority, exceeding 58% in 2020. The same trend can be observed in Germany², in Belgium, the United States and Greece³. This catch-up in the number of women architects is happening everywhere at lightning speed. In fact, gender issues are beginning to impose themselves through multiple channels and themes within the worlds of architecture and art, and as a result, gender equality policies are being put on the agenda (albeit recently), making it possible for example to engage discussion on sexualities, identities, feminisms, queer issues in the art world, etc. This new context is also creating a real opportunity to investigate these questions in the academic world. For example, they were recently addressed within the framework of a research project financed by the French National Research Agency (Agence Nationale de la Recherche), directed by Anne-Marie Châtelet and focusing on the teaching of architecture in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (EnsArchi)⁴. She and I jointly coordinate a study unit in which gender questions and feminisation issues are placed at the heart of the research and are considered as much from the point of view of the students of the architecture schools as from that of the female teachers working within these same schools in France.

2. For example, in Germany in 2020, 58% of architecture students are women according to Mary Pepchinski's text in this volume.

3. More than 70% of students in architecture schools in Greece in 2020 were female according to Maria Katou's contribution to in this volume.

4. "EnsArchi, l'enseignement de l'architecture au XXe siècle", Hypotheses, <https://ensarchi.hypotheses.org/>, consulted 16 February 2021.

5. Press records, family accounts and archives are often lacking. See in particular Élise Koering's contribution in this volume.

6. See in this volume the analyses by Stéphanie Bouysse-Mesnage on the difficulties experienced by women joining the Order of Architects in Île-de-France between 1942 and 1968.

7. There are approximately 30,000 registered architects in France, for a total professional population of approximately 56,000 architecture graduates in 2017 (registered and non-registered with the Conseil de l'Ordre des Architectes). This estimate is based on analyses by Thérèse Evette (2011), updated by Élise Macaire in 2021. It includes state-qualified architects (Architectes Diplômés d'État, ADE) and architects qualified to be project managers in their own name (holders of a Habilitation à exercer la Maîtrise d'Œuvre en son Nom Propre, HMONP).

8. Currently, male architects earn 1.7 times more than female architects; the working income of female architects was 59% of that of male architects in 2016 (see L'Observatoire de la profession d'architecte, *Archigraphie* 2020).

The objective of the colloquium was clearly to take stock of the progress and limits of feminisation and the gender dynamics at work in the professional worlds of architecture, urban planning and landscape architecture, in France and internationally. The international dimension provides valuable insight into other architectural realities while at the same time revealing convergences. The multidisciplinary scope of the research is also particularly striking and highlights the wide-ranging uses of the concept of gender well beyond the social sciences. The methodologies implemented are plural and varied, both qualitative⁵ and quantitative. This range of intersecting views provides us with a detailed understanding of the logics by which women are denied access to knowledge, their historical invisibility, and the (slow-moving) contemporary transition from a generalised ban on knowledge to a restricted one (Mosconi, 2004), thus clarifying the realities experienced by professional women.

The various studies conducted on large professional groups shed light in particular on the malleability of the concept of gender and on the ways in which it is used. They illustrate the growing influence of gender studies and their ability to provide a new understanding of the issues and objects of research. Most of the contributions and studies presented here are based on the same premise: gender is a strong paradigm for analysing the transformation of the professional worlds of architecture, urbanism and landscape architecture. Taking up this idea, I propose to set three major challenges for coming years in relation to the concept of gender. First, I will discuss some configurations of the dynamics of feminisation at work in the different professional groups. Second, I will examine in further detail some of the effects of the widespread adoption of public policies to promote gender equality and gender mainstreaming. Finally, I will highlight some of the new perspectives opened up by feminist epistemologies.

The dynamics of feminisation in the professions of architecture, urbanism and landscape architecture

The process by which women consolidated their position in architecture schools and within professional spheres evolved slowly over a historical period spanning 120 years⁶, with an especially remarkable acceleration recently. This feminisation coexists with particularly ingrained vertical gendered segregation within the profession, which creates gender inequalities within the practice, such that only 30% of architects registered with the *Ordre des architectes* in France are women⁷, women are over-represented in salaried positions and average earnings of male architects are 1.7 times higher than what their female colleagues earn⁸, etc. Despite these disparities, if the current evolution continues at the same pace, it is quite likely that women will make up close to 70% of architecture graduates in 2030, or even 80% in 2040 (as is the case in medical studies in France today). Nevertheless, within the same time frame, several wide-

ranging dynamics of feminisation coexist within this vast professional group. Given that 'not all of them operate in the same way or according to the same logic' (Lapeyre, 2019, p. 45), I propose to identify some of the salient aspects of these dynamics to clarify the pace and form of feminisation.

There clearly exists a type of feminisation that I would describe as 'sustainable feminisation', a strong and anchored feminisation that is sometimes relatively invisible within the profession and which can be likened to what we call a 'niche', a female one as it happens. This is the case of urban planners and landscape architects, sectors that attest to a long-standing but relatively unknown process of feminisation⁹. This 'sustainable feminisation' favours the influx of new generations of women, while at the same time feeding into sectors and professions that are already highly feminised. This can also be the case for architects and urban planners working as civil servants in local authorities¹⁰. There is thus a possible 'crowding effect' (Bekman, Bound and Machin, 1998) or 'gender queue' to explain the persistence of gender segregation in the workplace (Reskin and Roos, 1990).

Alongside these factors, an 'incomplete feminisation' can be observed within professional spheres that still resist feminisation. This is the case of private practice, forever presented as the canonical mode of practising architecture despite its quite relative importance in the profession, and in which roughly 30% of numbers are made up by women. One may suppose that women will consequently be over-represented in salaried positions. This is indeed the case, as women represent the majority (54%)¹¹ of salaried positions in architectural agencies in a variety of functions, although male architects have by no means deserted this mode of practice (46%). We also saw throughout the various presentations that women do occupy positions in project management and are in charge of managing development projects.

This incomplete feminisation involves another type of dynamic, 'subaltern feminisation', a form of feminisation that reveals the internal mechanisms in the profession by which a 'gendered organisation of subaltern competencies is constructed' (Lapeyre, 2019, p. 46). It applies to the figure of the ideal female collaborator (most of the time a salaried employee) who acts as an assistant in projects¹². More meticulous, more rigorous, more reliable than men, etc., there is no shortage of clichés to describe her, and these clichés pre-define profiles of ideal-typical female professionals. In their role as project collaborator or assistant they are highly qualified and reliable linchpins, much in demand for their advanced technical and organisational skills, and generally coupled (whether or not also in private life) with the male office director (or project or team manager) who takes full advantage of their abilities. These female professionals are specialised in making sure everything goes according to plan, acting as true safeguards. They provide an assurance of seriousness and rigour in the development of architectural or urban planning projects. The consequence of these

9. See in this volume Violette Arnoulet's study of several generations of women planners in the context of the implementation of municipal policies.

10. See in this volume Lucile Biarrotte's study on employees in the Paris City Council's planning department.

11. "Architecte et construction, où sont les femmes", Blog Archi Libel, <https://blogarchi.libel.fr/actualites-archi/metier-darchitecte/femmes-architectes-batiment/>, consulted 11 March 2020.

12. See in particular the contribution in this volume by Giuliana Di Mari, Caterina Franchini, Emilia Garda and Alessandra Renzulli.

stereotypes is to create a 'gendered career script' (Lapeyre and Le Feuvre, 2005) in architecture, with women architects being restricted to subordinate management functions, never finding themselves in a position to leverage their skills to reach the higher level of directly managing projects. The perverse outcome of this type of feminisation is to create a trap that perpetuates the glass ceiling. Ultimately, all of these gendered professional skills and qualities are the antithesis of those that need to be put forward to manage projects and/or teams (drivers), i.e. asserting one's leadership, being a risk-taker, being innovative, taking initiative and trying out new things, being more detached, more ambitious, more innovative, more inventive, developing networks (Lapeyre, 2021) and proving one's mettle as the director of an office, etc., qualities that are all almost exclusively attributed to men.

From another angle, feminisation rhymes with segregation according to the logic of a 'law of feminisation', that is to say 'a law combining attraction and repulsion and defining a series of concentric circles' (Lapeyre, 2019, p. 46). At the centre is the so-called 'core business', with its male professions, synonymous with prestige, benefiting from exaggerated symbolic value (the star system) and financial importance. Then comes a first circle, that of intermediate professions where men remain very strongly represented (independent practice); the second circle is that of mixed professions (theoretically, there are few of these); the third circle is that of feminised professions, which are more peripheral to the practice of architecture (Lapeyre, 2019, p. 46). In short, this suggests a process of feminisation that is relatively 'incomplete and uncertain' (Lapeyre, 2019, p. 179), underpinned, as in the case of female engineers, by a 'polite revolution' (Marry, 2004), even when women are in the majority among graduates.

Women gain access to recognition processes as long as their practices do not compete with those of their male peers and as long as they do not challenge the professional ethos established by men and the dominant classes. Most feminisation dynamics are a sign of a lack of gender diversity. Indeed, it is very rare to find gender diversity in the labour market and when it does exist, it does not automatically mean equality or recognition. Women can still be considered a minority and suffer from prevailing misogyny even when they are in the majority! Patriarchal professional structures can easily persist over the long term, until they hit a point of resistance that causes a significant shift in the status quo (see the work of Kanter, 1977, who identifies the need to reach 40% of women in an organisation in order for the situation to change positively in terms of recognition).

On the other hand, historians have shown us that resistance to feminisation persists in time and space. It should be noted that the arguments put forward (essentially by men) have evolved very little over time. True, a revolution has taken place, that of the feminist movement for women's economic empowerment, but the discourse opposing the recognition of

13. See Élise Koering's contribution in this volume.

14. For a fuller account of this history, see the contributions in this volume by Giuliana Di Mari, Caterina Franchini, Emilia Garda and Alessandra Renzulli.

women's professionalism remains both tenacious and intangible. When we talk about women's work, what are we talking about? For women, unquestionably this means domestic tasks and housework (once elevated to the level of an art), considered their exclusive responsibility in the discourse of the 1920s and the interwar years¹³, and sometimes still heard a century later. This discourse is rooted in patriarchal resistance strategies that are fully-fledged 'male defensive strategies' (Molinier, 2000), age-old arguments, therefore, which are reflected in the institutionalised sexism found within high-qualified professions (Lapeyre, 2020), and from which architecture is not exempt. Women themselves do not usually make overt demands (whether feminist in nature or not), but adopt a more passive stance, as shown by the example of this Chinese architect (Lu Wenyu) who refused to take any steps to have her contributions recognised when her husband (Wang Shu) alone was awarded a prestigious prize for their joint work (the prestigious Pritzker Prize 2016)¹⁴. Or they take on a more commonplace submissive posture in architecture firms, or in architecture schools for female teachers, often described as 'mothering'. Thus, as women cannot be in a constant state of struggle, because this constant attention is both mentally and physically exhausting, and because it is very costly both individually and collectively, they resign themselves to circulating in the margins allocated to them by the gender system.

The spread of policies to promote gender equality and gender mainstreaming

While gender diversity as such is relatively non-existent in the labour market, one cannot unilaterally claim that the patchwork of gender equality laws and gender equality policies in effect only have a purely symbolic and rhetorical impact (Mazur, 2004). The recent interest in gender is part of a strong change of historical context linked to the general spread in our societies of what could be termed gender equality culture. There is no doubt that gender equality is being talked about and assessed, or rather that inequalities are being assessed and losing some of their legitimacy over time. Admittedly, we are still a long way from a situation where gender equality is an 'already established equality', to use Christine Delphy's words (Delphy, 2004), however, on the strength of state decree and in view of the various legal obligations in this area, policies to promote equality and the implementation of gender mainstreaming can have a real impact (in the civil service, administrations and ministries, companies, institutions, organisations, etc.). At very least, this context undoubtedly justifies the importance of debate on gender issues.

Several instruments of legitimisation are involved in the dissemination of these gender equality policies. In France at least, the number of gender equality, diversity and anti-discrimination officers is increasing in institutions and work organisations, in response to pressure from legal and regulatory constraints. This is also the case in architecture schools, for example with

15. The global crisis has considerably slowed down the work of these new commissions, some of which were set up within the *Écoles Nationales Supérieures d'Architecture* at the very beginning of the pandemic (late 2019-early 2020).

16. 'Transformative empowerment' refers to a particularly advanced form of empowerment (individual and collective awareness, actions, etc.) (Lapeyre, 2017), which can be defined as a power to act that goes through a whole learning process with the goal of promoting individuals' emancipation and empowerment, and with a view to social transformation (Bacqué and Biewener, 2013).

17. These networks have existed for a long time, such as the UIFA - International Union of Women Architects created in 1963, which regularly organises international congresses, and since 2018 the *Réseau Français des Femmes Architectes* (through the associations *Arvha* and *Architectuelles*). Source: <https://www.architectes.org/actualites/creation-du-reseau-francais-des-femmes-architectes>, consulted 27 January 2021.

18. See more details in this volume in the contribution by Giuliana Di Mari, Caterina Franchini, Emilia Garda and Alessandra Renzulli

19. Pritzker Prize 2010 and 2021 (shared between two and mixed): Kazuyo Sejima and Ryue Nishizawa (2010); Anne Lacaton and Jean-Philippe Vassal (2021); Pritzker Prize 2017 (shared between three and mixed): Rafael Aranda, Carme Pigem and Ramon Vilalta, source: <https://www.pritzkerprize.com>, consulted 30 March 2021.

local commissions dedicated to these issues being gradually set up in the various *Écoles Nationales Supérieures d'Architecture*, and actions being taken to raise awareness among staff¹⁵. The Ministry of Culture engaged with these subjects in September 2019 through the 'Equality between women and men in architecture' focus group chaired by the Ministry of Culture's Diversity-Equality Officer (under the direction of Agnès Saal). This initiative took place within the broader framework of the Equality Roadmap 2019-2022, devised to achieve real equality in the field of architecture and its various professions (teaching, professions, consecration of talents, impact of inequalities of all kinds on the making of cities, encompassing the past, present and future). It was accompanied by the establishment of a scientific and technical network formed of female and male researchers and teachers studying the links between gender and architecture. In France, we are therefore currently seeing various instruments being set up to officially introduce gender mainstreaming, meaning that gender is being integrated into public policies and public action. Support networks for women architects strongly back the implementation of these visibility policies with the aim of bringing about a truly 'transformative empowerment' process¹⁶ (Lapeyre, 2017, p. 91)¹⁷. Indeed, the methodologies used to implement gender equality plans have already borne fruit in other sectors, particularly in large industrial companies, and are based on setting up of coaching, mentoring and mutual aid systems, and even sisterhood and experience-sharing practices in a supportive context. This possibility of empowerment can exist, knowing that women remain a minority: but what about their representation in architecture firms, among architecture professors in schools, large and small public commissions, exhibitions of the work of women architects, and so on?

Similarly, what about the notoriety of women architects, the processes by which they come to be recognised and the workings of the 'star system' in international architecture? How many Pritzker Prizes have excluded women beyond the well-known example of Denise Scott-Brown, whose husband Robert Venturi obtained the distinction in 1991 without the possibility of sharing it, despite the protests?¹⁸ Admittedly, awarding the Pritzker Prize in 2004 to Zaha Hadid was already a first step towards raising the profile of women architects at the international level. But we still had to wait until last year, 2020, for two Irish women architects, Yvonne Farrell and Shelley McNamara, to win it without male mediation, i.e. without sharing it with either their spouses or their male colleagues¹⁹. It would seem, however, that things are changing and that there is a desire for the equal inclusion of women in the Pritzker Prize jury (another woman, Manuela Lucá-Dazio, recently joined the jury, making a total of five men and five women, the chair being a man while the executive director is a woman)²⁰. Will it make a difference? Are these recent events a sign of indisputable progress in the professional recognition of women architects? In the recognition of their work and achievements? We will probably find out in the next few years. Beyond the processes of recognition, the need for clearly identifiable

20. 'The Pritzker Architecture Prize does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, sex, disability, or age in its programs and activities', source: <https://www.pritzkerprize.com/nominate>, consulted 27 January 2021.

21. Remarks by Elisabeth Gossart, representative of the Conseil National de l'Ordre des Architectes, during the first round table of the colloquium.

female role models is essential, to open up possibilities and to give visibility to women (in the sense of creating a 'female heritage', a matrimony rather than a patrimony). Moreover, it has an impact on women's self-confidence. The recent introduction of quotas for women (50%) in the elections to the Order of Architects in France is already an important step. It has been accompanied by the creation of a working group on gender equality (in project management)²¹, bearing in mind that only 30% of women architects are registered with the Order of Architects. A large proportion of them are managers of structures and 13% of these 30% are salaried employees.

So what kind of gender equality are we talking about in fact ? As we have seen, the realities on the ground are often dissimilar to and somewhat distant from the objectives of real equality. How can real and substantive equality be achieved? It happens that different visions of gender equality have existed through history and can even co-exist in the same era. There are visions of equality that emphasise complementarity and difference, for example women were considered to be highly talented for decorative arts, working as 'ensemblières' before the Second World War or as architects on small constructions of lesser importance. Their presence in these roles was justified on gendered qualities that were invariably treated extremely pejoratively (and which had the 'merit' for men of leaving women in their place within the gender system, a place that fell to them due to their essential qualities). If women did not stay in their assigned place, male architects would use strong-arm tactics: for example, by sabotaging their work and tapping into the crux of power relations: access to funding (as Mary Pepchinski describes in the German context just before World War I in her contribution to this volume). This is just one example among many illustrating male strategies to preserve the gender system.

The patriarchal system thus attributes a differentiated value to artistic or architectural productions according to an individual's gender, within a heteronormative and heterosexist social system, whether one understands gender in history as a cultural construction (Scott, 2009) or in sociology as a social construction (Delphy, 1998). In fact, a male architect is above all an architect. A woman architect is a woman. The gender marker is always on the side of women (Mathieu, 1991), while men gain access to universality. In order to think beyond these divisions and stereotypes, and to stir up trouble in gender issues (Butler, 2006), alternative ways of thinking about equality, an equality that is more substantial and more real, are clearly integral to a feminist agenda for architecture that is far more critical of these issues. This is especially true when women architects begin to be represented in significant numbers within the professional group.

The new perspectives opened up by feminist epistemologies

Promoting the place of women and their historical recognition in architecture and other disciplines, essentially since the end of the

nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, is definitely a positive step forward, along with the monitoring of knowledge, female figures, processes of feminisation, inclusive policies, etc. But thinking about the feminist potential for transforming architecture and architectural practices is a completely different matter. It has an emancipatory potential, a sometimes highly subversive potential, which is likely to profoundly renew ways of thinking about teaching practices²², spaces, territories, buildings, urbanism and its gendered uses (Tummers, 2015), as well as the place of women users. It can even become an instrument of women's empowerment through architecture, building and the planning of spaces and landscapes, for the benefit of all women users of built spaces and not merely women architects or town planners²³. How can we rethink the practices of project management? (Dadour, 2018). How can we make living spaces evolve, opening up cramped domestic spaces for women and children? How can we include feminist planning proposals in architectural and urban programmes?

22. See Lidewij Tummers' analysis in this volume of the transformative potential of feminist teaching and pedagogy in Hannover.

23. See also Mary Pepchinski's contribution to this volume.

A number of studies highlight the scope of feminist epistemologies in the prism of architectural creation. These epistemologies incite us to thoroughly revisit patriarchal and androcentric concepts, theories and visions of the built environment, the urban environment, landscapes and the world of architecture. How does gender shape and reshape perceptions of space? How can women be emancipated through architecture? How do we create new paradigms of architecture and urban design to achieve this goal (Louargant, 2015)? The incorporation of gender resonates at the very heart of the philosophy of urban, construction and territorial planning projects²⁴. This feminist and critical study of the sciences calls for a reappraisal of some of the certainties, knowledge and pedagogical values of the worlds of architecture, technology and art as well as of their conceptual and theoretical scope. These feminist epistemologies implicitly raise questions that are being explored by militant feminism and by the academic world, questions that are both fundamental and topical, while relating to major contemporary issues in our societies.

24. For example, regarding the conception of urban projects in the city of Paris, see Lucile Biarrotte's text in this volume.

The prism of feminist epistemologies exposes sexuality-related issues in the workplace and questions the currently sexist and heteronormative vision of architecture. These questions around sexualities at work, understood as the final threshold in the implementation of professional equality policies (Lapeyre, 2018), place LGBTQI+ issues²⁵ as well as queer identities and issues in the art and design worlds, etc. at the centre of the debate. Similarly, what about the highlighting of phenomena related to the 'male gaze' and the 'female gaze'? These terms call attention to the way in which the dominant visual culture imposes the perspective of heterosexual men (who are white, but also Western and middle or upper class), thereby raising all the issues reflected on in 'standpoint theory' (Hartsock, 1983).

25. Concerning the activity of lesbian and gay architects, and the issues at stake in terms of risk, see the text by Olivier Vallerand in this volume.

Furthermore, feminist epistemologies, particularly through one of the major paradigmatic contributions of gender studies in recent decades,

incite reflection on other kinds of power relations through intersectional perspectives (Crenshaw, 1991) articulating gender, age, interethnic or 'race' relations, and class relations (including power relations between women). It should be emphasised that gender does not have the same decisive influence in all social spaces (Le Feuvre, 2018), as illustrated by the highly homogeneous social recruitment in architecture schools (upper classes)²⁶.

26. See Serge Proust and Corine Vedrine's contribution in this volume.

The feminist reading of the question of gender violence and violence against women is all the more acute in a post #MeToo world and in the context of the advent of so-called third wave feminism, which is young, connected and globalised. It signals a profound change in the culture regarding the public exposure and globalised denunciation of the structural effects of sexual harassment against women and of sexist and sexual violence in all fields of social life (in the workplace and in general in the public and private spheres). This gender-based violence has been theorised in the social science literature. It is analysed as a continuum (Kelly, 2019), starting from 'ambient harassment' at work (or benevolent sexism, or ambient sexism and other derogatory remarks regularly heard by women of all generations). It reflects the type of masculinity that is dominant in the professions under consideration, i.e. hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2014) in the world of architecture, with the commonplace occurrence of loud whistles and lingering stares on building sites, which, combined with other factors, express a persistent denial of the place of women architects and a lack of recognition for their professionalism²⁷.

27. See also Ludivine Damay and Christine Schaut's text in this volume, "Men Only".

This logic of the continuum of gender violence, starts from the different manifestations of ambient harassment and capable and can escalate to more elaborate forms of everyday sexist and sexual harassment at work (or in schools for female students). In other professional spheres, these forms of sexual harassment have their roots in what is referred to by feminists as 'rape culture', leading up to the most extreme forms of sexual crime. In consequence, what role can built spaces, the design of public buildings, businesses, workplaces and homes, public spaces and public urban planning play in addressing these societal dimensions of gender-based violence in the city, for example? In public spaces, how can women be allowed to move freely by day and night, with adequate urban amenities (lighting, large spaces, etc.)? What solutions can be proposed for these spaces in the process of creating the urban and architectural fabric?

28. See Tummers Lidewij's contribution in this volume, which highlights how gender equality must be seen as 'an intrinsic part of contemporary architectural and environmental challenges'.

The final challenge for architecture, urban planning and landscaping is crystallised by the question of sustainable development (to which gender equality issues are integral) along with ecological and environmental issues²⁸, as well as climate issues, which, on a global scale, primarily affect girls and women as the first victims of these changes (Laugier, Falquet and Molinier, 2015). This is a challenge we will have to face in the coming decades.

Not to conclude

Gender acts as a lens through which to interpret the (past and contemporary) world, one that is sufficiently powerful to enable us to thoroughly rethink ways of making, practising, and theorising architecture as well as its social uses. As such, gender is undoubtedly a strong paradigm for reappraising pedagogies, professional practices and the philosophy of architectural, urbanistic, planning and landscape projects. The questions it raises outline a broad programme of research in architecture that calls on us to develop a genuine 'gender policy' (Lapeyre, 2019), based on the perspective of legitimising and recognising the issues of feminisation, fostering a culture of equality and building on the research areas opened up by feminist epistemology. It reveals a vast field of action for the renewal of practices and ways of thinking about the built environment and using city spaces. There is no doubt that architects, urban planners and landscape architects, whatever their sex or gender, whether binary or non-binary, have a lot to say about these questions.

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This international colloquium entitled 'Gender dynamics and practices in architecture, urbanism and landscape architecture' (webinar February 2020) brought together contributions for an assessment of the gains and limits of feminization and gender dynamics at work in the professional worlds of architecture, urban planning and landscape architecture in France, fifty years after the 'massive' entry of women into architecture schools in 1968. It allowed for the sharing of data and analyse the modalities, temporalities, and effects of the social and historical process of transformation of gender relations and, more broadly, of power relations (based on race, social class, etc.) with an intersectional perspective.

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