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**Women architects in West and East Berlin 1949-1969:
reconstructing the difference: a contribution to Berlin building
history and knowledge about women architects' conditions of
professionalization**

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**WOMEN ARCHITECTS IN WEST AND EAST BERLIN 1949-1969:
RECONSTRUCTING THE DIFFERENCE.**

A CONTRIBUTION TO BERLIN BUILDING HISTORY AND KNOWLEDGE ABOUT
WOMEN ARCHITECTS' CONDITIONS OF PROFESSIONALIZATION

Christiane Droste

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of
Westminster for the degree of doctor of philosophy, London 2014.

ABSTRACT

The history of women in architecture in Germany began more than a century ago. Although the earlier history of the pioneering women architects is well documented for Berlin, their contribution to the city's post-war rebuilding has so far received little appreciation. This is the case even though Berlin is the only city where the two German states' different social contexts and building cultures co-existed, and were in explicit competition. Asking why so little is known about women architects working at this time in West and East Berlin, this thesis provides an initial comprehensive picture of women's contribution to the re-building of Berlin, made by working freelance in the West and holding responsible positions in the East.

At the same time, furnishing a second original contribution, the thesis explores obstacles limiting their design activity on both sides of the border. It explains to what extent similarities and differences in the women's education, role models, and conditions of professionalization determined design opportunities open to women architects. The research framework is a situational analysis, considering the different social contexts as *natural environment*, the culture of the architectural profession as *social environment*, and women architects' limited participation as *problem situation*. Feminist and gender sensitive theory and methods reveal the interplay of obstacles to women architects' participation. Bourdieu's theory of a *State Nobility* reinforces understanding of which aspects of the culture of the profession sustained the gender divisions in post-war architectural practice.

Eight interview-based cases explain the different strategies of these women to succeed in the respective context. The analysis of their work and representation shows: women architects in the West remained marginalised during these two decades, and despite explicit political support for women in engineering professions, their more integrated colleagues in the East also failed to surpass the glass ceiling. Assembling detailed information *about* and *from* these eight women, the cases support equality-oriented documentation of a marginalized group in historical research. Given women architects' limited advancement until today, this thesis forms part of a *Feminist Intervention* into architectural history that needs to be continued.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all of the material contained in this thesis, except where indicated as otherwise, is the work of its author.

Christiane Droste, 13th of January 2015

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PREFACE

This dissertation was, in its first phase from 2000 to 2003, embedded in a research project on women architects who worked in Berlin from 1908 to 1989, initiated and led by Kerstin Dörhöfer, at that time professor at the Berlin University of Arts. I am deeply indebted to Kerstin Dörhöfer for inspiring this work. Her sharing of knowledge and experience and her supervision during the first years of this feminist intervention in architectural history, were of utmost value for this dissertation. For personal reasons, I had to abandon the dissertation project at the Berlin University of Arts in 2004. Re-structured, my work continued from 2005 as a PhD thesis at Westminster University.

Parts of the mutual research on Hilde Weström's and Margot Zech-Weymann's biographies and *catalogues raisonnés*, in 2004, appeared in Kerstin Dörhöfer's publication *Pionierinnen der Architektur. Ein Beitrag zur Berliner Baugeschichte*. The mutual work and shared use of sources in the first phase of this thesis and the overlapping of the analyzed phases in the biographies of the women architects may result in similar depiction of both the women's biographies and the contemporary building context. Therefore, intellectual property is, where appropriate, hereby explicitly acknowledged.

The first decade of post-reunification discourse on architectural history in both German states was characterised by severe conflicts due to many West German historians' hegemonic perspective on GDR architecture. This perspective often lacked contextual knowledge on how strong building politics and building industry conditions affected the production of GDR architecture. Furthermore, it seemed for quite a while to be taken for granted that the design quality of East German / East Berlin architecture could not be compared with the modernism of the 1950s and 1960s in the West.

It is thus essential to state here that the author's decision to always elaborate on the West Berlin situation first is solely related to the researcher's perspective as a West German native.

This thesis is based to a large extent on literature and sources in German. References in the text are given in the respective publication's language. The bibliography provides translations of the German titles. This dissertation intends to support both the re-traceability of women architects and research on women in architecture. The bibliography thus contains not only the literature that is referenced in the text, but the

entire body of literature that was analysed. The intention is to provide a specific resource for other scholars further pursuing the subject.

A last point to be mentioned here is that the thesis, being among other things about the visibility of women in architecture, contains many illustrations, to be understood as sources as well as illustrations. Also, some chapters conclude with bibliographical vignettes of women architects who were not selected as case studies but deserve more explicit visibility than being hidden in the appendices.

0 INTRODUCTION

“The absence of women from the profession of architecture remains, despite various theories, very difficult to explain and slow to change. It demarcates a failure the profession has become adept at turning blind eye to, despite the fact that it places architecture far behind other professions with which architects frequently seek to align themselves. If we consider architecture a cultural construct, both vessel and residue, we can but wonder what this systematic absence suggests about our culture and the orders that govern the production of this architecture”¹. (Francesca Hughes)

0 | 1 TRACING WOMEN ARCHITECTS’ WORK IN POST-WAR BERLIN

Where do we experience women architects’ absence from the profession? In architectural history, the first place to perceive this absence is exhibitions and the literature representing the built environment. The subsequent feminist question for architectural history, which is the main objective here, is *why* are the women architects absent?

The quote from Francesca Hughes shows the way to explore this question throughout all structural levels of the culture of the architectural profession. The relative absence of women architects in the architectural guide *Architekturführer Berlin*² (Illustration 0 | 1) was one of the incentives for the research undertaken for this thesis. Published in its fifth edition in 1997, it presents iconic historical buildings of the city, but predominantly 20th century social housing, vernacular architecture and infrastructural buildings. Given this focus and assuming that at least social housing and vernacular building have been fields of the built environment to which women architects contributed, their absence astonished.

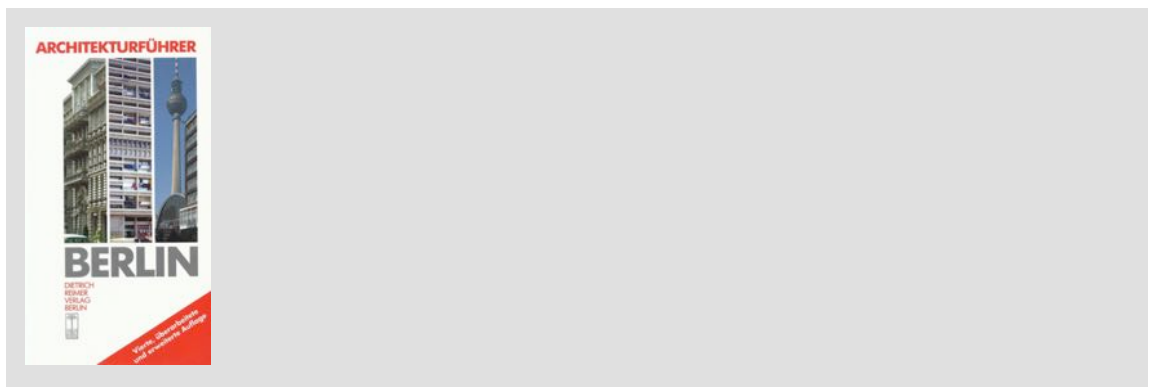


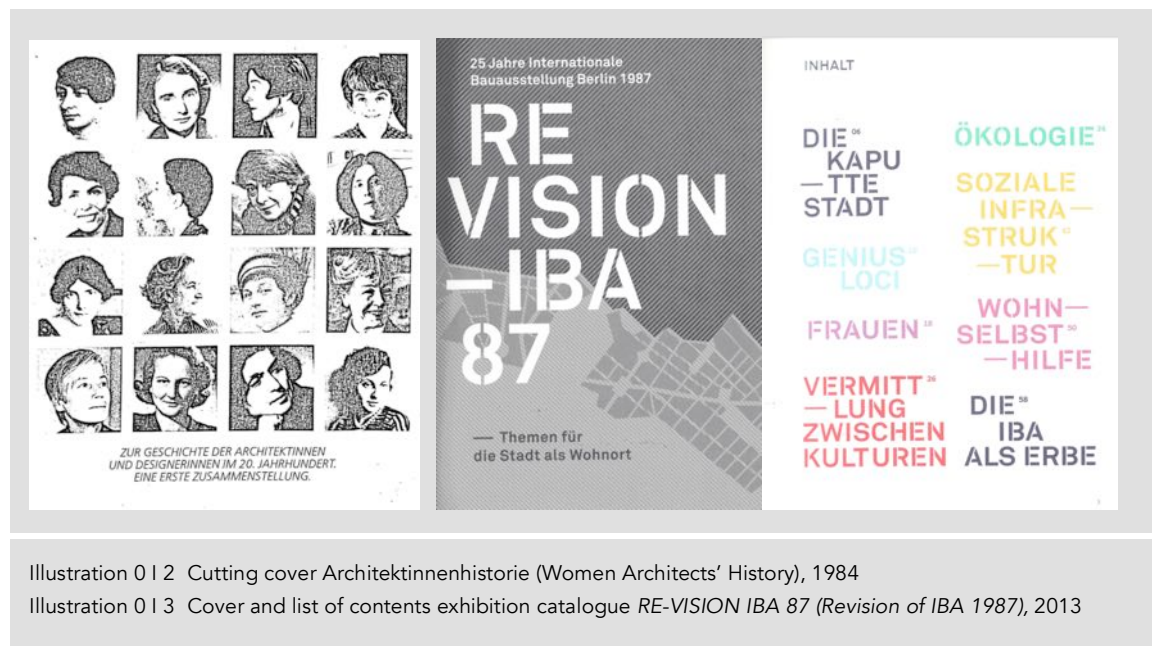
Illustration 0 | 1 Cover *Architekturführer Berlin* (Berlin Architectural Guide), 1994

1 Francesca Hughes, *The Architect: Reconstructing her Practice* (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1998), X-XI.

2 Martin Wörner and Doris Mollenschott, *Architekturführer Berlin*. (Berlin: Reimer Verlag, 1997, fifth edition).

This leads to the reasons why this thesis has been written: an interest in understanding the context of this absence and in improving the perception of women architects' work in Berlin. The interest arose in the context of working as a student for a feminist architect and scholar, Kerstin Dörhöfer, and increased in the author's professional context as researcher and gender consultant.

The astonishment about the relative absence of women architects in the literature arose from the knowledge that the number of women studying architecture in Berlin had – interrupted by National Socialism that limited between 1933 and 1945 the share of women amongst all academic students to a maximum of ten per cent – grown with a certain continuity since 1908. It further increased up to 40 per cent by the mid 1990s. The architectural professional associations documented a slowly rising, but perceptible increase of women members. The 1984 Berlin exhibition on the history of women architects, *Architektinnenhistorie*,³ (Illustration 0 | 2) and women architects' engagement in the context of the *Internationale Bauausstellung 1984-1987* (International Building Exhibition, IBA) had already raised awareness of women architects' capacity to contribute to the mainstream of the city's post-war architecture (Illustration 0 | 3). Therefore, from a feminist and gender perspective, the inevitable question was why so few women were included in this comprehensive architectural guide. Why did it, while introducing the buildings of 858 architects and 7 institutional design groups, name only 19 women architects who worked independently and 6 women working in partnerships?



³ If Wörner and Mollenschott had been interested in the representation of women architects in their work, two sources would have been easily accessible at the time of their publication: the catalogue of this exhibition, organised by the *Union Internationale des Femmes Architectes*, and the publication by Verena Dietrich on German women architects' work in the 1970s and 1980s (see bibliography).

This chapter first asks why a focus on Berlin is a good starting point to pursue this question, by historical research on woman architects. It then introduces the methodology and finally briefly outlines the structure of the thesis.

Why focus on Berlin women architects?

The literature analysis quickly revealed that answering these questions could involve (until now lacking) comprehensive study of German women architects in post-war modern architecture. Such a study should take into account different schools of architecture in Germany and regional differences in women's opportunities to build. There are several reasons to start such a study in Berlin. One is the existing evidence of women architects' history in the history of the city's built environment, allowing us to follow the first women architects' successors' path into the profession. A second reason is the city's role in women's emancipation processes during the first half of the 20th century. Berlin was a hub of the first women's movement (*Erste Frauenbewegung*)⁴ and its exhibitions and publications accommodated the presentation of women architects' work. Their engagement supported women's access to universities and particularly technical studies, and encouraged individual women striving for an academic architectural education. Moreover, the Berlin-Charlottenburg Technical College (*Technische Hochschule Charlottenburg*) was one of the German technical universities favoured by women.

In addition, Berlin's lifestyle during the first decades of the century supported a process that we would today call a women's *placemaking process*, that is to say striving for a vision of the city that expresses the habitus and spatial needs and preferences of the modern woman (*Neue Frau*). Different kinds of buildings, public and private spaces provided a spatial network of women's spaces, and accommodated changing patterns of life and work. Moreover, there was a for-this-time-astonishing concentration of women's buildings in the city.⁵ Examples of this development were the 1908 opening of Emilie Winkelmann's architectural office, then one of a kind in Germany, and Elisabeth von Knobelsdorff's registration at the Berlin Technical College in 1909.

4 See Ute Gerhard, *Unerhört. Die Geschichte der Frauenbewegung* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1999), Annette Kuhn and Doris Schubert, *Frauen in der deutschen Nachkriegszeit. Bd.1: Frauenarbeit 1945-49*, ed. Annette Kuhn. (Düsseldorf, 1986), Despina Stratigakos, „A women's Berlin.“ In *Embodied Utopias*, ed. Amy Bingaman, Lise Sanders and Rebecca Zorach (London: Routledge, 2002), 139-155. Marianne Pitzen and Annette Kuhn, ed., *Politeia. Szenarien aus der deutschen Geschichte nach 1945 aus Frauensicht* (Catalogue. Bonn: FrauenMuseum – Kunst – Kultur- Forschung, 1999).

5 This process is documented in Despina Stratigakos, op. cit., and, in fuller discussion, in her comprehensive publication of the same title, published in 2008: Despina Stratigakos, *A women's Berlin* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

In Berlin, pioneering women entered the architectural arena between 1908 and 1945. Careers of 29 mostly Berlin women architects can be traced during this era. They included famous figures like Eileen Gray, Lilly Reich and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, but also less-known architects like Elisabeth von Knobelsdorff, Paul Maria Canthal and Ella Briggs. These women had affinities to the first women's movement and in part represented the image of the *Neue Frau*. (Illustration 0 | 4) Despite being endangered by National Socialism after only two generations, the body of their work could have built "a tradition to which – those starting after World War II could refer."⁶ However, the history of the built environment needs in the passage of time to be recognized, and thus there was hardly any conscious reference made to them by the women who are the main subject of this thesis.

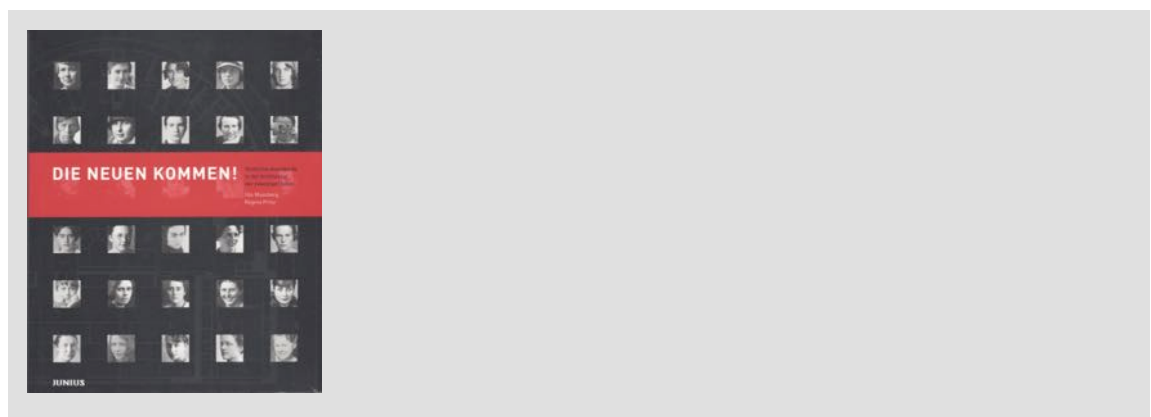


Illustration 0 | 4 Cover exhibition catalogue *Die Neuen kommen!* (*The New Women Arriving!*), 2006

At the turn of the 21st century, research on the pioneering German women architects increased, and the focus of interest was Berlin. Moreover, the local discourse on gender in the planning disciplines targeted women's participation, user orientation in all planning disciplines and specific qualities of the built environment. In addition, publications appeared on today's working conditions of women architects. Debates involved the remaining glass ceiling in the commissioning of iconic or high-investment architecture and gender aspects in planning. However, there is an obvious research gap between these two periods, between the pioneering women architects and today. So far, mainly Kerstin Dörhöfer's work, which shed light on the pioneering architects and Hilde Weström, has extended the line from which the 1984 exhibition and publication of the Berlin UIFA group.⁷ Therefore, it was in a certain sense natural to continue the research on Berlin women architects by investigating the following post-war period.

⁶ For fuller discussion of her hypothesis on tradition building see Dörhöfer 2004, op.cit. 164-166.

⁷ Verena Dietrich's publication, *Architektinnen. Ideen-Projekte-Bauten* introduced the work of a few selected women architects in 1970s/1980s Germany and was thus not relevant for this thesis (see bibliography).

A second important reason to start a research project on women architects in Berlin is that this is the place to observe the rise and fall of political systems in Germany and societal change. In many respects architectural history represents these processes, like an experiment in the built environment. In the early 20th century, metropolitan Berlin already played a leading role in German architecture, with the architecture of the tenement housing and industrial buildings of the *Kaiserreich*⁸, and the modernist housing and urban design of the Weimar Republic. Berlin assembled many of the era's great architects. These not only refined the city's architecture, but also influenced the international architectural discourse, national architectural norms, and academic education. The National Socialist state, which endowed the city with iconic buildings that are still difficult to appreciate as part of the architectural history, and the war led to a break with the early modernist architectural history. After the war, Berlin retained its important role in shaping German architecture and urban development, despite being geographically isolated from West Germany and to a certain extent *because of* this particular location and political role. Berlin became "many cities":

"A place of complete destruction and of initially timid, but hopeful rebuilding, becoming obvious in the elegance of its 1950s construction. At the same time, nowhere else were the effects of the conflict of the two post-war political systems on architecture and urban development as obvious as in the polarity between *Stalinallee* and *Hansa-Viertel*. Berlin became the city of the 'realised utopias' of the 1960s and 1970s, of the large housing estates, thought to illustrate the failure of Modernism."⁹

In the history of the built environment, 1950s architecture in general had just become an issue when this research began and, as far as Berlin was concerned, there was naturally a strong interest in GDR building history. Despite considerable visibility of women architects and engineers in GDR publications, most architectural historians showed no particular interest in women architects' work after reunification. This is partly because in the East German capital, women rarely achieved leading positions, e.g. as head of a *Planungs-Kollektiv*.¹⁰ Meanwhile the Modernism of 1960s and even 1970s architecture is gradually being included in protected architectural heritage. What architectural heritage is and what is not is at present being hotly debated because demolition has occurred and is now taking place with East German buildings.

8 The German Empire lasted from 1871 to 1918.

9 Jan G Becker-Schwering, Josef P Kleihues and Paul Kahlfeldt, ed., *Bauen in Berlin 1900-2000: Chronik*. Deutsche Ausgabe (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2000). In the introduction, Becker-Schwering uses a "dictum" of Werner Düttmann that "Berlin is many cities." He describes pre-war Berlin to be "the city of megalomania". Düttmann was from 1960 to 1966 state secretary at the Senate Department for Building and Housing, and designed, for one thing, the Berlin Academy of the Arts at Hanseatenweg. Ingrid Biergans, one of the architects selected for the case study, was a member of his team for this project from 1958 to 1960.

10 The idiomatic translation of the GDR architects and construction engineers' collective is 'team'. The literal translation 'collectives' is closer to the socialist's rhetoric. For the structure of these teams see Chapter 4 on the GDR building system and the design opportunities of architects.

The controversy involves both professionals and the public and also concerns buildings designed by women. Aside from the fact that Berlin loomed large on a map of pioneering women architects and exhibited a fascinating architectural history, the focus of this study on the works and professionalization of women architects was also motivated by the traceability of women's first contributions to rebuilding the city.

Berlin women's first contributions to rebuilding the city

The war destroyed not only the pre-war "women's city" in terms of networks, intellectual and built space used by women in private and public life, but also the majority of the 1,562,641 pre-war housing units. Only 370,000 units were inhabitable right after war, 380,000 were classified as "slightly damaged". The war destroyed more than 500,000 units¹¹, and the first to deal with this problem were women. Even today, if Berlin building histories mention women's contribution to Berlin reconstruction at all, they refer mainly to the up to 60,000 rubble women (*Trümmerfrauen*). Women of all age groups cleared most of the debris created by war damage. (Illustration 0 | 5 + 0 | 6) In 1945, Berlin had to deal with 70 to 90 million cubic metres of rubble and ashes. This was about 15% of Germany's total war debris. A memorial, which feminists regard with a certain ambivalence, honours the toil of these women:



11 Dieter Hanauske, *Bauen, bauen, bauen...! Die Wohnungspolitik in Berlin (West) 1945-61*. (Berlin: Publikationen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, 1990).

“Berlin’s town hall was reassembled largely by female hands and has honoured women’s labour with a bronze sculpture. Although portrayed as a heroic figure, she is an accidental builder who salvages rather than constructs. Accounts of women as intentional and even visionary builders are difficult to find in Berlin.”¹²

Even if we concentrate on the early post-war period, this is only partly true. Women, who constituted 65 per cent of the city’s post-war population, were much more involved in the building sector than before the war. This is because men did not return or had not yet returned from the battlegrounds or war captivity. On 10 July 1946, the allied *Kontrollrat* stipulated, in its *Directive No.32*, women’s tasks in construction and reconstruction work, although this partly violated health and safety regulations. The architectural journal *Neue Bauwelt* reported in spring 1948 the employment of 40,000 women in the principal and ancillary parts of the building trades. Referring to the Berlin Statistical Office, the journal reported later the same year that 48,000 women worked in different construction trades as locksmiths, plumbers, or fitters, and another 6,000 helped in janitor’s work.¹³ These women, classified as “unskilled workers in the construction trade,” benefited due to this particularly hard work from supplemental food ration cards allocated to people doing heavy physical labour. Most of them were the only family breadwinners taking care of their families, their participation in heretofore unusual occupations greatly improved their families’ living conditions.

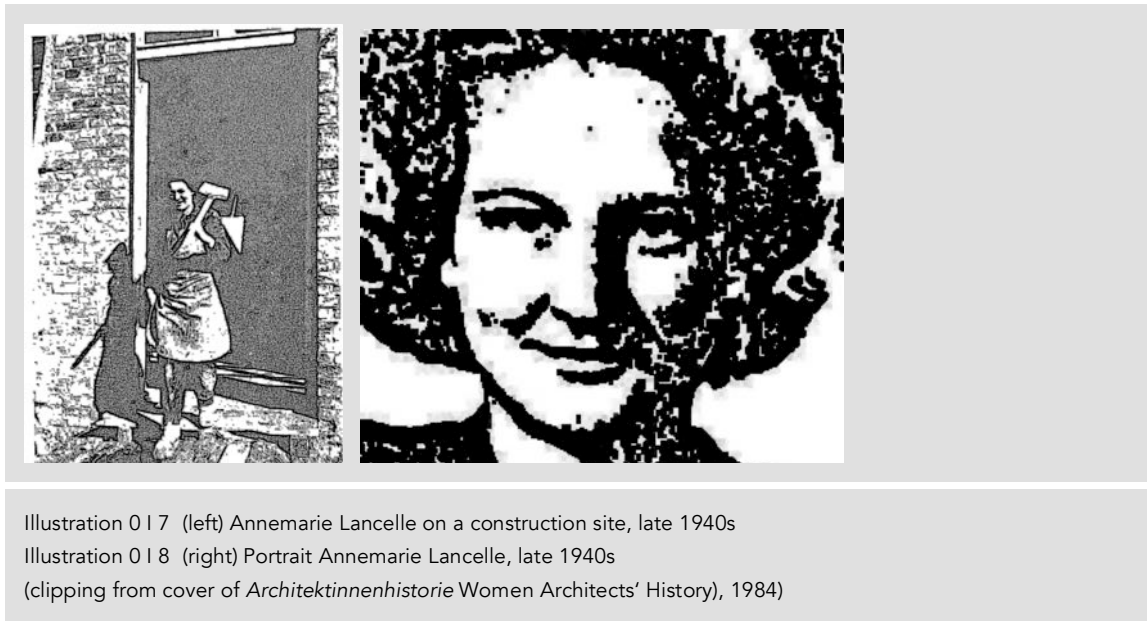
On the one hand, the above-mentioned *Kontrollrat* directive permitted women’s activities in this field. On the other hand, it limited their employment to the period until enough men became available for construction work. In the western part of the city, women failed to continue working in the construction industries. The authorities rejected their applications for further qualification in these fields. In general, these women’s main intention and vision was to contribute to the quick rebuilding of habitable and comfortable space in the heavily damaged buildings. Also, and this probably better meets the Stratigakos’ search for “visionary builders”, some of the architects who qualified before or during the war, such as Ludmilla Herzenstein, Luise Seitz and Hanna Blank and Emira Selmanagić, contributed to the city’s two urban development plans, predetermining the city’s overall built environment for decades to come.

For some women architects, debris clearing and reconstruction of war-damaged buildings opened an opportunity to launch their first private business. One of them was Annemarie Lancelle: in 1946, she opened, using her maiden name, *A. Meichsner*

12 See Despina Stratigakos, op.cit. The sculpturer was Fritz Cremer, the 1958 work represents the GDR *Aufbauhelferin* and has a male counterpart, the *Aufbauhelfer*.

13 *Neue Bauwelt* 4 (1948), p. 50; *Neue Bauwelt* 24 (1948), 370.

–Office for debris clearing – structural engineering - interior design.¹⁴ (Illustration 017 + 018) Others participated in the 1957 *Interbau* (International Building Exhibition) debates and exhibition and could be traced there. Much more difficult to trace were the women architects, probably numerous, who, like Lotte Werner, decided to work in the Berlin administration. In the 1950s and 1960s, two icons of feminist architectural history, Karola Bloch and Margarethe Schütte-Lihotzky, each worked briefly at the East Berlin Building Academy (*Bauakademie*). Towards the end of the 1960s, Berlin women architects became involved in bigger projects, but their participation was, with few exceptions, limited to building detached houses rather than tenement houses, schools and other social infrastructure.



Deconstructing difference and understanding the women architects' professionalization strategies: research aims and questions.

Astonishment over the low representation of women architects eventually turned into a scientific interest: investigating the participation of women in the rebuilding of Berlin after the end of the Second World War.¹⁵ What did women build in Berlin? Where and how could they intervene in the creation of the built environment? What were their visions? Where in the city are original contributions of woman architects accessible for comparison or interpretation? Did professional journals and other publications

14 See Annemarie Lancelle, „Mein Beruf als Architektin“, in *Architektinnenhistorie. Zur Geschichte der Architektinnen und Designerinnen im 20. Jahrhundert. Eine erste Zusammenstellung*, ed. Union Internationale des Femmes Architectes, Sekt. Bundesrepublik e.V. (Berlin: no publisher mentioned, 1984), 58-63.

15 As introduced in the preface, the motivation for this thesis was the participation in a research project led by Kerstin Dörhöfer, on Berlin women architects' work between 1908 and 1989 (1999-2004).

faithfully represent women architects' work in Berlin's postwar architectural production? With the growing number of women architects leaving architectural classes, their built work should have increased as well. Alternatively, did architectural historians just overlook their contribution to the built environment, i.e. let biased editorial critics have their way? If so, they supported closure processes and a "homosocial reproduction" that sustained traditional male-dominated networks in architectural practice? Moreover, would it be possible to identify in such a context collaborative efforts by women clients, architects and designers in order to explore the nature of female aesthetics and spaces of a *A Women's Berlin*?¹⁶ (Illustration 0 | 9)



The first systematic analysis of sources such as professional journals, building history literature, novels, local newspapers, archive material and student registration lists identified 151 women contributing to the West and East Berlin rebuilding process between 1949 and 1969. 243 buildings could initially be attributed to them. One of the first findings was how difficult it was to identify women's *original* work in either part of the city and to specify their fields of action. Due to a difficult data situation, the initial idea to provide a complete overview soon had to be revised. This led to the decision to look only at women working independently and freelancing in the West and at women in the East whose career revealed a structural significance or a significant contribution to buildings or planning processes. Throughout the research, the focus on these criteria resulted in selecting eight women (cases) for a more comprehensive analysis in this thesis. Moreover, short CVs of 16 women who had a certain influence and/or interesting biographies, but worked, for example, in public

¹⁶ See Despina Stratigakos, *A Women's Berlin* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

administration or on a middle level in teams, are included in the chapters contextualising the cases.

Soon after the research began, a particular structural aspect of women architects' professionalization in the GDR became obvious: the best chance for a career with any self-determination in architectural or urban design was to work in one of the 14 districts (*Bezirke*) of the GDR.¹⁷ This was the reason to include Anita Bach, working as professor for architecture and interior design at the *Bauhaus University* in Weimar, and Iris Grund, chief architect of Neubrandenburg in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, in the case studies.

At first glance, this seemed to ensure a solid base for further research on the women architects' works. Selecting some of them for case studies with complete *catalogues raisonnés* followed by a comprehensive publication of their works promised to *embed them* in the collective memory of Berlin's built environment history. However, at that point the research reached a kind of turning point. In the beginning, the most important aim of the research design was to make these women architects' work more accessible. The first research results left no doubt about the women architects' professional capacities to enter the mainstream of the city's architecture. The fact that some of their works found entry into professional journals and a very few even into standard works literature on Berlin's building¹⁸ suggested further research questions on their possible specialisation.

Why – for example in relation to the number of female students – did not more women visibly make their way into the mainstream? Which objections did they have to deal with? The study's leading hypothesis was in the following twofold. From a feminist or gender perspective on architectural practice, neither contemporary professional publications nor history of the built environment represented women architects' contribution to the Berlin Post-War Modernism building adequately. Nevertheless, these architects succeeded in establishing women as a more "everyday phenomenon" in contemporary practice. The first step to understand *how* they achieved this and define their limits was to take a closer look at women's access to academic architectural education and at power structures in the architectural

17 The GDR districts (*Bezirke*), constituted in 1952 as mid-level administrative entities of the GDR system, took on the responsibility of regional governments, acting between the state and the regions and cities. In 1961, the GDR Council of State (*Staatsrat*) also assigned East Berlin a district. Research on GDR architects in general led to the recognition that the districts offered many architects and planners more opportunities to design than the capital.

18 The Berlin umbrella organization of architects and engineers (*Architekten- und Ingenieurs-Verein zu Berlin*) published from 1964 to 2004 a series of publications of Berlin buildings by typology, *Berlin und seine Bauten* (Berlin and its Buildings) which provide a sound background for the consideration of the buildings selected for the empirical part of the research.

profession. These constitute, apart from the expectations contemporary society defined through its role images, the structural context, the *social environment* and the *problem situation* of the analysis. The second step was to decide on case studies contributing to the understanding of the identified structural phenomena and, doing so, to reframe the research design. Summarizing these reflections led to the overall research question:

“To what extent and how did the processes of education, working conditions, conditions of professionalization and design opportunities open to post-war Berlin women architects determine their contribution to the city’s built environment?”

The aim of this general question is to provide results in three fields:

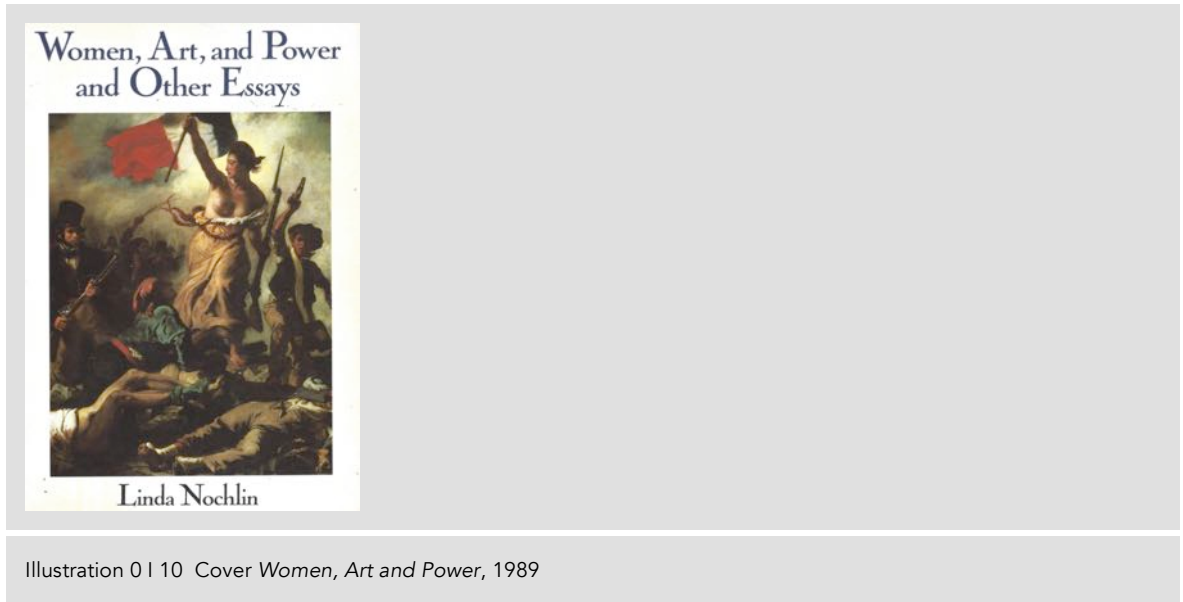
- A comprehensive image of the contribution of women architects to the Berlin built environment between 1949 and 1969,
- A model to explain why there have been hardly any *great women architects*,
- An understanding of the differences in the professionalization processes and design opportunities open to women architects in West and East Berlin.

So far, the thesis has been situated in terms of its motivation, feminist perspective and aims. The following sections introduce the theoretical framework and the methods applied and outline the overall structure of the thesis.

0 | 2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODS USED TO UNDERSTAND POWER STRUCTURES IN THE ARCHITECTURAL PROFESSION

One of the first art historians interested in the relations between women, art and power was Linda Nochlin, asking already in the early 1970s “*Why have there been no great women artists?*” Her main concern was that *adding* women artists to the history of art, as constituted and debated in the 1970s (and onwards), would rather enforce their marginalisation than promote their contribution. Reading recent German publications on women in architecture shows that Nochlin’s concerns have an amazing topicality, not least for the conceptualisation of this research. Although there are only a few explicit references to Nochlin in the following text, her work, and particularly her stressing of the institutional preconditions for achievement or lack of it in the arts was

an important incentive to ask the same question for women architects in Berlin's past.¹⁹ Consequently, instead of just "adding" some women architects to the history of the Berlin built environment, the viewpoint taken here includes a perspective on gender relations and ratio in the profession's contemporary institutional structures and, pertaining to the case studies, the women architects' background and biography, their conditions and fields of work. (Illustration 0 | 10)



In Germany, research on women in the history of the built environment is, particularly focussed on the second part of the 20th century, in contrast to the United Kingdom and the United States of America, only just beginning. There was thus no ready-made methodological and theoretical framework for this thesis. The different disciplines possibly involved in deconstructing women's exclusion from architectural practice and representation (art and architectural history, occupational sociology, education research) required a complex methodology to integrate these concerns into an analysis of women architects' work and professionalization.

Defining a feminist perspective for the thesis

The feminist viewpoints taken in the history of the built environment from the late 1990s onwards may be summarised as using "a feminist perspective with gender as a central concept" in a more generalising manner. The standpoint taken in this thesis is that the power structures shaping the professionalization and participation of women in the architectural profession emerge on various and intertwined levels. This structures this study into two broader thematic fields. The first is to explain the limited

¹⁹ Linda Nochlin, „Why have there been no great women artists?“, in *Women, Art, and Power and other Essays*, ed. Linda Nochlin (New York: Icon Editions, Harper & Row Publishers, 1989), 176.

participation of women architects and the equally limited representation of women's work in the cultures of representation in architecture, and to investigate women's access to and context in the profession. This is elaborated on a structural level in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, on the individual level of eight cases in Chapter 6. The second field is the interest in how far the work of the women architects who were subjects of this thesis reflects a consideration of gender aspects in the built environment.

Theoretical framework

Among the different theoretical positions considered for application in this thesis, two seemed to be the most appropriate to analyse the research subject. The first is Griselda Pollock's theoretical art history concept of a *feminist intervention*. The second is Bridget Fowler and Fiona Wilson's concept to use Bourdieu's theories of gender divisions and higher professions, which he explains in his works *State Nobility* and *Masculine Domination*. Their perspective is oriented on a feminist sociology of the architectural profession. Both are applied to develop an explanatory grid for a better understanding of why Berlin women architects in the mid-20th century still had not achieved equality in professional practice.²⁰ The analysis of the representation of the women architects and their contribution to the built environment is guided by Karen Kingsley's and Jaqueline Leavitt's feminist work on architectural history. However, Pollock's, Kingsley's and Leavitt's approaches that require a reframing of criteria in architectural history still leave an explanatory gap in the analysis of why there have been hardly any "great" women architects in this period in Berlin women architects' history. This gap required a reframing or further differentiation of the question, now looking both at the individual women's context and the culture of the architectural profession.

Against the background of these theoretical perspectives, the research design to investigate the participation and representation of women architects in the rebuilding period required a corresponding methodological approach. It is based on the concept of a *situational analysis*, a sociological methodology applied in political sciences, but also on art history. It frames the analysis in three fields, the *natural environment* (contemporary social background, role models for women), the *social environment* (educational and professional context) and the *problem situation* (limited participation and representation).²¹ Applying a feminist and gender perspective to this framework

20 Griselda Pollock, *Vision and difference* (London: Routledge, 2002) 1-17; Fiona Wilson and Bridget Fowler, "Women architects and their discontents", in *Sociology* 38, no. 1 (2004) 101-118; Bourdieu, Pierre. *The State Nobility* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1996) and *ibid*, *Masculine Domination* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009). Karen Kingsley, „Rethinking architectural history from a gender perspective,“ in *Voices in architectural education: cultural politics and pedagogy*, ed. Thomas A. Dutton (New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1991), 249 - 265.

21 James Farr, "Situational Analysis: Explanation in Political Science", *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 47 (1985) 1085-1107.

should lead in the field of interest to what Donna Haraway described as a *situated knowledge*.²²

Methods used

The methods used to answer the research question(s) were a complex analysis of the relevant literature in architectural history and feminist architectural history, followed by an extensive search for women architects' works in the relevant accessible archives and institutions for the protection of cultural heritage. (see appendices). The concept of the situational analysis and the feminist perspective also required desktop research on the contemporary social background, role models for women and academic architectural education. Further empirical work that built on these first two phases of the research is composed of biographical interviews with women architects, or, where necessary, with their widowers, and interviews with other contemporary witnesses. These first parts of the research aimed at the selection of and work on case studies exemplifying women architects' professionalization strategies and contributions to the rebuilding of Berlin.

Overview of literature analysis results

British feminist art and architectural historians have elaborated a considerable body of literature analysing the situation of women in architecture, their representation in the history of the built environment and gender aspects in the built environment, which is in part also relevant to the composition of this study. In contrast, a feminist or gender perspective, notably concerning architecture dating from before the 1970s, remained, apart from a few publications, a virtually blank space in German history of the built environment. They will be discussed in a separate section in Chapter 2, noting that there is also a gender bias concerning the writing on women in architecture, which is nearly exclusively done by women. Focussing on buildings of the 1950s and 1960s in Berlin, this study thus has little literature to introduce the works of the eight architects selected as case studies in Chapter 7.

A particular group of 1980s feminist planners considered functional family home ground-plans and the organisation of urban space as an important barrier to the emancipation of women. Their debates did not take into account the architecture of the recent past, but channelled the thoughts and positions taken by the authors

²² Donna Haraway, "Situated knowledge: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective", in *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (autumn, 1988), 590-593.

mentioned in the following.²³ Concerning West Berlin architects, the relevant approaches were thus mainly Kerstin Dörhöfer's works on the pioneering women architects, gender relations and structures of space and housing as space for reproduction (Illustration 0 | 11) and Katharina Weresch's analysis of gender aspects in post-war social housing. Johanna Hartmann's study on gender role models for the "city of tomorrow," referring to the *Hansa-Viertel*, enriched the analysis. The publications about Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Karola Bloch and the West German architect Lucy Hillebrandt as well as Marion Roberts' study on gender assumptions in modern housing design were expected to provide general indications for the analysis.²⁴

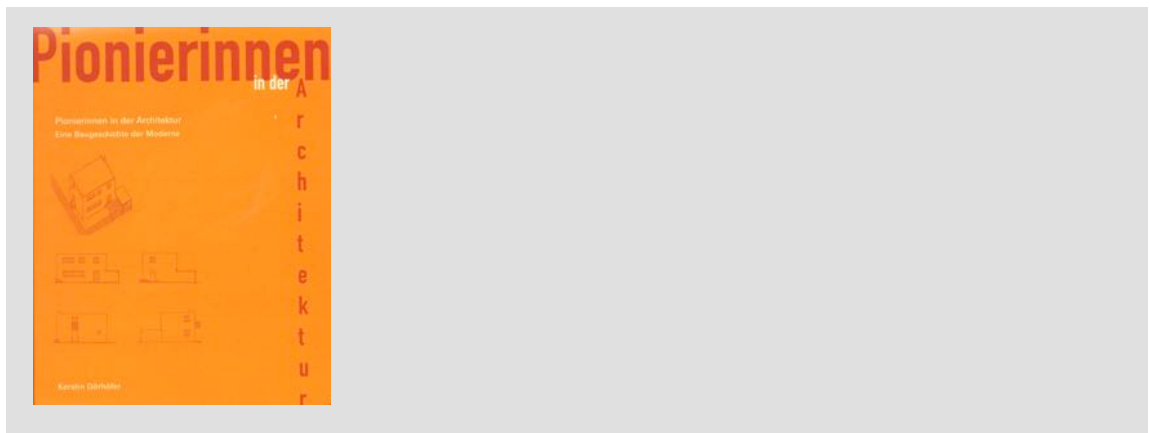


Illustration 0 | 11 Cover *Pionierinnen der Architektur* (Pioneering Women Architects), 2004

23 This debate is documented in *Frauen Raum Architektur Umwelt*, Vol. 4 of *Feministische Beiträge zu Theorie und Praxis* 1980 (*Women Space Architecture Environment*, Vol. 4 of *Feminist Contributions to Theory and Practice*). See Chapter 3, discussion on women writing on women in architecture.

24 Cf. bibliography: Kerstin Dörhöfer, *Verortungen. Geschlechterverhältnisse und Raumstrukturen. Stadtforschung aktuell*, Bd.66. (Basel, Boston, Berlin: Birkhäuser, 1998)., Kerstin Dörhöfer, "Reproduktionsbereich Wohnen. Geschlechtsdifferente Ansprüche und bauliche Standards", in *Bauen und Wohnen in Niedersachsen während der 50er Jahre*, ed. Adelheid von Saldern (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1999a) 181-198., Kerstin Dörhöfer, "Symbols of Gender in Architecture and Urban Design", in *City and Gender. International Discourse on Gender, Urbanism and Architecture*, ed. Ulla Terlinden (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2003) 83-104.; Katharina Weresch, *Wohnungsbau im Wandel der Wohnzivilisierung und Genderverhältnisse* (Hamburg: Dölling und Gallitz, 2005) Johanna Hartmann "«Aber wenn die Frau aus ihren Grenzen tritt, ist es für sie noch viel gefährlicher». Geschlechtermodelle für die Stadt von morgen", in *Die Stadt von Morgen. Beiträge zu einer Archäologie des Hansa-Viertels*, ed. Annette Maechtel and Kathrin Peters (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, 2008) 200-209., Marion Roberts, *Living in a man-made world. Gender assumptions in modern housing design* (London: Routledge, 1991). On Schütte-Lihotzky see Edith Friedl, *Nie erlag ich seiner Persönlichkeit ... Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky und Adolf Loos: Ein sozial- und kulturgeschichtlicher Vergleich* (Vienna: Milena-Verlag, 2005) and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, *Warum ich Architektin wurde*, Autobiography, ed. Karin Zogmayer (Wien: Residenz Verlag, 2004), on Karola Bloch see *ibid* "Ein typischer Lebenslauf? Vortrag auf dem 1. UIFA-Workshop in Berlin am 9.12.1979 – Tonbandaufnahme", in *Architektinnenhistorie. Zur Geschichte der Architektinnen und Designerinnen im 20. Jahrhundert. Eine erste Zusammenstellung*, ed. Union Internationale des Femmes Architectes, Sekt. Bundesrepublik e.V. (Berlin: no publisher mentioned, 1984) 51-57. Irene Scherer and Welf Schröter, eds. *Karola Bloch – Architektin, Sozialistin, Freundin. Eine Neuentdeckung des Wirkens der Bauhaus-Schülerin* (Mössingen-Talheim: Talheimer Verlag, 2010)., on Lucy Hillebrandt see Dieter Boeminghaus, *Zeit-Räume der Architektin Lucy Hillebrandt* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer, 1985)., Claus Grohn, ed., *Lucy Hillebrandt. Bauen als Impuls und Dialog* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 1990). and Klaus Hoffmann, *Lucy Hillebrandt – Wege zum Raum* (Wolfsburg: Städtische Galerie Wolfsburg, 1985).

In contrast to the small existing body of literature concerning gender aspects in West Berlin building, there are, despite the steadily increasing research on GDR architecture, so far no references for a *gender-oriented* analysis of the East Berlin or East German reconstruction period.

Whereas there is a considerable body of literature on women's exclusion in the study and practice of engineering and natural science disciplines in both the FRG and GDR, architecture has not received equal treatment. For the German context, Angelika Wetterer and Barbara Martwich elaborated, from a professionalization theory perspective, the structural dimensions of women architects' limited participation in practice. They concluded that despite women's advances in the profession, there is still little known on the reasons for women's' limited participation in architectural practice. Christine Weiske, considering today's *freelance* woman architect to have achieved considerable equality with male colleagues, uses a more gender-oriented perspective on the possibilities this perspective of 'assertion of power ' opens for a professional self-fulfilment.

The analysis on architectural history literature aimed at considering the representation of women architects and the need to reshape the perspective. To introduce the reader to specific local context, the result is briefly explored in the first chapter of the thesis. It depicts the history of West and East Berlin architecture and urban development between 1949 and 1969 and thus starts from the founding of the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (BRD) and the *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* (GDR) in 1949. It introduces the divided city with two different urban development plans (the West Berlin *Bonatz-Plan* and the East German *Generalaufbauplan*) and different political and societal visions (Illustrations 0 | 12 + 0 | 13 see following page). Doing so, it provides the background for the eight Berlin women architects' biographies and their *catalogues raisonnés* (see Chapter 7 and appendices). At the same time, it furnishes the first opportunity in this text to "reshape" the perspective on Berlin's building history thanks to a fuller inclusion of women architects' contributions in the same historical contemplation.



Illustration 0 | 12 *Generalaufbauplan Berlin* (General Berlin Rebuilding Strategy), published on 27 July, 1949 by the daily newspaper *Berliner Zeitung*

Illustration 0 | 13 Karl Bonatz, *Bonatzplan* (Berlin urban development strategy), 1948

Thesis structure

Following this introduction and after situating the thesis in the history of the Berlin built environment in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 scrutinises the methodology (theoretical framework and methods). This order is designed to frame and structure the analytical approach on women architects' professional opportunities, biographies, and career strategies. Chapter 3 provides the *natural environment* of women architects' professional situation, the contemporary social background and the contemporary role models for women. It explains the social opportunities for and barriers to independent architectural practice for women. With Chapter 4, which deals with academic paths into practice, the analysis turns more specifically to the culture of the architectural profession and the effects both social context and this culture had on women architects. The core analysis of women architects' contribution to Berlin's post-war building period, provided in Chapter 5 and Chapter 7, leads to the conclusions that the thesis was able to reconstruct, in terms of different design opportunities and social and professional culture context in both parts of the city. The last section of this chapter briefly introduces the research core.

0 | 3 TRACING BERLIN WOMEN ARCHITECTS' PATHS FROM EDUCATION TO PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

The thesis investigates women's access to architectural practice in Berlin during the period from the end of the Second World War to the late 1960s. Talking about a "period" has at least two dimensions in this context: On the one hand, there is the *period or phase* of architectural history, post-war Modernism (*Nachkriegsmoderne*) with its specific expressions in West and East Berlin, as illustrated in the following diagram. (Illustration 0 | 14 see following page) On the other hand, it follows a *generational* line of periods in women's access to the architectural profession. This generational line refers to social and biographic background and admittance to in the profession. The first period, the pioneers' period, was the 1908-1949 entrance to the profession. The second period embraces the contribution to the rebuilding period, 1949-68/69. In the subsequent third period, beginning in the late 1960s, women also engaged in urban development and urban expansion. In practice, the phases overlapped, as depicted in the following diagram. (Illustration 0 | 15 see following page) Moreover, as far as the women of the last generation in this study are concerned, there is a continuation of practice from 1970 that is not a subject of this research.

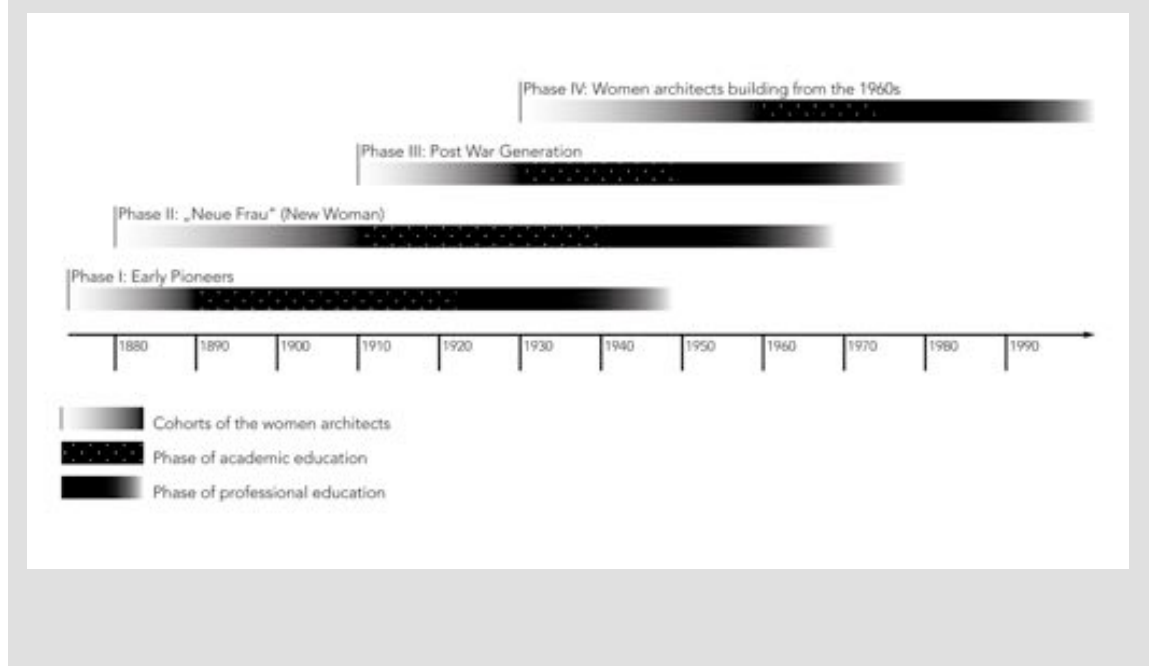
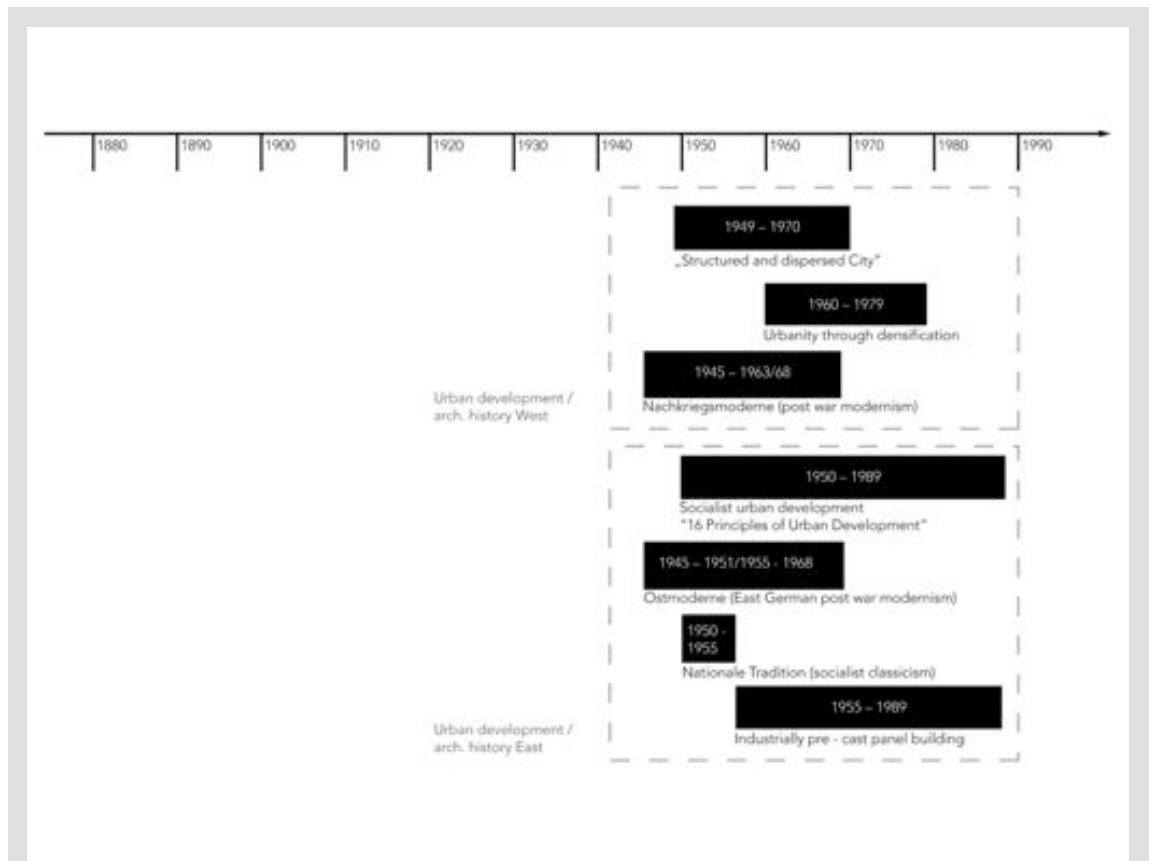


Illustration 0 | 14 (top) Time line of women architects' participation in architectural practice, 1908 - 1969

Illustration 0 | 15 (bottom) Timeline of post war building history, 1945 – 1989

At the same time, on the level of the admittance to architectural practice, *generations* have to be taken in account. The post- war third generation of women architects was born between 1910 and 1930, studied during the National Socialist period, some

already at the end of the Weimar Republic. They practised during the second period, the early post-war years and the rebuilding period. The following fourth generation, born between the 1930s and 1940s, studied between 1950 and the late 1980s, during the economic miracle period (*Wirtschaftswunder-Zeit*) in the West and the era of real-existing socialism (*Real existierender Sozialismus*) in the East. They participated mainly in the building of the early large housing estates and inner-city urban renewal. Some of the women covered in this study actually belong to the fourth generation because their early works date from the late 1960s.

The analysis of the women architects' biographies showed that the oldest of the women who built in Berlin between 1949 and 1969 studied during the latter years of the Weimar Republic. At that point, women had for a good 20 years entered architectural classes in Berlin, Dresden, *Bauhaus* Dessau and Weimar and in the universities or academies of other German cities. Chapter 2 introduces research findings on how far the prestigious *Bauhaus* school or charismatic teachers like Heinrich Tessenow influenced women students' further establishment in architectural practice²⁵, showing that becoming slightly more numerous, they lost the "sensational character" of the pioneering women. However, in the West, neither were they individually or as groups more visible than their predecessors, nor were they particularly aware of or in contact with the pioneering women, who might have served them as models.

Even in the modernist architectural context, the formal acceptance of women in academic architectural education did not necessarily lead to equal treatment. Nevertheless, the women who were interviewed for this study reported little obvious difference in the way professors treated them and their male classmates. Evidence drawn from statements by leading art historians, critics and architects, however, reveals discrimination in the teaching celebrities' basic attitudes towards women in architectural education and practice. The most famous quote in this vein is Karl Scheffler's tirade against women in architecture:

„As woman is incapable of abstraction, she is also incapable of mathematics. (...) Therefore, never ever was there a creative composer or architect of female gender. (...) I have already

25 This has been thoroughly documented by Isabel Corinna Bauer, *Architekturstudentinnen der Weimarer Republik: Bauhaus- und Tessenow-Schülerinnen. Gender-Aspekte im Spannungsfeld zwischen Tradition und Moderne* (PhD diss., University of Kassel, 2003), Anja Baumhoff, "Zwischen Berufung und Beruf: Frauen am Bauhaus", in *Profession ohne Tradition. 125 Jahre Verein der Berliner Künstlerinnen*, ed. Berlinische Galerie (Berlin: Kupfergraben, 1992) 113-120, and in Ute Maasberg and Regina Prinz, "Die Neuen kommen!" *Weibliche Avantgarde in der Architektur der zwanziger Jahre, Ausstellungskatalog* (Hamburg: Junius-Verlag, 2004). Their work makes evident that the Bauhaus, generally assumed women friendly, was actually a highly gendered space, notably in architecture.

stated that women should avoid the building arts. The main reason for this goes for all fine arts: they lack the artistic sense of space".²⁶

Bauhaus director Walter Gropius reacted to the increasing number of women students by covertly raising the admission standards for women and by limiting their access to the weaving class. Another example is a plea that Ernst Neufert made at the 1947 International Congress for Academic Education of Engineers (*Internationaler Kongress für Ingenieursausbildung* in Darmstadt concerning a specialised and rationalised architectural education.²⁷ Contradicting him, Konstanty Gutschow stated that

"it depends not," (...) "on educating 'shaped' architects, but on building competence for awareness and learning, the latter has to be enhanced by life experience and struggle for survival. It is more important, to instil a sense for biological correlations, such as for questions of landscape design or sociology (!), than to teach them perfect knowledge in the chemistry of building materials. A one-month internship with a *housekeeper* or a big city social affairs department is more important than studying one semester including four hours of statistics weekly. For me, the most important thing seems to be that young people at the university meet real characters, *mature men, passing on their life experience.*"²⁸

Whereas, at first glance, Gutschow seems to support academic teaching that addresses everyday life functionality in architecture, his examples of the "cleaning woman" and the "mature men, passing on their life experience" actually reinforces both societal and professional gender stereotypes and thus *doing gender*.

In the post-war period the situation changed more in the East, where the GDR state promoted women in engineering professions in general and in academic education. Karin Zachmann's critical scientific analysis²⁹, Anita Bach's professional consideration of women's participation in academic architectural education and the reported personal experience of some women demonstrate that the experiences of women studying

26 Karl Scheffler, *Die Frau und die Kunst eine Studie* (Berlin: J.Bard, 1908) p.49-57. Karl Scheffler (who died in 1951) was a conservative art historian. In the context of feminist architectural history, this quote was first been used by Helga Schmidt-Thomsen in 1984 and has been subsequently quoted by Kerstin Dörhöfer, Corinna-Isabel Bauer and others.

27 For feminist positions on Neufert's *Gestaltungslehre* and even more the uncritical continuation of its use in architectural education, see Chapter 3.

28 Quoted from Werner Durth's study on the biographical links (*Verflechtungen*) between German architects between 1900 and 1970 (Werner Durth, *Deutsche Architekten. Biographische Verflechtungen 1900-1970*, 3rd edition (Braunschweig: Vieweg & Sohn, 1988), 265, (italics by the author of the thesis); Konstanty Gutschow was one of the Third Reich's leading architects. In 1943 Albert Speer appointed him as organizational head of the "working group for the rebuilding of war-damaged cities" and he did first rebuilding plans for Hamburg, Wilhelmshaven and Kassel. Despite his Nazi background, he remained well embedded in important architects' networks and obtained a professorship in 1964.

29 Karin Zachmann "Frauen für die technische Revolution", in *Frauen arbeiten*, ed. Gunilla Friederike Budde (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997) 131-146., *ibid.* „Mobilizing Manpower: Women, Engineers and the East German State in the Cold War“, in *Crossing Boundaries, Building bridges. Comparing the History of Women Engineers 1870s-1990s*, ed. Annie Canel, Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann (Amsterdam: OPAC, 2000) 211-252.

until the late 1950s at GDR universities differed in several ways from the experiences of their counterparts in the West. The most obvious difference was that there was a political will to include women and particularly working-class students in academic education, although later on this did not necessarily lead to support for women's careers in engineering. Another difference, preventing a possible professional exchange with West German women architects' work, was East German academics' generally limited access to western publications from the 1950s. For example, students and not even all architects working at the Building Academy had an equal access to this part of the library, in colloquial terms named "poison cabinets."³⁰

The illustrative research on women's participation in the academic architectural schools, where most of the women architects presented in this thesis received their academic education, broadens the horizon of knowledge on women architects' paths towards professionalisation. It remains, however, simply a spotlight on the situation in these particular schools rather than a comprehensive study of women in architectural academic education in Germany during this period. Chapter 4, dealing with this subject, will clarify the difficulty in considering whether the attitudes described above had far-reaching repercussions for the women who studied architecture in the described period.

Architectural practice and professionalisation conditions of women architects in both parts of the city: the core of the research

The core of this thesis and thus a major part of its original contribution, the research on the buildings, the professionalisation conditions and the structure of the architectural practice of the women selected as case studies, are the subject of Chapters 5 and 7. The context knowledge on what shaped, hindered, or promoted the professionalisation of women architects in West and East Berlin is found in Chapter 5 and accomplished by assigning women architects' contribution to the different building tasks. In Chapter 7, eight case studies illustrate very different practices of the women involved and, in some cases, conscious strategies to succeed in the architectural field.

Whereas the West Berlin architects fundamentally followed the pre-war tradition and career tracks of the architectural profession, the role, status and opportunities to design changed dramatically for the GDR architects. Since an understanding of the

³⁰ The accessibility or inaccessibility of literature in public and academic libraries followed, according to the interviewees, no strict patterns, cf. also Siegfried Lokatis and Ingrid Sonntag, ed. *Heimliche Leser in der DDR: Kontrolle und Verbreitung unerlaubter Literatur* (Berlin: Christoph Links Verlag, 2008) 14.

limits of the GDR architects' "designing opportunities" (*Gestaltungsmacht*) from the mid-1950s is crucial for any consideration of GDR architecture, a brief description of the GDR building system is presented in introducing the case studies on the East German woman architects. Furthermore, an analysis on women architects' fields of action and their access to professional associations networks, such as the *Bund Deutscher Architekten* (BDA) in West Berlin and the *Bund deutscher Architekten der DDR* (BdA) in East Berlin, precedes the case studies (Chapter 6).

The women architects chosen for the case studies in West Berlin are Margot Zech-Weymann, Hilde Weström, Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach and Ingrid Biergans. Whereas Zech-Weymann built single detached homes, schools and health infrastructure for private and church-related clients such as the Order of St. John³¹ (*Johanniter-Orden*), Weström focused on different dimensions and clients of housing and pursued a strong interest in designing for the reconciliation of private life and profession, not least for women artists. Kressmann-Zschach was both an architect and entrepreneur, making her the most powerful woman architect of her time. Her business practices and success caused much debate and jealousy in the West Berlin building world. Biergans, working all alone, built some private homes, but mainly educational and healthcare buildings, commissioned by the Berlin public administration.

The East Berlin case studies portray Dorothea Tscheschner, who worked in the centre of the GDR capital planning, and Ruth Krause, who worked in design planning of prefabricated panel building and at the end of her career changed to the *Bauakademie*, where she worked on preservation of half-timbered houses. The cases include Iris Grund, chief town architect (*Stadtarchitektin*) in Neubrandenburg, and Anita Bach, professor of architecture in Weimar, and widen the focus on women architects' opportunities beyond the capital. The buildings used to illustrate the main characteristics of these women's work date from the rebuilding period and form as such part of the contemporary context. Of course, they only cover a specific part of the overall *catalogues raisonnées*, which supplement the case studies with a brief look at what these women achieved until the 1980s.

The last and concluding chapter focuses on similarities and differences in the portrayed women architects' strategies and careers, on potentials for success and barriers in the West and the East of the city. Following the pioneering women architects, many of the freelance women architects working in West Berlin during the rebuilding period seem to have remained lone warriors in a continuously smooth-functioning male professional context. However, their buildings, dispersed throughout the city, are evidence of the capacity of this generation of women architects to design

31 In Germany the Order of St. John operates hospitals and rest homes for the elderly.

and build in any field of architectural activity, provided they obtained commissions. In East Berlin, where from the mid-1950s architecture and planning were practised in collectives and design was dominated by the needs of the building industry, similar evidence in the rebuilding period was mostly limited to the outskirts of the city.

The conclusions also highlight difficulties that occur in making a feminist intervention in a very specific and limited space in the history of the built environment. In addition, they summarise where the study can break new ground for further research. It reveals which questions are left unanswered and whether and where it makes sense to use the results in the current discourse on increasing the participation of women in the architectural profession.

1 WOMEN ARCHITECTS' CONTRIBUTION TO THE BERLIN
REBUILDING PERIOD – RESHAPING THE PERSPECTIVE

“As the current raging discourses reveal, architecture is as much about words as about actual buildings. From Vitruvius to Peter Eisenman, architects have relied on texts to promote their work, explain their theories, document their careers and glorify their lives in an attempt to ensure their places in history. The written word, after all, reaches a far larger audience and endures far longer than place-bound buildings, and it is not subject to the ravages of the elements, economics, and changing social needs.” (Diane Favro¹)

The main paradigms for writing about architecture, be it in a contemporary or historic perspective, are aspects of the built environment like methodology, technology, function, material. Further criteria are form, style and the single architect's *emblematic language* and his or her references to prominent colleagues. This chapter, which gives an overview of, first, the literature on architecture in the Berlin *Wiederaufbauzeit*, and then, of other sources representing the architectural practice of the time. It tries to reconsider the written architectural history of this particular period in Berlin architectural history from a gender perspective, using Karen Kingsley's argument for *Rethinking architectural history from a gender perspective* and Heath Massey Schenker's suggestions for *Feminist Interventions in the Histories of Landscape Architecture*.² That is to say, two perspectives are pursued: an *additive* path, showing where and how women were involved in architectural practice, and a more *feminist* oriented perspective. In this way, the chapter paves the way for the following chapters.

The organisation of this chapter reflects the most important publications on the history of the Berlin built environment, and the thematic focuses within them. Its last part grounds the feminist perspective in the overall analysis and narrative, by looking at women writing on women in architecture.

1 | 1 SELECTION OF CRITERIA DEFINES WHO IS PRESENTED

A first example illustrating how architectural historians dealt (or rather *failed to deal*) with woman architects and/or gender criteria in post-war architectural history is a

1 Diane Favro, “The Pen is mightier than the Building. Writing on Architecture 1850-1940,” in *The Sex of Architecture*, ed. Agrest et al. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 295-308.

2 Kingsley, op.cit., 249-264, and Heath Massey Schenker, “Feminist Interventions in the Histories of Landscape Architecture,” *Landscape Journal* 13 (1994) 107-112.

standard German publication on architectural history, Jürgen Joedicke's *Architekturgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Architectural History of the 20th century³). It concentrates on the period from the 1950s to the late 1990s. Although Berlin buildings only became an issue in the last part of the work, it is used as the first example because it provided a model for writing modern architectural history in Germany. Introducing his work, Joedicke refers first to the architects of the emblematic architecture of the 1920s and 1930s, using structural and cultural aspects of the built form as criteria for the buildings' description and valuation. He continues in the same way to present the architects, the technical development and the different styles emerging during the 1950s and 1960s (the third generation of Modernism, Formalism, Brutalism, Metabolism, early years of Structuralism) and later on to provide an outlook on the globalisation of architecture and a reflection about the late 1990s Mannerism in architecture. Apart from Alison Smithson, mentioned because of her statement with Peter Smithson at the 1959 Otterlo CIAM congress, and Charlotte Frank, mentioned as partner of Frank Schulte for the 2001 design of the Berlin *Bundeskanzleramt* (chancellery), this seems to have been a purely male world. Apart from slightly criticising the Metabolists' neglect of human beings' obvious housing needs, the user's perspective occurs only in the chapter about Structuralism in his argument. He observes that the Structuralists assumed "that possible human behavioural patterns are not predictable or that humans satisfy their basic housing needs because of their individual experience in different ways"⁴ and that they aimed at a *polyvalent* space which allows changing uses. However, *the* user he is talking about (or they were aiming at) has no gender, no age and obviously he or she had no option to contribute to the design.

Where he describes the changing conditions for architectural practice and professional conditions for architects⁵, he relates this to the influence of the war on the development of Modernism, the possible technical perfection, the role of transport in the post-war city and the economy. However, other aspects of change in the profession, such as the famous architects' wives having an impact on their partners' practice, or the increase of *married professional partnerships* in the 1950s and the appearance in the 1960s of more and more *teams* and larger offices (slowly including women) in competitions and practice⁶, were obviously not important to him.

3 Apart from Joedicke's work, also other core works of architectural history were screened for women architects, see bibliography and Footnote 13. However, being a standard of German architectural history, Joedicke's work seemed to be the most promising candidate to serve as a reference here. See Jürgen Joedicke, *Architekturgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Von 1950 bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, Zurich: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1990).

4 Joedicke, op.cit. , 142.

5 Ibid, 135-137.

6 Schmidt-Thomsen, Helga, "Frauen in der Architektur – Neue Berufswege seit der Jahrhundertwende", in *Architektinnenhistorie. Zur Geschichte der Architektinnen und Designerinnen im 20. Jahrhundert. Eine erste*

Furthermore, though he frequently mentions the dependency of architecture on *social* developments, he does not elaborate on this aspect.

What could a “women including” architectural history look like?

Still today, there are not many examples of what an architectural history could look like, attempting to be more inclusive, both in terms of integrate women architects and introduce the users’ (be they he or she) perspective, but approaches to develop it do exist. Karen Kingsley starts her rethinking of architectural history with an observation she made whilst reading travel accounts written by European and American visitors, both women and men, to American cities. She identified a number of differences in their perception of the cities: “For example, male traveller writers invariably focus on the organization of a city’s landscape, on its streets, methods of transportation, and its monuments. The cities they describe are a collection of isolated parts, and seem almost un-peopled. In contrast, female writers characterize, interpret, and evoke the city through the activities and presence of its people, and through its relationship with nature (parks and open spaces). The city’s neighbourhoods, its streets, and its buildings are unified through the human presence into a more organic complex composition of place. The male, then, constructs and perpetuates one particular set of experiences and meanings, the female, another. The male experience focuses on public institutions and the individual buildings that represent those institutions. Each has its own characteristic patterns, and two distinct visions of American cities emerge in these travel books. It is not a question of one vision being better or worse than another, but merely different.”⁷

This quote is in two respects of value for this study. First, Kingsley points out that the important thing is not to judge between the two perspectives but to become aware of the difference and to include it in future writing on architecture. Second, the difference in the perception of the city and its architecture may have a particular importance for architectural practice and critique in the rebuilding period. Werner Durth demonstrated in his study on the biographical interlacing between pre- and post-war architectural practice that many of the urban planning visions for German cities derived actually from the pre-war period. The same architects further developed them, now including their mutual male war experience. Their vision is a structured and dispersed city with large roads and open spaces and greenery-oriented landscape.

Zusammenstellung, ed. Union Internationale des Femmes Architectes (UIFA), Sekt. Bundesrepublik e.V. (Berlin: UIFA, 1984), 29.

⁷ Kingsley, *op.cit.*, 142.

Kerstin Dörhöfer points out that there was gender difference in the perception and discussion of the post-war and future city. Based on her interviews with the architect Hilde Weström, she states: "The experience which left its marks in the women architects' practice was often that of being on the run or evicted with small children, sometimes in well-advanced pregnancy, occasionally rape, anyway looking for shelter and safety. A roof overhead and childcare had much more value for them than urban planning models."⁸

Most of the women presented in this thesis were concerned with similar private experience and this had an impact on the value system in their design ideas, though this is neither accessible in documents nor always clearly detectable in their practice.

To open a feminist perspective on Berlin's post-war building history, it is essential to come back to Kingsley's suggestion to rethink architectural history from a gender perspective.⁹ Her five-phase model to re-organise architectural history curricula is similarly helpful for modification in the writing of architectural history: "In order of complexity the five phases are as follows: (1) absence of women in architectural history curricula; (2) inclusion of notable women as defined within traditional frameworks;(3) definition of women as a "problem" or "minority" in order to explain their absence; (4) inclusion of less-traditional sources and inclusion of women's realm of experience as subjects of study; and (5) a reconceptualised vision that marks a transformed curriculum, or history reconsidered."¹⁰

Writing this in 1991, Kingsley considered architectural history being mostly "at phase one or two now, perhaps nudging into phase three".

A further stimulus for the conceptualisation of this chapter was Heath Massey Schenker's concept for the critique of a classic text of modernist landscape architecture history, Norman T. Newton's *Design on the Land*. She refers directly to the art historians Linda Nochlin and quotes Griselda Pollock, who proposed that "Feminist interventions in the history of art should aim to understand complex social economic and psychological situations that produce art at crucial historical moments, and should also aim to understand the way these same forces shape the meaning of

8 Kerstin Dörhöfer, "Der ,männliche Blick' in der Bauentwurfslehre", in *Ernst Neufert. Normierte Baukultur im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Walter Prigge (Frankfurt/Main: Campus,1999c), 159-167.

9 Her concept is based on curriculum research undertaken by Peggy McIntosh at the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women.

10 Kingsley, op.cit., 251.

art, the way it is received and interpreted by its audience. Feminist art historians should look for resistance by women artists to dominant ideologies that have defined and circumscribed their social existence. The feminist perspective should enlarge our understanding of the social history of art, by directing our attention to the specific experience of women, an experience largely ignored by modernist art historians.”¹¹

Employing Pollock’s argument, Schenker rephrases the question for landscape design and points to the need to examine the role of women in the history of landscape design. At the same time, she emphasises the need to “Look critically at the dominant paradigms for writing the history of landscape design, to analyse major historical studies to see not only how these histories may marginalise women or women’s issues, but how the women question can lead to an enlarged and enriched reading of history”¹²

and offers a feminist critique of Newton’s work. She also refers to an alternative model for historical investigation of the growth of suburban Birmingham in the 19th century, by social and feminist historians Lee Davidoff and Catherine Hall, who look at the growth of Birmingham’s suburbs in the early 19th century along two axes: the separation of social classes and gender roles in an emerging middle class. Schenker’s work thus provides an interesting example for both a perspective on existing literature on the topic studied here and the writing of the study itself.

Summarising the different approaches to contribute a different perspective to the existing architectural history, the main objective has to be awareness of difference, concerning the many layers of *production* of the built environment as well as the *conditions* of women architects’ participation and their own reflection of the latter. Looking at the literature on Berlin architectural history today still leads to an assessment similar to Kingsley’s on architectural history in general. Thus, this thesis applies the different phases of her approach in terms of including notable women (phase two) in this chapter, of explaining women’s absence (phase three) and including less traditional sources and women’s realm of experience (phase four) in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

11 Schenk, op.cit., 7

12 Ibid, 108.

1 | 2 TRACKING WOMEN ARCHITECTS IN POST-WAR GERMAN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

The literature used in the remainder of this chapter (many other publications are not quoted directly here but are included in the bibliography), were helpful to elaborate a building historical background for the case studies. At the same time, they were expected to be major sources for identifying women architects, or identifying where they were represented and where not and how the form of representation appears from a gender perspective today. The literature reflects the core debates among German architectural historians concerning this period. The few women who were involved in these debates did not necessarily express a feminist perspective, as did for example Helga Schmidt-Thomsen in the UIFA publication or Kerstin Dörhöfer in her consideration of Ernst Neufert's building norms. These are, however, texts that pay explicit attention to gender equality.¹³

1 | 2 | 1 WOMEN ARCHITECTS' REPRESENTATION IN OVERVIEW LITERATURE ON ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY IN WEST AND EAST GERMANY

The preservation and assessment of the German architectural history of the decades between 1949 and 1969 became, from the late 1980s, a concern of the architectural historians and historic building advisors. This point in time provided an appropriate historical distance¹⁴, but, given the material quality of the 1950s, for some buildings it was the nick of time. To protect this legacy in 1987 Werner Durth and Konstanty Gutschow published the first comprehensive overview of German post-war architecture, in the publication series of the German National Committee for the Protection of the Built Heritage (*Deutsches Nationalkomitee für Denkmalschutz*).¹⁵ They show no visible interest in women architects' independent contributions to 1950s German architecture. The only women architects whose work is mentioned are Sigrid Kleine (vocational school building designed with Werner Dierschke in Hannover), Maria Schwarz (St. Anna parish church and shrine in Düren, designed with Rudolf Schwarz) and Ludmilla Herzenstein (*Laubenganghaus* in East Berlin's Karl-Marx-Allee, designed with Hans Scharoun). (Illustration 1 | 1 + 1 | 2)

13 Schmidt-Thomsen op. cit. and Dörhöfer 1999c, op. cit., 159-167.

14 In contrast to many other European countries, Germany has no law precisely defining the point in time from which a building becomes subject to cultural heritage protection.

15 Werner Durth and Niels Gutschow, *Architektur und Städtebau der fünfziger Jahre* (Bonn: Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Nationalkomitees für Denkmalschutz, Band 33, 1987).



Illustration 1 | 1 St. Anna Church, Düren, Design Maria and Rudolf Schwarz, 1951-56

Illustration 1 | 2 Ludmilla Herzenstein and Hans Scharoun, Laubenganghaus, Karl-Marx-Allee 102-104, 1950

The first important conference on 1950s architecture and urban development that the committee organised subsequent to Durth and Gutschow's publication in 1990 included two women among the 18 conference speakers: Hiltrud Kier from Cologne and Christine Hoh-Slodczyk from Berlin, both historic building advisors. A number of overviews on German architecture by renowned institutions and architectural historians followed their work¹⁶, discussing contemporary political and philosophical perspectives on architecture and urban development, such as the 1931 *Athens Charter*, the post-war resumption of the National Socialist urban development model of the structured and dispersed city (*Gegliederte und aufgelockerte Stadt*)¹⁷ and architectural styles. They depict building history phases and style periods, function and method of construction or material. Some of them also explain the reorganisation

16 The search in the literature mentioned in the following had always two goals: understanding the contemporary context and the (hardly successful) unearthing of women architects. It included the overviews on architectural history by Joedicke, *Architekturgeschichte*, Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, ed., *Hatje Lexikon der Architektur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje, 1983), Nicolaus Pevsner, *Europäische Architektur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1994), the contemporary programmes and manifestos of the re-building urban development, compiled in Ulrich Conrads, ed., *Programme und Manifeste zur Architektur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1981), Ulrich Conrads, ed., *Die Städte himmeloffen* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2003), and the following publications on urban development: Leonardo Benevolo, *Geschichte der Architektur des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (München: dtv, 1978), Klaus von Beyme, *Der Wiederaufbau. Architektur und Städtebaupolitik in beiden deutschen Staaten* (München, Zürich: Piper, 1987), Sigfried Giedion, *Raum, Zeit, Architektur: die Entstehung einer neuen Tradition* (Zürich, München: Verlag für Architektur Artemis, 1976), Helmut Glaser, ed., *So viel Anfang war nie. Deutsche Städte 1945-1949* (Berlin: Siedler-Verlag, 1989), Johannes Göderitz, Hubert Hoffmann and Roland Rainer, *Die gegliederte und aufgelockerte Stadt* (Tübingen: Wasmuth-Verlag, 1957), and Peter Gössel and Gabriele Leuthäuser, *Architektur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Köln: Taschen, 1990). The National Committee for the Protection of the Built Heritage continued its work on the 1950s with an exhibition and documentation in 1990 (cf. bibliography, Deutsches Nationalkomitee für Denkmalschutz, 1990) and by publications and symposiums on the 1960s after the turn of the century (see Ralf Lange, *Architektur und Städtebau der sechziger Jahre* (Bonn: Dt. Nationalkomitee für Denkmalschutz, 2003)). These publications also consider GDR history, as did the exhibition catalogue *Zwei deutsche Architekturen*, see Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, *Zwei deutsche Architekturen* (Stuttgart: IFAS, 2004).

17 For detailed explanations of this model see Durth and Gutschow, op. cit. and Göderitz / Hoffmann / Rainer, op. cit.

of German cities, resonating with the model of the *Gegliederte und aufgelockerte Stadt* that was already critically debated by the West German congress of municipalities (*Städtetag*) in 1964 and even earlier by the protagonists of the East German 16 Principles of Urban Development (*16 Grundsätze des Städtebaus*).¹⁸ However, the authors neglect a wider discussion of these models in the context of societal development after the Second World War. They virtually ignore *de facto* changing roles of women in the early post-war years in the East and the reinstatement of traditional role during the Economic Miracle (*Wirtschaftswunder-Zeit*) in the West.

Subsequent to its pioneering recognition of 1950s building, the *Deutsches Nationalkomitee für Denkmalschutz* commissioned Ralf Lange to elaborate a history of 1960s architecture. Published in 2007, this work points in its introduction to the increasingly controversial debates about social equality during the late 1960s, participative planning, and traditional gender roles. However, illustrating this paragraph with a photo of a couple washing dishes in a design kitchen, which perfectly illustrates the gender stereotypes of the time and the discrimination of women's housekeeping work which Kerstin Dörhöfer and Katharina Weresch substantiated in their studies on 1950s and 1960s housing design¹⁹, impedes the apparent gender-sensitive approach of his text (Illustration 1 | 3 see following page). The neglect of the gender perspective in the subsequent mirror-image description of GDR societal development reinforces this impression. In his selection of examples for the built heritage to be protected, he acknowledges the well-known architect Iris Grund, who was one of the three women who achieved the position of a city chief architect (*Stadtarchitekt*) in the GDR period and designed the Neubrandenburg centre for culture and education in 1963-65 (cf. case study in Chapter 6) (Illustration 1 | 4 see following page).

18 These were first published in the professional journal *Architektur der DDR* and by Lothar Bolz in 1951. After unification, particularly Bruno Flierl, Thomas Topfstedt and Dorothea Tscheschner highlighted their importance and continuing validity, despite the from the West heavily criticized urban development of many East German cities, mainly of the prefabricated panel housing estates.

19 Kerstin Dörhöfer, "Reproduktionsbereich Wohnen. Geschlechtsdifferente Ansprüche und bauliche Standards," in *Bauen und Wohnen in Niedersachsen während der 50er Jahre*, ed. Adelheid von Saldern, (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1999a), 181-198. and Katharina Weresch, *Wohnungsbau im Wandel der Wohnzivilisierung und Genderverhältnisse* (Hamburg: Dölling und Gallitz, 2005). There is a more content related reference to their work in the following chapters.

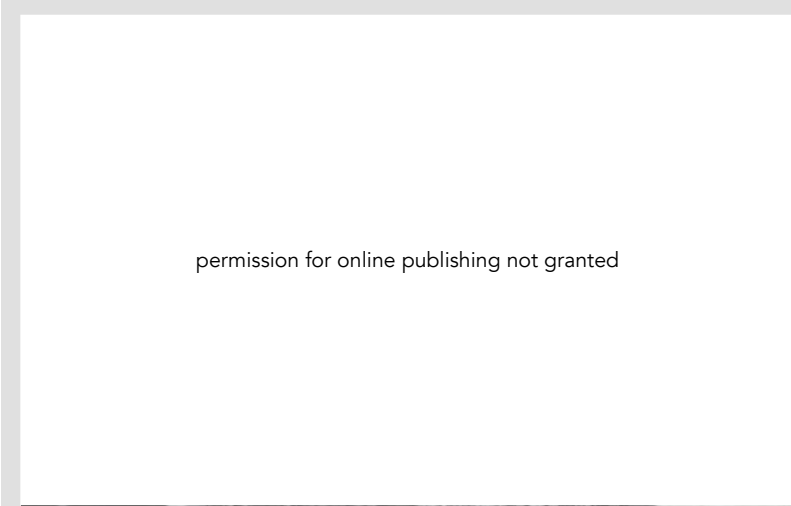


Illustration 1 | 3 Housekeeping in the 1960s: shared or stereotype roles ? In *Architektur und Städtebau der 50er Jahre*, 1990

Illustration 1 | 4 Cover brochure *Kulturhaus Neubrandenburg*, Iris Grund ,1961

Apart from Grund, he mentions no independently working women architects in this period, such as – to name just a few who would have deserved it – Lucy Hillebrand in Göttingen²⁰ (Illustration 1 | 5 see following page), Hilde Weström and Astra-Zarina Haner in Berlin. Weström and Haner belonged to the renowned group of international architects building the large *Märkisches Viertel* housing estate in Berlin. In his overall compilation of examples, however, he recognises the contributions of five other woman architects designing in *professional partnerships* with their husbands (Brigitte Hämer-Buro, Ingeborg Spengelin, Doris Thut, Renate Weisbach and Barbara Wilhelm) by including both spouses in the authorship. The publication includes neither any CVs of the architects nor a chapter on the development of the architectural profession in West and East Germany in the 1960s. Such information could, for example, help to understand the fact that “emerge out of nowhere” women architects emerge in the profession and professional literature.

²⁰ Lucy Hillebrand was the first of the Post War Modernism woman architects with a larger post war work on whom monographs were published, interestingly by two male authors (see bibliography).



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Illustration 1 | 5 Lucy Hillebrand, 1970s

On a regional level, Wilfried Nerdinger elaborated a very comprehensive architectural history of this time in Bavaria, with the short title *Architektur der Wunderkinder* (Architecture of the Child Prodigies).²¹ Like Lange's work, it includes aspects of societal and cultural development. Since it starts with the 1950s, this history particularly reflects post-war building in a confrontation between National Socialist ideas and the Americanisation, liberalisation and conservatism of the West German Economic Miracle society. He devotes a subchapter to contemporary role models and the importance of the private home, be it an apartment or a single-family detached building. But in doing so, he neglects to mention women architects' criticism of their design and dimension in terms of space for housewives' work and leisure. Their criticism was published in contemporary professional journals like *Bauwelt* and is as such easily accessible to "non-feminist" researchers.

Among the numerous architects he presents, however, Nerdinger gives recognition to three women architects practising during this time in Bavaria: Hanna Löw, Helga Schnierle and Grete Wirsing. Wirsing was even mentioned separately from her architect husband who was also cited. In a section on denazification, Nerdinger also mentions Gerdy Troost.²² However, when it comes to giving architects a voice as

21 Wilfried Nerdinger, ed., *Architektur der Wunderkinder. Aufbruch und Verdrängung in Bayern 1945-1960* (Salzburg, München: Verlag Anton Pustet, 2005). In German, the short title is a play on words, referring to the Economic miracle.

22 Troost was the wife of Albert Speer's predecessor Paul Ludwig Troost and after his death, she was responsible for the realisation of his plans for the Munich Haus der Kunst, redesigned Königsplatz. Also, she then led their office, in cooperation with Leonhard Gall. After denazification and a ten year official debarment from working as an architect, she continued to work in a small Bavarian town. Source: "Prof. Gerdy Troost," accessed July 3, 2014.

<http://deu.archinform.net/arch/1863.htm?ID=oe8qv9o30dd277ffber3uchg31>

contemporary witnesses reflecting on the rebuilding period, only men provide their perspectives. Moreover, the CV of Rudolf Schwarz, an architect famous for the churches he built, lacks any reference to his 1951 marriage and cooperation with the architect Maria Lang. She took on the responsibility for the office, *Schwarz und Partner*, after his death in 1961 and finished, supported by their team, a considerable number of buildings, including 10 churches, two of them in Berlin.²³ (Illustration 1 | 6) Nerdinger's work is so far the most comprehensive compilation of 1950s and 1960s architecture on the *Land* level.



Illustration 1 | 6 Portrait drawing Maria Schwarz, designed by Rudolf Buscholte,

East German architects' history: new paradigms of architectural history, again neglecting women architects' representation?

Increasing interest in the GDR architecture of this building period emerged, not coincidentally, at the time of reunification. Since about 2000, there has been an increasing scientific interest in the "divided landscape" of East and West German architectural historians. Only after the 1990, in the vivid debates initiated by leading GDR architectural historians such as Holger Barth, Bruno Flierl, Ulrich Hartung and Andreas Butter, Thomas Topfstedt, Wolfgang Kil and Simone Hain about the historical circumstances of GDR architectural production, were the specific political and societal

²³ Maria Schwarz, born 1921, studied during World War II at Aachen Technical University and after obtaining her diploma contributed to the rebuilding and post-war urban development of Aachen and Jülich. She worked from 1949 until 1992 at her husband's and later their mutual office. In 1992, she opened her own office with two other women architects. She was a guest lecturer at Munich Technical University from 1995 to 2008, and in 2008, at the age of 86, received an honorary membership of the *Architektur Forum Rheinland* (Rhineland Architectural Forum), for her engagement in the protection and if necessary reconstruction of her husband's buildings after his death in 1961. Source: "Maria Schwarz – Architektin mit Passion", accessed July 3, 2014. http://www.mai-nrw.de/fileadmin/user_upload/projekte/2011_afr_veranstaltungen/Maria_Schwarz_Hintergrund.pdf

framework and particularly the material resources of its planning and building²⁴ also considered as relevant criteria for the assessment of GDR building culture. These debates gave an incentive to re-examine the way architectural history depicted the post-war East Modernism. For example, indicating responsibilities architectural historians should assume for the future of the post-war architecture, Holger Barth states in the introduction to an anthology of architectural historians' works on GDR building history *Grammatik sozialistischer Architekturen* (The Grammar of Socialist Architectures) that "art historians and planning theorists, who hope to wriggle out of the sticky situation of the present debates on the East German vacancies by stating that the future will anyway bring a re-consideration of the large housing estates (...), are under- or overestimating their role. On the one hand, they do not fulfil their original task to formulate, based on an analysis of the built, debatable quality standards that indicate aesthetic categories, even if they turn out to be negative. On the other hand, an elitist treatment of art history that makes a fetish out of architectural masterpieces leads to a one-sided accentuation of the built; the dimensions of social space are relegated to footnotes. Art history has failed to capitalise on its capacity within the radius of fine arts interpretation to reach an interdisciplinary consensus on whether and which aesthetic criteria would reflect adequately on the times of technical reproduction."²⁵

Bruno Flierl introduces his essay on urban planners and architects under GDR socialism with a remark that "an assessment of the GDR architects' work requires an understanding of the societal conditions and the individual architect's behaviour within these conditions to better understand why that led to these and not other results in urban development and architecture."²⁶

In what follows, Flierl refers more to societal processes than to single architects, but when he refers to the individual protagonists of architectural production, not a single

24 The first overview on the East German building system published after unification was the thesis of Thomas Hoscislawski, *Bauen zwischen Macht und Ohnmacht*, written in GDRdays. Even in the chapter on the art of building, he neither touches the changing role of the architect from the 1950s nor mentions the political attempts to promote women working in architecture or the building industries. In contrast to the authors recognised above, he did not further develop his work with a more critical perspective on the GDR system after unification (see Thomas Hoscislawski, *Bauen zwischen Macht und Ohnmacht. Architektur und Städtebau in der DDR* (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1991). For other elaborations of GDR building history in general see Holger Barth and Thomas Topfstedt, *Vom Baukünstler zum Komplexprojektanten. Architekten in der DDR.* (Erkner: IRS, IRS region doc, 2000), Holger Barth, *Grammatik sozialistischer Architekturen* (Berlin: Reimer, 2001), Butter and Hartung *Ostmoderne*, Werner Durth, Jörn Düwel and Niels Gutschow, *Architektur und Städtebau der DDR* (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus-Verlag, 1998), and ICOMOS, ed., *Stalinistische Architektur unter Denkmalschutz?* (München: Lipp, 1996).

25 Holger Barth, *Grammatik sozialistischer Architekturen* (Berlin: Reimer, 2001), 10.

26 Bruno Flierl, "Stadtplaner und Architekten im Staatssozialismus der DDR," in *Gebaute DDR. Über Stadtplaner, Architekten und die Macht*, ed. Bruno Flierl (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 2002), 52-74.

woman is recognised. In the particular context of GDR history, both Barth and Flierl claim to have an interdisciplinary approach in architectural history with inclusion of the social and biographical dimensions. Barth was open to including a contribution on women architects in this publication and to recognising a small number of women architects in the GDR architects' encyclopaedia that he published in 2000.²⁷ However, in the end, they hardly challenged the paradigms of architectural history in terms of a systematic inclusion of women architects' work or in terms of a reflection about the effects of their *de facto* inclusion in the GDR building and planning processes. The urban sociologist Christine Hannemann's thesis on prefabricated panel building contributed a differentiated perspective on this building type that was particularly important for the solution of the housing problem and the development of socialist society. However, both her thesis, published as *Die Platte*, and her study on standards, norms and social welfare in East and West Germany in the Bauhaus Dessau publication on Ernst Neufert's standardised building culture²⁸ neglect the issue of women in GDR building.

Particularly the perspectives of these three influential protagonists in the GDR building history discourse would have provided an interesting frame to look at women, whether it be in the building industries or in planning. Each of the scholars considers the social and political background of the time, but although the GDR building sector had to promote women in all fields of action, neither of them shed light on this part of the story. The study on prefabricated building would have provided an excellent context to discuss how women were concerned by these standards and norms in their everyday practice.

The first important overview of East German architectural history, *Ostkreuz*, was published in 1998.²⁹ It includes the work of three women: the architect Doris Bartsch, a member of Master's Workshop III of the East Berlin Building Academy (*Meisterwerkstatt III der Deutschen Bauakademie*) that designed *Stalin-Allee*; and the architect and urban planner Dorothea Tscheschner (cf. Chapter 6)³⁰, and Hannelore

27 Holger Barth and Thomas Topfstedt, *Vom Baukünstler zum Komplexprojektanten. Architekten in der DDR*, IRS Regio Doc 3 (Erkner: IRS, 2000)

28 *Die Platte*: dialect for: prefabricated / industrialized / prefab panel building.

29 Werner Durth, Jörn Düwel and Niels Gutschow, *Ostkreuz. Architektur und Städtebau der DDR* (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus-Verlag, 1998)

30 Dorothea Tscheschner was a member of the collective of the East Berlin chief architect Hans Gericke, together with Peter Schweizer and Hubert Martinez (Gericke was Berlin's chief architect from 1958 to 1965. The role of the city and chief architects is explained in Chapter 5).

Clauß, the landscape designer for Apartment Complex II (*Wohnkomplex II*) in Fürstenberg.³¹

In addition, the early 1990s saw the first attempts to compare East German post-war architecture with its West German counterpart in a single building history and to create a comprehensive *general* German urban and building history.³² The event which probably had the greatest impact on the broader societal audience was the research and exhibition *Two German Architectures (Zwei deutsche Architekturen)*.³³ (Illustration 1 | 07 see following page) Again, the share of women among the more than 300 architects recognised was less than their contribution deserved. This is again astonishing given the policies to promote women in the building industries as well as in engineering and architectural positions. The *Zwei deutsche Architekturen* curators, Hartmut Frank (for West Germany) and Simone Hain (for East Germany), present Iris Dullin-Grund, the city architect of Neubrandenburg in Mecklenburg-Pomerania. Her *Neubrandenburg cultural centre (Kulturhaus Neubrandenburg)*, 1963-1965, cf. Chapter 7) is the only contribution of an independently working woman architect. The catalogue also gives credit to ten other women architects and an urban planner, Johanna Sellengk, who worked in the GDR Building Academy's experimental workshop, and to the interior architect Ursula Schneider, who with Hans Lepak designed the interior of the East Berlin television tower, and the Dresden landscape architect Duglore Goldammer. Hain also refers in her reflection on post-war GDR models for the architectural profession to Karola Bloch's typology for kindergarten building (Illustration 1 | 08 +1 | 09 see following page) and classifies her as one of the GDR architects she calls brown bread bakers (*Schwarzbrotbäcker*).³⁴ Two of these architects designed housing with partners in the West (Ingeborg and Friedrich Spengelin in Hamburg and Helga Timmermann and Hans Kollhoff in West Berlin). The others (Heidrun Senz and Sabine Bodzin, Karin Bock and Helena Brjanowa in Berlin, Lilo Filbrand in Dresden, Sigrid Schaller in Halle) worked in GDR collectives and were introduced with their contributions to different phases of GDR housing production and town hall building. Interestingly, when presenting the Lenin Square housing area in Berlin, Hain does not give Ruth Krause any credit. Krause contributed to the design

31 Fürstenberg was merged with Stalinstadt in 1961 and from then on was part of Eisenhüttenstadt, home the biggest GDR iron and steel producer. Its production sites and housing areas are today the biggest architectural monument in Germany..

32 See bibliography, Durth / Topfstedt 1991/92 and Palutzki 2000 on urban development; Topfstedt 1996 on GDR Modernism and Topfstedt 2000 on GDR architects.

33 Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, *Zwei deutsche Architekturen (Stuttgart: IFAS, 2004)*.

34 Hain uses the metaphor of *Schwarzbrot* (brown bread: unpretentious, healthy, durable, historically thought of as food for the poor) for GDR architects' drive to continuously improve the design and function of prefabricated industrial building from the mid 1950s.

plan and technical implementation of this emblematic project and is usually cited as a member of the collective of Heinz Mehlan (cf. Chapter 7).

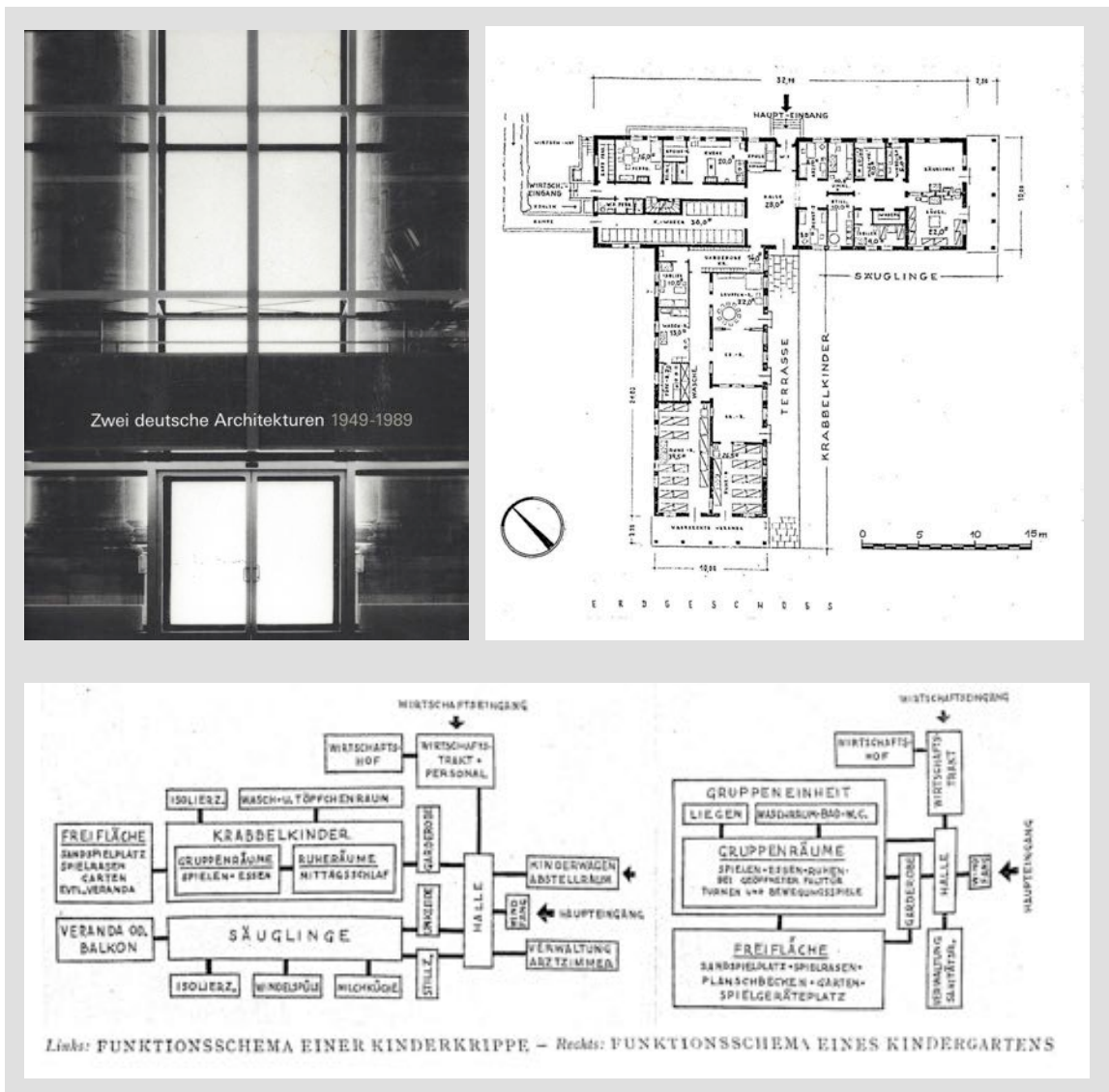


Illustration 1 | 7 (top left) Cover exhibit. catalogue *Zwei deutsche Architekturen* (Two German Architectures), 2004
 Illustration 1 | 8 (bottom) Functional plan of a kindergarten, Karola Bloch, 1953
 Illustration 1 | 9 (top right) Floorplan kindergarten with 44 places, Karola Bloch, 1953

Frank Betker's thesis *Einsicht in die Notwendigkeit: kommunale Stadtplanung in der DDR und nach der Wende* (Insight in necessity: communal urban planning in the GDR and after reunification) takes a similar intellectual position as Hain in her reflection about the architectural profession. Betker presents GDR building and urban development in the context of urban planners' and architects' dependence on state policies, power and control. This approach yields a better understanding of the

political and societal conditions for GDR planning and architecture.³⁵ Nevertheless, although Betker's work remains an essential foundation for the consideration of GDR architectural production, it is, like Barth's and Flier's work, little help in understanding the role and particular professional situation of women architects and planners. Numerous academic articles on the conditions for GDR architectural production have since been published. These fed the ongoing debate in the *GDR Building Historical Colloquia* at the Institute for Regional Development and Structural planning in Erkner³⁶, but these colloquia neglected women's role in the planning professions and the biographies of the women working in leading positions.

1 | 2 | 2 MORE NUMEROUS BUT NO BETTER REPRESENTED? WOMEN ARCHITECTS
IN THE LITERATURE ON NACHKRIEGSMODERNE (WEST BERLIN) AND
OSTMODERNE (EAST BERLIN)³⁷

The reputation of this building period throughout the country generally also holds for Berlin post-war architectural history: esteem for 1950s and 1960s buildings' aesthetics and functionality grew only slowly from the late 1980s. A West Berlin exception is the 1968 architectural guide *Bauen seit 1900 in Berlin* (Building in Berlin since 1900) by Jan Rave and Hans-Joachim Knöfel. It includes buildings of the 1950s and early 1960s³⁸, among them works of two women architects. *Haus Poelzig*, the private home of Marlene and Hans Poelzig is the 1930 creation of Marlene Poelzig (Illustration 1 | 10 +1 | 11 see following page). A high-rise housing block designed in 1961 represents the work of Ellinor Neumann (Illustration 1 | 12 see following page). Interestingly, Neumann's work appears in two professional publications, including *Berlin und seine Bauten, Volume IV*, but further research uncovered no other buildings designed by her.

35 Frank Betker, „Einsicht in die Notwendigkeit. Kommunale Stadtplanung in der DDR und nach der Wende, 1945 - 1994 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005). This is the publication of his thesis.

36 The IRS holds the remaining archives of the GDR Building Academy and 28 estates, mainly of architects including those of two women, the architect Dorothea Tscheschner and the architectural historian Simone Hain, who are both still alive.

37 This differentiation was made manifest by the 2004 exhibition *Two German Architectures (Zwei deutsche Architekturen)* and, concerning 1945-1965 East Berlin architectural history, compiled in a comprehensive East German Modernism, (*Ostmoderne*) (exhibition by Ulrich Hartung and Andreas Butter, see Andreas Butter and Ulrich Hartung, *Ostmoderne. Architektur in Berlin 1945-65* (Berlin: Jovis, 2005).

38 Rolf Rave and Hans-Jürgen Knöfel, *Bauen seit 1900 in Berlin* (Berlin: G + H Verlag, 1968).

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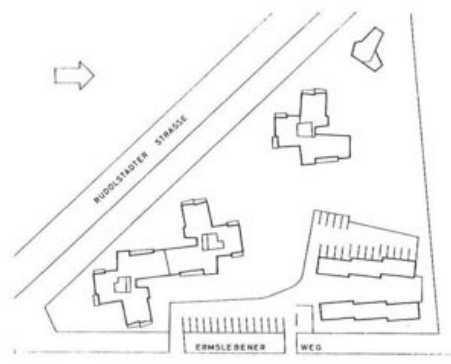


Illustration 1 | 10 (top) Marlene Moeschke-Poelzig, Haus Poelzig, Tannenbergallee 28, Berlin, 1930

Illustration 1 | 11 (bottom left) Marlene Moeschke-Poelzig, Hamburg, 1980s

Illustration 1 | 12 (bottom right) Ellinor Neumann, Tenement blocks, Rudolstädter Straße 24 / Emslebener Weg 4, 1961

The key overview publications on post-war Berlin architectural history, *Berlin und seine Bauten* (Berlin and its Buildings), the exhibition catalogues of the International Building

Exhibition (*Interbau*, 1957), the *750 Jahre Architektur und Städtebau in Berlin* exhibition accompanying the 1987 International Building Exhibition (*Internationale Bauausstellung*), the *Berlin architecture from 1900-2000* exhibition and Jonas Geist's and Hans-Joachim Kürver's compilation on rental housing in Berlin from 1945 to 1989³⁹ are core literature for the study and most of them deal with building in both parts of the divided city.

Reflecting the standards of Berlin's building tradition: *Berlin und seine Bauten*

The editors and authors of the nine parts (in 24 volumes) of *Berlin und seine Bauten* on 20th century building are male architects, with one exception: Ditta Ahmadi, who is an author and editor, but not an architect. However, nearly half of the authors in the volumes on housing, social and cultural infrastructure, churches and hospitals are women. There are only three architects among them: Helga Schmidt-Thomsen, Nina Gembrys and Susanne Walter. Schmidt-Thomsen, co-editor of the first comprehensive German women architects' presentation of the UIFA in the early 1980s, explains the school building context during both the Weimar Republic and the Nazi regime. Walter, Berlin architect from the next generation, is co-author of the chapter on science buildings, and Gembrys introduces kindergarten building from 1945 to 1980 in West Berlin. The high share of women authors is insofar interesting, as these texts provide a contemporary framework for the consideration of the buildings selected for the cases and are the source with the strongest representation of women architects, but hardly refer to women as professionals. They do, however, relate the adaptation of architectural standards to societal development. Some gender-relevant aspects are covered. One such angle is the gradually increasing number of women who were working and the derived higher demand for childcare facilities.

The women architects whose work appears and who are relevant for this study mainly featured in the parts dealing with building tasks that are usually considered to be women's design fields: housing and construction for education and social infrastructure. Some designs for science buildings and churches were exceptions.⁴⁰ The women architects named are Ludmilla Herzenstein (*Laubenganghaus* Karl-Marx-Allee, 1959-60, the only East Berlin project included), Ellinor Neumann (*Rudolfstädter*

39 Cf. references: Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin GmbH Berlin 1957a/b, Kleihues 1987, *Berlin und seine Bauten*: different authors and editors from 1966 – 2009, cf. references; Scheer/Kleihues/Kahlfeld 2000. *Berlin und seine Bauten* is a series published since 1877 by the Berlin Association of Architects and Engineers (*Architekten- und Ingenieursverein zu Berlin*) (), and post-reunification editions include East Berlin buildings.

40 The parts concerned are Part IV, volume B, Part V, volumes A and B, Part VI, Part VII, volumes A and B, cf. references.

Straße 24 Housing Block, West Berlin, 1969-71) and Sigrid Postel-Zschach (married name Kressmann-Zschach), various buildings, 1961-1969, cf. Chapter 7 in housing. However, Zschach's contribution might be considered modest compared to other women architects' work who would have merited equal exposure, namely Hilde Weström, whose work is not recognised at all in *Berlin und seine Bauten*. Science, educational and school buildings are represented by Magdalena Hänska (with husband Gerd Hänska, state teaching institute for medical-technical assistants 1963-1967, *Bruno Lösche Library* 1963-1964, *Walt Disney Primary School* 1965-1968; Dorothea Haupt (with husband Peter Haupt), *Reinickendorf Primary School* 1969-73); Nina Kessler (with Gerd G. Biermann), *Französische Schule* 1960-62); Ingrid Biergans (kindergarten and *Orthopaedic Welfare Services* building, *Heydenstraße*, Berlin-Schmargendorf 1968-1969); Ursula Plessow (*Märkische Primary School* 1967); and Margot Zech-Weymann (*Franziskus-Schule* 1958-1959).

Construction of churches was a challenge seldom commissioned and very rarely to women. However, apart from Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, designing the *Jerusalem-Kirche* in Berlin-Kreuzberg (see Chapter 6), there were at least two women involved in church building with their partners: Maria Schwarz (with Rudolf Schwarz and Werner Michalik, *St. Raphael Church* in Berlin-Gatow, (Illustration 1 | 13) and Barbara Vogt (with husband Wolfgang Vogt, *Zuversichtskirche* in Berlin-Spandau).

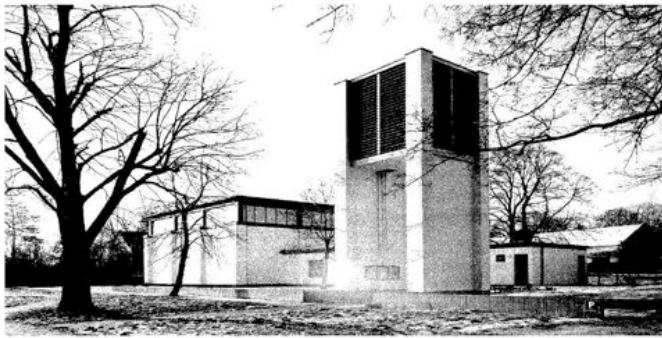


Illustration 1 | 13 Maria Schwarz and Rudolf Schwarz, with Hilde Strohl, *St. Raphael Church*, Alt Gatow 49a, Berlin, 1959-1965

In hospital building, Magdalena Hänska is again recognised with her husband (*Karl-Bonhoeffer Psychiatric Clinic* nurses' home, 1966-1968, and kindergarten, 1970-71), and so are Ingrid Biergans' extension of the municipal hospital in Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 1968-1972) and two of Margot Zech-Weymann's numerous hospital buildings, hospital extensions or nurses' homes (*Waldsanatorium*, 1964-1965, *Mark Brandenburg Red*

Cross Hospital, 1965-1970, and extension of the nurses' home, Paulsenstraße 5-6, Berlin-Steglitz).

The Interbau 1957 catalogue – a symbol of male domination in the international architectural elite

The Interbau 1957 catalogue documents that only renowned male architects designed the buildings of the new *Hansa-Viertel* and fosters a creative artists' personality cult, showing not only the buildings, but also the architects at work. It is, however, especially pertinent to the discussion of the models of housing and the model flats, which were shown not only as design models, but also as models for the reorganisation of societal life in general and the spatial organisation of family and work life. Johanna Hartmann's striking essay, "*Aber wenn die Frau aus ihren Grenzen tritt, ist es für sie noch viel gefährlicher*" (But if a woman steps over her boundaries, she is on far more dangerous terrain)⁴¹, which deals with gender construction and the gender-relations negotiation process in the *Interbau* context, interprets the staging of these photographs as a "symbol for the affiliation of the soloists of architecture to the acknowledged circles of theory and practice in architecture."⁴²

Apart from this staging of the architectural profession and the exposure of its seemingly inherent masculinity, there is a housing-planning aim debated in this publication that sets it off from the other publications in this analysis of women architects' representation in Berlin post-war architecture: the stated aim to safeguard family life. The social housing design presentation specifically focuses the family care role of the woman and the space devoted to this role (even if the woman is employed outside the home), particularly the kitchen. Hartmann underlines the latter with quotes from both men and women architects describing who (women, but also men) would be likely to do what in the kitchen (reproduction work or leisure activities).

41 Johanna Hartmann, "»Aber wenn die Frau aus ihren Grenzen tritt, ist es für sie noch viel gefährlicher«. Geschlechtermodelle für die Stadt von morgen." in *Die Stadt von Morgen. Beiträge zu einer Archäologie des Hansa-Viertels*, ed. Annette Maehtel and Kathrin Peters (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, 2008), 200-209. The title is irritating in English, but it is a fragment of a statement by Theanolte Bähnisch, the *Deutscher Frauenrat chairwoma*. . For other interesting texts concerning gender relations in the Interbau designs, see Chapter 3 and bibliography (Balg 1957, Dörhöfer 1999 b, Droste 1999; Interbau 1957, Meyer-Waldeck 1957, Weström 1957).
42 Hartmann, op. cit., 200-207.

“The kitchen seemed to be *the* space of the woman – the architects Klaus Hildebrand Müller-Rehm and Gerhard Siegmann had named the flats in their apartment building with the bigger cooking facilities “*female flats*”, those with more space outside the kitchen and smaller cooking facilities “*male flats*”. However, men also appeared in the *Hansaviertel’s* kitchens.” ... “Wera Meyer-Waldeck shows in the *Interbau* catalogue a *man of the future*, who “loves cooking and could practise this hobby in a bar-kitchen... The bar-kitchen, in which Meyer-Waldeck imagined the *man of the future* cooking, was thus represented with entirely different images concerning his use of the kitchen than was the *work-kitchen* for the housewife.”⁴³

The professional debates on organising the *Die Stadt von Morgen* exhibition illustrate even more clearly the societal construction of a post-war woman role model, of a woman characterised by motherliness, solicitude and kindness. A woman with a clear spatial position: the kitchen and other housekeeping space (cf. Chapter 3). Furthermore, the *Interbau* spatial planning banished women from public space and drew borders between private and public spheres, in order to restabilising the gender division of space destroyed by the early post-war developments.

Nevertheless, closer scrutiny of the whole exhibition project changes the image of the exclusive and obvious male hegemony in conceiving the exhibition concept and designing the catalogue. Hartmann assumes in her essay that further research might identify women involved in the designs if they were married and/or in professional partnerships with famous architects. In addition, she identified two women architects who participated in the young professionals’ competition for the *Interbau* thematic exhibition *Stadt von Morgen*: Annemarie Perlia and Ingeborg Schylla. In conjunction with Gerd Balser, Perlia contributed a design for a one-storey double house, which is also recognised in other professional literature⁴⁴, but there is no further information on later works by either of the two women.

In contrast to the other publications analysed here so far that mainly depict views, facades and ground-plans of buildings and contextualise them in different ways, the *Interbau* catalogue also depicts the model homes (trying to educate visitors about appropriate family life) and their designers. It also visualises the gender connotations of different activities in the architectural profession. In her diploma thesis, Hartmann states the obvious, that the reputation of being involved in the part of the *Interbau*

43 Ibid, 66. Hartmann quotes Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin GmbH, ed., *Interbau Berlin 1957* (Berlin-Charlottenburg: Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin GmbH, 1957)

44 Documented in *Baukunst und Werkform* 12/1956.

where tenement buildings were built was undoubtedly far more prestigious than being included as an architect in the thematic parts of the hall exhibition. In addition to the two women who were responsible for the living (*Wohnen*) department in the exhibition *die Stadt von Morgen*, Hartmann identifies interior designer Wera Meyer-Waldeck⁴⁵ and architect Hilde Weström (cf. Chapter 7). Hartmann finds a large number of other female exhibition contributors, some architects, but mainly interior designers. Hartmann relegates their names to a footnote, although their work might also deserve further research: "(...) Herta-Maria Witzemann, who from the 1950s became one of the most influential interior designers with an international reputation⁴⁶, interior designer Charlotte Eiermann, who led the department for furnishing of the consumer advice service *Berliner Wohnberatung*, Astrid Sampe, who was one of the leading designers of home textiles in Sweden in the 1950s, interior designer Kerstin Hörlin-Holmquist, architect Marianne von Münchow, interior designer Lena Larsson, architects Brigitte d'Ortschy, Carla Grosse and Ingrid Dlugos."⁴⁷

The catalogue is an interesting example of how, despite women being at least partly involved in the conceptual debates and the presentations, the main (male) actors of the exhibition implicitly assume a reinstatement of the female role model, reversing the trend of the early post-war years. This holds true for the assumption that both the inside and public spaces assigned to women should fit this role model. Kerstin Dörhöfer illustrates in her essay on Hilde Weström's work how the press reception of Weström's design mirrors the fact that the mainstream role model and space appropriation concepts had little in common with the architect's intentions (Illustration 1 | 14 see following pages). In Dörhöfer's description of the design, "The 'super-home' provided a living space of 120m² for six, two parents and four children. The floor plan space configurations allowed solitude for each member of the household without sacrificing togetherness. Sliding walls and cleverly designed built-in closets provided a flexibility allowing both space continuity and creation of smaller partitions, 'bunks'.

45 Wera Meyer-Waldeck studied from 1924 commercial design at the Dresden Academy for Arts and Crafts and from 1927-32 architecture and painting at Dessau. She was an early member of the Werkbund, from 1954 member of its West-North section. She contributed to the first Werkbund exhibition after the war, 1949 in Cologne. She worked as freelancer with the architect Hans Schwippert and was commissioned by him to do the interior design for the chancellor's building and the Bundestag building in Bonn, where she opened her own office in 1950. Meyer-Waldeck died in 1964. For publications including biographical and work information on Wera Meyer-Waldeck cf. references UIFA 1987: 27, Maasberg / Prinz 2004, Bauer 2003 and bibliography, Baumhoff / Droste 2009.

46 Isabel Bauer states in her study on women architects who had studied in Tessenow's class at the Berlin Technical University that "Herta Maria Witzemann was the only architect of this generation who succeeded over decades in combining an academic career with a freelance business. In 1953 she became professor for interior design at the Stuttgart Academy of Arts and established herself as a freelance interior designer." (Isabel Corinna Bauer, "Architektursudentinnen der Weimarer Republik: Bauhaus- und Tessenow-Schülerinnen. Gender-Aspekte im Spannungsfeld zwischen Tradition und Moderne" (PhD diss., University of Kassel, 2003), 285.

47 Hartmann, op.cit., 208-209.

The children's rooms could be enlarged or divided and they were connected to a playing corridor connected to the kitchen, which was connected to the dining area. However, this design not only provided all children and adults with their own space if needed, but also foresaw space for professional work and leisure. The design objective was variable use of space, affording the opportunity to vary spaces depending on the children's age, parents' job-obligations, preferences for quiet and leisure. Using glass outer walls and flexible slide walls inside, architect Hilde Weström envisioned a form of living that was trendsetting in its transparency, flexibility and variability."⁴⁸



Illustration 1 | 14 Article on Hilde Weström's flexible rooms design for an *Interbau* model flat, *Berliner Tagesspiegel* 1957

Then, quoting a paragraph of the article, she illustrates how, despite the visionary design, the journalist projected traditional role models into it: "Taking a sewing machine and a mending basket out of a corner deep inside one of the built-in closets, the mother performs magic and separates herself with a sliding wall from her piano-

48 Kerstin Dörhöfer, "Berlin – die zerstörte Stadt war meine Chance. Zum Zeitzusammenhang des Werkes von Hilde Weström," in *Die Berliner Architektin Hilde Weström. Bauten 1947-1981*, ed. Verborgenes Museum Berlin (Berlin: Das Verborgene Museum, 2000), 31.

playing daughter. The head of the family escapes the sewing machine noises by closing the father's place, containing all requisites of a study, also with a sliding wall. Whilst daddy delves into his newest bestseller, these sons of his can, without disturbing him, saw, nail and whistle in the hobby corner. Everybody is on his own until the moment when it is time to say goodnight and the slide walls vanish again in their 'dungeons'."⁴⁹

This is undoubtedly contradictory to the architect's intention., as documented in Dörhöfer's essay and in Weström's own publications (cf. Chapter 6). The design was said to be claiming the right of one's own space in the private sphere for professional women. However, even after having emphasised the stereotype interpretation of the possible appropriation of space in describing the children's area, the journalist veers from mainstream ideas of the use of space, writing that, based on her private experience as a professional woman with five children, "In a third example, Hilde Weström shows that a wife, working professionally at home, can, if housekeeping is ideally simplified, in this design arrange for the calm required by her intellectual or manual occupations."⁵⁰

Catalogue of the 1987 exhibition "750 Years of Architecture and Urban Development"

The next publication selected for the analysis is the chapter on post-war urban development and building in the catalogue of the exhibition *750 Years of Architecture and Urban Development in Berlin on Wiederaufbau, zweite Zerstörung und neue Tendenzen* (Rebuilding, Second Destruction and New Trends).⁵¹ This catalogue covers the urban planning models of the early post-war years, Scharoun's *Kollektivplan* and Walter Moest's and Willy Görgen's *Zehlendorfer Plan*, iconic buildings and estates within implementing the major urban planning of the divided city, the impact of economic development and political crisis on the early 1960s models, the early scrap-and-build urban renewal projects of the 1970s and the first steps towards careful urban renewal. The authors (Harald Bodenschatz et al.) do not put much focus on *Interbau*, its protagonists or the educational and family orientation of the latter. Also, whereas a number of other publications recognise Ludmilla Herzenstein and Luise

49 Ibid, 32. Dörhöfer quotes "Die Wohnung von morgen", *Berliner Morgenpost*, June 30, 1957, 34.

50 *Berliner Morgenpost*, June 30, 1957, 34

51 Harald Bodenschatz et al., "Wiederaufbau, zweite Zerstörung und neue Tendenzen in 750 Jahre Architektur und Städtebau in Berlin," in *Die internationale Bauausstellung im Kontext der Baugeschichte Berlins*, ed. Helmut Klotz (Berlin: Gerd Hatje, 1987), 213-242.

Seitz as being members of the *Planungskollektiv* and involved in developing these plans, the catalogue omits this fact.

As for the 1960s, the inventory includes only one woman architect: Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach with her most famous and controversial office and commercial building, the *Steglitzer Kreisel* (Illustration 1 | 15).⁵² At the end of the chapter, the authors reflect on their methodology. They wonder whether a process and structure analysis approach, taking into account societal context and individual user needs, would lead to a more comprehensive architectural history, compared to the traditional approach, reducing architectural history to *great architecture*, *Zeitgeist* and prevalent norms. However, they ask themselves, how one would then deal with the fact that “*highlights and twilights* would have to share the scarce space provided for the representation.”⁵³

Furthermore, they identify the problem of defining when to apply which type of criteria and puzzle over whether it is possible to combine a process-oriented and a more normative perspective in the same analysis. This question arises since each perspective would select different buildings and assess them in different ways. They conclude their reflection with a description of the both ethical and epistemological problem that evolves from these reflections: “*Is good architecture even then good if it was produced under challenging circumstances or ignores the user’s needs? Is bad architecture even then bad if it objectively promotes the development of awareness and life, maybe even stimulates the latter through provocation?*”⁵⁴

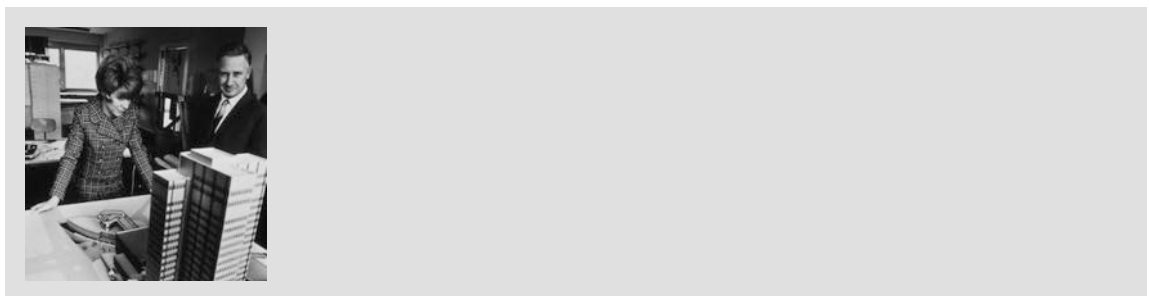


Illustration 1 | 15 Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach in her office, discussing the model of the *Steglitzer Kreisel*, 1969

52 For Kressmann-Zschach see Bodenschatz op. cit, 228. Two other woman architects, Johanne Nalbach and Erdmute Carlini, both working with their husbands in partnerships, are recognised for mid-1980s buildings in the: Johanne Nalbach for a multi-storey housing and business block on West Berlin’s Kudamm and Erdmute Carlini with the ameliorating redesign of the facades and entrances of a René Gages building in West Berlin *Märkisches Viertel*, see Bodenschatz op. cit, 236-237.

53 English and italics are already in the German text. The meaning is that “*great architecture*” would be represented side by side with “*everyday architecture*”, often more user friendly and affordable, although less prestigious.

54 Bodenschatz, loc.cit., 240.

It is not unlikely that the Berlin women architects' and urban planners' debates concerning the second women's movement left their traces in this text, published in 1987. Comparing this methodological reflection with feminist or gender-oriented approaches to art history, one first suspects that the authors would have been so close to a more inclusive representation of architectural history had they decided to deal systematically with their criteria and doing so, not omitted achievements of women. . Furthermore, this failure involves not only the failure to recognise women colleagues' building, but also in the short-changing of female authors. The chapter has ten authors, two of them women. Neither these two nor the women contributing to other chapters are found in the part of the publication devoted to *short authors' CVs*.

The *Bauen in Berlin 1900-2000* exhibition catalogue– how to combine the presentation of emblematic building and everyday practice?

The *Bauen in Berlin 1900-2000* exhibition catalogue⁵⁵, edited by Jan Becker-Schwering, Josef Paul Kleihues and Paul Kahlfeldt, has a particular focus on 1950s to 1970s buildings because the authors consider this phase of architectural history as not previously adequately considered and analysed. Published in 2000, 23 years later than the catalogue explored in the previous section, it explicitly follows, aiming at a "presentation of architectural history phases through emblematic buildings", the above-described *traditional* path, introducing many architects and buildings already embedded in an accepted inventory of architectural history in West and East Berlin. At the same time, the authors aim at an "*equal representation* of the utopian ideas developed in Berlin, emblematic buildings and examples of *everyday building practice*."⁵⁶ The representation of the *everyday practice* focuses on major tenement housing projects rather than on vernacular architecture, and on buildings for public institutions, and churches. Despite the objective of including "everyday architecture", these are projects whose clientele does not necessarily faithfully represent the social mix of Berlin architecture and population, which the reader might have expected. Even where they introduce small private homes, the architects are famous representatives of the profession like Hans Scharoun, Werner Düttmann and Wassili Luckhardt. In this category, however, two women clients appear: Margarete Scharf,

55 Jan G. Becker-Schwering, Josef P. Kleihues and Paul Kahlfeldt, ed., *Bauen in Berlin 1900-2000* (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2000).

56 Loc. cit., 8-10.

Das Berliner Mietshaus – here and there a woman’s perspective in the history of Berlin tenement housing?

In *Das Berliner Mietshaus 1945-1989*⁵⁸, which is the standard on the history of Berlin tenement building, Johann-Friedrich Geist and Klaus Kürvers look at both West and East Berlin post-war housing production and take the reader back to the dawn of this process. The authors recognise in their introduction, dealing with the ordeals of survivors (the three weeks from 20 April 1945 to 14 May 1945, the so-called zero hour (*Stunde Null*)) and the Berlin political and housing situation immediately after the war. This introduction includes a statement that diverges from the overall attitude of the housing history publication, indicating that the collective experience of the population was primarily the experience of women. This goes far beyond the usual reference to the brave rubble women. Since there are hardly any official sources on these days, they illustrate their experiences by a collage of five West Berlin diaries. The writers were two persons *involved* in the war activities, an officer in the command centre and a Hitler Youth (*Hitlerjugend-Junge*) fighting for his survival, and of three persons who were primarily *observers*. The latter are a psychologist, living in the south-western district of Zehlendorf, and two woman journalists, one (anonymous) living in an occupied tenement building in the inner defence zone in Kreuzberg, the other living in Charlottenburg. They suggest that women endured the greater shock in their everyday lives. A broader sample, for example including women of different class, age, family status and profession would have been useful. The men (partly due to their military role) describe strategic situations, communication problems and decision-making processes, returning soldiers, the last moments on the front in the Berlin periphery, opportunities for and barriers to (mostly military) mobility. The women describe emotions and relationships, war experience written in faces, interiors of partially ruined buildings, behaviour in the air raid shelter cellars, difficulties in finding food and its poor quality.

The collage is fascinating, but the authors do not consider a possible role of women’s experiences for the conceptualisation of post-war housing in the following text. The recognition Geist and Kürvers give to a few women and/or women architects documents those women’s participation in the contemporary debates. However, it neither *contextualises* their emergence in important decision-making processes nor *indicates* whether they formulated noticeably different criteria for urban planning models or housing ground plans. It would have been interesting to know about the

58 Johann-Friedrich Geist and Klaus Kürvers, *Das Berliner Mietshaus 1945-1989* (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1989).

contributions of the only women architects the reader meets in this publication, two members of the 1949 planning collective (*Planungskollektiv*): Luise Seitz (housing department head) and Ludmilla Herzenstein (responsible for urban planning statistics). Moreover, in contrast to the other (male) architects introduced, neither Seitz nor Herzenstein are honoured by inclusion of a short professional CV in the text chapters, despite Geist and Kürvers devoting two pages to a quote of Herzenstein's work on the demographic development of Berlin. A third woman involved in an earlier Berlin urban planning initiative, the 1946 *Zehlendorfer Plan* of Hans Scharoun's team, Hanna Blank, is not mentioned here, but is given space in other publications.⁵⁹

Not highlighting *Interbau* obviously meant unintended neglect of women architects' contribution to the debates on housing that took place in the context of that exhibition. Nevertheless, the authors indicated in another that women were actually taking a stand in the earlier post-war debates on housing. They first embed the contribution by the writer Alix Rohde-Liebenau to the 1947 exhibition and planning Berlin Is Planning (*Berlin plant*) competition, dealing with the post-war reorganisation of daily routines and related interior design. The second woman's voice in the debates is that of the politician Marie-Elisabeth Lüders, in a speech she gave in 1949 on housing and interior design norms in the context of the post-war debates at the German Committee for Standards (*Deutscher Normenausschuss*). She resumes the 1920s reform discussions and gives strong support for gender-sensitive housing design: "It is necessary to finally design and build buildings from the interior to the exterior, i.e. with a perspective from the kitchen and the children's rooms towards the facade and not vice versa. It is necessary to understand that the building of homes and the inner housekeeping equipment, the fittings and furnishings, the household appliances are inseparably connected to each other and that everything has to be judged by everyday needs. Not by the everyday needs of some self-centered builder or style-fanatic architect, but by the needs of ordinary people."⁶⁰

Despite pointing out two women who "forcefully" comment on new housing ideas, Geist and Kürvers leave it to the reader to identify differences from male peer statements and to decide how these positions influenced subsequent norms and housing production. Only at the very end of the publication, describing inhabitants' resistance to the late-1960s scrap-and-build urban renewal strategy (*Kahlschlagsanierung*), do they show an example of how resident consultation was taken into account, how an old and poor woman's complaint finally contributed to the

59 See Bauer *op.cit.n*, and Dörhöfer 2004 *op.cit.*.

60 For the text of Rohde-Liebenau see Geist and Kürvers, *Das Berliner Miethaus*, 444-448, for Lüder's speech see *op.cit.*, 472-474.

implementation of a 1969/1970 project for low-income tenants. Women's needs did obtain a modest hearing in this core publication. But although the woman architect Elly Johanna Lehning and the sociologist Ilse Balg, who was engaged in the *Interbau* women's debates, were on the editorial team, women architects' built work or contribution to debates did not receive much play in the publication. As both died before this thesis was written, it would have been pointless to interview the other authors concerning the decision-making process on what got into the publication and what was left out, and who got the above-mentioned women in. However, it could have been an interesting debate with Balg and Lehning.

Women architects in the literature on Berlin Ostmoderne – different participation, different representation?

The last part of this section targets publications on the East Berlin history of the built environment. The anthologies on GDR architecture include, given East Berlin's role as capital of the GDR and centre of the building cultural activities, many examples built there. At the same time, they hardly recognise women architects' work, because, apart from the urban planners Ludmilla Herzenstein and Selma Selmanagić, women in East Berlin only rarely filled leading positions in a collective or as city architects in the 1950s and 1960s.

However, Ulrich Hartung and Andreas Butter include in their publication on *Ostmoderne 1945 – 1965* the highly publicised design plan for the *Wohnzelle Friedrichshain* by Hans Scharoun and Ludmilla Herzenstein and the *Laubenganghäuser*, to incorporating Herzenstein designs. The authors also present the contribution of Eva-Maria Hetzer to the biggest East Berlin dairy, a large garage yard. In the text, it is not clear why Hetzer's garage yard design is remarkable enough to warrant inclusion. But the yard is a good example of a typical task for a woman architect or engineer in a renowned technical building collective. Presumably, the intention was to give a woman architect a modicum of recognition. Presenting the famous East Berlin public bus company workshop in Berlin-Weißensee, they do not mention Lotte Schildhauer's renowned design of its carwash building that was recognised in the professional journal *Architektur der DDR* and in the architectural

guide *Von Pankow bis Köpenick (From Pankow to Köpenick)* by Werner Gräbner and Joachim Schulz.⁶¹

Gräbner and Schultz's publication furthermore explicitly ascribes the design plan of one of East Berlin's most emblematic inner-city panel projects, the Lenin Square Estate, to the architect Ruth Krause (cf. Chapter 6): "The design plan for the two 11-storey, and 33-metre-long prefabricated panel tenement buildings was developed based on updated Type P2 panels (Ruth Krause), with ceiling elements in a trapezium format and loggia structures towards the square side of the building."⁶²

Many of the post-reunification publications on East Berlin architectural history deal with emblematic settlements or urban development projects like *Stalin-Allee* (today Frankfurter Allee), *Karl-Marx-Allee* and *Alexanderplatz*. Following the same logic as above, these publications are a meagre source for tracking women architects because women were, notably in the capital, seldom in the collective's leading positions at this time. Dorothea Tscheschner, who worked before reunification as planner for the East Berlin Centre planning department, started a second career after unification writing on GDR architecture but absorbed a post-unification "non-gender" ideology in her writing (cf. Chapter 6).⁶³

Women architects in planning competition documentation: another example of absence

Reviewing the representation of woman architects in the literature also had to consider an early hypothesis of this study, that an important source for tracking possible *difference* in the women architects' work could be architectural or planning competitions. A first step was to look at research published on the architectural and

61 Joachim Schulz and Werner Gräbner, *Berlin - Architekturführer von Pankow bis Köpenick* (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1987). Apart from already referenced publications see for East Berlin architectural history: Holger Barth, *Grammar of Socialist Architectures*, including five contributions on women architects (see bibliography Droste 2001 and Bauer 2001), and Butter 2006, Flierl 1998b and Palutzki 2000 for *Socialist Modernism*. Eva-Maria Hetzer's contribution to Günther Graw's project of the East Berlin dairy (*Milchhof, 1961-1965*) is recognised in Butter and Hartung, *Ostmoderne*, 82-85. The work of Ludmilla Herzenstein and Lieselotte Schildhauer is recognised in the second part of this chapter.

62 Joachim Schulz and Werner Gräbner, *Berlin - Architekturführer*, 100.

63 Cf. bibliography: for Karl-Marx-Allee see Tscheschner 1996, for Stalinallee see Nicolaus and Obeth 1998, and Schätzke 1991, for the East Berlin centre see Tscheschner 1990 and 1993, Ribbe / Engel 1990 and, from a contemporary perspective of an architect of the responsible collective, Schweizer 1969.

urban development competitions to rebuild Berlin.⁶⁴ They could have been a source for the identification of difference in terms of, from today's perspective, a specifically gender-sensitive planning. The best sources for this investigation were professional journals like *Bauwelt*. However, neither led the literature analysis, nor the analysis of the very few independent women's competition contributions that were accessible for this study⁶⁵, nor an overview about the history of German architectural competitions or an exhibition in 2011 on *not used* competition submissions in GDR days to significant results confirming this hypothesis. Explanations for this absence will be discussed in Chapter 6, Chapter 7 and the concluding Chapter 8, dealing with the comparison of women architects' working conditions.

Celebrating the architect – anthologies and monographs

Anthologies of architects, but more so monographs, are a way to build or celebrate the architect's reputation. A body of literature, which therefore had little potential to give access to women architects' work in Berlin architectural history, involved monographs on single architects' work. The literature analysis in this field and a critical reading of three biographical anthologies presenting German, Berlin and East German architects⁶⁶ quickly confirmed this assumption. Durth's approach to the biographical interconnections in German architecture from 1900 to 1970, *Biographische Verflechtungen* (Biographic Interlacing), actually provided an important stimulus for thinking about the biographical and societal context of architectural production, but it neglected women's access to the profession. *Baumeister, Architekten, Stadtplaner. Biographien zur baulichen Entwicklung Berlins* (Builders, Architects, Urban Planners. Biographies Related to Berlin Building History) by Wolfgang Ribbe and Wolfgang Schäche depicts a purely men's world. The West Berlin publication does not recognise a single woman architect. The encyclopaedia on GDR architects includes Anita Bach, Iris Grund and Dorothea Tscheschner, who were interview partners for this study and were selected as cases. Ludmilla Herzenstein and Edith Diehl in Berlin and Claudia Schrader in Dresden also received attention.

64 Cf. bibliography: Akademie der Künste 1995; AIV 1975; Becker 1992; Berlin plant 1946, Hain 1996; IRS 1998, SenBauWohn 1957.

65 Apart from Hilde Westöm, only a few of the women interviewed reported participating in competitions, and they possessed hardly material on them. Research conditions did not allow access to competition archive material that might be available at various institutions like the *Berlin State Archive*.

66 Durth, Werner. *Deutsche Architekten. Biographische Verflechtungen 1900 – 1970* (Braunschweig: Vieweg & Sohn, 3rd edition, 1988), and Wolfgang Ribbe and Wolfgang Schäche, eds., *Baumeister, Architekten, Stadtplaner. Biographien zur baulichen Entwicklung Berlins* (Berlin: Stapp, 1999), and Barth, *Vom Baukünstler zum Komplexprojektanten*.

Then there is a variety of monographs portraying the individual work and biography of architects contributing to Berlin building history after the Second World War. Often more than one publication offers a traditional homage to the work of renowned architects such as Max Taut, Hans Poelzig, Paul Baumgarten, Werner Düttmann, Walter Gropius, Sergius Ruegenberg and Hans Scharoun in West Berlin or Hermann Henselmann, Wilfried Stallknecht, Richard Paulick and Ulrich Mütter in East Berlin. In this set of architects' biographies, the share of publications on Berlin women architects is sparse. As for West Berlin, the monograph on Hilde Weström, published by the Berlin *Verborgenes Museum* in 2000, remains in the year of her 100th birthday the only one on a Berlin freelance woman architect (Illustrations 1 | 17 + 1 | 18 see following page). It explores the architect's work from a biographical perspective, from a curator's and a peer's point of view and gives her a personal voice in the matter.⁶⁷ As for East Berlin, there are two autobiographical publications by one woman, whose attempts in the architectural profession were stunted in the shadow of a renowned husband and in the light of domestic responsibilities. The autobiographies were written by Irene Henselmann, wife of Hermann Henselmann and herself an architect and interior designer⁶⁸ (Illustrations 1 | 19 + 1 | 20 see following page). Whereas the first is much more a chronological family story than a reflection on her own professional life, concentrating on her relationship to Henselmann and his professional and social environment and her attempts to combine bearing and raising nine children with her own professional activities, the second looks at different *themes* in her life as a whole, including her professional life. The autobiography of Iris Dullin-Grund, the biography of Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky and both the autobiography and biography of Karola Bloch only glance at Berlin building history with insights on the short periods when each practised her profession in Berlin. A 1998 monograph exhibition catalogue on Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach involved only the *Steglitzer Kreisel*, which is only one of her numerous creations but one of the city's most debated buildings.⁶⁹

67 However, in 2006 Jeong-Hi Go published *Virtuosin der neuen Landschaftlichkeit – Der Garten als Paradigma*, her thesis on landscape architect Herta Hammerbacher (1900-1985), who was the first woman to hold a professorship at the Berlin Technical University's faculty of architecture.

68 See bibliography, Irene Henselmann 1995, 2000.

69 Iris Dullin-Grund's autobiography is a private edition (cf. references, Dullin-Grund 2004), was, according to an interview with her in 2004, motivated through interviews she gave in the context of this PhD research project and two others in which her work played a role (see also references, Raschke 2005 on post-war urban development of Neubrandenburg). The to-a-large extent letter-based dialogue between Reimann and Henselmann is documented in Kirsch-Feix, 1994 (see bibliography).

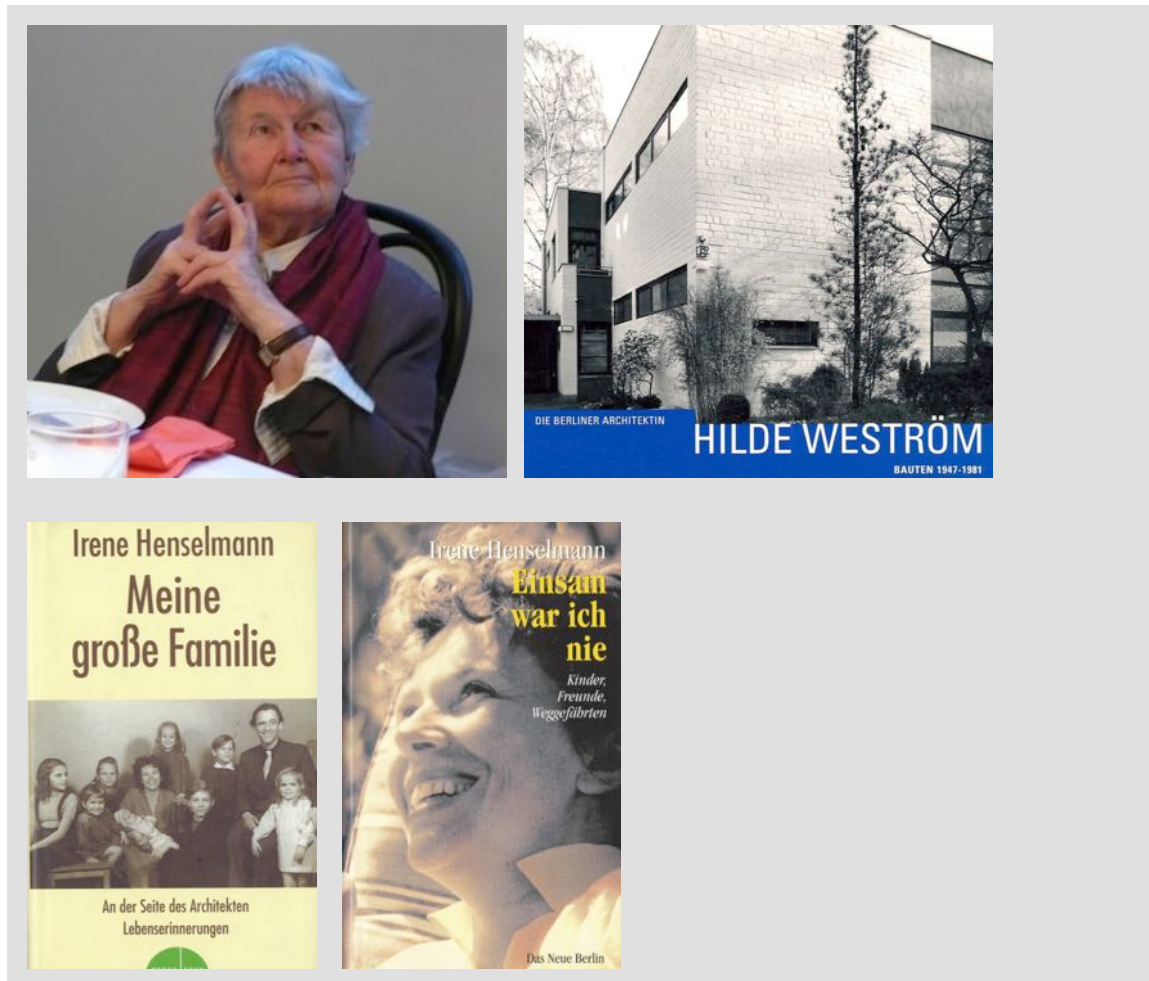


Illustration 1 | 17 (top left) Hilde Weström on her 100th birthday, 2012

Illustration 1 | 18 (top right) Cover exhibition catalogue, Die Berliner Architektin Hilde Weström. Bauten 1947 - 1981 (*The Berlin architect Hilde Weström. Buildings 1947-1981*), 2000

Illustration 1 | 19 (bottom left) Cover *Meine große Familie* (My big family), Irene Henselmann, 1995

Illustration 1 | 20 (bottom right) Cover *Allein war ich nie* (I have never been on my own). Irene Henselmann, 2000

The autobiographical works of Henselmann and Grund provide a wealth of contemporary private and professional everyday life information but challenge a reader interested in their professional work and its societal context because of the subjective and sometimes euphemistic descriptions of the professional and societal context or their own professional prowess . In these cases, this classical trap of autobiographical publications is accompanied by the challenge of dealing with a woman's perception of her career opportunities, between policy and reality on the one hand and, on the other hand, the change of the framing political system during their professional lives. An interesting publication to better understand Grund's writing is Brigitte Reimann's novel *Franziska Linkerhand* (Illustration 21 see next page). Grund was Reimann's model for the novel's main character, and Hermann Henselmann an important mentor for this book.

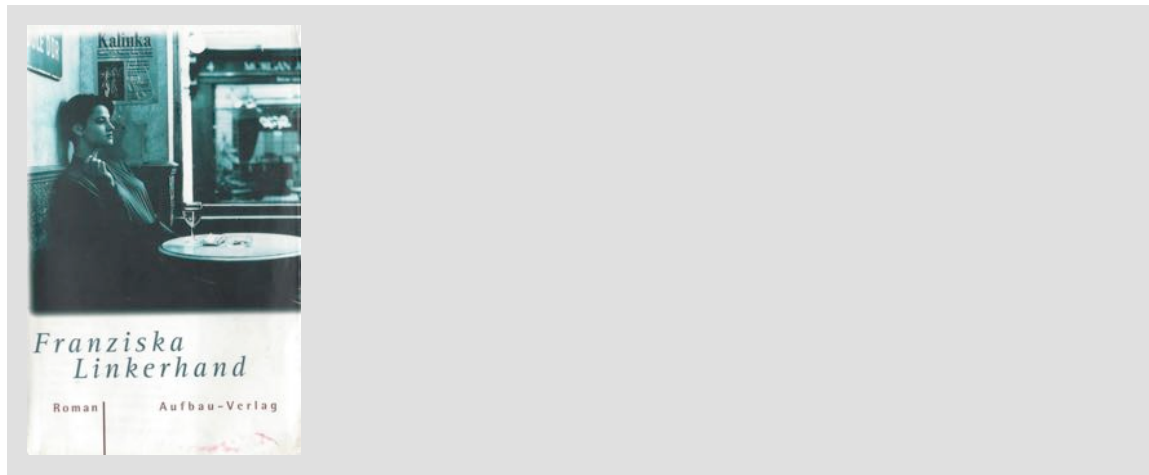


Illustration 1 | 21 Cover *Franziska Linkerhand*

Apart from these few monographs, the literature contains only short work biographies of West Berlin women architects in anthologies on women in architecture. These are contained within the following section about women writing on women in architecture and in the above-mentioned catalogue of the exhibition *Zwei deutsche Architekturen*.

In conclusion, the representation of women architects in the literature has been neither a normal professional practice nor a result of specific professional criteria being applied, but seems often to have been left to coincidence and/or specific authors' dedication.

1 | 3 WHO IS WRITING ON WOMEN IN BERLIN ARCHITECTURE?

Nevertheless, despite the missing link between the first and the second women's movement, a link also involving German women architects and planners had also been involved, a feminist discussion and research on both the pioneering women architects and planners and contemporary women architects started in the early 1980s. It is of some importance for the motivation of this thesis that a considerable part of this research was initiated and pursued in Berlin, and, moreover, that it was, apart from few exceptions, written by women. "German architectural history has no doyennes (*Nestorinnen*). Women architects and their works have been mostly overlooked by architectural critics. Because also in this field, women's participation lacked until the 1950s, women architects remained more or less unmentioned in architectural history

until the late 1980s. Even building historians, architects and women architects often only know women architects and their work on a family or local level."⁷⁰

Documentation of the discussions starting in the 1980s provides the main motivation and analytical perspectives for the research that followed. There were, corresponding to differences in their feminist position, three different publications edited by women architects and planners who were engaged in the feminist movement. The first, *Frauen formen ihre Stadt* (Women Designing Their City), is an issue of the journal *Emanzipation: feministische Zeitschrift für kritische Frauen*, published by a group that later founded the women's museum (*Frauenmuseum*) in Frankfurt. The second, *Frauen in der Architektur – Frauenarchitektur?* (Women in Architecture – Women's Architecture?), is a special issue of the journal *Bauwelt*.⁷¹ The third is a volume of the policy- and theory- oriented journal *Feministische Beiträge zu Theorie und Praxis* (Feminist Contributions to Theory and Practice), entitled *Frauen- Raum Architektur Umwelt*, (Women, Space, Architecture, Environment).⁷² Briefly summarised, their origin and their aims show two different approaches to women's issues in architecture and planning. In the first two publications, formal aspects of architecture and planning prevailed; aesthetics were seen as a symbol for both criticism and need for change, including a demand for a different, female aesthetic. Margit Kennedy, the editor of the *Bauwelt* issue, developed a hypothesis on "masculine and female principles in planning", which she considered to be the rule, but not necessarily linked to the planners' sexes. However, neither of the two approaches was *gender* related (i.e. linked to the notion of gender roles as a societal construction). Both publications based on mythology and biology.

The main thesis of the third group, taking a more a social and political position, was that both traditional functional floor plans for family homes and the organisation of urban space hinder the emancipation of women. This historical starting point is worth mentioning here because aspects of it are still driving the public debate on women and architecture and emerged in the interviews held in this research. In contrast, the scientific debate in German feminist urban research clearly moved on to a diversification, institutionalisation, and sectionalisation of the themes and groups of this movement and a separation of urban sociologists, planners, and architects. The issue of a *feminine architecture* was abandoned in favour of a (women-empowering) utility-value and function-oriented approach, which is until now being applied where a

70 Bauer, op.cit. , 6.

71 *Bauwelt* is one of Germany's most important architectural reviews, published and edited in Berlin since the beginning of the 20th century. See *Bauwelt*, Volume 31/32 (1979), ed., Margrit Kennedy.

72 *Frauen Räume Architektur Umwelt*, eds., Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung und Praxis für Frauen e.V., *Beiträge 4 zur feministischen Theorie und Praxis* (Munich: Frauenoffensive, 1980).

gender perspective comes into architectural design and urban planning. These works did not take into account women architects' participation in the recent past, but channelled the thoughts in the positions taken by the authors mentioned in the following. The first studies addressing the exclusion of women from architectural practice and their architectural design needs were followed up by the 1984 UIFA publication on the history of women architects and designers in the 20th century. The publication furnished an initial familiarisation with well-known and less-known women architects, some of them being in the focus of this research, such as Hilde Weström and Nina Braunschweig-Kessler. Of less importance for the context of this thesis, but of great importance for the awareness for women architects' participation in professional practice, was the UIFA exhibition on women in contemporary architecture at the 7th International Congress of Architects, Urban Planners and Landscape Architects (1987). But still, the narrative of exclusion outweighed explanation on the structural level.

Apart from these publications, Berlin architectural history research addressing the work of women architects between 1949 and 1969 directly is limited. In part, it is directly linked to the writing of this thesis. Above all, there is Kerstin Dörhöfer's research and publication on the pioneering women architects, a core publication that includes the works of Margot Zech-Weymann and Hilde Weström until 1945. The exhibition and catalogue on Hilde Weström's biography and work was elaborated in the same research context. In addition, Sonia Ricon Baldessarini was in contact with the research team working on Hilde Weström's work and biography when she included her in her international anthology on women architects' work.⁷³

In the existing research on women and architecture that is relevant for the rebuilding period, Kerstin Dörhöfer's work is thus an important source and inspiration for this thesis. Apart from her initial work on women in architectural history, this concerns in particular her gender-oriented analysis of housing in the 1950s and 1960s in Lower Saxony, which mirrors Marion Roberts' work on gendered identities in housing context, *Living in a Man-Made World*. Roberts' analysis of and perspectives on feminist urban and planning research and the methodological approach to the perception of gender relations in architecture and housing have also left their marks in subsequent research on the city and gender and in the research of this thesis.⁷⁴

73 See bibliography, Ricon Baldessarini, 2001.

74 Dörhöfer 1999a, op.cit., and Roberts, op.cit.

As for West Berlin women architects' representation, an exhibition catalogue on Sigrid Kressmann Zschach's above-mentioned project *Steglitzer Kreisel* was an important secondary source, notably because it *contextualises* the project that is usually just considered as a scandal (cf. Chapter 7). This publication was also edited by a woman, Sabine Weißler.⁷⁵

Apart from the encyclopaedia of GDR architects that was mentioned earlier, East Berlin women architects' experience has, from the perspective of architectural history, so far only been investigated by Helga Fassbinder and Isabel Corinna Bauer.⁷⁶ They did an interesting series of interviews, including two women whose work is presented in the case studies in Chapter 7. Done immediately after reunification, and then being a timely rather than analytic narrative, it provided an interesting introduction to women architects', engineers' and construction workers' experience of their professionalisation or occupation, the social context and notably the women architects' self-image. An initial brief introduction to the research pursued in this thesis was published in Holger Barth's anthology *Grammatik sozialistischer Architekturen* (Grammar of Socialist Architecture).⁷⁷ (Illustration 1 | 22)

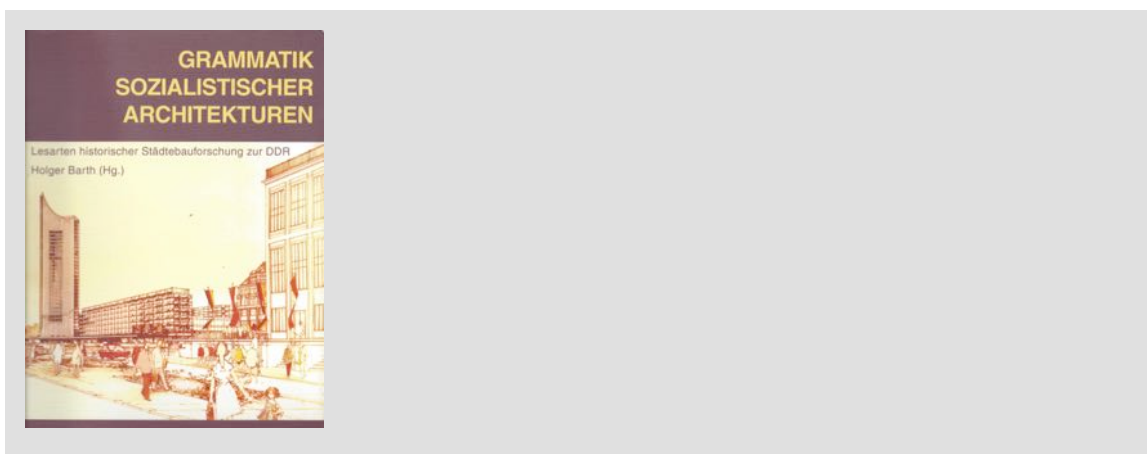


Illustration 1 | 22 Cover *Grammatik Sozialistischer Architekturen* (Grammar of socialist architectures), 2001.

The few existing monograph biographies of women architects, publications about Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Karola Bloch and the West German architect Lucy

75 Sabine Weißler, ed., *Der Steglitzer Kreisel*, Catalogue (Berlin: Kulturamt Steglitz, 1998).

76 Helga Fassbinder and Isabel Bauer, eds., *Wichtig war das Bewusstsein der Frauen, Einfluss zu haben...". Erfahrungswelten von Frauen im Bau- und Planungswesen der DDR*. (Dortmund: Dortmunder Vertrieb für Bau- und Planungsliteratur, 1996).

77 Christiane Droste, "Architektinnen in Berlin 1949 – 1969: Werke und Biographien in der geteilten Stadt," in *Grammatik sozialistischer Architekturen*, ed. Holger Barth (Berlin, Leipzig: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2001), 305-320.

Hillebrandt, were more likely to provide general clues for the analysis.⁷⁸ In contrast to the small, but, at least existing, body of literature concerning gender aspects in West Berlin building, there are, despite the steadily increasing research on GDR architecture, so far no references in architectural history for a feminist or gender-oriented analysis of the East Berlin or East German building in the reconstruction period.

In conclusion, the review of the history of architecture in the 1950s and 1960s in Berlin established that despite the above-introduced attempts of women to include women architects explicitly in the contemporary history of the built environment, there is a considerable gender blindness. This leads subsequently to a wide gap in the history of the architectural profession and related fields of knowledge. Compared to the representation of their male colleagues' work, in general public awareness and even in professional circles, women architects' work is relatively unknown or forgotten. Particularly concerning architecture dating from before the 1970s, a feminist or gender perspective remains, apart from a few publications, a virtually blank page in German architectural history. Focussing on 1950s and 1960s building in Berlin (or Germany), there is little literature to which this study could refer in introducing the eight women in the case studies.

The last section of this chapter discusses the stumbling blocks of tracing women architects in other types of sources.

1 | 4 WHERE TO DIG OUT WOMEN ARCHITECTS' WORK, IF NOT IN THE LITERATURE?

The so-far introduced professional publications (anthologies, monographs, autobiographies, reviews, overviews, journals) are relevant sources to access the work of women architects that made headway in the mainstream of the profession. There are two other parallel and important starting points to identify more women architects, active between 1949 and 1969, but who possibly moved to other professional fields or worked as architects throughout their life without making it into the mainstream

⁷⁸ See bibliography, Friedl 2005 and Schütte-Lihotzky 2004 on Margarethe Schütte-Lihotzky, Bloch 1981 and Scherer/Schröter on Karola Bloch, Boemighaus 1985, Grohn, 1990 and Hofmann 1985 on Lucy Hillebrand.

publications. These references are the registration lists of architectural classes and a systematic “page by page” search in different types of professional journals which published a variety of articles on women in different professions and with both users’ and designers’ perspectives. The themes in the journals were the organisation of reproduction work in housing and the housing environment and equality of standards for working conditions (even DIN standards) in both industrial buildings and at homes. This debate is strongly tied to the development of the modern kitchen, and was rooted in the critical debates about the adoption of Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky’s design for the *Frankfurter Küche*.

Other important sources are registrations in the West and East German architectural associations (*Bund Deutscher Architekten (West)* and *Bund deutscher Architekten / Bund der Architekten der DDR (East)*) and other institutions, such as the register of the National Socialist Chamber of Arts, today archived at the *Bundesarchiv* in Berlin-Dahlem.

Results there led to further research in archives, in other architects’ estates rather than in women architect’s complete estates. Research in all Berlin municipal museum archives, estate-holding galleries and academies, the *Akademie der bildenden Künste* and the universities with architectural faculties established that only four estates of women architects have so far been saved in Berlin archives and none at the German section of the *Union Internationale des Femmes Architectes*.⁷⁹

The representation of women in archives holding the profession’s heritage is thus extremely modest (cf. Chapter 2).

The so-far listed sources or institutions assumed to provide access to sources are traditional media. The fact that *the* medium nowadays consulted to begin any research, the internet, is dealt with at the very end, has to do with the chronology of this study. When its very first steps were taken in 1999, the internet provided little information on German or Berlin woman architects. Today, even a number of the original findings of this research (including the authorship of buildings and even

⁷⁹ The *Union Internationale des Femmes Architectes* was founded in 1963. Its aim is to make known and to promote both the woman architect as actor in the profession and individual woman architects’ work, to establish relationships and exchanges between professional women in this field. According to the information provided on the French U.I.F.A website, U.I.F.A has members from 90 different countries, with both individual members and affiliated national associations and is linked to the International Union of Architects (U.I.A.). <http://www.uifa.fr/>, accessed December 2013.

biographical data) are available online, and so are many official resources, for example the building preservation lists of the state of Berlin. Researchers, private and institutional actors and professional architectural networks like *baunetz*, *arch_inform* and the artist database of the German Institute for Foreign Relations (*Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen*) have their own websites and shared knowledge on woman architects, as did, of course, networks interested in biographical research on women.

This leads, from a research perspective, to the interesting question of how the *knowledge-based* internet communication affects the building of both interest in and knowledge about women in particular professional spheres and whether there are or what are the effects of a *different filtering of knowledge* in this field. This is interesting on the level of the role the *knowledge commons* might play in providing professional models, even if the overall interest in women architects of, for example, architectural faculties and chambers remains limited. As in any field of internet-based knowledge gathering, the user has to be aware of the obvious strong differences in terms of professionalism. With unaffiliated authors, it is sometimes neither clear what their sources were nor what is their motivation to share this knowledge, but there is an amazing and challenging growth of contributions. Furthermore, the possibility to publish a thesis online provides access to striking research findings that would otherwise, for different reasons, probably be accessible after in-depth research. An example is the work of Isabelle Corinna Bauer on female Tessenow students. In this thesis, published only online, only the knowledge on Nina-Kessler Braunschweig and Maria Schwarz really profited from online material, but this is probably because the intensive research started about 1998. . At the same time, some information, for example on the works of Margot Zech-Weyman, has meanwhile become accessible online, for example the lists of Berlin cultural heritage.

1 | 5 RECOGNISED HERE AND THERE BUT NOT INCLUDED?

The body of literature on architectural production in West and East Berlin after the Second World War introduces the work of a number of women architects who were obviously considered "sufficiently equal" colleagues to find their way into mainstream publications and be seen to have contributed to architectural history. From a gender perspective, however, this is far from full inclusion in the mainstream because most of the publications fail to reflect on the design intentions of the architects, the context of their production and their professional biographies. Wondering about the criteria used

to select the works or women for inclusion in the publications leads to the difficult question of who and what legitimises representation in this type of (mainstream) publication. This leads back to Karen Kingsley's reflection about the criteria for "Who are the great women?" and "Who should be included?" Two answers from authors who were informally asked about the criteria for the selection of the works and woman architects presented in their publications show that even where women architects are recognised, there are very different possible reasons and these are not always clear. According to one of the authors, the architect Eva-Maria Hetzer was primarily recognised with her Berlin garage yard design to make the professional reader attentive to her in general because she had designed more interesting buildings in Brandenburg, which they unfortunately do not mention in the publication. Why the building of Ellinor Neumann was included in the Berlin architectural guide is, more than 40 years later, hard to say, even for the authors: "Probably, it was not possible to overlook the ten-storey towers close to the elevated motorway, and they were a neat example of a y-type building and this was designed by a (for me until today) unknown woman."⁸⁰

Despite all the constraints in accessing both women and work, consultation of literature produced an initial database of 151 women architects who worked from 1949 to 1969 as freelance architects in West Berlin or in a leading position in East Berlin in the project teams. Their works comprise more than 240 buildings and despite the publication of a considerable number of them here and there, hardly any of the women were included in a mainstream architectural history. In general, taking a closer, gender-sensitive look at the research and publications discussed above confirmed Kingsley's assumption of a masculine "single-lens vision".⁸¹

Most of the overviews on architectural history and architectural guides – as a rule discussing representative buildings, big projects and, as far as housing is concerned, major developments rather than small projects and single detached housing – and also architectural theory more or less ignored the implication of gender and women architects as players in this field. The contemporary exhibition catalogues were, apart from the *Interbau* catalogue, of little help for the research on women architects and amongst the different anthologies, only the encyclopaedia on East German architects included a small number of women architects.⁸² In this way, they all reflect the

⁸⁰ The statement on Eva-Maria Hetzer derives from an interview with Ulrich Hartung in 2002, the statement on Ellinor Neumann is based on the answer to a letter in 2012 to Hans-Joachim Knöfel and Rolf Rave, brother of Jan Rave (died 2004) and co-author of the architectural guide edited by the three of them.

⁸¹ Kingsley, op.cit., 254.

⁸² Most of them, apart from Edith Diehl (Berlin, 1970s/80s Marzahn-Hellersdorf large housing estate' building) and Claudia Schrader (Dresden, prefabricated panel buildings in housing and kindergartens) form part of this research, see Droste, 2000.

discriminatory gender order situation for women architects' work in the 1950s and 1960s in Germany.

Apart from the professional journal *Bauwelt*, the sources that probably best contribute to a general professional awareness for women's contribution to architectural history seem to be thematic publications, dealing with specific building tasks. That is why Chapter 5 on the building history background for the cases is organised first by important themes of urban development in Berlin between 1949 and 1969 and later by building tasks.

2 REFLECTIONS ON POWER STRUCTURES IN THE
ARCHITECTURAL PROFESSION: THEORETICAL AND
METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THIS
DISSERTATION

“The absence of women from architecture remains, despite the various theories, very difficult to explain and very slow to change. It demarcates a failure the profession has become adept at turning a blind eye to, despite the fact that it places architecture far behind the other professions with which architects frequently seek to align themselves.” (Francesca Hughes, 1996)¹

The introduction and the first chapter deduce that the absence of women in architecture is both related to social and power structures and those within the profession. Explaining the theoretical and methodological framework applied, this chapter now refers forwards to the outcome of the research. Doing this at this point in the thesis explains both the structure of the research and the way in which the research results are presented here.

Architecture has – given its designers and users’ practice is both a factual and symbolic appropriation of space – always been both expression and instrument to illustrate social and power difference. The awareness of gender difference, particularly women’s role in the design and appropriation of the built space, grew in the reflection of architectural and urban planning practice only from the late 1970s. Feminist and gender-oriented research covers the gamut from questions on women’s spaces, and symbols of gender in architecture to the participation of women in architectural design.² However, it is not only very difficult – as Francesca Hughes put it – to explain explain the absence of women “despite various theories” existing. It is also difficult to define a theoretical concept that might help to explain retrospectively the absence of women architects in a specific historical period in time, and in a specific social context. The difficulty results from the multifaceted limitations to women’s participation, which are rooted above all in the male-dominated context of art production, the architectural profession and architectural history production.

This chapter introduces the theoretical background chosen to explain patterns of women’s limited access to the architectural profession and the resulting gender divisions in the practice and the representation of creating the built environment. It

1 Hughes, op. cit., X-XI.

2 For symbolism and gender in architecture see for example Beatrice Colomina, *Sexuality and Space*. Princeton Papers on Architecture (New York: Princ. Arch. Press, 1992), Kerstin Dörhöfer, “Symbols of Gender in Architecture and Urban Design” in *City and Gender. International Discourse on Gender, Urbanism and Architecture*, ed. Ulla Terlinden (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2003), 83-104, Dörte Kuhlmann, *Raum, Macht und Differenz* (Wien: edition selene, 2009), and Leslie Kanes Weisman, *Discrimination by Design: a feminist critique of the man-made environment*. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

further depicts the methodology (theories and methods of research) used for a *situational analysis*, answering the overall research question, to what extent and how the processes of education, conditions of work, conditions of professionalisation and design opportunities open to post-war Berlin women architects determined their contribution to the city's built environment. This comprises the reasoning for the biographical approach and the selection criteria defining which women from the overall sample will be presented in this thesis.

The concept *situational analysis* (Illustration 2 | 1) is based on a situational model, here composed as follows: the society of the 1950s and 1960s represents the *natural environment*; the culture of the architectural profession and its practice represent the *social environment*; and women architects' limited participation in the latter and the principle of the actor's rationality represent the *problem situation*.³

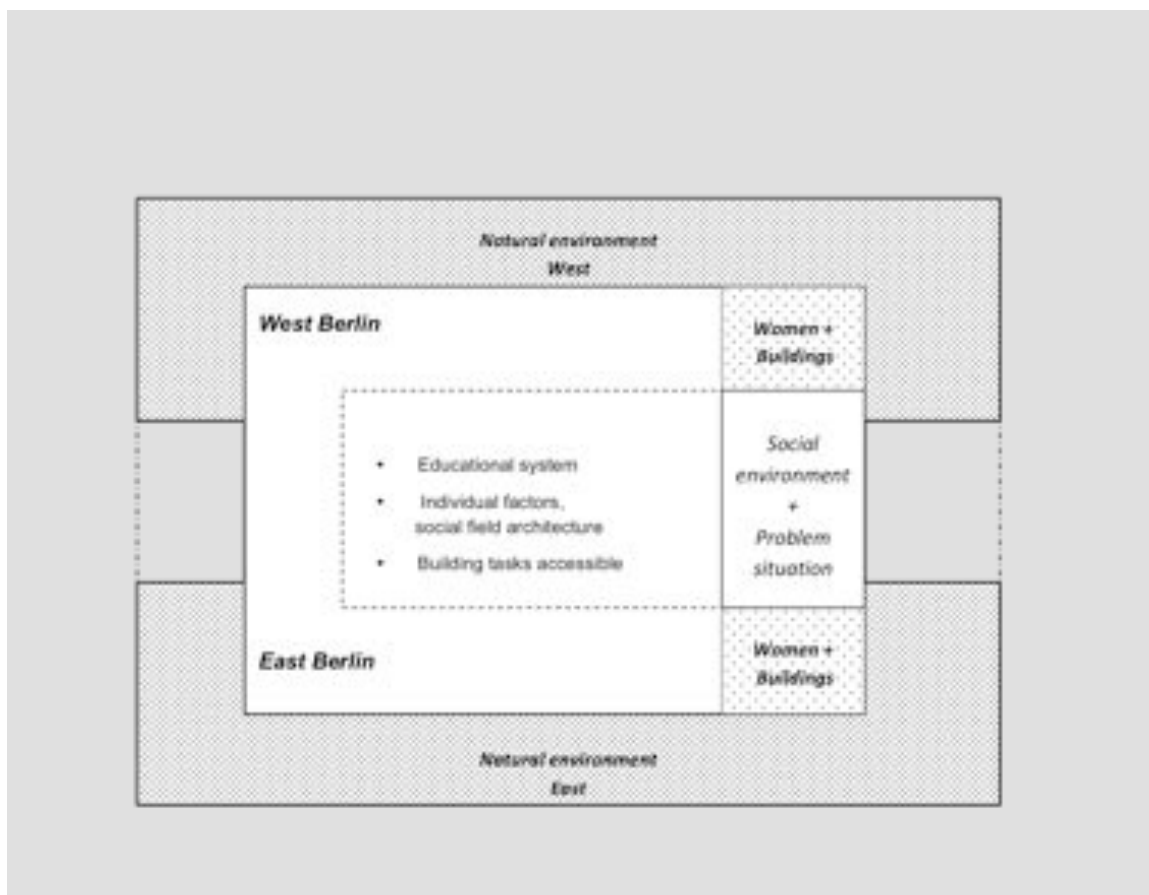


Illustration 2 | 1 Methodology

³ See Farr, op.cit.

The *situational analysis* is an appropriate model of explanation for this thesis because its primary objective is the explanation of the actions undertaken by specific actors in particular situations, respecting the actors' own understanding of the situation, and his or her definition of the problem. At the same time, the analyst has the task to identify factual misperceptions of the situation by the actor or possible alternative interpretations.⁴ As for the contextualisation of the women architects' biographies, this means for example a confrontation of observed discrimination in architectural education that was denied in the interviews. James Farr states in his translation of the *situational analysis* to political sciences that such perceptions or behaviours can be attributed to reasons, values, and beliefs "of varying degrees of rationality ... and the situational analyst, in brief, will go as far as possible to show that an action performed by an actor was the rational or adequate thing to do in that particular situation. In this way, situational analysis brings together in a particularly salient way some of our fundamental explanatory concerns with intentionality, rationality, contextuality, and meaning."⁵

The woman architects' rationality is based on the professional culture and the working opportunities open to them in the rebuilding phase. The objective of the analysis is not to identify covering laws, universal rationalities or master theories for the professionalisation of women architects. It is to develop a reflective understanding of the meaning of different pathways of professionalisation for women's participation in the profession, and the similarities of these pathways. As the analytic structure incorporates a gender perspective, the *situational analysis* leads to a *situated knowledge*.⁶

The search for the research methodology led amongst other things to the reflection on how far the framework of a thesis, which requires a focus on the *product* rather than the *process* of research, poses a challenge for a feminist research approach. This deserves emphasising because the identification of barriers to access women's work,

4 Ibid. Farr refers notably to the Weberian tradition of social science and its "delicate balance of explanation and understanding". For an application of the concept in art history, see Ernst Gombrich, "The Logic of Vanity Fair" in *The Philosophy of Karl Popper*, ed. Paul A. Schelp (LaSalle, IL: Open Court, 1974)

5 Ibid, 1088.

6 SEE DONNA HARRAWAY, "SITUATED KNOWLEDGES: THE SCIENCE QUESTION IN FEMINISM AND THE PRIVILEGE OF PARTIAL PERSPECTIVE", *FEMINIST STUDIES*, VOL.14, NO. 3 (AUTUMN 1988), 575-599, AND SANDRA HARDING, *WHOSE SCIENCE? WHOSE KNOWLEDGE? THINKING FROM WOMEN'S LIVES*. (ITHACA, NEW YORK: CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1991).

knowledge on their biographies, and the removal of the power imbalance between researchers and the subjects of research are essential for a feminist approach.⁷

Therefore, this chapter depicts, in the section on research practice challenges, elements of the research process that are characteristic for research on women's history. It is worth recording them because they contribute to women's inadequate representation within the culture of professions and occupations, here the architectural profession.

Concluding, the overall objective of the research design, in terms of methodology, was to allow a tangible contribution to the history of the Berlin built environment, and at the same time offer a feminist analysis of the nature of women's participation in the production and documentation of the latter. Because of the different disciplines involved in the deconstruction of women's limited access to architectural practice (art and architectural history, sociology of the architectural profession, education research), there was no ready-made theoretical framework within a single discipline to be employed here. This explains the need to intertwine different theoretical approaches, introduced in the following sections. They are assumed to provide "solutions to problems within particular situations."⁸

2 || 1 CHANGING THE PARADIGMS: FROM ADDING WOMEN ARCHITECTS' WORK TO THE BERLIN HISTORY OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT TO A FEMINIST INTERVENTION IN THE FIELD

As pointed out in the introduction to this thesis, its overall objective is a contribution to the history of the Berlin built environment in the post-World War II period. Neither did it focus on a further development of feminist or gender theory in architecture, nor is it purely biographical research. This section explains why it is adequate to the women architects' work and biographies to change here the traditional paradigms of writing architectural history, and, doing so, to establish a feminist intervention in this field.

⁷ See Jennifer Brayton, *What makes Feminist Research Feminist? The Structure of Feminist Research within the Social Sciences* (1997 – present), <http://www.unb.ca/PAR-L/feminmethod.html>, and her reference to Donna Haraway, *The Science Question in Feminism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 3-9.

⁸ Farr, op.cit., 1105.

The reading done to develop a theoretical framework for a feminist contribution to architectural history provides evidence that most feminist authors developed their arguments along liberal, radical, or socialist feminist perspectives.⁹ The viewpoints taken from the late 1990s onwards may be summarised as using “a feminist perspective with gender as a central concept” in a more generalising manner. It is significant that dealing with *femininity* in the professional context is a subject of debate. In contrast, discussing the question of *feminine architecture*, which emerges repeatedly in public debates, is considered to support the patterns of exclusion.¹⁰ Moreover, in the existing literature, it is often difficult to identify whether authors use *gender* and *women* synonymously or not. A similar difficulty occurs if the reader seeks to identify which of the various theories of feminism (that show significant divisions since the 1980s and are in part contrary) led the respective publications’ argument.

“Architectural history” or “history of the built environment” of the 1950s and 1960s?

Architectural history – this has been widely discussed in the literature – is in terms of content and actors a field where the androcentric perspective dominates. Feminist research on language showed that non-gender-sensitive language also determines thought. An issue of both phrasing and gender sensitivity is thus using a phrasing that supports the feminist approach applied here.

That is why in this thesis, *architectural history* is widely replaced by *history of the built environment*. The use of this term refers to the *Matrix Feminist Design Co-operative’s* approach of a more inclusive, less hierarchical debate on architects and their work, as enablers rather than geniuses. This approach seems appropriate for the women architects’ work discussed in this research. Although Matrix has later been criticised, from a gender and diversity perspective, for an “oversimplifying analysis”, strongly influenced by American feminism,¹¹ their publication *Making Space: Women and the*

9 See for example Debra Coleman, Elizabeth Danze and Carol Henderson, *Architecture and Feminism*, (Princeton: Architectural Press, 1996), Jolly Hankwitz, “The right to rewrite: Feminism and architectural theory.” *Inland Architect*, 35/1 (Jan/Feb 1991): 52-55, and Marion Roberts, *Living in a man-made world. Gender assumptions in modern housing design* (London: Routledge, 1991). For the application of feminist theory in architectural history and education see notably Jaqueline Leavitt, “Introducing gender into architectural studios”, in *Voices in architectural education: cultural politics and pedagogy*, ed. Thomas A. Dutton. (New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1991), 225-247.

10 This should not be confused with a concept of “feminist” architecture, see Deborah Fausch, “The knowledge of the body and the presence of history – towards a feminist architecture” in *Architecture and Feminism* edited by Debra Coleman, Elisabeth Danze and Carol Henderson (Princeton: Architectural Press, 1996), 38-59.

11 Jos Boys, “Playing with (in)difference? 30 years of gender and space” in Anastasia-Sasa Lada, ed., *Teaching Gender, Diversity and Urban Space* (Utrecht: Athena Series 3, 2009), 11-31. For the explicit critique see p. 12-13.

Man Made Environment, where they explored the socio-political context of designing the built environment, and the implications of contemporary feminist theory and critique on urban design, became a standard work for feminist architectural and urban planning and women's empowerment through work in these disciplines. A key statement of Matrix in this context was that they "believe that, precisely because women are brought up differently in our society, we have different experiences and needs in relation to the built environment which are rarely expressed."¹²

Applying feminist theory in architectural studios

An exception to the above-criticised lack of explicitness on feminist perspectives is Jaqueline Leavitt's work. In her concept to introduce gender into architectural studios, she gives a brief and precise overview of the different strands of feminist theory that she considers relevant for her concept. This was most valuable for the selection of the theoretical background of this thesis. Developing her concept to raise consciousness for gender difference in architectural studios, she elaborates that „Different strands of feminist theory drew on the experiential aspect of consciousness-raising, some more than others. Feminist theories differ from each other (and several strands frequently co-exist within each other) in defining root causes of women's position in society. Traditional liberal feminism focuses on women's exclusion from all societal institutions and on transforming the legal system. Marxist feminism concentrates on class, the private ownership of property, and the results of capitalism and imperialism. Radical feminism traces women's inferior position in society to men's domination over women, part of an overarching patriarchal system that also includes issues of sexuality.“¹³

Based on this differentiation, she illustrates the difficulty to intertwine any particular feminist theory and architectural theory. Nevertheless, she suggests thinking about the question of whether starting from a feminist theory would change the design of buildings or communities. She elaborates several examples, such as the following: "Starting with this theory, responsive designs would need to facilitate a shift in the division of labour at the house and at work, in private and public spaces. Men's roles would have to be addressed as well as making assumptions about the economy and

Source: http://www.erg.su.se/polopoly_fs/1.39109.1320403007!/Teaching_Gender_Diversity_and_Urban_Space.pdf, accessed October 15, 2014.

¹² Julia Dwyer and Anne Thorne, "Evaluating Matrix: notes from inside the collective," in *Altering Practices* (London: Routledge, 2007), 45-46. For the overall concept of Matrix see Grote, Janie, "Matrix: A Radical Approach to Architecture," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 9(2)(1992).

¹³ Leavitt, op.cit. 226.

impacts on different classes of people who used or work in the building/community. The entire concept of work and house life would have to be questioned ... and inevitably, the design exercise would question the social relations and power exercised between bosses and workers, men and women, and people working or living in the project and the public-at-large."¹⁴

Even more interesting, however, she considers the following suggestion for a studio based on radical feminist theory: "A studio taking on this perspective might concentrate on the formation of a woman's community drawing from growing historical literature and from science fiction that has gone further than architecture in projecting a new world."¹⁵

Furthermore, she suggests a studio based on postmodern feminism, that rejects modernism because it "has embedded in it universal claims" and criticises "theories that are independent of context, culture, class, and do not acknowledge differences."^(p.244) There are few examples for the reflection of feminist theory intertwined with architectural practice that explain in such causality the application of theory in practice. Her work also gives an example of the difficulty to explain different aspects of architectural formation and practice with a single theoretical approach. Her conceptual thinking motivated the consideration of two theoretical positions for this thesis as the most appropriate to analyse the research subject within the context of a *situative analysis*. These are Griselda Pollock's theory of a *feminist intervention*, applied from art history, and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of gender divisions in higher professions.

Griselda Pollock's feminist interventions in the history of the built environment

One of the first art historians interested in the relations between women, art and power, who today still plays an iconic role in the debate, is Linda Nochlin. Her question was already in the early 1970s: "*Why have there been no great women artists?*" Nochlin's main concern was that *adding* women artists to the history of art, as constituted and debated in the 1970s (and onwards), would enforce their marginalisation rather than promote their contribution. She argued that only a feminist paradigm for art history would lead to a new intellectual approach to both research and debates within the discipline. Her work influenced not only feminist art history,

¹⁴ Ibid, 244.

¹⁵ Ibid, 244.

such as Griselda Pollock's work on gender relations and discrimination against women in the production and history of arts, but also theoretical concepts of feminist architectural history, such as Karen Kingsley's *Rethinking of Architectural History from a Gender Perspective*.¹⁶

Pollock's concept of a feminist intervention in the history of arts further elaborates Nochlin's request for a paradigm shift from adding women to histories of arts towards the development of a new disciplinary matrix of art history. This paradigm shift would have to recognise gender relations and social difference as a determining factor of any art production, and it would have to avoid mere formal analysis. An essential part of the agenda is to consider difference in the perception of viewers (women or men) and in the role that producers, (women) architects play in conceptions of creativity. This indicates a specific interest in both the working conditions of feminist art producers (here: women architects with an explicit interest in women's needs in the built environment) and women artists in general (here: women architects working in different fields of building).

This consideration of difference and the consideration of the production of art as social practice have a direct impact on a *situational analysis* because "the individualism, of which the artist is a prime symbol, is gender exclusive" and "the artist is one major articulation of the contradictory nature of bourgeois ideals of masculinity."¹⁷ Pollock makes a case for seeing art as a *social practice*, requiring subsequently a *social history of art*. In the context of this research, it will be necessary to deal with a history that intertwines elements of art-related and engineering professions. The general objective of a feminist intervention in the history of the built environment remains nevertheless "recognition of gender power relations, making visible the mechanisms of male power, the social construction of sexual difference, and the role of cultural representation in that construction."¹⁸

A focal argument in this context, which equally applies to the production and history of architecture, is that the intersections of social practices that sustain masculine

16 Nochlin, "Why have there been no great women artists?" in *Women, Art, and Power and other Essays*, ed. Linda Nochlin (New York: Icon Editions, Harper & Row Publishers, 1989) 145-177. For the full discussion of the theoretical background of Pollock's argument, which is based on critical debate of Karl Marx, Michel Foucault, Raymond Williams and others' theories, see Griselda Pollock, "Feminist interventions," in *Vision and difference*, ed. Griselda Pollock (London: Routledge, 2002) 1-17. Kingsley, op. cit., 243-244. For a more comprehensive body of literature on feminist perspectives on art and architecture, see Chapter 3.

17 Pollock, op. cit., 11.

18 Ibid, 9.

dominance (family, universities, architectural studios, building finance partners, professional literature, etc.) produce women's discrimination in art production and representation. This gives a reason for this thesis to look at the German post-war societies' general gender relations before taking a closer look at women's access to architectural education and at the professional culture of architecture in Modernism.

Looking at the data collected on women architects' works in post-World War II Berlin and coming back at this point to the overall research question, fundamental questions arise: Were the women who were selected to be presented in this thesis *great women architects* according to traditional building history criteria? To what extent did mainstream architectural history omit their work? Most of the works of these women do not fit into the catalogues based on the *great monuments* conceptualisation of architectural history, and neither do most of them personally match the criteria describing the *great men / male genius* approach to architectural history. Given this preliminary consideration: which other or additional criteria would legitimise the inclusion of these women (or of a selection of them) in *feminist intervention*?

The difficulties to define a theoretical background and criteria to assess and adequately represent the women architects' work require developing the concept of this intervention within the specific culture of the architectural profession. The challenges which this involves, notably concerning unintentional effects of different ways to better integrate women architects in the profession's history, become comprehensible in Karen Kingsley's concept for rethinking architectural history curricula. Kingsley states that showcasing women architects, be it "adding" or "appended", may, depending on the methods of integration, have "the unintentional effect of distorting the historical picture, for they give women architects credentials disproportionate to their numbers and diminish their actual role and contributions."¹⁹

Her basic questions refer again to Nochlin's work. She starts from "Who are the great women?", "Who should be included?", but then immediately differentiates which specific questions would lead from a "womanless history of architecture" to a history of architecture in which "women's contributions are given a proper representation", a history of architecture "that understands women's and men's experience together."²⁰ The need for specific questions is particularly appropriate given the possible fields of action of women architects, and the social value and self-image of the profession in the two German states after the Second World War.

¹⁹ Kingsley, op. cit., 245.

²⁰ Ibid, 252-259.

The benefit of introducing gender as a category in architectural history

In conclusion, as architecture forms in many aspects part of the canon of arts, the art history example proves useful to form part of a theoretical framework to explain the women architects' professional situation. Feminist research on architecture benefited already from the example of the *feminist intervention* in art history, developing from a theoretical *reflection* on women's exclusion from mainstream production, market and representation of art into a theory-based concept for a *change of paradigms* in the production of histories and professional conditions in art. This provided specific evidence that the use of gender as an analytic category for the analysis of the natural and social environment of the women architects leads to a different perspective on and understanding of their biographies. The analysis of the literature showed that, in practice, anthologies on feminist and gender-oriented history of architecture/the built environment still outnumber monographs/biographies on women architects or architectural histories that explain women's and men's experience together. On the one hand, this is understandable, given the sustaining gender gap/glass ceiling in professional practice. On the other hand, it indicates that the need for *feminist intervention* still goes far beyond the *writing* of history and that the complexity of the observed closure process requires more explanatory grids than so far provided. The next section addresses the explanatory grid concerning the culture / social field of the profession, and doing so, opens a further theoretical perspective for the analysis targeted with this thesis.

2 | 2 EXPLANATORY GRID FOR GENDER DIVISIONS IN THE PRACTICE OF POST-WAR MODERNISM ARCHITECTURE

So far, it has been shown that women from the successive generations of women architects had limited access to the production of the built environment and subsequently its representation in history. It also was suggested (and will be further elaborated in the following chapters) that this is in part explained by contemporary social role models, obstacles related to family life, access to educational structures, role stereotypes concerning women in technical fields, and "great architecture"-oriented professional value systems. The objective of this section is to intertwine this understanding with the perspectives of a feminist sociology of the architectural profession. In order to do so, a further explanatory grid for the observed exclusion will be introduced: Pierre Bourdieu's theory of gender divisions in higher professions, notably his works *The State Nobility* and *Masculine Domination*. Research on gender equality in English and Scottish architectural production in the early years of the 21st

century have already provided evidence that his theories are helpful to explain how inequalities in this field are sustained. This allows the assumption that Bourdieu's theory would enhance the retrospective analysis in this thesis.²¹

Women in architecture: the perspective of German feminist sociologists of the professions

Applying Bourdieu's theory to the subject of this thesis requires first considering feminist research on the architectural profession in Germany. The reason is that, concerning technical professions and architecture in particular, this research already provided evidence for the historic and continuing under-representation of women. However, neither is the architectural profession a well-represented subject in German sociology of professions, nor is it a subject of feminist research in the sociologies of professions. In addition, the sociology of architecture became, despite tentative approaches in the 1970s, only in the early 1990s a serious subject of scientific debate in Germany.²² Nevertheless, and though addressing with its analysis rather the phase between the late 1960s and the late 1990s, the small body of literature existing on this subject offers important insights on the structural dimensions of women architects' limited participation.²³

21 See Bridget Fowler and Fiona Wilson, "Women architects and their discontents", *Sociology* Vol. 38 (I) (2004), 101-118.

22 See Bernhard Schäfer, *Architektursoziologie. Grundlagen, Epochen, Themen* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2003), 21. Schäfer considers a bibliography elaborated by Katharina Weresch in 1993 as main incentive points at a difference between the sociology of housing or cities, which developed in Germany earlier, and the sociology of architecture.

23 For feminist perspectives in the sociology of the architectural profession see Barbara Martwich, "Architektinnen. Frauen in einem untypischen Ingenieurberuf" in *Profession und Geschlecht. über die Marginalität von Frauen in hochqualifizierten Berufen*, ed. Angelika Wetterer (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus, 1992) 173-186; Barbara Martwich, "Raumerfahrungen von Architektinnen" in *Die soziale Konstruktion von Geschlecht in Professionalisierungsprozessen*, ed. Angelika Wetterer (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus, 1995), 169-185; Ruth-Heidi Stein and Angelika Wetterer. "Introduction. In *Studierende und studierte Frauen: Ein ost-west-deutscher Vergleich*, ed. Ruth-Heidi Stein and Angelika Wetterer (Kassel: Winfried Jenior, 1994), 5-14; Wetterer, Angelika. "Architektinnen – eine unbekannte Größe" in *Professionalisierung und Geschlechterhierarchie. Vom kollektiven Frauenausschluss zur Integration mit beschränkten Möglichkeiten*, ed. Angelika Wetterer (Kassel: Winfried Jenior, 1993), 139-156; Christine Weiske, "Architektinnen und Planerinnen. Zur Soziologie eines Berufes" in *Geschlechter-Räume*, ed. Margarete Hubrath (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2001) 278-286, and Karin Zachmann, "Mobilizing Manpower: Women, Engineers and the East German State in the Cold War" in *Crossing Boundaries, Building Bridges. Comparing the History of Women Engineers 1870s-1990s*, ed. Annie Canel (Amsterdam: OPAC, 2000), 211-252. The remaining research gap may be compared with the development of the English and American discourse, where the link between feminism and art history also occurred earlier than with the link between feminism and architectural history or the sociology of professions. There also architectural historians' interest in gender as an inevitable category of the professional discourse and analysis emerged later than in art history.

Social change after World War II and the opening (West) and restructuring of the universities (West and East) led in West and East Germany, for different reasons, from the mid-1960s to a change in the image of the architectural profession and a loss of its exclusivity. The (male) elite status of the profession thus needed to be defended, in different ways in the West and the East (see Chapters 1, 5 and 6). The structural levels of defence against women's (and in the GDR the working class's) encroachment to the profession were the work stages, the image of the architect (genius and, from the 1960s, scientific and technical coordinator), the execution of construction work, representation, promotion and networking. As outsiders in the professional culture, women architects remain from the beginning of their education throughout their career at the mercy of a homo-social, all-male social field and hardly develop a natural professional identity.²⁴ A woman architect's career can be described as a continuous process of adaptation or resistance, related to male domination in private life, everyday practice and culture of their professional environment and the society, from the post-war years until at least the 1990s.

Women's observed preference for design as a main emphasis during their studies possibly made entry into the work force or into freelance work more difficult. It is, however, difficult to ascertain whether women architects remained a small minority in both states because of or despite the heterogeneous capabilities that were required in the profession.²⁵ Gender-hierarchic patterns of distribution within the profession were more relevant for exclusion than qualification. Consequently, the double function of the academic educational system came into force: qualification and status distribution, or, in Bourdieu's terms, the "technical and social reproduction of social power."²⁶ In this context, women were more likely to succeed at the fringes of the profession and in big cities.

From a sociology of professions perspective, their careers started from similar educational status as men's, but led to socially less respected fields of action within the profession (see Chapter 4, fields of action). There are, however, beyond the data collected for this thesis, no official data on women architects' fields of action or their professional positions, neither on the local nor on the national level. Research showed that possibly the only reliable sources for such data are the professional associations

24 See Martwich, op.cit., 174-178.

25 The required capacities were probably more heterogeneous in the West than in the East because in the West the freelance architect was at this time responsible for all work phases.

26 See Wetterer 1993, op.cit., 148-150. Wetterer is one of the few German feminist sociologists who explicitly refer to Bourdieu.

and the *Architektenkammern*.²⁷ However, these chambers provide only data on *freelance architects*, and only from 1969. Given that in the early years of the chambers it was hardly possible for women to become a member, chamber archives were a limited source for this thesis.

The working conditions of freelance architects were already in the post-war decades an example of an extremely male-oriented labour division, given a 50 to 60 hour week, and weekend working, night shifts to meet competition deadlines and ad hoc resource allocation depending on commissioning rhythms. Generally, freelance work requires a high willingness to assume risk, and this holds particularly true for the architectural profession. Due to social change and change in the building tasks, the image and everyday reality of the profession changed during the 1950s and 1960s more than in preceding or following decades. But this opening did not create new opportunities for women in the profession. Whereas German women architects today are (in numbers) participating equally in architectural academic education whilst still experiencing limited access to many fields in professional practice, until the late 1960s women were still under-represented in both education and practice.

It is significant that earlier research in the sociology of professions on West German women architects refers only to women who studied from the early 1960s. This allows the interpretation that women's earlier participation in architectural practice was considered too marginal to become a subject for comparative research on the national level. As for the sociology of GDR professions and women's professionalisation opportunities, the post-unification literature focuses on academic professions in general and particularly on engineering professions. Again, a feminist perspective is rare, and where it is applied, it ends up, in both social systems, with similar questions on barriers for women's participation in other areas than qualification.²⁸

In conclusion, despite women advancing in the profession, there was until the 1990s little knowledge about the reasons for women's limited participation in architectural practice. The research for this thesis showed, however, that apart from limited access

²⁷ Ibid, 149.

²⁸ See Gunilla Friederike Budde, "Paradefrauen. Akademikerinnen in Ost- und Westdeutschland", in *Frauen arbeiten. Weibliche Erwerbstätigkeit in Ost- und Westdeutschland nach 1945*, ed. Gunilla-Friederike Budde (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 183-211, and Ruth-Heidi Stein op.cit., Christine Weiske op.cit., Angelika Wetterer, op.cit.. For an analysis of how the state institutionalised the solving of the women's question in the GDR see Ute Gerhard, "Zur Geschichte der Geschlechterverhältnisse in der DDR " in *Sozialgeschichte der DDR*, ed. Hartmut Kaelble, Jürgen Kocka and Hartmut Zwahr (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1994), 383-403.

to the execution of construction work during academic education, as early as the 1950s and 1960s this no longer related to lacking qualification. Nevertheless, still in 1994, Angelika Wetterer, one of the first sociologists interested in women in architecture, talks about women architects as an “unknown factor” in German architecture. Taking on a perspective of critical feminism, she asks for explanations within the culture of the architectural profession and, doing so, she opens the door for an analysis including Bourdieu’s theories.

Bourdieu’s theory of gender divisions and higher education: an explanation for women’s absence in architecture?

Embedding theories of Bourdieu in the research concept is not another change of paradigms, but a further development of those already applied. The research for this thesis showed that in practice a strong under-representation was obvious in leading positions, in high-investment projects and projects with a high representative or cultural appreciation. In addition, women faced a strong underrepresentation in building tasks related to industrial production and technical infrastructure. The latter was more relevant in the West than in the East. To understand this difference in women and men’s participation and representation, it is necessary to look at possible grounds for the male advantages in recruitment and promotion, which take place independently of qualification status and are considered structural continuities for success.²⁹

Ways of recruitment and promotion result from the culture of the architectural profession which Bourdieu describes as characterised through “a ‘natural social construction’ of masculine domination.”³⁰ Although Bourdieu did not devote his work extensively to architecture, his work provides a number of intersectional entrances to the analysis of the culture of the profession. In his study on the logic of domination in and through academic society, he considered architectural schools institutions of higher education that correspond to the different regions of the field of power, and architects one of the groups constituting the *state nobility*. This *state sobility* constitutes elites within the dominant class, whose social status is safeguarded through the state’s (and the professions’) approval and esteem for their existence,

29 Male advantage was also obvious in payment, and was reported by architects interviewed for this thesis. Income difference arose from both different pay for the same work, and from different tasks and project dimensions leading to different income. As this thesis had no access to reliable income data of freelance women or men, this important aspect is neglected in the main argument.

30 Fowler and Wilson, “Discontents”, 103.

permanence and structural function. Their separation is, following Bourdieu's sociology of education, based on dialectic between consecration and recognition, and on the inherited social and cultural capital of its members. Briefly defined, social capital comprises the potential resources that can result from participation in social networks and the empowering mutual esteem and recognition they provide. Above all, cultural capital concerns education, but also titles and related resources and power and cultural goods. It is rooted in family structures and networks. The role of academic education, notably the social capital needed to access it, the status of schools, classes, competition and recognition, are essential for the process of separation that leads to the consecration of the respective profession. This consecration is a key element of the schools' production of the *state nobility* that is "entitled to a determined category of positions of power, as well as to recognition and respect – as a rite of passage."³¹

It seems relevant that he explicitly distinguishes architecture from arts, because the dynastic aspect of architecture responds particularly to his concept of the inheriting of social capital. Summarising his argument on cultural production and architecture, Fowler and Wilson state that "as in any other part of the artistic field, it is only from within the *habitus* of the dominant class that it is possible to pose a symbolic revolution in architecture."³² It is thus a key question for this thesis to identify how far the women architects looked at could correspond to the criteria for belonging to these elites.

Research on the first generations of women architects in Germany and for this thesis shows that, on the one hand, most of these women belonged to bourgeois elites, and that the GDR attempt to include (women and men of) the working class in this elite was hardly successful. The chapter in this thesis on women architects' education shows that women who belonged to the bourgeois elites or had other bourgeois backgrounds had, in principle, access to academic education in architecture. However, at the point of transition between education and professional practice, *male dominance* within the social practice of these elites, which Bourdieu considers an important element in the social identity of difference and the social division of the labour of domination, obviously outweighed belonging to the elites.³³

31 See Pierre Bourdieu, *The State Nobility* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1996), 117, and Fowler and Wilson, *op.cit.*, 105. They apply Bourdieu's theory specifically to the architectural profession and ask for an identification of gender connotations of even the modern conception of genius.

32 *Ibid.*, 105.

33 *Ibid.*, 142.

According to Bourdieu, masculine domination has its roots in the particular *illusio* or *game* of the architectural profession, i.e. the belief in the social field (here the culture of the architectural profession). It leads to both the recognition and the intuitive mastery of the social practice of the respective field. This becomes particularly obvious on the symbolic level of the Modernist architects' social practice, e.g. in the social practice of the *Bauhaus* school, which explicitly prevented women's access to the architectural classes. As will be further explained in Chapter 4, the famous architects saw themselves not only as distinct members of *noble architectural schools*, but also as *individual heroes*, blessed with artistic *genius*.

The *illusio* also forms part of the *game*, through which the social members of the field negotiate their pre-eminence and the power structures of a specific social field. Bourdieu's definition of the *social field* is on the one hand a power structure whose actors follow a field-specific logic, playing a *game* of power and influence, concerning the social life and/or livelihood of the actor. Being embedded in the social practice of the architectural profession and the knowledge of the rules of the architectural *game* allowed the Modernist architects to break with architectural tradition, and "The prior condition for such rule-breaking was their knowledge of the historical field and love of the architectural game, that is, their secure accumulation of architectural capital."³⁴

On the other hand, a power structure only constitutes a social field when individuals select a specific dimension of social practice as their profession, and practise a specific *habitus*.³⁵ Bourdieu takes the *habitus* as a principle or *modus operandi* to generate rule-like improvisation, which constitutes social practice. The *habitus* incorporates "the mindset and points of view, schemes of perception, principles of judgement and consideration, which are at work in a society; these cultural orders structure our collective action, all our expressions, be they linguistic or practical"³⁶ and is based on the continuation of an incorporated past. As this "incorporated past" manifests itself not only on a spiritual, but also on a practical level, and on the level of experienced symbolic violence. Bourdieu provides a theoretical construct that is close

34 Ibid, 103. Fowler and Wilson also refer to Bourdieu's perception of modernist aesthetics as a particular form of intellectual resistance to commodification. They explain how this distinction of architecture as a product of a cultivated bourgeois elite created a distance from different forms of a popular culture that were attributed to women.

35 See Beate Kraus and Gunter Gebauer, *Habitus* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2002), 34-35, and more differentiated concerning the relation between social field and habitus, *ibid*, 56-57.

36 See Beate Kraus, "Die feministische Debatte und die Soziologie Pierre Bourdieus: Eine Wahlverwandtschaft," in *Soziale Verortung der Geschlechter. Gesellschaftstheorie und feministische Kritik*, ed. Knapp, Gudrun-Axeli and Angelika Wetterer (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2001), 317-338, both for the quote and as source for the further development of the argument.

to the concept of "doing gender".³⁷ He defines gender difference in the *habitus* as both women's individual practice and their identification as inferior subjects in a socially pre-constructed practice.

The *habitus* of architects is strongly rooted in and expressed through aspects of symbolic power, such as the artistic genius or the tedious reference to male heroes, and women-excluding stereotypes of technical competence. Applied to the culture of the architectural profession and to the cases analysed in Chapter 6, this may explain women architects' individual professional strategies and limited participation in architectural practice. Within this *social field*, the concept of *habitus* implies axes of difference, for example in terms of type of production. A general principle within the field is the acceptance of the social division of labour and its inherent aspects of domination. In architecture, one of the possible axes of difference could be the access to representative building in contrast to mass housing, and within both fields of action the size and reputation of the projects.

Bourdieu's work on the trajectories of members of the *state nobility* also showed the importance of the *rites of institution* and a distinction of *pure* activities inherent to the social fields / professions of the elites. Examples for such rites in architecture are, in post- World War II Germany, the image and teaching practice of the master classes in architectural education (particularly powerful concerning the transition from education to practice), the professional associations, the composition of juries both in education and practice, and the working culture of architects who freelance.³⁸

In his late work *Masculine Domination*, Bourdieu revisits his own earlier research on gender relations³⁹ and undertakes an ethnographic case study to understand the social and material conditions of gender divisions. He is notably interested in "What might be called the paradox of doxa – the fact that the order of the world as we find it with its one-way streets and its no-entry signs, whether literal or figurative, its obligations and its penalties broadly respected; that there are not more transgressions and subversions, contraventions and 'follies' ...; or, still more surprisingly, that the

37 See Candace West and Don H. Zimmermann, "Doing Gender" in *Gender and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 2. (June 1987), 125-151.

38 The Architektenkammern (chambers of architects), which play an essential role in this context have only been founded from 1969 on the state level, and subsequently on the Land level. Fowler and Wilson developed a similar argument for the British/Scottish context, referring to research by Lynne Walker (1997) and Leslie Kanes Weisman (1999), whose analysis is also valuable for this thesis (see bibliography).

39 Bourdieu actually speaks about relations between the sexes, not about gender relations. But as he includes in his arguments aspects of class and sexual preference, it seems justified to use the term gender here.

established order with its relations of domination, its rights and prerogatives, privileges and injustices, ultimately perpetuates itself so easily apart from a few historical accidents and that the most intolerable conditions of existence can so often be perceived as acceptable and even natural."⁴⁰

In this work, dealing with effects of the bipolar conceptualisation of society and social processes, Bourdieu does not explicitly address architecture and its actors. However, he provides explanations of how masculine domination affects social fields and what are the effects of symbolic violence, particularly in the social practice of the elites. Particularly the "extraordinary power of 'doxa' (orthodoxy) to naturalise gender in the form of a profound biologisation" today still remains an element of the social practice of architecture.⁴¹ Another line of argument in this work that is supportive for the understanding of women architects' exclusion is his explanation of *nobility*, or the *game of masculine honour*, which "in the sense of the set of dispositions regarded as noble ... is the product of a social labour of nomination and inculcation at the end of which a social identity instituted by one of the 'invisible demarcation lines' laid down by the social world and known and recognised by all inscribes itself in a biological nature and becomes *habitus*, embodied social law."⁴²

In addition, the notion of a "*dominant definition of practice*" and the (male) right to "*things to do*" and "*things forthcoming*" in terms of a "*right to the most noble tasks*" is expressed in the culture of the architectural profession.⁴³

These principles also hold true, as the chapters on women's participation in the post-World War II rebuilding of Berlin prove, for a historical perspective on architectural practice. Depicting the biographies and the analysis of the women architects' working conditions shows how these principles were perpetuated in the specific social contexts of this time.

With his general statement that androcentric assumptions and practice are handed on by the everyday practice of gender division in labour, he follows a consensus in feminist and gender-oriented science. Bourdieu's emphasising of the reproductive power of the masculine "doxa" and the "cunning of masculine reason" is not sufficient for theorising women's challenge in architectural practice.

40 Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, Prelude (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009), 1-4.

41 See Fowler and Wilson, op. cit., 106, with reference to Bourdieu 2009, op. cit., 9.

42 Bourdieu 2009, op. cit., 50.

43 Ibid, 54-63, the notion of the right to noble tasks derives from Fowler and Wilson, op. cit., 107.

In conclusion, Bourdieu's theory proves helpful to understand gender difference in the access to the architectural profession and to support a *feminist intervention* for three reasons. First, establishing a concept of *state nobility* comprises an explanatory grid for both the culture of the profession and its explicit effects on women's participation, intersectional with other categories of analysis, such as gender stereotypes of technical competences. Second, his argument about masculine domination which shows the mechanisms "eternising the arbitrary" of the first great historical division of labour⁴⁴ leads, when applied to the architectural profession, to a better understanding of the barriers women architects experience in working freelance. Third, his sociology is, similar to feminist sociology, driven by political intention. That is, it targets not only explanation, but change. Particularly the cases depicted in Chapter 6 will show how very powerful the mechanisms he identified were for these women's careers.

2 | 3 CHALLENGES OF BIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH AND METHODS APPLIED IN THIS THESIS

In 1991 Robert Venturi was awarded the *Pritzker Architectural Prize*, and he commented on receiving this award by saying: "It's a bit of a disappointment that the prize didn't go to both me and Denise Scott Brown, not because we are married, but as designers and architects."⁴⁵

The challenge in doing biographical research on famous architects is to find a specific and new perspective on their work, to identify their individual influence on contemporary architectural trends, schools, the architectural *Zeitgeist*, to relate their work to the latter in general, and to deal with an abundance of available sources. Research on less famous architects with a small body of work or a work providing "architecture for the everyday life" or on the reasons why an architect's area of activity remained limited is less frequent. Architectural history is seldom interested in the architects' conditions of work, their access to building tasks, the users' perspective as planning paradigm, the social context of the commission, or other gender aspects. Architectural history is traditionally, as explained, about *great men* and design and technical aspects of their "outstanding" works. Questions of authorship occur because almost all building designs are the result of group effort or developed in partnerships.

44 See Bourdieu, part three of *Masculine Domination*, and Fowler and Wilson, "Discontents", 103.

45 Quoted from Dörte Kuhlmann, *Gender, Macht, und Differenz. Gender Studies in der Architektur*, 17, (Vienna Skriptum, 2003).

In this context the question is usually on the level of “what did the architect claim to be *his* design, *his* work?”

Indicating a number of challenges in biographical research on male architects led to the question: where is the research process different when addressing women architects and their work? This section first describes exemplary obstacles or challenges that occurred in the process of singling out women architects working in Berlin rebuilding after World War II. Its second part explains the method and structure of the biographical research.

Doing biographical research on women architects working in the post-World War II decades is characterised by challenges that are in part similar to, but in part different from, the more general ones described above. The quote from Robert Venturi points to a major challenge, the overall identification of women’s authorship in mutual work, notably due to the described increase of partnerships and teamwork in architectural offices from the 1950s.

For structural reasons explained in Chapters 3 and 7, women had fewer opportunities to work on their own and thus to become visible with works of their explicit authorship, particularly women working in famous architects’ offices. Women architects working in the public sector could for structural reasons – like men – seldom develop individual work and visibility. A case like Venturi’s, making this a target of criticism concerning freelance architects, was rare at that time and still seems surprising today. To provide just a few, in this sense “bad” contemporary examples, the reader might have a look at the representation of Marlene Moeschke-Poelzig’s work⁴⁶, the relationship between Margarethe Schütte-Lihotzky and Adolf Loos, or the representation of the works of Maria and Karl Schwarz.⁴⁷ Other obstacles to identifying identifying women architects occur within the private sphere and its handling of the women’s professional products and from ungendered data collection by, for example, universities and professional associations. Sometimes this requires “creative” research instruments. Concerning Irma Seifert, who had a building recorded in the Berlin list of protected built heritage, no other sources produced findings. However, the Berlin registration office provided access to her last home address. A letter sent to all residents of this building led to the information that she was severely ill throughout her life and that this was possibly the reason why she obviously realised only this one building in freelance work. Margot Zech-Weymann, one of the architects selected for a

46 For a detailed analysis of her reception see Bauer, *Architekturstudentinnen*, 23.

47 For basic information on Maria Schwarz, see Chapter 5.

case study, must have had a bad press experience in the early 1950s and imposed the condition on her clients that no information on her person and work should be divulged to third parties. It was a major barrier to describing her case that the clients honoured this stipulation, even posthumously.

Another, more ordinary example is that changing names, due to marriage and/or divorce may create a handicap in pursuing women from their academic education into practice and using university registration data as primary sources. To give some examples, Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, whose maiden name was Zschach, was long considered a different person than Sigrid Postel. Postel was the surname of her first husband, Kressmann the surname of her second husband. In her third marriage, she kept her name, but her husband, the Berlin artist Donatello Losito, insisted on talking about "SKZL", Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach-Losito. East Berlin architect Lotte Schildhauer née Sturm was mentioned in the context of the same building with her first and second (Sauerzapfe) married names. Furthermore, there is conspicuously often confusion about women's first names. One women architect, Magdalena Hänska, was initially considered for a case study. The research led to works by a Maria Hänska and a Magdalena Hänska. Soon the research also identified her working in a partnership together with Gerd Hänska. As both architects died before the research started, it required great perseverance to sort this out. Did Gerd Hänska possibly work with two of his sisters? Was he married twice? Alternatively: did the architectural critics just confuse the names Maria and Magdalena because of their " biblical proximity"?

Who takes care of women architects' estates?

The representation of women architects' estates in the different types of Berlin archives is minor and reflects a general problem. The Berlin Academy of Arts building archive holds 110 architects', landscape architects' and engineers' estates, including two *pre-estates*⁴⁸, one of a contemporary woman architect and the other a woman landscape architect, working until recently. However, women architects are sometimes "hidden" in great architects' estates. Interest in the architect Gertrud (Elly) Lehning arose from a coincidental reading of her bereavement notice in a Berlin daily newspaper. Calling the person who had published the notice revealed that she had been working at Max Taut's office. The Berlin Academy of Arts' building history archive, holding Taut's estate, stated in the early 2000s that Lehning was not in the

48 A pre-estate (*Vorlass*) is a part of an estate or a complete estate that a person bequeaths to an archive before her or his death.

archive's names catalogue, but research in the estate of Max Taut led to notepads of the young woman architect, *Meisterschülerin*⁴⁹ of Max Taut and employee in his office after 1949. These notepads document her competence and the high responsibility she had in this office. Apart from these notepads, none of the other sources used provided access to any further potential own works. Only an again coincidentally discovered story, published a few months after her death in the same Berlin daily, furnished greater detail on her private and professional life.⁵⁰ However, nearly ten years later, Lehning is recognised in the archive's catalogue and thus retrievable. In another case, the first big task of the young architect Ingrid Biergans, who was selected as a case for this thesis, is traceable in the estate of the architect Hans Düttmann, also held by the Berlin Academy of Arts building archive. Biergans was involved in the Berlin Academy of Arts building project in the late 1950s, early 1960s.

Part of the estate of Hilde Weström is accessible in the archive of the Berlin state museum for art, photography and architecture, the *Berlinische Galerie*; the other part is in the International Archive of Women in Architecture in Blacksburg (IAWA).⁵¹

The building history archive of the Institute for Regional Development and Structural Planning (*Institut für Regionalentwicklung und Strukturplanung*) at the Berlin-Brandenburg border holds the pre-estate of Dorothea Tscheschner and, as an additional valuable source, a gender-differentiated database of the registrations to the GDR Association of Architects (*Bund deutscher Architekten, BdA*).

The estate of Ilse Balg, the sociologist involved in the 1950s' women's debates on housing development, has been administered by the Ilse Balg Foundation (*Ilse Balg Stiftung*) since 2000, but in contrast to the work of her professional partner, Martin Mächler, hers is hardly accessible. Interestingly, the estate of Irene Henselmann, architect and wife of the GDR star architect Hermann Henselmann, is separated. The *Literaturhaus Neubrandenburg Brigitte Reimann* holds one part of her estate: the written work, diaries, letters, etc. Her interior design work and architectural design

49 There is no direct translation of *Meisterschüler* or *Meisterschülerin*. In the German academic arts classes system, a *Meisterschüler* is a student with more than excellent results, doing another one or two years of scientific studies in his or her master's class. He or she finishes with a Diploma or a PhD in arts.

50 Claudia Keller, "Elly Lehning, geboren 1914." *Der Tagesspiegel* (26.04.2001), http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/elly-lehning-geb-1914/v_print/2228, accessed May 22, 2007.

51 Hilde Weström was an acquaintance of the archive's director, Milka Blitznakov. At the time when she bequeathed a part her estate to the IAWA, Berlin architectural history was not yet interested in her work. It was actually a result of the exhibition project on her work and biography which the Verborgenes Museum Berlin realised in 2000 and to which this research contributed that her works are today included in the archive of the Berlinische Galerie.

work is archived with her husband's estate in the Berlin Academy of Arts building archive.⁵²

The reason for this underrepresentation is threefold. Only very few women architects in the past achieved work that was, in traditional conceptions of architectural history, outstanding enough to be considered by the archives' decision-making bodies. Moreover, only very few women architects gave instructions on what to do with their intellectual estate their demise, and heirs are often overwhelmed by the decision about disposal of these materials.

The third reason is the male-dominated decision-making structure in archives and the limited staff resources. This often hinders accepting estates of less famous individuals and the development of differentiated catalogues of key words, which could make individuals "hidden" in the estates visible.

Beyond the archives mentioned, some of the museums do possess single design plans. Municipal construction archives also provide a certain access to architects' work, but since their holdings are arranged by streets and buildings, an architect must have been very famous to be archived under her or his name.

For feminist perspectives on architectural history and women's contribution to the built environment, this was a desperate situation until architect Kerstin Dörhöfer started at the turn of this century to develop a Berlin women architects' archive during her research on pioneering Berlin women architects. This collection is now included in the *Archiv der Universität der Künste Berlin*,⁵³ So far this archive contains no complete estates, but it provides access to more than 100 women architects' works, some collected in conducting this research.

In conclusion, these challenges for biographical research have an impact on the character and the completeness of a biographical approach. The following section introduces the biographical selection for this thesis, influenced by these challenges.

52 Source: E-Mail Thomas Flierl, Hermann Henselmann-Stiftung, 2012.

53 Access depends on her personal authorisation.

Selection of a biographical method: an essential part of changing the paradigms

The complex and divergent data required a careful selection of the biographical method, above all for the interviews with the women architects. Although this thesis did not pursue biographical research in the sense of a field of sociology, it was important to start from a basic understanding of different approaches to biographical research in these fields.

Empirical biographical research differentiates between quantitative research on life trajectories and qualitative research on biographies. Both aim at providing a methodological structure to deal with basic problems of the subject, such as “the socio-cultural openness (*Kontingenz*)”⁵⁴ of individual biographies. Another of these basic problems is the difference between historic situations, the way they are experienced and the narrative that the interviewee provides.

Quantitative biographical research considers the life courses of individuals as sequences of events that change the social status of a person. Examples of such “events” are marriage, having children and social advancement. Quantitative approaches look at bigger populations and include independent variables, such as origin, gender and educational status, or other transition points between different statuses. The objective is to explain causalities in life courses and to provide reliable results in the context of institutionally pre-structured alternatives, so called “endogenous causal connections.” They are not interested in the individual’s specific decision-making process that impacts on the maintenance or change of status. Apart from lacking statistical data on the here-investigated field, this objective also disqualified a quantitative approach for this thesis.

Qualitative biographical research is also interested in individual life courses. It does not address points of transition or change in a life course or statements on collective experience, but narratives of the life course as experienced by the interviewees. Their objective is to develop material that allows an understanding of the reasons that led to decisions which the interviewee made and that changed his or her life course. As the analysis of such data requires many resources and even in comparative research

54 Susanne Kluge and Udo Kelle, *Methodeninnovation in der Lebenslaufforschung* (Weinheim und Munich: Juventa Verlag, 2001), 12- 32.

usually comprises only a small sample, this approach is not likely to produce generalising findings. However, it permits a recognition of the general “norms, ideologies, social models and patterns of interpretation that form part of the social and cultural (meso) structure,” i.e. socially conveyed knowledge stocks on rules for social action. Furthermore, it recognises the “experience and interpretations” of specific actors, i.e. their interpretation of situations and their objectives for action.⁵⁵

The history of biographical research dates back more than 200 years, but its use as a method in social sciences and sociology derives only from the 1920s/1930s, notably implemented by the Chicago School of Sociology. Until the 1960s, the biographical method was used as an instrument of social and other sciences. The field underwent a major change when in the 1980s biographical methods were no longer considered a research instrument in different sciences but a theory-building and empirical sociological perspective, “practising the biographical “. This marks a shift from “exploiting “ biographies in social sciences to analysing their meaning, function, and structure from a theoretical perspective.⁵⁶ The potential of the biographical approach is the individual’s capacity to construct a coherent narrative of her or his own biography. Attributing this capacity to everybody associates it with the development of the sociology of everyday life (*Soziologie des Alltags*). Its representatives, such as Alfred Schütz, provided theoretical concepts as early as the late 1970s. They allowed a focus on biographical *constructions*.

Post-unification GDR architectural history tested Ulrich Oevermann’s concept *Objektive Hermeneutik*, a method to identify latent structures of meaning. Oevermann refers to the *Soziologie des Alltags*, and to the representatives of French structuralism (e.g. Bourdieu). Simultaneously and notably in the German-language area, the *sociology of biography and life course* (*Soziologie der Biographie und des Lebenslaufs*) took on greater importance.⁵⁷

55 Bettina Dausien, *Biographie und Geschlecht: zur biographischen Konstruktion sozialer Wirklichkeit in Frauenlebensgeschichten* (Bremen: Donat, 1996), 84, quoted from Kluge and Kelle, *Methodeninnovation* (Weinheim und Munich: Juventa Verlag, 2001), 18-19.

56 Wolfram Fischer-Rosenthal, “Von der biographischen Methode zur Biographieforschung: Versuch einer Standortbestimmung”, in *Biographieforschung. Werkstattberichte des Forschungsschwerpunkts „Arbeit und Bildung“ der Universität Bremen*, ed. Peter Alheit, Wolfram Fischer-Rosenthal and Erika M. Hoening (Bremen: 1990), 13.

57 For a fuller discussion see *ibid*, 11-32.

Feminist perspectives in biographical research

This development contributed from the late 1970s to an opening of the field for feminist perspectives in biographical research. According to the different schools of feminism, different positions on biographical research methods were developed in different fields of science. Main and mutual objectives were to make the life of women of different social status a subject of biographical research and to identify differences between male and female life course (and amongst female life courses). Another structural objective was to reveal the interconnections of the latter with the gender division of labour, access to education and labour and the reconciliation of family and professional life. Furthermore, from the late 1980s feminist research in Germany became, notably in the sociology of professions, increasingly interested in change in female *normal biographies* and in women's professional biographies. Moreover, research on women's biographies showed that the *social construction of gender* also constitutes a principle of the mutual biographical *construction* of both women and men, but that within each biography there is an element of autonomy to exceed the seemingly limited scope of action that a woman or a man has in her or his biography. However, the female *normal biography* leaves less freedom than the male to develop this autonomy.⁵⁸ Feminist biographical research led to considerable difference in scientific investigation of (above all women's) biographies. But for years, it could neither outgrow the accusation of a heroisation of the individual nor overcome the *spotlight approach* that characterises biographical research in art and architectural history and cultural sciences in general.

During the 1970s and 1980s feminist biographical research thus started to use a perspective of *collective biography*, in an attempt to counter women's marginalisation in different fields of history. The objective of looking at smaller or bigger groups and networks rather than focussing on an individual was designed to overcome the *great men's biographies'* spotlight approach of traditional biographical research. This involved male dominance in the reconstruction of biographies which were understood to be structural elements of social development. The feminist sociologist Liz Stanley stated that "In feminist and cultural political terms, people's lives and behaviours make considerably more sense when they are located through their participation in a

58 See for example Ilona Ostner, "Scheu vor der Zahl? Die qualitative Erforschung von Lebenslauf und Biographie als Element einer feministischen Wissenschaft", in *Methoden der Biographie- und Lebenslaufforschung*, ed. Wolfgang Voges (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1987), 103-124, and Dausien, *Biographie und Geschlecht: zur biographischen Konstruktion sozialer Wirklichkeit in Frauenlebensgeschichten* (Bremen: Donat, 1996), as well as the literature on feminist research in the sociology of professions used in this thesis.

range of overlapping social groups, rather than being portrayed as somehow different, marked out alone by the seeds of their later greatness.”⁵⁹

Theoretically and methodologically reflected empirical research using a *collective biography* approach compares the experiences of a historical collective of individuals within a specific social context. The cognitive interest of *collective biographies* can both target social change that is retraceable in individual and collective life courses and change in individual life courses that can be attributed to the context of the collective life course.⁶⁰ There is a variety of forms of collective biography research. The main difference to be considered is between *collective biographies* and *group biographies*: “Collective biography narrates many lives, and while depicting them individually, proceeds by a set of organisational criteria with accumulative purpose. Group biography depicts the social, personal, and professional interactions of a definable association of individuals.”⁶¹

The collective biography, investigating, according to Harders and Schweiger, the biographies of between two and 40 or 50 individuals, is thus more likely to detect less celebrated individuals. It addresses the typical as well as the specific, but also locates the individual within a social and professional context. Doing so, it allows considerations on career trajectories, specific milieus or the scope of action of individuals within a social field. Collective biographies seem particularly helpful where little knowledge and data on the individuals are accessible, i.e. where marginalised groups are addressed.⁶² Examples for collective biographies are biographical encyclopaedias, but also, depending on the method used, biographical anthologies dealing with specific professional groups. The examples of collective biographies that were used for this thesis (see Chapters 1 and 4) and targeted only women’s biographies or included some hitherto hardly known women showed the potential of collective biography for a *feminist intervention*.

59 Quoted from Levke Harders and Hannes Schweiger, “Kollektivbiographische Ansätze”, 194-198. In *Handbuch Biographie. Methoden, Traditionen, Theorien*, ed. Christian Klein (Stuttgart und Weimar: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2009), 194.

60 Ibid, 194.

61 Catherine N. Parke, *Biography: Writing Lives* (New York, London, 1996), 111. Quoted from Harders and Schweiger, *Kollektivbiographische Ansätze*, 195.

62 Harders and Schweiger, *Kollektivbiographische Ansätze*, 197.

Architectural history as a specific field of biographical research

The analysis of different concepts of biographical research showed that architectural history is not one of the disciplines referred to in most methodological arguments on biographical research. Its biographical methods tended to follow the example of art history, with which it shares the problem of elaborating a link between the artist's or architect's life description and the oeuvre.⁶³ Usually only an analysis of the sources of biographies provides insight on how the biographical documentation was developed. In this context, a statement of the architectural historian Werner Durth, introducing his analysis of the German architects' biographical interconnections (*Biografische Verflechtungen*) is interesting: "My interest gradually moved from built objects and documented planning towards acting individuals who, despite the anonymous structures and institutions of a totalitarian system, had to make decisions, to develop hope and visions – in however narrow a space and whatever the pressure."⁶⁴

He further states that his research interest moved from "the abstracting analysis of spatial planning, political structures and bureaucratic organisations towards the investigation of concrete figurations of individuals, who experienced changing loyalties and dependences during their lifetime. Against the background of social structural change, it was necessary that the history of individuals came into view."⁶⁵

Apart from Durth's self-reflection, orientation aids specifically addressing biographical research on architects lack, at least in the German context. Self-reflection of historians concerning the limits of the methodologies for biographical research in architectural history occurred notably in the 1990s, when the elaboration of GDR architectural history began. Important aspects of this self-reflection were the biographical methods and standards to use in oral history or other interview techniques. The intention was to safeguard a reflection of the "role that a social actor – in this case the architect – is entitled in the historic context." The focus shifted, due to the specific East German building policies, from the "great architect and his outstanding buildings" to an interest in professional trajectories and the scopes for action within individual and group biographies. This shift did not automatically lead to an interest in women

63 For a recent reflection of the writing of and scientisation of biographical research in art history see Karin Hellwig, *Von der Vita zur Künstlerbiographie* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005).

64 Werner Durth, *Deutsche Architekten. Biografische Verflechtungen 1900 – 1970* (Braunschweig: Vieweg & Sohn, 1988), 12

65 *ibid*, 12.

architects, but it facilitated the inclusion of women architects' biographies in key publications on GDR architectural history.⁶⁶

Dealing with party affiliation – a sensitive question

The biographical approach presented a particular challenge in that applying it to GDR women architects' works and conditions for professionalisation led inevitably to a sensitive question: to what extent and how should party affiliation in the GDR be a part of the biographical approach?⁶⁷ This question entailed both content and possible impact on readiness to accept interviews. Reviewing the first autobiographies and biographies published in the first decade after unification made it obvious that especially persons in responsible positions felt the need to retrospectively revalue their own practice and the effects of party affiliation and all other political (in GDR rhetoric "social") activities. This was associated with the broad victim-offender debate that emerged after unification and focused primarily on ordinary people and the so-called "IMs"⁶⁸ of the GDR Ministry for State Security (*Ministerium für Staatssicherheit*) rather than on leading positions in the socialist power structure. For example, persons who were interviewed or wrote autobiographical text embedded their narrative into a larger context of meaning to explain their motivations or developed individual justification strategies. In addition, researcher doubts concerning the reliability of the *Ministerium für Staatssicherheit* files that served as sources for biographical work increased. There was evidence that executive officers wilfully misinformed in order to enhance their own position.⁶⁹

66 For fuller discussion see Holger Barth, "Portraits in miniature. Architekten und Stadtplaner der DDR", in *Grammatik Grammatik sozialistischer Architekturen*, ed. Holger Barth (Berlin: Reimer, 2001), 21-22; and Andreas Hohn, "Forschungen zur Geschichte der Stadtplanung in der DDR. Aspekte ihrer Methodologie, ihres Erkenntnisinteresses und ihrer Methode." in *Projekt Sozialistische Stadt. Beiträge zur Bau- und Planungsgeschichte der DDR*, ed. Holger Barth (Berlin: Dietrich Reiner Verlag, 1998), 203-210. Hohn points to the danger of hasty interpretation of the results of oral history interviews and inadequate representativity where micro-analytic case studies take a too narrow focus on actions. He sees the danger evolving from such practice as a return to storytelling (ibid, 26). For a comprehensive analysis of the GDR building system and its effects on the architectural profession see Frank Betker, op.cit.

67 Political engagement in National Socialism might have been an issue for the oldest of the women subjects, but as neither the interviews nor other sources allowed the assumption of a particular political commitment, this aspect was excluded from the research questions unless the narrator mentioned it herself.

68 Inoffizielle Mitarbeiter (unofficial / undercover employees).

69 For fuller discussion see Christoph Links, "Der Umgang mit ostdeutschen Biographien seit 1989", *Bios Zeitschrift für Biographieforschung, Oral History und Lebensverlaufsanalysen* (Sonderheft 2007), 225-228.; Holger Barth, ed. *Zur Grammatik sozialistischer Architekturen* (Berlin: Reimer, 2001); Holger Barth, *Planen für das Kollektiv. Handlungs- und Gestaltungsspielräume von Architekten und Stadtplanern in der DDR*. IRS: Graue Reihe 20 (Erkner: IRS, 2001); Frank Betker, *Einsicht in die Notwendigkeit. Kommunale Stadtplanung in der DDR und nach der Wende (1945 – 1994)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005), and Bruno Flierl, *Gebaute DDR. Über Stadtplaner, Architekten und die Macht* (Berlin: Reimer Verlag, 1998a).

It is no secret that in the GDR, as in any dictatorship, party affiliation and “social activities” were an important determinant of participation in decision-making in any social and professional field. It also made it easier to obtain permission to participate in international and German-German knowledge transfer, notably attendance at conferences abroad. It was possible to neglect these activities or to be an inactive member, but many who did risked difficulties in their private and professional life. The overall group of interviewed women included party members and women who were not. However, both engineers and women were minorities in the SED and thus a specific scientific consideration of the effects of party affiliation in the GDR architectural profession would have exceeded the conceptual scope of this thesis. In addition, such consideration was, despite addressing a structural aspect of professionalisation, not expected to change the perception of the women presented here significantly. Moreover, as the sample is very small and none of the women who took part in interviews had a status of a “person of public interest”, it would have required individual permission to publish such information. Consequently, party affiliation is only an issue where women mentioned that not belonging impeded their career.⁷⁰

Database characteristics and interview technique

Generally, the database on professionalisation processes of women in highly qualified professions is fragmentary and it has been shown that this holds particularly true for women architects, both in West and East Germany. This section first explains why the database elaborated through the interviews is partially incoherent. Moreover, it introduces the interview technique and the specific conditions of the interview processes.

In all, 27 interviews took place⁷¹, six of them with women architects who are presented in short biographies in the following chapters, and 16 with individuals contributing in other ways to the subject. Each woman who took part in an interview

70 The registration files of the BdA that are archived at the Institute for Regional Planning and Structural Development in Erkner do include all political affiliations. However they are in most cases redacted before researchers gain access to them.

71 The term “interview” applies only to planned interviews, in the described structure. It does not apply to the countless short inquiries with architectural historians, women architects and museum or archive staff that took place in the context of professional knowledge exchange or short phone inquiries. Such sources are referenced within the text, where necessary.

was asked for contacts with other women whose work is included in this thesis.⁷² It was, however, only possible to interview five of the eight women architects selected for the case studies. Generally, the number of interviews with East German women was higher than the number of interviews with or related to West Berlin architects.⁷³ Three of the cases are based only on other sources (archive material, publications) and interviews with persons who knew the woman architect personally or could for other reasons contribute to her biography.

The objective of the interviews was to collect data that are in some elements comparable (structural information) and in part personal narratives of biographical experience. They are based on an interview guideline, asking questions in three fields. The first field entails questions on personal background (family background, motivation to become an architect, gender aspects in the experience of education, professionalisation context in private life), the second questions on professional life (context of academic education, fields of action, conditions of professionalisation, organisation of everyday professional life). The last part of the interview was devoted to the third field, their concrete works (buildings designed, work philosophy, interest in women's movement and women's needs in the built environment, representation of works). In the interview practice, this part led to back-loops into the first fields. (Table 2 | 1 see following page)

72 For the full list of individuals interviewed, see Appendix 1.

73 One reason is that there is more literature on women architects working in the here-investigated historical phase in West Berlin / West Germany than on their East German peers, and during the first years of the research this held true for the history of GDR architecture. In addition, the institutional research context during the first phase of this thesis (the knowledge shared by Kerstin Dörhöfer and other doctoral students) required less reassurance about the contemporary culture of the architectural profession in the West.

Interview guideline

Family background

Did you parents both work? What were their professional occupations ?

Do you have siblings? If so, what were their professional occupations?

Do any of your relatives work in the architectural profession or in construction industries?

Family background / own family:

Do you have children? If so, when were they born?

If so, what are their professional occupations?

Education

Did you have any favourite subjects in high school?

Did you do any work stages before you started your academic education?

How did you select the university where you studied?

Did you experience gender difference in your academic education?

Do you remember any fellow women students?

Who are or were your professional models?

Professionalisation

Which major challenges did you face in working freelance / holding a responsible position?

How would you describe your working philosophy?

Did you pursue any specific design objectives related to gender equality / women's needs?

Did you engage in any professional association and/or in the women's movement, or in any other committee aiming at equal rights for women in the profession?

Which do you consider to be your three most important works?

Did you have any professional contacts with East German (women) architects / West Berlin (women) architects?

The outlined concepts and methods of qualitative biographical research employ a broad spectrum of interview techniques that apply more or less strict rules. They attribute different roles to the individual interviewed and the interviewer and designate the authority of interpretation differently between the narrator and the scholar and the narrator. Feminist research found *oral history* methodology to be congenial to trace and document women's histories. Addressing from its inception ordinary people and minorities, expounding the problems of the relation between the narrator and researcher, questions of interview setting and narrators' performance and the gendered character of memory, oral history developed standards that advocate social change. Research on the question of the extent to which doing *oral history* of women is *per se* feminist showed, however, that a feminist perspective is neither necessarily *inherent* to oral history nor exclusively existing in women scholars' work. As a long-time commentator of oral history methodology stated, feminist women's oral histories constitute research to the benefit of women's equality and pursue specific objectives: "They presuppose gender as a (though not the only) central analytical concept; they generate their problematic from the study of women as embodying and creating historically and situationally specific economic, social, cultural, national, and racial / ethnic realities; they serve as corrective for androcentric notions and assumptions about what is 'normal' by establishing and contributing to a new knowledge base for understanding women's lives and the gendered elements of the broader social world; they accept women's own interpretations of their identities, their experiences, and social worlds as containing and reflecting important truths."⁷⁴

In principle, the statement can be read as a definition. It adequately describes the methodology and objectives of this research. The standards for good practice in oral history, ask for an "in-depth account of personal experience and reflections, with sufficient time allowed for the narrators to give their story the fullness they desire"⁷⁵ and focus on content that belongs to the past. However, it is an essential element of doing oral history to tape the interviews and to pay particular attention to the narrators' language. This criterion is the reason why despite adopting the attitude in the research process corresponding to oral history, the overall structure selected was an open-narrative life-course interview, based on an interview guideline.

Neither the women architects nor the widowers or colleagues interviewed accepted taped interviews. This was an unforeseen methodological constraint and a major

74 Susan Geiger, quoted from Sherna Berger Gluck, "Women's Oral History: Is it So Special?", in *Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Myers and Rebecca Sharpless (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2006), 368-369. Gluck undertakes an analysis of four decades of feminist practice of oral history and particularly the effects of post-structuralist approaches.

75 <http://www.oralhistory.org/about/principles-and-practices/#general>, last visited in July 2014.

obstacle to the writing of the biographies. Initially, the concept was to use a "pure" feminist oral history concept. Due to this constraint the transcripts could only base on notes taken during the interview and on memory protocols written immediately following of the interview. The narratives show that access to these eight women's biographies and works varied greatly. This is why they follow a common structure concerning the research questions, but some provide for a more vivid biography, including their own words, whereas for others, the perspective remains more external, based on other sources, and thus less vivid. The case study interview partners were provided an opportunity to correct data in the first thesis-related publications.

The preparation of the interview was the composition of a list of known works and an interview guide. The person to be interviewed received these and an overall introduction to the research context and its objectives in advance of the interview. In most cases, a series of interviews took place, primarily to allow women to gather material on their work and select the most appropriate for this thesis. The single interviews had a minimum duration of two or three hours, depending on the narrators' interest and capacity. Except for one, all women decided for the interviews taking place in the private setting of their home.

The interviews developed a self-reflection function for the women and in some cases elicited grief. This was not surprising because the interviews required reflection on what they had achieved in professional life, compared to personal expectations, and reminded them of situations of frustration or even failure. Some women had never before reflected in this way on their careers and had ambivalent feelings about the proposal to do it in this context. Depending on personality structure and age, they were more or less prepared for this kind of interview; few of them provided a chronological narrative and/or had a complete list of their works and publications before they were approached about an interview.

The reflected dealing with emotions is a frequent methodical challenge in interviews. Methodological research on oral history describes reflected dealing with emotions as an underestimated interviewing competence. This competence, the capacity to practise empathy without letting feelings of solidarity affect the interviewer's professional distance, is not only, but particularly important for interviews with women, conducted by women scholars.⁷⁶ The interview process had to deal with the dilemma of maintaining rapport without entirely losing objectivity, and this not only concerning

76 For fuller discussion see Brigitte Halbmayr, "Sekundäranalyse qualitativer Daten aus lebensgeschichtlichen Interviews. Reflexionen zu einer zentralen Herausforderung". *BIOS*, 21 (2008), Vol. 2, 256-267.

grief. Another issue, which was openly discussed, concerned the West German socialisation of the interviewer, which some of the interviewed women at first assumed to be a barrier to an unbiased understanding of GDR architectural and social history. For the interviewer, the challenge was twofold: to show sufficient competence on the real life hidden behind GDR building policy, to pass this barrier, and to build trust on the personal level. Another example was the doing of gender in the interviews with male interview partners. Getting them to focus on the women instead of themselves was not easy to achieve.

From database to cases: selection criteria

It has been explained why it was difficult to build the database of the women architects and why it is, to a certain extent, incoherent and incomplete. However, despite the lack of reliable statistical data and the obstacles to the qualitative data collection, the analysis of primary and secondary sources led in the first research phase to a list of 64 women architects who studied and/or worked in West Berlin and 87 women architects who studied and/or worked in East Berlin.⁷⁷ The objective of this section is to explain the selection process that led from the database to the cases and to including some women's short biographies in the thematic fields of other chapters instead of hiding them in the appendices.

The primary sources that were used to build the database were archive material (local, regional and national and international archives of public administration, state institutions, professional associations, universities and museums), diaries of two of the women architects, design plans and buildings, construction documents and the interviews with some women architects and relevant contemporary witnesses.⁷⁸

The inventory of secondary sources included relevant literature on the rebuilding period in Germany and specifically women in architecture. The analysis included German and international research on women in architectural history, the professionalisation of women architects, and the representation of women architects'

⁷⁷ The catalogues raisonnées of the women whose work is presented in this thesis are provided in Appendix 1. The full list of these women architects is, however, material that developed in cooperation with Kerstin Dörhöfer and is only accessible in the women architects' archive of the Berlin University of Arts. However, the archive of the Institute for Regional Planning and Structural Development in Erkner authorised publication of the full list of the women architects registered in the GDR architects' association (BdA), see Appendix 3.

⁷⁸ Appendix 4 contains a full address list of the archives and institutions visited, Appendix 2 provides a list of the interview partners.

work in professional publications, the professional journals on architecture and planning.⁷⁹ The search in the two most important journals, *Bauwelt* in West Berlin and *Architektur der DDR* in East Berlin, targeted all available issues between 1945 and 1969.⁸⁰ Contemporary daily newspapers and popular (above all women's) magazines seldom provided information on women architects. In both types of publication, the emphasis on women in building was much stronger in the East. The social reasons for and effects of this specific emphasis are explained in Chapter 3.

Further research in both primary and secondary sources showed that two of the West Berlin women were landscape architects and six worked as urban planners. In East Berlin, eight of the women were landscape architects and five worked in urban planning. Thus, the list needed to be revised. It now comprised 56 women, 233 buildings in West Berlin; and 74 women, 59 buildings in East Berlin.⁸¹ The first step and a selection criterion was the verification of authorship. Only works and biographies of women who worked freelance and independently in West Berlin and women in leading positions in East Berlin were to be included in this thesis, and a group of individual cases was to form the base for a *collective biography*. The further selection was based on three main criteria in order to match with *situational analysis* to the analysis of the *social environment* and the *problem situation*. The first criterion is that the quality of the work, in terms of functionality, design, use of material etc. would meet general contemporary standards, and that buildings could be considered to be of independent design. This excluded, for example, women working in private and at the same time professional partnerships, and, in West Berlin, women working in public planning departments. The second criterion is to build an overall sample that encompasses different strategies for participation in the two societies' building systems and presents women who worked in different building fields (e.g. private housing, social infrastructure, urban planning⁸²). The third (pragmatic) criterion was the the accessibility of further data and/or interview partners.

However, the analysis of the social environment and the problem situation quickly showed that it would be difficult to consider more than two women in East Berlin

79 For the full body of literature considered, see the bilingual bibliography. The references contain the quoted works in their original language.

80 Apart from these specific profession-related journals, art historian journals and other journals on architecture were part of the analysis. For a full list of the journals analysed, see the appropriate section of the bibliography.

81 This at-first-glance irritating relation derives from the somewhat misleading registration data of the East German architects' association (BdA), which included many women who studied architecture and worked in East Berlin. However, hardly any of these women achieved a responsible position or worked freelance during the first decades after the war.

82 Urban planning / urban design was in both parts of Germany until the late 1960s / early 1970s a domain of architects.

whose works met these criteria. At the same time, this analysis allowed the interpretation that including women who could fulfil these criteria but worked in other GDR cities would help to understand the patterns of women's exclusion in the GDR building system. This led to the inclusion in the thesis of two women architects, Anita Bach in Weimar and Iris Grund in Neubrandenburg. Their decision to work in these cities was based to a large extent on expecting better working opportunities there.

Conclusion

The objective of this chapter was to explain the methodology developed for a better understanding of the patterns of women architects' exclusion from mainstream practice, outstanding commissions, and representation in traditional forms of architectural history. This has been pursued along the structural dimensions observed in this thesis. It became obvious that it is neither possible nor sufficient to apply a single-lens methodology on an analysis targeting the complexity of the patterns of women architects' exclusion. The correspondingly complex explanatory grid is framed through the *situational analysis*, that uses a feminist and gender perspective on the investigated fields (processes of education, conditions of work, conditions of professionalisation and design opportunities open to post-war Berlin women architects).

The applied methodology aims neither at representative results nor at being objective in the sense of quantitative empirical research. Each of the applied methods risks a suppression of aspects of the individuals' or the group's experience and distortions in the researcher's depicting of the professional and political context. Because the sample is small and the data are primarily biographical, the overall outcomes and conclusions are necessarily nuanced.

Given the very diverse and small sample, the analysis provides an opportunity to apply and rethink a model of women architects' professionalisation rather than to achieve reliable results on the level of social or political systems. The basic data (identification of women architects, their works and other documentation) were gathered as thoroughly as possible. However, the relatively small number of women architects covered and the diversity of their professionalisation histories left an area of uncertainty when answering questions on a systemic level. Juggling this complexity required the greatest possible rigour, transparency and self-reflection of the researcher. Only this could enable the chosen approach to provide a certain quality of

knowledge production that approximates what Donna Haraway described as “situated knowledge”.

Pursuing the frame of the *situational analysis*, the next chapter introduces the reader to the *natural environment* of the women architects, contemporary society, and role models. Moreover, describing women architects’ demands on housing, it forges a first link to gender aspects of their practice, i.e. the *social field*.

3 WOMEN, SOCIETY, AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN THE REBUILDING PERIOD

This chapter explores the role models for women and the social perception of the relation between women and building in both parts of Berlin during the 1950s and 1960s, which could hardly have been more different than at this time. The analysis focuses on two perspectives: a comparison of role models, West and East German women architects' housing requirements.

In what follows, the term 'women' is applied according to the contemporary perspective of gender as the feminine sex. In a collective sense, it addresses both West and East Berlin female inhabitants of the city, defined rather by their common appropriation of the urban space than by other possible criteria of gender difference. If women were to be joined in a space of discourse on women, society and the built environment, West Berlin women's role would remain that of a *consumer* rather than of a *designer* of the built environment. This was the case despite women's association and women architects' engagement in the debate about the *Interbau* thematic exhibition the *City of Tomorrow (Stadt der Zukunft)* and the *ECA Model Buildings*.¹

The social expectation was that women should manage homes in the *economic miracle society*, in well-equipped kitchens and living rooms, whose most symbolic elements were cooking and cleaning technologies, functionality, and the famous kidney-shaped table (*Nierentisch*). Housing design was based on the male breadwinners' patterns for the appropriation of space and their recreational needs. West German media and advertisements mirrored this, addressing women only as consumers. Celebrating their 1950s and 1960s coverage, the weeklies *Die ZEIT* and *Der Spiegel* have recently provided conclusive evidence for this with special issues showing selections of the most typical and symbolic elements of stories from those years. (Illustration 2 | 1 + 2 | 1 see following page)

¹ Lotte Tiedemann and Emmy Bonhoeffer, „ECA-Entwicklungsbauten – von ihren Bewohnern und von Frauen gesehen,“ in *Neuer Wohnbau. Bd.2: Durchführung von Versuchssiedlungen, Ergebnisse u. Erkenntnisse*, ed. Hermann Wandersleb (Ravensburg 1958), 18-68.

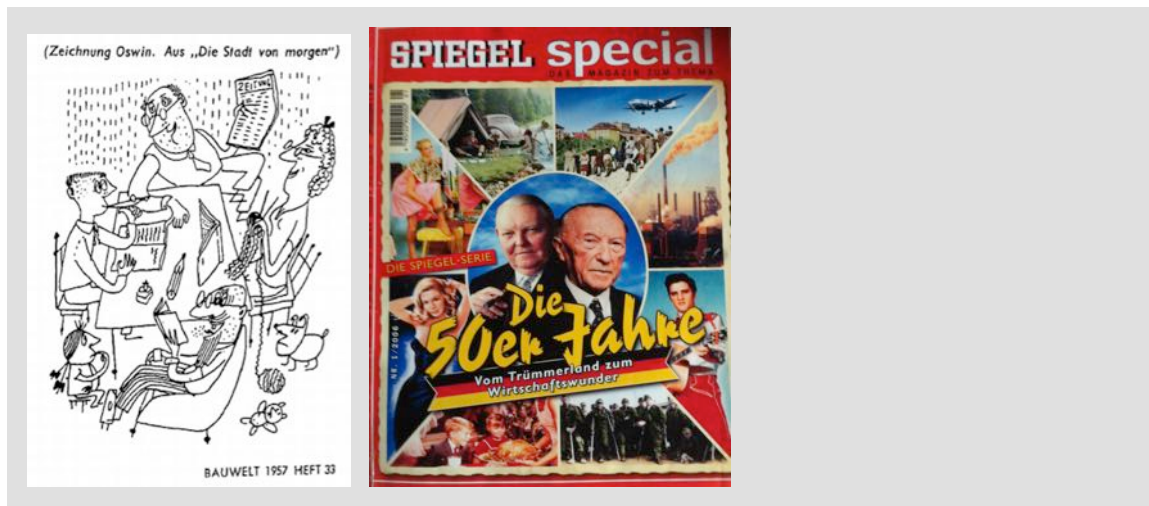


Illustration 3 | 1 (left) Cartoon family role models, exhibition catalogue *Stadt von Morgen*, 1957
 Illustration 3 | 2 (right) Cover *Spiegel special*, Die 1950er Jahre

In contrast, and in addition to being the addressee of home design (Ina Merkel talks about a “GDR version of the economic miracle”²), East German women also assumed the role of designers and producers of the built environment. Guided tours of construction sites and new housing developments were offered to improve women’s understanding of the built environment. A woman construction worker (*Die Frau am Bau*) was a special manifestation of the image of the working woman (*werktätige Frau*), the main motif of GDR women’s and labour policies. (Illustration 2 | 3 + 2 | 4)



Illustration 3 | 3 (left) Cover *Wir Frauen vom Bau* (*We, women working in construction*) 1971
 Illustration 3 | 4 (right) Illustration in *Wir Frauen vom Bau*, women in technical occupations, 1971

2 Ina Merkel, „Leitbilder und Lebensweisen von Frauen in der DDR,“ in *Sozialgeschichte der DDR*, ed. Hartmut Kaelble, Jürgen Kocka and Hartmut Zwahr (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1994), 365.

Merkel analyses the image of women in GDR imagery (photos and illustrations in magazines and newspapers, e.g. *Die Frau von heute*, *Für Dich* and *Neue Berliner Illustrierte*) and shows the impact that the transformation of production and economy had on the image of work and consequently on the image of women's work. The question of how far this development affected the definition of 'femininity' and relations between women and men is part of her analytic interest.

Equally interesting is a gender aspect in GDR linguistic patterns: in the professional context women were always cited in the masculine form, particularly in male-connoted professions. A famous idiomatic expression, referring mainly to women in the predominantly male trades, was 'our women hold their own' (*Unsere Frauen stehen ihren Mann*). Merkel states that the heroic and, to a certain extent, martial images of women in the technical and craft fields and the related rhetoric are clearly an artificial production, but at the same time contain sociological wisdom in a state where 90% of the women worked. Although the number of women working in the building industry only amounted to – according to GDR statistics – 11.2%, Gunilla-Friederike Budde argues that "When the East German media showed women in the workplace, in team situations (*im Kreis der Brigade*), as a tractor driver giving a helping hand to workers, or as a far-sighted mayor, and when women engineers graced magazines, DEFA films or novels, this not only corresponded to state propaganda, but also largely to East German women's subjective experience."³

The benefit of looking at both sides of the divided city

Looking at both sides of the divided city provides an opportunity to compare from a feminist perspective the extent to which the different contexts affected the professionalisation of women architects. What happened in the women's history context, what in the urban development context, and what intertwined both? The objective of this chapter is to link the broader *women's history* context, which is the *natural environment* in the situational analysis, with a perspective related to women's contribution to the built environment. Since the previous chapters proved that this has so far been of little interest in research on either architectural history or women's professionalization processes, this chapter plays an important contextual role for the main research interest.⁴

³ Gunilla-Friederike Budde, *Frauen arbeiten. Weibliche Erwerbstätigkeit in Ost- und Westdeutschland nach 1945* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 11.

⁴ Of particular value for this chapter were the works of Budde 1997, op.cit., Gisela Helwig and Heide-Marie Nickel, *Frauen in Deutschland 1945-1992* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1993), Herrad Schenk, *Die*

Scholars interested in women's contributions to the built environment other than architectural design investigated, for example, women's role as clients or users of buildings or emphasised the intersection of class and gender in housing design.⁵ However, this chapter focuses on how West and East German stereotypes of women's roles supported or hindered woman architects' establishment in both education and the professional environment and provides insight into how women architects' and women's associations attempted to influence housing design in West and East Berlin.

Women's political concerns after the war

A first step is to ask what were women's political and social concerns at the end of the war? The two main concerns of the women's movement in the West and women's policies in the East were the legal framework for women's equality and, within this, women's status on the labour market. There is a huge body of FRG literature focusing on legal questions and neglecting, apart from the kitchen debate, women's issues in urban development and housing. The literature covering the GDR focuses on women's labour market inclusion and the framework developed to achieve this objective. After an extensive literature search, specific texts were analysed to focus the argument of this thesis.⁶

Feministische Herausforderung; 150 Jahre Frauenbewegung in Deutschland (München: Beck, 1980,) and Annette Kuhn and Doris Schubert, op.cit..

5 For fuller discussion, see Alice T. Friedman, "Your place or mine? The clients' contribution to domestic architecture," architecture," in *Women's places / Architecture and Design 1860-1960*, ed. Brenda Martin and Penny Sparke (London: Routledge, 2003), 69-86, Marion Roberts, *Living in a man-made world. Gender assumptions in modern housing design* (London: Routledge, 1991), Despina Stratigakos, "The uncanny architect," in *Spatial productions of Gender in Modern Architecture*, ed. Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar (London: Routledge, 2005), 145-161.

6 The mainly post re-unification literature that was analyzed focused three different perspectives: comparative research research on West and East-German developments (Budde 1997, op.cit., Lynn P. Cooke, "Policy, Preferences, and Patriarchy: The Division of Domestic Labor in East Germany, West Germany and the United States", in *Social Politics:International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 13 (2006): 117-143, Sabine Haveneth, "Die fünfziger und sechziger Jahre", in *Politeia. Szenarien aus der deutschen Geschichte nach 1945 aus Frauensicht*, ed. Annette Kuhn, Marianne Pitzen, Marianne Hochgeschurz (Bonn: Frauenmuseum, 1999), 108-135, Gisela Helwig and Heide-Marie Nickel, *Frauen in Deutschland 1945-1992* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1993), Pitzen and Kuhn, op.cit.; Rosemarie Nave-Herz, "Die Geschichte der Frauenbewegung in Deutschland (Hannover: Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung), 40-125; Christiane Niemeyer, „Aims and Obstacles, Gains and Setbacks: German Women, 1945 –1960,“ in *University of Sussex Journal of Contemporary History* 1 (Sussex: 2000); Barbara Sommerhoff, *Frauenbewegung* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1995)), solely on the FRG (Florence Hervé, "Fast vergessen – die Frauenfriedensbewegung in der BRD" (2008), accessed July 23, 2013. <http://www.bpb.de/themen/C52YW2.html>; Kuhn and Schubert, op.cit.; Elke Schüller "Frauen und Männer sind gleichberechtigt. Die Frauenbewegung in der BRD" (2008), accessed July 28, 2014. <http://www.bpb.de/themen/UPBSNJ.html> or the GDR development (Corinne Bouillot, "Auferstanden aus Ruinen. Die Frauenbewegung in der DDR: 1945-1980" accessed July 28, 2014. <http://www.bpb.de/themen/T1TEYR.html>; Gerhardt, op.cit.; Ina Merkel, „... und Du, Frau an der Werkbank“. *Die DDR in den 50er Jahren* (Berlin: Elefant Press, 1990) and Merkel 1994, op.cit.; Ilse Nagelschmidt, „Zum Feminismusverständnis ostdeutscher Frauen und Autorinnen vor und nach 1989“, in *Politeia. Szenarien aus der deutschen Geschichte nach 1945 aus Frauensicht*, ed. Annette Kuhn, Marianne Pitzen, and Marianne Hochgeschurz (Bonn: Frauenmuseum, 1999), 28-38.

In late 1945 and early 1946, even before political parties were refounded, women's committees (*Frauenausschüsse*) emerged in all four Berlin occupation sectors. They were spontaneous, locally based, and non-partisan. It was a promising awakening of women's political engagement after the National Socialist regime and the war. However, it became increasingly exclusive when the women's association debates started to tackle specialist themes.⁷ Furthermore, looking particularly at women architects, Kerstin Dörhöfer notes a "missing bridge" between the first and second women's movement in the West.⁸ In a more general perspective, Ute Gerhard observes the same and argues that between 1945 and 1968 the women's movement in the FRG was too marginal to be relevant, in part because it failed to analyse its involvement in the National Socialist state.

The new or re-established Berlin women's associations (the housewives' association (*Hausfrauenverband*), the mothers' league (*Mütterliga*), the Berlin-Wilmersdorf district's women's association (*Wilmersdorfer Frauenverband*), the association of working women (*Verband berufstätiger Frauen*) and the women citizens' association (*Staatsbürgerinnen*)), had committees that debated housing needs. Membership and engagement decreased when the women's associations had achieved their main objective, the inclusion of a paragraph on women's equality in the Federal Constitution, and, due to the Cold War, turned away from the partisan structures of the early post-war years.

The character of women's engagement also changed in East Berlin when the women's committees (*Frauenausschüsse*) in the Soviet sector merged into the mass organisation German Democratic Women's Association (*Demokratischer Frauenbund Deutschlands, DFD*), which mainly promoted women's inclusion in the labour force. This policy started with the implementation of so-called housewives' brigades (*Hausfrauenbrigaden*). In part-time activities these brigades were to support local economic development and learn about professional fields which were atypical for women, such as the building industry. The following table provides an overview of the parallel development emerging from this point in time and of key events related to

7 Schüller, op.cit. and Hervée op.cit.. Both researchers focus on the promising awakening of the West German women's associations and take on the contemporary rhetoric of defense against state reprisals. They agree about the end of this phase in the late 1950s and a parallel development of the women's peace movement. None of the publications shows a particular interest in West Berlin.

8 Gerhard, op.cit., p. 381-388, Kerstin Dörhöfer, "Die Brücke zwischen alter und neuer Frauenbewegung in Architektur Architektur und Planung. Zum Gespräch mit Hilde Weström", in *Zurück oder vor? 1978-1998*, ed. Stephanie Bock and Heidrun Hubenthal (Kassel: kassel university press, 1999b).

op.cit.

architecture, urban development, and women architects' professionalization.
(table 3 | 1)

Key events / activities of women's movement and policies in Berlin 1946 – 1969			
West			East
Founding of Berlin Women's Association (<i>Berliner Frauenbund 1945 e.V.</i>) and Founding of antifascist women's associations in all four occupation sectors	1945	1945	Founding of women's committees (<i>Frauenausschüsse</i>)
Founding of working group of the Catholic women's associations (<i>Arbeitsgemeinschaft katholischer Frauenverbände und –gruppen</i>);	1946	1946	Inclusion of women's equality in the SED's "principles and objectives"; May/June: "Law for the democratisation of the German school", guaranteeing class, gender and regional equality; 13./14.7. First women's committees' delegates conference; 17.8. SMAD order on "equal payment for equal performance, regardless of gender and age".
Founding of women citizens' association (<i>Staatsbürgerinnenverband</i>); Founding of women lawyers' association (<i>Juristinnenverband</i>); merging of some women's associations into German Democratic Women's Association (<i>Demokratischer Frauenbund Deutschland</i>)	1947	1947	Dissolution of women's committees; founding of German Democratic Women's Association, 8.03.1947, (<i>Demokratischer Frauenbund Deutschlands</i>)
Founding of German women farmers' association (<i>Landfrauenverband</i>)	1948		
Union of the <i>Staatsbürgerinnenverbände</i> of the three West German occupation zones into the German Women's Association (<i>Deutscher Frauenring e.V.</i>)	1949	1949	Gender equality forms part of the GDR constitution
Founding of a government- affiliated non-partisan and non-denominational women's committee,	1950	1950	"Law on the protection of mothers and children", including extended maternity leave, child care, professional promotion ; Women's committees in state-owned companies.
Foundation of information service for	1951		

women's issues (<i>Informationsdienst für Frauenfragen e.V.</i>); <i>Deutscher Frauenring</i> becomes a full member of <i>International Council of Women (ICW)</i> in Athens; Passing of so-called "emergency law" (<i>Blitzgesetz</i>) against high treason, treason and state treason, often used against activists of the women's peace movement			
<i>Deutscher Frauenring</i> admitted to <i>International Lions Club Alliance of Women</i>	1952		
Conference of the women's association's working group for building and housing <i>Wohnen in der Großstadt</i> ; Participation of women's associations and architects in the run-up to the conference <i>Die Stadt von Morgen</i>	1957		
<i>Informationsdienst für Frauenfragen e.V.</i> renamed <i>Informationsdienst und Arbeitskreis deutscher Frauenverbände und Frauengruppen gemischter Verbände</i> (information service and working group of German women's associations and women's groups of mixed associations)	1958		
Introduction of the pill (<i>Anovlar</i>) on the West German market, prescription initially only for married women		1961	SED Communiqué "The woman – peace and socialism", criticising lack of women in leading positions; massive qualification measures for women; Statue book for labour (<i>Arbeitsgesetzbuch</i>), including regulations for an improved reconciliation of jobs and family work.
1963 Founding of Union Internationale des Femmes Architectes, Paris			
		1964	Scientific council "The woman in socialist society" (<i>Die Frau in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft</i>) established at Academy of Sciences
1965 First official women architects' meeting at the VIII. UIA Congress in Paris, participation of West and East German Women (Nina Kessler-Braunschweig, Anita Bach)			

		1965	<p>Survey by building academy women's committee on impact of the <i>Communiqué "The woman – peace and socialism"</i> on women's needs in housing</p> <p>The company women's committees are transformed into committees of the company unions and included in the Free Association of German Trade Unions' work (<i>Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, FDGB</i>);</p> <p>East German parliament passes "Family Law", including equal tasks for women and men in care work and child education, no benefit entitlement for women after divorce or being widowed;</p> <p>Introduction of the pill (<i>Ovosiston</i>) on the East German market, prescription free of charge</p>
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Women's situation on the labour market in the West

Looking at labour market structures, the economic miracle (*Wirtschaftswunder*) caused a slow return of women to the West Berlin workforce from the mid-1950s. Nevertheless, being a housewife was the norm for the post-war woman until the late 1960s. Regarding this phase, researchers have coined the term "standard biography" (*Normalbiographie*). Thus, it is not surprising that the West German *Bundestag* (Lower House of Parliament) did not adopt the law on women's equality until 1957. Women's associations fought throughout the 1950s for improvement in the legal status of employed women and against the continuation of traditional gender role stereotypes. They also advocated recognition of women's subsistence work as a contribution to post-war economic development.⁹ They wanted women's employment to be considered an integral part of social change, impacting women's biographies, instead of women constituting a labour reserve, to be called up or discharged as the economy required.¹⁰

⁹ A sound analysis of the FRG women's working situation in the post-war years is provided in Annette Kuhn and Doris Schubert, *op.cit.*

¹⁰ Klaus-Jörg Ruhl, *Frauen in der deutschen Nachkriegszeit 1945-1963* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1988), 7-15.

These demands for equal payment and working conditions referred both to the household income share that working women contributed and to changing educational careers of women. A West Berlin study on the situation and performance of working mothers explained that at the end of the 1950s gainful employment of women still correlated with an absolute necessity to supplement the male breadwinners' income. Only 348 out of 1000 West Berlin interviewees lived in "complete" nuclear families. The others were widows, single or divorced women. Two thirds of the subjects contributed 30-50% to household income and only this safeguarded the family's overall livelihood.¹¹ This situation stood in stark contrast to the contemporary West German role models. These were, as Dörhöfer put it, supported through a "rare harmony between the economy, unions, and public administration".¹² The governing party throughout the 1950s was the CDU/CSU and their female model was mirrored in Ludwig Erhardt's labour market policies as well as in Franz-Josef Würmeling's family policies, together providing the framework for the West German economic recovery. Budde maintains that the structural differences in both women's policies and women's situations in the West and the East took shape during the Cold War and became a subject of debate between the two social systems.¹³

Women's situation on the labour market in the East

Whereas in the West some of the pre-war women's associations tried to follow the patterns of women's engagement during the *Weimar Republic*, the development of an independent GDR women's movement was impossible after the dissolution of the women's committees in 1947 until the 1980s.¹⁴ That is why scholars of the East German development often focus on women's reception of the government women's policies: It also led to the thesis of "forced emancipation" (*Zwangsemanzipation*), although there is little evidence in the contemporary literature. Sources specifying *women architects'* and *engineers'* receptions of the early GDR women's policies are limited. The statements of contemporary witnesses may not always be honest portrayals of their thinking. They are found mainly in the very few publications on women architects' or engineer's professionalisation, such as the interview collection by

11 Gisela Jaeke, „Erwerbstätige Mütter," *Die Zeit*, January 12, 1960.

12 Kerstin Dörhöfer, „Reproduktionsbereich Wohnen. Geschlechterdifferente Ansprüche und bauliche Standards," in *Bauen und wohnen in Niedersachsen während der 50er Jahre*, ed. Adelheid von Saldern (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1999a), 181-198.

13 Budde 1997, op.cit., p. 10.

14 For an organizational history of the women's associations supported by the public authorities, see Corinne Bouillot, Bouillot, op.cit.. She points on the Marxist-Leninist perspective on women's rights as "secondary contradiction" (*Nebenwiderspruch*).

Isabel Bauer and Helga Fassbinder immediately after reunification and Karin Zachmann's research on GDR women engineers in the Cold War.

The massive inclusion of women in the labour force from the 1950s onwards changed the image of male-female relations, but there is little evidence on whether and to what extent the image shift for the occupational sphere influenced patterns of reproduction and consumption. Summarizing, there are few different or contradicting arguments in this body of literature. They do differ in the severity with which the authors criticise the public authorities' attitudes and policies. An example is criticism on the West's neglect of the working class and problems of women earning low wages in reconciling family and career. This was an explicit issue in the socialist system, which aimed at winning women from all classes for production. In contrast, GDR women in high skilled positions faced a threefold burden: coping with family work, jobs and, in addition, *obligatory* political engagement.

Rosemarie Nave-Herz asks explicitly whether the absence of a GDR women's movement resulted from fear of state reprisals or from general satisfaction with the degree of emancipation GDR women had achieved. She criticises the Marxist ideology that considered not being gainfully employed as legitimising oppression of women, and focused on labour market and family policy measures to promote women's equality. In other texts, this issue remains between the lines.

Nevertheless, she states "*de facto*, many laws, and political measures (...) improved the real situation of women, particularly mothers." In her generally positive assessment of GDR women's policies, she refers to Karin Hildebrandt, who developed a three-phase model of the SED women's policy. This model starts with the integration of women in the labour market (1945-65), followed by a focus on further education and qualification for women (1963-72). The third phase addressed the reconciliation of professional and family work, regarding them as equal tasks (1971-1989).¹⁵ This path of development led, in fact, to a better income for technically qualified women from the 1960s. In practice, the majority of them worked on production lines or in technical drawing offices, and in the building industries. Engineers, architects and planners in expert positions remained an exception.

15 Nave-Herz, *op.cit.*, p. 40-125.

Concerning successful qualification offers in architectural or planning practice, the case study subjects and other GDR women architects¹⁶ emphasised the fostering of academic education through distanced studies for women who had heavy family workloads (*Frauensonderstudium*) from 1963, and an external PhD programme (*außerordentliche Aspirantur*). In either case, the employer designated and delegated the person. The PhD scheme was open to both women and men. The interviewed women's esteem for these measures was higher than for the women's promotion plans (*Frauenförderpläne*), which had to be implemented developed by all state companies from the early 1950s, and more intensely from the late 1960s / early 1970s.¹⁷

Karin Zachmann observed that from the late 1960s the intensified promotion of women in the engineering education led to increasing resistance by the academic decision-makers.¹⁸ This is probably a reason why Anita Bach is the only GDR woman holding a professorship in architecture. In terms of family policies, interviewees with children also stressed the provision of childcare, an option to breastfeed during working hours, and the proximity of social and daily shopping infrastructure in the housing environment as essential supports for the reconciliation of career and family.

In contrast, all interviews that served as sources for this research indicate that most women in the technical and building professions saw the other schemes for the promotion of women as propaganda rather than instruments facilitating factual equality. Women architects and engineers quickly became aware that, in the end, the participation of women remained mainly limited to lower positions, despite the qualification programmes, and although their participation in the building industries was, according to the GDR statistical yearbook, twice as high as in West Germany. Even the collective contract of the state construction and building assembly company (*Berlin VEB Bau- und Montagekombinat*) stated that "out of 15 directors and 180 department heads, there were only 14 women in 1970; all managers of sites and and

16 Beyond the women architects depicted in the case studies, seven other architects in Berlin, Dresden and Rostock were interviewed and the results of interviews with eight women architects in the context of a research commissioned by the Brandenburg Heinrich-Böll-Foundation in 2011 could also be used as empirical evidence for arguments found in the literature and to further develop these.

17 See for example the resolution of the 2nd conference of the national board of the FDGB in 1952 (Free German Federation of Trade Unions), published in Merkel, op.cit., p. 87.

18 Karin Zachmann, „Mobilizing Manpower: Women, engineers and the East-German State in the Cold War.“ In *Crossing Boundaries, Building bridges. Comparing the History of Women Engineers 1870s-1990* (Amsterdam: OPAC, 2000), ed. Annie Canel, Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, 211.

team leaders were men and just two women hold the position of building site managers".¹⁹

According to Nave-Herz and Bouillot, the *DFD* had 1.4 million members, but was "neither to be described as a real women's lobby nor as a 'bottom-up' organisation (...). It had an ambivalent position, due to its two parallel functions, the representation of its members' interests and the communication of party resolutions and of the Marxist-Leninist perspective on society."²⁰

On the one hand, this role and the fact that *SED* women were in leadership positions prohibited opposition to the East German Socialist Unity Party (*SED, Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*). On the other hand, the mass organization's main target group was women not aligned to the party (i.e. the majority of its members). Many women architects belonging to the *BdA* were also *DFD* members. In contrast to direct party membership, there is hardly any evidence that a mere membership promoted careers.

In conclusion

This section of Chapter 3 presented a comparative and analytic perspective on the women's movements in both parts of the city, and on women's situation on the labour market and policies for the promotion of women in the latter. It opened a specific perspective on women in architecture and construction industries.

In conclusion, the overall analysis showed that all comparative approaches to women's movement history and activities (and empowerment) reveal a structural problem. The FRG perspective is on bottom-up resistance. The GDR perspective is on top-down women's policy. With regard to the way GDR women architects saw themselves, the research provides evidence for Ilse Nagelschmidt's assertion that: "Terms like *feminism* and *patriarchy* were largely treated as taboo subjects. Pursuing the objective of denunciation, they were often used absurdly and defined as products of Western decadence and worthless for the GDR society"²¹. At the same time, "FRG women's

19 The contract is published in Fassbinder, Helga and Isabel Bauer, eds. *Wichtig war das Bewusstsein der Frauen, Einfluss zu haben. Erfahrungswelten von Frauen im Bau- und Planungswesen der DDR*. Harburger Berichte zur Stadtplanung. Harburger Berichte zur Stadtplanung, 7 (Dortmund: Dortmunder Vertrieb für Bau- und Planungsliteratur, 1996), 116 - 140.

20 Nave-Herz, op.cit., p. 87-88; Bouillot, op.cit., p. 4.

21 Nagelschmidt, op.cit., p. 28-38.

demands for factual equality were often maligned as influenced by the communist party and as such dismissed.²²

In East Germany, the need for a larger labour force led above all to a discovery (or maintenance) of the woman as a human resource for economic development, or, as Haveneth concluded: "Whereas, however, employment of women was explicitly desired in the GDR, the FRG government saw it as a temporary, necessary evil."²³

These contrasting developments did not lead in the two parts of the city to totally opposite, but to considerably different role models, which are discussed in the next section.

3 II 1 GLORIFYING HOUSEWIVES AND SPOUSES VERSUS "WOMEN AT THE WORKBENCH" AND WORKING MOTHERS: WEST AND EAST GERMAN ROLE MODELS FOR WOMEN IN THE 1950s AND 1960s

Role models form an essential part of a society's system of values and their analysis, particularly the analysis of stereotypes of women's role models, is a substantial element in both feminist and gender analysis of women's access (or rather denial of access) to male-dominated professions. The objective of this section is to explain the role models for women in the 1950s and 1960s, as opposed to those for men and in their political and legal context. It will also demonstrate how the design of private living space (in part explicitly) tended to support these role models. A further analytic question is to what extent these role models for women may have fostered or hindered women architects' professionalisation and which variables of difference had the stronger power of reality (*Realitätsmacht*): *role models for women, women's policies or habitus of the profession*.

Suggesting gender as an analytic category for women's (and specifically women architects') history, Jane Rendell refers to Joan W. Scott when she states: "Gender is itself an analytic category. Gender not only defines lives as they were lived in the past,

22 Nave-Herz, op.cit., p. 113.

23 Haveneth, op.cit., p. 111. Haveneth states in the following that there was no *Wirtschaftswunder* for the West German women, because particularly the non-married women contributed to the economic success but did not participate in the latter due to their income situation and working conditions.

but it also constructs the forms of evidence chosen by the historian through which they interpret and explain history; they are gendered according to the viewpoint of their author in the past as well as the historian in the present.”²⁴

Missed opportunities to break the continuity of stereotyped role models for women

Both feminists of the first generation and, retrospectively, feminist scholars assumed that the post-war years, being a period of necessary social redefinition, provided a key opportunity to break the continuity of women’s role stereotypes carried over from *National Socialist* role models for women. Their assumption was based on the *Neue Frau* role model that emerged after the *First World War* in the 1920s, and seemed to be reinforced by women’s participation in male-dominated professions in the last years before World War II and the aftermath of the war, in many occupational groups, even academia. For example, Annette Kuhn states in this context that many sources on women’s work after 1945 first supported the thesis of a break in the continuity of role models for women: “Given the social importance of women’s work in the broadly defined field of reproduction, gains were predictable also in the field of production (...) Also, inner-familiar structures seemed, after 1945, not only to change in favour of a more dominant role for women, but also with regard to a new perspective on women’s role within the family.”²⁵

The first women’s movement endowed the *Neue Frau* with the right to vote, access to academic and other qualification, increased employment of middle- and upper-class women, self-determination of lifestyle and private relationships for all women. As the research by Ute Maasberg and Regina Prinz on the German women’s avant-garde of the 1920s shows, this progress coincided with the increasing self-confidence of women artists and architects, who “created an independent image of their occupation, which closely matched the society and life. They considered architecture as cultural work for the new times.”

In contrast, as Dörhöfer, and Maasberg and Prinz demonstrate with the example of Bruno Taut, male architects explicitly considered the *Neue Frau* as an appreciative target group for the modernist “new home” (*Neues Wohnen*), which should

24 Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner and Iain Borden, eds., *Gender Space Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2000), 20.

25 Annette Kuhn, „Das Projekt: Politeia – Eine Einführung“, in *Politeia. Szenarien aus der deutschen Geschichte nach 1945 aus Frauensicht*, eds. Annette Kuhn, Marianne Pitzen, and Marianne Hochgeschurz (Bonn: Frauenmuseum, 1999), 15.

substantially support women's contribution to the overall economy through housing designs that made housework easier. Women were seen as specialists in homemaking, however, even in Taut's publication *The new apartment. The woman as creator (Die neue Wohnung. Die Frau als Schöpferin)*, it remains clear that the woman was seen as a user of the built environment, designer of the interior and social life within this environment, but not as an active contributor to the design of housing or other elements of the built environment.²⁶ Whereas Dörhöfer quotes Taut as "at least one architect who took housework, the female gender and the ideas for social change which were imminent in the model of the *Neue Frau* seriously"²⁷.

Maasberg and Prinz criticise Taut for failing to support emancipation when he defines the roles of architects and women: "Thus, the woman as creator of the home ultimately becomes the creator of the house and we can, affirmatively and joyfully state: the architect thinks – the woman manages."²⁸

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Fowler and Wilson use Bourdieu's theory that one's participation in cultural production and architecture is linked to her or his privileged social origins, her or his "disposition of being in the world", her or his participation in the *State Nobility* to explain women's limited access to architectural practice. Taking this into account, it is not surprising that Berlin's pioneering women architects belonged to the *Neue Frau* lifestyle group. Dörhöfer states that these women identified with this role model and "translated their lifestyle in spatial design and developed an alternative concept of living. Using stones and cement, wood and steel, glass and other building material to implement these concepts (...) they also visualised another aspect of the *Neue Frau* era: the disbanding of the polarisation between private and public and the confinement of the female sex to private space."²⁹

Revisiting the *Neue Frau* role model is interesting because the women's movement (representing *women's interests in social development*) and the architects (representing the *State Nobility* and desiring to reserve the profession for the *male elect*) interpreted this role model quite differently, corresponding to their own gender and professional roles.

26 Bruno Taut, *Die Neue Wohnung: Die Frau als Schöpferin* (Leipzig: Klinkhard Biermann, 1925).

27 Dörhöfer 2004, op.cit, 192.

28 Maasberg and Prinz, op.cit., p. 26-28. Maasberg and Prinz show different perspectives on the *Neue Frau*, from general social development in context of the New Life movement after the First World War and from the perspective of women's practice and representation in art and architecture.

29 Dörhöfer 2004, op.cit, 192.

Role models for women and their political and legal basis in the West

The 1950s and early 1960s were, in terms of women's policies, chiefly a period of social "restoration" in West Germany. This "restoration" was grounded in the essential features of the conservative policies of the CDU/CSU government and the new legal framework that essentially supported the family as the "source of life for state and society" (*Lebensquell für Staat und Gesellschaft*).³⁰ Herrad Schenk states in her pioneer work on the history of women's liberation in West Germany that during these decades the word "liberation" would only have elicited a sense of fatigue among most West German women.³¹ Budde's observation that both in communicating reality and in promoting the CDU government's policy, "In contrast to the development in the GDR, the Western media reinforced the image of an always present mother and elegant wife, who continued to fulfil her 'natural' role in an increasingly mechanised household, richly furnished with consumer goods"³² supports Schenk's striking statement.

In West Germany, the law on gender equality is part of the *Basic Rights* articles of the Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*). It was not adopted until 1957/58, i.e. nine years later than in the East. It reads as follows: "Men and women have equal rights." (Article 3, Paragraph 2, Basic Law)³³

Based on a law that fundamentally opened a perspective on factual equality, the West German Federal Constitutional Court (*Bundesgerichtshof*), however, used biological difference as legitimating unequal treatment of women and men, particularly in technical professions. Thus, women's access to jobs in the building industries became a niche issue and finally fell victim to industrial safety and health legislation. The political intention was to get women back to home and to home and hearth (*an Heim and Herd*).

In the early 1950s, *Grundstein*, the magazine of the building industries union IG-Bau-Steine-Erden, agitated vehemently against continuing women's employment in the

30 Würmeling, F.-J. (1954) *Familienpolitik und Staatspolitik (Family Policy and State Policy)*, in: Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung. Bonn, 16.9.1954, .1537. Quoted from Budde 2010 op.cit., 10.

31 Schenk, op.cit., p. 8.

32 Gunilla-Friederike Budde, "Einleitung: Zwei Welten? Frauenerwerbsarbeit im deutsch-deutschen Vergleich", in *Frauen arbeiten: weibliche Erwerbsarbeit in Ost- und Westdeutschland nach 1945*, ed. Gunilla-Friederike Budde (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1997d), p. 188 ff.

33 This was only in 1994 accomplished by two paragraphs on the state's role in promoting factual gender equality and and the eliminating gender discrimination, and on discrimination related to the different categories of diversity.

construction industry: "By the end of 1949, about 2525 women were employed [in the building sector] in the territory of the Federal Republic of West Germany. In relation to the number of men working in this field, this is a low figure. But this is a good thing. "

The article continues to reason why one actually did not need to take the share of women and their occupation within the various built environment professional fields seriously, and why this involvement would not be "threatening". Amongst other things, the author doubted the relevance of so many women working in the building sector because the number included the daughters of craftsmen and "only trainees" doing internships to prepare them for subsequent academic studies or technical schools. The text states that "real" employment, aimed at making a living through work in the building industry, had not yet been observed amongst women.³⁴ Both the regulations and this internal industrial argument could be turned against women interested in internships required for academic education in architecture.

Additionally, until the 1960s women needed their husbands' permission to work³⁵, and and this consent was more likely to be given in tune with the established role models for women, i.e. in social work, teaching and office jobs. Working women were only gradually accepted, and at first only single or divorced women, later mothers as well. Equal pay for the same work (*Gleicher Lohn für gleiche Arbeit*) remained an issue in both women's associations and the trade union women's committees throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Only in 1955, a Federal Labour Court (*Bundesarbeitsgericht*) decision led to repealing the general reduction clause (*Abschlagsklausel*) which doomed women to earn 10-25% less than men. Nevertheless, women continued to be subject to discrimination in accordance with the invention of so-called low wage groups (*Leichtlohngruppen*). The interviewed West Berlin women architects reported that, regardless of whether they freelanced or were salaried, they earned less than their male colleagues did.

The legal framework obviously worked *against* women's gender equality rights and discouraged gender crossing to the male dominated professions. If one also considers the statements of the interviewed women architects who were employed on project-related or limited contracts, one might conclude that the income disparity is likely to have been an important reason why fewer women figured in West Berlin professional practice (particularly freelance practice) than one might have expected from the number of female students.

³⁴ *Der Grundstein* 3 (1950).

³⁵ This went so far that he was the only person permitted to sign the employment contract and until 1958 he had the right of immediate termination of this contract.

Finally, in the 1950s, when it became obvious that too few people aspired to academic training, women were targeted in promotion of education. However, this promotion catered to a role stereotype and was not designed to improve women's access to technical professions, but to channel them into fields that would allow them to abandon their job temporarily during the so-called family phase and guarantee their option to return later. In this context, it is astonishing that generally there was little resistance in the 1950s to re-implementing the conservative and bipolar gender roles order, which clearly promoted marriages forcing women to be breadwinner-housewife marriages and traditional family patterns while discouraging other solutions. Evidence of this family policy is found in the tax law, the introduction of a child benefit (*Kindergeld*) instead of public childcare, and in the media (family magazines, TV documentaries, advertisements, etc.).³⁶

Women's magazines presented from the early 1950s until the late 1960s four role models for women: the *employed woman* in female professions, the *beauty*, the *partner and mother* and the homemaker and caretaker for the family. If appearing at all, women architects tended to be represented in daily newspapers or professional journals, in articles on local building projects. An exception was Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach whose skyscraper project *Steglitzer Kreisel* even became an issue for the news weekly *Der Spiegel* and a subject of local TV broadcasting beginning in 1969.³⁷

This state of affairs hardly favoured freelance work by women architects. However, apart from reasons involving architectural studio and commissioning dynamics, and given the specific work patterns of architectural design, it is less astonishing that the 1950s saw an increase in women architects working in *wife-husband* partnerships, and the 1960s an increase in architects working in teamwork (*Architekten-Gemeinschaften*) at the top level.³⁸ When women architects with children worked freelance, it caused constant problems in organising family life, because the special time-related patterns of architectural design do not easily fit the rhythm of tasks demanded of a mother.³⁹

36 Budde 1997d, op.cit., p. 194; ibid 2010, p. 7.

37 Diana Schellhas provided an analysis of the main West German women's magazines *Brigitte* and *FürSie* between 1951 and 1958, for the mentioned categories of role models for women see op.cit., p.53.

38 Helga Schmidt-Thomsen observes this for Germany in general, see Helga Schmidt-Thomsen, 1984 op.cit., 29

39 Hilde Weström reported that she became aware only decades later of the extent to which she neglected tasks and day rhythms related to her role as mother. In her private archive, she kept a desperate letter of her 19-year-old son, asking why she could not send her office home after 5 pm.

Role models for women, architectural design, and urban planning in the West

Feminist and gender-oriented research on architectural design and urban planning has shown that the design of housing and its environment have a distinct, demonstrable effect on women's participation in social resources. However, the German body of literature on this field concerning the 1950s and early 60s remains limited. Katharina Weresch focuses in her research on gender and housing on examples in West Germany, and so far, only Dörhöfer and Johanna Hartmann have provided gender-sensitive analyses of the design of Berlin housing in the two decades considered here. Dörhöfer analysed works by Hilde Weström, Hartmann investigated gender aspects in the debates on and planning for the *Hansa-Viertel*. Her work was on the intersection of architectural history and women's history. The key hypothesis of both is that the housing design of the 1950s and 1960s expresses the desire to re-implement the old bipolar gender order: men as breadwinners, women as housewives and mothers. According to Hartmann, "The private flat became in the 1950s a central platform of social policy debates on social order. (...) The objective of social order restoration, above all concerning family and gender relations, was directly connected with the flat arrangement."

References to this hypothesis are found in several exhibitions on housing design, which in a certain sense continued the "educational concept" of *Modern Age* architecture. Hartmann provides several examples, such as the *Constructa* in Hannover (1951), which received intrinsic support by professional associations and organisations from all over Germany, and the Berlin exhibitions *Wir bauen ein besseres Berlin* (We build a better Berlin, 1952) and the previously mentioned *Stadt von Morgen* (City of Tomorrow, 1957). These exhibitions provided models of how to use the flats, "living narratives," which corresponded to the contemporary gender-political objectives and debates. The family orientation of housing design also becomes visible in the planning rhetoric, for example, when the curator of the exhibition *Die Stadt von Morgen*, Karl Otto, depicts the family as the "smallest planning cell" and its existence "as the basic element for planning." Hartmann's reflection implicitly opens a line of thought to the feminist debates on "embodied spaces" when she states that "The female body, whose primary task was defined as 'protective womb' for the next generation of a reconstituted nation, was located in the private living sphere, needing itself a protective shell."

She also shows how the planning debates take on the arguments of the debate on women and work, employing the "nature" of the female body as legitimating the exclusion from specific professions. She underlines the gender connotation of the

housing design with quotes from a passage of the *Interbau* catalogue, assigning to the future male inhabitants professions like “architect”, to women inhabitants professions like “woman photographer” or “fashion model”. Hartmann concludes that through this intertwining of gender politics and the private living space, “the private flat became a political space”.⁴⁰

Concerning the family-oriented flats shown at the *Interbau*, only Hilde Weström’s design for a variable flat designated a space for a woman’s desk. In contrast to the positive consideration depicted in Chapter 1, a more critical perspective on this design is that this was not really a “room of one’s own”: The position of the table is in an open space in a corner of the living room. Its virtue is that Weström established such a space at all and that it is in front of a window, looking on a balcony or terrace. However, even in her design, the hobby space for the male inhabitants of the flat has more than *twice* surface, is a closed room, and has a door to the balcony or terrace. In addition, despite the living narrative provided for the model flat labelling the woman’s table a woman’s “desk,” the press assigned it the function of a “sewing table”. (cf. Chapter 4 and description of the flat in the case, Chapter 6).

Another explicitly gender-focused field of action in housing design was the *Wohnung für Alleinstehende* (flats for singles). In contrast to the pre-war period, the addressees were mainly single women, who were either described as working women (e.g. flats for civil servants were specifically provided) or as “in deficit”, due to living without a partner or family, not least to the war-related “surplus of women”.⁴¹ Already in 1949, *Bauwelt* published an article written by a single woman on decent housing provision for this target group, explicitly pointing to the importance of taking into account the potential *users’* perspective and ideas. The author, Hanneliese Okrassa, refers to gender difference observed in the consideration of housing supply for singles in the UK when she suggests two solutions that would suit women singles. These are: first, buildings with independent one-room flats (in contrast to the *Ledigenwohnheime* (room-and-service residences for singles, preferred by men), which should be easy to

40 Hartmann 2008, op.cit., 42-43. For more detailed elaboration of the issue, see her diploma thesis (2006) and master’s thesis (forthcoming at Oldenburg University). For the catalogue quotes, see Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin GmbH, ed. *Interbau Berlin 1957. Amtlicher Katalog der Internationalen Bauausstellung Berlin 1957* (Berlin-Charlottenburg: Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin GmbH, 1957), 240. Otto’s quote is also published in her text.

41 Gunilla-Friederike Budde also reveals another “type” of single woman or mother: women who divorced because partners who returned from war could not cope with women, who “had developed unexpected power and an even more intensive relation with their children” and concludes that “obviously, the main problem of many families, that culminated in a high divorce rate, was less the absence of men than their suddenly being again present” (Budde, op.cit., 7).

air, provide a small kitchen and shared space in the building for community-building activities, and second, *living hotels* with mixed inhabitants.⁴²

Role models for women and their political and legal background in the East

The East German law on gender equality, embedded in the constitution's section on civil rights, was passed in 1949 and reads as follows: "Man and woman have equal rights. This abolishes all laws and regulations that oppose women's equality." (Article 7 of the GDR Constitution)

The wording of the law left, at least at first sight, less scope for discrimination of working women and it actually led to the integration of women in many professional fields. This involved stronger representation of women in engineering, informatics, and natural science professions, above all in the building industries.

The law for the protection of mothers and children and the rights of women (*Gesetz über Mutter- und Kinderschutz und die Rechte der Frau*) was implemented in 1950. Despite its objective to support women's full employment, it presents a governmental statement on the conservation of bipolar gender roles: it established a legal framework for mothers' employment and the creation of crèches and other childcare institutions. Thus, while women's work outside the home was promoted, women's family tasks remained unaffected. And, where the state had assumed that the reconciliation of paid work and family work would be taken for granted throughout the 1950s, in 1965 through the passing of the family law (*Familiengesetzbuch*) the role of mother was explicitly added to the role model for women. This law increased the value of reproductive tasks, but simultaneously again defined them as women's responsibilities.⁴³

The so-called *Berufslenkung*, policies designed to inhibit gender specific occupational segregation, started in the 1960s after the Wall was erected and was pursued in the 1970s within the context of the "science and technology revolution." It was intended to establish greater participation of women in male-dominated professions. Nonetheless, female students' career aspirations corresponded to traditional female lines, particularly teaching and medicine. Only in the mid-1960s did motivation of

42 Hannelise Okrassa, „Die Unterbringung der Alleinstehenden“ *Bauwelt* 31 (1949):486

43 Details in Irene Dölling, "Weibliche Wendeerfahrungen „oben“ und „unten“", in *Soziale Ungleichheit und Geschlechterverhältnisse*, ed. Petra Frerichs and Margareta Steinrücke (Opladen: Leske+Budrich, 1993), 28.

women towards male-dominated professions manifest itself. Furthermore, after the VIIIth SED Party Congress, the government also attempted to steer young men towards the two traditional female professions due to a perceived threat of “feminisation” and (unspecified) problems in these professions⁴⁴. These factors became evident in labour market statistics as well as in profession-related debates.

The East Berlin (and German) woman of the 1950s is a *working woman*: Merkel demonstrated in her research that this role model is a heroic one, of women doing hard physical work. The sectors covered were mining, metallurgy and the construction of heavy machines, but also non-mechanised, large-scale farming.⁴⁵ Looking specifically at building industry media coverage, one finds images of women producing building material or driving cranes, and, equipped with safety hard hats, in teams on construction sites. In official communication on building policies, the promotion of women in construction trades became, at least from the 4th *Baukonferenz* in 1965, an explicit topic.

Part-time work: a labour market instrument criticised by women trade unions in both parts of the city

An important aspect of the gender-specific division of work and the social division of labour is part-time work, which was already provided at that time for many women as an opportunity to work remuneratively. However, even then it revealed several discriminating aspects. It is thus important to emphasise that trade union women in both East and West Germany argued against part-time work although this form of work was in strong demand among women in general. Arguments against part-time work varied depending on the audience: whereas the West German debate stressed the ideal of the housewife and mother being endangered, the corresponding East German issue was primarily undesirable competition between women who worked full time and their part-time working colleagues.

Role models for women, architectural design, urban planning, and construction industries in the East

Wir Frauen vom Bau (We, women in the construction industries), a propaganda publication of the Central Committee for Innovation (*Neuererwesen*) summarises the

44 See SAPMO-BA, DY30/IV 2/2045/15, in Budde 1997, op.cit., . 211.

45 Merkel 1994, op.cit., 367.

success achieved by 1970 in the integration of women in the building industry workforce. It starts with the successful educational promotion of women in the construction professions (engineering colleges and universities), outlines “careers” of *Trümmerfrauen* who worked thereafter in the building industry, of women who came from craft trades into construction work. The motive for the publication was less to tell a success story than a dissemination of desiderate, which becomes immediately clear between the lines of the first preface, starting with a Lenin quote: “Through their collaboration, women and girls absolutely confirm Lenin’s thesis: ‘The participation of women in social production encourages their development and increases their independence.’ Today wholesale prejudices against women’s equality are long overcome. Now it is time to recognise, that the socialist society loses essential resources if we do not pave the way for qualified women’s access to higher responsibility. (...) This book is not only a tribute to previously achieved performance of women and girls in our sector. It will motivate other women and girls to opt for career opportunities in the building industry.”⁴⁶

Yet, of the 16 women introduced, only two are architects, one of them actually entrusted with the architectural design of the Neubrandenburg cultural centre (Iris Grund), the other involved in urban planning, working on industrial park planning in East Berlin (Dorothea Krause). A third woman is an industrial physician.

In most of the portrayals, it is obvious that both technical expertise and *feminine competences* form part of each woman’s contribution to socialist society development and that the expressionist, sometimes almost heroic sketches depict solely self-confident and attractive women. (Illustration 2 | 5)



Illustration 3 | 5 Illustration in *Wir Frauen vom Bau*, portraits of women architects and engineers, 1971

46 Wolfgang Juncker, Minister for the Building Industries, in *Zentrales Büro für Neuererwesen, Patente und Lizenzen des Ministeriums für Bauwesen* (1970),5-6.

In addition, the book retraces women's inclusion in the building policies as a common thread throughout the *Baukonferenzen* (building conferences.⁴⁷) The second preface ends as follows, citing Minister Juncker's statement at the 5th *Baukonferenz*: "Bouquets of flowers for the 8th of March, women's day, are not enough! At the 5th *Baukonferenz*, Minister Juncker said, 'All heads [of companies, collectives, government agencies...] are personally obliged to promote the further qualification of women, particularly for technical professions and assignment to leading positions'⁴⁸

Despite being a propaganda publication, the book does not paint the picture of a perfect world. Issues of competitiveness between women and men emerge as well as a reflection on the underrepresentation of women in leading positions. The lingering necessity to overcome gender stereotypes and to retain one's femininity in the male domain feature in many portrayals.

The final part of *Wir Frauen vom Bau* combines reflections on necessary future development, in terms of increasing production, of technological innovation and upgrading women's contribution, with an analysis of women's time budget and tasks throughout the day and a concept for state measures to minimise parental duties in favour of mothers' contribution to production. Despite rhetoric about "parental time," it is clear that the concept refers only to women. However, the objective concerns women working in the building industries and engineering fields, not in planning offices (architects). In a list of building industry occupations deemed suitable for women, crafts, engineering and industrial production jobs substantially outweigh those related to the design process.

This approach applies to any building process and particularly to the GDR construction system, but is also symptomatic of gender roles in architecture, even in industrialised building systems. Nonetheless, the first part of the list is an impressive array of gender crossing within different labour market sectors and professions, although of course, the GDR also manifested typical women's and men's vocations, typical women's and men's tasks and role stereotype hierarchies within professions.

47 During the period investigated here, five *Baukonferenzen* took place: in 1955, 1958, 1959, 1965, and 1969.

48 Lothar Lindner, chairman of the IG Bau-Holz board, in *Zentrales Büro für Neuererwesen, Patente und Lizenzen des Ministeriums für Bauwesen* (East Berlin, 1970), 8.

(Budde addresses significant bias in interpersonal relations in the workplace and between workplaces).⁴⁹

Chronik des Bauwesens (bibliographic chronicle of the GDR building industry) listed numerous works on women in the building industry as early as 1949-69. However, eyewitness accounts of women architects, analysis of contemporary specialist publications and the above-mentioned interview series by Bauer and Fassbinder with women who had worked in different fields of the GDR building industry confirmed the supposition that these texts applied better to female construction workers or civil engineers than to *women architects*. Nevertheless, the texts in newspapers, women's magazines and the journal *Architektur der DDR* (GDR Architecture) supported the intended image and role models for women.

Interestingly, Budde starts her essay on *Paradefrauen. Akademikerinnen in Ost- und Westdeutschland* (shining examples of academic women in East and West Germany), which apart from this opening sequence hardly addresses women architects or engineers, with a quote from Frank Beyer's 1966 film *Spur der Steine* (Trace of Stones).⁵⁰ This could indicate that on the one hand, as argued in this text, Budde recognised that the image of everything connected to building and solution of the housing problem had great symbolic importance, which was even more "loaded" with the image of the working woman. On the other hand, since her own themes are in different fields, she does not cite architecture in continuing her argument. Beyer's film was, among other things, criticised by the political and cultural authorities because it did not sufficiently represent the *qualified* working woman. Conflicts about the public screening of this film arose because the principal character, a qualified woman engineer, is preoccupied with private conflicts associated with bourgeois society rather than "working or leading." Thus she did not match the "prototype of the new East German woman". This character not only illustrates Budde's thesis that the increase of women in engineering professions was due rather to a policy campaign than any genuine women's interest. It also proves that women's participation in the leadership renewal (*Elitenwechsel*) was limited, and exhibits the discrepancy between women architects' or engineers' qualification and their frequently reduced level of professional participation.

49 Gunilla-Friederike Budde, "Einleitung: Zwei Welten? Frauenerwerbsarbeit im deutsch-deutschen Vergleich" in *Frauen arbeiten: weibliche Erwerbsarbeit in Ost- und Westdeutschland nach 1945*, ed. Gunilla-Friederike Budde (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1997d) 7-17.

50 Budde 1997c, op.cit., 183.

Summarising, the literature shows that the reason for change in women's role models in both parts of the city (hence in both German states), was more external and functional within the overall political context and economy than related to women's associations' internal objectives and lobbying during the 1950s and 1960s. In both societies, the main arguments for altering social roles ascribed to women derived from the economic context, in other words the labour market and social policy. Above all, the numerous, primarily male war casualties and the low birth rate during the war created bottlenecks in the area of qualified workers. Human resources became scarce in the FRG with the economic miracle (*Wirtschaftswunder*) that increased demand for skilled workers. In the GDR the labour deficit was aggravated by the mass exodus from East Germany (*Republikflucht*) before the Berlin Wall was built in 1961. However, instead of automatically producing a *real* change of role models for women, the increasing demand for female labour in many ways only served to reproduce the social phenomenon of the last war years and early post-war period. To a certain extent, women took on tasks and responsibilities that had a male connotation, but in doing so, they hardly achieved a general change in the gender connotation of the fields they entered.

Whereas for most scholars of post-war gender equality, post-war change, particularly, in West Germany, was a step backward compared to Weimar Republic gains, Christine Niemeyer suggests a different interpretation of (at least West German) women's acceptance of the stay-at-home-mum and/or housewife role: "To be feminine was a novelty that many women (of this generation) had never known. Throughout the 1940s, they had not been given a choice but were forced to take on men's roles and bear the double burden due to conditions during the war and its aftermath. The jobs women had to take were often underpaid and provided few career opportunities. Indeed, overall the 'taste of independence' experienced by women was full of burdens and hardships. In contrast, the status for women encouraged by the political establishment in the late 1940s and 1950s seemed to offer comfort, stability, and normality, something many women had not enjoyed in years and were longing for."⁵¹

East German women had much less choice. The patriarchal character of the gender role models was manifested notably in the *instrumentalisation* of women through a top-down *emancipation* concept and ironically may also have limited men's self-defined choice of lifestyle and profession. Particularly the social context, within which many more women were working, and from the mid-1950s with increasing qualification, makes it possible to reconstruct the continuity of the "ideal constructs."

51 Niemeyer, op.cit., p. 2.

The GDR constitution followed the differentiation within the traditional cultural pattern of industrial societies, considering *productive* (paid), employed work as the epitome of work and *reproductive* (unpaid) housework, as *not work*. Irene Dölling observed that “The changing models of women’s policies during the 40-year GDR history did not question the characteristics of the gender roles for women and men assigned by the general doctrine. Modifications were more a reaction to short-term change in the economic and political circumstances or to the social conflicts arising from the political programs and the hierarchic gender order embedded therein.”⁵²

In a remarkably frank paper at the meeting of women architects at the UIA congress in July 1965, Anita Bach depicted the representation of women in architectural practice: “If I may say something about women in the practice of our profession I must emphasise that there is no *formal* limitation to obtaining a leading position. The offices and agencies go to *great pains* to observe the legal measures to qualify an increasing number of women architects for leading positions. In the big offices, women are working as heads of design teams as well as men, some even as managing directors. The percentage, however, is *not in correct proportion to the overall number of women architects*. One should also keep in mind that women often have – because of the previously mentioned prejudices and their additional duties at home – less confidence than men in their ability to bear the burden of leadership.”⁵³

It is significant that the title of her presentation focuses, similar to her presentation for the *IVth International Conference of Women Scientists and Engineers*, on “problems” and not on successes.⁵⁴ Bach’s discourse carries on with praise for childcare policies, but also expresses regret that in both female and male professions, the image of the *werktätige Frau* (working woman) was merely *added* to the primary role images of the housewife and mother: “I need not say much about the additional work for the family and the household of a woman who works full time. Each of you knows how difficult it is sometimes to accomplish all the different tasks. However, I may inform you that there are important privileges and facilities for all women who follow a profession in our country which are established by laws. There is an extensive system of nursery schools and kindergartens, which for low fees afford entirely satisfactory care and education. These facilities cannot be faulted on sanitary or pedagogic grounds. In all

52 Irene Dölling, *op.cit.*, p. 27f.

53 Original quote from typescript by Anita Bach, 1965/1975, courtesy and permission of Anita Bach. Italics: author of the thesis.

54 However, in her 1975 presentation, there is a sentence “I want to speak about some essential and basic ideas to give you a clear picture of my own point of view, which is also the general attitude in the GDR”. This may be interpreted as unspoken hint that in a public presentation, freedom to convey personal attitudes was limited.

workplaces, including design offices and scientific institutions, special women's rights commissions or committees carefully monitor adherence to the legal privileges, e.g. adjustment of working time when a child is ill, a monthly day off for housework, provision of certain services by employers. These committees also support the professional qualification of women."⁵⁵

This quotation suggests that it is misguided to interpret GDR women's policies as equating a high proportion of women in full employment and the larger number of women in male-dominated occupations with a gain in women's equality. Anita Bach, who is not only a respected professional, but also a mother of *four* children, explains in her report at the *4th International Conference of Women Scientists and Engineers* that "women's emancipation can neither be achieved if it is detached from social and political conditions nor if it is left to professional associations."⁵⁶

Stereotype role models, affecting design standards in the West and the East

Stereotypes in role models for women are deeply rooted in *both* West and East German architects' thinking as reflected in Ernst Neufert's *Bauentwurfslehre* (Introduction to Architectural Design). The influence of the role stereotypes particularly on the division of labour and the appropriation of space has been investigated during the past 10 years. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Neufert's work provided an integral part of basic planning knowledge and norms in both systems. Specifically, he limits women's space mainly to caregiving activities, care professions and limited activities in public space. The only apparent change between the first edition in the 1930s and the (West) edition of the late 1980s was the adaptation of the figures, to conform with 1960s styles. (Illustration 2 | 6 see following pages)

55 Original quote from typescript by Anita Bach, 1965/1975, courtesy and permission of Anita Bach. Italics: author of the thesis.

56 Original quotes from typescript by Anita Bach 1965/1975, courtesy and permission of Anita Bach. Italics: author of the thesis.



Illustration 3 | 6 Examples from Ernst Neufert's *Bauentwurfslehre* (Introduction to Architectural Design), 1961

In conclusion

This section analysed the social background for the role models for women in West and East Berlin and indicated differences. It demonstrated that at least during the 1950s the evolution of role models for women was, as far as labour market participation goes, nearly diametrically opposed in the two parts of the city despite the legal framework which seemed quite similar at first sight.

In conclusion, the analysis of the role models for women that applied in West and East Berlin during the 1950s and 1960s and of their possible effects on women's access to the architectural profession is that there was a considerable difference between FRG and GDR definitions of women's and men's technical and professional domains. Women architects hardly appear as paradigms in the analysed literature on gender roles, which is both an indicator of their overall participation in the labour market and the perception of architecture as a field of interest in the (also feminist) occupational sociology. As for the stability of role images, the most recent research assumes that in the West these became less rigid in the run-up to the *Second Women's Movement*.

Promotion of the *working woman role model* and provision of childcare improved GDR women's access to the building professions. The housewife and stay-at-home-mother role model complicated, above all freelance, architectural practice by women in West Berlin. Moreover, whereas gender roles and housing design were state policy and women's association issues, women's participation in the design process was not. While the West German public knew little about women architects' work, the woman on the construction site (*Frau am Bau*) soon became a staple of GDR life and of East German media. The share of women in the building industries increased according to GDR statistics from 10% in 1950 to 17% in 1988, but the share of these who were graduated architects in managerial positions remained insignificant.⁵⁷ (Illustration 2 | 7 see following page)

⁵⁷ According to Zentrales Büro für Neuererwesen, Patente und Lizenzen des Ministeriums für Bauwesen, ed. „Wir Frauen vom Bau“, (Ost-Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen VEB, 1971), 114, 12% of the employees in the building industries were women, but the authors provide no differentiation between women working in production and women architects. In the analysis of qualifications of women in the building industries in 1970, however, only 7% have a degree of a university of applied sciences and only 0.4% a university degree that would correspond to an academic education in architecture or engineering.

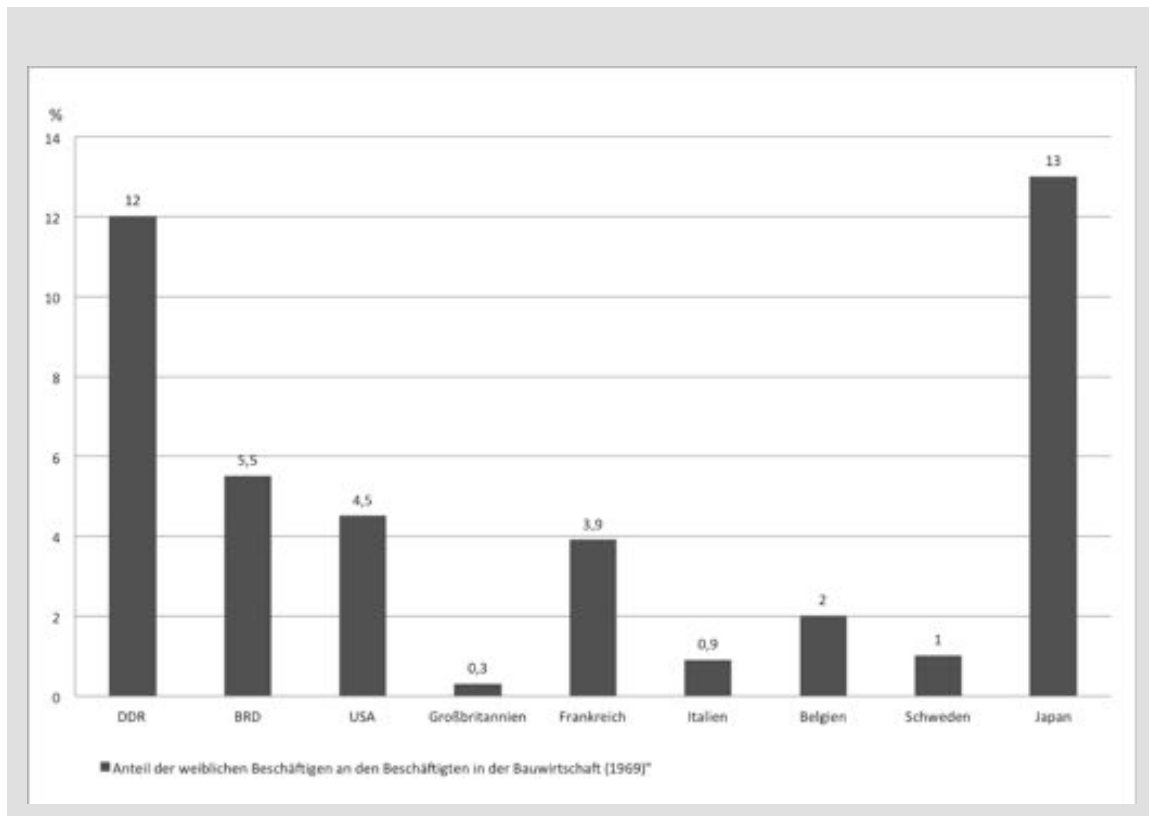


Illustration 3 | 7 Share of women in construction industries, worldwide, GDR data, 1969

In both systems, the main power of reality (*Realitätsmacht*) concerning *gender* as a dividing line remained the reluctance of the hierarchy within the architectural profession to change elements of structural gender discrimination. This contradicted the proclaimed political will, more in the East than in the West. This everyday reality will be further elaborated in the conclusions on working conditions in the two parts of the city. As feminist research in occupational sociology identified a devaluation of the image of professions after women accessed them (*feminisation*), further investigation should be devoted to the question of whether the overt devaluation of the architectural profession in GDR, that is an exclusion of the *State Nobility*, had a positive or negative effect on women's access to the profession.

The following section opens a more detailed perspective on women's associations' and single architects' demands for housing to adequately serve women and family needs.

3 II 2 WEST AND EAST GERMAN WOMEN ARCHITECTS' HOUSING REQUIREMENTS

"My focus was the situation of the woman, particularly the working woman, in family and society, her position at home and at work. It was all about making her aware of her place." (Hilde Weström, 1999)

Women's demands for equal rights and participation in the reconstruction of the social fabric and the built environment seemed more than legitimate after they took responsibility for and participated in construction work while faced with destruction, danger, overexertion, and deprivation. This was particularly true for those women, like women architects, who contributed with professional interest and competence to rubble clearance and rebuilding. There is evidence that after 1946 women construction workers' demands for equal rights in the construction trade unions assumed a new quality. This new value arose from the war and early post-war experiences and from the fact "that rubble had to be cleared before any economic activity could be resumed (...) Construction, representing all other industries, was the one where equal employment rights had to be fought for and established."⁵⁸

As explained above, Germany and Berlin were divided as far as encouraging women to work in the building industries was concerned. In addition, after 1949 the two halves would not have had a similar critical mass of women architects claiming their rights within the profession. For example, in the Eastern part of the city, women architects fit into a top-down promotion of women in both construction industries and other engineering professions. The communication channels of this campaign were mainly steered by the state. This section attempts to analyse which demands women, and particularly women architects, developed and expressed, as representatives of the profession and as users, in both roles with a personal stake in the quality of housing design.

58 Jörn Janssen, Eine Kulturschande. "Female labour in the German construction trades at the beginning of the Cold War," in *Women in Construction. CLR Studies 2*, ed. Linda Clarke et al. (The Hague: Reed Business Information, 2004), 181.

Professional journals and conferences: West Berlin discussion forums on women's needs in housing and urban development

In the Western part of the city, only a few women architects engaged in the women's association debates on housing and urban design and quality. They not only demanded equal rights, but also contributed to debates on solutions for the housing shortage and the quality of housing design presented in contemporary exhibitions and new construction. A first attempt was the roundtable of the *Berlin Women's Association* on housing and housing estates in the Berlin *British Information Centre* in 1945. The statement resulting from this roundtable addresses the government role as civic-minded actor, in furnishing mixed and affordable forms of ownership and tenancy in equipping and designing kitchens and shaping the private and public housing environment. The following quotes explain the demands that Ilse Balg (See short CV at the end of this chapter) presents to the *Bauwelt* audience in 1951:

"The women's demands derive from the bourgeoisie's obligation to recover (as social class that passes on cultural values) an acceptable standard of life for the Germany society, and this equally for *all* [sic] social classes. (...) It is not necessary to have complete furnishings like our ancestors had, yet living space of sufficient surface and clearance, to enable people to walk upright and without the feeling that they risk touching the ceiling. (...) generally, the women demand, particularly because of the many "half families" that lack one parent as a result of two wars, a mixed housing model. This would mean one-, two-, and three-room flats, in a proportion corresponding to demand in each housing estate: only in this way can the single woman lose the feeling of exclusion and can the single mother with her children benefit from advice and support provided by a neighbouring full family."⁵⁹

Articles in the professional journal *Bauwelt*, the (unpublished) minutes of working groups in the run-up to the exhibition *Stadt von Morgen*⁶⁰ and of the women's association's first conference *Wohnen in der Großstadt* (Living in a big city) demonstrate the quality of the interdisciplinary debate to which Balg contributed as an urban sociologist. They also bear witness to the individual commitment of the women architects Hilde Weström, Hanna Blank and Nina Braunschweig-Kessler. Balg talked about the history of modern cities' development and concluded that modern urbanity consists of a good mix of urban patterns and property forms, a balance between

59 Ilse Balg, "Frauen diskutieren", *Neue Bauwelt* 6 (1951): 461.

60 The minutes of the first and second working group (1955/1956) are based on stenographic notes. They remained "strictly confidential – for private use only", and are accessible in the archive of the Berlin Technical University. These minutes were an essential source for Johanna Hartmann's research on gender role models in the *Interbau* context.

individual anonymity and spatially focused cultural and community-building activities. The essential demands emerging from these debates were the recognition of suggestions by women architects, planners and sociologists for the spatial organisation of housekeeping in the flat and the housing environment, as well as giving priority to the necessities of housekeeping in housing design equal to the emphasis on technical workflows in industrial construction.

The topics of the conference *Wohnen in der Großstadt* were manifold. It targeted the dependence of urban development on the society's attitudes towards the ownership of land and buildings. It addressed planning issues like the dependence of housing quality on spatial dimensions, light, colour, and relation between housing quality and correct functional planning and size of flats. The benefit of a friendly neighbourhood in urban housing estates was another conference topic. Lona Ottersky pointed to the importance of what we would today call a *city of short distances*, of social infrastructure and public space that support community building. She stressed the necessity to support affordable and small-unit housing through appropriate land use policies and housing law.⁶¹ Nina Kessler based her input on the observation of daily routines and the impact of different aspects of housing design on the well-being and performance of the inhabitants. Among other things, she urged more women to take personal responsibility on planning issues. She suggested that women privately gain competence in housing design by reading professional journals, as they do concerning other topics by perusing women's magazines. Her objective is to make women more aware of the impact housing design has on their living conditions.⁶² (See short CV at the end of this chapter)

Whereas Kessler addressed female users' awareness of general design features and their effects on living quality, her presentation referred to the *Interbau* buildings. Her main concerns were the morals of housing design and the spatial arrangement affording family members privacy while living together in the same flat: "The *Hansa Viertel* is an impressive example of large-scale housing. It provides an occasion to further develop ideas, opinions and knowledge about the housing of today and tomorrow. This opportunity is welcome if the debates before, during and after the

61 Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Berliner Frauenverbände, „Ausschuss für Bau- und Wohnungswesen, Arbeitstagung Wohnen in der Großstadt“ (typewritten manuscript, Berlin 1957, Hilde Weström's private archive, 1999), 1-11. Lona Ottersky was a commercial graduate. Her contribution to the conference *Wohnen in der Großstadt* and publications in professional journals during the 1950s and 1960s indicate that she worked on land use policies and their effect on gender and social equality, and urban renewal. According to private ancestry research, she was born in 1898 and died around 1973. See , accessed July 2, 2014.

62 Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Berliner Frauenverbände, *Ausschuss für Bau- und Wohnungswesen, Arbeitstagung Wohnen in der Großstadt*, 16-22.

Interbau with participants from technical and social science disciplines do not break off. There is still need for a 'program'; the questions 'who is the client' and 'who decides on the objective' remain open. Here, in this conference, women as the main consumers of housing and the most concerned parties again discuss these questions to address contemporary housing requirements. Each of us must review the issue with regard to the individual perspectives of our work and experience. There is a vast terminology of housing (...) but architects and clients must realise how serious housing design is and appreciate the moral obligations it implies, as the "big authority from Finland", Alvar Aalto, put it recently in Munich (...) There are two tendencies emerging concerning the demands for housing today and tomorrow: Everybody wants a chance to be on his own, and also enjoy interaction in the flat. This holds true for the man, the woman and the child! Nobody disturbs anyone else in the flat – not even the kids! – Everybody, including the woman, has their place in the flat, to attend to their soul and body! The woman's place is not – as once taken for granted – just the kitchen, the dining table, the corridor, the staircase, in front of the oven or in spots she is cleaning! "⁶³

The conference received wide media coverage, and the accounts emphasised the seriousness and professionalism of the debates. In-between the lines, one can read that the reporters had anticipated the contrary.

In women's association circles the most heavily debated issue in the run-up to the *Die Stadt von Morgen* conference was the use of space in kitchen design and appliances. After a joint visit to the exhibition and the buildings, the *Deutscher Hausfrauenbund* issued a harsh statement on the achieved quality: "It was a pleasure to behold the urban planning, the design of the overall estate and individual buildings. Any assessment beyond this general impression is beyond the scope of *Deutscher Hausfrauenbund* expertise. Being a professional organisation of housewives, the *Deutscher Hausfrauenbund* is qualified to critique the interior design of the flats and to comment on the compatibility, particularly of kitchens and food preparation features. Floor plans and equipment of the kitchens do not reflect any recent international or German research findings. Research on kitchen workflows, the dimensions and arrangement of furniture and other equipment, on storing provisions and household appliances near where they are used was not taken into account, despite the DIN 18022 standard. *The fundamentals were established years ago!* (note: spaces as in the original text) Furthermore, hardly any of the good kitchen planning solutions in the in the other countries presented countries have been

63 Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Berliner Frauenverbände, *Ausschuss für Bau- und Wohnungswesen, Arbeitstagung Wohnen in der Großstadt*, 26-27

considered, or, if so, have been intentionally or inadvertently changed.(...) The visitors in our group had the impression that many apartments weren't planned and built in compliance with current average furniture requirements. Particularly the furniture in the bedrooms does not meet our expectations in terms of layout or shape.

The *Deutscher Hausfrauenbund* considers these failures to be crucial because the buildings shown at *Interbau* should provide a representative sample of appropriate building trends. (...) We propose to do a detailed resident survey at some future date. (...) The *Deutscher Hausfrauenbund* sees *Interbau* as proof housing is still being designed without due regard to experience of flat users. Families hunting for flats are deprived of the benefits of relevant research although appropriate implementation is perfectly feasible."⁶⁴

Moreover, Blank advocates critical consideration of kitchen planning for Berlin council housing. As flat size decreased considerably after the war, she notes the importance of the form and equipment of the kitchen and its location in a flat. She complains that despite the German planning debate pursuant to the development of a "rational kitchen" (Frankfurt Kitchen) and a considerable body of acclaimed professional literature, architects designed floor plans "in an astonishingly carefree manner", "assuming the housewife would work around the obstacles". Blank's arguments combine planning competence addressing housewives' needs and enforcing their rights when she points to the feasibility and affordability of usable design and the *DIN 18022* standard that was endorsed by the Building Sector Advisory Council (*Bauwirtschaftlicher Beirat*) of the Berlin Senate Department for Construction and Housing. An interesting aspect of her approach is that she explicitly subordinates exterior design to internal function of the kitchen when she states that "asymmetrical facades are a logical consequence of the correct (asymmetrical) kitchen arrangement. Even in a building of traditional style, one can do without symmetry if the details are well designed."⁶⁵

Weström contacted different West Berlin women's associations, the *Hausfrauenverband*, the *Staatsbürgerinnen* association, the *Wilmsdorfer Frauenbund* and others. From the housing and building committees of these associations, she

⁶⁴ Typescript statement *Deutscher Hausfrauenbund*, source: private archive Hilde Weström, 1999.

⁶⁵ Hanna Blank, "Mehr Rücksicht auf die Hausfrau." *Bauwelt* 42 (1954):830. The kitchen debate is not further pursued here, but Blank cites several publications, including another *Bauwelt* article, by H.G. Carina on the *Sonderschau „Rationelle Hauswirtschaft“* (special exhibition rational housekeeping, presented in the exhibition *Rationelles Schaffen* (rational practice), *Bauwelt* 7 (1953):126-129.

gathered ideas on women's specific needs in housing. For her part, based on her occupation in the *Wohnungswirtschaftlicher Beirat* (Building Industries' Advisory Council) of the Berlin city government and its *Beirat für Wohnungsgestaltung* (Advisory Council for the Design of Apartments) provide the latest information on official housing programmes. Participation in the *Beirat für Wohnungsgestaltung* allowed her to elaborate the DIN 18022 standard, addressing the minimum requirements for fitted kitchens in council housing and authenticating the women's associations' demands for better working conditions for housewives.⁶⁶

Official communiqués, professional journals, and conferences: a limited platform for East Berlin women architects' discussion of women's needs in housing and urban development

A similarly open criticism of housing and urban design from the woman's perspective was slow in emerging in the GDR. However, the women's committee of the central department of the *Bauakademie* complained in its *Frauenkommuniqué zum Wohnungsbau* (women's' communiqué on housing construction) in 1965 about the continual neglect of working women's needs in the designing and planning of housing estates. The author, Helga Unger, elaborated on the criticism concerning clothing maintenance, kitchen-furnishing functionality, availability of shared spaces and kindergarten supply: "A questionnaire was designed for the selected case study areas, which were Baumschulenweg, Heidekampweg and, in the Berlin centre, Karl-Marx-Allee and an old building area in Berlin Prenzlauer Berg. It contained questions on the functional design of the flat, the building quality, the design of the housing area – including basic shopping sites, services and laundry facilities – opportunities for childcare and the design of neighbourhood cultural centres.

Comparison of the results of the surveys done in the new estates *Baumschulenweg* (built 1961, Type Q3a) and *Karl-Marx-Allee* (built 1963, Type P) showed that within a period of three years the same defects in planning and building occur repeatedly. (...) About 60% women questioned complained about lack of space for a washing machine and about 67% complained about lack of space to dry laundry. Why space for drying laundry has been left out of new buildings remains a great mystery. (...) In a discussion with the deputy director of *VEB Typenprojektierung* (company for the development of industrialised building types) about the results of the survey, we learned that the defects mentioned had been eliminated in the following series. Nevertheless, I would ask, why are things being built like this in Berlin? (...) The communiqué *Die Frau, der*

⁶⁶ This standard was adopted in 1953 and abandoned in 2007, without any replacement.

Frieden und der Sozialismus and also the women's promotion plan of the German Building Academy (*Deutsche Bauakademie*) demand qualification of women for middle-level and leading positions. The survey, however, proves that the building industries have so far not sufficiently done their part to make housework easier for women and enable them to qualify for such positions without too much sacrifice."⁶⁷

This text was published in the professional journal *Architektur der DDR* and its criticism targets – which is unusual for this journal – both the planners' and the producers' work and the implementation of policies. With a clearly better design in mind, Anita Bach published an article in an interior design journal, *Möbel und Wohnraum*, which analyses the GDR kitchen designs in industrialised buildings of the 1950s and 1960s to accommodate a society requiring continuous learning and working full time. She reaches similar conclusions concerning functionality and demands for ground plans that provide more space for sharing housework in the family and offer space for study, reflection, leisure, and communication for each flat resident. In 1968/1969, she designed an experimental floor plan for academic assistants' housing at the *Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen* in Weimar that illustrates her planning suggestions (see Chapter 6).

A third critique on women's quality of life and housing design, including kitchen design, was provided by Bloch in her 1959 reflection about the functional kitchen (*Zweckmässige Küche*). Whereas her work on kindergarten building design was published in *Architektur der DDR*, she articulated her knowledge of kitchen design in the series *Die kleine Enzyklopädie Die Frau* (The small encyclopaedia. Women's affairs) and not in a professional journal. The series was a standard GDR reference work for women, concerning different spheres of life.⁶⁸ The idea of the series was to provide knowledge to empower women to participate in planning debates and decision-making on housing alternatives (as far as possible in the GDR).

Karola Bloch refers above all to national and international research providing knowledge on the effects of bad kitchen design on women's overall well-being and capacities when she depicts the workflows in the kitchen, the typologies of kitchens,

67 Helga Unger, "Frauenkommuniqué und Wohnungsbau", *Bauwelt* 3 (1965): 61. The text is an excerpt from her presentation at the 13. *Plenartagung* (plenary conference) of the Deutsche Bauakademie.

68 Karola Bloch, "Die zweckmäßige Küche", in Irene Uhlman, ed., *Kleine Enzyklopädie Die Frau* (Leipzig: Bibliogr. Inst., Inst., 1969), 316-328. These texts are not published under Bloch's name, since they were released at a time when Ernst Bloch had already been disgraced, having an impact on her opportunities to work. Karola Bloch was a friend of the editor Irene Uhlmann and both wanted the text to be published in this context. Irene Henselmann also contributed to this series.

and their functional requirements to support women in coping with everyday challenges. (Illustration 2 | 8)

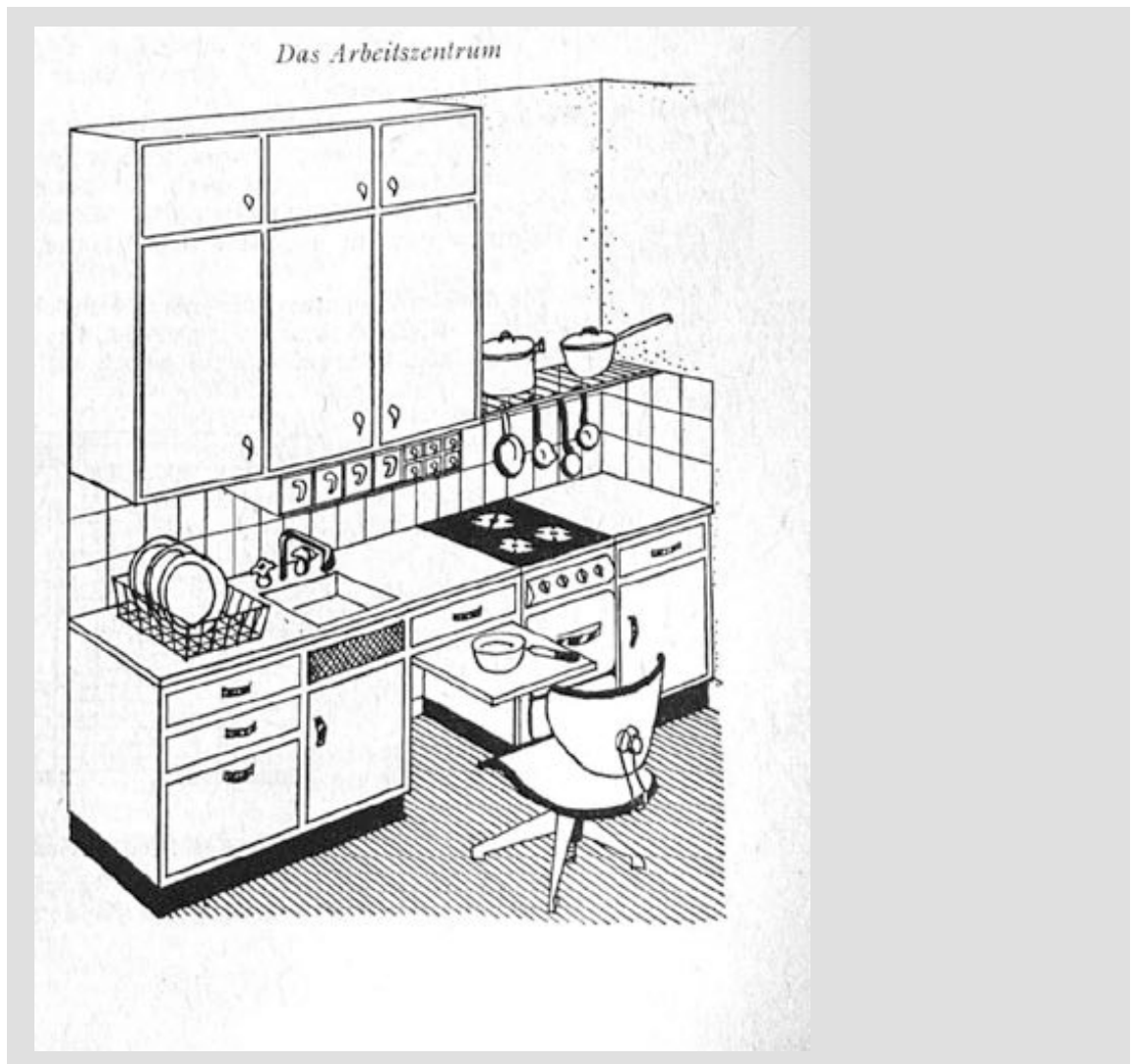


Illustration 3 | 8 Karola Bloch, basic kitchen design, 1969

Helga Unger, Anita Bach and Karola Bloch took feminist positions, although apart from Bloch in her later life, none of them would have accepted their statements being characterised in this way. Beyond their stands, neither the literature review nor the interviews revealed evidence for a similarly lively kitchen debate as the one in West Berlin. One can assume that this is based on the very family-oriented planning objectives and rhetoric and to the fact that rehabilitation of old buildings started much later in East Berlin than in West Berlin. Anyway, new buildings offered greater comfort for many years. With increasing employment of women, possibly less criticism of housing structures occurred. Other aspects that may have contributed to higher acceptance of prevailing standards are the generally lower GDR standard of living and

the increasing service orientation, such as laundry services and taking main meals in company and school cafeterias. These trends contributed significantly to reconciliation of work and family life. Moreover, women in the profession recognised the scarcity of building material and obstacles to change in the serial building projects.

Conclusion

The last section of this chapter discussed women's demands for the inclusion of everyday life experience in the male-dominated planning practice. It was established that in both parts of the city and planning systems women architects demanded a broader professional and social interest in and knowledge on the effects of housing and particularly kitchen design on women's well-being and overall capacities. However, it is worth mentioning that the kitchen seemed to remain the place of the woman in the West Berlin debate (at least until the early 1960s), whereas, in contrast to the political rhetoric, GDR women architects spoke out for enough space in the rationalised and serial kitchens for another person to aid the woman.

In conclusion, the difference in prevalent arguments is related to the varying political background, but the professional content is similar. It is also obvious, however, that although the study of women architects' situation focused on a large city, where both the professional and a women's policy debate could be assumed to be most lively, the number of women who were expressly committed to women's housing needs remained modest.

So far, women architects' representation in the literature and in practice as well as the impact of the social context on the professionalisation of women architects has been explored. Although a few women architects were introduced, this has been mainly an outside perspective. The aim of the following chapters is, starting with women's access to architectural education, to provide insight from inside the profession.



Ilse Balg (1907-1999) was born in Görlitz/Schlesien. She studies at the Berlin Friedrich-Wilhelms-University and at the German University for Politics; her academic teachers are amongst other Friedrich Meinecke and Karl Haushofer. She starts to work as a sociologist at the Reich's Department for Regional Development Planning (*Reichsstelle für Raumordnung*) in the 1930s and meets there her mentor Martin Mächler. From 1945, she works, first commissioned by the *Brandenburg State Government*, and later, from 1950, commissioned by the Academy for Regional Development Planning (*Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung Hannover*) on research on the state regional planning for the Berlin-Brandenburg region. In the run-up of the *Interbau 1957*, Balg contributes to the Women's Association debates on architecture and urban planning. In 1956, she starts to work on social housing themes, commissioned by the National Government's Ministry for Building to work on the abandon of the forced housing economy and for a social housing law. At the same time, she elaborates an urban renewal scheme for an old building stock in Berlin-Wedding. From 1958, she leads an investigation of 500 commercial units in Berlin-Kreuzberg and develops a phased schedule for careful urban renewal in Kreuzberg, in cooperation with Werner March, professor at the Berlin Technical University. After the post war scrap-and-build strategy, which was highly criticised by the local population, the careful urban renewal strategy introduced a more user oriented perspective.

Until at least the 1960s, she commits herself to debates on women's issues in urban planning and housing. It deserves however more research whether this political commitment occurred somehow separated from her research and teaching activities. From 1970, she teaches urban planning at the *Berlin University for Arts* and the *Berlin Technical University*, where she is appointed an honorary professorship for urban research in 1972. Ilse Balg dies in Berlin, in 1999. Since 2000, a foundation named *Stiftung Honorarprofessor Ilse Balg auf dem Gebiet der Stadtforschung* and located in a building which Balg bought in 1963, supports particularly pupils, students and young researchers in the appropriation and creation of knowledge on urban development. Unfortunately, her arbitrary is still not accessible – in contrast to Martin Mächler's that is for quite a while.

Sources: http://www.ilsebalgstiftung.de/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=54&Itemid=67, and literature, cf. references and bibliography.



Nina Braunschweig-Kessler (née Kessler, 1909–1971) was born in Dorpat, Estonia. She spends her early childhood in France and Finland. Later, her parents move to Berlin, where she finishes school and starts her studies at the Technical University, in the class of Hans Poelzig, from 1929-1935. She formed part of the architects of Poelzig's school (*Architekten aus Poelzigs Schule*) group. During the 1930s, she works in Wilhelmshaven and Hamburg, and tries to work discretely. When the war destroys her office in Wilhelmshaven, she moves back to Berlin, where she works first on smaller projects, such as the *Gerd Rosen* bookshop, and the *Quartier Bohème* bar designs, the latter in 1952. *Bauwelt* presents this bar as an example of excellent colour and light design. As she emphasised this theme in detail in her presentation at the women's association's conference, it is assumed to be near to her heart. In 1954, she designs the *Gladitsch* hairdressing shop (*Friseursalon*) in Berlin-Lichterfelde. Two years later, the *Treuhand* commissions her to build a multi-family ing in Berlin-Dahlem, Holbeinstraße 70.

Nina Braunschweig-Kessler was married and divorced twice Information that needs to be considered with care is a side clause of Ingrid Biergans, who said in the interview on herself that it was not easy for Nina Braunschweig-Kessler to find commissions while she was married to Adolf Braunschweig. He was the head of the building department of the district Berlin-Wilmersdorf. She possibly worked on a project with him in Hamburg, again according to Ingrid Biergans. From the end of the 1950s, she starts to work on bigger projects for social infrastructure, partly supported by her second husband, Gerd Biermann, and on private housing. She designs a kindergarten at Grazer Straße, and with Biermann two school projects in the French Sector, the primary school in Camp Foch, in 1960-1962, and the Lafontaine primary school in Waidmannslust. Furthermore, she designs the pupils' residences, the central building and a *Bio-Pavillion*, where Biology was taught, for the boarding school *Scharfenberg* on the island of the same name in *Tegeler See* (Berlin lake Tegel).

In one of the later school projects, it comes to one of the few cooperations between two women architects that could be traced within this research: she employs Ingrid Biergans as building site manager, while she herself is occupied in a project in Khartoum in the early 1960s.

After her second divorce, she moves to Bremen, in the early 1960s. There, she gets involved in the planning of the large housing estate in Bremen Osterholz-Tenever and designs a multi-family tenement building in Bremen-Huchtingen that the *Bauwelt* presents in 1971.

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Nina Braunschweig-Kessler remains throughout her professional life committed to working women's conditions of life and housing, particularly single women's needs. This is obvious in her participation in the women associations' conference and in a *Bauwelt* interview on housing for single women. In this interview, done in 1971, she points particularly on the need for affordable housing for single women, allowing their participation in society: "Our objective is not the building for those who can afford everything. This group has been sufficiently served. Our challenge was to work, with the limit public funds available from the Bund (National Government) and the Land, for a group of people that is usually in a vulnerable economic situation. The brochure depicts how one can achieve to build a real service building through building programmatic combinations that differ in the way of their financing. (...) [To realize this with social housing funds on inner city plots] The maximum use of the plot and urban development measures that are intended in the city, are crucial. Without inner city location, we can't reach our objective because it is not only about lightening these women's loads but also about providing them opportunities for leisure activities that could be of help for their personal development, their education or just for their amusement."

The interview relates to an analysis she does as a member of working group 7 of the *Ministry for Urban Development and Housing* on the economic efficiency of housing for single women. After a small pilot project in Bremen, she hopes other service houses to be built, in Berlin, Bremen and Leverkusen. Yet, there is so far only evidence for two built projects in Bremen and Köln.

In 1963, she becomes one of the first German members of the U.I.F.A. and contributes to the organisation of the U.I.F.A. congress in Paris. At the conference, she represents the *Architekten- und Ingenieurs-Verein zu Berlin* (AIV, Berlin Association of Architects and Engineers) that acknowledged her already in 1954 as a member. In 1971, short time before her death, she still gives a presentation on "Urban development and the concerns of the future" at the conference "Urban Development of the future" in Bonn. Nina Braunschweig-Kessler dies after a short illness on the 1st of October, 1971.

Sources: *Jahrbuch MSD 2005-07*, (Berlin, 2007), 51: Research group Building History at the Berlin Technical university, http://baugeschichte.a.tu-berlin.de/hbf-msd/MSD_proj/2004-06_SF-IS/09_bauten-N-K_schulfarm_web.pdf; Source quote and circumstances of her death: Nina Kessler, "Wohnungen für Alleinstehende." In *Neue Bauwelt*, Vol. 42 (1971), 1682-1686.



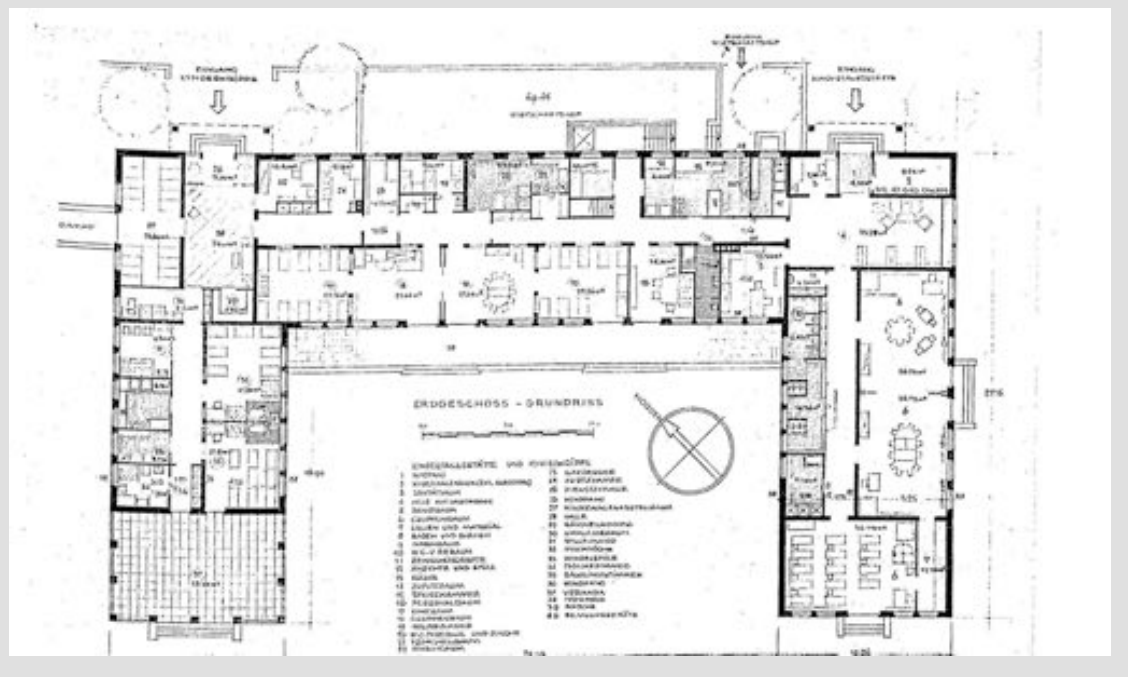
Karola Bloch (1905-1994, née Piotrkowska) was born in Lodz, in a middle class family. In her childhood, she experiences the Russian October Revolution. Her academic education starts at the Berlin Technical University, in the classes of Hans Poelzig and Bruno Taut, in 1930. In 1933, when the National Socialists came to power, she emigrates to Zurich, where she studies another year and passes her diploma. From Zurich, she moves to Vienna (where she gets her first job in the office of Jaques Groag), Paris (where she works in Auguste Perret's office). She thoroughly enjoys the work with Perret, but as Prague offered better opportunities for Ernst Bloch to work, they move to Prague, where she works freelance, cooperating with Friedel Dicker. When the National Socialists occupy Austria, the family (by now she has two children) emigrates to New York. Living with recently immigrated Germans near a large park at the northern tip of Manhattan, she initially has a hard time finding employment and needs to take on odd jobs to secure the family's livelihood before she is again employed as an architect. By chance, she lands a commission for a two-storey private summer home on a slope in Andover, New Jersey, and starts to work freelance again. Coming back to New York, the family faces financial hardship. After a one-year stay at the Merrywood Cottage in Marlborough, New Hampshire, on an estate owned by Mrs. Justine Kershaw, a friend of their mutual friend Victor Klemperer, an émigré committee suggests that they move to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where she might find work as an architect. It takes a while until this becomes true, and she suffers gender discrimination several times. In the *Stone + Webster* office where she finally works until they return to Germany in 1949, she earns 20% less than her colleagues.

In 1949 they move to Leipzig, but Karola Bloch works from 1951 until 1961 in the *Bauakademie* research department for social and industrial buildings. An early professional statement *Die Frau als Architektin* (The woman as architect, 1951), expressing the feminist perspective that she pursued throughout her life, reads as follows:

"So far, the architectural profession is not widespread amongst women. Men have built a monopoly – for example in the USA, I experienced several times that architectural offices generally did not accept women as staff members. As architects in capitalist countries often face financial difficulties, they want to at least get rid of the woman as a competitor. It is significant that in the Soviet Union a woman architect is as natural as a woman physician. This proves that women are suited for this profession. In many respects, they have even better qualifications than men. (...) For example, if one looks at the very important field of

housing, it is obvious that a woman can contribute very positively to floor plan design. As a woman, she knows the family's needs, she knows the several functions of a flat from the everyday experience of housework and will thus provide a practical floor plan more expertly than a man."

At the *Bauakademie*, she develops the GDR guidelines and floor plans for crèches, kindergartens, and children's homes. In the publication of the guidelines in *Architektur der DDR*, she emphasises, referring to Lenin's paper *Die große Initiative (The Great Initiative)*, the building of kindergartens as an essential element of the socialist society and inevitable to enable women to contribute their resources in the required manner to this society. This political statement is followed by the professional perspective, that it is a real architectural challenge to develop a good, expandable typology for the serial production of the numerous kindergartens that was required by the five-year plan to implement the law on protection of mothers and children and the concept of women's full employment. At this point she insists on an evaluation of the practical use of these "prototypes" before launching serial production. Bloch specified that serial implementation should leave a certain freedom to the architect involved to refine the prototype to best fit the kindergarten into the landscape and the built environment. Thereafter she designs one kindergarten herself, participating in a competition for a kindergarten north of Stalinallee (purchase). In addition to this work, she contributes to debates on the architecture for the reconstruction of GDR cities.



She has to end her GDR architectural practice in 1957, when Ernst Bloch is disgraced due to his commitment for GDR state reforms after the Hungarian Revolution. In 1961, when they do not return from a visit in Tübingen due to the building of the Wall, she decides to shelve her own career to help complete her husband's philosophical oeuvre, and to put the *Philosophie der Hoffnung* into practice.

Only late in her life did her own profession and her participation in Bloch's work become a subject of interest. Karola Bloch was an early member of the UIFA and participated in the conferences in Paris and Moscow. Her presentation at the UIFA conference in Berlin and the related publication may have stimulated this interest, particularly in her participation in architectural practice. Because her architectural work in Berlin was very limited, Karola Bloch was not selected as a case study for this thesis. However, this brief biography, which falls far short of doing justice to her achievements, sheds a bit of light on a central aspect of her life that has so far found little attention in architectural history.

Sources: Anne Frommann and Welf Schröter, *Karola Bloch. Ich gehe zu jenen, die mich brauchen: zum 85. Geburtstag von Karola Bloch*, (Mössingen-Talheim: Talheimer, 1991), quote: 181-182; Karola Bloch, "Grundrißschemas von Einrichtungen für das Kleinkind." (Floor plan schemes for childcare institutions.) *Deutsche Architektur* 1 (1953), 20 -27; *Ibid.*, "Ein typischer Lebenslauf?", in *Architektinnenhistorie*, ed. *Union Internationale des Femmes Architectes*, Sekt. Bundesrepublik e.V. (Berlin: no publisher given, 1984), 51-57; Irene Scherer and Welf Schröter, eds. *Karola Bloch – Architektin, Sozialistin, Freundin. Eine Neuentdeckung des Wirkens der Bauhaus-Schülerin* (Mössingen-Talheim: Talheimer Verlag, 2010).

4 PATHWAYS INTO PRACTICE: THE WOMEN ARCHITECTS' ACADEMIC
EDUCATION

The earlier chapters already focused on women architects' contribution to the built environment in the 1950s and 1960s. This chapter takes a step backwards to the educational phase and the pathways into practice which women architects generally experienced at that time. Doing so, it provides evidence for the role of education and role stereotypes in gaining access to the *state nobility*. Although very few pertinent contemporary records were found, the chapter contributes to the collective biography with the individual experiences of the women who were interviewed. The objective of the chapter is to show that architectural studies in Germany remained a predominantly male domain far into the 20th century, with a consequently strongly gender-encoded learning environment. (Illustration 4 | 1)

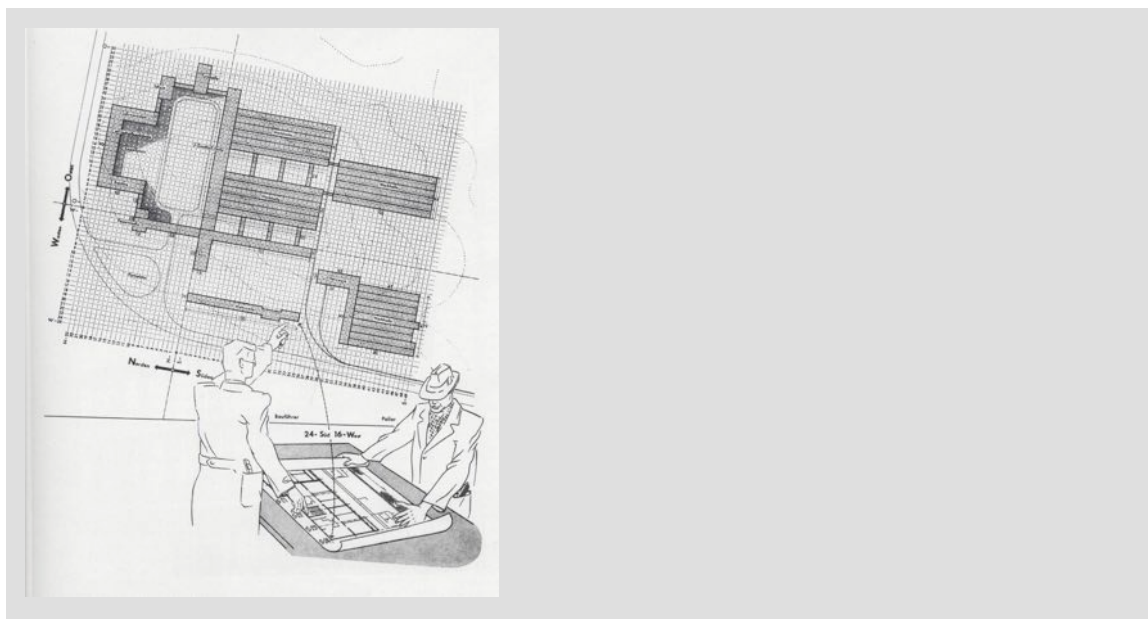


Illustration 4 | 1 Ernst Neufert, architects at work, 1961

Women contributed in various, class-dependent ways, to architectural design, interior design and building before they aspired to professional education in these fields. However, women's formal access to the profession was only possible after architecture had become an academic profession and when German universities and academies began to admit women in the early 20th century. It needs to be stated at this point that women's access to academic education is a field of research of its own and was not a focus of this thesis. However, women's access to architectural education deserves attention in this research to follow a feminist perspective and make use of Bourdieu's *state nobility* approach. Apart from competence building, architectural education constitutes the first step into the culture of the profession and affects the pathways of professionalization. This chapter builds largely on existing studies on women's access to architectural education, focusing on the West Berlin *Technische Hochschule*

*Charlottenburg*¹ (Charlottenburg Technical college), and the *Technische Hochschule Dresden* (Dresden Technical college), from 1949 the only place in the GDR that taught architecture at university level. In addition, the chapter incorporates original research in the archives of *Bauhaus Universität Weimar* (Bauhaus University Weimar) and *Technische Universität Dresden* (Technical University Dresden), as well as student-day memories of women architects who contributed their experience to this thesis.

To pursue its argument, the chapter first introduces the historical development of architectural education in Germany, and in particular women's access to architecture schools. The focus is on the time between the late 1920s and the end of the Second World War. In the following sections, the cases of the West Berlin *Technische Universität Berlin* and the East German *Technische Universität Dresden* illustrate the post-war participation of women in architectural education in two universities which played a major role in architectural education at the time, when a conspicuously high share of women registered for studies in architecture.

Historical development of architectural education in Germany

This brief retrospective on architectural education concentrates on two perspectives: the historical structure of architectural education in Germany, and the relation between women's overall access to academic education in Germany and women's access to architectural education.

Architectural education in Germany underwent a crucial change at the end of the 17th century, when art academies, but also engineering, industrial, and trade schools began to replace the traditional architectural education that *Bauhütten* (*building trade guilds*) had offered. In this context, the architects' self-image turned from builder (*Baumeister*) to artist (*Künstler*). About 100 years later, public planning departments' increasing demand for architects with interdisciplinary qualifications (design, engineering, planning rights, statistics, hygiene, ...) prompted the foundation of building academies (*Bauakademien*). Berlin's *Schinkel'sche Bauakademie*, founded in

¹ In German, the English term "university" has two meanings: *Hochschule* and *Universität*. It is difficult to explain the semantic difference, but two important aspects of difference are that a *university* certificate is the highest state academic qualification in Germany, whereas historically, there were (and are) also non-state scientific universities, carried by foundations, churches or the private sector. These were, similar to the colleges for higher education, also named *Hochschulen*. In the case of the *Technische Hochschule Charlottenburg* (from 1920 *Technische Hochschule Berlin*), which was renamed *Technische Universität Berlin* in 1946, the post-war institutional upgrade and renaming was also a symbol of the break with the university's National Socialist history. To make further research easier, this text always uses the institution's contemporary German name, and is translated only the first time it appears.

1789, was a famous example of this educational concept. The context of a quickly developing private planning market led in the early 19th century to a concentration of the different forms of education in “polytechnic academies”. By the end of the 19th century, these had gained the status of “Universities of Technology” (*Technische Hochschulen*) and offered a curriculum that focused on theory, technical sciences, and design. Architectural education in art academies continued with a stronger design orientation. These classes, however, faced a decrease in enrolment. The practice-oriented *Fachschulen* (technical colleges, building colleges) and *Kunstgewerbeschulen* (arts and crafts colleges) offered an education that tended to turn out technicians. Some of the *Kunstgewerbeschulen*, for example the early *Bauhaus*, also had architectural classes and developed very independent teaching concepts from the beginning of the 20th century.

Within the span of two decades, architectural education turned from teaching by outstanding masters to studying a *profession*. Architectural education was thus incorporated into academia. The formal expression of this process was development of curricula differing from the art academies’, and implementation of an engineering diploma as the final degree of the *Technische Hochschulen* from the end of the 19th century. Although architectural studies always include engineering fields, the image and teaching focus of the various educational institutions was either design or engineering. Some schools put more emphasis than others on student practice. Less practice was offered where the “genius” habitus still held sway.

Overcoming major obstacles

Women remained until far into the 20th century underrepresented in academic architectural education. This section of the chapter explains the major obstacles women had to overcome. The research on relevant obstacles addressed general educational opportunities for young women, at the end of the 19th and throughout the first decades of the 20th century, and the culture of academic education in this specific profession.

Research on women’s studies in technical subjects revealed that women’s interest in these studies developed later and slower than in other academic professions, such as

in art, pedagogy, social sciences, pharmacy and medicine.² For this reason, technical universities became involved in debates on women's studies comparatively late. The first obstacle that women had to overcome to gain admittance to technical studies was the insufficient quality of women's high school education. The First Women's Movement initiated special courses for young women's higher education, usually carried out by private institutions. These courses provided secondary education for the better-off bourgeois society. Germany's first public secondary school for women was founded in Karlsruhe in 1893.

At the end of the 19th century, the First German Women's Movement first fought for women's rights to academic studies in teachers' education and in medicine, mirroring women's interests. From 1888, the General German Women's Association (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein*) and the Women's Education Reform Association (*Frauenverein 'Reform'*) submitted numerous, but initially unsuccessful petitions to provincial parliaments. Their aim was women's admission to any field of academic qualification. The first women who tried to overcome the barriers of the male-dominated academic system in the mid-1890s applied for the status of guest students. Many were daughters of professors, but despite their *state nobility* family background they lacked the key qualification for academic education: a decent secondary education. In 1900, the state of Baden was the first to grant women the right to register officially at universities. Only in 1908 did Prussia adopt a fundamental reform of girls' higher education admitting women to universities. Shortly thereafter a legal regulation for Greater Germany followed. However, this did not include *Technische Hochschulen*.³

In the early years of the 20th century, when women finally also achieved their official admission to studies in different building-related professions, they had three options for their academic architectural education: *Technische Hochschulen*, *Kunstakademien* and *Kunstgewerbeschulen*.⁴ The majority of female students prioritised studies at *Technische Hochschulen*. Their choice for the place of education was based explicitly

2 For this thesis, particularly the research of Dorothea Bernholz (married Scholz), Barbara Duden and Hans Ebert, Angelika Wetterer, Barbara Martwich and Karin Zachmann were valuable for comparison. See references in this chapter and bibliography.

3 Ute Gerhard 1999, op. cit., 154-159/ Helene Nonné-Schmidt, "Das Gebiet der Frau im Bauhaus", in *Das Bauhaus 1926*, ed. Hans-Martin Wingler (Ostfildern: Du Mont Verlag, 1975) 126.

4 See Ulrich Pfammatter, *Die Erfindung des modernen Architekten. Ursprung und Entwicklung seiner wissenschaftlich-wissenschaftlich-industriellen Ausbildung* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1997), 60-64. For the 1920s Maasberg and Prinz also mention the *Baugewerksschulen*, which qualified apprentices for the construction industries, as possible educational option for architects. At the same time, they point to Emma Loewe's statement that 60 out of 65 German *Baugewerksschulen* did not qualify women.

on particular architects teaching there, or on the general reputation of the faculty and the institution.

Another axiomatic assumption concerning this choice is that women were more likely to get access there than in the art academy classes, where professors had more say about who was admitted. In addition, most *Kunstgewerbeschulen* did not provide serious architectural courses.

Other opportunities to qualify in architecture before and after the war were state technical colleges of applied sciences, where architecture was taught at the departments of structural engineering, for example at the Gießen State Technical College (*Staatliche Ingenieurschule Gießen*) in West Germany. In addition, some private technical colleges offered classes in building and architecture, for example the Arthur Werner Private Technical College (*Technische Privatschule von Dr.Ing. Werner*) in West Berlin, where Ingrid Biergans qualified (see Chapter 7). As for the education in private institutions, it is worth mentioning that in their later professional life, the graduates often suffered from these colleges' inferior reputation. Disregarding both the quality of Biergans' actual performance in architectural practice and the fact that the Berlin government commissioned her for major public building projects, she had problems using the title *architect*.⁵ In the East, the technical college for the building industry (*Ingenieurschule für Bauwesen*) at Erfurt and some technical educational institutions (*Technische Lehranstalten*) provided alternatives to academic studies. For example, Dorothea Tscheschner studied at the *Technische Lehranstalt* in Chemnitz.

The explicit or implicit misogyny, which complicated women's access to architectural education, presented legal and formal obstacles. The arguments applied were similar to those that excluded women from successful participation in art and the art market. In architecture, an intersectional discrimination came into play: first, the art historical narrative of the male genius that similarly applies for the male architect; and second, the sexist stereotypes concerning the relation between women and technology. Women's *natural* technophobia and particularly the assumption of a general incapacity to think in spatial dimensions were usual arguments. The probably most frequently used quote to illustrate this attitude is art historian Karl Scheffler's tirade against women in architecture, dating from the beginning of the 20th century: "As woman is incapable of abstraction, she is also incapable of mathematics. (...) Therefore, never ever was there a creative composer or architect of female gender (...) I have already

⁵ Architecture is a protected profession and the title is protected by the Federal Chamber of Architects (*Bundesarchitektenkammer*).

stated that women should avoid the building arts. The main reason for this goes for all fine arts: they lack the artistic sense of space."⁶

For years the educational ministries remained reluctant to adapt the legal frameworks to facilitate women's access to higher technical education. Once this obstacle was overcome, the next step was to deal in everyday academic life with the different mechanisms of exclusion prevailing in technical disciplines. They included the construction industry regulations and general legal frameworks, which inhibited women from working in this labour market sector and also reduced their access to practical experience in building trades. This jeopardised their studies, making it difficult to find companies to accept them for the required three-to-six-month work placements. In many technical subjects work experience was obligatory before or during academic studies. Education Ministry communications revealed that failure to take this hurdle was expected, and awareness or even intention of structural discrimination may be assumed: "The files of the Education Ministry show that the positive statement on women's studies at *Technische Hochschulen* was based on the assumption that the work placements preliminary to the studies would also be obligatory for women. This obligation would constitute a *sufficient barrier*."⁷

Nevertheless, nearly all of the women architects consulted for this research completed such a work placement or even an apprenticeship in a building industry trade. They considered these work placements to be a foundation for the development of self-confident professionalism and for a general acceptance in project-related negotiations on construction sites. In contrast to the pioneering generation, nearly all women architects interviewed for this thesis had eventually pursued an academic education.

From "having a foot in the door" to being formally accepted

All these barriers did not stop women from fighting for admission to the lecture halls for technical studies. Their number increased from 1900 on. Some studied as "private students", "non-enrolled students with permission to attend lectures", "observers", or

⁶ Karl Scheffler, op.cit. Karl Scheffler, who died in 1951, was a conservative art historian. In the context of German feminist art and architectural history, his statement is an important starting point for arguments on the discrimination of women, and it is of particular importance because he was an acquaintance of the architect and academic teacher Heinrich Tessenow, who was an important representative of the *Reformarchitektur*. Tessenow taught in the 1920s at the *TH Dresden*, and from 1926 at the *TH Berlin / TU Berlin (1876-1950)*.

⁷ Barbara Duden and Hans Ebert. "Die Anfänge des Frauenstudiums an der Technischen Hochschule Berlin", in *Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft. Beiträge zur Geschichte der TU 1879-1979. Vol 1*, ed. Reinhard Rürup (Berlin, Heidelberg, New York: Julius Springer, 1995), 402-423.

“students with special permission” in architectural classes. The most successful example for this strategy was the career of Emilie Winkelmann, who did her studies in Hannover as a “non-enrolled student with permission to attend classes”. Having completed her education, Winkelmann was the first German woman architect to open a freelance architectural office, in Berlin in 1907.⁸

The first higher technical colleges to admit women as regular students in natural sciences and engineering were those in Munich and Stuttgart (1905), followed by those in Leipzig (1906), Dresden (1907), Karlsruhe (1908) and Darmstadt (1909). The first German woman who, in 1909, imposed her will to gain regular registration in academic architectural education was Elisabeth von Knobelsdorff. At that time she was already 30 years old and had since 1907 been a non-enrolled student with permission to attend lectures. Her registration at the Berlin *Technische Hochschule Charlottenburg*⁹ was the result of a one-year struggle with the Ministry of Education and Arts, supported by her father’s connections to the head of the ministry’s technical instruction department. While she was now entitled to earn a diploma, her registration included a restriction: she had to agree to seek work predominantly in the private sector. Nevertheless, she qualified later to become the first female government building official (*Regierungsbaumeister*) in Germany.¹⁰ Thanks mainly to Knobelsdorff’s reasoning, the Prussian Ministry of Education and the Arts eventually opened the technical universities for regular registration of women on 14 April 1909. Now, women could officially register at the Prussian higher technical colleges in Hannover, Aachen, Danzig, Braunschweig, and Berlin.¹¹

8 Concerning Emilie Winkelmann, see Helga Schmidt-Thomsen 1984, op. cit., 23-25. She quotes Winkelmann, who told her in an interview in 1950 that she benefited from a “special permission to study” at the Hannover Royal Technical University from 1901 to 1905.

9 For the admission of women to *Technische Hochschulen* and technical universities before and after the war, see also Dorothea Bernholz, *Historische Betrachtung des Frauenstudiums an der Technischen Universität Dresden bis 1945* (PhD diss., Dresden Technical University, 1987) (a) 1321-1335, and (b, 541-555, Bauer, op. cit., 57-182., Annie Canel, Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, ed., *Crossing Boundaries, Building Bridges. Comparing the History of Women Engineers* (London: Harwood Academic Publishers, 2000). Duden and Ebert, op. cit., 403-423, Ute Maasberg and Regina Prinz 2004, op. cit., 30-53., and Karin Zachmann 2000, op. cit., 212-216. Detailed knowledge about Elisabeth von Knobelsdorff’s access to academic education is accessible in Helga Schmidt-Thomsen 1984, op. cit., 23-25., and in Kerstin Dörhöfer 2004, op. cit., 37-43 and 176.

10 Maasberg and Prinz, op. cit., 31.

11 These data are based on the literature indicated in footnote 9, and on Duden and Ebert, op. cit., 403-423, and on own research in the registration archives of the *TU Berlin*, *TU Dresden* and *Bauhaus Universität Weimar*.

4 II 1 STUDENT DAYS: PURSUING THE WAY PAVED BY THE WOMEN PIONEERS

The women architects who worked from 1949 to 1969 in East and West Berlin form roughly two age groups, as explained in the introduction. The definition of these age groups relates to the architects' main phase of professionalization, and they overlap somewhat. The post-war generation of women architects¹², born between 1910 and the mid-1920s, qualified shortly before or during the reign of National Socialism, many of them under difficult wartime conditions. The second generation, born between the mid-1920s and about 1930, qualified mainly soon after the war and during the early West German *Wirtschaftswunder-Zeit*. In West German academic life, this was hardly a time of new departures, despite ambitious projects for reconstruction of the cities. Academic routines continued. Academic staff and the architects were, unless they occupied specific political positions, considered "sympathisers" of the National Socialist regime. Denazification prevented almost none of them from filling their former position. In principle, this was also true for the East German state, but many architects in the GDR, including some who returned from exile in the Soviet Union, and many of their students committed themselves to the development of a new socialist society.

Post-war educational pathways showed significant German-German differences, but some similarities remained. The majority of women students continued to have either an educated middle-class background, or a family background involved in construction trades or building industries. In the GDR system, this remained similar despite policies geared to higher participation of working-class students and preferential treatment for young women in engineering professions. Apart from the culture of the profession, the cost of architectural courses may have been a reason for this persistent over-representation of the educated middle classes.

Some of the women architects who are in the focus of this thesis already started their studies during the final years of the Weimar Republic. However, the majority studied in the decade after the war. These women formed the third generation of women students at the *Technische Hochschulen (TH)*, after the pioneering women architects and the generation that studied during the Weimar Republic.

¹² The term generation is used here to describe two age groups related to the focus of this research. It does not perfectly match the sociological definitions of generations for the same time (*Kriegsgeneration* / war generation 1930s to 1940s; *Nachkriegsgeneration* / postwar generation, late 1940s to 1955 / *Skeptische Generation* / sceptical generation, 1955 to 1965/68).

Women students' situation in architectural education: a research gap?

Research on the history of the higher technical colleges and universities widely neglected the question of available role models for women students and of their overall situation. One of the reasons for this neglect was probably that samples for any analysis would have been small, on local and regional and national level, so that the results would not justify generalisation.¹³ Only since the 1990s has any research focused on the academic environment of women studying architecture during the Weimar Republic, particularly as Bauhaus or Tessenow students. Research on these two groups led to differentiated and occasionally surprising findings concerning women architects' access to academic education and to the profession. For example, women who studied in Tessenow's class exhibited an obvious preference for employed work rather than self-employment.¹⁴

While gender difference was rarely an issue in the writing of the history of technical universities from the Weimar Republic until far into the 1960s, it was from the beginning a topic in the comparison between post-war West and East German academic education. The reason for this was the early recognition of obvious structural differences concerning equality in the two systems' socialisation within higher education (*Hochschulsozialisation*).

As for the conditions that academic education provided for women, research on the history of the technical universities usually focuses on quantitative data. The number of women in the German *Technische Hochschulen* and *Technische Universitäten* increased steadily after 1908, when the eight higher technical colleges had a total of 15 women students. The share of women in technical studies did not rise markedly until the beginning of the First World War. In the 1913/14 winter term, 68 women were studying technical subjects. The faculties of chemistry and economics had the most women students, but 18 women were already registered in architectural faculties. First World War male conscription gave women ideal education opportunities. By the 1919/20 winter term, the number of women studying architecture in Germany had increased to 289. Overall interest of women in technical studies saw no relevant increase until the end of the Weimar Republic, "but a gender-specific use of the opportunities to study at the *Technische Hochschulen*" had

13 Duden and Ebert emphasise this fact as authorisation to include other universities' data in their research on the history of the TU Berlin.

14 See Anja Baumhoff and Margarete Droste, *Mythos Bauhaus* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1999), Maasberg and Prinz, op. cit., and Bauer, op. cit..

become obvious.¹⁵ At the end of the Weimar Republic, in the 1932/33 winter term, the 924 (5%) women students in technical studies included 139 (15%) in architecture.¹⁶ Whereas literature on female enrolment in academic education expanded for many fields, it remains comparatively fragmented for construction and planning disciplines.

Missing role models for women architects

Feminist art historians, architectural historians and sociologists have shown that the lack of representation of individual women and their works in arts and architecture affects women's success in these fields.¹⁷ The relevance of gender identities in architectural academic education is thus evident, particularly because in every field of art mentoring and role models play a substantial role for the development of individual creative potential and participation in the profession's rituals. Academic education is when students learn about the profession's value systems and lifestyle. This is not only an important condition to form part of the architectural spirit of a time, but also to build capacities to master behavioural codes of the profession. The lack of examples and models was one of the reasons why, despite the fears of those who wanted to keep the universities a purely male institution and saw "the universities' rigorous masculinity threatened by the insidious, omnipotence-bent feminism,"¹⁸ female registration in engineering studies increased slowly until the late 1920s.

Occupational sociology research suggests that the most important common ground in both German post-war architectural educational systems was the lack of women models in architectural education and practice.¹⁹ As late as 1995, the title of the documentation of a German women artists' and architects' conference read "Women's

15 See Duden and Ebert, op. cit., 414.

16 The different existing studies show minor differences in the numbers given, depending on their sources and level of differentiation, for example concerning the time frames of the data collection or the inclusion or exclusion of students from abroad, etc. The data provided in these two paragraphs were composed from: Bauer, op. cit., 109., Zachmann, op. cit., 211-252., footnote 5 on p. 245; Richard Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany 1894-1933* (London/Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1974), quoted in Duden and Ebert, op.cit.

17 For this thesis, the work of Renate Berger, Linda Nochlin, Griselda Pollock, Karen Kingsley and Lynn Walker have been most valuable. See the works in the references and bibliography.

18 Richard Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany 1894-1933* (London/Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1976), 18, quoted from Duden and Ebert, op.cit., 403.

19 See the work of Martwich 1992, op. cit., Wetterer 1999, op. cit., 139-156., and Weiske 2001, op. cit. Weiske is the only researcher who does not start from a perspective of discrimination but from a perspective of a "powerful position as designer". Fogarty's research on RIBA women's professionalisation furnished a valuable comparison. (see Michael Patrick Fogarty, *Women in the architectural profession* (London: Policy Studies Institute. Typescript, 1978).

professional role models don't just come out of the blue".²⁰ Retrospectively, this confirms that the missed opportunity for a change of stereotypes in the profession, emerging with the war, also affected the academic situation. Women on the teaching staff remained a minority before the war and later in both West and East Germany, including Berlin. If women architects worked at all in academic education, they were assistants, for example Christel Plarre at TU Berlin and Claudia Schrader at TU Dresden.²¹ Until the late 1960s, only two women held a professorship in planning disciplines: the landscape architect Herta Hammerbacher, teaching from 1964 until 1969 at the Berlin TU, and the architect Anita Bach. Bach started in 1953 to work as assistant of Otto Englberger at the *Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen* in Weimar, and held a professorship from 1969 to 1991. (Illustration 4 | 2 + 4 | 3)



Illustration 4 | 2 (left) Herta Hammerbacher and students in a Berlin-Charlottenburg housing estate, 1960s
 Illustration 4 | 3 (right) Anita Bach and colleagues celebrating Otto Englberger's 55th birthday

Asked about *their* professional models in student days and later, the interviewed women mentioned architectural schools like the *Bauhaus* or individual male architects. Like any architectural student generation, they admired the work of their teachers, such as Heinrich Tessenow, Hans Poelzig, Max and Bruno Taut and later Hans Scharoun in the West, and Hermann Henselmann, Heinrich Rettig, Wolfgang Trauzettel and Rolf Eisentraut in the East. They mention neither post-war avant-garde groups, nor any woman architects, although some of the second generation might have known the works of the pioneering women by working and living in the same city. The literature also bears no witness to any influence of female professional role models. The statement that for women, "there were no embodied norms to copy, and each of them had to find a personal compromise between the distinct denial of female

20 See Barbara Brakenhoff, *Weibliche Vorbilder fallen nicht vom Himmel. Künstlerinnen und Architektinnen*, ed. Hans-Böckler-Stiftung (Bochum: Berg-Verlag, 1995).

21 For the biography of Claudia Schrader see Christiane Droste, "Claudia Schrader", in *Baukünstler und Komplexprojektanten*, ed. Holger Barth (Erkner: IRS, 2001), 203.

social manners and their real-life femininity,"²² applied not only for the 1920s, but until the late 1960s, when the Second Women's Movement reached the technical universities in West Germany. Kerstin Dörhöfer concludes her research on the pioneering women architects in Berlin by pointing to the fact that, after disruption of women's participation in the building sector during the Third Reich, "a new generation, working on new tasks, could refer to a new line of tradition in architecture."²³

However, interviews with women architects of the following generation allow the assumption that there was, similar to the gap between the First and Second Women's Movement, a gap between the theoretical opportunity for reference and everyday practice: although some of the women architects mentioned women fellow students or colleagues, none of them named a woman as her *professional model*.

The GDR architects spoke with some respect about Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Karola Bloch and Iris Grund, but in their student days most women were neither fully aware of their predecessors' or contemporaries' work nor considered it as a model for their own endeavours.²⁴ None of the interviewed West German architects was even aware that Karola Bloch was an architect.

Thus, although the student generations looked at here were more likely to meet fellow students of the same sex than their predecessors, and although the *Neue Frau* movement might have improved the general awareness of contemporary practising women architects, their educational context hardly provided new female role images. This became obvious in the few existing biographies of women architects²⁵, who themselves provided potential professional role models, and in interviews with women architects.

The idea that for architects, examples, or even one particular role model, form a necessary part of professionalisation was also an issue in Brigitte Reimann's novel *Franziska Linkerhand*. Censored in the 1970s, published only posthumously and in the

22 Duden and Ebert, op. cit., 411.

23 Dörhöfer, op. cit., 145.

24 This statement bases on the interviews. However, both Schütte-Lihotzky's kitchen plans and Bloch's kindergarten standards had an impact on contemporary planning practice.

25 The biographies of German women architects that were considered are those presented in monographs on Karola Bloch, Iris Grund, Lucy Hillebrand, Margarete Grete Schütte-Lihotzky and Hilde Weström. They provide a deeper understanding of the personal development of the respective architect. See references and bibliography.

original version as late as in 1998²⁶, this novel is a literary key to the situation of GDR architects in general and women architects in particular from the mid-1950s. Reimann used Iris Grund and Hermann Henselmann, who was the chief architect of the Berlin *Magistrat* from 1953 to 1959, as inspirations for the young architect Franziska Linkerhand and her professor, Rettich. The literary character Franziska Linkerhand illustrates the female experience during studies and on the construction site, and the conflict between technical competence and femininity, from both her and her colleagues' standpoint. Whereas the GDR women architects hardly referred to women colleagues in *practice*, they all referred to Franziska Linkerhand. This book, which provided a certain opportunity for an externalised dealing with one's own reality, was a cult novel in terms of the limited room for manoeuvre and design of GDR architects from the 1950s on. It also evidences women architects' assertiveness in everyday GDR planning and construction practice as well as the continuation of male rituals within this practice.²⁷

Young women's exclusion from "old boys" networks

Closely linked to the necessity of examples and more specifically, role models, another important precondition to becoming a successful architect were (and are) professional networks. Gaining access is a key bonus of academic education. In his work on the biographical interconnections of German architects from 1900 to 1970, Werner Durth analysed in detail how the male German architect community developed from about 1900 until the 1920s and right after World War II. He describes the roots of their professional networks and reveals the importance of these networks, first in education and later in professional practice. "The encounter with the professors/masters was of substantial importance for the subsequent very close interconnection between the students' journeys through life and their private and professional relations. This went far beyond the conveying of knowledge. They left their marks in the students' attitudes and behaviour and thus preset the coordinates for decades of professional and private orientation (...) These teachers or masters established the students' feeling of belonging to a new generation. At the same time, they passed on comprehensive traditional connections with a considerable power to design²⁸ also through the communication of their close relations and influential circles of friends. These relations,

26 Another novel dealing with the GDR architects' situation is *Die Architekten* by Stefan Heym, written in the 1960s, banned in the GDR and only published in 2000 by a West German company. The core of the story is also highly political, but much less gender-sensitive regarding professionalisation.

27 In GDR novels and films, the working conditions and lifestyle of architects were an important subject, as was women's technical competence in conflict with traditional female role models. Other examples are Stefan Heym's novel *Die Architekten* (The Architects) and Frank Beyer's film *Spur der Steine* (Trace of Stones).

28 Author's note: in a double sense, societal, and regarding building and planning.

conforming to their elitist self-perception, were also expressed and intensified through mutual protection and fostering students.”²⁹

That these relations went far beyond a professional knowledge transfer also becomes obvious in a note written by Hermann Henselmann, professor at *Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen*, Weimar, to fellow teachers. He explained that he wanted to celebrate an artists’ party with students and teachers at his home because “the meaning of such a party is to teach the students an artistic *joie de vivre*, based on cheerfulness”³⁰ and obviously assumed this to form part of the architects’ professional identity. A benefit from experience with this form of networking was – apart from famous architects’ wives who were involved on another level and hardly to the benefit of their own careers – only reported during this research by Iris Grund and Anita Bach, who both studied and worked in the GDR.

Comradely, side by side, or discriminated?

Having “comradely” relationships with women or men formed part of the image of the *Neue Frau* and of a concept of androgyny, above all amongst women artists and architects. At the same time, it is evident that women studying architecture at the end of the Weimar Republic, during National Socialism and the first decade after *World War II* entered a highly traditional and in many ways ritualised professional field. (Illustration 4 | 4 see following page) male students in a very comradely work situation) After the war, aspects of the masculinity in the architect’s image, which feminist historians and also Bourdieu stressed, tended to resurface and discourage women even more than before or during the war. Research revealed that traditional cultural identities of masculinity and related value systems become obsolete after wars. The male need for unambiguous role models and visible difference increases thus in such contexts and biological difference in the construction of gender regains importance.³¹

29 Werner Durth 1988, op. cit., 43-48.

30 Source: Interview with Irene Henselmann

31 Bauer, op. cit., 308.



Illustration 4 | 4 A comradely situation of students of Technische Universität Berlin, 1950s

This general societal phenomenon led to an intersectional discrimination of women because it coincided with a renaissance of the “worship of heroes of architecture”. This phenomenon has its roots in the image of “God as architect”³², deriving from Middle Ages Christian iconography as well as from Greek philosophy. From early modern mimes, it turned to a depiction of the architect as God and master builder. The change of the architect’s image from master builder to artist involved the male-connoted term of the genius. Modern age architecture eventually put special emphasis on an image of the architect as a hero, an eminently male hero, who would hardly tolerate a heroine studying or working side by side.

The literature provides evidence that female students faced considerable mistrust of women in technical and building professions, though it was not always articulated frankly. Permanent doubts about their personal and professional abilities formed part of their everyday experience. This experience was reflected in their professional literature, manuals for architects and, of course, in personal contacts.³³ „She is half man, half teenage girl! That is – I beg your pardon – the impression I have of until now my female fellow students at the T.H.³⁴ For heaven’s sake, nobody is supposed to notice that she is a woman! That is why they display this gangling stride, a husky voice, and a slightly noisy nature. However, their girlish fuss strikes me repeatedly by a

32 An exhibition and publication on the history of the architectural profession, which Wilfried Nerdinger presented in 2013, starts with an analysis of this image (see references, Christian Freigang, “Gott als Architekt”, in *Der Architekt - Geschichte und Gegenwart eines Berufsstandes. Band 2. Publikationen zur Ausstellung des Architekturmuseums der TU München*, ed. Winfried Nerdinger (Munich: Prestel, 2013) 383-402.

33 For the manuals see e.g. Ernst Neufert, *Bauentwurfslehre. Handbuch für den Baufachmann, Bauherren, Lehrenden und Lernenden* (Wiesbaden: Friedrich Vieweg & Sohn Verlag, 1963)., Deutsche Bauakademie, ed., *Handbuch für Architekten* (East Berlin: Verlag der Technik, 1954)., and Thomas Engel 1990, op.cit., Petra Liebl-Osborne, *Gestaltungslehren in der Architekturausbildung an Technischen Universitäten und Hochschulen in Westdeutschland 1945-1995* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001). For some years, the feminist interest on the effects of these manuals on the design conceptions of architects increased. A pioneering text is Kerstin Dörhöfer’s publication 1999c, op. cit., 159-167.

34 *Technische Hochschule Berlin Charlottenburg*

...Often I do have the feeling that our female students have mastered the formula of technical issues, maybe even better than we do, but that they don't understand the nature of technical problems. They try to balance this inherent imperfection through accelerated diligence, mass production of drawings, practices, and analyses. That's why I believe that after graduating women will become painstaking and conscientious assistants of men, but hardly serious competitors to real engineers." (Erich D., Berlin TH student, 1931)³⁵

However, most contemporary witnesses' statements on their situation during their student days contradict this bias. Denying any kind of martyr role or discrimination, they reported a comradely ambience, befitting the image of the urban *Neue Frau*. Talking about the atmosphere in their seminars, they used more or less the same words: "Once a person was admitted to a class or course, he or she experienced a professional acceptance. That is why women did not specifically look or have to look for female solidarity."³⁶

Only one of the women architects in the focus of this study, Karola Bloch, admitted facing discrimination during her studies. Looking back to her studies in Vienna, Berlin and Switzerland, she experienced double discrimination, both as a woman studying in a male-dominated technical field and as a Jew. Remembering her student days in Vienna, she says this about one of her professors: "He could not get used to women studying architecture. He particularly liked to call one of the few women students to the blackboard. He asked them to do difficult calculations, which one could only solve by differential or integral calculus. Hardly any of the students achieved this task in such a situation. Other professors were keen on spotting women students' mistakes."³⁷

In contrast, she was very satisfied with her later teachers in Berlin. For example, she mentions Hans Poelzig, who even tried to support her transfer to ETH Zurich when she had to leave Berlin in 1933, being Jewish and a professing communist.³⁸ At the same time, Poelzig was one of the teachers Bauer considered unwilling to support women students unconditionally (Tessenow, Taut and Bonatz) or unabashedly trying to keep women out of their classes (Van der Rohe, Meyer and Gropius). Why such contradiction? Referring to Tessenow students whom she interviewed and to psychological research, Bauer argues that "Forming part of a minority and the power

35 Erich D., cand.phy.techn., in *Frl.stud.ing setzt sich durch! Eine Umfrage bei Studentinnen der TH Berlin*. Quoted from Dörhöfer 2004, op. cit., 13.

36 Source: Hilde Weström, Anita Bach and Dorothea Tscheschner, in interviews between 1999 and 2002.

37 Irene Scherer and Welf Schröter, eds., *Karola Bloch – Architektin, Sozialistin, Freundin. Eine Neuentdeckung des Wirkens der Bauhaus-Schülerin* (Mössingen-Talheim: Talheimer Verlag, 2010), 136.

38 Ibid, 137.

of the normative possibly prevented women from reflecting upon this aspect of their academic environment during their studies (...) Discrimination was sometimes retrospectively considered or even imagined as an individual opportunity for choice. However, this describes the student's limited scope for individual decisions concerning participation in classes rather than individual freedom."³⁹

4 II 2 ACADEMIC ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION DURING NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND WORLD WAR II

The formative years of the first group of women students who are included in this thesis were during the late Weimar Republic, and their early socialisation included both bourgeois education with the respective family ideals and an encounter with the *Neue Frau* image, self-confidently choosing a profession and adequate education. Some of them were in their early youth members of the National Socialist young girl's organisation, the *Bund deutscher Mädel* (BDM) and after the war were confronted with an invitation to join the *Freie Deutsche Jugend*. Their studies started at the end of the Weimar Republic and during the National Socialists' rise to power. This period was characterised both by the Nazis' confining women to the home and the *Gleichschaltung* of administrative, political, educational and cultural institutions and professional associations.

After the National Socialists came to power, the overall number of students decreased dramatically all over Germany, with the percentage of women falling faster than the total.⁴⁰ In 1934 the National Socialists implemented a regulation that limited women's participation in academic education to 10% of all students. Consequently, from then until the beginning of World War II, enrolment of women decreased more than of men. In addition, Nazi policies forced Jewish women, communist women, and female exchange students into exile. This led to a considerable loss of women's participation in architectural education and interrupted the brief tradition of women practising architecture. However, women who managed to continue or finish their studies were given opportunities to work on building projects for the military or war industries.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the National Socialist cult of masculinity also had effects on the ambience in the architectural classes. Answering the question about obstacles during

³⁹ Bauer 2003, op. cit., 155-157.

⁴⁰ Cf. Zachmann 2000, op. cit., 216.

⁴¹ The studies of Isabel Corinna Bauer, Kerstin Dörhöfer and Helga Schmidt-Thomsen supplement the examples given by women who are introduced in this thesis, cf. references. Additional sources were the interviews with the eye witnesses Hilde Weström, Lotte Werner and Emira Selmanagić.

their studies, Hilde Weström described the massive SA presence in the university building rather than the competition between women and men as the threatening part of her studies. Aiming at an autobiographical text, she writes a fictive letter-style diary about the beginning of the 1933/34 winter term: "The studies become more interesting. New is construction and design in Prof. Siedler's seminar, though now in a smaller group; above all I decided to study building history in Prof. Walter Andrae's seminar, also in a smaller group. There is a lot of agitation in the *Technische Hochschule*. It is very irritating that now sometimes professors or assistants with brown or black spurred thigh boots hurry noisily and self-confidently through the corridors. Luckily, Andrae's seminar takes place at the Pergamum Museum, where he has just become the director. This is a refuge for us, nearly a kind of asylum."⁴²

Although the Third Reich never had a coherent concept of architecture, architecture was the most important genre for the National Socialist party, both as a means to strengthen the Reich's image and as a way to steer, integrate and control the population. This naturally had an impact on architectural education and professional bodies, in terms of organisation of the organisational framework, curricula and participation.⁴³

Most practising architects became members of the "Association in defence of German Culture" (*Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*). The professional associations like the German Architectural Association (*Bund Deutscher Architekten*, BDA), the Architects' and Engineers' Association (*Architekten- und Ingenieursverein*, AIV), and the German Association of Craftsmen (*Deutscher Werkbund*), Munich ⁴⁴ were embedded in the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts, Department of Architecture (*Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, Fachgruppe Baukunst*), which the Nationalist Socialists established in 1933. To pursue their architectural practice, all artists and thus (women) architects had to apply for admission to the Third Reich's Chamber of Fine Arts. Not all of them were accepted, and no women took part in the National Socialists' relevant building programmes or projects before the Second World War. So far there is no accessible knowledge on whether or not those accepted responded to the call to work in the defence industry, and if so, why they were or were not accepted. However, there is evidence that in 1943 Lilly Reich was forced to participate in the *Todt Organisation*.⁴⁵ There was only one woman architect who had a prestigious position during the Third

42 Hand-written diary Hilde Weström, 1999, own PhD archive.

43 See more details in: Joachim Petsch, *Architektur und Städtebau im Dritten Reich* (Cologne: Vista Point Verlag, 1992).

44 The *Deutscher Werkbund* was closed by the National Socialists in 1938 and not re-opened until 1949.

45 Dörhöfer 2004, op. cit., footnote on page 452.

Reich: Gerdy Troost, wife of Paul Ludwig Troost.⁴⁶ She contributed to the building of the famous Munich gallery, *Haus der Kunst*, but none of the women interviewed was aware of the works of either of the two women.⁴⁷

Leading architects who represented *Neues Bauen* emigrated (for example Taut in 1932, Mies van der Rohe in 1938, Mendelssohn and Gropius in 1933, Wagner in 1938). Their buildings were branded as Cultural Bolshevism, and conservative opinions on building gained the upper hand, particularly in academic education.

Due to this development, women qualifying in architecture at this time had even less chance to find female role models in the profession. The few women architects whose work had slowly been gaining some prominence in specialised journals and who might have served as professional role models were persecuted (e.g. Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky), emigrated (e.g. Marie Frommer, Ella Briggs, Karola Bloch), went missing (e.g. Stefanie Zwirn) or were no longer commissioned. Some of these women, who represented the *Neue Frau* and/or *Neues Bauen*, felt, like some women artists⁴⁸, the necessity to go into inner emigration (Lilly Reich, Emilie Winkelmann, and Elisabeth von Knobelsdorff). A considerable loss of female architectural activity resulted from the exodus of the Jewish population. Not only among students, but also among the successful pioneering women architects, there was a considerable share of Jewish women. Some of the other contemporary women architects worked anonymously in their husbands' offices; others gave priority to family life and marriage and were thus less conspicuous, neither becoming victims of persecution by the National Socialists nor gaining professional attention.⁴⁹

46 Paul Ludwig Troost was, along with Ludwig Ruff and Albert Speer, one of the architects who defined the architectural style of the Third Reich. Troost was an acquaintance of Adolf Hitler and designed Hitler's private flat in the old Reich Chancellery in Berlin, the Führer Building and the Brown House in Munich. Troost was amongst other a member of the *Deutscher Werkbund*. He was born on 17 August 1878 in Elberfeld and died on 21 January 1934 in Munich.

47 The only woman artist who found her way into the broader collective memory on fine arts history of the National Socialist state is the photographer and filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl. This is different for women actors, singers and pianists, a small number of whom was even represented in Hitler and Goebbels' list of divinely gifted artists (*Gottbegnadete Künstler*).

48 See for example the biography of Hanna Höch, who lived and worked during National Socialism hidden in a small garden house in western Berlin.

49 Further details in Dörhöfer 2004, op. cit., 140, and Nerdinger 2005, op. cit., 278.

The case of *Technische Hochschule Berlin*

The faculty of architecture at the *Technische Hochschule Charlottenburg* was renowned, both due to its location in the capital and thanks to the architects teaching there. The share of women students remained so low, however, that one wonders whether to praise the increasing number of women in architectural education or, more accurately, to report a continuous absence of women from 1909 until far into the post-war period.⁵⁰ Between 1909 and 1918, 55 women (including 21 foreign students) registered at the *Technische Hochschule Charlottenburg*: 29 of them studied architecture. They included some of the eight women who earned a diploma in technical studies.⁵¹ An obvious increase emerged between 1913 and 18, on the eve of and during World War I.

During the first half of the 1920s, the share of women in architecture courses was, thanks to about a 3% increase (one to five women), comparable to the pre-World War I period and much higher than the share of women studying all subjects, which remained at the minimal level of about 0.8%. But probably related to the economic upswing in Germany, it rose from 3.2% (one woman) in summer 1924 to 12.9% (four women) in summer 1930 and to 6.8% of the architectural students in 1935 (20 women). This increase was probably not only related to the business boom, but also to the myth of the *Neue Frau* and women's interest in the *Neues Bauen* and *Neues Wohnen* movements, which constituted a breach of social norms and traditions of the *Kaiserreich*.⁵²

From the end of the Weimar Republic and during the rise of the National Socialist regime, the *Technische Hochschule Berlin* had a relatively high share of women students compared to other German universities. It seems paradoxical that simultaneously, in 1933, a working group of National Socialist women students (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft Nationalsozialistischer Studentinnen*) emerged, parallel to a student-organised community of TH women students (*Gemeinschaft der TH-Studentinnen*). Founded in the late 1930s, the latter lobbied for the employment prospects of highly qualified women in private commerce and industry.⁵³

⁵⁰See Duden and Ebert 1995, op. cit., xx

⁵¹ Dietlinde Peters, "Frauen an der Technischen Universität Berlin", in *Von der Bauakademie zur TU Berlin. Geschichte und Zukunft*, ed. Karl Schwarz (Berlin: Ernst, 2000) 518-530.

⁵² Ibid., 518. *Kaiserreich* is the term used for the German Empire between 1871 and 1918, politically organized by Federal States and governed by a constitutional monarchy.

⁵³Source: *Die Studentin* 6, 1930, 101.

Some of these students, such as Ludmilla Herzenstein, Hilde Weström, Lotte Werner, Margot Weymann, Nina Kessler, Luise Seitz, Elfriede Schaar and Annemarie Meichsner, could be retrieved in this research (cf. Table 4.1. above)

However, in the 1939 summer semester, just before the war started, only two women students remained. As the number of students in architecture had decreased in general, this still represented a share of 7% women amongst all students in architecture. Just like during World War I, women's participation increased during the next war. In 1941, more than half of the male students left to join the armed forces. From summer semester 1940 until summer semester 1945, an average of 13 new female students enrolled, i.e. 33% of the new registrations in architecture.

This was insofar a particular success, as the Berlin universities' official journal *Wissen und Dienst* (Knowledge and Service) had published a forthright statement in 1933: "The *Hochschule* belongs to men."⁵⁴

During wartime, teaching was reduced and when it took place, it was characterised by the events of war. In terms of gender equality, it is a cynicism of history that again, only the male departure for the front enabled more women to access academic studies.

In terms of female participation, the *Technische Hochschule Dresden* was at the end of the Weimar Republic in a comparable position. In terms of professional role models, the college was slightly ahead during World War II.

The case of *Technische Hochschule Dresden*

The *Technische Hochschule Dresden* (TH Dresden) officially registered the first woman student, as a "non-enrolled student who is permitted to attend seminars", in the Department of Structural Engineering in 1907. At Easter 1912, Gertrud Ferchland was the first women who officially studied architecture at the *Technische Hochschule Dresden*, and she was the first woman lecturer at the faculty. Only after 1915 did more women enter the architecture faculty: „At Michaelmas 1915, Lilia Sofer from Vienna and Else Riedel from Penig in Saxony were finally able to register as students in

54 Peters, op. cit., 524.

architecture (...) They finished their studies in 1920, and passed their diploma "with distinction" and with "good success". In the field of "arts and technology", which included architecture, they were thus the first women graduates of *TH Dresden*.⁵⁵

The prerequisite to be admitted for studies in architecture was to present a portfolio and to pass an entrance examination. However, at that time students were not obliged to do a professional internship in the construction industries before their studies. In 1926, the share of women students in architectural studies was 4% (four women). The overall share of women students at *TH Dresden* was at that time 2.2%. By 1932, the number of women students in architecture had increased to 5.3% (16 women) and in all departments to 11% (396 women). It is remarkable that the first woman who taught at *TH Dresden*, the architect Gertrud Ferchland, taught from 1930 on in the department of pedagogy and could hardly serve as a professional role model for the few women students in her own discipline. Ferchland had studied in Dresden, at *TH Charlottenburg* in Berlin and at ETH Zurich, from where she returned to Dresden.

As elsewhere in Germany, Dresden women's studies in engineering disciplines suffered a considerable setback during National Socialism. Between 1933 and 1939, not a single woman entered the departments of architecture, civil engineering, mechanical engineering or electrical engineering. Even at the departments for social sciences and chemistry, which had previously seen an increase of women's studies, the number of women students decreased between 1932 and 1938/39, and in architecture only six out of 16 women who had studied in 1932 completed their studies.⁵⁶ Unlike the Berlin *Technische Hochschule*, the *Technische Hochschule* in Dresden has no data available concerning student registrations during the war.

Research on Dresden University's engineering faculties reveals that the establishment of large-scale enterprises in the Weimar Republic and during National Socialism changed women engineers' and architects' job opportunities in different engineering disciplines.⁵⁷ There is, however, no evidence that this holds true before World War II for women students in architecture.

55 Dorothea Bernholz, "Historische Betrachtung der Entwicklung des Frauenstudiums an der technischen Universität Dresden bis 1945", *Zeitschrift der TU Dresden* 16/ 4 (1967) 1327.

56 See Bernholz, op. cit., 1333.

57 See Zachmann 2000, op. cit., 214-216.

4 II 3 AFTER WORLD WAR II: DIFFERENT WORLDS IN ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION?

The objective of this section is to explain how far women's situation in architectural academic education changed in the different post-war social contexts of the technical universities in Berlin and Dresden. Whereas the evidence on the conditions at *Technische Universität Berlin* focuses both on internal development and a general reform of the educational system, material on the conditions at *Technische Universität Dresden* necessarily includes aspects of the socialist education and equality policies.

There has been no research so far on whether the West German women students' situation changed considerably after the war. We only know that they very slowly became more numerous. Did the experience which women students gained in war-related work placements or in rubble clearing have any impact on the assertiveness of women in architectural classes? This remains an open question. Research on the history of women's studies at the TH/TU Berlin and registration data reveal that after the war the faculty of architecture still had the largest group of women students, but nothing is known about how many returned after the Technische Hochschule was closed in the last years of the war, nor on the conditions of studies for those who returned or registered for the first time.

This is different for East German academic architectural education. The occupying Soviet forces aimed at recruiting new elites with a working-class or farm production background. This excluded the middle-class women who studied during the war at *Technische Hochschule Dresden* as well as members of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP, National Socialists' Workers' Party). Furthermore, war damage limited the spatial capacities of the reopened university and the war had also affected the capacity of the academic staff. During the first years after the reopening, studies were thus limited to first- and second-year courses, which produced another discriminating effect for women students who wanted to continue their studies.⁵⁸

Altogether, a restoration of a male dominated culture in engineering disciplines could be observed during the very first years after the war. Whereas on the one hand,

58 As explained before, GDR academic architectural education in a technical *university* existed only in Dresden. That is why East Germany is equated with Dresden here. The main sources on post-war women's studies at *Technische Universität Dresden* are Zachmann, op. cit., 216-226, and Dorothea Bernholz, "Historische Betrachtung der Entwicklung des Frauenstudiums an der Technischen Universität Dresden von 1946 bis 1966", *Zeitschrift der TU Dresden* 15/3 (1968) 541-552.

traditional role stereotypes on women in technical professions persisted, on the other hand, the new political order aimed at a better inclusion of women in the technical field. The respective measures also addressed architectural education and the construction industries, because architecture was one of the main economically structuring building fields.

At the women's meeting of the 1965 UIA congress, Anita Bach still reports about the need to motivate young women to study architecture. She focuses on both the societal and parental roles in this process: "The old prejudice that a woman 'does not belong to the construction site' may have influenced many girls' education at their parents' house and may be one of the reasons why many of them don't even think of becoming an architect after their examination at school. I think the colleges themselves must give more and better instructions and informing material about the study of architecture to the schools, so that we might get rid of all objections."⁵⁹

In her conclusion, she announces the GDR intention to establish a quota of up to 25% women students in architecture and other technical fields.

Later in the 1960s, women's promotion policies and their application to academic structures led to positive discrimination of women in technical studies. Bach was involved in a working group for the improvement of women's studies and presents a comprehensive reflection, addressing the motivation of women for architectural studies, student housing conditions (particularly when taking their children with them to stay in the town where they were studying) and the transition from academic education into professional practice. As for the promotion of women's participation in architectural education, she suggests: "An important condition for a successful academic education is to win over young women from school, with good or excellent results in natural-scientific subjects. Schools should recommend these young women to (godparent-) universities. The universities' role would be to open them different occupational perspectives, before the traditional 'ideal visions' for women's occupations establish...It is important, that above all in disciplines with little participation of women, the faculties take care, from the first day, that these women don't get isolated. The *Freie Deutsche Jugend* (FDJ) and the supervisors should be engaged for the women's inclusion in strong collectives. It should be an important

⁵⁹ Source, Typescripts Anita Bach, 1965.

objective of the socialist student collectives to cooperate in a way that allows women to achieve the same results as men ..."⁶⁰

This is, of course, an expression of the socialist state's early steering of career choice. However, the concept is similar to today's programmes to attract women to mathematics, engineering, natural sciences and technology oriented professions. As the glass ceiling remained obvious in GDR architectural and planning practice, it is difficult to identify positive effects of this practice on women students' careers at that time. Interviews on post-GDR women's studies in construction fields did furnish some evidence on women engineers' self-confidence within their professional field.

GDR policies that affected the gender balance more than in the West concerned the post-war housing shortage and equality measures. The GDR housing supply system implicitly promoted early marriage and parenthood. Only young couples with children were eligible for a family accommodation in student residences or starter-household flats, for young couples. Bach suggests "It should be analyzed whether it is better to accommodate women students with children in specific women's student residences (or specific floors) or, alternatively, to accommodate students rather according to disciplines than according to family status. The objective is to avoid exclusion and to promote academic success. We cannot refuse young women's right to found a family during their academic education (and neither can we refuse this to young men), even though we certainly do not want to suggest it. However, we need to be aware that it might happen. It is worth to ask the question whether a later date might be more favourable. Nevertheless, we do know the numbers of students and the share of women. Our statistics provide the relevant data and evidence that more than a third of our women students will become pregnant and found a family. Starting from present and future data, the respective measures need to be started."⁶¹

Retrospectively, women architects and other academic women do not have a completely positive opinion on these policies. On the one hand, the positive discrimination facilitated their student life to a certain extent. On the other hand, this often led to hidden or open envy of both women (without children) and male students. In addition, not all professors appreciated the political commitment and compulsion for universities to develop schedules that were more flexible for women who combined studying and early motherhood. For example, it was no secret that Selman Selmanagić was not pleased to have pregnant women in his seminars. Women students tried to hide pregnancies as long as possible. Two women stated that they

⁶⁰ Ibid

⁶¹ Ibid

did not feel discriminated, but “took it good-naturedly”. Their expressed concern about how to deal with the advantages demonstrates a certain ambivalence amongst women about accepting the positive discrimination.⁶²

Since the first sections of this chapter introducing different gender aspects of women’s studies in architecture in the given context focused on aspects of participation, the following sections give more specific examples to explain the situation that women studying at architectural faculties in Berlin and Dresden were experiencing.

The case of *Technische Universität Berlin*

The *Technische Hochschule Berlin* enjoyed a reputation for being the most “women-friendly” amongst the German *Technische Hochschulen*, although this university offered no systematic promotion of women before 1938 or between 1946 and 1969. Despite a number of friendships between women fellow students, none of the interviewed women mentioned any kind of “professional solidarity” with other women during their studies. There are no records on women students associations, comparable to those which emerged in the 1930s. Women students were obviously more intent on surviving in the mainstream than on discerning differentiation.

Nevertheless, the majority of women students at the reopened *Technische Hochschule* studied architecture. In 1946, the *Hochschule* was upgraded to university (*Technische Universität Berlin*) status as symbolic gesture to mark the re-democratisation of the institution. Data on new registration in the 1944/45 winter semester and 1945 summer semester are missing, due to the war and unexplained subsequent losses of records. Data differentiated by sex are only available from 1950.

Concerning 1950s data (summer 1950 – summer 1960), showing an average of 12.2% women students in architecture, it may be assumed that their share decreased again right after the war. During the following decade, their number and share increased (apart from some minor stagnations or regressions) until the summer of 1964 to about 70 women students, who represented about 24% of all architecture students. In the following years, until 1969, the number of women architects further increased to 169

⁶² Sources: Interviews with Iris Grund and Emira Selmanagić (2000/2001) and Azemina Bruch (2014). Furthermore, Karin Zachmann explains similar ambivalence arising from special women’s classes in engineering subjects, addressing the working class. These “turned out to be a mixed blessing” because they both encouraged women to enter engineering professions and reinforced gender roles and conflicts due to the immense burden of concurrently working on the job (albeit with privileges), education and unequally distributed family responsibilities (op. cit., 234).

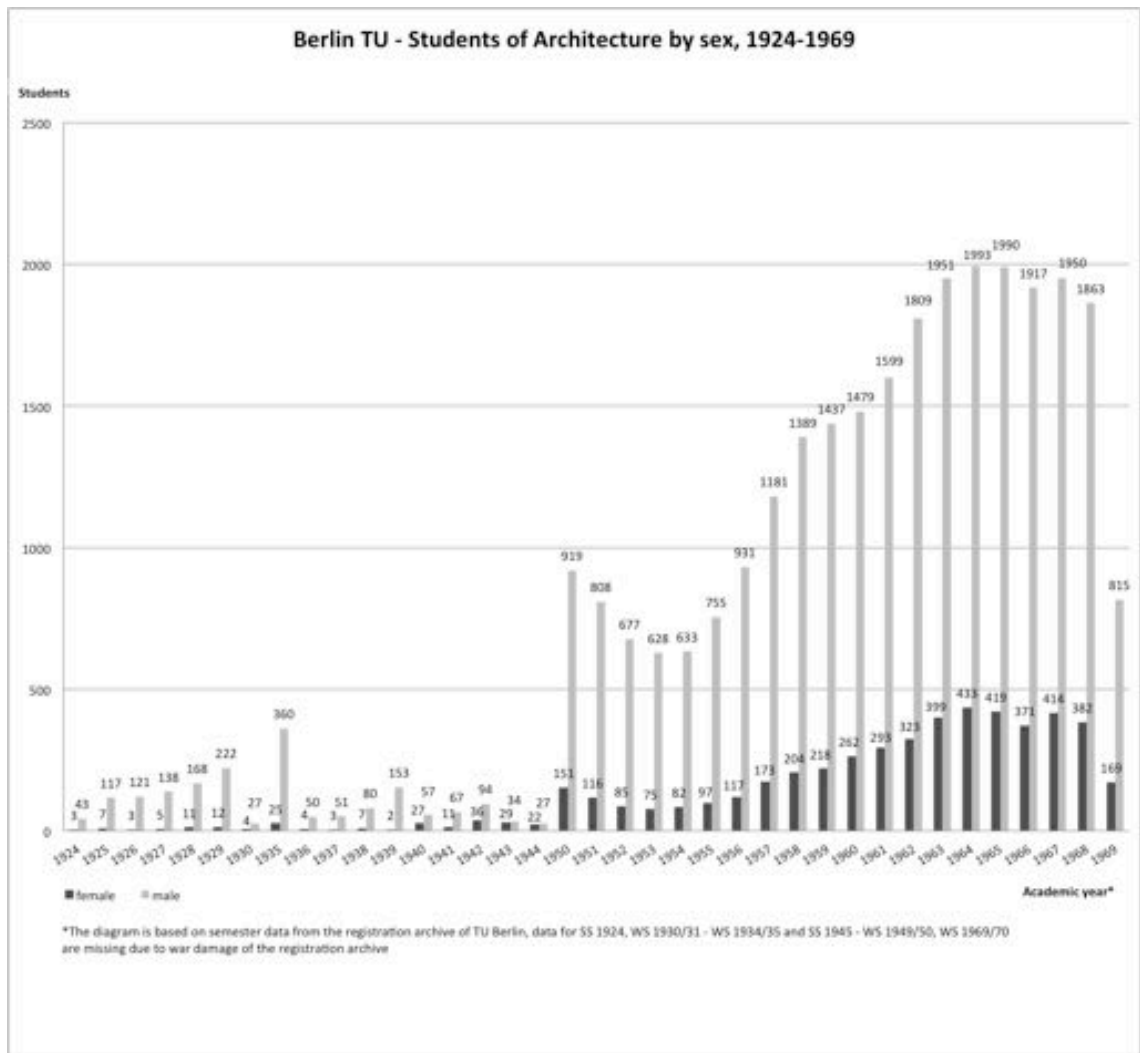
women (17% of all architecture students) at the faculty.⁶³ The majority of the women students at the *Technische Universität Berlin* studied architecture.

Concerning the early 1960s, the memoirs of architect and architectural historian Johann Friedrich Geist, whose publication on Berlin housing history was introduced in Chapter 1, contained only one remarkable situation related to gender balance which he perceived during his studies: „The architectural designs created for the annual examination were exhibited in the building’s inner courtyard, and from the galleries, students could see the professors and the one female professor, walking in her white overall from presentation to presentation and judging them(...) Oh, pure 19th century!”⁶⁴

Table 4 | 1 illustrates the gender (im)balance amongst architecture students between the late 1920s and 1969. (Diagram 4| 1 see following page)

63 See Duden and Ebert, op. cit., 525; TU Berlin registration data and typescript Schmidt-Thomsen, no year.

64 Jonas Geist, „Ein erinnernder Gang zurück in die Arme der Technischen Universität“, in *Frauen an der Technischen Universität Berlin Von der Bauakademie zur TU Berlin. Geschichte und Zukunft*, ed. Karl Schwarz (Berlin: Ernst, 2000) 278.



In contrast, the absolute number and share of women achieving a degree was much less stable. Most of the women studying between 1909 and 1930 finished with an academic degree. Between 1930 and 1946, comparable data are missing. Assuming a study duration between four and six years, the percentage of women starting their studies who actually earned a degree decreased: out of 84 women who matriculated between summer 1941 and summer 1944, 25 (29.8%) completed a degree between summer 1946 and summer 1950. In comparison, 90 (60.6%) male students out of 297 who started in the same period completed a degree. Women's share of all degrees in architecture acquired during this time was 21.7%.

From winter 1950/51 to summer 1959 (data for 1959/60 are missing), the share of women achieving a degree per semester varies widely between a maximum of 18.9% in 1952 and a minimum of 3.8% in 1953. An average of 9.6% of the degrees awarded

per semester were granted to women (altogether 63). The share of women among all architecture degree recipients during this time was 11.2%.

From summer 1960 to summer 1969, the share of women among degree recipients averaged 13% per semester (altogether 137). Women's share of all degrees in architecture acquired during this time was 14.3%.⁶⁵

In 1950, Herta Hammerbacher, a landscape architect, was the first woman appointed to teach at the department of architecture. In 1962, she was also the first woman offered a professorial chair in this department of the *Technische Universität*. Hammerbacher on seminar excursion) Until the 1970s she remained the only woman professor in this department. Altogether at 8%, the share of female students at the *Technische Universität Berlin* continued to be low until the general reform of German universities in 1968, which led to a break with traditional discrimination of women aspiring to an academic education.

There is a causal connection between involvement of architecture students in the 1968 student revolts and the understanding of architecture as an expression and carrier of social conditions and classes. For many, especially female students, who experienced architecture for the first time as a political issue, this stimulated an observable interest in political and economic theory and a discussion of the social meaning and importance of architecture.⁶⁶ In addition, the increasing analysis of and commitment to women's issues in architecture and planning have their roots in these student revolts.

Whereas women students' situation in architectural education underwent little post-war change in West Berlin, it was a different story at the GDR counterpart in Dresden.

The case of Technische Hochschule Dresden / Dresden Technical University

From the autumn of 1944 on, the British Area Bombing Directive resulted in citywide war damage in Dresden. At the end of the war, most of the infrastructure was destroyed. The *Technische Hochschule Dresden* had lost 80% of its built structure. In October 1946, studies could be resumed. Like the former *Technische Hochschule Berlin*, the *Technische Hochschule Dresden* was granted university status after the war.

⁶⁵ Source: Registration Office Archive, TU Berlin, Faculty of Architecture.

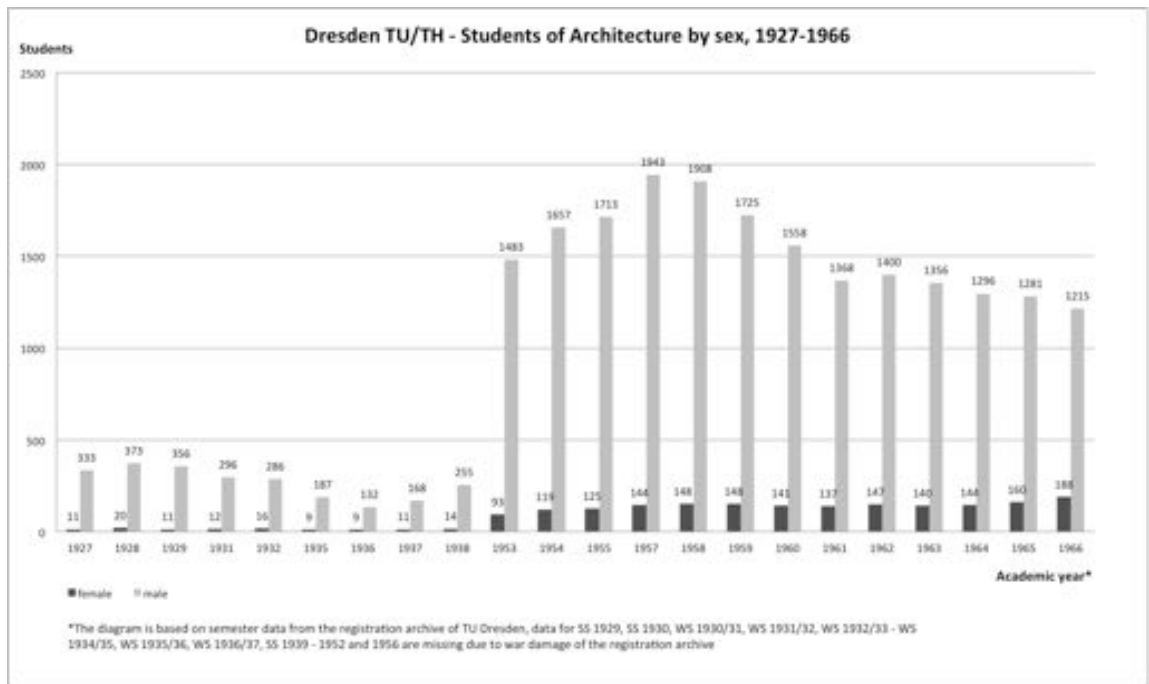
⁶⁶ See Schmidt-Thomsen 1984, op.cit., 29.

Dresden remained throughout GDR history the only GDR city which provided education in architecture on a *university* level.

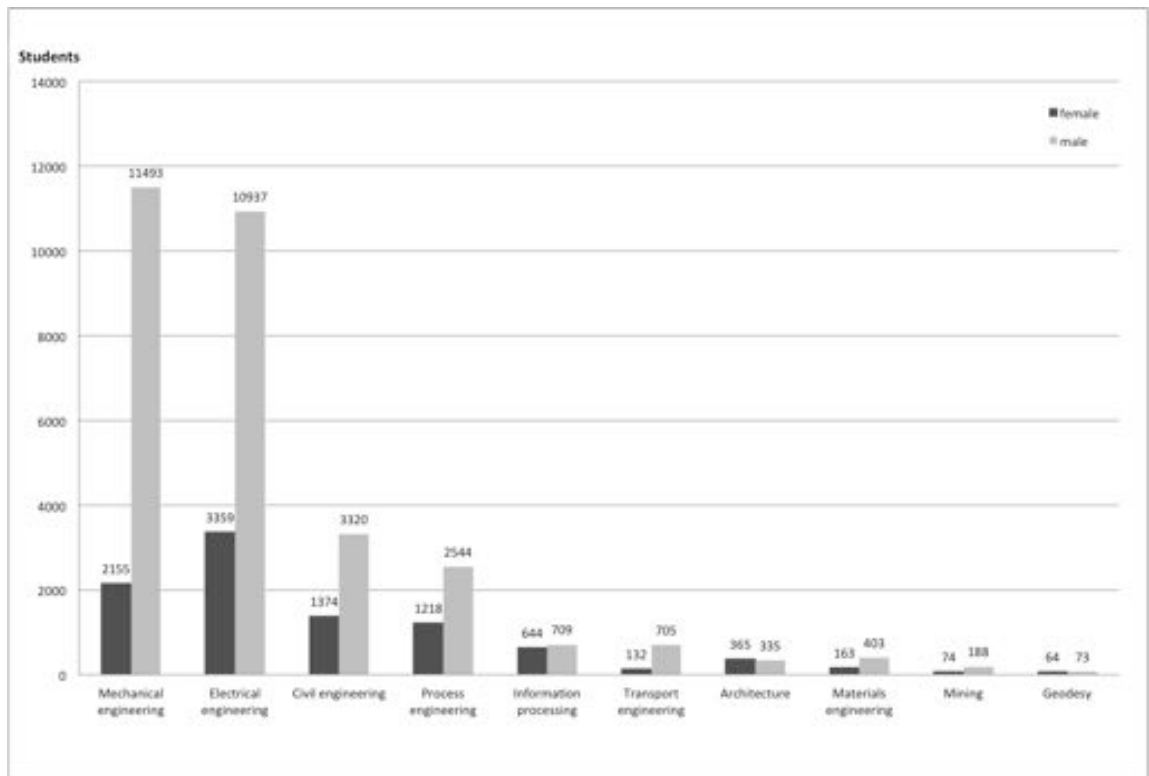
However, re-democratisation, which was part of the legitimisation to upgrade the academic status of the *Technische Hochschulen* after the war, took on different forms in the Soviet Zone. One of the first changes after the war was that compulsory subjects in East German higher education always included the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. At *Technische Universität Dresden*, these lectures were embedded in the schedule of the construction industries (*Bauwesen*) faculty. Another important structural difference was that the GDR universities and colleges accepted students from the beginning in proportion to labor-market demand.

Architecture was taught at the *Bauwesen* faculty, where the main department was civil engineering. In Dresden, too, some data concerning the post-war years are missing. Research revealed that the number of students in architecture increased continuously from 1947/1948 until 1966, but specific data, year by year, and differentiated by sex exist only from 1953. In 1953, 11% (five) of the students in architecture were women, and female enrolment amounted to 35% (78) women in 1966. Although the number of women students increased steadily until 1969, this did not meet the political and economic planning commission (*Plankommission*) targets.⁶⁷ (*Diagram 4 | 2 see following page*)

⁶⁷ See Bernholz 1968, op. cit., 541-546. Bernholz also states that if the women's quota was not achieved by sufficiently qualified applicants, the university places went to men who met the requirements.



Was it a result of the political dismantling of the architectural profession and the elevation of the status and occupational opportunities in other engineering disciplines that, at the same time, the number of women studying civil engineering and other engineering disciplines was considerably higher? Or was it, again, an expression of the persistence of the multilayered forms of male-dominated culture in the architectural faculties? (*Diagram 4 | 3 see following page*)



This was not only a problem of *Technische Universität Dresden*. Although, as explained in Chapter 2, East German legislation mandated women's and mothers' rights much earlier than West Germany, the situation was more or less the same at all institutions providing education in architecture. Equality legislation and the corresponding women's studies programmes made life easier for women students, particularly if they had children. Nevertheless, the number of women students at GDR technical universities did not reach the politically desired number, i.e. labour market demand, until the 1970s.⁶⁸

A difference to the West Berlin academic educational system was that some of the students of the GDR universities and technical colleges started their academic

68 This shortfall occurs throughout research on women's academic education in the GDR, see for example Karin Zachmann, "Frauen für die technische Revolution", in *Frauen arbeiten*, ed. Gunilla-Friederike Budde (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997) 131-146., and Ruth Heidi Stein, "Marginalität im Westen – Gleichberechtigung im Osten? Frauen im Osten Deutschlands in Hochschule und Beruf", 191", in *Profession und Geschlecht. Über die Marginalität von Frauen in hochqualifizierten Berufen*, ed. Angelika Wetterer (Frankfurt/Main; New York: Campus, 1999):188-190.

education at Workers' and Peasants' Faculties (*Arbeiter- und Bauernfakultäten*).⁶⁹ These courses prepared less educated blue-collar workers for higher education entrance requirements. Adopted in 1949, they implemented Soviet military administration regulations for fostering a new class-conscious, working-class-based intelligentsia. Although from 1950 on, some women attended such courses at *Technische Universität Dresden*, generally only few women took these courses, and none of the women architects whose professionalisation is investigated in this thesis were involved. Women were also less likely to take correspondence courses or evening classes. This was above all linked to the particularly complicated life and work conditions which working female students had to face. However, it also indicates that even in the GDR female enrolment in architecture remained a bourgeois phenomenon.⁷⁰ Furthermore, traditional stereotypes about women and technology persisted in GDR higher technical education. Not even the inclusion of two working-class women for every five women students in technical colleges had much impact on this. However, the policy achieved a feminisation of the class structures in engineering disciplines other than architecture.⁷¹

At this point, it makes sense to look at the broader context. Anita Bach, who was the only woman GDR architecture professor, complained at women architects' meetings at both the 1965 and 1968 UIA congresses that not enough young GDR women were interested in becoming an architect. For years, no more than 5% to 8% of the students in architecture were women. It needs to be mentioned that the 1960s were years of extensive reforms in the GDR. Generally, these aimed at modification of the Soviet model of socialism, but to a certain extent they also addressed stubborn role stereotypes. Bach attributed young women's lack of interest in architectural education both to the persistence of role stereotypes and to a paucity of information about the profession amongst girls. She also criticised the shortage of women in leading positions in construction as late as the 1960s. Again, she attributed this failure to role stereotypes, but also to women's double burden of paid work and unpaid family responsibilities. Summing up, she stated that in contrast to legal regulations concerning equality on the labour market, equality in the field of private housekeeping could not be dictated by the lawmaker. According to her, this gender gap already affected women students with children.⁷²

69 These classes were conceived as one-year courses in February 1946, further developed in 1947 to two-year courses and then finally from 1949 transformed into the *Arbeiter- und Bauernfakultäten* (Source: Bernholz, op. cit., 545.)

70 Bernholz, op. cit., 545-546.

71 See Zachmann 2000, op. cit., 224.

72 Source: Anita Bach, unpublished manuscript, 1965.

The situation which she described was reflected in documents of the East German women's commission of the Free German Trade Union Federation (*Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*, FDGB), from 1954, and in the proceedings of the 1964 / 1969. women's congresses. They were followed by the establishment of research groups on women's conditions in academic education at the universities in Dresden and Weimar, by plans for the promotion of women in the academic context, the implementation of specific PhD processes (*Sonderaspiranturen*) for women and by three university reforms until the late 1960s. Compared to degrees awarded to West Berlin women architecture students, there were more women architects with doctoral degrees in the East. These specific PhDs were supervised at *Dresden Technical University*, where Claudia Schrader passed hers, at *Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen*, where Anita Bach passed hers, and at the Building Academy (*Bauakademie*) in Berlin, where Iris Grund obtained hers.

The East German reforms of academic studies in the 1960s were not the result of student revolts against inflexible conservative academic structures, which was the case in the West and particularly in West Berlin universities. The justification was instead top-down adjustment to labor market necessities, including steering women into specific job sectors.⁷³ Despite all reforms and the promotion of women's equality through specific organisational support during studies and exams, the housing supply and childcare for women students remained a permanent topic throughout the 1950s and 1960s.⁷⁴

4 II 4 IN CONCLUSION

"For women much more than men, education in an artistic field seems to require not only a weaker attachment to some of the traditional interests of each person's own sex, but readiness to adopt behaviour, normally characteristic of the other sex; especially in the case of women, verbal aggression, an active drive for achievement, an interest in exploration and adventure and relatively strong sexuality."⁷⁵

73 From a critical perspective, one might also ask how far the labour market in the West has been the key for some of the enrolment requirements.

74 Sources: Anita Bach, HAB; Gisela Raap, HTW Dresden, *Arbeitsplan der Frauenkommission der TU Dresden* (work plan of the TU Dresden women's committee) /1967 (TU Dresden Archive).

75 Michael Patrick Fogarty, *Women in the architectural profession*, (London: Policy Studies Institute, 1978, Typescript) 16 (annex).

This statement, deriving from a study on women architects' professional status in the late 1970s, seems, though at first sight not closely linked to this context, interesting for a conclusion of this chapter. Whatever a feminist might make of the suggested women architect's "necessity" to adopt behaviour normally characteristic of the other sex, this statement nevertheless indicates an open question.

When research focuses on women's participation in male-dominated professions, there is a tendency to analyse women's problems to *adjust* to traditional male career patterns and professional cultures. The quote is a typical example. In addition, these problems usually relate to difficulties of reconciling the dual role between family and profession, a profession that has very specific work patterns and working hours.⁷⁶ Looking at the educational phase, and particularly at the GDR educational conditions, supports the argument that the discrimination patterns in architectural education and professional practice start from a different point.

Fogarty's above-quoted remarks lead to an additional perspective. What did women students' learning and decision-making processes look like, how did they deal with different aspects of their femininity in a male-dominated professional culture? If research can prove existing structural and/or individual discrimination, which most of the women architects deny, what does this mean for further reflection? Furthermore, as some of the behavioural patterns mentioned in the quote might match some of the women presented in the cases: did such behaviour support them in practice or did this expose them even more as "different"? Did it help to participate in privileged working parties, and to overcome mechanisms of differentiation by sex in academic education? It was not possible to find answers to these questions here, despite the use of a biographical approach and the focus on a very small sample to get close to the ordinary life in all career stages. In architecture, in these generations, particularly successful women tend to reject assumptions of differentiation. The objective of most women (in both societal systems) seemed to be, from the first days of their studies, to act and succeed *within* the rules of the professional culture. That this may have been for them the most self-evident reaction to structures of competition inherent to the professional culture is shown in a second quote from Johann Friedrich Geist's memories of his student days: "We were ... under enormous pressure to show, cost what it might, originality and obstinacy, particularly as at this time, apart from

⁷⁶ See Anne Witz, *Professions and Patriarchy* (London: Routledge) 2. She also states that this perspective was especially taken in research on women's employment in the 1960s.

Scharoun and Aalto, Louis Khan appeared on the horizon of American architecture. His work was stunning; he even included elements of building history ..."⁷⁷

The period within which the women students in the focus of this thesis studied ends in the 1950s, but since the overall research period, concerning professional practice, extends to the late 1960s, the concluding observation also includes the participation of women students at this time. In 1966, the share of women students in architecture at *Berlin Technical University* was 17%, at *Dresden Technical University* 35%. From a quantitative perspective, there is thus considerable difference in the participation of women in the two universities chosen as examples for the initially (pre-war) shared and later (post-war) different pathways in architectural education. At first sight, these numbers indicate a great success of the GDR policies, and the educational conditions of women are, due to the political context, much better documented than for the West Berlin counterpart. However, we must remember that *Technische Universität Dresden* was the only university offering architectural classes and, apart from the art academies in Weimar and Berlin-Weißensee, the main educational opportunity in this field, and that a more general conclusion would require a broader comparison.

Although the sample of cases is very small, the research identified both positive effects of GDR political attempts to recruit women for engineering education on women's participation in these professions and the limits of these attempts. Even the strong GDR efforts to overcome persistent mechanisms of closure in architecture and other engineering professions imperfectly managed to overcome the profession's cultural structures. It would be worthwhile to further research how far the GDR dismantling of the architectural profession produced effects similar to those at the end of the war, in terms of a re-enforcement of masculinity aspects in the culture of the profession. In her already quoted work and based on their documented speeches or notes, Karin Zachmann identified some particularly persistent Dresden-based misogynist leaders in academic education and ministerial administration, such as Henno Heidebroek, who was the *Technische Universität Dresden* vice-chancellor after it re-opened. Zachmann provides evidence of the effects that the intervention of these men had on the situation of women students despite the state women's promotion policies.

The objective in this chapter was to submit evidence that architectural studies in Germany remained far into the 20th century a predominantly male, largely gender-encoded domain. Different observations on the overall context of academic

⁷⁷ See Geist, op. cit., 278.

architectural education revealed, for each of the individual fields that were investigated, considerable gender bias and male domination. Furthermore, class affiliation and possession of specific social capital were revealed as limitations to the obvious positive impact that GDR top-down equality policies had on the culture of the profession. The experience reported by contemporary women architects like Anita Bach or found in statements that they made in their professional context corroborate this insight.

In the biographical narratives which the interviewed women developed retrospectively, the experience of discrimination in education was seldom admitted and only surfaced at a later stage in life, when career expectancies or professional practices were discussed. If so, the considerations mentioned in the entrance quote of this section were part of the narrative.

The following table provides an overview of when and where the women architects studied.⁷⁸ Already at this time, competition in architectural classes was considerably high. This is particularly notable for the art academies. *Kunsthochschule (KH) Weißensee*, where Emira Selmanagić and Iris Dullin-Grund studied, accepted no more than ten new students per year. (Table 4 | 2)

Architect	Year of birth	Years of study	Academic institution
Bloch, Karola	1905	1929 - 1930	TH Wien
		1933 - 1934	TH Berlin-Charlottenburg
			ETH Zurich
Blank, Hanna	1906	1925 - 1930	TH Berlin-Charlottenburg
Harte, Hilda	1906	1922 -	TH Berlin Charlottenburg
Werner, Lotte	1906	1927 - 1933	TH Berlin-Charlottenburg
Herzenstein, Ludmilla	1906	1926 - 1932	TH Berlin-Charlottenburg
Braunschweig-Kessler, Nina	1909	1929 - 1935	TH Berlin-Charlottenburg
Seitz-Zauleck, Luise	1910	- 1936	TH Berlin-Charlottenburg
Schaar, Elfriede	1911	1932 - 1937	TH Berlin-Charlottenburg

78 Of course, there were other German universities teaching architecture, last but not least Bauhaus Dessau. But none of the women featured in this research studied at one of them, and of the few female Bauhaus architecture graduates, only Vera Meyer-Waldeck worked for a short time in Berlin. Thus, this research does not investigate the experience of women at other universities.

Adam, Gerda	1911	1931 - 1937	TH Berlin-Charlottenburg
Zech-Weymann, Margot (née Weymann)	1911	1931 - 1933	TH Berlin-Charlottenburg
Weström, Hilde (née Eberle)	1912	1932 - 1938	TH Berlin-Charlottenburg
Lehning, Elly D. Johanna	1914	1942 - 1945 1945 - 1952	Kunst und Werk, private TU Berlin
Küster-Brobeck, Klara	1914	1932 -	TH Berlin Charlottenburg
Selmanagić, Emira (née Hadžibaščajušević)	1922	1942 -1944 1946 -1948 1953 -1957	TU Vienna TU Berlin Kunsthochschule Berlin- Weißensee
Sauerzapfe, Lotte (née Sturm, married Schildhauer, married Sauerzapfe)	1924	1946 - 1949	Staatliche Ingenieurschule Berlin (Vereinigte Bauschulen von Groß-Berlin, HTL)
Tscheschner, Dorothea	1928	1949 - 1953 1952 - 1952 -1956	Technische Lehranstalt Chemnitz (1951 renamed Technische Lehranstalt Karl- Marx-Stadt) Fachschule für Bauwesen Görlitz Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen, Weimar
Bärhold, Erika	1929	1945 - 1948 1951 - 1953	Bauschule für Raumtechnik und Raumgestaltung, Berlin (correspondence courses in civil engineering)
Kressmann-Zschach, Sigrid (née Zschach, married Postel, married Kressmann) married Losito)	1929	1947 - 1952	TH / TU Dresden

Diehl, Edith	1931	1951 - 1956	Kunsthochschule Berlin-Weißensee
Grund, Iris (née Grund, married Klemm, married Dullin-Grund)	1933	1953 - 1957	Kunsthochschule Berlin-Weißensee
Krause, Ruth (née Ahnert)	1934	1953 - 1960	TH Dresden
Biergans, Ingrid	1934	1952 -	Arthur Werner Private Technical College, Berlin
Lehmann, Gertraude	1935	1953 - 1956	Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen, Weimar

Table 4 I2 Student days of the women architects

5 FROM RE-BUILDING TO NEW BUILDING: WOMEN
ARCHITECTS' CONTRIBUTION TO BERLIN'S POST WAR
BUILDING

“The architect’s work does not start with a drawing pencil, but with contemplation, with fathoming out the basis on which the building is based, as both spiritual and artistic structure. (...) “Where the intention of any building style or any superficial tendency (e.g. false pathos) is the starting point of design, the way to a true design is already blocked because there is something cocked from the outside, and false, which destroys the natural development from the centre.” (...) “Our work does not address those who are driven by material needs and attached to their property, calculate in a speculative way, and are not free. We have to take care for the life of those who lost everything and to recreate space for them with minimum expenditure.” (Lucy Hillebrand, 1947)¹

The first chapter of this thesis depicted how and where key building history literature represented women architects. Its feminist perspective was to show how these texts could have been more inclusive. Depicting the major developments in Berlin building history from 1949 until 1969, this chapter reinforces this perspective and the thesis that women architects were structurally excluded from the *State Nobility* of architectural practice. These years were above all characterised by debates about an urban planning model, first for Berlin in general and after 1961, for each side of the divided city. Of similar importance was, as explained above, solving the serious housing shortage, which became a major area of competition between East and West Germany, with a main battlefield in Berlin.

The chapter starts with an overview of women architects’ fields of action in East and West Berlin between 1949 and 1969. It explains the *social environment* and discloses the *problem situation*, which women experienced and which is looked at in depth through the eight cases in the next chapter. These cases present possible *solutions* for women’s participation in architectural practice during the 1950s and 1960s.

5 | 1 FREELANCE IN THE WEST, COLLECTIVES IN THE EAST: WOMEN ARCHITECTS’ MAIN FIELDS OF ACTION IN BERLIN BUILDING FROM 1950 TO THE LATE 1960S

As illustrated before, the literature provides a comprehensive overview of what was built in the two parts of the city between 1950 and 1965, but at the same time, most

¹ Hoffmann 1985, op. cit.,178.

of the existing research and publications use traditional criteria for what is worth discussing from a historical perspective. It is thus not surprising that mainstream literature and statistics provided little insight into who designed the less conspicuous new buildings, be it in housing, be it in infrastructure. Consequently, it was not possible to tap these publications to answer the frequently asked question of the statistical share of women or men designing in various building tasks. For the assignments attributed to women, it is important to consider the context of commissioning after the war.

The Allies' separation of the city from 1949 resulted in the constitution of two magistrates for West Berlin and Groß-Berlin (*Soviet Occupied Zone, SBZ*).² From then on, the organisational frameworks for the architectural profession differed considerably, in terms of different political and administrative organisation and culture, different vocational and professional laws, economic systems, women's policies and professional associations.

Immediately after the war (and in West Berlin throughout the whole phase researched) Berlin architects had a theoretically free choice between dependent employment and freelancing. It was a different picture in practice. For example Lotte Werner and Hildegard Gebauer, who both studied at the *Technische Universität Berlin*, reported a severe gender division in this freedom of choice. They described a strong and women-discriminating competition on the job market between the architectural students who had just finished their studies and the architects returning from wartime military service. Hildegard Gebauer said: "For women architects, except fiancées or wives of architects, it was particularly difficult to find freelance contracts. Potential clients feared that the women might get pregnant; therefore, women usually landed only limited contracts and honorariums that were often lower than house agreements for male colleagues or even the collective wage agreements in public administration at that time. And imagine this in a field of work where, even then, 48 hours a week, weekend and night shifts were common."³

Lotte Werner reports: "In summer 1945 a new type of job emerged: assessment of the war damage in the built environment, a block-wise assessment of the ruins. I tried to work freelance in this field, until the budget for these commissions ran out. However, without reliable connections and tested salesmanship skills, this was too good to last,

² In 1950, the West Berlin government was named West Berlin Municipal Council (*Magistrat von (West) Berlin*), later it was renamed Berlin Senate (*Senat von Berlin*).

³ Hildegard Gebauer, interview in 2007.

above all because I had to take care of my mother as well. This forced me to accept an offer from the Charlottenburg district building department, even though this was a completely underpaid job. It was a hard time because my supervisor was not an engineer and got on my nerves. Once there was an opportunity for promotion, colleagues told me that they “would never ever work under a female department head”.⁴

These statements explain why women architects later showed a tendency to work in the government departments of housing and planning: public employers provide a secure income, a more interesting range of projects and, over the years, increasingly ordinary working hours. However, most of the contemporary witnesses stated that freelance architects would consider employment in public administration to be much less challenging for a designing architect than freelance practice but more promising in terms of securing a livelihood, be it for single women or families.⁵ Those who chose the urban planning building supervision departments nevertheless complained about lacking interest in their creativity and self-determinedness, also in East Berlin, as Iris Grund’s statement proves: “Of course it was not easy to leave the capital and to move to the Mecklenburg-Pomerania periphery. However, I was aware that taking on this position would, both in terms of career development as a woman and in terms of real design tasks, provide much better opportunities to design than staying in Berlin at this time.”⁶

Tracing women architects in different design tasks

Overall, the research finally traced 151 women architects who worked in Berlin in this phase. Our findings on their works led to a focus on 61 women who independently designed buildings or had leading positions in the design of buildings or urban planning. While the pioneering women architects largely worked freelance, this changed after World War II. Some of the women who had studied during the 1920s worked in the West Berlin rebuilding phase for housing companies, in the district building control departments or private offices. For example, Hilde Weström clearly remembered a total of five female fellow students who went into practice after graduation, and she assumed four of them worked in building, building control or

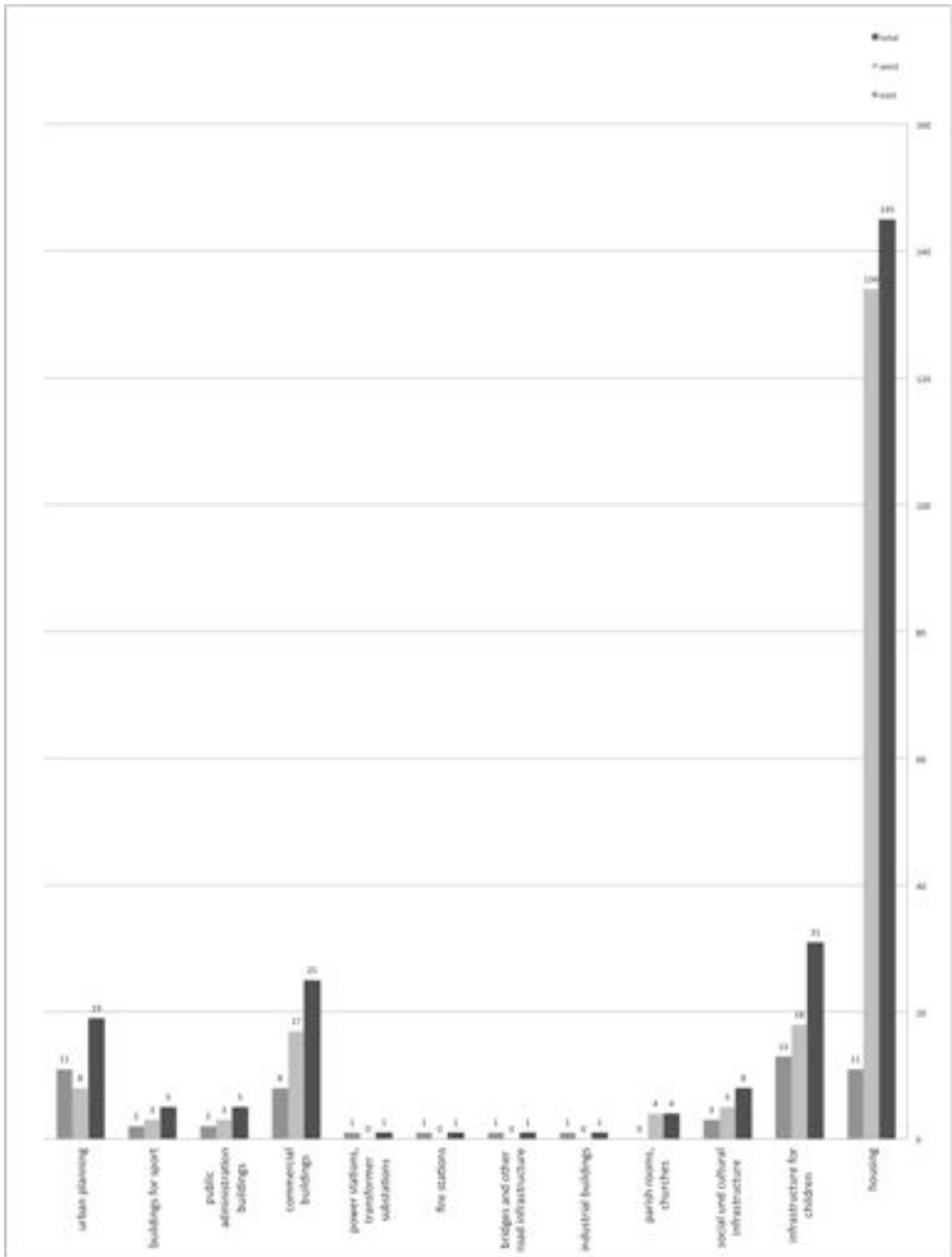
4 Quote from letter Lotte Werner to Christiane Droste, 16 February 2000.

5 This view was shared by all who were interviewed concerning West Berlin, not only the women architects interviewed for case studies.

6 Interview Iris Grund in 2002, with gratitude for the permission to quote her.

planning departments. Apart from Lotte Werner, only fragments of their work and biographies were revealed.

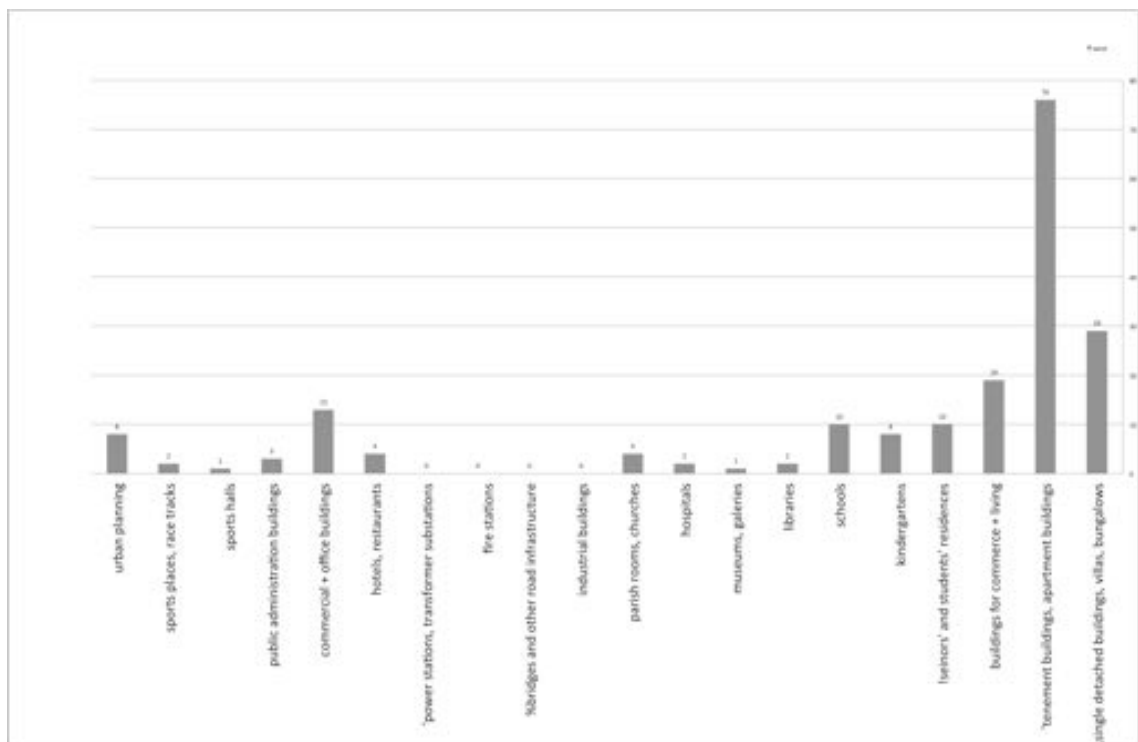
Analysis of the fields of action of the 61 women identified as *freelance architects or architects in leading positions* working between 1949 and 1969 led to a clear focus in housing, health and educational infrastructure buildings. The following diagram depicts a study-based typology of women architects' buildings. (Diagram 5 | 1)



The compilation and comparison of these works resulted in the selection of eight case studies, introducing, in Chapter 6, four on women architects working freelance in the West, and four on women in responsible positions in the East.

Women architects' building tasks in West Berlin

In the West, women designed mainly in fields that – if women were at all considered as responsible contractors – correspond to role stereotype assignments. In general and in both parts of the city, housing became an important field of action. In the West, this was the case particularly for the freelancers, because women were obviously often allocated commissions involving smaller investments, i.e. single-family detached housing and retail design. Of the West Berlin freelancers, only a few succeeded in building public infrastructure or representative buildings, and if so, mostly in fields that fitted the traditional role models: schools and kindergartens. (Diagram 5 | 2)



Due to the above-mentioned structural change in the East, West Berlin provides more examples of women working freelance than East Berlin. However, only a few of the women freelancers received sufficient commissions to fund and maintain their own offices on a sound economic basis. This may be one of the reasons why in the catalogue for the first German exhibition on women in architecture, Helga Schmid-Thomsen describes the West Berlin and West German 1950s as an “era of married architect couples” sharing assignments and offices.⁷ Nevertheless, some of the women architects living and working in West Berlin, such as Hilde Weström, Margot Zech-Weymann, Ingrid Biergans and Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach after sharing an office

⁷ Schmid-Thomsen, op. cit., 24

with her first husband Peter Postel for a few years, were determined to work independently and freelance. The wish for independence in decision-making and design and a relative distance from patriarchal power and communication structures in the male-dominated architectural world required a high level of creative competence, technical knowledge and personal discipline and strength. This was especially true at a time when the different phases of the building process were still much more closely managed and accompanied by the architect and (if at all) only statistical issues were outsourced or handled by other office staff. The decision to freelance usually imposed a heavy burden on private life – particularly because many of the women architects had to reconcile office, intergenerational family care, and partnership.

Although the West Berlin building commission market improved greatly with public housing subsidies from 1952, competition with male colleagues often required persistence, unprejudiced problem solving, and unorthodox decisions to safeguard women architects' livelihood. This is particularly true for women supporting their families. Real economic success for both female and male architects emerged in the 1960s, when the enormous Berlin subventions fired the building sector (cf. the following subchapters). Well ahead in economic success, even amongst male competitors, was Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach. From the 1960s, she capitalised on versatile business skills and overlooking certain scruples to establish an office which one would today describe as an "architectural factory".

The end of the 1960s brought political revolts, the *Berlin Building Weeks*, the *Diagnose zum Bauen in West Berlin* exhibition (diagnosis of West Berlin construction), organised by the group *Aktion 507*, and the development of new objectives in urban renewal. These policies were actually implemented as late as during the *International Building Exhibition 1984-1987*, but the organisation of architectural work had already changed for the better for many women architects with the political revolts. "Team spirit" was now developing in larger architectural offices, which increasingly employed women. Apart from professional skills, their capacity for more open organisational and communicative structures was valued.⁸ The opening of the universities contributed from 1968 to the development of the second women's movement: female architects and planners began to reflect on their role in the profession. They engaged in discussion of women's possible specific needs in architecture and building, from the creator and the user perspective.⁹

8 Ibid, 25.

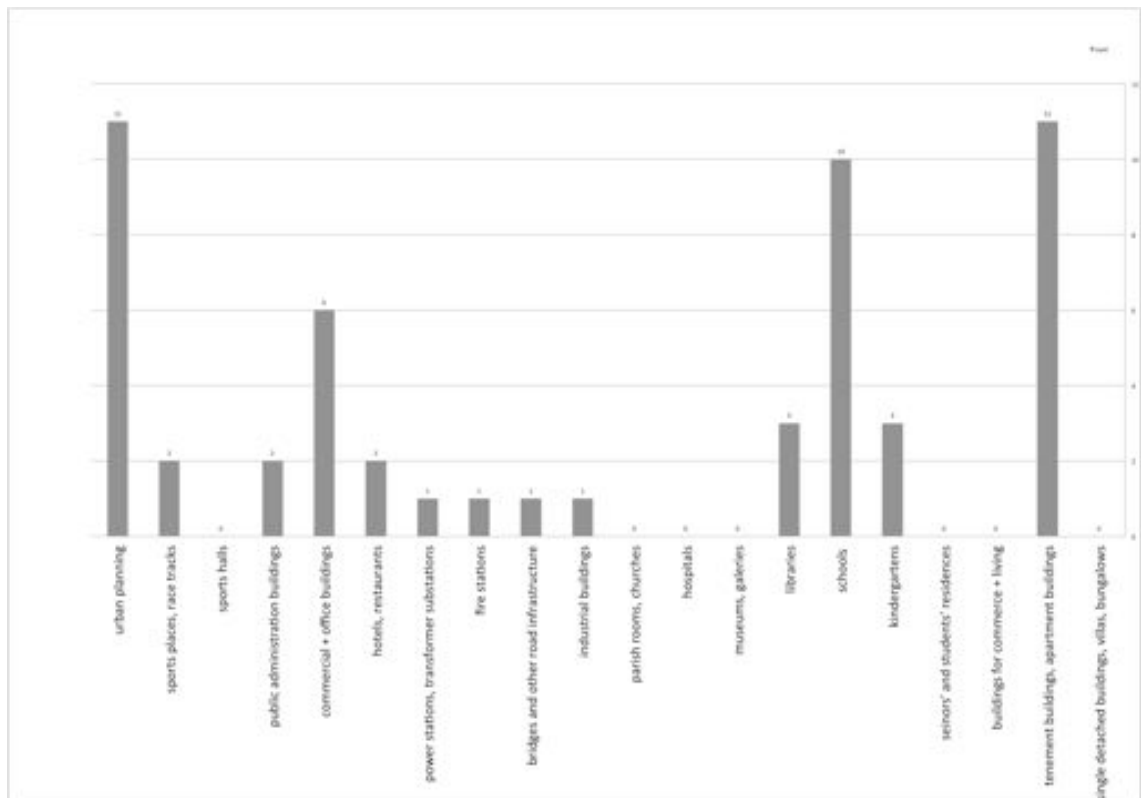
9 As this discussion took place later than the period investigated, it is not included in the analysis. It is well documented in special issues of the *Bauwelt*, *Arch+* and, later on, *FOPA* publications. See bibliography.

Women architects' building tasks in East Berlin

In East Berlin, however, the status of architects changed dramatically after the early 1950s: politics forced the majority of architects to work either in public project planning offices or urban and housing design collectives (*Projektierungsbüros* or *Planungs-Kollektive*) or in the nationally owned building industry. The job description of the freelance architect as an independent designer virtually vanished.¹⁰ Identification of individual design performance became difficult, apart from the allocation of design authorship to the head of the collective.

While in West Berlin women architects theoretically had different choices concerning how to work and where to work, it very quickly became clear that in the system of GDR state-steered building production, the profession of so-called *private architects* and their scopes of action were doomed. Already in late 1948 and early 1949, the government founded state-owned construction companies. In 1950, adoption of the Rebuilding Law (*Aufbaugesetz*) and the 16 Principles of Urban Development (*16 Grundsätze des Städtebaus*) constituted the conceptual base for the GDR rebuilding process. In 1951, the Association of State-Owned Companies (*Vereinigung Volkseigener Betriebe, VVB*), monopolised all areas of industrial design. In 1952, the State-Owned Architectural Enterprises (*Volkseigenen Betriebe der Hochbauprojektierung, VEB*), amalgamated architectural offices, five planning offices, the state building academy, and the municipal chief architects (*Stadtarchitekten*) assumed responsibility for GDR planning and building activities. (Diagram 5 | 3 see following page)

¹⁰ This is explained in greater detail in Chapter 6.



The diagram on East Berlin women architects is to be considered with caution. On the one hand, many more women architects were at this time registered in the BdA, on the other hand, only a few women were (like many male colleagues) visible in leading positions. It therefore seems unwarranted to assess their overall participation and impact based solely on these data. East Berlin women architects were, like their Western colleagues, rarely commissioned with cultural, sacral, or other representative buildings. In the East, in the capital and more often in other parts of the country, however, more women were given an opportunity to design technical infrastructure. In contrast to West Berlin and West Germany, urban planning for East Berlin architects, from the end of the *Nationale Tradition* building phase in the early 1950s, constituted one of the few fields which allowed them to put their own planning ideas into practice. In East Berlin, women architects rarely filled leading posts in this field, and it was not unusual for women to decide to leave the capital in order to work in a planning department in another region.

A 1961 article in *Deutsche Architektur* illustrates the difference in women architects' and engineers' employment opportunities between the centre (East Berlin as the GDR capital) and outlying districts. It is significant that the article points to the fact that women were successful in all fields of urban and project planning, and provides 34 examples, but only two of them in Berlin. These were the design of East Berlin's

Friedrichsfelde Zoo (Editha Bendig) and a bus wash and inspection station in Berlin-Weißensee (Lotte Schildhauer).¹¹

In the peripheral districts, women's chances for leading positions increased from the 1960s, although this was due to state employment policies more than individual decision-making. The opportunities to develop a minimum of creativity were, however, clearly greater outside the capital.

Apart from Dorothea Tscheschner, who working for the *Magistrat*, and Emira Selmanagić, who worked for the Berlin-Weißensee and Lichtenberg districts, most East Berlin women architects worked for one of biggest state planning offices, *VEB Berlin Projekt*, which employed more than 1000 people. Isolde Andrä, and in the latest phase of her professional career, Ruth Krause held regular job at the GDR *Building Academy (Bauakademie)*. The academy retained Karola Bloch and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky as guests or consultants. Without exception, the architects interviewed conveyed their subjective perception that within these collective work processes, the work atmosphere was "on the surface" considerably less competitive than in the West. From a research perspective, this has probably been true for much of the work process, in the less prestigious areas of work and as an everyday feeling in a highly regulated system, which demanded considerable solidarity amongst the weaker links in any operation. Nevertheless, the lack of representation of women in leading positions, particularly in the capital, partly refutes the statement about little competition.

Most GDR architects chose neither their workplace nor their assignments in a self-determined way: the state and its building combines decided on this, based on economic and capacity needs. Economy requirements also decided, as a rule before the end of the individual's studies, her or his professional specialisation. Dorothea Tscheschner revealed in an interview on her work biography that this could trigger a change without warning, in her case from a strong interest in church building to a focus on serial, prefab housing design.¹² Furthermore, contrary to the politically correct image of female worker promotion, the opportunities to succeed in a career as an architect were heavily dependent on gender. Another career-relevant but little-investigated aspect was a "hidden agenda" in the post-GDR debates on the quality of

11 Sources: Membership data of the BdA, accessed at the Building Archive of IRS Erkner and „Unsere Frauen inden Projektierungsbetrieben“, in *Deutsche Architektur*, Vol. 1 (1972)

12 The interviews with Dorothea Tscheschner took place in 1999 and 2000. All quotes with gratitude for the time and information shared, concerning both her personal career and the GDR building context.

and individual responsibility for GDR architecture. This involves the importance of party membership for career success, regardless of sex.

As for the development of fields of action, women were profoundly affected by the decline of private building projects, state regulation of the whole building sector and the reduction of architects' work and creativity due to serial fabrication, and the subordination of architecture to the primacy of the economy after 1955. The technology orientation of building hit women particularly because gender stereotypes about women and technology were hard to overcome, despite a different political doctrine and intention. Furthermore, 90% of housing production from the 1960s was panel building. This reduced the design scope in housing, which was the main focus for women architects, to building details. This caused some, if they could, to retreat to other fields, e.g. building academy research departments. However, analysis of descriptions of projects and related staff in professional journals and *BdA* application forms revealed that in general, many more women worked in the East German construction industry (fabrication, design and planning) than in the West German building industry. The interviewed women architects, however, confirmed the conclusion drawn from *BdA* membership documents and GDR professional journals that women, even if they were involved in the larger building projects of the 1960s, did not occupy leading positions.

Politically proclaimed equality, both in terms of participation in the building industry and filling leading positions, never reached the planning targets. Nevertheless, most of the East Berlin women architects felt professionally accepted and experienced a considerably higher ability to reconcile family and employment or other gainful activity. This was mostly thanks to the rapidly developing and more or less full-time childcare in East Germany. These findings and research undertaken by Gunilla-Friedericke Budde and Karin Zachmann support the hypothesis of sustained closure mechanisms of an architectural *State Nobility* in the GDR. Budde looked at women's gainful employment in a German-German comparison and found that career opportunities in the same field did not necessarily equal the training opportunities for women in prestigious men's domains.¹³ Zachmann researched women engineers trained at the *Technische Universität Dresden* and showed that despite the political promises, GDR women also had no access to leading positions in male-defined occupational images and cultures.¹⁴

13 Budde 1997, op. cit., 7-18.

14 Zachmann 1997, op. cit. 1997, 121-156.

Career recognition through competitions and academic teaching, in West and East

Two other ways in which architects can gain career recognition are competitions and teaching. However, the depiction of women architects' fields of action practically neglects these avenues. This is because the cross-sectional subject of competitions provides too few examples and because there were hardly any women professors at that time, both in the West and the East. Competitions are however a specific field within architectural practice and an important aspect of professionalisation, both in architecture and urban planning. Being invited or not, being able to participate or not, had (and has) definitely a gender component in terms of representation and access to commissions, options for professional visibility and networks, which will be discussed in Chapter 6. In architectural teaching, until 1969 there were only two women in professorial positions: the landscape architect Herta Hammerbacher¹⁵ and Anita Bach. Bach. In addition, the East Berlin architect Lotte Schildhauer taught in 1961 at the academy of the building and timber union, (*Betriebsakademie of the IG Bau und Holz*).¹⁶ During the Weimar Republic, the highest post that any woman achieved at the the *Berlin Technical University* was – even if she held a doctorate – that of assistant. The technical universities in Berlin and Dresden supported women's studies, but employed women at best in assistant status. After reopening in 1946 the West Berlin Technical University employed Christel Plarre (design and perspective), Gertrud Brandenburg (building history) and Ilse Bohnsack (crafts studies and building design). Herta Hammerbacher remained the only woman in a teaching position at the faculty of architecture and urban development until the 1980s. She was integrated in his urban planning department by Hans Scharoun. The irony was that at the same time the faculty of landscape planning refused to appoint her in a higher academic position. The Dresden Technical University employed Dorothea Tscheschner and Claudia Schrader as assistants in architectural design.¹⁷

15 Hammerbacher taught at the Berlin Technical University, department of architecture, 1950-1969

16 Source: BdA membership document Schildhauer, IRS Erkner, Building Archive.

17 On Claudia Schrader's biography see Droste 2000, op. cit., 203-204.; the information on the assistants at the Berlin Technical University is drawn from the lecture *Tim-tables of the Technical University*, TU Berlin Archive, 52-57, http://opus.kobv.de/tuberlin/volltexte/2009/2467/pdf/TUB_VV_1949_1950.pdf, accessed in December 2012.

5 | 2 1945 – 1949: WOMEN ARCHITECTS' INVOLVEMENT IN DEFINING POST-WAR URBAN PLANNING AGENDAS

This section of the chapter briefly outlines the post-war urban planning in both parts of the city in order to indicate how women contributed to this process. The phase between 1945 and the late 1960s is described as *Wiederaufbauzeit* (rebuilding phase). This term semantically includes the physical rebuilding of the cities between 1945 and 1955, and the construction of the economic, educational, infrastructural as well as the democratic system between 1945 and the late 1960s. This thesis applies the mainstream building history, dividing the rebuilding period into two main phases. The first lasted from 1945 to 1949, when, despite the city's division into four Allied sectors, urban planning was still addressing the city as a whole. Major development in politics and building resulted from the London conference in 1947, the monetary reform and the 1948/1949 Berlin Blockade that ushered in the political division of the city into West and East Berlin until reunification in 1990. The second phase started with the political division of the city in 1949 and ended in the late 1960s, with a switch to prefabricated concrete and mass construction and major changes in housing policies, namely social housing policies.

When the war ended in May 1945, the impression of the city was just an expanse of rubble, although it ranked only ninth in scale of destruction among German cities at the end of the war. Architectural historian Harald Bodenschatz's description of the overall war damage (referring to statistical data from 1945) may convey the level of the city's devastation, particularly in the inner city districts *Mitte* and *Tiergarten*, where the National Socialist seats of government were located: "Out of the 245,000 buildings existing pre war, 11% are completely and 8,2% heavily damaged. Another 9.3% of the buildings are considered to be moderately damaged, but susceptible to rehabilitation; 70.1 % are considered to be slightly damaged and as such immediately usable."¹⁸

The core literature used in the previous chapter, the literature on the rebuilding period in general on architecture and housing in particular and contemporary professional journals clearly defined the decision for an urban planning model and the solution of the housing shortage as the main challenges of the early post-war period.¹⁹ Visions for

18 See Bodenschatz et al., op. cit., 214.

19 On 1945-1968 Berlin housing policies cf. Hanauske 1999, op. cit., on urban development cf. Kleihues, op. cit., Geist/Kürvers, op. cit., Klaus von Beyme, *Der Wiederaufbau. Architektur und Städtebaupolitik in beiden deutschen Staaten* (Munich, Zurich: Piper, 1987), and Durth, Düwel and Gutschow 1998, op. cit., Vol. 2. The professional journals *Bauwelt* in the West, and *Architektur der DDR* in the East, are also relevant sources for the debate on the housing shortage, continuing until the mid-1960s.

for new urban development in German cities had already developed during the war. Thus, planners who had been working in or for public administrations during the Third Reich could continue their work after denazification. In addition, architects and planners whom the *National Socialists* ostracised as protagonists of modern architecture returned from war or emigration. Already on 17 May 1945, the *Magistrat von Berlin* appointed Hans Scharoun head of the department of building and housing. As such, he was responsible for the difficult task of rebuilding the city and for the suggestion of an urban planning model that was clearly distinct from the National Socialists' Berlin. Focusing the historical perspective on urban planning during the early rebuilding phase, Wolfgang Schäche suggests in his introduction to the *Architekturführer Berlin* (discussed in Chapter 1) an interesting reflection of the term *Wiederaufbau*. In spite of the fact that, due to the limited economic and material resources and lacking construction trade capacities, these ambitious models and visions remained "null and void" during the early post-war period, he attributes to both contemporary urban planners and architects an intention to *build new* rather than to *rebuild*. Interested in this difference, Schäche distinguishes the urban planning models that assimilated 1920s' avant-gardism and explicitly aimed at radical renewal from approaches that included as "a matter of fact" the surviving structures of the 19th century tenement house city (*Mietskasernenstadt*), often labelled Berlin, City of Stone (*Steinernes Berlin*).²⁰

As main protagonists of the first group, he names Scharoun with his open-urban-landscape orientation *Kollektivplan* that applied principles of modern urbanism, strictly divided the functions housing and work (1946), Moest and Görge with their *Zehlendorfer Plan*, oriented on individual automobile traffic (1946). He also mentions, although this concept was hardly discussed as a real alternative, Max Taut and his garden city memorandum *Berlin im Aufbau*. Taut explicitly condemned the *Mietskasernenstadt* and its substandard quarters, hidden behind the bourgeois, ornamented facades.

Schäche's second group epitomised by Karl Bonatz and Richard Ermisch, suggesting in the *Neuer Plan von Berlin* (1947) a more careful transformation of the imperial capital and by the engineer Ernst Randzio, who criticised the thoughtless destruction of remaining buildings and particularly remaining underground infrastructure.²¹ Due to political change in 1946, Bonatz replaced Scharoun, and this was according to Bodenschatz et al. more than a changing of the guard. Although the next years of

20 Werner Hegemann 1930, quoted from Schäche, op. cit.

21 See Schäche op. cit., XVIII-XIV and, more detailed on the respective plans, Bodenschatz et al. 1987, op. cit., 213-223, Durth and Gutschow 1988a, op. cit., 207, and Düwel, op. cit., 197.

necessity saw widespread rehabilitation of the remaining buildings, Bonatz revamped the more radical plans.

Did inclusion of women in urban planning make a difference?

An aspect that is not further pursued here, but would warrant further investigation, is whether, from today's gender planning perspective, there is a difference in the planning of the teams including women and of those who were exclusively male. Hanna Blank, member of the *Zehlendorfer Plan* team, was for example later engaged in the women's association discourse on *Interbau 1957*, but it would require a specific analysis of meeting proceedings and the realised planning to ascertain how far an inclusion of the women's positions is perceptible. (see short biography Blank at the end of the chapter) If one only looked at women architects' impact on the planning, a starting point for such an analysis would be the earlier-explained assumption that the war experience may have motivated women to work in architectural design rather than urban planning after the war. The older women architects working in the post-war period experienced flight as refugees, destruction and rebuilding twice in their lifetime, and this experience is likely to have characterised their urban and architectural concepts. Werner Durth stated that the "structured and dispersed city", the spacious, urban landscape with large green spaces, was a sign of new beginning for a generation of architects on whom war and death had left profound marks.²² He described in detail how the war damage offered a welcome opportunity to implement urban concepts developed before and during the war. Durth believed that these "profound marks", resulting in a longing for openness and large structures, are more likely to have been a *male* war-related *strategic* desire than a desire resulting from the women's experience of staying in heavily bombed cities.

In her analysis of Hilde Weström's work, Kerstin Dörhöfer applies Durth's argument, but contrasts the (mostly) male experience of being an actor in war and at the front with the opposite female war experience. The experience she names is of rape, of displacement with small children, of having to take immediate responsibility for survival and shelter, the organisation of livelihood and housekeeping in destroyed environments, and escape. Starting from the assumption that every design starts from a personal "mental map", a personal internalised image of the urban environment, buildings or home, she concludes that these gender-specific experiences did necessarily lead to different private and professional priorities, different activities in,

²² Durth, W., 1990, 28, quoted from Dörhöfer 2000, op. cit., 25. This is obviously a repetition in history, because these these visions originally emerged already in the 1920s, after World War I.

and attitudes towards, the rebuilding process.²³ There is a copious body of literature suggesting that women suffered most from the war damages and the housing shortages after the war. This literature is impressively condensed in Margarethe Dörr's publication *Wer die Zeit nicht miterlebt hat ...* (Anyone who did not witness this time ...).²⁴ The biographical analyses she did leads to an unquestionable conclusion: usually usually women were the ones who had to clear the debris, rehabilitate damaged flats and organise the housekeeping. Beyond that, they had to generate family income and deal with the extreme food shortage that required a corresponding amount of time to round up food throughout the city, often by long-distance walks.

Those of the architects interviewed who were already practising architecture during the war expressed a strong motivation to focus their work on housing supply and design. Linked to Dörhöfer's hypothesis, this allows a more general conclusion that the experience of the late war years led to a lower interest of women architects in the development of urban models.²⁵ However, as already stated in Chapter 1, some women architects were involved in the first urban planning exhibitions (*Planungen zum Wiederaufbau Berlins, Berlin plant*) and the urban planning debates and teams in the phase soon after the war. Luise Seitz-Zauleck and Ludmilla Herzenstein, both Tessenow students, formed with Peter Friedrich, Selman Selmanagić, Reinhold Lingner and Herbert Weinberger part of Wils Ebert's *Planungskollektiv*, responsible for the *Kollektivplan*.

Luise Seitz Zauleck left the main planning department (*Hauptamt für Planung*) in 1947 to follow Hans Scharoun to employment at the Institute for Building of the Berlin Academy of Sciences. In 1958, she left the city because her husband, Gustav Seitz, was appointed professor at the Hamburg Academy of Arts.²⁶

Ludmilla Herzenstein (see short biography Herzenstein at the end of the chapter) worked as specialist for research-oriented statistics in Scharoun's team. The urban planning exhibition *Berlin plant* provided access to her work for a greater public. The *Lebensbäume* (life trees) that she developed and her forecasts, based on the assumption of different needs of different household types, constitute an important part of her work. Dörhöfer states that Herzenstein's demographic analysis is rooted both in the social ideas of 1920s' Modernism architecture and urban development and

²³ Ibid, 25.

²⁴ Margarethe Dörr, *Wer die Zeit nicht miterlebt hat*, 65-71.

²⁵ Dörhöfer, 2000, 25.

²⁶ Cf. Dörhöfer 2004, op .cit., 187, and Bundesarchiv Berlin, RKK 2400 Box 0292.

in those of the first women's movement.²⁷ In 1947, Herzenstein also worked in Scharoun's team at the Building Institute of the German Academy of Sciences (*Institut für Bauwesen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften*). In 1949/1950, employed as head of a collective working for the government real estate management and planning office Heimstätte Berlin, she contributed to the design of the Laubenganghäuser (modernist housing blocks with balcony entrance), located at the beginning of the East Berlin socialist main boulevard (Sozialistische Magistrale), Stalinallee.²⁸ Bauer states that Herzenstein had only a brief opportunity after the war to to develop and employ her architectural competence and social ambitions in this field. Bauer concludes that Herzenstein's rejection of the *Nationale Tradition* architectural doctrine, her statelessness and apolitical position probably hindered a more successful architectural career.²⁹ Not least Dörhöfer's description of a woman whose professional career and engagement for social issues in building deserves respect and justifies the assumption that Herzenstein, as well as Seitz, became urban planners not as "victims of circumstances", but based on a specific professional interest.

Apart from Dörhöfer's assertion that Herzenstein's demographic analysis and work were rooted in the first women's movement, it has not yet possible to find evidence that these women architects espoused specifically feminist perspectives in the planning debates to which they contributed. Even concerning Hanna Blank, this research provided no evidence on such engagement in her everyday practice, but given her involvement in the women's association's debate concerning *Interbau* and Bauer's finding that Blank was a *Soroptimist* member,³⁰ it is likely that she worked with with a corresponding professional attitude.

27 Cf. Dörhöfer 2004, op. cit., 159-160 and *Neue Bauwelt*, Vol. 19 (1948), 291 -294.

28 Architectural historians have different opinions on the authorship of the *Laubenganghäuser*. Whereas Bauer states that Herzenstein did the preliminary sketches and had the overall idea, Kleihues et al. ascribe the site supervision to her, Butter and Hartung ascribe the design plan to Herzenstein and finally Dörhöfer credits both Scharoun and Herzenstein for the design. Interesting is that the *Landesdenkmalliste* (Berlin state register of buildings listed for preservation) names the "Kollektiv Ludmilla Herzenstein with Hans Scharoun, Helmut Riedel, Richard Paulick, Schmidt und Zahn" as architects. As the order of the collectives' names usually indicated the authorship and responsibility for building projects, this supports the position of Butter and Hartung. See Butter and Hartung 2004, op. cit., Dörhöfer 2004, op. cit. 159-161, *Landesdenkmalliste*, 09085177, as of 12 September.2013: Karl-Marx-Allee 102/104, 126/128, Wohnzelle Friedrichshain, Wohnanlage, 1949-51 vom Entwurfskollektiv Ludmilla Herzenstein mit Hans Scharoun, Helmut Riedel, Richard Paulick, Schmidt und Zahn ;(see Ensemble Karl-Marx-Allee 53/6, Gaudenzner Straße 1A-D, 2/10, 5A-D, 9A-D, 12/20, 15C-E, 21A-E, Gubener Straße 2A-E; Kleihues et al 2000, op. cit., 217.

29 Bauer, op. cit., 294.

30 Ibid, 294.

Women architects' contribution to the West Berlin planning concept

With the beginning of the Cold War, West Berlin urban planning implemented the *Bonatz-Plan*, which was also an important basis for the 1950 and 1965 zoning plans. Urban planning politics and activities were oriented on West German and international concepts of an "urban landscape", a "structured and dispersed city" that combined neighbourhood-oriented living and proximity to nature, following the modernist concept of light, air and sun and accommodating a car-oriented society. Durth states however that the downside of this concept was further demolition of the historic city.³¹ The city centre became, supported by the Marshall Plan, a so-called shop window of the free world *Schaufenster der freien Welt*.

Nevertheless, although Berlin no longer served as a capital, both urban planning and clearing up of the damaged city (that largely continued the war-related destruction of the previous urban identity) followed a hidden agenda of a future reunited capital. This took, as Alan Balfour put it, "an air of fantasy" and each part of the city "faced the task of turning a half city into a whole and autonomous one."³² It became obvious with West Berlin quickly developing its own commercial and cultural hub, located near the *Berlin - Zoologischer Garten* train station and western Berlin's historical main boulevard, *Kurfürstendamm*. A series of competitions that led to remarkable architectural designs documents this development, although an obvious non-simultaneity of planning and real life was symptomatic of the contemporary West Berlin political concept for urban planning. From the late 1950s, inner-city real estate became scarce and the 1960s suburban development flourished, neglecting the qualities of inner city urbanity.

Women architects' contribution to East Berlin urban planning concepts

In East Berlin, like the rest of the Eastern bloc, urban planning emulated the Soviet urban planning model during the 1950s. After a governmental delegation's famous journey to Moscow from April 2 to May 25 1950, designed as a knowledge exchange between members of the East German planning administration and construction colleagues, Soviet construction colleagues and members of the Soviet political machine, the authors of the *Collective Plan* were dismissed. The East Berlin planning authorities developed the GDR general rebuilding plan (*Generalaufbauplan*) with the

31 Durth 1990, op .cit., 9.

32 Alan Balfour, *Berlin. The Politics of Order 1737-1989* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1990), 178.

objective of an “egalitarian, technically oriented future”³³, at this time considered the antithesis of the Athens Charta. The housing policy framework, National Rebuilding Plan (*Nationales Aufbauprogramm*) supported its implementation. The main design characteristics of the model were the central square (*Zentraler Platz*), a public space for parades and demonstrations, the main architectural and traffic axis, (*Magistrale*) and a central building (*Zentrales Gebäude*) that should dominate the city shape.

Another result of the journey to Moscow was the political decision for the Nationale Tradition architectural design doctrine that had to be pursued from 1950 to 1955. Its centrepiece is the *Stalin-Allee* project designed by a team of architects led by Hermann Henselmann. The architectural design followed his Weberwiese skyscraper (*Hochhaus an der Weberwiese*), the first building incorporating the *Zuckerbäckerstil*, and followed the indicative programmatic *National in Form – Socialist in Content*.

Another direct result of the journey to Moscow was 16 Principles for Urban Planning (*16 Grundsätze des Städtebaus*). The legal framework that made these principles binding was the National Rebuilding Law (*Nationales Aufbaugesetz*). Whereas architectural design after Stalin’s death reverted to the path of modern age architecture, these urban planning principles remained relevant throughout GDR history and set quality standards for GDR urban planning and building. They were not only a concept for urban planning, but also an explanatory model for GDR inter-institutional interconnections and conflicts, patterns of social behaviour and political phenomena of the early GDR.

The focus of this research is on women architects’ works and professionalisation, and the depicting of the context is based on literature. The documents that Hain used for her analysis, for example the documents related to the work of rebuilding minister Lothar Bolz in the archive on the Rebuilding Ministry (*Aufbau-Ministerium*) was therefore not part of the investigation. West Berlin architects working in public administration, social documents and employment records of the GDR Berlin planning administration were not accessible for this research. It was thus not possible to identify an explicit involvement of women architects in the development of these principles. However, whenever GDR women architects were asked for gender aspects in GDR planning and architecture, they always referred to principle number 10, in their eyes providing the basis for – although couched in a different rhetoric – gender-equal access to housing and urban neighbourhoods and support for women’s full-time employment: “The residential areas are made up of residential districts, whose nucleus is the district centre. They contain all of the necessary cultural, supply and

33 Butter and Hartung, op .cit., 10-18.

social institutions for the population of the residential district that have meaning for the district. The second component in the structure of the residential areas is the housing complex, which is composed of a group of housing blocks, united by a garden created for several housing complexes and schools, kindergartens, childcare facilities and supply systems that serve the daily needs of the population. Urban traffic is not permitted within these housing complexes, but neither the housing complexes nor the districts are intended to be self-contained, isolated entities. In their structure and their planning, they depend on the structure and the requirements of the city as a whole. The housing complex as a third component principally takes on the meaning of complexes in terms of planning and design."³⁴

As mentioned earlier, apart from the BdA applications archive, the professional journal *Deutsche Architektur* was the most important source on GDR women architects' work, both in urban planning and architecture.³⁵ However, the fact that the wife of the architect Selman Selmanagić, Emira Selmanagić, also worked as an architect in urban planning was only revealed in interviews with other East Berlin women architects. During the 1940s Emira Selmanagić also worked in Hans Scharoun's team on the *Kollektivplan*. Of particular importance is her friendship with Gustav and Luise Seitz, with whom she and Selmanagić shared a house in Berlin-Grünwald for about one year in the mid-1940s, combining the district war damage assessments into one map, showing citywide war damage. This work, that formed part of the basis for the *Kollektivplan*, involved professional contacts with local planning administrations in different districts, which benefited her in her later position as district chief architect (*Stadtbezirksarchitekt*) in Berlin-Weißensee. (see short biography Selmanagić at the end of the chapter)

In conclusion, a small number of women architects participated in the Berlin urban planning debates right after the war, but there is hardly any reliable evidence on their impact. Werner Sewing and Christine Hannemann consider the discourse on the post-war urban development of the city as technocratic, and this leaves little doubt about women architects' impact on the level of urban planning: "The hour of *need* was the hour of the technocrats, the pragmatics, the experts, in other words: the men of action. Their operative knowledge was needed, even if it was in the beginning only concerning the standardisation of bricks."³⁶

34 Source: full text 16 *Grundsätze des Städtebaus*; accessible at

http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Die_16_Grundsätze_des_Städtebaus , accessed 17 July 2013.

35 The journal was renamed *Architektur der DDR* (*GDR Architecture*) and again renamed *Architektur*..

36 Werner Sewing and Christine Hannemann, "Wiederaufbau in der 4-Sektoren-Stadt 1945-1957". in *Wohnen in Berlin. Ausstellungskatalog. 100 Jahre Wohnungsbau in Berlin*, edited by Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Berliner Wohnungsbaugesellschaften und Investitionsbank Berlin. Berlin: Edition StadtBauKunst, 1999), 208.

Probably even more challenging than the definition of the post-war urban planning models was the housing problem that was of greater concern for the population and particularly for the homemakers, mostly mothers.

5 | 3 RESTORING THE HOUSING STOCK

Before new building could start, clearing of the rubble and assessment of the war damage were necessary. This section addresses the starting situation for capacitating the housing stock, women architects' participation in this field, and the essential features of Berlin housing policies between 1945 and 1969. The memories of everyday living conditions of the interviewed women architects illustrate how life, particularly women's, life was encumbered by the food and housing shortage.

The core literature on Berlin housing policies from 1945 until the middle and late 1960s consists of the publication of the 100 Years of Housing Construction in Berlin (*100 Jahre Wohnungsbau in Berlin*) exhibition³⁷, Christine Hannemann's publication on GDR prefabricated building and the thesis of housing policy historian Dieter Hanauske.³⁸ He states that the war and particularly the final battle completely destroyed about 13.5% (30,000) of the 225,000 residential buildings that existed before the war. Furthermore, he maintains that another 12% (27,000) sustained severe damage and 9% percent (20,000) relatively heavy damage, but still offered a potential for rehabilitation.³⁹ According to Hanauske, more than a third of the housing stock sustained damage, with a lower level in the eastern part of town than in the areas which later became West Berlin. In 1946 the western sectors had 251,000 more households than flats. This amounted to a housing deficit of 39% within the existing stock and increased to 50% by 1950, due to population increase and marriage. In 1950 each room in habitable space averaged 1.48 residents.⁴⁰

This is not the place to go into great detail on Hanauske's intricate statistical analysis of the housing situation after the war. However, it is worth noting that his analysis covers qualitative elements that illustrate the subjective, tangible housing conditions.

37 Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Berliner Wohnungsbaugesellschaften (eds) 1999.

38 Hannemann, op. cit., and Hanauske, op. cit., 1995.

39 "Das erste Jahr, Berlin im Neuaubau. Ein Rechenschaftsbericht des Magistrats der Stadt Berlin", Berlin 1946, 59, 68, 68, quoted from Hanauske 1991, op .cit. 140-141. Hanauske's research addressed only West Berlin, but his inventory of the post-war situation goes for Berlin in general.

40 Hanauske, op. cit. 147-150.

One of the examples that he selected from a family report series, written by family sociologist Hilde Thurnwald in 1946/1947, illustrates a very common situation: "The family of six had a three-bedroom flat that was heavily damaged by bombing and was finally lost when the building caught fire during the last days of the siege. They salvaged some furniture, but the fire destroyed most of it. Since the end of the war, the family is a subtenant of another family in a 3.5-room flat whose main tenants (mother and son) spent most of their time out of the city. After long negotiations with the housing department, the family was awarded 1.5 rooms. The main tenant continually tries to evict them, using her sister's supposed moving in as an excuse. As soon as the main tenant is at home, conflicts arise, above all about mutual use of the kitchen and the rationing of gas, but also involving arguments about furniture. The parents, their daughter and the youngest son, who shares his father's bed, sleep in the parlour. The two other boys have air-raid-shelter beds, one on top of the other, in the pantry. The father built an easy-to-heat oven with bricks, in order to always have a warm kitchen. Later on, they bought a real oven that allowed heating their 'living room' as well. The father and children were responsible for sufficient heating. The room sustained heavy water damage due to the destroyed roof. In the winter the walls were covered by mould most of the time".⁴¹

In her analysis of the housing and health situation, Thurnwald also points out that women suffered most from these housing conditions, but were often willing to overlook the worst conditions in order to maintain social networks in the neighbourhood. Some of the women architects related similar experiences, with overtones linked to their professional perspective.

Hilde Weström and her family of five fled in January 1945 from Breslau to Berlin, where they found shelter in a flat they had already inhabited in the late 1930s. The flat was very small for the family, but she had the opportunity to use former shack material to build a small summerhouse on the plot of a building she designed later, *Haus Hanke-Förster*. Talking in an interview about the creativity necessary to deal with the lack of food and clothing, such as sewing coats and trousers from former train-seat covering and exchanging simple drawings for do-it-yourself rebuilding for goat milk, she remembered that once honorariums were paid in kind: "In 1947, I once got three rabbit skin coats for the children as honorarium for a flat rebuilding design".⁴²

41 Quoted from Hanauske, op. cit., 150-155.

42 Interview with Hilde Weström, 1999, see also Droste 2000, op. cit., 20.

Relating her memories from the first months after the end of the war, Lotte Werner also describes the impact of the war damage on social relations, the struggle in making do with the food rations, and scrounging around for everyday consumer products. She points out difficulties experienced during her walks in search of former colleagues, in order to re-establish a professional life: "Slowly, in many fields of action we could sense the efforts to gain control of the "city as an organism", though probably based on communist principles. All buildings got chairmen, who had to keep an eye on everything. Sometimes this led to serious harassment, but our Mr. Sander was reasonable and prudent. One of his tasks was to assess the occupation rate of the flats. I had an easy conscience stating "one person, one room" because the other four rooms were not usable. (...) The first contact with the outside world was a shock. I absolutely hit the wall and cried my eyes out. The whole struggle and hardship of the past years became so obvious; the future so bleak and hopeless. The years to come seemed much tougher than all the war years with the air raids and sacrifices that concerned the population as a whole. However, the things to come concerned one's own, private life. (...) We, so to say, officially welcomed the freedom; cleared up the air-raid shelters in the cellar with great delight and took down the blackout materials.

(...) I was lucky that I had taken off and safely stored the double glazing. Only, the outer windows were broken, and in the kitchen, that had simple glazing, I could use X-ray film that my cousin donated. (...) I used the next few month to find out what had happened to those of my former from the building department colleagues whose addresses I knew. Despite my knee pain, I set off to Keithstraße. From Richard-Wagner-Platz to Ernst-Reuter-Platz, I could take the underground. From there I still had a long walk through an area consisting mainly of debris. My impression was that Berlin no longer existed. My search for the colleague Dedekind was futile. Passers-by told me that the cellar ceiling caved in, killing his wife and her mother. He was wounded during duty in the Territorial Army (*Volkssturm*) and still missing.⁴³

In an interview Ingrid Biergans described her war experiences and growing up in the destroyed city as "engraved in her mind" and as her main motivation to study architecture and contribute to rebuilding the city: "I have vivid memories of the air raids and the image of a street map where I was allowed to mark the destroyed buildings in our neighbourhood with pins. I also remember a family anecdote about the sudden cry, 'Oh, I want to rebuild this!', when 11-year-old Ingrid first saw the Museum of Arts and Crafts (*Kunstgewerbemuseum*) ruins (...). As for my housing biography, I remember that due to the housing shortage my family had to remain in a 2.5-room flat even after my father founded his business. During my studies, despite

43 Source: Lotte Werner, op. cit., 25-27.

my stable income, I had no chance to find a small apartment until 1962. This was because war widows, refugees, and older people were favoured.”⁴⁴

What were then women’s and women architects’ housing related activities in the early post-war context? The share of women in the Berlin population after the war was 65%. About 2,061,000 women lived in the city at the end of 1946. The Berlin building sector and ancillary trades employed 40,000 women, thus nearly 2% of the female population. Many of them worked as *Trümmerfrauen*, whose job was to clear away tons of bricks and stones to be used as building materials. On the one hand, they prepared the rebuilding process, on the other, they tried to create – as far as this was possible in the given circumstances – cosy living conditions for their families in the middle of the ruins. For women architectural students a certain number of hours to clear the debris (*Trümmerstunden*) formed an obligatory part of the student life at that time.

Hildegard Gebauer (see short hort biography Gebauer at the end of the chapter) started her studies at the Berlin Technical University in May 1946 and reported that the *Trümmerstunden* were a required part of her curriculum, but not necessarily experienced as a burden because “The experience of the war-damaged cities formed part of my motivation to become an architect. Construction sites were familiar to me and everything around me lay in ruins. The wish to rebuild resulted from the idea that this would be a lifelong task. And as I had always been excellent in drawing and design, I had no doubt that I would meet this career expectation”.⁴⁵

However, the pathetic depiction of women’s contribution to the rebuilding process in the role of the *Trümmerfrau* was soon transformed into a myth, despite (or should one say “due to”?) women’s success in a male occupation. In 1948, the Berlin Statistical Office already reported 48,000 women employed as plumbers, pipefitters, mechanics, precision engineers, and locksmiths and another 6,000 women working in other technical tasks of housing maintenance. After the monetary reform, which was a defining event for the German society, women’s applications for retraining or qualification in the building sector were, however, refused in West Berlin. It is worth mentioning that there were no statistical data on the share of women architecture.⁴⁶

44 Source: Interview with Ingrid Biergans, 2000, and her housing biography (unpublished typescript, without date)

45 Source: see footnote 24.

46 Statement of the Berlin Statistical Office, asked for data on architects differentiated by sex in October 2011.

This abrupt end of a short and promising period of changing role models in this field was a setback for West German and West Berlin women who were interested in building industry professions that maintained the status quo until nearly the end of the 20th century in West Germany. Even though these regulations did not concern architects as academics (apart from occasional hurdles to be taken for the obligatory internships during studies), this presented a distinct image of the general attitude towards women in the architectural profession.

While the rubble was being cleared in the first years thereafter, tenants and private homeowners and landlords did much of the do-it-yourself restoration on the remaining dwelling stock. Whereas the supply of re-usable bricks was sufficient, a constant lack of other material like cement, roofing felt, etc., continued. One reason for the shortages was the Allied four-sector management (*Vier-Sektoren-Wirtschaft*). This lack of building material prompted the authorities to recommend constructing very simple flats (so called *Schlichtwohnungen*) that should have been replaced after a few years. Major construction activities concentrated on repair. In the British sector people built Nissen huts (Illustration 5 | 1), larger flats were converted into several smaller ones, and extensions and conversions were more common than entirely new housing.⁴⁷ This was a documented field of action of Lilly Reich, Hilde Weström and Anne-Marie Lancelle.⁴⁸ Reich, one of the first designers portrayed in a monograph, then designed ground plans for conversion of larger flats for the *Berlin plant* exhibition.⁴⁹ (Illustration 5 | 2 see following page)

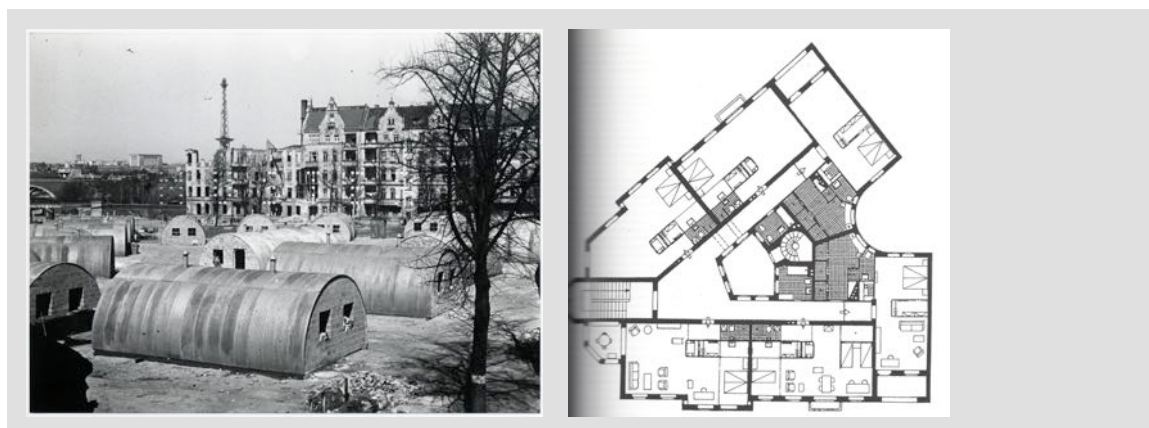


Illustration 5 | 1 (left) Nissen huts, Berlin 1946

Illustration 5 | 2 (right) Lilly Reich, floorplans converting bigger flats into smaller flats, 1946

47 Source: Hanauske 1999

48 Dörhöfer, loc. cit, 143, UIFA 1987, 27, x

49 See Geist / Kürvers 1989, 189. Lilly Reich died in 1947 and is therefore not of further interest in this study. For more more detailed information on her work see Dörhöfer 2004, 181-183, Günther 1988, Nerdinger 1993.

Apart from material shortages, there was, related to the currency reform, insufficient capital to start major new construction until about 1951/52, when the housing companies in both parts of the city began new building designed for middle- and low-income groups. However, immediately after the war the *building rehabilitation contribution (Gebäudeinstandsetzungsabgabe)*, levied from August 1945 until March 1946, financed Berlin's first rebuilding subsidies, such as a public subsidy for the division of larger flats and the conversion of non-housing buildings into flats. After the Allies rejected this contribution, the so-called *building emergency contribution (Baunotabgabe)* replaced it in 1949.⁵⁰ Appropriation of these revenues required analyses of war damage. The districts thus commissioned expertises on war damages in housing. This was one of the first operations where women architects could prove their competence. Hilde Weström and her friend Lotte Werner described this work as a door opener for later contracts with the West Berlin district planning departments in Charlottenburg, Kreuzberg and Zehlendorf. Anne-Marie Lancelle depicted it as valuable experience for the founding of her company.⁵¹

The historical analysis of women's professionalisation processes in technical fields led to the conclusion that not only after World War I, but also during World War II and the first post-war years, war continued to constitute an opportunity for well-educated women to take on responsibility or even obtain leading positions in *male* professions.⁵² Also, women freelance architects, in whose professionalisation this study is particularly interested, and female architectural students who were already working or studying before or during the war experienced a certain professional freedom due to the war-related absence of men and gained professional experience to build on after the war. This applies to Annemarie Lancelle, Hilde Weström and Margot Zech-Weymann, who worked during the war as employed architects and, based on this experience, founded their own offices soon after the war ended.⁵³

50 From December 1950, an additional emergency levy based on business capital was implemented and from October 1952 the federal law on equalization of burdens (*Lastenausgleichsgesetz*) was implemented in West Berlin. Source: http://www.landesarchiv-berlin.de/lab-neu/anzeige_statisch.php?edit=696&anzeige=B%20Rep.%20093, last visited in May 2013.

51 Source: Hilde Weström: Droste, op. cit., 19; source Lotte Werner: letter to Christiane Droste, February 2000; source Annemarie Lancelle, op. cit., 62.

52 See Bauer, op. cit., Dörhöfer 2004, op. cit. and Peters, op. cit..

53 As indicated before, the work of Berlin pioneering women architects between 1908 and 1948 (e.g. Emilie Winkelmann, Liselotte von Knobelsdorff, Liselotte von Bonin, Gerdy Troost, Ludmilla Herzenstein and first buildings designed by Margot Weymann) was introduced by Kerstin Dörhöfer, see *ibid* 2004, op. cit.

For example, Hilde Weström was in 1942 commissioned with a research contract to develop buildings for food, pharmacy and tobacco wholesalers.⁵⁴ Annemarie Meichsner (born 1917), who in 1946 founded her company *A. Meichsner – Bauunternehmen für Enttrümmerung – Hochbau – Innenausbau* (Office for Debris Clearing – Structural Engineering – Interior Design), worked in 1942 for Werner March.⁵⁵ After benefiting from a German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) grant to do architectural studies in Florence “because the male students were headed for the army and thus not competing for grants”, she worked for the building department of the National Socialist government film industry. In an interview published in the 1987 UIFA exhibition catalogue, she gives a detailed account of experience on which she could later build: “When I was sent to Grünheide, close to Erkner, where a location for the *Deutsche Wochenschau* was about to be built, there was nearly no design to be done. The main task was the building of temporary shacks. I learnt a lot from one of the building site managers and soon, they commissioned me with tasks that were more responsible. Being young and unmarried, I was more likely than older colleagues to do so-called special operations. For example, when the *Deutschlandhalle* was bombed, I had to do the inventory of the damage and walked around, with the plans and a measuring tape and had no hopes of ever depicting the whole dimension of the damage (...) In mid-May 1945, I walked down the *Kurfürstendamm*, camouflaged with a headscarf, when I saw, all of a sudden in the middle of all this misery, a sign ‘Construction office 8. War debris clearance (...) On 25 May 1945, Max Taut, whose office this was, hired me. Concerning the work I did, I read in my reference: (... all works that mainly dealt with the clearance of war debris, repair of war damage, inventory of damaged buildings, assessment and commissioning of necessary rehabilitation, coordination and control workers, assessment of the contractor invoices, etc. (...). Today, I have no idea how I dared to start a business of my own. Maybe it was, after such a long period of site supervision, just the longing for design and drawing.”⁵⁶

In addition to these more exposed women, it was also possible to trace some women architects who took on architectural, then urban planning tasks in the public planning administration. In West Berlin they are Hilda Harte, Gerda Adam, Klara Brobeck-

54 All private information on Hilde Weström’s life in this study is based on a series of interviews, conducted from June to November 1999, and handwritten notes that she did on her memories of the years 1933-1947.

55 Werner March (1894-1976) was the architect who built the stadium for the *Berlin Olympic Games* in 1936. After working after the war in Minden, North-Rhine Westphalia, he was appointed professor of urban planning and settlement at the Berlin Technical University. See <http://deu.archinform.net/arch/1394.htm>

56 Sources: Lancelle in UIFA 1987, op. cit., 58-63, quote p. 61-62. Grünheide and Erkner are eastern Berlin suburbs. The *Deutschlandhalle*, built in 1935, was at that time the biggest multipurpose hall in Germany. The *Kurfürstendamm* is the main West Berlin boulevard. In 1953, Lancelle closed her office. Furtheron, she worked in architectural journalism.

Küster, Elfriede Schaar and Lotte Werner (see short biographies Harte, Brobeck-Küster, Schaar and Werner at the end of the chapter).

From summer 1945 Hilda Harte headed the *Berlin Magistrat* building stability inspection department (*Prüfungsamt für Baustatik*). During the 1950s she worked freelance. Whereas it was not possible to identify buildings she designed, there is evidence that she worked continuously as a structural engineer, for example for the Interbau TAC building. Her husband, Wils Ebert⁵⁷, was the contact architect for this project.⁵⁸

Lotte Werner obtained 1945 commissions in the sphere of war damage analysis, like Hilde Weström and Anne-Marie Meichsner (married Lancelle). When this work ended, she tried to continue freelance work, but due to "a lack of salesmanship and connections and being responsible for my mother", she was forced to "give up her freedom." Werner then took a job in the Berlin-Charlottenburg building department, although she considered this job "completely underpaid". Some years later, she transferred from the building department to the urban planning department, where she gained independence. Werner worked in the mid-1950s on the crafts plan for the Charlottenburg urban regeneration area. About 1960, she managed to change jobs again, to the Berlin-Schöneberg planning department, where she spent the happiest and most interesting years of her professional life because she was able to do preliminary drafts for a hospital and urban squares, e.g. Nollendorfplatz. By the way, only then did she feel adequately paid.⁵⁹

Gerda Adam was a university friend of Hilde Weström and Lotte Werner, but although they both assumed that she worked in urban planning, neither of them had an idea of how to trace her career after graduation. So far, she is an example for the partial inaccessibility of data, even in public departments. During this research it was not possible to ascertain in which of the many Berlin planning departments Adam worked after the war.⁶⁰

57 Wils Ebert (1909-1979) was an architect, urban planner and designer. He was part of the above-mentioned *Zehlendorfer Kollektiv*. His efforts included contributions to the *Charlottenburg Nord* and *Gropiusstadt* estates in Berlin.

58 Bauer 2003, op. cit., 354-355, and *Tagesspiegel* Berlin, 9 June 1976.

59 Source: retrospective private diary, written in the late 1990s for her family.

60 Sources: Bundesarchiv Berlin, *Reichskulturkammer* Case Adam, RKK 2400 / Box 0140 / File 22, archive no. AREP. 243/04. The *Reichskulturkammer* document indicates her marriage to an architect Adalbert Huber. Research on him yielded no further information on Adam: Two websites documented the existence of an architect named Adalbert Huber, one of them indicating that he lived from the mid-1950s in Bavaria. This might have explained why Werner and Weström lost sight of their friend. However, the *Berlin Museum for Post and Telekommunikation* archive for armed

Elfriede Schaar, also a Tessenow student, worked after the war first for different Berlin district building departments and from the 1960s for the urban planning department of Berlin's Steglitz district. Bauer assumes that only suffering from poliomyelitis motivated Schaar to apply for a job in the public sector rather than working freelance.⁶¹ Also Klara Küster started in 1946 at the latest to work for the Berlin-Steglitz building department. Küster was involved in rebuilding, particularly of schools (Elisabeth-Lyceum and Dürer-Lyceum in Berlin-Lichterfelde, Grundschule Kommandantenstraße and Heesestraße-Lyceum, Steglitz). From the 1950s, when new construction started, she designed public outdoor swimming pools (Am Teltowkanal, Freibad am Insulaner) and, in 1956, a kindergarten (Jeverstraße 10-11). In 1958, she left the building department and, according to Bauer, found no further opportunity to work as an architect. She moved to Aachen and later Darmstadt, where she started working as a teacher in 1959. There was only one opportunity to interview a West Berlin woman architect who worked in public administration in the period investigated here. This was Hildegard Gebauer, who, however, also spent only part of her professional life in Berlin. Gebauer made her diploma at Technische Universität Berlin in 1950, and found employment in the Berlin-Tempelhof planning department, where she worked on new construction of social housing. Given the share of women students in architecture, it seems obvious that there must have been more women architects working in public administration, on both urban planning and architecture, than those introduced here. Nevertheless, since none of the persons interviewed remembered other colleagues and since there was no research-access for this study to the Senate and district social documents and employment records, it was not possible to trace more of them.⁶²

Whereas it proved impossible to get a precise idea of the work of the women architects employed by Senate or district departments, the account of their freelance colleagues' work in selected fields of action, which is given in the following sections of this chapter, is more likely to show their professional capacities.

forces letters also provides information on an architect named Adalbert Huber, obviously Bavarian, who writes to his wife named *Trudi*, contradicting the first assumption. Sources: <http://www.ksk-vib.de/?page=Freyung>, last visited in May 2013, and *Museumsstiftung Post und Telekommunikation*, http://www.museumsstiftung.de/feldpost/konvolut_skizze.html?action=detail&what=collection&id=105, last visited in May 2013.

61 Apart from Weström's and Werner's dropping her name and locating her in urban planning, the information on Elfriede Schaar is completely drawn from Bauer 2003, 392-393.

62 Hildegard Gebauer named four other colleagues working in public planning departments: Isabell Möllenhof, FrI. Berger (no first name recalled), Inge Hartenstein and Ursula Suhr. Isabell Corinna Bauer traced in her research Elfriede Schaar and Klara Küster in the Tessenow archive and could thus interview Küster on her and Schaar's biography.

There are some fields of endeavour in which women architects' participation is particularly underrepresented. Commercial and service-oriented building is a field in which only two women architects were very successful: Ingrid Biergans and Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach. Apart from this, the research could only trace three projects of Nina Kessler-Braunschweig and a few single projects of some women architects who hardly occurred with their works in other research contexts (Irma Seifert, Ilse Bohnsack, Annette Kagge, Waltraud Volk in the West; Hannelore Köhler in the East). A similar pattern prevails amongst educational buildings and social infrastructure, to which a subchapter will be devoted. Also, as depicted in Chapter 1, amongst the group of women working independently, only Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach and Margot Zech-Weymann had the opportunity to design or rebuild churches (see cases in Chapter 6). Apart from this, West Berlin women architects only succeeded in church building if they worked in partnerships, e.g. Maria Schwarz and her husband Rudolf Schwarz.

A similar low representation, visible in the diagrams above, holds true for women architects' contribution to representative and cultural buildings. This is one of the fields where *doing gender* obviously excluded women from the design and implementation of projects requiring both a big investment volume and usually an architect with a prominent reputation. Exceptions are Sigrid Kressmann Zschach who included a theatre in one of her commercial centres, built in the early 1970s, and Iris Grund, who realised a cultural centre, but not in Berlin.

Another area with low female representation requires further research to determine the extent to which women of that era were personally inclined to participate. The reference is to building utilities and transport infrastructure, and athletic fields and sports complexes. On the one hand, whereas the interest in representative, cultural and church building was explicitly mentioned, none of the women interviewed expressed such an interest for these building tasks. Gender stereotypes thus remain particularly influential in the field of technical and sports infrastructure and until today models are rare. However, one of the following sections provides evidence for an entry into this field, on the Berlin level level that is investigated here.

5 II 4 REBUILDING THE DIVIDED CITY: A GERMAN-GERMAN COMPETITION

This section starts with a brief overview on the important housing projects in both parts of the city and the architectural style applied, and continues with a description of women architects' contribution to the construction projects with which their work could be traced.

After the political division, the two parts of the city went different directions in terms of urban planning and building, but also "motivated" each other in an ongoing competition in solving the housing question. Andreas Butter and Ulrich Hartung articulated this in their reflections on the *Ostmoderne* when they state that in the West and the East, "Post-war Berlin was the capital of *Modernism*. Nowhere else in Germany, was it understood as thoroughly as here as a *concept*, from traffic planning to small home floor plans, and none of the other cities developed a similar wealth of functional and aesthetic ideas."⁶³

Butter and Hartung gave a more specific example: "Whilst the planning of the nearby East Berlin *Wohnzelle Friedrichshain* could only to a certain extent be realised there, these ideas were further developed a few years later, in 1957, in the planning of West Berlin's *Hansa-Viertel*."⁶⁴

5 I 4 I 1 REBUILDING WEST BERLIN HOUSING

Hanauske stated that the statistics indicate for the first year after the end of the war a rebuilding of nearly 25,000 flats. This number comprised only less damaged flats that could be rehabilitated with little material costs and expenditure of construction labour. During the next years until the early 1950s, this number decreased due to the described lack of resources to a few thousand flats per year.⁶⁵ Although the First Social Housing Law (*1. Wohnungsbaugesetz*) only came into force in 1951 and showed its first impact from 1952/1953, about 90% of West Berlin post-war housing was built on the basis of public subsidies. Whereas between 1949 and 1952 altogether 17,000 flats were constructed, 1953 saw construction of 15,000 flats and in 1959 and 1960 the

⁶³ Butter and Hartung, op. cit., 11-13.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Hanauske 1999, op. cit., 88-15.

construction figures reached the post-war record of more than 23,000 flats per year. After decreasing construction activity during the 1960s and a further increase at the end of the 1960s, altogether 359,700 flats were built from 1949 to 1969.⁶⁶ The majority of the newly built housing was social housing (municipal companies) or owned by non-profit housing sponsors. The share of private building (detached single-family housing or flats in private hands) was hardly more than 10%. As women architects were much more likely to design for this rather than the other market sectors, this can be considered as a barrier for their professional development.

Thus West Berlin contributed to the rebuilding miracle (*Aufbau-Wunder*) despite its isolated situation and thanks to a massive building funding policy. This miraculous feat was the construction of 3.1 million flats in all of Germany between 1951 and 1965 and prevented the feared emergence of expellee ghettos.⁶⁷ The closing of the border with East Berlin on 13 August 1961 had dramatic consequences for the physical rebuilding of the city. It required enormous efforts to compensate for the loss of nearly 50,000 workers who had previously commuted from East to West Berlin. Apart from favourable tax treatment, a so-called *Berlin allowance* (*Berlin Zulage*) and particularly a specific housing quality, new building in green settings was expected to lure West German professionals to Berlin. There is, however, no evidence that this situation improved local women architects' access to building commissions. Nor has it been established that West German women architects seized this opportunity to move to Berlin for better professional opportunities.

Key West Berlin housing projects in the years between 1949 and 1969 were the *Interbau 1957*, *Charlottenburg Nord*, the *Unité d'Habitation*; from the 1960s, based on a scrap- and-build urban renewal concept, inner-city developments (Brunnenstraße, Mehringplatz, Wassertorplatz, Oranienplatz, Mariannenplatz, *Opernviertel*) and suburban "satellite towns" (*Märkisches Viertel*, *Falkenhagener Feld*, *Gropiusstadt*), built with the support of massive housing subsidies. *Interbau* "responded" to the East Berlin *Stalin Allee* project and included buildings beyond the main construction site in *Hansa-Viertel*, such as the Berlin *Unité d'Habitation*, the congress hall, now *Haus der Kulturen der Welt*, and the *Amerika-Gedenk-Bibliothek*.

Building historians describes the urban planning and architectural design from 1945 to 1975 in West Berlin and West Germany as post-war Modernism

⁶⁶ Own calculation based on statistical overview provided in Hanauske, op. cit., 752 and 1239, table on completed housing in normal building 1949 - 1961.

⁶⁷ Von Beyme et al. 1992, op.cit., 11

(*Nachkriegsmoderne*), sometimes also as a second phase of Modernism (*Zweite Moderne*). However, as this may be confused with the use of the meaning of *Zweite Moderne* that was for architecture and arts introduced by the architectural historian Heinrich Klotz in the late 1990s that is more closely linked to the sociologists' discourse (e.g. Ulrich Beck), *Nachkriegsmoderne* seems more appropriate here. An important argument is that this term was related to a key theme in post-war urban planning and architecture: to depart explicitly from the partly terrorist planning concepts that were embodied in Speer's plans for the future urban development, e.g. in the plan for the capital cities.⁶⁸ The first phase of the *Nachkriegsmoderne*, the 1950s, brought back functionalism to the country that had banned it. Nerdinger and others characterise the architecture of these years as transparent and light, dynamic and flowing simple and modest, downsized and vivid.. The design vocabulary based on squares, used as universal means of order and forming part of the aesthetic distinction from the recent past, dominates and structures the described characteristics. The architecture of the 1960s is described, despite increasing recognition that arose only recently, as monotonous, large and ugly, "orgies in concrete" and *Brutalism* emerging as an aesthetic that demonstratively exhibits the used materials and functions. A denser urban pattern and mix of functions should, at least on the conceptual level, lead to higher urban quality than the 1950s housing structures offered.

The works of women architects contributing to the building of post-war detached housing or social housing which this research was able to trace include designs of Gerda Adam (see short biography Adam at the end of the chapter), Ilse Barkholz, who designed 13 single-family homes in the southern districts of Berlin between 1959 and 1969, Ellinor Neumann, Irma Seifert, Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, Hilde Weström and Margot Zech-Weymann.⁶⁹ Ilse Barkholz designed several single-family homes before she left Berlin. Hilde Weström and Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach contributed to the 1960s social housing projects. Margot Zech-Weymann's focus was more on social infrastructure building. However, most of these women were only represented in the literature with a small number of single detached buildings and not accessible for in-depth information on their work. The works of Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, Hilde Weström and Margot Zech-Weymann are included in the cases in Chapter 6.

68 Durth 1990, op. cit., 24.

69 For a detailed list of all works traced see Appendix 1.

Another notable example is Elly Johanna Lehning⁷⁰, who worked freelance, but most of her professional life for the office of Max Taut. (see short biography Lehning at the end of the chapter) In Berlin housing, her tasks included the planning of housing for the municipal housing companies Gehag and GSW in Berlin-Steglitz, single and multiple family housing in Berlin-Eichkamp. In 1967 she supported Margarete Taut, who explicitly asked her to finish work on the Main Children's Home (*Hauptkinderheim*) in Berlin-Kreuzberg after Max Taut's death, to close the office. There is so far no knowledge on her freelance work in the following years.

If one reviews the documents on projects in which she was involved, one is struck by the fact that project descriptions often include her name, although she is not the author of the project. In Max Taut's estate, several documents written by his wife Margarete Taut confirm the office's desire to continue the cooperation with the "indispensable", "very reliable and esteemed architect" who was until 1967/1968 "fully participating" in the office operations. All this evokes the unanswerable question of why Lehning did not achieve, or even desire to tackle, more challenging projects in her own authorship.

The difficulties to elaborate the biographies and works of two other women architects, Ellinor Neumann and Irma Seifert, whose works were traced in the professional literature and journals, may be considered a reason to develop a more comprehensive overview of women architects' contribution to the contemporary housing stock (and other building tasks).

The search for Ellinor Neumann was particularly misleading. There is at the National Archive (*Bundesarchiv*) a case report of a *songwriter* named Ellinor Neumann, born in Hamburg in 1903 and living in Berlin-Halensee in 1947. It is very unlikely that two persons living in Berlin at this time should both carry this rare name, but the case report provides no information on other occupations of this person or her academic education. In the archive of the Berlin-Wilmersdorf district planning office, there is record of her involvement in an urban planning project concerning the reorganisation of the urban structure that became necessary to build the Berlin southern ring road (1955-56). So far, the only other trace of her work is the high-rise tenement building at Rudolstädter Straße / Am Volkspark that was considered a "well planned example for a y-type high-rise building" and "not to be overseen from the nearby elevated road".

70 Her nick name Elly may stand for Elisabeth or Elfriede: in Taut's estate, she is mentioned as Elisabeth Lehning, in Friedrich's estate she is mentioned as Elfriede Lehning.

The client was the lawyer L. Eckstein. A woman architect asked about Neumann said that Neumann may have committed suicide soon after this project was finished.⁷¹

Also the research on Irma Seifert, only daughter of building contractor Döltert, produced hardly any results. One of the four buildings found attributed to her in the journal *Bauwelt*, a multi-storey commercial and tenement building on Kantstraße in Berlin-Charlottenburg justified an intensive investigation on her life and works. Seifert designed the building in 1952/53. Today it is part of the protected heritage of the built environment.. She lived from 1938 close to the artists' housing estate on Breitenbachplatz in a tenement house owned by her father. She also designed the rehabilitation and roof conversion of a tenement building (Berlin-Tiergarten, 1953), the extension of a tenement building (Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 1954) and another tenement building in Berlin-Wedding. It is assumed that she worked alone because it was not possible to find any colleagues. Former neighbours could only remember that she suffered from a long, severe illness and that her husband took care of her before her death in 1987.⁷²

These few examples provide insight on women architects' competences and capacities in housing design at this time, and also give an idea of their struggle for commissions and the difficulties in tracing their work. These difficulties tempt the researcher to end up reporting fully the few details that still leave many questions open.

5 | 4 | 2 REBUILDING EAST BERLIN HOUSING

The key East Berlin housing projects – Stalin-Allee, Fischerinsel, Hans-Loch-Viertel, Heinrich-Heine-Viertel, Friedrichsgracht, Lenin-Platz, and housing and retail-complex Spandauer Straße – also started in the inner city. They focussed much earlier than in West Berlin on prefabricated mass housing rather than on reconstructing the still-standing buildings in parts of the inner city. The suburban building of large housing estates already started in 1956 with the last all-German competition for the large Fennpfuhl housing estate, to which Anita Bach contributed in the collective of Otto Englberger. The typology and most elements for the prefabrication of housing were

71 Sources: Bundesarchiv, RKK 2703, Box 0181, File 14. Interviews Christiane Borgelt 2002, Jan Rave 2001, Letter Rolf Rave 2012, BUSB IV, op. cit., Rave and Knöfel. op. cit., 114.

72 See Berlin Monuments List, single monument no. 09096236/ (CHA-WIL/CHARL-D).

developed at the Building Academy (*Bauakademie*) and the state company for the design of prefabrication components (*VEB Typenprojektierung*). A main design objective, apart from cost reduction, was (here as well as in urban planning) to suit the needs of the “socialist small family”, to reconcile labour and family life and to allow professors and cleaning women to live next door to each other. Whereas the data on housing construction in West Berlin are believed to be reliable, the data on East Berlin housing production show significant differences between those published before (i.e. in political propaganda) and after (i.e. in objective stock-taking) reunification. Data published after 1989 indicating construction of only 112,588 flats in East Berlin between 1949 and 1970,⁷³ although East Berlin was definitely privileged in all building sectors, demonstrate a failure, given that party leader Walter Ulbricht had in 1959 set a goal of building 691,000 flats for the whole GDR by 1965.⁷⁴ In contrast to West Berlin, East Berlin housing production experienced nearly complete municipalisation, or nationalisation of housing.

Ostmoderne design characteristics followed, apart from the period between 1950 and 1955, when the *Nationale Tradition* style was a political dictum, the international Modernist architectural trend of the 1950s and 1960s. From 1955, the new political model to build “better, cheaper and quicker”, following the 1953 construction workers’ rebellion, supported the return to modern-age-oriented building. On the one hand, a particular interpretation and further development of international Modernism prevailed. On the other hand, the quality of design was strongly determined by building material shortages and frequent poor quality of the available material, the increasing prefabrication and mass production in construction and the necessary cost reduction in building.

In housing, five women architects were identified as having had a decision-making role in the collectives between 1949 and 1969: Ludmilla Herzenstein, Ruth Krause, Erika Bärhold, Gertraude Lehmann, and Edith Diehl. Furthermore, Irene Henselmann, wife of Hermann Henselmann, did the interior design of the House of the Teacher (*Haus des Lehrers*), a large high-rise building. The question whether Irene Henselmann should appear in a work on women’s contribution to architectural history is difficult to answer. On the one hand, she finished her studies in architecture at Bauhaus Weimar after two years and later she continued a kind of ‘at-home education’ supported by her former teacher and meanwhile husband Hermann Henselmann. On the other hand, her main role seemed to be the support of her husband’s career, their social life

73 Sewing and Hannemann, op. cit., 13.

74 Gundermann op. cit., 178-181; for detailed chronologies of the development and characteristics of different typologies from Q1 to WBS 70 see Hannemann 1996, Hociślawski 1991.

and caring for a family with eight children. Her two autobiographical publications reinforce this image. Nevertheless, recent short biographies describe her as an interior designer, working both on kitchen designs in her husband's office and in other contexts, and as an author of housing-related articles for the famous women's magazine *Sibylle*, of books on interior design and for the architectural education of small children. In an interview, she added a number of involvements in building projects. She worked in the planning department of the Berlin-Pankow district in the 1970s.⁷⁵

It would be straying too far from the issue to provide more intensive insight on her works here, but her biography would probably provide valuable material for a study on women's support of or dependency on male architects' careers. In the chapter on social infrastructure, Gertraude Lehmann will be introduced. A case in Chapter 6 is devoted to Ruth Krause's work and biography. Interest in the work of her colleagues Erika Bärhold and Gertraude Lehmann arose from their registration files in the BdA archive, mentions of their works in the literature and the fact that they were working on the same team (see short biographies Bärhold and Lehmann at the end of the chapter).

From 1951 Erika Bärhold worked first in interior design of buildings of social and cultural infrastructure (such as the East Berlin municipal library, in the collective of Heinz Mehlman, 1965). She was involved in the development of the first prefabricated panels and from 1968 employed in the state planning housing construction office Vereinigte Betriebe Wohnungsbaukombinat, VEB WBK Berlin. In this office, her first large assignment was on the Leninplatz high-rise estate, and the further development of the panel estate housing technique remained an important task throughout her career. Concerning this task, she was given special recognition for the rationalisation of a planning process for 14 housing blocks close to the East Berlin central station: "New methods were necessary to rationalise the planning process. Erika Bärhold developed these methods, of course not on her own but, as she confirmed, in the photo working group. The solution was a photomontage. This means that specific new planning details, for example the new bathroom cells, were photocopied and as such included in the plan. This method considerably decreases the necessary planning time and costs. It saves one week of drawing per plan. Moreover, if you consider that one set of plans contains 29 plans, and if this multiplied by 14 ... This is an outstanding

75 Sources: Interviews with Irene Henselmann and Sonja Claus 2001, memorial colloquium for Irene Henselmann's 100th birthday, initiated by the Hermann Henselmann Foundation, Berlin 2013. For the autobiographies of Irene Henselmann see bibliography. Irene Henselmann died at the age of 96 in Berlin.

piece of work by a woman who applies a high standard – and is classified under the top performances of the building industries in the socialist competition!”⁷⁶

This quote is not just an anecdote, but also an indication of the working conditions of East Berlin architects and the discrimination that is sometimes imminent to the particular accentuation of women architects’ work.

Another woman architect who shall be briefly introduced here, Edith Diehl, also worked for VEB WBK, both in urban planning and the planning of housing estates, from 1967 to 1982. Despite her responsibility for big housing projects, she was not selected for a case study.(see short biography Diehl) The reason is that her most important contributions to the planning of housing were planning tasks for the large housing estates that were built with the WBS 70 prefabricated panel series, in Köpenick and Marzahn, after 1970, and expertises on the conceptualisation of East German housing estates (*Institute of Urban Planning and Architecture, ISA, 1982-90*). Nevertheless, her work deserves in-depth research, in terms of a feminist intervention to be linked with the assessment of the works of Heinz Graffunder and Roland Korn.

Even the very short insights into these few women’s work clarify the difficulty to consider individual architectural contributions in the collective planning context. The estimation of their work is here based on the consideration of their appearance in the professional literature and, not least, on the statements of her female and male colleagues and architectural historians dealing with East Berlin or GDR building history. None of the interviewed women showed – beyond the reference to the successful implementation of principle 10 of the *16 Principles for Urban Development* – an interest in potentially different needs of women and men in the built environment.

In conclusion, the contribution to housing design and construction was women architects’ strongest field of action. This is hardly surprising in that it reflects both the overall representation of architects in the different building tasks and the post-war construction situation.

⁷⁶ Sources: *Deutsche Architektur*. “Unsere Frauen in den Projektierungsbetrieben” Special issue *Architektinnen* (3, 1982); Interview with Erika Bärhold 2000, with gratitude for the permission to quote her and for the sharing of knowledge.

West Berlin women architects were not involved in building technical infrastructure or transport at this time. Amongst the self-employed women architects, only Ingrid Biergans designed a tennis club building and a sports hall in the 1960s, Gerda Strauch designed a sailing club in 1953. However, in East Berlin, where during the GDR period more and more women got involved in building for technical infrastructure or institutions and industrial buildings, Lotte Sauerzapfe designed at least five buildings in this category in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In her BdA registration files, she also mentioned the project planning (*Projektierung*) of a number of other buildings: factory-buildings, boiler houses, sports buildings, fire stations, and municipal arts centres (*Kulturhäuser*), and the Weißensee bus station.⁷⁷ All building types occur in the plural, but it was not possible to find data on all these buildings, which may be an indicator that she may have had an engineering or project management role in the other projects. No biographical information beyond these registration files was found. The last information available is dated 1971, when she applied a second time to the BdA and specified employment at the Berlin-Köpenick building combine. It may be assumed that she stayed in this position until her retirement. Due to the political objective of women's full employment, it is not likely that she stopped working at all, unless she were severely ill. The fact that the research could find no trace of her in other parts of East or West Germany supports this assumption.

The design and statics of the bus cleaning and inspection hall that featured both in the professional journal *Architektur der DDR* and in the Magistrat building file and was ascribed to her became a model for academic education on statics even in West Berlin. It is thus astonishing that Butter/Hartung's publication on *Ostmoderne* mentions the bus facility, its architects and structural engineer, but not her. From 1900 and particularly during the 1920s and early 1930s, this building sector produced buildings with high design standards, including service buildings and facilities for the people working there. Sometimes, they even included housing estates for the workforce. However, the core literature on Berlin building history, *Berlin und seine Bauten*, indicates that after the war the attitude that such facilities had to be purely industrially functional sites returned. Thus, this East Berlin project seems to have been exceptional. (see short biography Lotte Schildhauer / sauerzapfe at the end of the chapter)

⁷⁷ Source: BdA registration file, 1971.

The example of Lotte Sauerzapfe and findings on other GDR women architects who worked in the following decades in this field suggest that this would be an important field for further research, particularly in terms of the present need for women in mathematics, engineering, natural sciences and technical studies. Furthermore, related building-oriented investigation would interface with the knowledge that Canel et al. provided on the history of women engineers between the 1870s and 1990s.⁷⁸

5 || 4| 4 BUILDING FOR SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INFRASTRUCTURE: ROLE-CONFORMING CONSTRUCTION TASKS?

Women architects' participation in the rebuilding and new construction of social and cultural infrastructure concerned schools, kindergartens, decentralised public welfare service buildings. Looking at the gender stereotype, one might assume that competence for any building accommodating small children should be "natural" for women. However, it is interesting that apart from Karola Bloch, Hilde Weström and Gertraude Lehmann, none of the women introduced in the following actually had children. Although again, only a few women strongly focused on this field, distorting the picture, this building task plays an important role in their overall accomplishments. One reason is that the dimension of these projects was often considerable and that at this time public contracts guaranteed a secure income. In contrast, women's contribution to the overall building volume in this field remained minor. Again, women working in partnerships, such as Magdalene Hänska, were more likely to be involved in bigger projects. Nina Braunschweig-Kessler realised her two school projects in partnership with Gerd Biermann. Whereas only Margot Zech-Weymann in West Berlin succeeded in building hospitals for the Order of St. John (*Johanniter*), the design of senior or student residences was commissioned to her, Hilde Weström and Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach. No such involvement was reported for East Berlin women architects during these years. This was different concerning the design and building of kindergartens and schools, which was in West Berlin an important field of action for Ingrid Biergans, commissioned by the public administration, Hilde Weström, who was in this field usually worked for private clients, such as the Waldorf School; and Nina Kessler-Braunschweig. The works of Ingrid Biergans, Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, Hilde Weström and Margot Zech-Weymann are again saved for Chapter 7. As far as we know, based on the thesis research, Gertraude Lehmann is the only woman architect who had the opportunity to design a kindergarten and two libraries during this time in East Berlin.

78 Canel , Oldenziel and Zachmann, op. cit.

The previous chapters already showed that in the two post-war decades, there were few women architects who engaged explicitly in conceptual or theoretical contributions to different building tasks. However, , Karola Bloch set high standards for kindergarten building at the East Berlin *Bauakademie*. The conceptualisation of childcare buildings (*Einrichtungen für das Kleinkind*) was closely linked to two important aspects of GDR planning. In both real planning and political rhetoric: the socialist concept of reconciliation of family, professional and political work and the development of concepts for serial fabrication applied not only in housing, but also to preschool care and education. For this reason, Bloch and her work will be a subject of Chapter 4, dealing with women, society and architecture in the rebuilding period and particularly the architects' demands concerning requirements for housing design. Chapter 3 already covered the work of Nina Kessler-Braunschweig, whose school projects were realised in a partnership, but who was one of the few women architects who devoted themselves to the housing needs of single and employed women.

School and kindergarten renovation and construction, both in West and East Berlin, started later than in West Germany, from the mid-1950s. This was due both to building conditions and many schools being used as hospitals and to the need for new pedagogical concepts and structural reforms. In addition, this building category gained importance with the construction of the large housing estates in both parts of the cities. These processes will be explained in greater detail to contextualise the case studies.

The conclusions that close this chapter anticipate the overall conclusions of the research to a certain extent. At the same time, they open the floor for embedding the research in the overall societal context, reflections on power structures in the architectural profession and the cases that illustrate exemplary trajectories and professional strategies of West and East Berlin architects in the 1950s and 1960s.

5 II 5 IN CONCLUSION

Concluding, one may state that a nearly identical point of departure led to very different professional trajectories of women architects because of the different societal frameworks in the two parts of the city. A significant factor which had often been neglected in the comparison of the two German architectures until the mid-1990s is that the building economy situation and the resulting building industry strategies went increasingly different ways.

Dieter Hanauske formulated the hypothesis that the building of the Wall, manifesting the separation of the city, stimulated the West Berlin construction industry, because the urgent need for specialised staff required a quick supply of decent and new housing.⁷⁹ One may assume that demand for single-family detached housing also benefited West Berlin women architects who had already before the war tended to find employment in the privately commissioned small home building sector.

The inventory of Berlin women architects' works from 1949 to 1969 shows that in the West they obtained most of their commissions in housing, particularly in owner-occupied small objects with rather small-scale organisational structures and projects, which contributed about 10% to the overall housing stock in the 1960s. Also in the East, until the late 1960s most of the women architects worked in housing, but due to the societal framework, more often in a subordinate position in large projects.

The women architects' fields of action were thus during these years in Berlin and in both parts of the city restricted to classical building tasks for women: buildings addressing different areas of reproduction. They built flats, kindergartens, schools, care facilities. Industrial and commercial buildings, cultural and sacral buildings as well as representative buildings remained, despite a simultaneous high variety of demand and commissions, reserved for male colleagues. The far-reaching *specialisation* of women architects in housing was not so much the result their specific (or "natural") interest in this field of specialisation. Much more significant was the fact that (in the West) neither private nor municipal principals were very likely to grant larger investment commissions to women and that (in the East), despite its considerable political importance, serial prefab housing was from a professional standpoint not the most prestigious field of building activities.

Berlin women architects had, despite the different preconditions in the two parts of the city, during these 20 years similar handicaps, in terms of project dimension, in terms of their participation in competitions and concerning academic teaching opportunities.

⁷⁹ Hanauske 1999, 10.4

Hanna Blank, West Berlin architect, (1906-1998), born in Berlin, daughter of a Protestant religion teacher, studies from 1925 to 1930 at *TH Berlin-Charlottenburg*, also in Tessenow's class. Already during her studies and after her diploma, she works for the *A. Sommerfeld Bauunternehmen* (Building Company) in Berlin-Zehlendorf, where she does housing estate design. From 1932, she works for the architects *Walter and Johannes Krüger* in Berlin-Westend, on detached family homes and building tasks for the army and air forces. In 1937, the *Reichskulturkammer* accepts Blank's application. In her research, Bauer could not ascertain when the building office of the *Hermann-Göring-Werke*¹ first employed Blank, but she seems to have been involved in the planning of the new town Salzgitter-Lebenstedt, in a large housing estate project. From 1945, Blank takes part in work on the *Zehlendorfer Plan*. About 1950, the Senator for Building and Housing, Rolf Schwedler,² appoints her head of the kitchen-planning department and she is as such responsible for the first Berlin Senate fitted kitchen programme. Bauer assumes that she also played a coordinating role for the *1957 International Building Exhibition*. Schmidt-Thomsen, however, stated in an interview with Kerstin Dörhöfer that Blank must have first been responsible for the Women's Hall (*Halle der Frau*), but was then involved in the urban planning process. The minutes of the women's association's second working group concerning *The City of Tomorrow (Stadt von Morgen, Interbau 1957)* provide evidence that Blank was involved there. Blank works until the 1970s at the West Berlin Senate Building and Housing Department and becomes a member of the professional association *Architekten- und Ingenieurs-Verein zu Berlin (AIV)*.³ She died in Berlin in June 1998.

1 *Hermann-Göring-Werke* was the National Socialists' largest concern for iron mining and iron works.

2 Rolf Schwedler (b. 1914, d. 1981) was an SPD politician. From 1955 to 1972 he was Senator for Building and Housing in Berlin. He was involved in the building scandal concerning Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach's *Steglitzer Kreisel* project (cf. Chapter 6).

3 Sources: Bauer, *Architekturstudentinnen*, 328; Women Architects' Archive of the *Berlin University of Arts*, Case Hanna Blank: AIV membership list: *Bundesarchiv Reichskulturkammer*. Case Hanna Blank: and Schmidt-Thomsen.



Ludmilla Herzenstein, East Berlin architect, (1906-1994), born in St. Petersburg, daughter of a linguist and an engineer, was also a Tessenow student. She starts her education in 1926, does several internships as a working student, and gets her diploma at *TH Berlin-Charlottenburg* in 1932 or 1933. According to the research of Isabell Bauer, the information on Herzenstein's work from 1933 until 1940 varies. Despite being Jewish and stateless, she is accepted by the National Socialist *Reichskulturkammer* and works for the Fiedler Company in Berlin, the Rostock urban planning department, and amongst others for the architectural offices of Hans Hopp and Georg Lukas in Königsberg and of Erich Loos in Konitz. Immediately after the rebuilding of the *Berliner Magistrat*, she becomes a worthy member of Hans Scharoun's team for the planning of the "new Berlin". As a specialist for research-oriented statistics, she does the demographic analysis that was the basis for the identification of the post-war housing requirements. The urban planning exhibition *Berlin plant* provides access to her work for a greater public. Namely, the *Lebensbäume* (life trees) that she develops and the forecasts she does, based on the assumption of different needs of different household types, form an important part of her work. Dörhöfer shows that generally, Herzenstein's demographic analysis is rooted both in the social ideas of the 1920s *Moderne* in architecture and urban development and in those of the first women's movement.¹ From 1947, she also works in Scharoun's team at the Building Institute of the German Academy of Sciences (*Institut für Bauwesen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften*).

Today, her contribution to Scharoun's project *Wohnzellen Friedrichshain* (housing cells)² is better known than the first phases of her work. In the context of the urban planning for the *Wohnzellen*, Herzenstein, who is at this time head of a collective working for the state real estate management and planning office *Heimstätte Berlin*, contributes in 1949/50 to the design of the *Laubenganghäuser* (modernist housing blocks with entrance via the balcony), located at the beginning of the East Berlin socialist main boulevard (*Sozialistische Magistrale*). However, despite their very high quality (cross-ventilation, balcony, bathroom and toilet, good light concept), the SED party leadership immediately rejected the plans with a design clearly rooted in the 1920s modernist architecture. Particularly Walter Ulbricht condemned the urban planning as "petit bourgeois" and the buildings themselves as "barracks style" during the third party congress in July 1950. In contrast to Scharoun's plan, the project was reduced to the building of the two *Laubenganghäuser* (Karl-Marx-Allee 102/104 and 126/128) and eight *Zeilenbauten* (multi-storey modernist tenement blocks, built in parallel rows). These buildings were the first ones that were built for the *Magistrale*, and the only ones in modernist style. The project was stopped and a new competition led to the building of the so-called workers' palaces (*Arbeiterpaläste*), based on the development

plan of Richard Paulick, Hanns Hopp, Karl Souradny and Kurt W. Leucht and applying the *Nationale Tradition* building style that Henselmann first used for the high-rise building at *Weberwiese*.³ The project was twice renamed, from *Wohnzelle Friedrichshain* to *Wohnstadt Friedrichshain* and then, in 1951, to *Wohnstadt Stalinallee*, each renaming indicating a change of the building policy paradigms.



From 1949 until 1958, she remains head of the housing department (*Referat Wohnstättenplanung*) at the *Hauptamt für Planung* and contributes to decision-making processes for the location of new housing projects in East Berlin. She becomes a member of the GDR architects' association (*Bund der Architekten der DDR, BdA*) in 1953, and receives several awards, both political and professional (*Schinkelplakette, BdA*). In 1958 she is appointed head of the planning department of the East Berlin district Berlin-Weißensee and from 1964 she holds the position of municipal chief architect (*Stadtarchitekt*) for the district. This is a position that only four women achieved in GDR history: Ludmilla Herzenstein, Emira Selmanagić, Iris Grund and Sabine König. In 1967, Herzenstein designs a small park café, the *Milchhäuschen am Weißensee*, a modernist building with a structure, colour and window design reminiscent of the 1920s. The building was a very popular place in GDR times. Emira Selmanagić, who stayed in contact with Herzenstein, said that the planning department had high esteem for her work and particularly for her awareness of details in building. Herzenstein retires in 1971 and died in Berlin-Lichtenberg in August 1994.

1 See Dörhöfer, *Pionierinnen*, 159-160, and *Neue Bauwelt* 1/1948.

2 The *Wohnzelle* was a settlement concept that Scharoun had developed for the whole city in 1945-47. Each of these cells was to contain about 400-500 flats in tenement buildings and single-family homes (serving the needs of families and singles), the necessary socio-cultural infrastructure (including a cultural centre) and shared facilities. The concept based on the everyday experience of children. Important other planning objectives were living in an environment close to nature and short trips to the industrial zones.

3 *Stalin-Allee*, one of the eight East Berlin roads leading out of the city, was a combination of two streets, *Große Frankfurter Straße* and *Frankfurter Allee*, renamed to commemorate Stalin's 70th birthday. In November 1961, the street was again renamed in *Karl-Marx-Allee* (part of the street from *Alexanderplatz* to *Frankfurter Platz*) and *Frankfurter Allee* (from *Frankfurter Platz* outward). The boulevard was the site of the construction workers' rebellion on 17 June 1953. Key literature on the history of *Stalinallee* and *Karl-Marx-Allee* are the publications of Werner Obeth, *Stalinallee*, and Dorothea Tscheschner, *Stadtplanung und Städtebau*, cf. references.

4 Sources: BdA membership file, GDR Building History Archive, *Institut für Regionalentwicklung und Strukturplanung*, Erkner; Bauer, op. cit., 110-111; Butter and Hartung, op. cit., 20; Dörhöfer 2004, op. cit., 158-163. Interview with Emira Selmanagić in 1999, with gratitude for sharing her memories and the permission to quote her.



Emira Selmanagić, East Berlin architect, (1922-2012), the daughter of a businessman and a housewife, was born in Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina). *Svrzina Kuca*, the house where she was born, is today a museum. She grows up in a prosperous Muslim patrician family and gets, she points out, like many young women of her age, the opportunity to participate in social life out of purdah. In 1940, eighteen years old, she meets Selman Selmanagić, who had returned from working in Palestine to Berlin in 1938, during a family visit. She describes this meeting and the conversations they had as a key motivation for her career choice. Her family also owns a building in Vienna, and thus the first part of her academic education takes place at *Technische Hochschule Wien*, from 1942 to 1944. Tutored by a professor friend who was due to his Jewish origins prohibited from teaching, she achieves excellent results in statics, a competence that qualifies her for the later contribution to the war damage assessment in Berlin. She is, as her later husband Selmanagić and other architects, involved in the anti-fascist resistance in 1944. In October of that year, she moves to Berlin. After the post-war reopening of the TU Berlin, she continues her studies from 1946 to 1948, but leaves the university without a diploma. Her private and professional environment during the late 1940s is Hans Scharoun's team, working on the *Collective Plan (Kollektivplan)*. Of particular importance is the friendship with Gustav and Luise Seitz, with whom she and Selmanagić share a house in Berlin-Grünwald for about one year in the mid-1940s.



Whereas other women architects tend to work during these years on site assessing war damage to the built environment, she works parallel to her studies as an engineering draughtswoman at the Magistrat Main Office for Urban Planning (*Hauptamt für Stadtplanung des Magistrats für Groß-Berlin*). There, she contributes to the mapping of war damage assessments, yielding one map that provides a citywide overview of war damage. This work, contributing to the basis of the *Collective Plan*, helps her to build initial professional contacts with local planning administrations in different districts.

In 1949, she marries Selmanagić and gives birth to her first daughter. One year later, Selman Selmanagić becomes a professor at the East Berlin University of Arts (*Kunsthochschule Weißensee*). The couple acquires GDR citizenship and moves to Weißensee. Accepting a political recommendation, Emira Selmanagić continues her studies at this university from 1953 and obtains her degree in 1957. The diploma work is the design of a single-family home and its integration in the existing urban pattern.) In 1958, she gives birth to her second daughter, 1960 to the third. During these years, she experiences a challenging time, finishing her studies, being responsible for the children, the housekeeping, and the couple's entertaining. (Illustration) Her guests were from the *Bauhaus*-oriented professional community from East and West Berlin and, in part, the contemporary East Berlin cultural community (e.g. Ernst and Karola Bloch, Helene Weigel, the Langhoff family, Victor Klemperer), some of whom lived in in Weißensee and nearby Pankow. She remembers this entertaining as a fruitful task, as an "intellectual enclave" in this phase of her life.

From 1960 to 1967, she takes on organisational and conceptual responsibility for her husband's exhibitions in Stockholm, Leipzig, Vienna and Thessaloniki and puts less emphasis on her own professional life. However, from 1967 it becomes obvious that despite her engagement for his career and the family her husband does not overshadow her. Her fields of action change towards more independent work, corresponding to her professional education; she succeeds Ludmilla Herzenstein as district chief architect (*Stadtbezirksarchitekt*) of Berlin-Weißensee and holds this position until 1974. Her main task is – although this usually was part of the duties of the city chief architect (at that time Roland Korn) – the integration of industrial building in the district's urban development, for example in the area between Liebermannstraße and Feldtmannstraße.

In the mid 1970s, she looks for new challenges and changes first, in 1975, to the State Industrial Design Office (*Amt für industrielle Formgestaltung*). Probably due to her collaboration with the *Deutsche Werkstätten Hellerau*, she makes contact with Anita Bach. However, neither of them reports on any further development of this short professional contact. In 1977 she changes jobs again, to the Public Standardisation Office (*Amt für Standardisierung*), works there as head of the department for trade inspection (controlling the quality of home and garden furniture, toys, musical instruments).

Retrospectively, she considers her last professional change very unusual, given that in GDR days somebody who left the position of a *Stadtbezirksarchitekt* would hardly return to such a position. Nevertheless, from 1979 to 1983, she holds the *Stadtbezirksarchitekt* position of the district Berlin-Lichtenberg. Only in passing, she mentions that she obtained this post despite her contacts to West Berlin and West German colleagues and that her planning tasks did not involve contacts with the GDR Ministry of State Security (*Ministerium für Staatssicherheit*) that was located in the same district. Apart from the coordination of different planning departments and construction supervision, her tasks are again the integration of industrial building, single detached family homes, allotment gardens and commercial building in the district's urban development programme. Furthermore, she is responsible for the facility management, in terms of the new building or restructuring of public property. In addition she is, in cooperation with the department for the preservation of monuments, involved in the modernisation and rehabilitation of buildings in the context of urban renewal projects. Asked for her role in architectural or urban development competitions, she considers this – apart from facade design – the only opportunity in this position to take advantage of her design competence. On the other hand, she states, again in passing, that "it is useless to dream about designing in a context that would not allow making the dream come true."

During the last three years of her work in the planning department, she reorganises the organisational structure of her department, aiming at a more participative structure (*Aktivplanung*) and prescribed interdepartmental cooperation, namely with the departments and local actors in the areas of culture and protection of the cultural heritage. In the early 1980s, when the general economic situation led to a more restricted budget in the building department, cooperation with the culture department became particularly important to improve the quality of facade design and public space.



Sources: Interview with Emira Selmanagić 2001, Interviews with Dorothea Tscheschner and Iris Grund, 2001; Interview with Emira Selmanagić's daughter Azemina Bruch 2014; A. Abadžić Hodžić, Selman Selmanagić i Bauhaus (Sarajevo: Bošnjački Institute, 2014), 205.

Lotte Werner, West Berlin architect, (1906-2001), was born in Duisburg. After school, she does two three-month internships at a Berlin carpenter's and a bricklayer's workshop. In 1927 she starts to study at the *TH Berlin-Charlottenburg*. In contrast to most of the women introduced here, she studies in Hans Poelzig's class, where she does her diploma in 1933, in the second year of the heavy unemployment phase of the Weimar Republic that also affected the architectural offices where she applies for jobs. When the army starts, as she put it, to "swallow all young professionals," she works for the air force in Köthen, designing, for example, housing and officers' casinos. When the war starts, she finds work in the office of the German Work Front (*Deutsche Arbeitsfront*).

In 1945, she benefits from commissions in war damage analysis, like Hilde Weström and Anne-Marie Meichsner (married Lancelle). When this work ends, she tries to freelance, but due "to lacking salesmanship and connections and being responsible for my mother, too", she sees herself forced to "give up her freedom" and accepts a job at the Berlin-Charlottenburg building department, although she considers this job "completely underpaid". Some years later, she changes from the building department to the urban planning department, where she gains independence and works in the mid-1950s on the crafts plan for the Charlottenburg urban regeneration area. About 1960, she manages to change again, to the Berlin-Schöneberg planning department, where she spends the happiest and most interesting years of her professional life because she can do preliminary drafts for a hospital and urban squares, e.g. Nollendorfplatz. It is, by the way, only then that she feels adequately paid. Werner works throughout her professional life as an architect and states that probably due to having studied in Poelzig's and not in Tessenow's class, she is, in contrast to her close friend Hilde Weström, always more interested in pure design than in social aspects of planning. However, at the age of 93 she concludes a letter on her working biography with the observation that all this "was nothing to write home about". Lotte Werner died in Lower Saxony in 2001.

Sources: Retrospective diary, written for her family in the late 1990s, and letter from Lotte Werner to Christiane Droste, 16 February 2000.



Hildegard Gebauer, West Berlin architect, (1925), born in Pillau / Baltiysk, daughter of an engineer and a housewife who had done her *Abitur* before World War I, became an architect “because I have always been good at drawing and was familiar with construction sites. The experience of the demolished city led to the natural and strong wish to contribute to rebuilding. I had assumed that doing so would become a lifelong occupation. Also, most young women with my background were convinced that we should be independent from future husbands.” She starts her studies in Danzig in summer 1944. The students are obliged to work until the end of the war as engineering draughtsmen or draughtswomen in companies that are vital to the war effort.

When the Soviet army occupies Danzig in April 1945, she has to flee by bike to a smaller city, Thorn, and from there, to relatives living in Schleswig-Holstein. As soon as the British army occupies West Berlin, she moves there and continues her studies at the reopened Technical University, in spring 1946. Here she is, like other students, obliged to help remove rubble several hours a week. She studies in the class of Hans Freese, who, in contrast to Rüter and Tessenow, accepts a female assistant, Christel Plarre. Gebauer’s professional models are Arne Jacobsen, Hermann Henselmann (during his Weimar period), Hans Scharoun, Richard Neutra, Le Corbusier, “because these were the architects we knew. Nobody was talking about woman architects at that time.” After an excellent diploma in 1950, she finds employment at the Berlin-Tempelhof planning department, where she works on new building in social housing.

Already in 1952, she moves to Hamburg, where her husband, also an architect, found work. For a short time, she works again in a public planning department and is responsible there for the dental clinic, *Zahn- und Kieferklinik Hamburg-Eppendorf*. From 1952 to 1957 the couple lives in a big apartment, due to the housing shortage shared with her parents, her sister’s family and a subtenant. An advantage of this housing situation for her professional work is that not only the flat, but also childcare can be shared, and this is essential for her reconciliation of professional and family care work. Childcare outside the home is rarely provided in West Germany at this time, but even in public administration, a 48-hour week is the rule for architects. However, in contrast to architectural offices for which she works freelance, the public administration pays standard wages to both women and men. Another reason to work in government in her view is that women there are more likely to be accepted on a professional level and to become responsible for bigger and more interesting building projects.

Between 1956 and 1957, she is responsible for the site supervision of the construction of their private home. From 1957, now with two children, she starts working freelance. Designing her own detached home and two other single-family homes changes the character of her work; the projects become smaller. Looking back, she states that two reasons probably finally caused her to give up her architectural practice. On the one hand, she had no desire to leave a monument to herself in the built environment. On the other hand, she hardly had an opportunity to delegate tasks. This would, however, had been a condition for the reconciliation of family and professional work. Concluding, she assumes that "this may have become easier for women architects working freelance after 1968 and that working in a public planning department provided better working hours for reconciling care and professional work and also more financial and social security in case a marriage broke up". Today Hildegard Gebauer lives in Hamburg.

Sources: Registration Office Archive, TU Berlin, and interview with Hildegard Gebauer, November 2007.

Hilda Harte, West Berlin architect, (1906-1976), daughter of the businessperson Carl Harte, studies at the *TH Berlin-Charlottenburg* from 1926 and does her interim diploma in Tessenow's class. However, there is no information about in whose class she finishes her studies. There is no evidence on why or to which professor she changed afterwards. Having spent some time doing internships in architectural offices, including at Walter Gropius' atelier, she finishes her education in 1933 and works again in Gropius' atelier, where she contributes to the "Berlin analysis" for the Athens *CIAM Congress*. From the end of 1930, she changes her place of work (Berlin, Neuenberg, Brückenau, Berlin) several times. Her places of employment are atypical. She works for an airport building office, an aviation research institute, the National Resettlement Association (*Reichsumsiedlungsgesellschaft*), which from 1935 handled compensation for expropriation of land and buildings for military use, and for the architectural office of Herbert Kretschmann. From summer 1945 she heads the *Berlin Magistrat* building stability control department (*Prüfungsamt für Baustatik*). During the 1950s she works freelance. Whereas it was not possible to trace buildings she had designed, there is evidence that she worked continuously as a structural engineer, for example for the *Interbau TAC* building, for which her husband, Wils Ebert, was the contact architect. Hilda Harte died in Berlin in 1976.

Sources: Bauer, op. cit., 354-355; *Der Tagesspiegel*, Berlin, 9 June 1976.



Gerda Adam, West Berlin architect, (1911-1988) studies, after a six-month apprenticeship as a bricklayer, at *TH Berlin-Charlottenburg* from 1931 to 1937. She is a fellow student of Hilde Weström and Lotte Werner. To finance her studies, she works for several architectural offices (1934-1935 Johannes und Walter Krüger Architekten, Berlin-Charlottenburg; 1937 design department of *Allgemeine Häuserbau AG*). Amongst the women architects introduced here, she is the only one who is active in the National Socialist pupil organisation and the National Socialist student organisation, and becomes an active party member in 1932. After her diploma, in 1938, she works for a private architect in Berlin "until the war-related restrictions made themselves felt in the private house building sector." From 1940, she works for the SS Main Economic and Administrative Department (*SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt*) in Berlin-Lichterfelde and marries the architect Adalbert Huber in 1942. Gerda Adam is a university friend of Hilde Weström and Lotte Werner, but although they both assume that she worked in urban planning, neither of them had any idea how to trace her career after the diploma. Adam died in Berlin-Zehlendorf in July 1988. So far, it has not been possible to determine in which of the many Berlin planning departments Adam worked after the war.¹

¹ Sources: Bundesarchiv Berlin, *Reichskulturkammer*, Case Adam, RKK 2400 / Box 0140 / File 22, archive no. AREP. 243/04; The *Reichskulturkammer* document indicates her marriage with an architect Adalbert Huber. Research on him produced no further information on her: Two websites document the existence of an architect named Adalbert Huber, one of them indicating that he lived from the mid-1950s in Bavaria. This might have explained why Werner and Weström lost sight of their friend. However, the *Berlin Museum for Post and Telekommunikation* archive for armed forces letters also provides information on an architect named Adalbert Huber, obviously Bavarian, who writes to his wife named *Trudi*, which contradicts the first assumption.

Sources: <http://www.ksk-vib.de/?page=Freyung>, last visited in May 2013, and *Museumsstiftung Post und Telekommunikation*,

http://www.museumsstiftung.de/feldpost/konvolut_skizze.html?action=detail&what=collection&id=105, last visited in May 2013.

Elfriede Schaar, West Berlin architect, (1911-1984) was born in Berlin-Lichterfelde. Suffering from poliomyelitis, she starts school and subsequently her academic education at TH Berlin-Charlottenburg three years later than the other women of her age. She commences her studies in 1932. In 1936, she changes from another class to Tessenow's, where she does her diploma in 1937. From the end of the war until the 1970s, Schaar works first for Berlin district building departments and from the 1960s for the Berlin-Steglitz urban planning department. Bauer assumes that suffering from polio motivated Schaar to apply for a public service job rather than working freelance. Schaar remains unmarried, and for years takes care of her father. She is a member of the *Tessenow-Gesellschaft* and died in 1984 in Berlin.

Sources: Apart from Weström's and Werner's dropping her name and locating her in urban planning, the information on Elfriede Schaar is completely drawn from Bauer, op. cit., 392-393.

Klara Küster (née Brobecker, 1914-1998) was the daughter of a Berlin architect who worked for the German Reich Railway Company (*Deutsche Reichsbahn*). She is a schoolmate of Elfriede Schaar and despite her parents being sceptical about her wish to become an architect, she starts her studies in Emil Küster's class in 1932 but changes later to Tessenow's class. In 1940 she marries a civil engineer who works for the Trier planning administration and thanks to his recommendation becomes involved in the planning for a building adjacent to the local government building. Then, she obtains a commission from the German National Food Ministry to design plans for farms in Poland, and is also temporarily involved in the rebuilding plans for the Berlin State Opera. In 1943, her daughter is born. Since her husband died in the last year of the war, she is left with the sole responsibility for her daughter and her father. According to an interview she gave to Corinna-Isabell Bauer in 1997, this is the reason why she starts in 1946 at the latest to work for the Berlin-Steglitz building department. Küster is involved in rebuilding, particularly of schools (*Elisabeth-Lyceum* and *Dürer-Lyceum* in Berlin-Lichterfelde, *Grundschule Kommandantenstraße* and *Heesestraße-Lyceum*). From the 1950s, when new building starts, she designs public outdoor swimming pools (*Am Teltowkanal*, *Freibad am Insulaner*) and, in 1956, a kindergarten (*Jeverstraße 10-11*). In 1958, she leaves the building department and, according to Bauer, finds no further opportunity to work as an architect. She moves to Aachen and later Darmstadt, where she starts in 1959 to work as a teacher. As a pensioner, she moves to Grafing, a suburb of Munich, where her daughter Klara lives. Klara Küster died in München-Grafing in spring 1998.

Source: All information on Klara Küster is drawn from Bauer, op. cit., 335.



Elisabeth (Elly) Dora Johanna Lehning, West Berlin architect,(1914 -2001) née Schulze, only child of a housewife and an engineer who worked for AEG in Berlin-Wedding and was a dedicated Social Democrat, grows up in a small villa in Berlin-Schulzendorf. After attending a lyceum at Berlin-Karlshorst, she starts her vocational training with an AEG draughtswoman apprenticeship, hoping to study architecture later. However, marrying at the age of 20 interrupts these plans. When her husband joins the NSDAP, the marriage suffers increasing conflicts because she continues to meet Jewish friends. Her father and her husband can't stand each other. After her divorce in 1941, she first stays with her parents and starts her architectural education in 1942 at the Berlin private art and work school (*Kunst und Werk*), where Hugo Häring and Peter Friedrich teach architecture, and takes evening courses on technical drawing at a training college. Friedrich recommends her in 1943 to his colleague Max Taut, teaching at the Berlin University of Arts. From 1930 to 1945, she helps earn her living with stenographer jobs for the social and youth department of the Berlin-Friedrichshain district, Fritz Conrad in Berlin-Oberschöneweide and others.

Between 1945 and 1952, she studies architecture in Taut's class and after receiving her diploma becomes a master's student (*Meisterschülerin*) in his class. She apprentices as a bricklayer and in a carpenter's workshop and interns at a public administration planning department. After her studies, Lehning works freelance, in part as an independent architect, in part as freelancer at renowned offices. Her traced independent work projects are a weekend house for a female client, Dr. E. Eberlein, in Berlin-Bohnsdorf, an entry in the competition for a housing area in Kassel-Dönche, a single-family home with a dental technician laboratory in Buckow (1961), a single-family home in Berlin-Lichtenrade. From July 1952 she is a member and very active in the BDA.

She supports Peter Friedrich's *Interbau* plan for a housing unit for 10,000 people (*Wohneinheit für 10,000 Menschen*,1956/57), in the *Hauptstadt Berlin* (1957/58) and *Melbourne Landmark Ideas* (1979) competitions. However, her main occupation is the work for Max Taut's office, where she is involved in projects in a variety of building tasks and as a freelancer earns a monthly fee of 120 DM and 30 DM for expenses in 1952. Her housing projects include planning of housing for the Gehag and GSW municipal housing companies in Berlin-Steglitz, settlements for industrial workers (*August-Thyssen-Hütte* Duisburg), single and multiple family dwellings in Berlin-Eichkamp.

Furthermore, she is involved in the building of Ludwig-Georgs-Gymnasium in Darmstadt, a training workshop in Berlin-Britz, a cinema, a senior citizens' residence, restoration and reconstruction work (for example the *Trade Union for Printing and Press Letterpress Building* in Berlin-Tempelhof, 1954, and *Jagdschloss Glienicke* in Berlin-Wannsee) and the main children's home (*Hauptkinderheim*), 1967. In 1967, she supports Margarete Taut, who asks her to finish work on the *Hauptkinderheim* after Taut's death, to close the office. There is no record of when and why, but an aside in an interview suggested that Lehning shared a flat with Bruno Taut's daughter Elisabeth Hellwag-Taut before she moved in the early 1960s together with Peter Friedrich, her former teacher. Lehning died in Berlin, in 2001.

Sources: Claudia Keller, "Elly Lehning, geboren 1914", *Der Tagesspiegel* (26 April 2001), http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/elly-lehning-geb-1914/v_print/2228, accessed 22 May 2007; Max-Taut-Archiv, Bruno-Taut-Archiv and Peter-Friedrich-Archiv, held by the Archiv der Akademie der Künste Berlin, with gratitude to the archivist, Dr. Petra Albrecht, Berlin; Interview with a friend of the architect, Ms. Delić, 2001.



Erika Bärhold, East Berlin architect, (born 1929), studies at the *Berliner Kolleg für Innenarchitektur* and works from 1951 first in interior design for buildings of social and cultural infrastructure, such as the East Berlin municipal library, in the collective of Heinz Mehlan, 1965. She is then involved in the development of the first prefabricated panels and from 1968 employed in the state planning housing construction office (*Vereinigte Betriebe Wohnungsbaukombinat, VEB WBK Berlin*). In this office, her first large task is contributing to the high-rise estate *Leninplatz*. She is entrusted with planning the roof terraces and the technical design of the new panels needed for this element of the WBS 70 series. In 1969 she draws up the plans for 14 other housing blocks, close to the East Berlin central train station.

Concerning this task, she receives special recognition for the rationalisation of the planning process: "New methods were necessary to rationalise the planning process. Erika Bärhold developed these methods, of course not on her own but, as she confirmed, in the photo working group. The solution was a photomontage. This means that specific new planning details, for example the new bathroom cells, were photocopied, and as such included in the plan. This method considerably decreases the necessary planning time and costs. It saves one week of drawing per plan. Moreover, if you consider that one set of plans contains 29 plans, and if this multiplied by 14 (...) This is an outstanding piece of work by a woman who applies a high standard – and is classified under the top performances of the building industries in the socialist competition!" This is not just an anecdote, but also an indication of the working conditions of East Berlin architects and the discrimination that is sometimes imminent to the particular accentuation of women architects' work.

From 1967 to 1969, still a member of the Mehlan collective, she contributes to the planning of the *Haus der Elektroindustrie* at Alexanderplatz that accommodated the GDR Ministry of Electrical Engineering and Electrical Systems as well as offices and companies associated with this industry. Erika Bärhold lives in Berlin.

Sources: Project reports in *Architektur der DDR, Deutsche Architektur*; "Unsere Frauen in den Projektierungsbetrieben." Special issue: "Architektinnen" 3 (1982); interview with Erika Bärhold in 2000.



(Gertraude Lehmann, East Berlin architect, (born 1935 in Schreckenstein, Bohemia), only child of an office worker and a housewife, experienced expulsion and war in her early childhood, when the family had to flee from Bohemia to Altenburg in Thuringia. Her grandfather, a sculptor, has more influence on her choice of career than her parents do, particularly because he bought and renovated old buildings in Bohemia, including an old farm building and her mother's home. Having passed her *Abitur* at the age of 16, she spends the following year doing two traineeships, at a carpentry shop and a bricklaying company.

This is the precondition to start her academic education, at the *Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen* in Weimar, not far from Altenburg Her studies in architecture take from 1953 to 1959. Like Anita Bach, but some years later, she studies in Otto Englberger's class. Although she is eligible for a 130 mark scholarship, she needs to generate income to finance her studies. They do not leave time for concurrent jobs, but she gets by thanks to the support of a flatmate. After passing her diploma in 1959, she works 11 years for *VEB Berlin-Projekt* and *WBK Berlin*. However, despite being able to work as she hoped in Heinz Mehlan's collective, on a team with Ruth Krause and Erika Bärhold, housing is not her preferred field. This is why she decides on a doctoral dissertation. Her subject, "*Contribution to the further development of planning principles and design solutions for the building of day nurseries and kindergartens in small and medium-sized cities*", is closely linked to nursery and kindergarten projects that she realises between 1960 (*Kinderkrippe Karl-Marx-Allee*) and 1985 in Berlin and Brandenburg/Havel (nursery school). Writing a dissertation parallel to employment was not unusual in the GDR. Both women and men did this, but the number of applications was restricted and the candidate needed employer backing. The only form of women's promotion from which she benefited was a three-year part-time job when her children were small. In 1965 she designs the music library of the East Berlin municipal library system, one of the tasks she considers most important in her career.

In 1970 she changes her professional environment and works until after reunification at the East Berlin *Bauakademie*, where she focuses on educational buildings. She does exemplary designs for serial prefabrication of model nursery schools for a pilot project for 270 children at Brandenburg (1985, to be reapplied in other projects of the Potsdam *Wohnungsbaukombinat*). She also develops general guidelines for this building task and is the head of the international research centre for childcare buildings in the Comecon countries. Gertraude Lehmann lives in Berlin.

Sources: Interview Gertraude Lehmann in 2000; *Deutsche Architektur* 1961/8 and 1967/2; Joachim Schulz and Werner Gräbner, *Berlin - Architekturführer von Pankow bis Köpenick* (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1987), 100-101. The guidelines were published in the *Bauakademie* series, *Schriftenreihe Bauforschung*.



Edith Diehl, East Berlin architect (born 1931, née Jahnke) spends her childhood in Grebs and passes her *Abitur* at a lyceum in Schwerin. In 1951, she applies for an academic education at the Academy of Arts in Berlin-Weißensee, which still followed the Bauhaus teaching methodology and philosophy in the 1950s. In the class of Selman Selmanagić she has her first encounter with architecture and urban development, prompting her decision to become an architect. Further on, her objective is to combine these two aspects of the profession as far as possible. Having finished her studies in 1956, she first works on regional planning, in Hermann Henselmann's office (1956-57); on urban planning in the planning office of the Berlin-Pankow district and in the state planning office for the East German capital (*VEB Berlin-Projekt*) from 1961 to 1967. From 1967 to 1982, she works at *VEB WBK Berlin* as urban planner for housing estates *Heinrich-Heine-Straße* (1967-69) and *Am Tierpark* (1967-71). Edith Diehl lives in Berlin.

Sources: Interview with Edith Diehl in 2000; Interview with Emira Selmanagić 1999; Droste 2000, op. cit., 63; Edith Diehl, "Wohnkomplex Amtsfeld, Berlin-Köpenick." *Deutsche Architektur* 1 (1972).



Lotte Sauerzapfe, East Berlin architect, (1924-1991), née Sturm, married Schildhauer, married Sauerzapfe was born in Danzig. She was the daughter of a bank employee. During the war, before she starts her engineering education at the *Vereinigte Bauschulen von Groß-Berlin*, she does a two-year apprenticeship as a bricklayer. With a diploma in structural engineering, she begins work in 1949 for the East Berlin Joint Building Society (*Gemeinschaftliche Baugesellschaft GroßBerlin*). The same year she changes to the Nationally Owned Company for Architecture, Research and Engineering (*VEB Architekten-Forschung-Ingenieur-Büro, AFI*) and works there first as a structural engineer, then as an architect. Her next employer, for a year from 1952, is the Nationally Owned Company for Building Projects (*VEB Bauprojektierung*).

A project on which she works in this period, from 1952 to 1957, is the four-storey fire station on Marchlewski-Straße in Berlin-Friedrichshain that still applies traditional building technology, reinforced concrete frames filled with brick walls. More or less at the same time, she is responsible for the building of a multi-storey parking garage below an office building in Berlin-Mitte, for a kindergarten in Mendelstraße and for a Children's home in Straußberg. Her next moves indicate a distinct focus on technologically oriented buildings: from 1954 until 1962 she works for the Industrial Building (*VEB Industriebau*) and Industrial Projects (*IPRO II*) enterprises, subsidiaries of *VEB Bau und Montagekombinat Kohle und Energie*, the biggest and most efficient GDR construction combine).

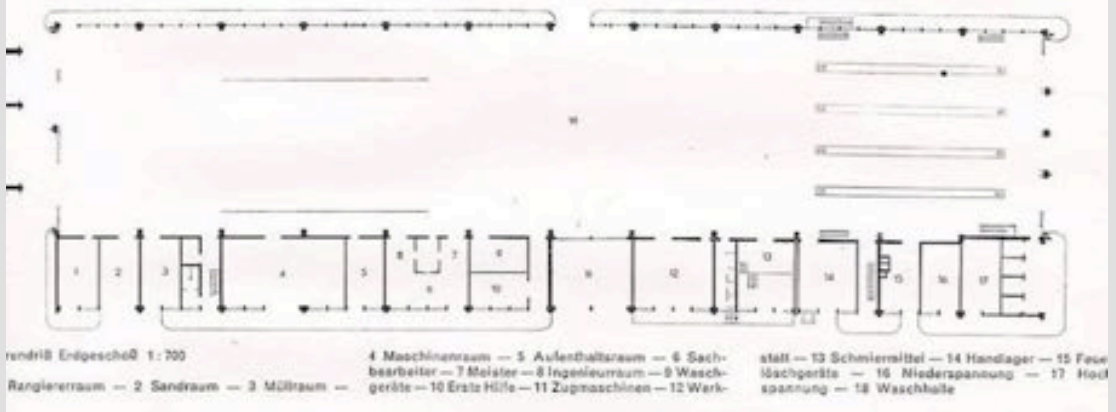
Her most respected project, the bus cleaning and inspection hall, a *VEB Industriebau* project, is part of a public transit yard planned for the parking and maintenance of 250 buses and semi-trailers and the parking of 200 other cars, on Indira-Gandhi-Straße in Berlin-Lichtenberg. The three areas (maintenance, repair, and breakdown service) were arranged to facilitate a quick turnaround and to optimise work safety and roadworthiness. The design of the cleaning hall built between 1955 and 1963 features an innovative solution for the assembly of the wings of the roof construction in a 10-metre monolith prestressed concrete structure. The construction applied a special thermal process for a prestressed concrete structure for the first time. As it was new construction, the onsite production of a onsite pilot production of a pillar permitted research on the feasibility of the theoretical model that was then applied to the whole construction. For the first time in the GDR, the construction of the inspection hall applied a hanging roof spanning a 50-metre-wide hall. The most characteristic element of the building is the roof surface, curved on one side. During the same period, Sauerzapfe is responsible for a velodrome in Berlin-Weißensee (1955-1958), and a transformer station in Berlin-Karlshorst.



Omnibushof Berlin-Weißensee — Giebelseite der Wasch- und Pflegehalle



Omnibushof Berlin-Weißensee — Nordansicht der Wasch- und Pflegehalle 1:7



Between 1950 and 1960, she concurrently teaches statics, construction and building material science at the Union of the Building and Wooden Construction Industries (*Industriegewerkschaft Bau-Holz*) further education academy. From 1962 to 1966, she is also responsible for site supervision on the district level in Berlin Köpenick. The last information, dated 1971, that sheds light on her vivid and varied professional life is that she starts in 1966 to work as a *Brigadeleiter* and chief of a design team at *VEB Baukombinat Köpenick*. Lotte Sauerzapfe died in Berlin-Köpenick in 1991.

Sources: BdA registration files 1956/1971; GDR Building History Archive / *Institut für Regionalplanung und Strukturentwicklung*, Erkner; Building file of the *Magistrat von Berlin, Hauptstadt der DDR*; Berlin State Archive; *Architektur der DDR*, Vol. 3 (1961), 147.

6 PLANNING COMPETITIONS, PROFESSIONAL NETWORKS AND
ASSOCIATIONS: SPECIFIC SPACES OF WOMEN ARCHITECTS' EXCLUSION

Many external discriminating factors of the *natural environment*, the *social environment* and the *problem situation* have been explained in the previous chapters. The access of women architects to competitions, professional networks and associations that played an important role in sustaining the "male closed-shop character" of the architectural profession, form part of women architects' *problem situation* and find in this chapter entrance in the overall argument.

Women architects' absence in planning competitions: another example of difference

An early hypothesis of this thesis was that an important source for tracking possible difference in the women architects' work could be the documentation of or literature on architectural or planning competitions. Difference was expected on two levels: in terms of design principles compared to those visible in the work of their male competitors, and in terms of difference within their own work, in a task that might have left more freedom of design than many everyday building commissions. A first step was to look at research published on the architectural and urban development competitions to rebuild Berlin. They could have been a source for the identification of difference in terms of a, from today's perspective, specifically gender-sensitive planning. The best sources for this field of action were the professional journals like *Bauwelt* in the West and *Architektur der DDR / Architektur in the East*. However, neither the literature analysis nor the analysis of the very few independent women's competition contributions that were accessible for this study, nor an overview about the history of German architectural competitions¹ or a 2011 Berlin exhibition on *not-built* competition contributions in GDR time led to significant results confirming this hypothesis.

In West Berlin, women architects had a difficult position in the competitions of the 1950s and 1960s. In some, only persons of distinction were invited. In open competitions women usually had difficulties in financing the work for the competition. In East Berlin, the number of competitions decreased continuously from the early 1960s. After the Berlin-Fennpfuhl competition, the last to which both West and East German architects had access, only collectives were invited. This barred a broader and professional public from participation in a discussion and vision building. It also deprived architects of a platform to develop models and visions that might have differed from the *Zeitgeist*. At least most of the collectives included women architects, who thus had easier access to large competitions than their Western colleagues. Between 1950 and 1954, results of the competitions were still to a large extent included later in the corresponding building concepts. Afterwards, the number of GDR building competitions decreased, with a final

¹ Carl Krause, "Exkurs: das Wettbewerbswesen in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik", in *Stadtbaukultur*, ed. Heidede Becker (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Deutscher Gemeindeverlag, 1993), 747-785

peak during the GDR's 20th anniversary in 1968/69. All this time, in neither of the two parts of the city, were women members of important juries.

In West Berlin, only a few of the women interviewed reported participation in competitions and they possessed hardly any material on them. Ingrid Biergans participated, sometimes in collaboration with colleagues, in a small number of competitions in Berlin, West Germany and abroad, e.g. for a train station in Tunis, a cultural centre in Belgian Congo, a church in Berlin and a park and restaurant in Bonn. Biergans reported on the competitions in which she had been participating as "opportunities to show my competences in a different way, in tasks I could not perform otherwise".² One was for St. Wilhelm Church in Berlin-Spandau (Illustration 6 I 1, 6 I 2, 6 I 3), one for the recreation grounds and panorama restaurant *Rheinterrassen* in Bonn in the 1960s. (Illustration 6 I 4) She did not succeed in either of them.

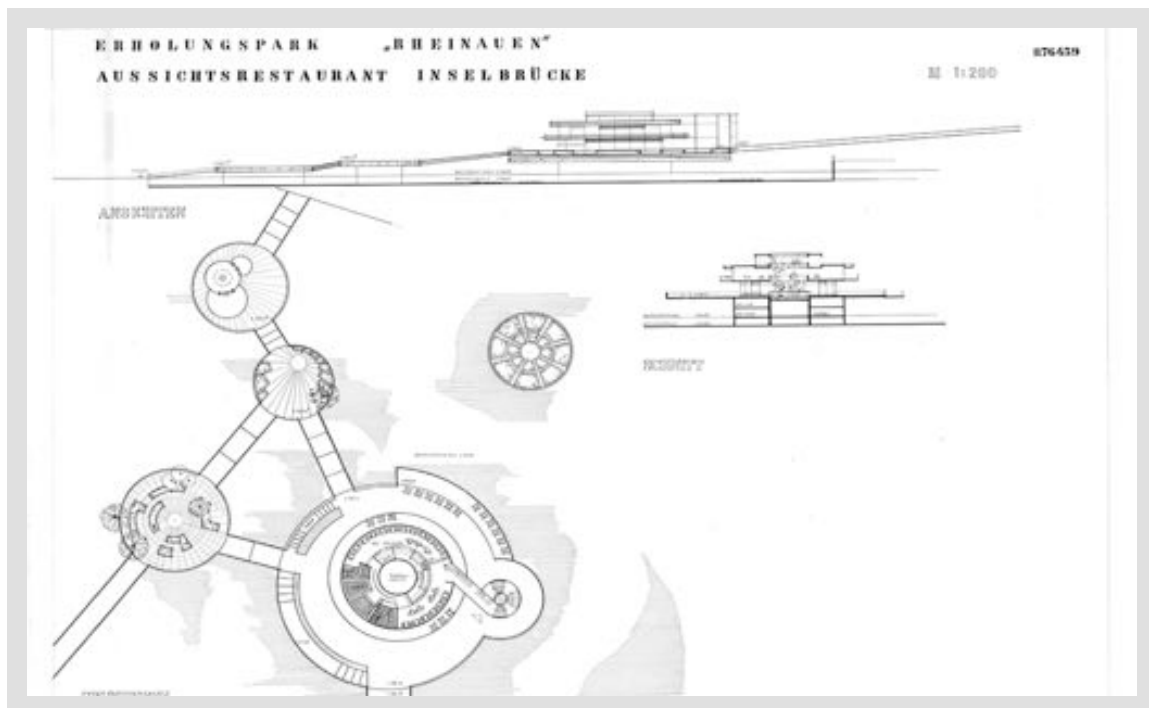


Illustration 6 I 1 Ingrid Biergans, Receration Park Rheinauen, 1970

² Interview with Ingrid Biergans in September 2000.

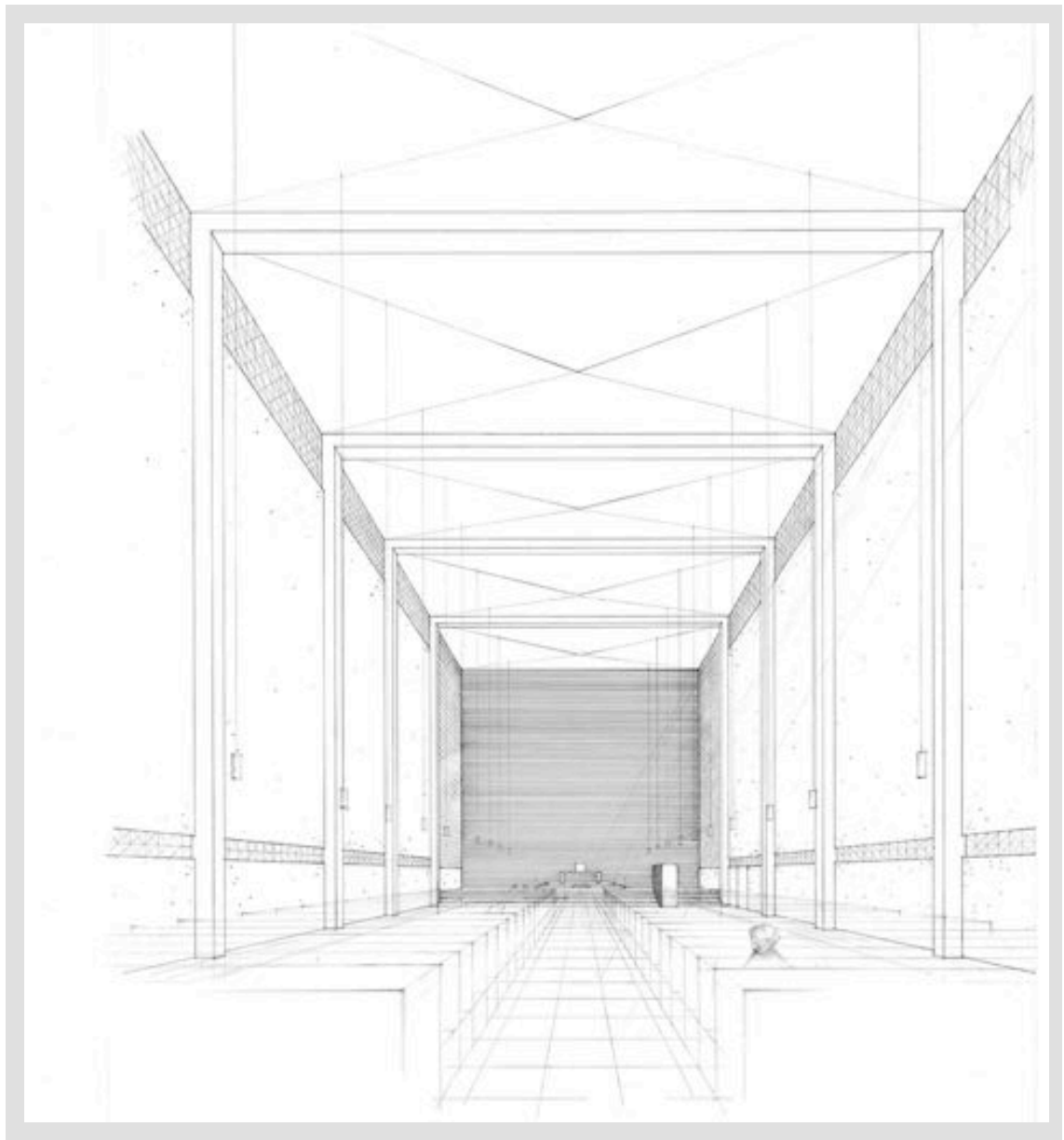


Illustration 6 | 2 Ingrid Biergans, St.Wilhelm Berlin, view of the altar, 1961

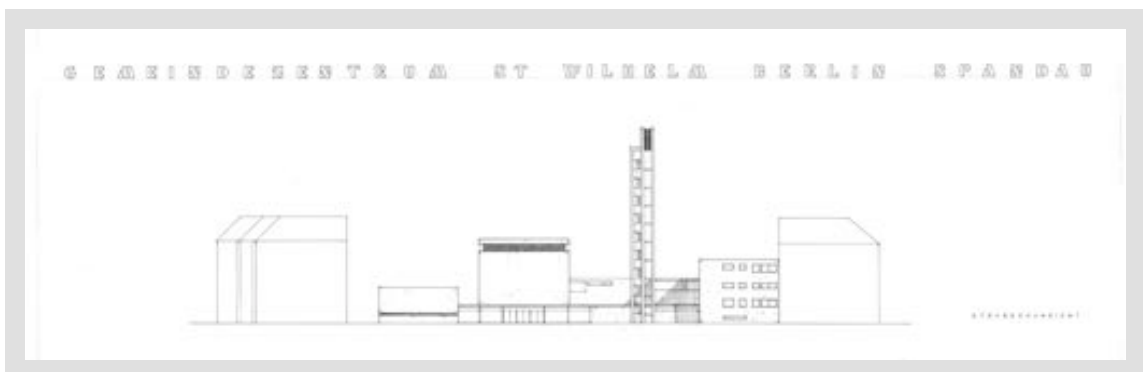


Illustration 6 | 3 Ingrid Biergans, St.Wilhelm Berlin, view of the street, 1961

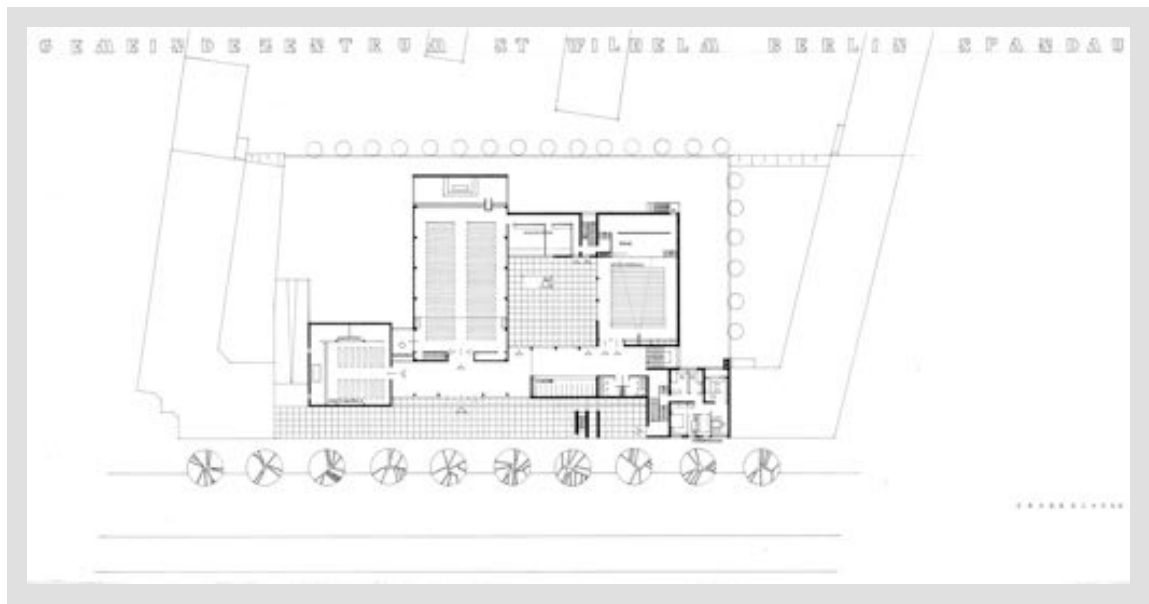


Illustration 6 | 4 Ingrid Biergans, St. Wilhelm Berlin, view of the street, 1961

Hilde Weström took part in competitions in collaboration with, for instance, Werner Düttmann and Paul Baumgart. She had in the early 1950s already five employees and participated in many national competitions, in Berlin and other West German municipalities, illustrating her understanding of or attitude towards the challenges of architecture. In one of them, for a senior citizen's home in Berlin-Wedding in 1952, she was awarded the first prize. However, the commission went to the second-prize winner, the renowned architect Werner Düttmann – although, according to Kerstin Dörhöfer's analysis, Weström's design was much more user-friendly than his. In an interview in 2012, Weström summed it up: "I entered a lot of competitions for larger projects. But even if I won first prize, in the end a man would wind up with the job."³

A prominent example for a woman having won a competition and been commissioned with the realisation is Iris Grund's cultural centre in Neubrandenburg (see case-study in Chapter 7).

There are several models to explain this result. First, participation in architectural competitions for big projects or in the numerous urban planning competitions has always been a time-consuming and lavish process and hardly affordable for small offices (that women were likely to have) and usually beyond their capacity. Second, and this holds particularly true for the East Berlin competition submissions, whether in larger

³Hilde Weström in 2012, in an interview with the journalist Nele Obermüller. <http://www.exberliner.com/features/people/the-100-year-pioneer/#sthash.HTjiiXV.dpuf>, accessed in December 2014; Dörhöfer 2000, op. cit., 26-27.

West Berlin offices or in the GDR collectives, the submission to a competition is always teamwork, handled by the office head, and women at that time were seldom team leaders. Third, even for projects focusing, for example, on a school or a kindergarten, the West Berlin public administration practice at that time was frequently not a competition, but a direct commission.⁴

Furthermore, the changes in both the GDR building system and the architects' role from the mid-1950s reduced *architectural* competitions in the GDR to a minimum of specific building tasks that usually addressed renowned architects and involved, for example, cultural centres (*Kulturhäuser*). One of the rare successful women's submissions in this field was Iris Dullin-Grund's cultural centre in Neubrandenburg. It is presented in the cases' chapter. From 1957, the GDR Rebuilding Ministry (*Ministerium für Aufbau*) introduced specific GDR rules of competition, addressing not only the (fewer) architects but also the design brigades (*Entwurfsbrigaden*) of engineering-oriented state design collectives or architect collectives, for example from the building academy or the universities. Similar to the big West German offices, women's submissions gained a certain visibility if they were in the leadership of these collectives, such as Anita Bach when she contributed amongst other to the Berlin *Hotel Fischerkiez and Hotel Bahnhof Friedrichstraße Competitions*, the *Berlin Fennpfuhl Competition* or the *Rostock Lütten-Klein Housing Area Competition (1960)*. "Certain visibility" is specified because it was difficult, for both the architect and the researcher decades later, to identify a particular authorship by name in a team submission. Dorothea Tscheschner's design task for her diploma was the participation in an all-German competition for a concert hall in Bad Orb, West Germany. The result was published in the professional journal *Deutsche Architektur*.⁵ (Illustration 6 | 5 and 6 | 6 see following page)

⁴ The information on direct commissions derives from interviews with employees of the Senate Departments of Education and Urban Development in 2012.

⁵ Otto Englberger and Erich Schmidt, "Gedanken zu den Diplomarbeiten der Hochschule für Architektur in Weimar", *Deutsche Architektur* Vol. 8 (1956), 368-369

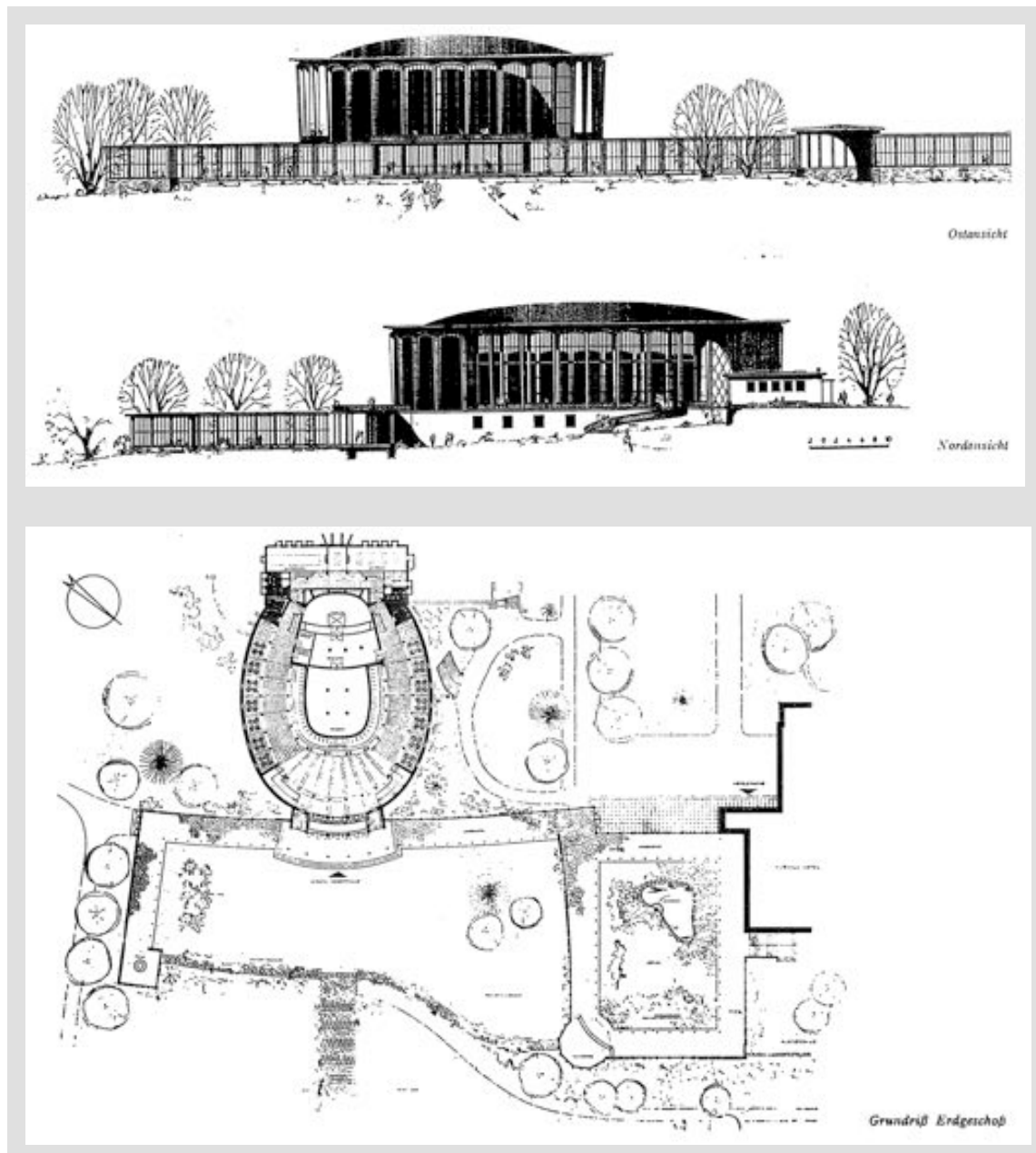


Illustration 6 | 5 (top) Dorothea Tscheschner, Concert Hall Bad Orb, elevation east and north, 1956

Illustration 6 | 6 (bottom) Dorothea Tscheschner, Concert Hall Bad Orb, ground floor, 1956

Networking

An area in which private and professional spheres overlap to a certain extent is professional networking. In publications on male architects' biographies and works, private life plays a minor role. However, as in artists' biographies, a space one might call a semiprivate / semi-professional sphere was (and is) an important aspect and avenue in building (old boys) networks and thus part of the culture of the profession. Women architects, except wives of famous architects like Marlene Poelzig, Emira Selmanagić

and Irene Henselmann in Berlin, were hardly included in male professional networks. An exception was certainly Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, but her networks were in local politics and administration rather than within her profession.⁶

In his article in the catalogue on the history of her most controversial building, *Steglitzer Kreisel*, Harald Martenstein states: "We know little about the details of this career, which is not customary for the years of the Economic Miracle, just this: Kressmann-Zschach works hard, harder than usual, and she has a winning, sympathetic charisma. 'I have learnt, how to do it', she says later. 'Suddenly you belong to them and you are introduced to everybody.' Her second husband, Willy Kressmann, called 'Texas-Willy', 23 years older than her, is the Social Democrat Berlin-Kreuzberg mayor. Also this marriage, as helpful as it may have been, had only a two-year expiration date. (...) Faced with the allegation that her career was linked to the Social Democrat networks of old 'Texas Willy', she asks sarcastically: 'Should I be rejected, only because I am Ms. Kressmann?'"⁷

Generally, post-war architects networks had, as Durth has demonstrated in detail in his *Biographische Verflechtungen* (biographical interconnections), largely already been built before the Second World War. Durth described how the "architects" (*Erzbaumeister*) already prepared the rebuilding period during the last months of the war in the middle of the air raids. He shows that members of the Nazi rebuilding staff, namely Albert Speer's staff and his colleagues Rudolf Wolters, Ernst Neufert and many other members of the architectural elite were already at that time involved in the rebuilding process. His depiction of first meetings, correspondence, and conferences paints a perfect image of the density and stability of these networks and constitutes a very critical observation of the continuation of the pre-war situation. It becomes obvious that the professional networks again played a considerable role for the development of professional strategies and projects, but that there were also "the best circles" networks, removing potential barriers and smoothing the way into leading administrative planning positions after the war. Durth states that especially in the immediate post-war years, characterised by a lack of societal organisation and institutionalisation, informal connections played a crucial role, particularly where professional esteem was combined with personal friendships. In neither of the networks he described are women mentioned, except for serving as a "charming background", e.g. during one of the first important conferences including Wolters, Berlitz, Neufert, Gutschow in Prince Salm-Salm's castle in Anholt (Westphalia), where the princess and

⁶ Sources: Interview with her widower, Donatello Losito, in October 2000, and analysis of contemporary press.

⁷ Harald Martenstein, "Die Waffen einer Frau", in Sabine Weißler, ed. *Der Steglitzer Kreisel*. Catalogue (Berlin: Kulturamt Steglitz, 1998), 39.

her mother asked "sometimes, during tea time for the planning of their property and inquired about the state of the general discussion".⁸

It is difficult to consider the later role of these networks for women architects in the GDR. But even despite a generally different professional acceptance of women, the fact that there were only a few women in leading positions and the general tenor of the interviews in the context of this research allow the interpretation that this pattern had survived in the GDR architect community as a kind of "hidden agenda". Moreover, none of the women architects who were interviewed for this research knew of specific women's networks which might have been established instead. The fact that these wouldn't have been able to surmount the established power structures obviously lead, as confirmed biographies below, to female lone warriors amongst the self-employed freelancers.

Another level of networking was that of the professional associations: the official lobbies. However, even there women seem to have been underprivileged during this period.

Women architects and professional associations: an ambivalent relationship

"I would not expect many findings from research on women members of the AIV during the first decades after World War II. Women were more likely to become members of the BDA: the AIV was a men's clique, a cluster of makers and shakers! At this time, the senator and the state secretaries were still active members, and in the public planning departments, in contrast to today, most architects and planners were men. For example, Ilse Balg, the urban sociologist, must have had a hard time there..."⁹

Even though one of the most prominent amongst the West Berlin women architects, Hilde Weström, was in 1948 already admitted to the Association of German Architects (*Bund Deutscher Architekten*, BDA), it was until the late 1960s nearly impossible for women to be accepted. Its member lists reveal that for decades the BDA cultivated the character of an old boys club, excluding women from the most respected and elitist professional organisation of architects in Germany, and thus from the strongest expression of *state nobility* in architecture. Oral reports of the interviewed architects and correspondence between Ingrid Biergans and the BDA illustrate the barriers women experienced when trying to become BDA members. When Ulrich Conrads stated in a

⁸ Durth, op. cit., 247 ff, see particularly the section *Im alten Kreis* (in old circles).

⁹ Quote archivist of the AIV, June 2014.

RIAS broadcast in 1968 that Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach's behaviour concerning the *Steglitzer Kreisel* project adhered neither to the rules of the profession nor the statutes of the BDA, based on the *Athens Charta*, the BDA immediately responded in a daily newspaper that she was not a member of the BDA, which of course obliged his members to follow the statutes.¹⁰

A membership required a nomination by the organisation, based on at least one *oeuvre renommé* and a comparably high membership fee. For women, this was a vicious circle, difficult to break through: having no "sufficient" *oeuvre* to present meant no admission. Not obtaining admission meant having no lobby and hardly any professional network. Lacking professional networks and a lobby meant getting no commissions and being unable to build *oeuvres renommés*.

During the 1950s and 1960s, a large number of the West Berlin women architects became members of the Berlin Association of Architects and Engineers (*Architekten- und Ingenieurverein zu Berlin, AIV*), which until today represents architects and engineers. The AIV was already at that time organising the renowned annual Schinkel Competition (*Schinkel-Wettbewerb*) for architects. Here, the condition for admission was an application and a professional recommendation by two members or three prominent stakeholders involved in urban or architectural issues. In 1965 the AIV had 454 male and 15 female members, including Nina Braunschweig-Kessler, Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach and Ingrid Biergans.¹¹ In the light of the quote above, AIV membership may have facilitated Kressmann-Zschach's access to the Senate Department of Building and Housing.

The Association of German Builders (*Bund Deutscher Baumeister, BdB*), which represents a technical rather than a design interest, had engineers as its target group, but due to the problem-free access, women architects also joined during their studies. The Berlin section of the *Werkbund*, to which a few of the pioneering women architects belonged, focused mainly on interior designers and women working in arts and crafts during the 1950s and 1960s.

The East German counterpart of the West Berlin *Bund deutscher Architekten*, also named *Bund deutscher Architekten* when founded in 1950, was renamed GDR Association of Architects (*Bund der Architekten der DDR, BdA der DDR*) in 1972. There were two main differences between the East German and West German association.

¹⁰ Footnote in Ulrich Conrads, "Neues Bauen in dieser Zeit", in Sabine Weißler, ed. *Der Steglitzer Kreisel*. Catalogue (Berlin: Kulturamt Steglitz, 1998), 39.

¹¹ Source: AIV registration files.

Members of the former were, apart from architects and landscape architects, various other occupational groups of the building industry, and membership was more or less a requirement. Membership depended nevertheless on political conformity and a professional recommendation, as in the West. Corresponding to the share of women in the East German building industry, their share was relatively high compared to West Berlin women's representation in relevant professional associations. Membership applications covered family backgrounds, training, employment and occupations.¹² The *BdA* was on the one hand a typical GDR government instrument to channel the members of a larger occupational group into one association and thus to impose "social" interests. On the other hand, it nevertheless constituted a professional forum for a collective discussion of the new issues and aims of societal policy closely related to architecture and the building industry. Critical discussions from the architectural and creative standpoint arose on the district level and in the central thematic focus groups, also representing women architects. Bruno Flierl criticised the fact that the *BdA* "was not able to support its members in their creative activity and to protect them against the socialist establishment's despotism, stupidity and treating professionals like children. On the contrary, it contributed – despite the niches which it provided on the grassroots level – to the degradation of the professional groups of architects and planners, at least as far as their professional quality and societal image were concerned."¹³

Nevertheless, the embedding in professional networks and the access to professional resources was – despite Flierl's justified criticism – significantly more open for GDR women architects than in the West Berlin *BdA* section. Nevertheless, despite their high share of the membership, there was a (political) women's department, but no "women's group" in terms of professional debate.

Whereas women architects faced difficulties in getting access to the local and national professional associations, they established their own platform in the international architectural umbrella organisation *Union Internationale des Architectes* (UIA), which was founded in 1948 in Lausanne. Accredited by the United Nations Organisation, it gathers architects from all over the world, regardless of race, religion, or architectural school. The UIA congresses were a renowned space of professional networking and knowledge transfer to which also selected GDR architects were allowed to travel. In the context of this research, it was not possible to establish how far the interest of the few women architects allowed to participate in the women's groups was more a matter of delegation or personal decision.

12 As the *BdA* had numerous female members, these application forms provided one of the rare illuminating sources for this research. The application forms were also very informative concerning the professional pathways following the different training opportunities.

13 Flierl 1998a, op. cit., 69.

In 1963 Solange Herbez la Tour founded a UIFA analogue in Paris, the *Union de Femmes Architectes*, which organised congresses independent of the UIA sessions and whose membership is reserved to women. However, this remained more or less closed for GDR women before reunification. Amongst West Berlin women architects, Nina Braunschweig-Kessler and Hilde Weström, for example, were active in the UIFA. As for the GDR women architects, only Anita Bach obtained her universities' permission to participate in these international conferences.

The objective of this chapter was to explain that in three important fields of both the culture of the profession and the competition for commissions, i.e. competitions, professional networks and associations, women architects faced discrimination, more in the West than in the East. Concluding, this observation confirms Bourdieu's theory on the exclusion patterns within the institutions of architecture as a part of the *State Nobility*, particularly for women.

7 WOMEN ARCHITECTS IN BERLIN POST-WAR
ARCHITECTURE: UP-AND-COMING, IN THE WEST AS IN
THE EAST?

Throughout this thesis, it has been shown that women architects in West and East Berlin remained at the margins of the profession. Women architects in both parts of the city did not necessarily develop well-reasoned strategies for their participation in architectural practice, in terms of what one today describes as a strategic concept for the development of a business or a career. The solutions which they found for the *problem situation* of having limited access to commissions, as freelancers or project leaders in the collectives, were more often the result of focusing on existing opportunities. As for the freelance architects, the choice of fields of work tended to be related to their access to clients rather than to preferred fields of work. Ingrid Biergans reported that: "On the one hand, I really enjoyed building kindergartens and schools. In the 1960s it already allowed me to take a participative approach with the future users, teachers and children. The project dimensions guaranteed my livelihood for quite some years, and the public sector was a reliable client. At the same time, I always dreamt of contributing to the social housing projects of the 1960s. But there was no way for me to access such commissions. Despite having proved my capacity for bigger projects, and despite trying to build networks for this building sector, for example with a women colleague who was successful in this field, I completely failed to get involved in a larger housing project."¹

As for the employed architects in the East, there was neither a choice of place of work nor of field of work. The biographical interviews provided evidence that it was more a *rationale* than a strategy that structured their professionalisation process. This chapter will show that freelance West Berlin women architects were likely to remain lone warriors in their individual practice, too: The only exceptions found were Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, who in 1967, at the age of 38, owned an office with 35 employees², and Hilde Weström, who had an office with up to six employees. All other freelancing women architects in the West who could be traced in researching this thesis, worked more or less alone. The lone-warrior situation is not so obvious for East German women architects, who worked in collectives. However, although most of the interviewed women reported experiencing female and male solidarity in the teams, when it came to questions of authorship and leadership, most of them spoke of severe male mobbing.

This chapter presents the professional biographies of eight women architects who, for different reasons that are explained in the respective section, have an outstanding position in the context of the elaborated collective biography. Each is represented with works indicating the scope of her building activities. Broader coverage of their achievements is foreseen for an exhibition, to be conceptualized on the basis of this

¹ Interview with Ingrid Biergans, September 2000.

² Source: 1967 Christmas postcard of Kressmann-Zschach's office, private collection.

thesis. The selection criteria were complex, including a traditional consideration of the building quality and the embedding of the building in its neighborhood. One objective was to show a composition of works that sharpens the general perception that this generation of female architects has established women in the everyday practice of the profession. Despite the majority of freelance working women being lone warriors, it was intended to present different office structures: really single working architects, small teams, an entrepreneurial architectural office in West Berlin, and women working in East Berlin and GDR planning collectives and the academic environment. The composition aimed at depicting that these women accomplished more and different building tasks than the preceding generation, that they were involved in bigger projects and had greater impact on the social life of the rebuilding period in both parts of the city, although their roles remained modest in most cases. Another objective was to show at least one work that the women architect herself considered as typical of her personal and professional attitude to architectural practice. In cases where the architect herself could not be interviewed, this criterion was met by analyzing her work and/or interviewing relatives.

An initially planned more specific consideration of the works according to today's gender planning criteria would be the next step in this feminist intervention, a broader work overview in an exhibition. This postponement is partially due to the availability of resources for this thesis. It is also related to the fact that for many of the buildings, the architects had little design discretion due to funding program terms. For example in social housing, floor plan design options and room dimensions were strictly regulated.

As the whole thesis does, this chapter first depicts West Berlin cases, followed by East Berlin cases. Each of these sections is introduced by an overview on the contemporary institutional framework in the West or the East, completing the analysis of the aspect *social environment* in the situational analysis. The map below is included to make it easier to locate the selected buildings in West and East Berlin. (Map 7 | 1 see following page)



Map 7 | 1 Map of West and East Berlin districts and the post World War II four sectors of occupation

7 | 1 WOMEN ARCHITECTS IN WEST BERLIN: PROFESSIONALIZATION BETWEEN ADAPTATION AND INDEPENDENT DESIGN

The West Berlin women architects who were selected as case studies for this thesis represent different examples for successful professional development. Their biographies include works that respond to different aspects of the contemporary *Zeitgeist* in architecture and depict their personal approach to their architectural practice. The following section summarises the institutional framework for post-war West and East German building, and contributes further to the understanding of the building history context of the depicted works.

Institutional framework of West Berlin rebuilding

The developments of the West Berlin building sector, as everywhere in the Federal Republic of Germany from 1949, were largely shaped by a mix of continuity, despite a radical change of political system after the war, and institutional innovation. In many professional institutions as well as in government, structures developed under the Nazi regime were transferred almost one to one into the new state, with only the replacement of some especially disgraced exponents of the overthrown system. This was also true for the building industry, which went through the post-war transition without much friction.

As no structural change was demanded in an economy which remained based on private property, the construction measures were planned and performed by various types of private offices and companies. Small, medium-sized and large private companies carried out rehabilitation of war-damaged buildings and extension of housing and cities after 1949. Early debates focussed on whether to put reconstruction in the historical form into the centre of activities, or, as depicted in the sections on post-war urban and architectural planning in Berlin, to return to the post-World War 1 modern development of the Bauhaus as a *leitmotiv*. In line with the historical wide building and planning diversity that was characteristic for the belated German national state and its regional traditions, in many towns and cities early post-war construction tended to restore and expand what was there before and had given places their identity. Often old buildings with a sophisticated design were resurrected with only limited modern improvements on empty plots and along existing roads. But it was not only the variety of architectural and urban heritage that prompted this procedure. A major argument was that despite the destruction above ground, infrastructures below the surface had survived and represented a high material value of up to one third of reconstruction cost. West Berlin's building history with its very unique spatial conditions is a prime example of how only as larger building tasks came to the fore with increased prosperity and rising demand to house millions of bombed-out and displaced persons, the pre-Nazi modern architecture and building again became influential with the support of many architects who had either survived in internal immigration or returned from exile. Hardly any women were counted in this group, as depicted by this thesis,.

The variety of building tasks as a framework to institutionalisation

The dominance of smaller private housing projects allowed a large number of small, often family oriented architectural practices to handle a large share of building throughout the early post-war period and well into the 1960s, even in Berlin. This type

of architecture was the business of individuals, who were given great leeway to determine how homes should be built and how neighbourhoods should be designed in accordance with the federal and state governments' strong emphasis on individual home ownership as a means of wealth and welfare generation. With respect to housing, larger projects and eventually large architectural offices – the term “firms” was rarely used until the 1980s – first came into being with the emergence of the second wave of housing production, after the introduction of large-scale social housing programmes from 1961 in West Germany and shortly thereafter in West Berlin. Whereas the many small offices hardly knew second-line support for the entrepreneurial and by almost always male principals, the (re-)emergence of larger offices led to more hierarchical employment structures. Some of these organisations, private-professional partnerships, were open to the few women architects, but they were rarely given design responsibility.

Influenced by the variety of building tasks and warned by the formalising experiences of the pronounced pre-war corporatism's negative effects, the architecture professions were reluctant to recommence the strong ties to state institutions that had provided the profession with security but severely limited free expression. The West German architects' association (*Bund Deutscher Architekten*), introduced in Chapter 6, was dissolved in 1934 and re-established in 1949 by “free” architects and architects working as public service employees, as a strong professional organisation influencing many discourses, and, as shown, hardly open to women. The return to the more corporatist model of chambers of architects (*Architektenkammern*) only took place during the 1970s over some resistance by protagonists of architecture as a freelance business with the least possible political and state interference. For women architects, this was again an ambivalent development: on the one hand, it was a legally guaranteed element of status for freelance architects; on the other hand, it was often hardly affordable for architects with very small businesses.

Architecture, housing production and the state(s)

Direct state or political influence on architecture limiting formal and artistic creativity in the building sector was unknown in the West, and the production norms (e.g. DIN standards) were of a character that hardly influenced style or building typology. Only in social housing, where the cost rent was capped, and space per capita and building quality were clearly defined, did a system of experimental building and its evaluation influence building forms to a certain extent after the mid-1950s. Certain technologies promised more economical and cost-effective construction. They had an effect on the choice of forms in most European countries. In West Germany, too, the movement was from bricks to panels with the efficiencies known from Scandinavia, France and eventually central and eastern Europe. In West Germany and West Berlin, state influence

on building fashions was minimal and usually the government tried to exert its influence through well publicised examples of approved good practice. The *Berlin Interbau* (INTERBAU 1957), introduced in Chapters 1 and 5, produced an outstanding housing estate in the centre of West Berlin, not coincidentally exhibiting an internationalist and modernist counter-model to East Berlin's Stalinallee with buildings in a "national tradition" of the same period.

With Germany's strong traditions in federalism, the re-establishment of a federal system after 1949 could bank on wide support from the population and professions. However, especially until the end of the 1960s, the vast building tasks resulted in a stronger federal influence than during later years. A Federal Building Ministry (with a variety of names over the years) provided the framework for all forms of financial assistance given to housing, be it the social housing programmes or various other incentives for builders. In general, all these incentives were open for the private building market and landlords, as well as for public actors on the Land or municipal level. This wide variety of players in housing and other building categories, including a large cooperative housing sector, municipal housing companies and at the time a considerable number of government actors, like the post office, railways and other public bodies, added to the variety of institutional arrangements. This big field of action was hardly to the benefit of women architects, who were grossly underrepresented in any leading positions and as contractors of the market's major players until the late 1960s.

Architectural practice and public administration

In West and East Berlin, likewise, women architects are assumed to have more often found their professional foothold in the public sector than in successful freelance practice, but during the first post-war decades usually limited to the less influential sphere of public building administration, planning management and controlling public building processes, e.g. infrastructure production. They nearly invariably filled supporting roles.

With the 10 West German states (*Länder*), plus Berlin as a special case, federal legislation and financial injections provided a large incentive for the emergence of the institutional framework in which the housing and building markets could develop. Building largely on Marshall Plan bounty and later recycled Marshall Plan (KfW *Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau* / Reconstruction Credit Institute) funds, the building market served housing and urban development, but also played an important role in the overall economic steering of the country's development. As the *Länder* each used the regulatory arrangements slightly differently, it would be a question for future

research to determine whether the city states (Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg) could have provided better access for women in architecture. In many ways, Berlin could have played a special role here. Thanks to the subsidy from federal and state funds to West Berlin (*Berlin-Hilfe*), to compensate for its insular situation in the middle of East Germany, the city state developed a strong public sector and commensurate building commissions. However, women architects' participation in this booming market appears after careful research to have been mainly limited to the education and the social sector.

The women architects' biographies and professional development, taking place in this context and depicted in the following section, all follow the same structure, as explained in Chapter 2. However, the style of presentation differs, reflecting the setting of the interview and the wish of the architect about how to be presented. The willingness to share personal experiences, successes, barriers and doubts with the public varied. Given the historic frame selected for the thesis, the detailed sections of the biographical narratives end with the 1960s. Access to the full biographies and work of the architects is provided by the *catalogues raisonnés* in the appendices.

The biography section starts with Hilde Weström, an architect who did outstanding work, predominantly in different forms of housing, with an explicit commitment to women's needs in housing, and pursuing a concept of "social architecture".³

"The destroyed city was my chance." Hilde Weström.⁴

The first encounter with Hilde Weström takes place on a sunny June morning in 1999 on the terrace of her house in Meisenstraße, Berlin-Dahlem, in her beloved garden. The garden remains, as she combined office and private living, a resource throughout her professional career. Moreover, this place depicts central themes that are a part of both her biography and her work.

"The garden is similar to the design of my buildings: developed from an inner necessity, frugal, functional, colourful, the plants arranged following the course of the year, following each other's rhythm ..."⁵

Hilde Weström was born in Neisse in December 1912. Her family owns a puppeteers' and decorative painters' workshop, run by the grandparents, who produced stage

³ Dörhöfer 2000, op. cit., 37.

⁴ Quote from an interview with Hilde Weström, 1999, previously used by Kerstin Dörhöfer for her publication on the building history context of Weström's work, *ibid*, 30-37.

⁵ All quotes in this section derive from interviews conducted in 1999/2000.

decorations. She grows up with experience in self-employed business, artistic design and the 'right measure', which already corresponded to her later profession, but also in the philosophical sense of her later position on role images. The economic situation after World War II forces her father, Georg Eberle, a trained civil engineer, to take over the family business, in order to safeguard the livelihood of his mother and brothers.

Soon Hilde develops an appreciation for the beauty of Baroque and Gothic architecture that surrounded her home in the former bishop's seat on River Neisse. She is equally impressed by the severe architecture of fortifications of Frederick the Great. From 1918, she attends a Protestant secondary school until the 10th year and transfers to St. Hedwig secondary school which she graduates in 1932.

Until well into the post-war period, she is influenced by the spiritual community in which she grows up, due to school and youth work practised in her parish. In Berlin, she becomes involved in the *Burckhardt House*, a Protestant centre dedicated to female youth.

At the end of the 1920s, she hears a lecture given by a Berlin doctor on his tour through Silesia and becomes acquainted with anthroposophical ideas. These shall largely determine her life, including hot debates in her professional and private environment on Rudolf Steiner's threefold social organism theory.

Artistic talent and mathematical skills facilitate her career choice. An apprenticeship at a carpentry shop and a mason apprenticeship at the shop of a builder who was a friend of the family laid the groundwork for an application to Technische Hochschule Berlin-Charlottenburg. In October 1932, she leaves Breslau and moves to Berlin. The first room of her own is rented for 30 *reichsmarks*, which she can afford thanks to a monthly allowance of 100 *reichsmarks* from her parents.

When she passes her prediploma in 1935, 21 women are enrolled in architectural design. The relation between the women students is less oriented on a desire for cooperation with female peers than on socialising and leisure in a "women's space". Neither work nor joint participation in student councils connects these female students. Hilde Weström and her acquaintances, e.g. Mia Seeger and Nina Braunschweig-Kessler, who also studied at this time at the TH Charlottenburg, interact professionally only during the preparations for the *Interbau 1957*. Elfriede Schaar, Gerda Adam, Hanna Blank and Lotte Werner are other women fellow students, who remained, not only

through their activities at the district planning offices, in contact with Hilde Weström. Until her old age Weström stays friends with Lotte Werner, who worked at the Berlin-Charlottenburg planning office. They engage in professional exchange and have shared interests, in travelling together and painting.

Hilde Weström's teachers include Weiss, Siedler und Andrae. For two years, she is a guest student in Heinrich Tessenow's class, and he became her model. When asked about role images, she also mentions Mies van der Rohe and regrets: "I failed to join the Bauhaus"⁶ The mood at the TH changes when National Socialist policies reach the universities and haunt the corridors. She seizes the opportunity to avoid this situation by choosing an art history seminar by the anthroposophist Andrae, who holds his lectures in *Pergamum Museum*. This place becomes a refuge from the turmoil of the time, allowing Weström to concentrate on her studies despite political events outside. She enjoys her student days: "Berlin is exciting. Almost every day I'm on the go. To "KaDeWe", the bookseller on the ground floor, and back for a cup of coffee at Café Zuntz on Tauentzien or a Frankfurter at *Aschingers* restaurant (...) We spend the weekends on and by the water! The paddle boat is almost finished, we named it sarcastically "HIHUPS", after the current 'stars' in the political sky (Hitler / Hugenberg / Papen / Seldte) and launched it on Griebnitzsee."⁷

On one of the boat tours, she meets her future husband, Jürgen Weström. Between semesters she practices at the Army Building Authority in Neisse, designs kennels and facades of commercial buildings for military posts. In 1933/34, she does an internship at a labour service on her holidays, and participates in missions of the voluntary student labour service of the Protestant youth in Posen and West Prussia.

In 1935 she obtains a bachelor's degree. Her summer vacation takes her, all on her own, with a sketchpad in her bags, on a seven-week bicycle tour in Brandenburg, on the Baltic coast, on Rugen Island, in Saxony and Silesia, 1500 km from hostel to hostel.

An order of the regional building conservator to do an inventory of the architectural and art monuments in the region Tost / Gleiwitz and Oppeln interrupts her studies. Publication of this work helps qualify her later for membership in the *Bund deutscher Architekten*. In 1936 she continues her studies, for family reasons in Dresden, in Prof. Freese's class. She completes her main diploma in fall 1938, with a draft design for the German Embassy in Stockholm.

⁶ Hilde Weström, interview in 1999.

⁷ Ibid.

In 1938 she marries the lawyer Jürgen Weström and moves to Berlin. Her first apartment is on Beuckestraße. From 1939, Hilde Weström works freelance and gives birth to her first child, daughter Ute. In 1941 her son Matthias is born. In 1942, the family moves to Wrocław. She receives a research commission from a wholesale and foreign trade group, the *Wirtschaftsgruppe Groß- und Außenhandel*, to develop serial food, pharmaceutical and tobacco storage and sales facilities. At that time, she realises that working as an architect would not be solely a vocation and source of self-esteem, but could, due a severe illness of her husband, become an absolute necessity to safeguard the family's livelihood.

In 1943 she gives birth to her second son, Andreas. When the Russians invade Wrocław in January 1945, the family has to escape: ten people and a dog, with only the most necessary luggage on a *Hanomag* loory truck to Waldenburg. After seven weeks of flight via Lauban and Zittau, passing the destroyed city of Dresden, she arrives in Berlin in a freight train, pregnant with her fourth child. Daughter Petra is born in an air raid shelter.

When they finally arrive in Berlin, the Beuckestraße apartment is vacant and serves as their first home and property. Hilde Weström begins, motivated by her own family's needs, to design and manufacture wooden toys. She soon produces larger quantities, and operates an arts and crafts business with her husband. Jürgen Weström can only work as a lawyer again after *denazification* in 1948. Smaller commissions by the building authorities, damage surveys for the Senate building department in Kreuzberg, Charlottenburg and Zehlendorf are the architect's first reconstruction tasks. The Ambi-Schröder Company entrusts her with the design of makeshift homes (*Behelfsheime*), small houses for 2-6 people.

In 1948 she becomes one of the first women accepted in the *Bund deutscher Architekten*. In 1949 she founds her first office with one employee Alfred Lukas. Apart from statics, she starts to work in all planning areas, such as design, preparing and submitting applications, financing, construction management – to name just some of the steps from design to key handover. Reconstruction and construction of private homes, childcare institutions and churches follow, also new settlers' farmyards (*Neusiedler-Höfe*) for the Potsdam farming society.

The architectural office that she opens in 1949 with her colleague Alfred Lukas is located in Knesebeckstraße, Berlin-Zehlendorf, in a building where the family lives. It has a separate basement entrance for her studio and office. Her freelancing structures the life of the whole family, even in the cottage that the family owns in a small village named

Schinkel. The cottage becomes a “house of destiny”⁸ for the family history. It has a draughting table for Hilde Weström, overlooking fields and on the horizon stacks of ships passing on the Kiel Canal. Her next family home and office in Berlin, acquired in 1953, serves their six-member family as a residence until the early 1970s. In the basement, she has a studio and office.

The juxtaposition of work and living, which she regards as the most favourable working condition for freelancing women, especially those who are mothers, is a persistent motif in her life. She sees this combination as the basis for successful and ongoing professional activity of woman architects with family. The reconciliation of work and family is thus a subject that occupies Weström on the private and the professional level. She regards the spatial connection between living and working as a necessary, meaningful concept. She develops this concept on the basis of her private experience as well as knowledge gathered in the women’s movement groups that she attends and the groups preparing the 1957 *Interbau International Building Exhibition*. Her own family often experiences this constellation as stressful.

“It was worst before *Interbau* in 1957 and during the competitions,” Hilde Weström remembers. “In such episodes my thoughts focused day and night on the design process. Without the support of a household assistant and my husband, who spent most of the holiday alone with the children, I could never have sustained this form of professional activity, that corresponded to my self-image and met an existential need for the livelihood of the family.”⁹

Hilde Weström steadfastly pursues her career as an architect, and thus helps to solve the biggest post-war problem, the housing shortage. Although her husband gains a steady income as a Berlin Senate official in 1950, the livelihood of the six-member family required Hilde Weström to continue her work, in addition to organising the family.

Through the wife of one of her employees, Ilse Heinrich, she makes contact with various women's associations in Berlin: the Women's Federation (*Hausfrauenverband*) and others. The women's organisations which she joins during these years demand not only equal rights, but also participate in the discussion on the housing question. As discussed earlier, they call for adherence to the proposals of the architects, urban planners and sociologists to take the organisation of home and living environment into consideration, to treat these spheres with the same seriousness as industrial work processes in the

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

design of industrial buildings. Weström's activity in the Senate construction sector advisory committee and the housing design advisory board is the basis for her development of the DIN 18022 standard for fitted kitchens in social housing. This is one of her most important achievements. "My interest was the status of women, especially working women in family and society, their position in the home and professional sphere. My whole point was to make women aware of how much and what kind of place they should request in their flat."¹⁰

However, once this process is finished, she follows the new women's movement of the late 1960s with interest, but stops getting involved herself.

In the early 1950s, she receives her first commission in social housing: a reconstruction, six storeys, at Planufer 75-77 in Kreuzberg. Until the early 1960s, social housing remains her main endeavour. None of her female peers achieves as much participation in this field as she.

In 1952 she experiences a big disappointment, already mentioned in Chapter 6. She wins the first prize in the competition for a retirement home in the Berlin-Wedding, but another first prize is awarded to Werner Düttmann, and the construction contract goes to him.

Her later participation in competitions remains limited, compared to the scope of construction. In 1955 she participates with her employee Winnetou Kampmann in several competitions for school buildings, followed by some competitions for the design of rectories and parish houses in the 1960s.

From 1953 and throughout the 1960s, she designs a multitude of social housing tenement buildings, some other residential buildings, schools and public administration buildings, and extends her practice to West German cities, e.g. Bremen, Oldenburg and Salzgitter.

One of the most important years in the Hilde Weström's career was 1957, when the international building exhibition *Interbau* took place. "I felt I was at my professional zenith in 1957. Working with Bonn architect Vera Meyer-Waldeck on the '*Wohnung von*

¹⁰ Ibid.

Morgen model homes for the exhibition of the same name was a big challenge and self-confirmation at the same time."¹¹

She perceives it as special recognition when she is invited to the *Forum schöner Wohnen* to give a lecture on "Technology to keep living quiet", as the only woman beside Alvar Aalto and other great architects of the time. "I felt I had arrived ..."¹²

From 1953 and throughout the 1960s, she designs a multitude of social housing tenement buildings, some other residential buildings, schools and public administration buildings, and extends her practice to West German cities, e.g. Bremen, Oldenburg and Salzgitter. With an increasing number of contracts and design contests, expansion of construction tasks and the award of out-of-town contracts, she increases the capacity of her office. Among her employees are Winnetou Kampmann, Otto Harnisch, Rüdiger Wormut, Helge von Dombrowski, Dorothee Stelzer, Gudrun Oelke, and Rosemarie Neumann.

Reflecting on her activities in social housing, she reports: "I felt obliged to contribute to housing, to humanity's lifelong cocoon, and to do this based on my experience with a family of many children which had to re-establish after the war. Thinking about design, planning and practice were necessarily limited by thrift. There were debates with physicians, educators, sociologists, economists, and theologians. The questions in my mind were: Who is the client? Who defines the task? Is architecture an art, which requires more durability than music, theatre, painting, and literature? Which challenges spirit and mind to think ahead? Is it a determinant of human condition, demanding the architects' responsibility?"¹³

In 1960, her husband dies, suddenly succumbing to a heart attack. In the following years the children leave home. The 1960s bring changes in professional as well as private life. Commissions for major social housing projects cease. New tasks including two industrial buildings emerge. She designs more (owner occupied, freestanding) private homes and social and cultural infrastructure buildings, often commissioned by parishes (see catalogue raisonné). She particularly enjoys realising projects for the *Anthroposophical Society* community, starting with the conversion and extension of the *Rudolf Steiner School* in Zehlendorf, which her children attend. Hans-Georg Schweppenhäuser, who commissioned many of her projects, allows her great freedom in carrying out these

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid. Published in Hilde Weström. "Mein Anliegen an die Architektur" in *Verborgenes Museum*, op. cit., 40-42.

contracts, which include a nursing home, a student residence campus and in 1961/62 the *House of Musical Education*. (Illustration 7 | 1 and 7 | 2 + 7 | 3 + 7 | 4 see following page)¹⁴

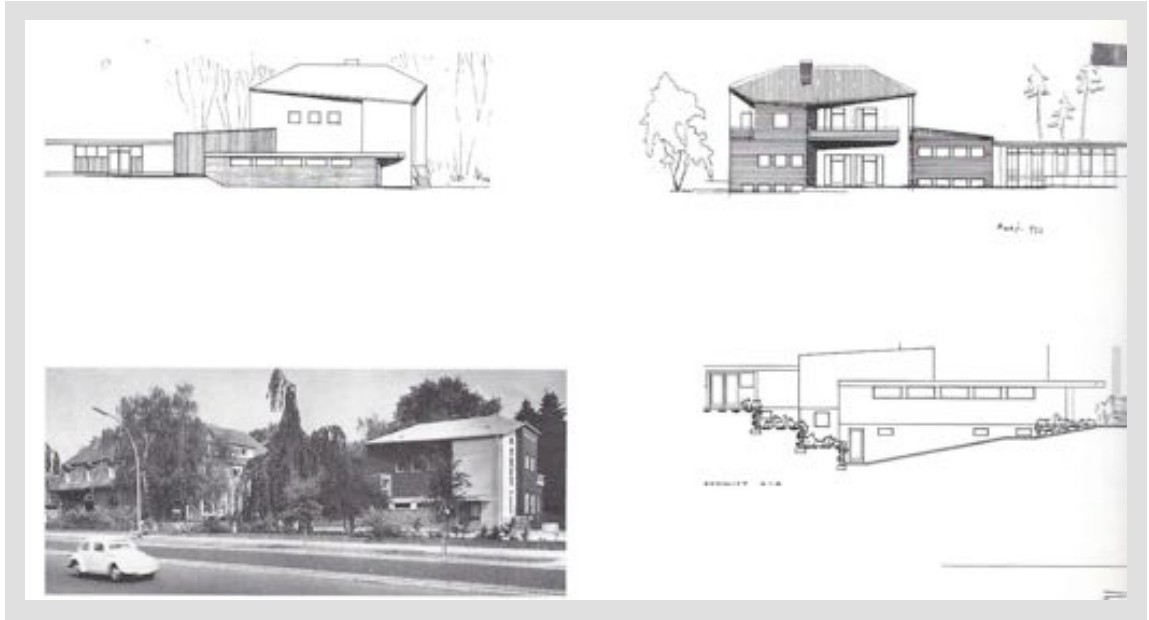


Illustration 7 | 1 Hilde Weström, Haus der Musischen Erziehung (House of Musical Education), street view and facades, 1961/1962

¹⁴ The drawings for this building are today separated in the archive of the Berlinische Galerie, Berlin, and the IAWA, in Virginia/USA. Permission to use them for this thesis was still given by Hilde Weström, permission to use the images from the publication was given by Verborgenes Museum, Berlin, in 2014.

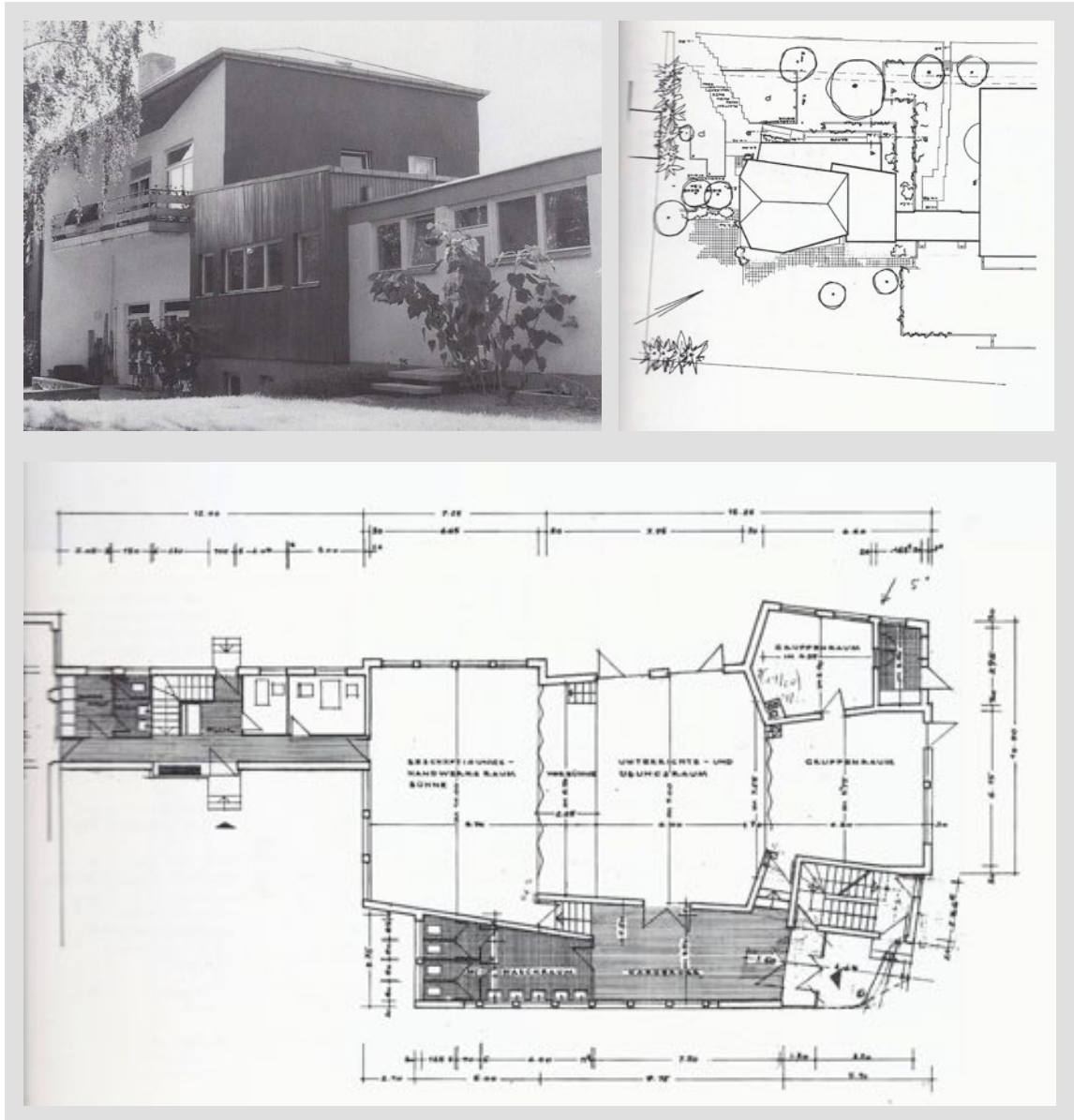


Illustration 7 | 2 (top left) Hilde Weström, Haus der Musischen Erziehung, garden view

Illustration 7 | 3 (top right) Hilde Weström, Haus der Musischen Erziehung, roof view

Illustration 7 | 4 (bottom) Hilde Weström, Haus der Musischen Erziehung, floor plan around floor

Despite her success with large housing projects, retrospectively, in her opinion, the most gratifying building tasks for an architect are single-family homes, which she increasingly designs from the early 1960s. Her favourite clients are women artists, whom she meets working for *GEDOK*, a women artist's network. She founded an architects' group within this network. A preferred facade material of hers in the 1960s is whitewashed limestone. She quotes Rainer Maria Rilke to describe her joy in designing detached family homes, "And now and then a snow white elephant".¹⁵ This quote probably has a double sense. Concerning facade design and the overall building process, she states in her reflection

¹⁵ Ibid, see also Droste 2000, op.cit., 22.

about her architectural philosophy: “Last but not least, I was concerned with the external image, determined by the internal functions, in well-thought ground plans. The ‘external skin’ – often exposed masonry, whitewashed limestone, with some coloured features, to liven them up – requires fine craftsmanship and careful site supervision. The building is successful if contacts with the clients and users continue ...”¹⁶

A final major change in her professional life occurs in 1971, dictated by a fee-based contract employment for the State Library building, in Hans Scharoun’s office. While work continues on the implementation plans for the *Ibero-American Institute*, she works for the first time in her life as a salaried employee, with paid holidays and regular working hours. Her career concludes in 1978/81 with the expansion and renovation of the home and studio of ceramic artist Gesa Petersen in Wettmershagen.

For an architect of her generation, Hilde Weström had outstanding successes and an unusually heavy volume of work, in housing, school construction, rehabilitation of old housing, government, ecclesiastical and factory construction. Her work reflects the major concern in architecture and the main challenge that she formulated for architecture, which are: “Designing spatial frameworks as adaptable to social change as possible. Architecture is an art with practical value, which develops through interaction of spirit and material living spaces.”¹⁷

Already in the years we are focussing on, 1949 to 1969, she designed more than 40 buildings in West Berlin. (Illustration 7 | 5) None of her woman colleagues, apart from Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, whose real success did not start until the late 1960s, assembled a similarly comprehensive portfolio.



Illustration 7 | 5 Hilde Weström 1952, topping-out ceremony residential building Planufer 75-76, 1952

¹⁶ Weström 1999/2000, op.cit., 42

¹⁷ Ibid.

The quote, "I felt I had arrived," however, shows that Hilde Weström was well aware of the discrepancy between the perceived esteem through a continuous commissioning by her clients and her reputation in the eyes of her profession. Since the mid-1980s Hilde Weström's work has gained attention, and some exhibitions on her work took place, one supported by this thesis. Hilde Weström's philosophy corresponded to a statement by urban planner Fritz Schumacher. "Architecture is an applied art, which vacillates between the virtues of a good housewife and the virtues of a good director."

Hilde Weström spent her last years in a senior residence, *Haus Christophorus*, which she had built herself. She died there in 2013.

SELECTED WORKS

Haus Christophorus Senior Residence

Tile-Wardenberg-Straße 4 / Eyke-von-Repkow-Platz 2, West Berlin, 1963/1964

(Illustration 7 | 6 and 7 | 7 + 7 | 8 + 7 | 9 see following pages)



Illustration 7 | 6 Hilde Weström, Seniors' residence Haus Christophorus, street view, Tile-Wardenberg-Straße 4 / Eyke-von-Repkow-Platz 2, West Berlin, 1963/1964

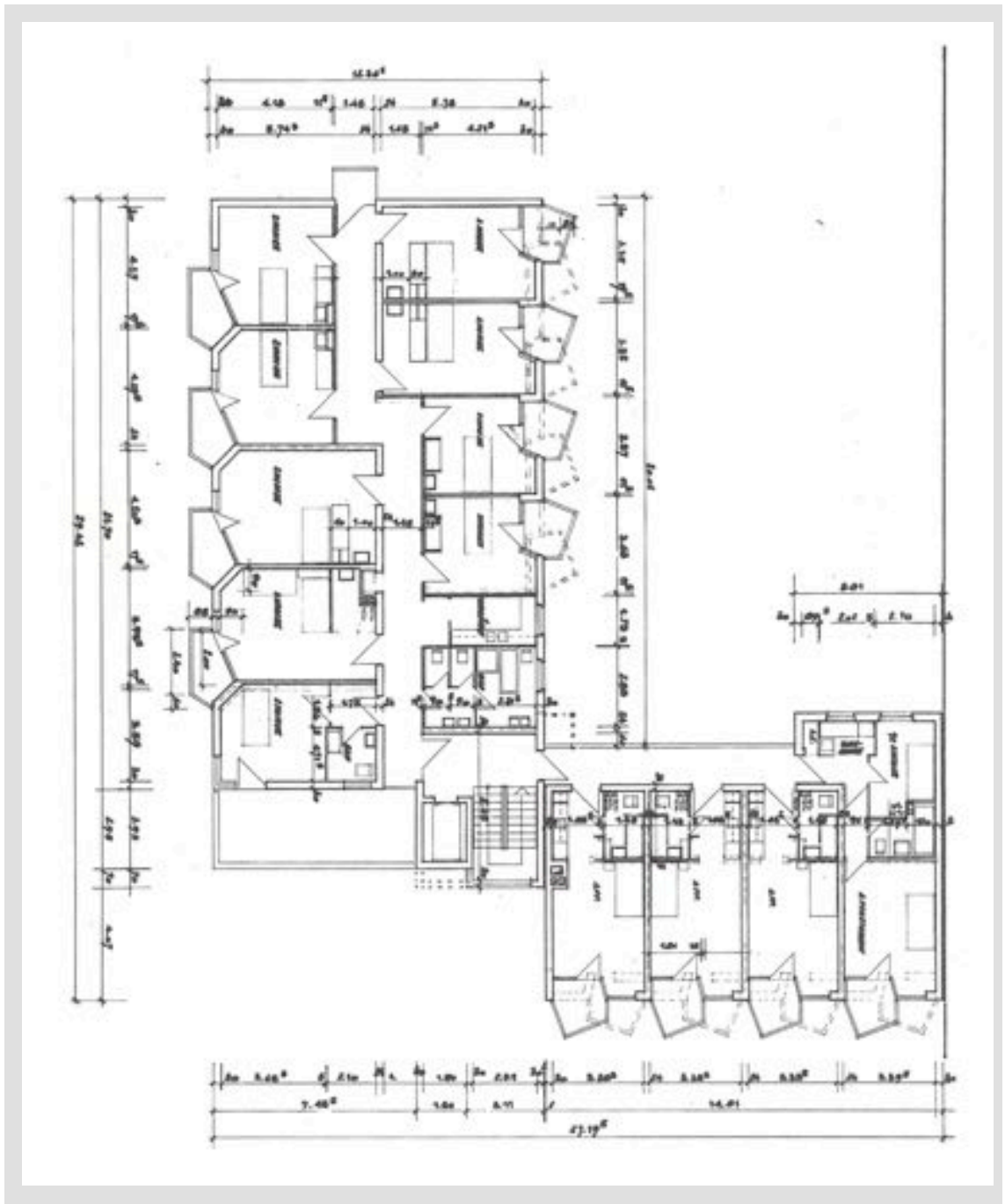


Illustration 7 | 7 Hilde Weström, Haus Christopherus, floor plan first floor

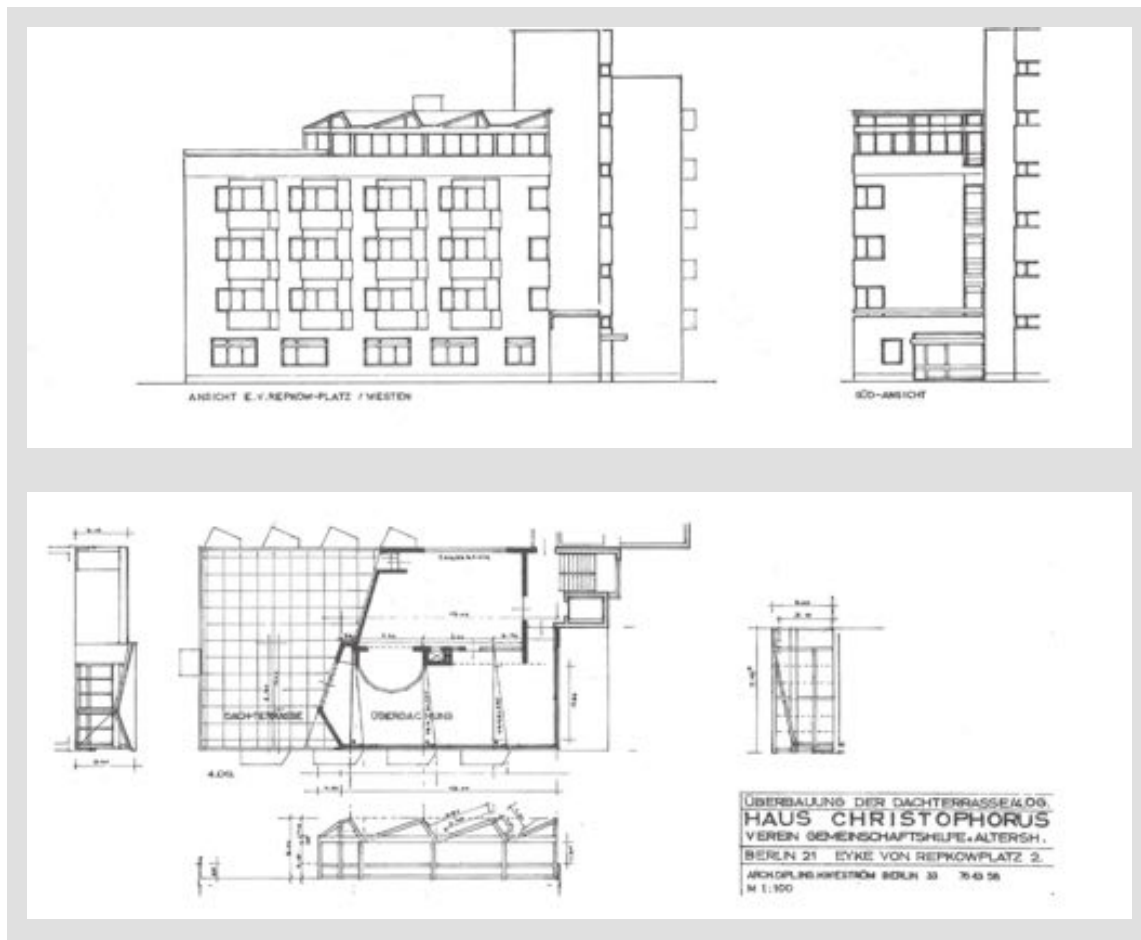


Illustration 7 | 8 (top) Hilde Weström, Haus Christopherus, street view and south view

Illustration 7 | 9 (bottom) Hilde Weström, Haus Christopherus, roof terrace

The *Haus Christopherus* senior residence, owned by the anthroposophical self-help association *Nikodemuswerk*, stands on donated property, in the northern part of the Berlin district Tiergarten. The L-shaped building completes the courtyard of the adjacent building, which dates from Wilhelminian times, and it is next to a small tree-lined square. An access core connects the two four- and six-storey wings. It is designed as a tower and with its whitewashed exposed brickwork, it stands out from the dark plaster surfaces of the wings. In addition to small apartments and single rooms, the building houses a nursing station, a dining room, a music pavilion and workshops. A former roof terrace on the west wing has been converted into a full floor. The living areas are designed to be compact, but the residents all have their own balconies, which are oriented towards the sun. Their irregular contours form a strong contrast to the cubic building mass and create the captivating appearance of the building. This is one of the buildings in which Weström explicitly followed the spirit of Rudolf Steiner, and in the opening speeches it was pointed out that both the spatial environment and the service

to be provided would harmonise to promote "physical, emotional and spiritual well-being."¹⁸

West Berlin studio and home of the sculpturer Ursula Hanke-Förster

Teltower Damm 139, West Berlin, 1965

(Illustration 7 | 10 + 7 | 11 and 7 | 12 + 7 | 13 + 7 | 14 see following page)

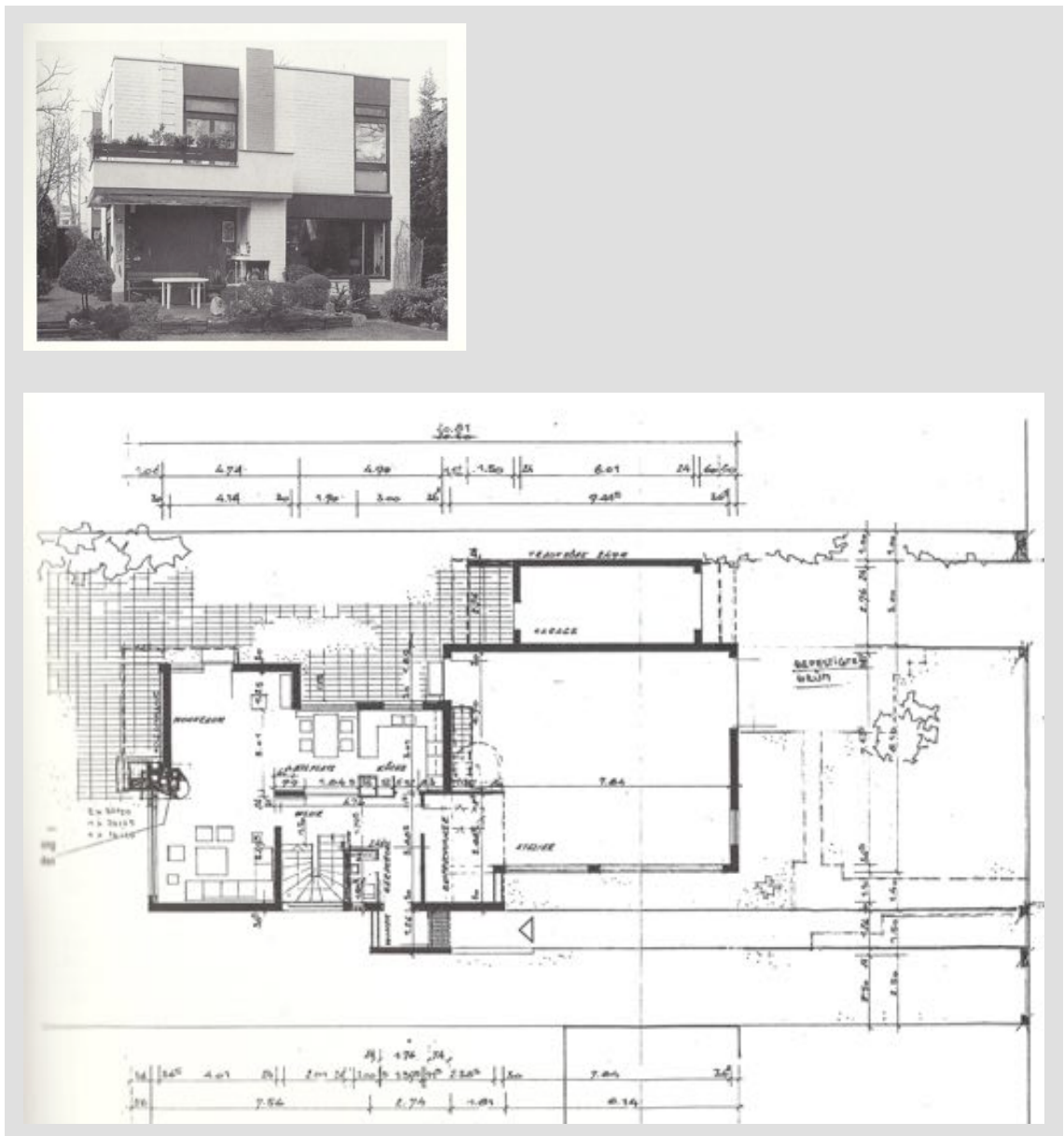


Illustration 7 | 10 (top) Hilde Weström, Haus Hanke-Förster, street view, Teltower Damm 139, West Berlin, 1965

Illustration 7 | 11 (bottom) Hilde Weström, Haus Hanke-Förster, floor plan ground floor

¹⁸ Source: Verborgenes Museum, op. cit., 86 -87, and interviews with Hilde Weström 1999.

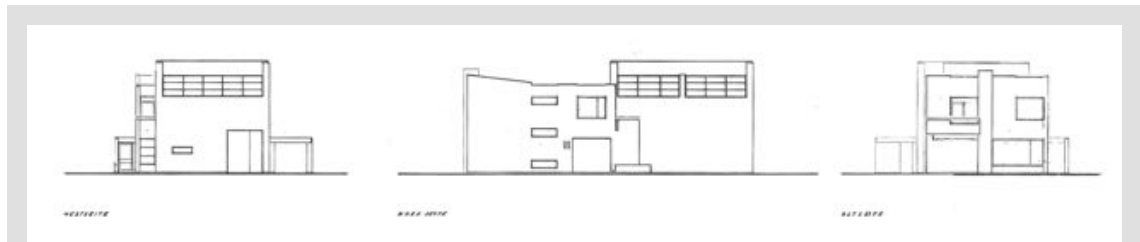


Illustration 7 | 12 (top) Hilde Weström, Haus Hanke-Förster, facades

Illustration 7 | 13 (bottom left) Hilde Weström, Haus Hanke-Förster, Ursula Hanke-Förster's studio

Illustration 7 | 14 (bottom right) Hilde Weström, Haus Hanke-Förster, studio door

In 1965, Weström was commissioned to design a residence and studio for the sculptor Ursula Förster, whom she knew through GEDOK. Despite a design that does not imitate the neighbouring architectural structure, a more traditionally styled setting, it fits well into the environment. The defining element in the appearance of the two-storey house is its facade material, exposed, whitewashed brickwork. The cubic structure is divided into a living area overlooking the garden and a studio room on the street side. The studio includes an inserted gallery level and has heating under the ceiling, in order to prevent, as Weström explained, the dust created by sculpturing from being swirled up by warm air circulation. A vertical series of windows includes a recessed gate to allow moving the artist's large-scale sculptures in and out. For the internal organisation, Hilde Weström first focused, as on previous projects on a design developing from the inside

outwards, on the entrance hall. From there, the studio, the kitchen and the living room can be directly accessed, and a staircase leads to the bedrooms on the upper floor. On the east side, a balcony protrudes from the facade, shielding the seats next to a fireplace on the ground floor.¹⁹

Model flat for the International Building Exhibition, Interbau 1957

Berlin-Tiergarten, Hansa-Viertel, West Berlin, 1957

(Illustrations 7 | 15 + 7 | 16 and 7 | 17 + 7 | 18 see following page)

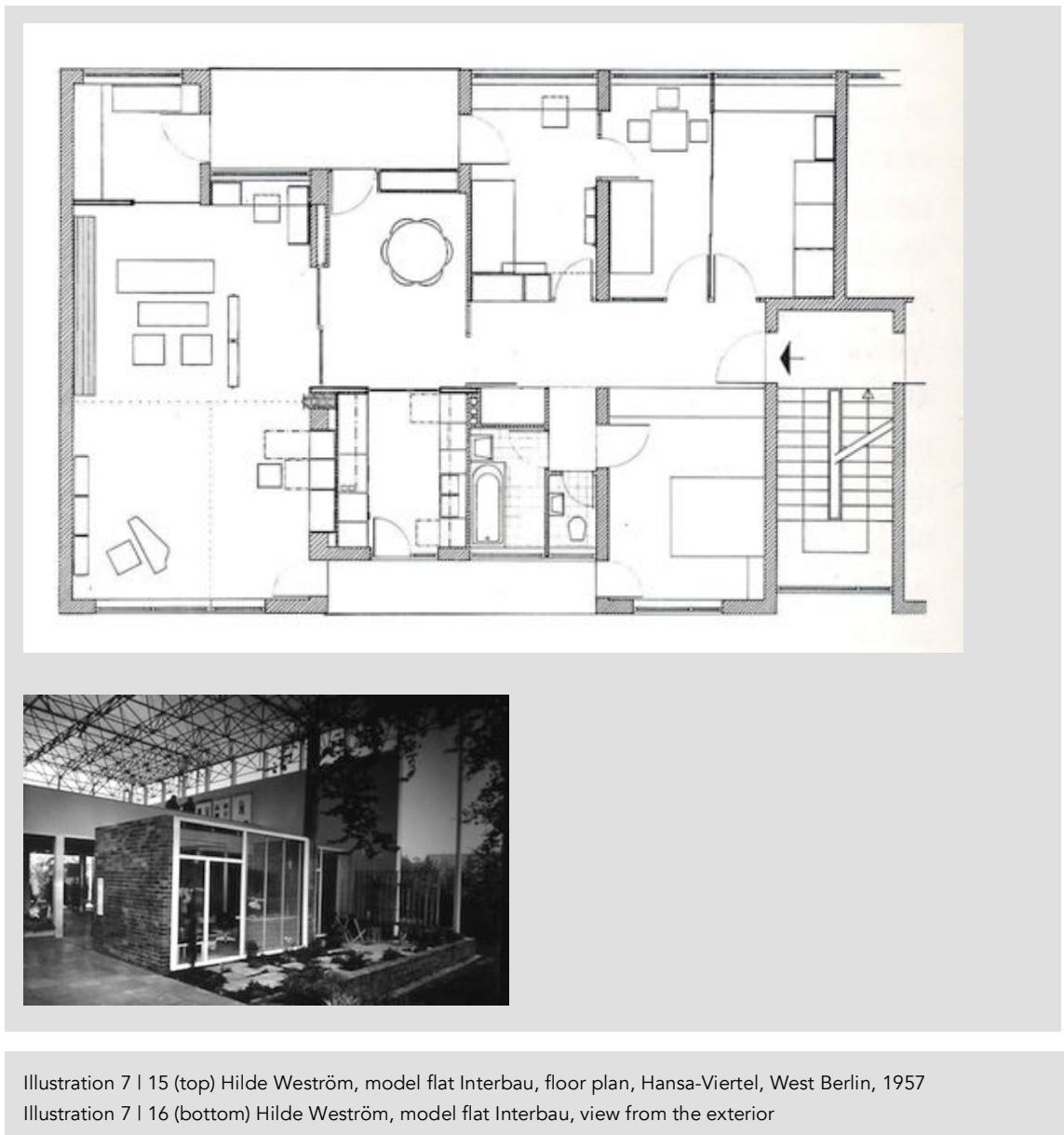


Illustration 7 | 15 (top) Hilde Weström, model flat Interbau, floor plan, Hansa-Viertel, West Berlin, 1957

Illustration 7 | 16 (bottom) Hilde Weström, model flat Interbau, view from the exterior

¹⁹ Source: Verborgenes Museum, op. cit., 80 – 81, and interviews Hilde Weström 1999.



Illustration 7 | 17 (top) Hilde Weström, model flat Interbau, view from above

Illustration 7 | 18 (bottom) Hilde Weström, model flat Interbau, the woman's desk

The prestigious Interbau project presented the latest trends in architecture and urban planning. It was often regarded as the antithesis to the Stalinist traditional building style, which manifested itself at the same time just a few kilometres away in East Berlin. Numerous renowned modernist architects responded to the invitation to build exemplary residential buildings. Under the leadership of Karl Otto, director of the University of Arts (*Hochschule für bildende Künste*), an indoor show with the theme "The City of Tomorrow" was conceptualised. The aim was to raise public awareness for the

problems of reconstruction and new building, and to appeal to the shared responsibility for shaping the future.

Vera Meyer-Waldeck and Hilde Weström were responsible for the topic of living. Weström was commissioned on the strength of the sound experience that she had gathered in the early post-war years in residential construction, and she incorporated the knowledge gained in the debates with the women's associations. Her walk-in models (scale 1:1) were a materialised continuation of the preliminary conference debates between social scientists, physicians, and planners. Two themes determined her design: the desire to be on one's own, and the need to be together should both be given space, in convertible floor plans. The model apartments and room modules provide exemplary ideas to deal with these seemingly conflicting objectives in a small space. Skilfully planned functions of space and the use of built-in furniture and sliding walls achieved a spatial flexibility, which provides all family members the chance for personal retreat, without sacrificing the space for communal life. This responded explicitly to the needs of a woman, greater freedom of movement and scope for personal development, no longer being confined to cooking and cleaning.²⁰

Social Housing Mecklenburgische Straße

Mecklenburgische Straße 86, West Berlin (Wilmersdorf), 1955

(Illustrations 7 | 19 and 7 | 20 + 7 | 21 + 7 | 22 see following pages)



Illustration 7 | 19 Hilde Weström, residential building, street view, Mecklenburgische Straße 86, West Berlin, 1955

²⁰ Sources: Verborgenes Museum, op. cit., 58 – 63, Dörhöfer 2000, op. cit., 31-32.



Illustration 7 | 20 Hilde Weström, residential building Mecklenburgische Straße, street view and floor plan ground floor

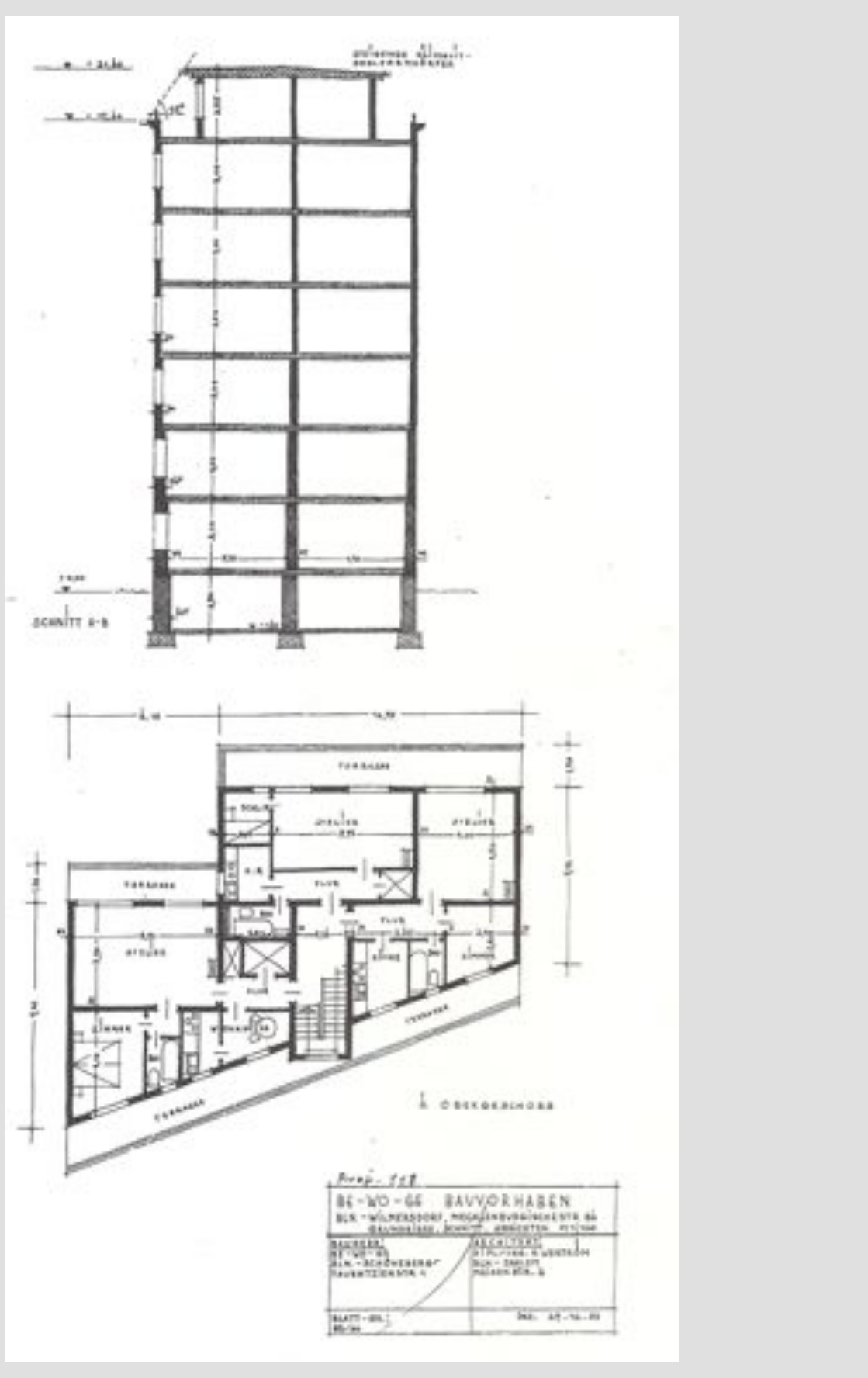


Illustration 7 | 21 Hilde Weström, residential building Mecklenburgische Straße in section and floor plan first floor



Illustration 7 | 22 Hilde Weström, in the 1980s

This social housing tenement building closes a gap in a tenement block dating from the late 19th century, south of *Volkspark Wilmersdorf*, a popular town green. The architect designed six normal floors (*Normalgeschosse*), and an attic with set-back narrow terraces. A narrow passage furnishes access to the courtyard. The plan was developed orthogonally to the adjacent fire walls. Thus, the street-side rooms create a balance to the inclined building line. Visible signs of these two determining geometries are the smooth facade with cut-in balcony niches. While the staircase has a relatively spacious layout, the traffic areas in the apartments are reduced to the essential. Kitchens and especially the bathrooms are, even compared to general social housing planning regulations, kept to a minimum, giving the living areas and balconies more space. The attic includes studio apartments, looking over both the courtyard and the street.²¹

Freelance architect, working for Berlin district administrations: Ingrid Biergans

In Ingrid Biergans' narratives, the episodes of her life and professional career are always bound to locations, architecture and spatial perception. Thinking about the models that have shaped her architectural signature begins with her memories of the buildings, spaces and neighbourhoods where she spent her youth.

Her birthplace in April 1934 is an apartment in the White City (*Weißer Stadt*), Berlin-Reinickendorf. Her parents are the heating engineer Fritz Biergans and his wife Elisabeth. Thanks to her father's profession, she comes into contact with architecture and planning from early childhood. When she is only two years old, her father takes her to construction sites, including the site of the Olympic Stadium.

²¹ Source: Verborgenes Museum, op. cit., 67-68, and interviews Hilde Weström 1999.

The family moves in the mid-1930s to Rüdeshheimer Platz. She remembers that on family walks she was particularly impressed by certain buildings in the vicinity of Breitenbachplatz: the buildings of Hans and Wassili Luckhardt in Schorlemmer Allee, and the buildings by Max Taut and Franz Hoffmann in the same neighbourhood. Buildings that she later learns to classify as Modernist architecture, designed by architects who became some of her models. Her elementary school days are during World War II. As her parents want to spare her inclusion in the National Socialist children's programme, the family leaves in 1943/44 to stay with her grandparents in Schneidemühl, West Prussia, for three quarters of a year. From an early age, pens and chalks accompany her. The favourite subjects of her children's drawings are houses and interiors, designed with a loving attention to detail and an early interest in three-dimensional representation. (Illustration 7 | 23)



Illustration 7 | 23 Ingrid Biergans, child's drawing

In retrospect, she considers the war experience, the experience of the destruction of the city in which she grows up, as a major motivation to participate as an architect in its rebuilding. She has vivid memories of the air raid alarms, the image of the city map on which she and her parents marked ruined buildings with pins. Her parents like to remind her that in 1945, when she was 11, during a visit to the destroyed Arts and Crafts Museum, she shouted at the sight of the ruins spontaneously: "Oh, I want to repair this!" What may seem a childish anecdote is something she remember as one of the first moments in which she discovered her enthusiasm for architecture. In the turmoil of the post-war period, the opportunity to complete school at her lyceum seems uncertain. The father sees the future of the only child as later taking over his business. Therefore, he considers education in heating engineering, quite atypical for women, to be the right qualification for his daughter. He forces her to leave her secondary school, Victoria-Luise-Lyceum in Wilmersdorf, after the 12th grade. This deprived her of direct access to any academic studies.

The young woman's own interest varies between two career choices: fashion illustrator and designer. Since she cannot apply to *Technische Hochschule Charlottenburg* without an *Abitur*, she applies in 1952, supported by her mother, to the private technical school of Prof. Dr. Ing. Arthur Werner in Lichterfelde-West.

Her father, expecting her to qualify as a heating engineer, financed these private studies at an institute that offered a broad range of courses in engineering, technical and building trade occupations and architecture. Biergans is the only architect presented here who did not pursue higher academic studies.

Until she was 28, she lives at home, partly bound by the moral ideas of the father, who continues his financial support, partly due to the tight situation on the Berlin housing market during. In the early 1950s she develops, together with her father, the tender concept for the heating system of the *Baldessari* skyscraper at the *Interbau 1957* area in *Hansa-Viertel*. However, when she starts to apply for jobs in architectural offices which she knew from her father's business, he leaves no stone unturned to thwart her first independent steps in her chosen career field.

Finally, in 1954, she finds her first job at the Pfitzner architectural office, Daimlerstraße145 in Marienfelde, the Berlin office of the *Daimler-Benz* company. Asked about her working conditions as a young woman, she reports on her first salary negotiations: "When Pfitzner asked for my salary expectations, I replied shyly, 'as much as I need for the monthly pass for the trip to Marienfelde, I should suppose. Actually, my first salary amounted to 275.00 DM, adequate for an 'apprentice'. Among my first duties was the detailing for industrial buildings, shops and homes. With one of my colleagues of this time, Mr. Stockhausen, who left the office a few years after I started there, I engaged in long-lasting collaboration, such as joint projects and competitions in which I participated with him and another colleague, Jean-Jacques Decoppet. I felt respected and encouraged in this company."²²

Actually it was Stockhausen who after Biergans' death called the author of this thesis and asked whether she saw any chance to safeguard the few things remaining from her professional estate for an archive.

After leaving Pfitzmann's office and working in two other offices, Ingrid Biergans applies in 1958 with her portfolio for acceptance as a junior member to the *Bund deutscher*

²² Interview Ingrid Biergans, September 2000.

Architekten. Her rejection is justified in a note claiming that the quality of the work submitted is far too high for her to have designed it independently. BdA chairman Frank Wedepohl, writes, "In about a year, you might apply again with your own drawings."²³ The rejection, understood as a symbolic exclusion from the institutional context of the profession, hurts her deeply. She works from 1958 until December 1961 for Werner Düttmann.

In the first phase of her freelance work, starting in 1962, she takes part in a number of competitions, such as the already introduced *St. Wilhelm* Church, the *Rheinterrassen* hotel and for the train station in the city of Tunis (1961). In 1966, an interview and a look at her portfolio at the office of Werner Düttmann ended with her prompt employment. This time the contract proposal was at the going rate for a young architect, 750 DM per month. Düttmann's office was at this time busy with the construction of the Academy of the Arts (*Akademie der Künste*) at *Hansa-Viertel*, in the *Interbau 1957* area. Ingrid Biergans is tasked with editing the studio theatre design. She builds the complicated model of the theatre space, supervises construction work, and conducts negotiations with all stakeholders.²⁴

Her workdays last from 5:30 in the morning until late at night. Evening project meetings were the rule since Düttmann's days were often filled with Senate duties. In the office she works primarily with Klaus Bergner and Otto Kind. When construction of the academy is completed in 1960, a colleague suggests she should complete a shortened study in graduate engineering to increase her career opportunities. But she prefers to stay in practice. She refuses a job offer from the *Kristel* office in Zurich, and also from the office of *Peter Poelzig* in Duisburg, preferring to stay at Düttmann's office and launch an independent career from there.²⁵ (Illustration 7 | 24)

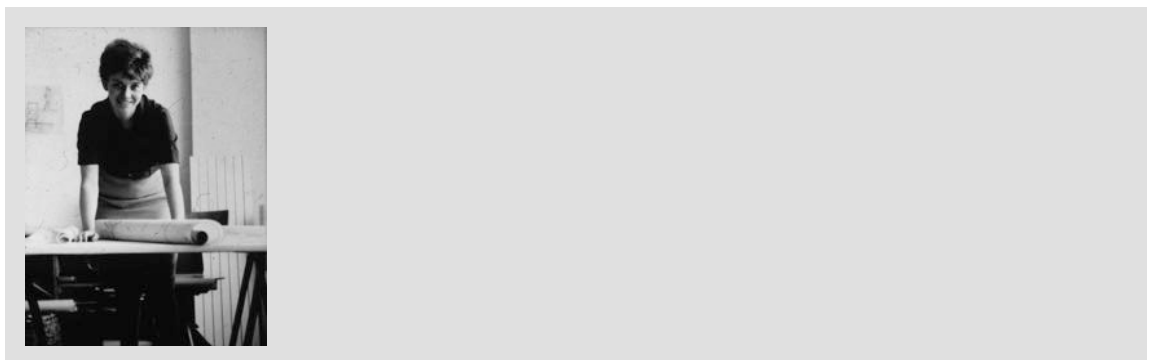


Illustration 7 | 24 Ingrid Biergans, 1960s

²³ Wedepohl, letter of 1 March 1957, private archive.

²⁴ Source: Interview Ingrid Biergans July 2000, and Archiv der Akademie der Künste Berlin, Nachlass Düttmann, Inv. Nr. 12.

²⁵ Letter from Peter Poelzig to Ingrid Biergans, private archive Ingrid Biergans.

In December 1960, she cooperates with Klaus Bergner on the preliminary draft for a new library building to house the collections of the former Prussian State Library, the basis for the subsequent competition tender.²⁶ In December 1961 she leaves Düttmann's office and goes to work as a freelance architect. Düttmann writes in her reference that in his office she had shown herself to be "a talented design architect, with great empathy and technical skill, great attention to details and responsibility, presents herself in negotiations in all areas independently, confidently and conscientiously executes her tasks."²⁷

Neither Düttmann's appreciation of her work nor encounters with prominent colleagues such as Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius in his office bring the hoped-for support for the development of self-determined professional perspectives. The first project under her own name is on behalf of the Berlin-Wilmersdorf district office the orthopaedic welfare centre (*Orthopädische Fürsorgestelle*, 1963) in Heydenstraße in Wilmersdorf, described as a "structural jewel" by government building officer (*Oberbaurat*) Adolf Braunschweig in September 1966.²⁸

This first project already clearly demonstrates that Ingrid Biergans refers to the *Bauhaus*, and the Modernist architects: "This was the first building I could really design independently. The district planning office had a rough pre-planning, but I had a lot of freedom to create a building. My major concerns were to suit the users' needs (for example through barrier-free parts in the building). On the other hand, it was my first option to work with the Bauhaus design concept, through the structure of buildings, the window and facade design, the light design and in the way the building is embedded in the landscape and the neighbourhood. It was helpful that the plot had a lot of beautiful old trees, and the Berlin-Dahlem villa-oriented building structure. I was very proud that it was published in *Bauwelt* and *Berliner Bauwirtschaft* Even the government building officer, an architect himself, wrote an article about it, probably both an attempt to support my career and out of esteem for the design. I knew him from my work for Nina Braunschweig-Kessler."²⁹

In 1962, she rents the first home of her own in the Berlin Le Corbusier House, to work independently and initially at home. From this time, living and working become

²⁶ Source: Interview Ingrid Biergans July 2000, and Archiv der Akademie der Künste Berlin, Nachlass Düttmann, Inv. Nr. 85. The archive provides a contract commissioning her and Berger to do a draft for the library building between, 21 December 1960 and 30 April 1961.

²⁷ Quote from her reference from Düttmann, 31 December, 1961, private archive Ingrid Biergans.

²⁸ *Wilmersdorfer Zeitung* (*Wilmersdorfer Newspaper*, a local weekly journal), No. 4 (September 1966), 9.

²⁹ Source: Interview with Ingrid Biergans, May 2000, *Bauwelt* Special Issue Wilmersdorf 3 (1963), 63, *Berliner Bauwirtschaft* 22 (1971), 2.

inseparable in the career of Ingrid Biergans, on the one hand as lifestyle, on the other hand born from sheer necessity, given the insecurity of working freelance.

However, in 1963 she receives her first commission for a school building, *Schliemann Elementary School* in Berlin-Neukölln. She develops a planning method which becomes her regular practice in the following projects. In addition to the technical and use-related examination of the requirements of the school building, she meets with the school's teachers and parents to better understand the needs of the potential users at this specific place and explores the history and structure of the social and physical environment. To develop the spatial programme, she employs a participative concept, a tile-laying game. An important objective of her design is the inclusion of *Kunst am Bau*, i.e. art projects related to the building. Over the years she enjoys fruitful cooperation with ceramic artist Susanne Rie. Biergans continues applying for contracts with the districts, building authorities and builds daycare centres and schools. Between these projects Biergans also works as a freelancer for other offices, e.g. assisting Nina Braunschweig-Kessler in the building of the French school (*Französische Schule*).³⁰ This rationale accompanies her throughout her professional life. As a single woman, she depends on secure financing for their projects allocated with building contracts by the district authorities. She works freelance for nearly 30 years for the Tiergarten Building Department. The majority of her building tasks between 1962 and 1992 concern schools, daycare centres and health care facilities.

Throughout her career she faces barriers to using the title *architect*. Although officially entrusted with commissions as an architect, she suffered from the lack of a high education diploma that exposed her to many accusations that she was claiming that title on false pretences. This finally changed in 1973, when she was entered in the Berlin architects' list and was authorised on 30 January 1974, pursuant to article 2 paragraph 1 of the Berlin Architects' Act, to officially use the title *architect*. Only then did she *officially* meet the requirement to obtain public contracts.³¹

Her friendship with a Greek musician leads to a few months of work each year in Athens in the mid-1960s. A small apartment is simultaneously used as a studio. From there Biergans designs private homes for clients in Greece. Based on her experience and reputation in Berlin and backed by a German Embassy recommendation, she tries unsuccessfully to build a secure livelihood working for Greek public administration.

³⁰ Source: Letter from Nina Braunschweig-Kessler to Ingrid Biergans, sent from Khartoum, private archive Biergans.

³¹ Official statement by the Berlin Senate, 19 March 1974; private archive Biergans.

A contract with the office of the German Federal Planning Bureau in Athens fails on the grounds that the Federal Construction Directorate (*Bundesbaudirektion*) was only supposed to award contracts to graduate architects. However, in 1967, she is commissioned to design a church and a hotel sports area on Mykonos. Fascinated with the Greek ecclesiastical building, she delves into the world of local traditional building forms. Design of the artistic interior is handled by the ceramist Susanne Rie, with whom she cooperated in a school project in Berlin. However, the seizure of power by a military junta in 1967 prevents the execution of this project. She returns to Berlin, but the last years of her career become a permanent struggle for small projects. Ingrid Biergans died in summer 2010 in her flat in Athens.

SELECTED WORKS

Special kindergarten for children with disabilities (*Sonderkita*)

Dortmunder Straße 1-2, West Berlin (Tiergarten), 1973³²

(Illustrations 7 | 25 + 7 | 26 + 7 | 27 see following page)



Illustration 7 | 25 Ingrid Biergans, Sonderkita Dortmundstraße (Special Kindergarten), model, Dortmundstraße 1-2, West Berlin, 1973

³² This building was Biergans' most complex architectural and planning project, and in a June 2000 interview she considered it as "a turning point in the spatial dimensions which I had to work on". Despite being realised in the early 1970s, it is still considered as a product of the time looked at here. This building was not publicised elsewhere in professional publications.

corner. While the building line on Bochumer Straße is maintained on all floors, the forms in the Dortmunder Straße are dissolved increasingly. A multi-storey protrusion enhances the special urban effect of the corner with its green space. The individual floors are reduced step by step towards the connection between the two buildings and extend into terraces. In this way, the kindergarten children obtain protected and easily manageable play areas.

Disabled children are cared for on the ground floor. The floor above that is reserved for mentally handicapped children, followed by the level for daycare children and the room for groups of hearing, vision and speech impaired children. For all children group and play rooms and classrooms as well as patios or covered outdoor terraces are available. On the fifth and sixth floor there are rooms for medical treatment, including a pool for hydrotherapy, and technical infrastructure. All levels are entered from the central elevator, initially through a small hall that provides orientation and opens up the different rooms in the wings. The striking facade is rendered by the alternating bands of windows and exposed concrete.

Primary school Gerhardtstraße / Paulstraße

Paulstraße 28-33 / Gerhardtstraße 4-15, West Berlin (Tiergarten / Moabit), 1964.

(Illustrations 7 | 28 + 7 | 29 + 7 | 30 see following pages)



Illustration 7 | 28 Ingrid Biergans, Grundschule Gerhardtstraße / Paulstraße (Primary school Gerhardtstraße 7 Paulstraße), street view and facades, Gerhardtstraße 28-33, Westberlin, 1967

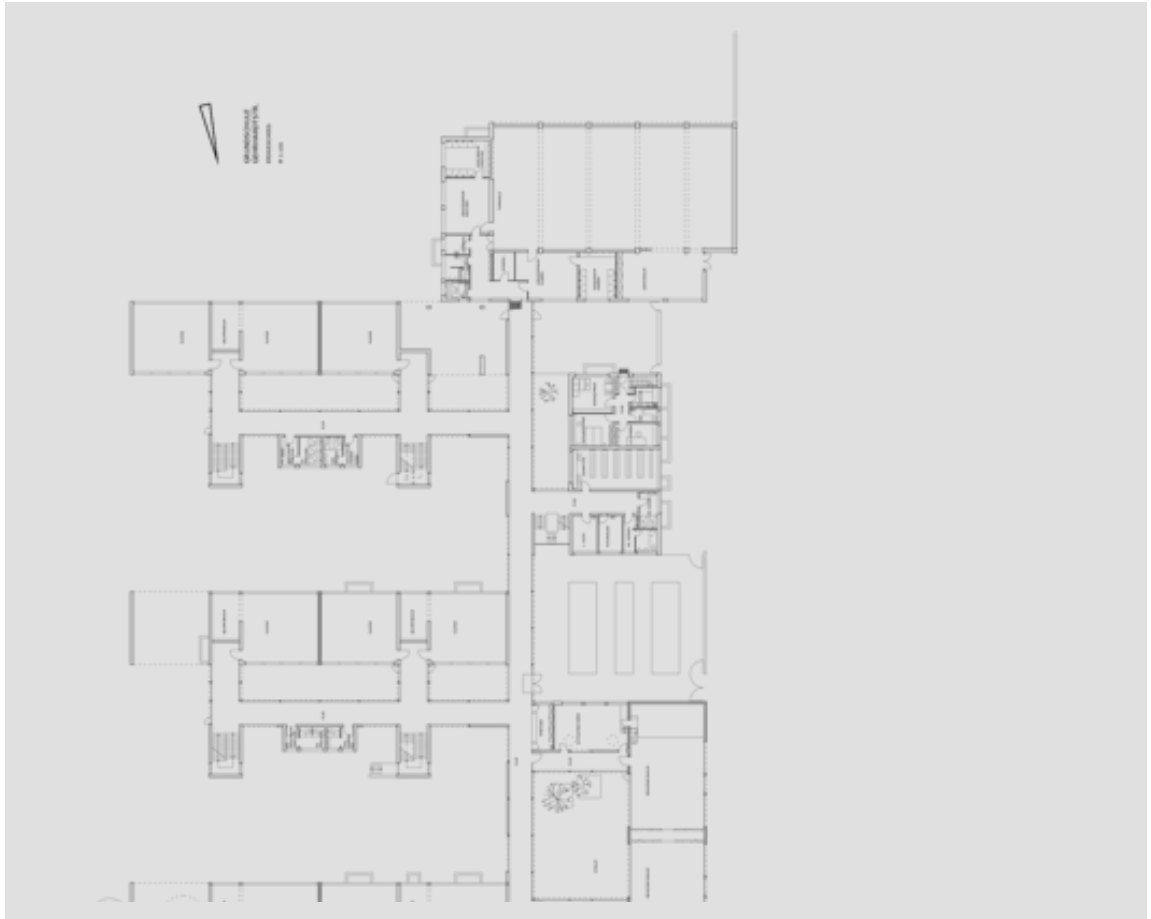


Illustration 7 | 29 Ingrid Biergans, Grundschule Gerhardtstraße / Paulstraße, floor plan ground floor

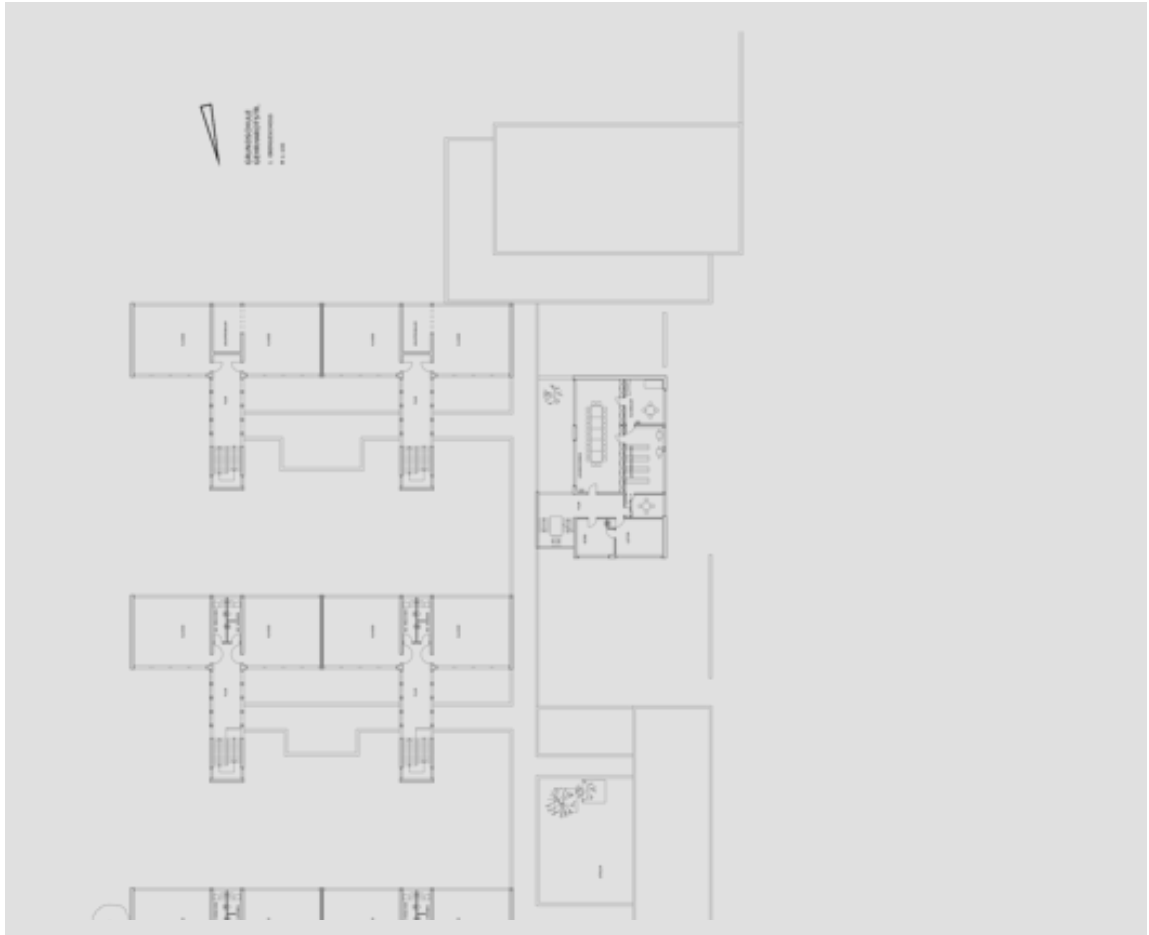


Illustration 7 | 30 Ingrid Biergans, Grundschule Gerhardtstraße / Paulstraße, floor plan first floor

In the fragmented, late 19th century block structure of Moabit, Ingrid Biergans realises the construction of the traditional elementary school on a large open space in 1964. The first building phase consisted of two classroom wings, the administration offices, the assembly hall and the sports hall. All parts of the building are strung up along a single-storey development axis parallel to Paulstraße. From there, corridors lead to the stairwells. T classrooms are distributed each over two floors. In 1979, the originally envisaged third classroom wing was built to the north. Thanks to the special arrangement of openings between the building structures, a multitude of differentiated green and open spaces allow different connections between the interior and exterior.

By 1985 a large extension was built along Gerhardtstraße to cover the considerably increased space requirements. It is attached directly to the existing facility and closes the school complex towards the east. In addition to the 16 added classrooms, there are special teaching rooms, the school library and a two-field sports hall. The playground in the north-east and the free space dominated by sports fields complete the system.

Across all phases of building, the original concept of a functionally structured, open campus was pursued. This also applies to the architectural design with flat roofs, bands of windows and white and blue plastered facades.³⁴

Orthopaedic health centre Heydenstraße

Heydenstraße 9, West Berlin (Wilmersdorf / Schmargendorf), 1962/1963.

(Illustrations 7 | 31 + 7 | 32 + 7 | 33)



Illustration 7 | 31 Ingrid Biergans, Orthopädische Fürsorgestelle (Orthopaedic welfare centre), street view, Heydenstraße 3, West Berlin, 1964

³⁴ Sources: www.moabiter-grundschule.de; interviews with the architect, plans provided by her and a private building diary for the project. The diary was lost before a small part of her estate could be secured.

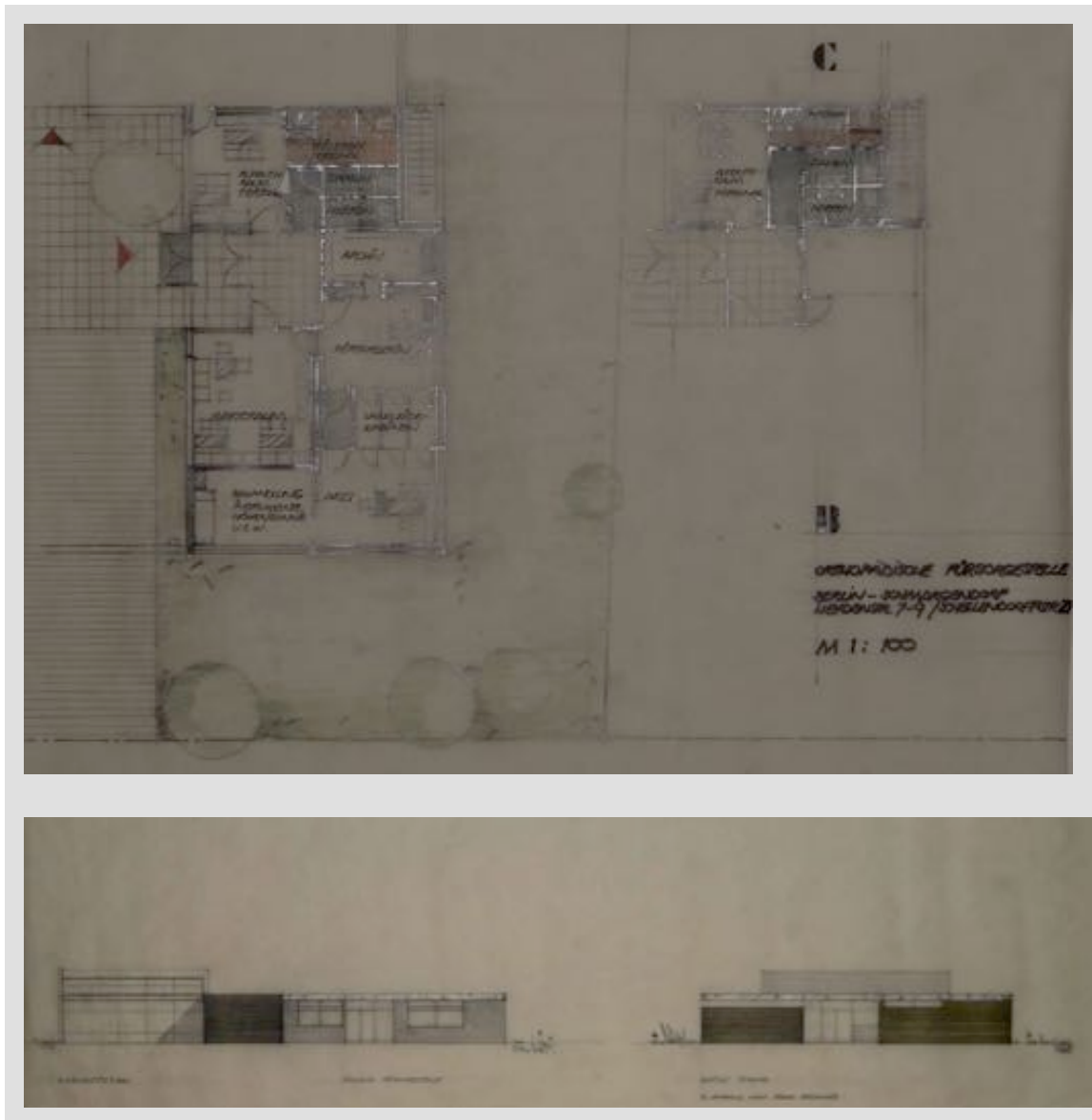


Illustration 7 | 32 Ingrid Biergans, Orthopädische Fürsorgestelle , floor plan ground floor

Illustration 7 | 33 Ingrid Biergans, Orthopädische Fürsorgestelle , floor plan ground floor

The Wilmersdorf district office had the orthopaedic health centre built on a corner plot on the southern edge of the Schmargendorf neighbourhood on the fringe of Berlin-Dahlem's villa development. This small building had to perform two important functions: preventive gymnastics for children and adolescents with severe physical disabilities, and consultation for elderly and disabled persons from the district.

This is Ingrid Biergans' first project of her own. The young architect bases her concept on the function areas to be accommodated in an L-shaped structure with the entrance at the crossroads. The left wing houses locker rooms for the children, the room of the

gym teacher and an auditorium for mothers, which is a very unusual spatial arrangement at this time. Adjacent to this wing is the higher structure of the gymnastics hall. In the right wing physically disabled Wilmersdorfers can consult a social worker, and a physician and advice and therapeutic measures are offered.

Since the welfare office targets two different groups of clients, this is reflected by the architectural design and the two separate entrances. However, a covered outdoor space, connected by concrete beams to the main building, creates a harmonious square. This protected space for parking wheelchairs and bicycles refers to the typical garden pavilions of Baroque country houses, a popular design tool for emphasising plot corners.

The appearance of the building is typical of the period, characterised by rough white brick masonry. The grey concrete formwork and rough unspoilt framework create a serene environment. The wide screen formats and the light bands lend a soothing character to the building.

Architect and entrepreneur: Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach

Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach was born in Leipzig in 1929. She was the eldest daughter of the nursery owner and building contractor Arno Friedrich Zschach and his wife Martha Johanna (née Schuster).³⁵ Already at the age of 13-14 years, she works in her father's office, keeping his books. During this time, her decision to become an architect matures. In 1947, after graduating from high school in Leipzig, she does an internship on the construction site of the *Dresden Zwinger*. From 1947 to 1952 she studies architecture at *Technische Universität Dresden*. Her third husband reported that this was in part due to Bruno Taut being her professional role model, and she found his ideas best represented in the educational concept of this faculty.³⁶ When she is 21, she works two months at the East Berlin building academy (*Bauakademie*). In 1951, shortly before her diploma, she marries her fellow student Peter Postel and, in 1953, gives birth to her only daughter, Corinna.

As a freelance designer, she realises with Postel, but under her own name, a large number of single and multi-family houses in West Berlin between 1955 and 1959. She also specialises in facade renovation, takes on rehabilitation contracts. For a short time,

³⁵ In her official birth certificate, only the nursery is mentioned, but the university registration documents proved her father's later business extension.

³⁶ Interview with Donatello Losito, October 2000.

she is employed in different architectural offices, including those of Werner Düttmann and Haila Ochs.³⁷

After her divorce from Postel, she marries Kreuzberg district mayor Willy Kressmann in 1959. The marriage lasts only until 1962. Until the mid-1960s, she is mainly involved in housing, increasingly in social housing developments, and deals in panel housing construction in Neukölln and Kreuzberg. The administration building for the German insurance company *Lloyd DIA* (1965), changes her specialisation. (Illustration 7 | 34) In those years, she benefits from the special depreciation allowances introduced by the federal Berlin Promotion Act (*Berlin-Förderungsgesetz*). Kressmann participates in a building boom that stood in no relation to the space and housing needs of the city. Between 1955 and 1969, she realises 45 building projects, from detached single-family dwellings to hotel buildings, different forms of tenement houses, e.g. social housing projects, office and commercial buildings, churches, student and senior citizen residences.



Illustration 7 | 34 Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, Lloyd Insurance Building, Uhlandstraße 75 West Berlin, 1955

³⁷ The sources for her life story were the academic registration office of TU Dresden, official and office documents to which Donatello Losito provided an insight. However, apart from photos, there was little material left when the research for this thesis started. Most of it was destroyed in house cleaning after her death, and Kressmann-Zschach's remaining private correspondence was not accessible.

Her networks are diverse and helpful to her business. In 1971, she is the chairwoman of the *Bauzentrum Berlin* administrative board. Despite having been heavily criticised within the professional community, in 1988 she becomes a member of the *Berlin Architects' Chamber*, (*Architekten- und Ingenieurs-Verein zu Berlin*, AIV). She is also a member of the Berlin Bauhaus Archive aid association, the *Friends of the Berlin National Gallery Association*, the *Kulturkreis der deutschen Industrie*, *Karl-Hofer-Gesellschaft* and other institutions.³⁸

Kressmann-Zschach is one the most controversial personalities of the post-war architectural history of Berlin and is a successful building contractor, with projects all over Europe. Considered more a contractor than an architect, she becomes a symbol for the West Berlin subsidy policies of the 1960s and 1970s. The two projects with which the public usually associated her, *Ku-Damm Karree* and *Steglitzer Kreisel*, started in the late 1960s, were completed in the mid-1970s. (Illustration 7 | 35) *Steglitzer Kreisel*, then the city's biggest office and commercial building, is the last in the long series of her construction projects. Both projects are speculation objects in the context of the Berlin Promotion Act, including special West Berlin funding for building. The office skyscraper and its adjacent commercial space were one of a number of major contemporary projects realised in Berlin, and neither the *Steglitzer Kreisel* nor the *Ku-Damm Karree* really fitted in the urban landscape. Kressmann-Zschach was by no means the only architect involved in similarly speculative projects, based more on concepts maximising the benefit from accelerated depreciation and investment grants than on decent urban development concepts or a commitment to the profession's quality standards. Interestingly, the catalogue for an exhibition on the history of the *Steglitzer Kreisel* skyscraper does not even include a biographical sketch or a catalogue raisonné – which is very odd for such a publication.



Illustration 7 | 35 Sigrig Kressmann-Zschach, explaining the Ku'Damm Karree project, 1969

³⁸ Source: Registration documents AIV and Chamber of Architects, personal documents to which Donatello Losito gave access in October 2000.

She remains the only woman architect in the rebuilding period who succeeds in building a company of this dimension, and who achieves the construction of tall commercial buildings in the inner city.

Beyond all the justified criticism she has to face in the context of the two above-mentioned and other buildings (the Building Senator once considered her *Sylter Hof* hotel building as an aesthetical mass-market product)³⁹, she must be recognised as a representative of 1960s Modernism, some of her buildings being close to Brutalism. Her works and organisational structures lead to remarkable success, as architect and economically efficient entrepreneur. Given the major financial and planning scandals attached to the *Kudamm-carrée* and the *Steglitzer Kreisel*⁴⁰, there is hardly any recognition of her housing design. Nobody seems to be aware of the two churches that she designs in Berlin-Spandau and Berlin-Kreuzberg. The public gloating over the scandals surrounding Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach can be interpreted as an indicator that the prudish society of the 1960s lacked tolerance for a professional and successful women architect who used the same construction methods and financing as the era's male building elites.

"With the weapons of a woman", wrote the contemporary press, she successfully pursues her targets as a business woman and may be by choice "femme fatale". Her office and her various companies have about 180 employees. The "femme fatale", as she was perceived by the public, however, obviously has other personal sides. Reports of former office staff describe her, on the one hand, as a person forging a faithful office community,⁴¹ offering many smaller and larger opportunities for office social life, such as local excursions and travel to New York and Italy. On the other hand, she rejected the establishment of a staff council and obliged employees who wanted to take part in the bigger trips to pay back travel costs if they left the office within two years after the travel. Her personnel management is one of the aspects of her practice that is openly criticised in the contemporary press. However, although the content is pretty sexist, it is remarkable that *Bauwelt* devotes a short 1961 article her in the section on personnel issues, headed "Master of more than a hundred men ..." and continues "...this elegant, charming woman in a miniskirt! It is Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, Germany's most successful building construction architect. The home of the 'millionaire by her own efforts' is a modern new building in Berlin-Grünwald, where the architect lives with her 16-year-old daughter and many animals: chickens, rabbits, dogs, etc. Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach is a woman who has both feet on the ground, but is at the same time the most woman-like career woman one can imagine (...) About 120 architects, engineers,

39 Conrads, op. cit., 37.

40 A comprehensive documentation of the whole building process, including the massive formal failures of the Senate and district planning offices, is provided in Weisler, op. cit..

41 Source: Interview with Donatello Losito, reports of her secretary, in October 2000

structural engineers, construction engineers and lawyers form her team, with whom she plans multi-million-mark projects."⁴²

In 1969 she meets the graphic designer and artist Donatello Losito, who soon becomes her partner in private and professional life. Kressmann-Zschach, often labelled "Soraya of the architectural scene,"⁴³ has close private relations in the Berlin economic and political scene, which she uses successfully for her land and property speculation, and in so doing, violates (like a number of renowned colleagues) the ethics of the UIA charter. The shareholder of approximately 28 different land and property management companies uses these in a kind of snowball system for her building projects. An economically powerful career, not unusual for this time in Berlin, just unusual for a woman in this profession. Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach dies of cancer in Berlin in 1990. The works selected for this thesis provide, apart from the *Steglitzer Kreisel* building, access to aspects of her work which are less known than the speculation objects in the inner city and her contribution to social housing. The latter is mainly located in inner-city Berlin-Wilmersdorf, and in the peripheral districts Spandau and Tempelhof (see catalogue raisonné).⁴⁴

SELECTED WORKS

Jerusalem Church and Community Centre

Lindenstraße 85, West Berlin (Kreuzberg), 1967-1968.

(Illustration 7 | 36 + 7 | 37 + 7 | 38 + 7 | 39 see following page)



Illustration 7 | 36 Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, Jerusalem Church, Lindenstraße 85, West Berlin, 1967 – 1968

⁴² Bauwelt, Vol. 41 (1961), 1420.

⁴³ See for example Der Spiegel 41 (1973), 101 -103.

⁴⁴ Kressmann-Zschach's contribution to social housing is well documented in Berlin und seine Bauten, IV B, op. cit.

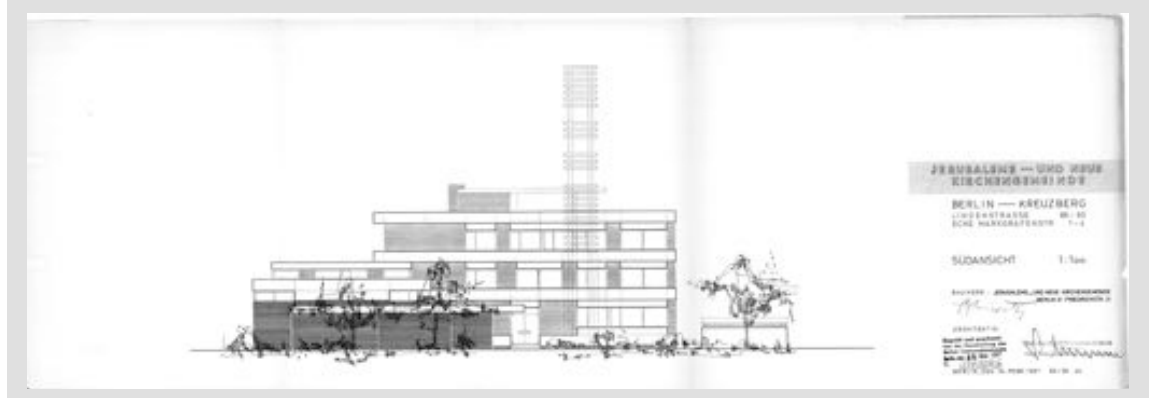
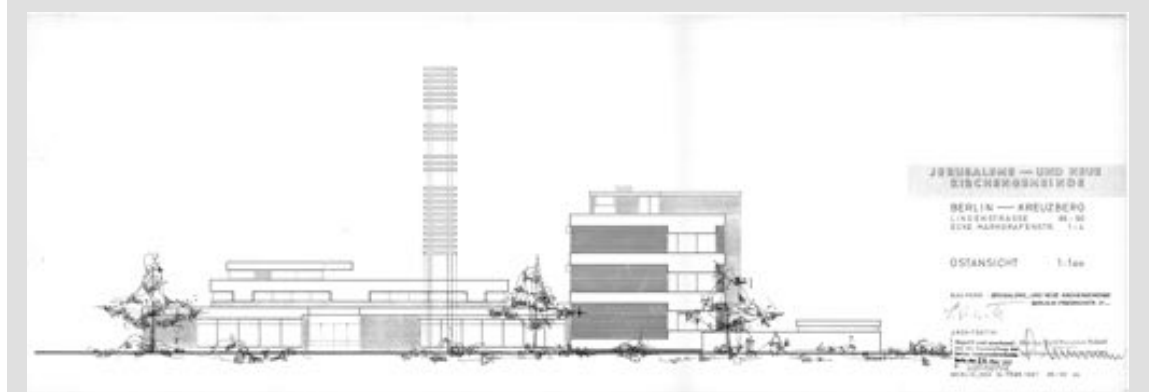
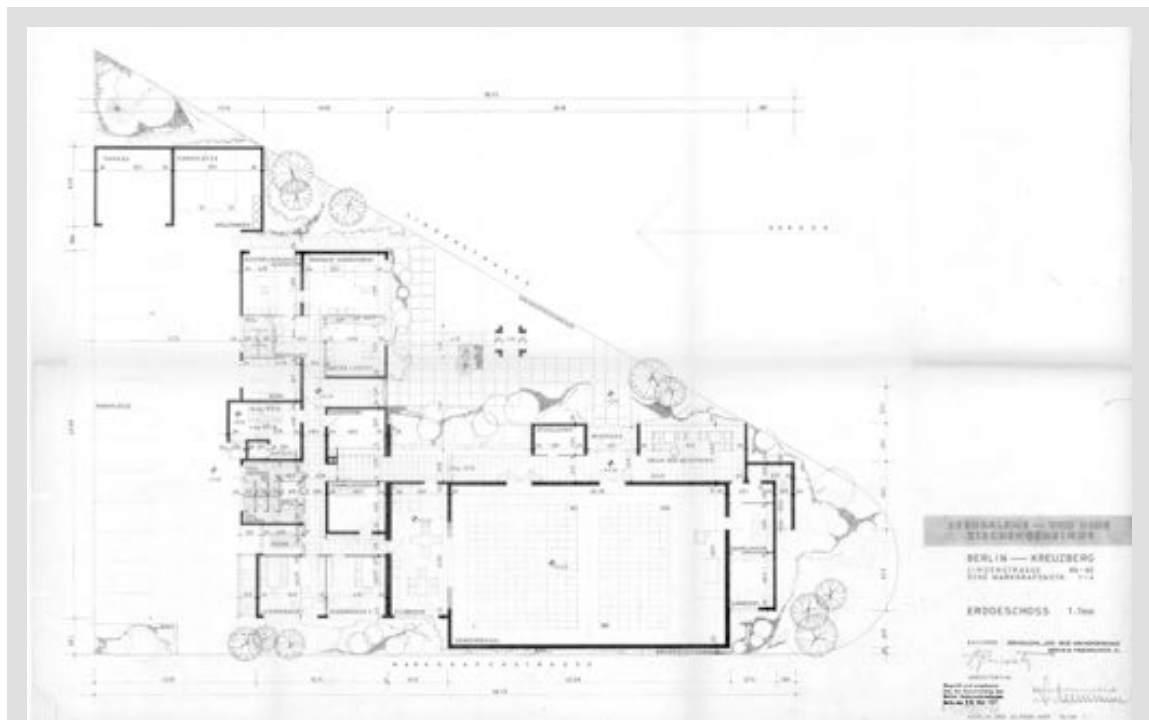


Illustration 7 | 37 (top) Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, Jerusalem Church, floor plan ground floor
 Illustration 7 | 38 (middle) Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, Jerusalem Church, view from the east
 Illustration 7 | 39 (bottom) Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, Jerusalem Church, view from the south

Jerusalem Church was once the oldest church in Berlin's Friedrichstadt. It was damaged beyond repair towards the end of World War II. Its ruins were finally blown up in 1961. On its historical site, the Axel Springer publishing group expanded its premises. In 1968, Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach realises a new church building, a few hundred metres to the south. On the triangular plot of land that was formerly densely built with 19th century apartment buildings, the meanwhile listed church Markgrafenstraße and the three-storey community centre with its recessed roof form a right angle.

A small square opens to Lindenstraße, and the clock tower sets an accentuation in the urban pattern of its environment. The static character of the buildings is emphasised by the horizontal facade structure. Bright bands of facade panels alternate with red brick surfaces, into which the underlying bands of windows are added.

The floor plan is structured functionally. Adjacent to the large community hall, the assembly room and the sacristy are positioned in the southern part of the building. The clubroom in the north is multifunctional; it can be transformed into a stage. The foyer with vestibule and the "space of encounter" provide a buffer zone towards the entrance and the connection to the community centre. This part of the building also has apartments for the sexton, a kindergarten and the pastor's family next to offices and common spaces on the upper floors.

Steglitzer Kreisel

Schloßstraße 74-84, West Berlin (Steglitz), 1968-1975.

(Illustration 7 | 40 + 7 | 41 + 7 | 42)



Illustration 7 | 40 Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, Steglitzer Kreisel highrise, model, Schloßstraße 74-80, West Berlin, 1968-1975

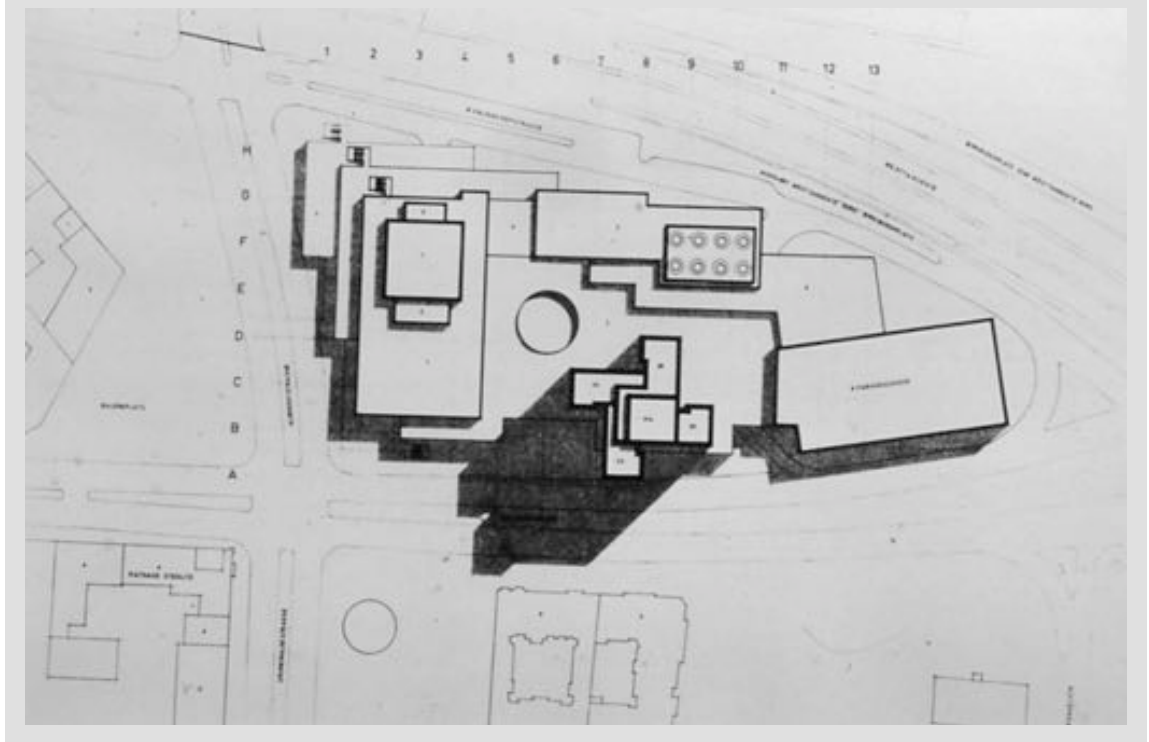
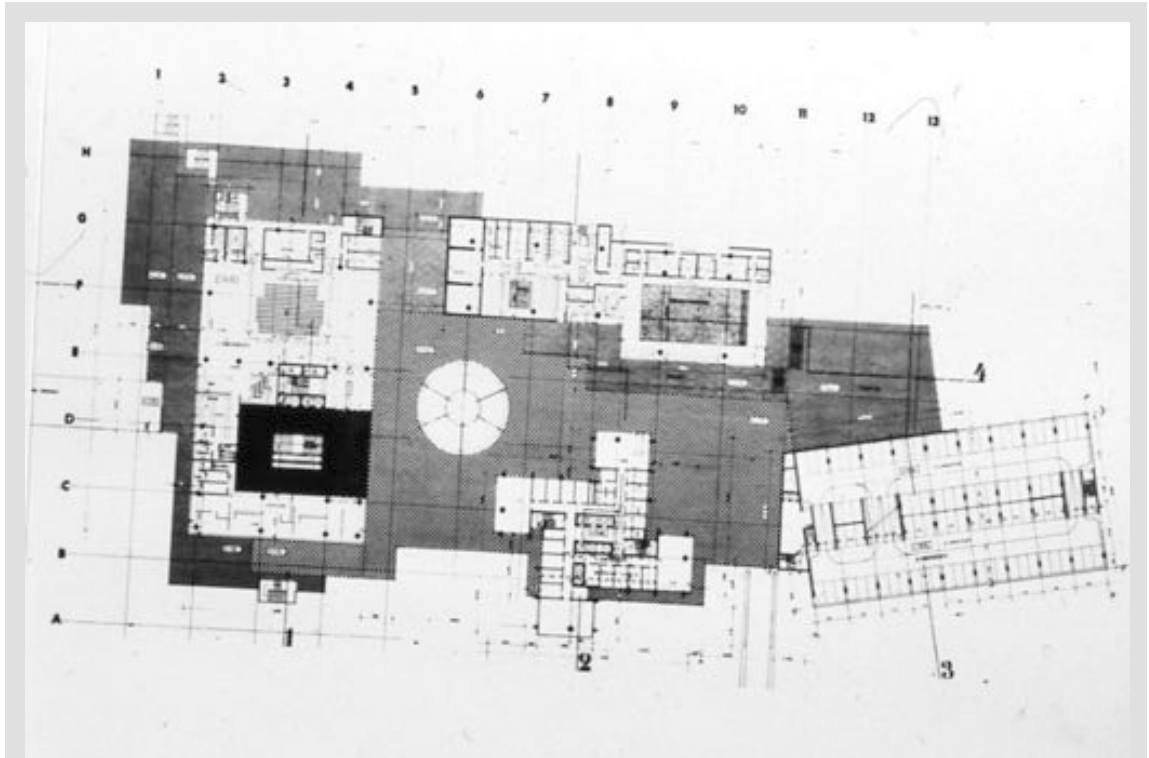


Illustration 7 | 41 Sigrig Kressmann-Zschach, Steglitzer Kreisel, ground plan

Illustration 7 | 42 Sigrig Kressmann-Zschach, Steglitzer Kreisel, light-and- shadow plan

During the 1950s, the plans of Steglitz district council to erect a new municipal building failed repeatedly due to the Senate's refusal to provide the necessary means. In the early 1960s, a large public transport and subway project was on the city agenda. The

underground project required using a tract between Albrechtstraße and Schloßstraße, to be acquired by city government. Before this could happen, and after another investor fails, Kressmann-Zschach buys the plot through the Avalon development company. She pressures the Senate to either let her build all buildings on the plot, or pay compensation for building profits that would be lost if the city insisted on using the plot for its transport system.

The city government, which originally had a smaller building in mind, agrees to the concept and a deal was struck that allowed the architect to build without some of the required consultations and special building approval. The contract was agreed on the lines of the the proposal of the entrepreneur and her architects, without an architectural competition for the design, in order to avoid costly delays in the construction of the adjacent subway and underground lines and years of litigation. This project of one of Berlin's largest architectural firms of the time is the prelude to one of the largest construction and financial scandals of post-war West Berlin.

The design called for a dominant urban landmark of a 110 metre, 30-storey high-rise building, with offices on top of a seven-storey basic block with a shopping mall, hotel and a large parking garage. These lower levels are clad in bright Eternit panels. The long sides of the tower are structured by seven prominent axes. It offers more than 10,000 square metres of office space. The steel-frame building is clad with a curtain facade of black aluminium and glass. Until today Berliners call the building "whirligig" (*Kreisel*) because the plot serves as a traffic turntable. The investment, is one of the ambitious attempts of West Berlin's political and financial elites to upgrade and modernise the traditional Schloßstraße, one of the most important satellite hubs of West Berlin. However, the concept was at the same time, once more devastating a largely intact neighbourhood with historically grown urban structures by implanting the principles of modern urban planning of the 1960s/70s. In any case, the dimension and location of the demolition area were a speculator's dream.

In 1974, a year before the scheduled completion of construction, instead of the planned 180 million DM, 230 million had already been spent and the site was bought out of bankruptcy by the Senate for 32 million as an unfinished ruin. Another 95 million DM had to be invested to complete the complex, which already needed repair in 1988. The tower was vacant for over a decade because of asbestos issues.

Private housing Koenigsallee

Koenigsallee 69 -71, West Berlin (Grunewald), 1969-70.

(Illustrations 7 | 43 + 7 | 44 + 7 | 45)

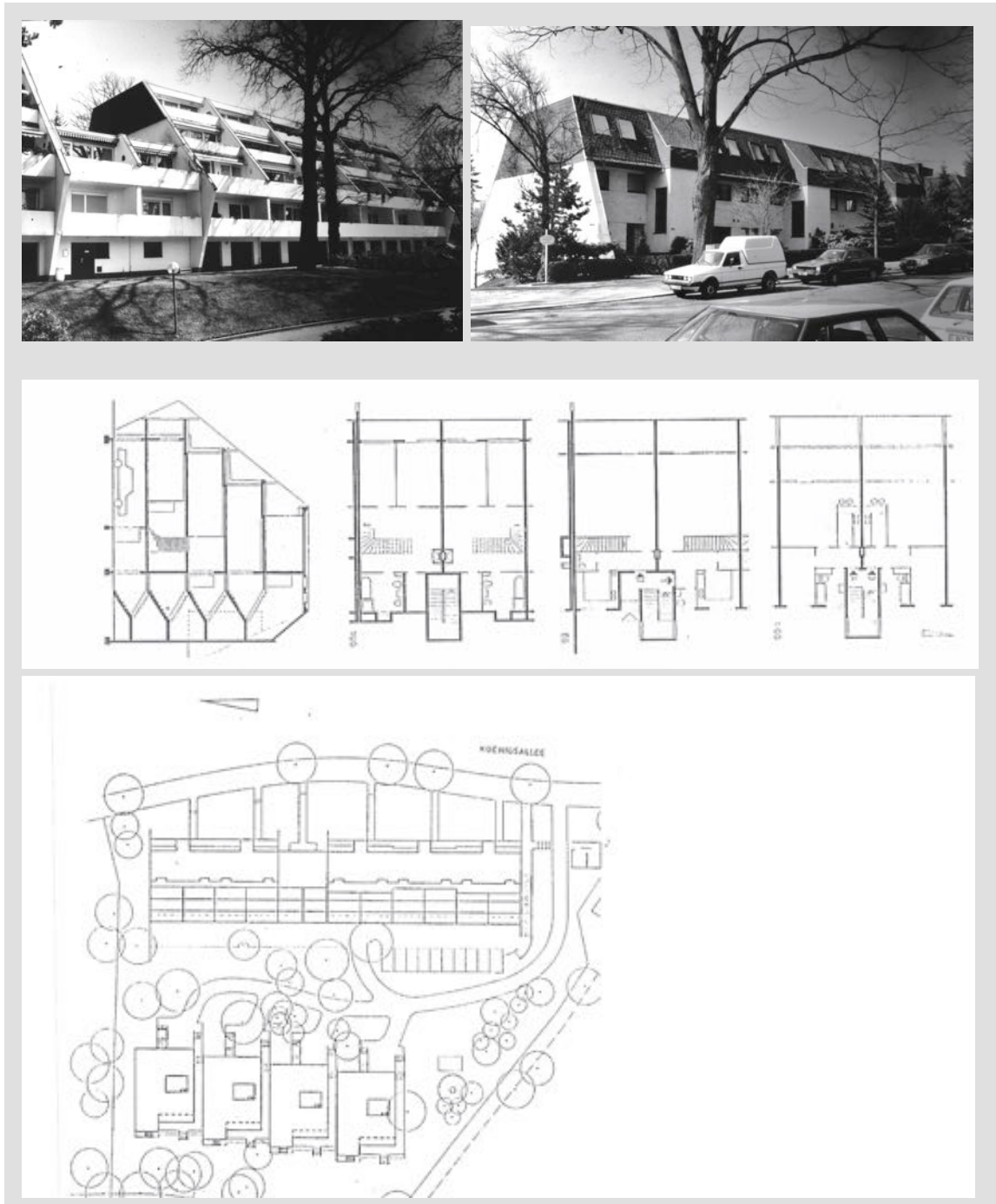


Illustration 7 | 43 (topleft) Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, Residential building Koenigsallee, garden view , Koenigsallee 69-71, West Berlin, 1969 -1970

Illustration 7 | 44 (top right) Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, Residential building Koenigsallee, street view

Illustration 7 | 45 (bottom) Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, site map, in section and floor plan ground floor

In the bourgeois and well-to-do Berlin-Grunewald neighbourhood, in the vicinity of her private villa and first office building, Kressmann-Zschach designs several projects in the late 1960s, such as the 3-5 storey terrace housing. On a plot adjacent to a small lake, *Hundekehle-See*, the strictly structured concrete building provides spacious two-room flats and three-room maisonettes adjacent to the staircases in each of its four sections. The souterrain ground-floor maisonettes are furnished with a central living room and a fireplace. These rooms get indirect light through a glass-brick wall. In the smaller flats, the kitchen has a small place to eat, but is open to the living room. Each of the flats has a balcony, offering intimate open-air space in the big garden surrounding the building. As most housing in the neighbourhood, the building provides garages, here in a second underground level.⁴⁵

From detached family housing to senior residences and health infrastructure: Margot Zech-Weymann

Margot Weymann was born in Neisse, Upper Silesia, in 1911. The family, was Protestant. During the mid-1920s, the family (her parents Johannes and Margarete Weymann, her younger sister and Margot) moves to a borough in the south-west of Berlin, not far from Potsdam-Babelsberg. The fact that she passed her school leaving examination at the girls' secondary school Goethe-Oberlyceum in Berlin-Lichterfelde in 1931 warrants the assumption that the family probably soon moved to Lichterfelde-West. Now her home was next to the oldest Berlin villa quarter, the Villen-Kolonie Lichterfelde-West, built from 1860 by Johann Anton Wilhelm von Carstenn. She was to spend most of her life near this quarter. From 1952, when she marries Hermann Zech, a technical employee, her studio and private home remain here.

Whereas her father, an army officer, wants her to become a teacher, her mother, a housewife, supports her academic education in architecture, morally and financially. In spring 1931, she matriculates at the Charlottenburg Technical University (Technische Hochschule Charlottenburg) to study at the building department and the faculty of architecture. However, before she starts her studies in the autumn of this year, she qualifies in the Herzig carpentry shop and the August Höhne construction company, which was located in her housing environment, at Drakestraße 60, since 1890.

⁴⁵ Landscape architect: Holm Becher; Sources: Berlin und seine Bauten, IV B, op. cit., 685, and private photos of plans, from the architects' archive.

She studies only four semesters and starts to work as a freelance architect in January 1934. A first structural barrier in her career occurs when on 22 September 1933 the National Socialist government establishes the Reich Cultural Chamber (*Reichskulturkammer*) and appoints Heinrich Goebbels as its president. The chamber is an umbrella organisation for seven departments, including the *Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (RKdbK)*, which included architecture. Its main aims are state organisation and monitoring of culture. Subsequently, the precondition to work in creative arts or in arts and crafts is to become a member of one of the chamber's departments. If an application is refused, this imposes an employment ban – which immediately rules out everybody who has no proof of Aryan ancestry. In 1935, her application to become a member of the chamber is refused. The unsigned rejection document in the Federal Archives in Berlin exhibits astonishing crudeness, particularly given that this happened only one year after she finished her studies: "*The president of the RKdbK advises: the application is refused. Grounds: It is not possible to recognise any imaginative work; the works represent smere applications of technical knowledge...*"⁴⁶

The report does not include any other recommendation. Margot Weyman obviously has enough self-confidence to withstand the scathing refusal and to carry on nonetheless.

From 1936 until 1938, her letterhead says "member of the *Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, membership number A 10101, department of architecture*". It is not documented whether she then left the chamber of her own accord or whether she was formally excluded. From 1949, however, she is one of the very few women architects admitted to the *Bund Deutscher Architekten*.

The first of her buildings that listed in the architectural journal *Neue Bauwelt* are a one- and a two-family home, built in the district where she lived in 1935 and 1936. In *Pionierinnen der Architektur*, Kerstin Dörhöfer introduces two other one- and two-family homes which Margot Weymann also built in this district. It may be assumed that while building one of them, Geraer Straße 6, Margot Weymann got in contact with the parish of *Mater Dolorosa*, a church which she is later commissioned to rebuild.

Her work is dominated by works for private and religious institutions, such as the Order of St. John. Between 1952 and 1970, a total of 18 buildings of hers could be traced in

⁴⁶ Source: Bundesarchiv Berlin, RKK 2400, Box 0347.

Berlin, which is assumed to be the only place where she built. Apart from single-family dwellings and multi-family housing for private clients, she designs mainly hospitals (rebuilding and new building), schools, senior citizens homes, nurses homes, and a kindergarten (see catalogue raisonné). (Illustration 7 | 46) Four of her buildings are listed as protected heritage: the building of the training college *Haus Schöndorff & Oberlin-Seminar*, an orphanage in Berlin-Wilmersdorf, the *RittbergHospital* in Berlin-Steglitz, and St. Francis School in Berlin-Schöneberg, which she extended with a typical 1950s two-wing building.⁴⁷ Throughout her career, she works alone, only supported by a static engineer. From today's perspective, when the design and building of such projects is handled by the architect and specialists in numerous construction professions, this seems to prove the outstanding competence of this woman architect, although in the 1960s it is still much more customary for architects to do everything on their own. Weymann's work reflects high competence and justifies the assumption that she was an ambitious personality. According to Dörhöfer, Weymann was one of the pioneering women architects whose work "drew a connecting line between the building during National Socialism and the construction in the decades of post-war rebuilding."⁴⁸



Illustration 7 | 46 Margot Zechweymann, laying of the foundation stone of St. Monika Kindergarten, Berlin-Lankwitz, 1964

However, according to one of her clients, she has a bad experience with the press in the mid-1940s and since then it was her "rule" to refuse any appearance in public. She expected both clients and friends to adhere strictly to this demand. Research failed to find anything negative or ironic about her in the Berlin press of that time. Even after her death in 2004 it has not been possible to convince any known witness in her professional circle to break this rule and contribute to a more comprehensive image of her

⁴⁷ Source: Berlin List of Protected Heritage of the Built, <http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/denkmal/denkmaliste/index.shtml> , accessed in October 2013.

⁴⁸ Dörhöfer 2004, op. cit. 155.

personality and life circumstances. Only during 2011 was her role in reconstruction of the Mater Dolorosa Church in the early 1950s revealed, confirming her assumed professional and private relation to religious institutions and communities as clients and institutions and adding one more building to her list of accomplishments.

SELECTED WORKS

Bethel Hospital of the Order of St. John,
Promenadenstraße 3-5, West Berlin (Steglitz), 1955-1956.

(Illustrations 7 | 47 + 7 | 48 + 7 | 49 see following page)

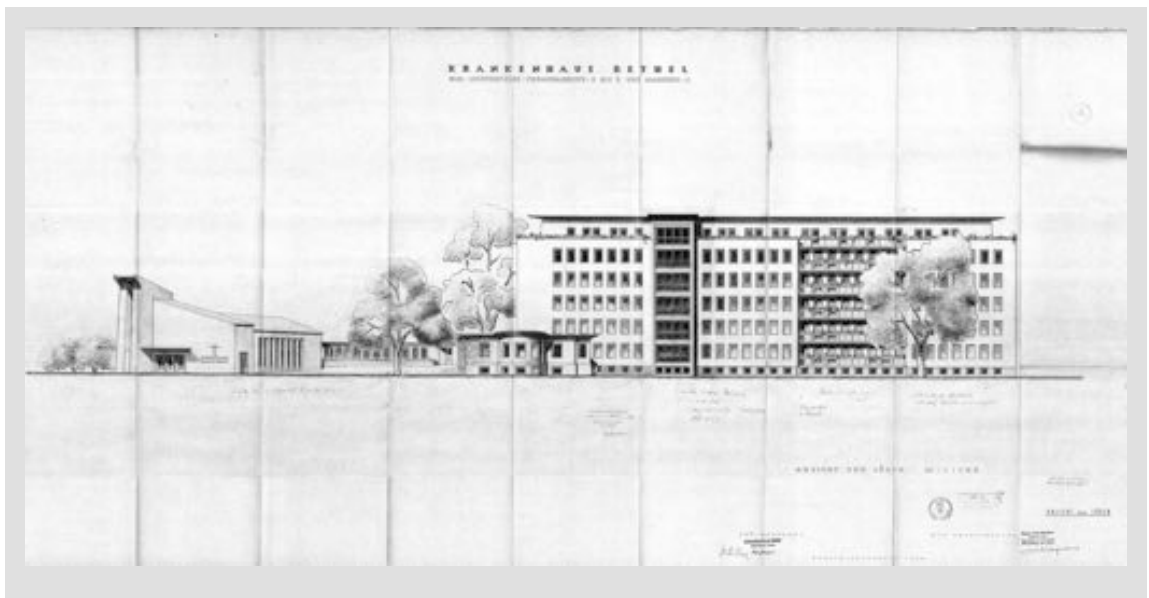


Illustration 7 | 47 Margot Zech-Weymann, Bethel-Hospital, streetview, Promenadenstraße 3-5, West Berlin, 1966

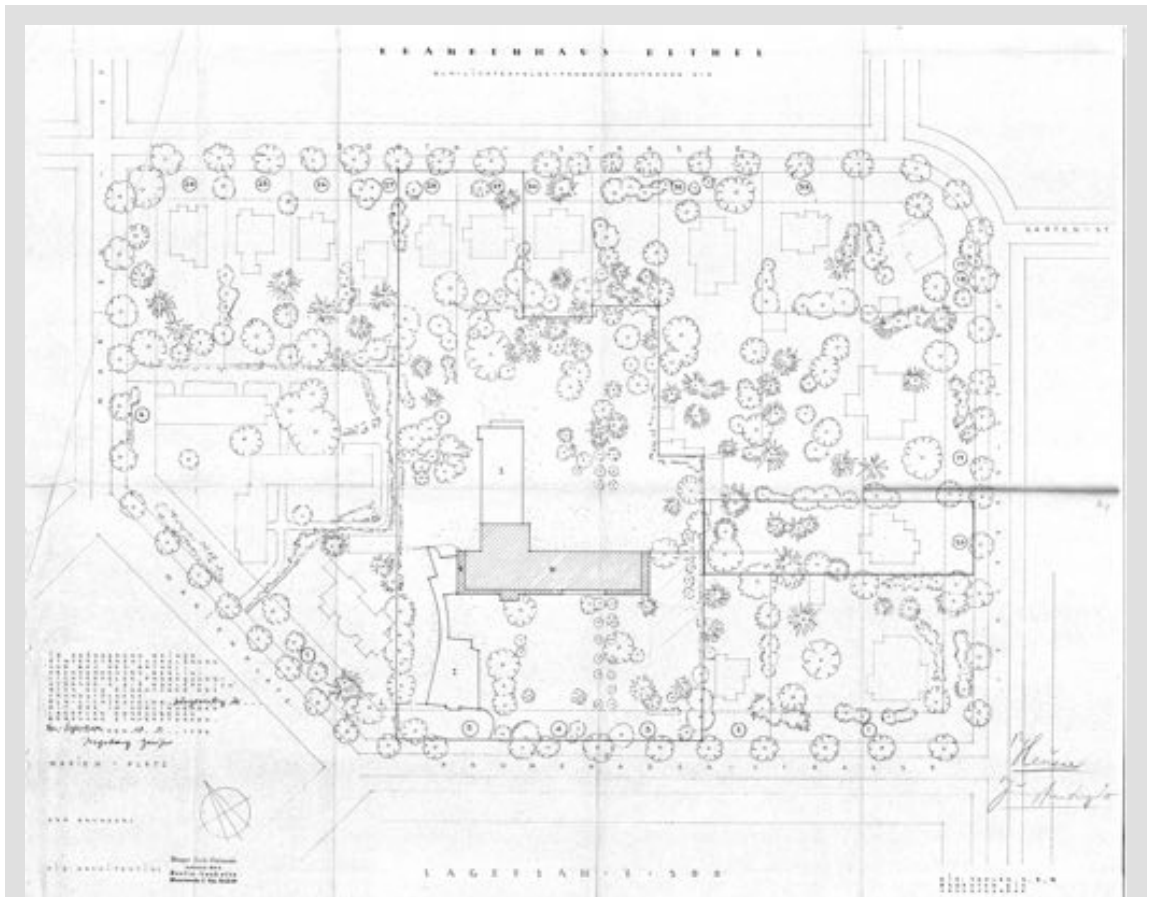


Illustration 7 | 48 Margot Zech-Weymann, Bethel-Hospital, site map,
 Illustration 7 | 49 Margot Zech-Weymann, Bethel-Hospital, opening ceremony with Margot Zech-Weymann (left)

The six-storey hospital, which is shifted from the street alignment in the direction of the plot centre, forms the core of the ensemble. In the eastern part of the building lie the wards with the patients' rooms on five floors facing the sunny south side. Functional rooms are directed to the garden side. The remaining parts are occupied by the administration, a small surgery department with an operating theatre, an X-ray station, treatment rooms and staff living quarters. There is also a mortuary, and the architect points out in her communication with the building control department that she does not want the corpses to be transported in the same corridors that the nurses and the patients normally use. On all levels, a transversely inserted hall extending through the building serves as a lounge and dining room and allows free movement. The recessed fifth floor with its roof terrace accommodates the residences of the deaconesses.

Towards the west, a low building composed of an arched hall and chapel, a vestibule and reception constitutes the central access to the hospital and holds a small entrance courtyard that opens to a little neighbourhood square, *Marienplatz*. The low service tract is located at a right angle to the main building. It houses the kitchen on the ground floor and the laundry in the basement.

All parts of the building are made of brick and plastered white. Only the service wing was designed as a reinforced concrete skeleton building to accommodate the spatial flexibility required in this type of facility. The staircases receive light through glass bricks. For the lounges, steel "flower windows" are designed with wide trays for greenery. All other rooms have wooden windows.

In later years, the hospital has been considerably expanded and supplemented by other tracts.

Order of St. John senior citizens residence

Finckensteinallee 123-125, West Berlin (Lichterfelde), 1965

(Illustration 7 | 50)

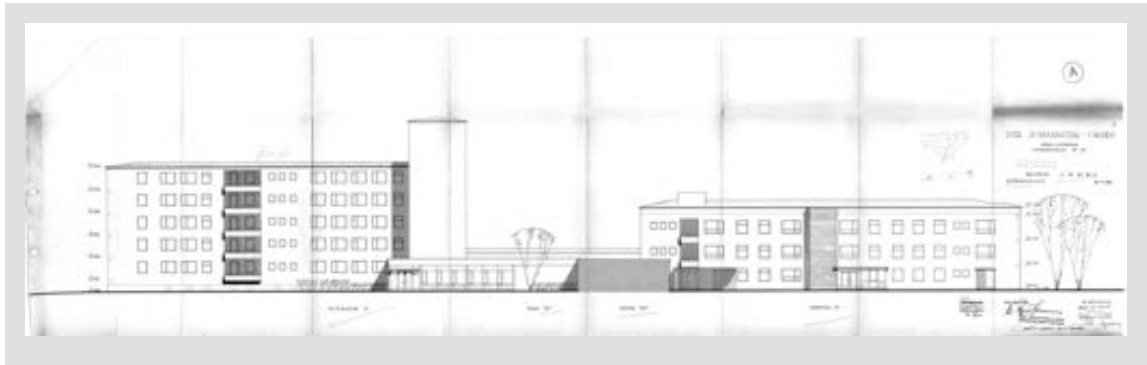


Illustration 7 | 50 Margot Zech-Weymann, Order of St. John senior citizens residence, street view, Finckensteinallee 123-125, West Berlin (Lichterfelde), 1965

The home for the elderly in Finckensteinallee is part of a large complex. When first built, it included a hospital, a female and male nurses' dormitory, an elderly daycare centre and various service facilities. On a 29,000 sq. m. plot, the buildings provide 110 one- and two-room flats in the senior residence, 118 single assisted-living rooms for seniors and 64 places in a hospital for chronically ill patients. The eldercare home itself is located in the rear south-east corner of the property and consists of three built volumes. The eight-storey main section with a centre hallway is flanked by two two-storey buildings with portico-like structures on the north sides. Both floors have compact, fully equipped one- and two-bedroom apartments, all with private balconies. The main staircase is complemented by lifts and meeting rooms.

Particularities in the design are that Zech-Weymann included a small kitchen in each ward, put small freezer boxes (prohibited in the rooms) for each apartment in the corridors, and gave each apartment a balcony, directed to the south and the park. All these aspects, requiring freedom in the use of space, were unusual at this time. Also, her refectory design enables opening the kitchen towards the dining space through foldable walls. According to the management, this solution is much more resident friendly and flexible.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Sources: interview with the manager of the seniors residence in 2000, and a brochure on the home; building and building documents, accessed in the building archive of the Berlin-Steglitz-Zehlendorf district. The management of the home prohibited publication of floor plans for security reasons.

The landscape is designed in the aftermath of the building completion by landscape architect Hannelore Kossel. Astonishingly, the two women never met.⁵⁰

Mater Dolorosa Church

Kurfürstenstraße 59, Berlin-Lankwitz, West Berlin, 1949-1955.

(Illustration 7 | 50)

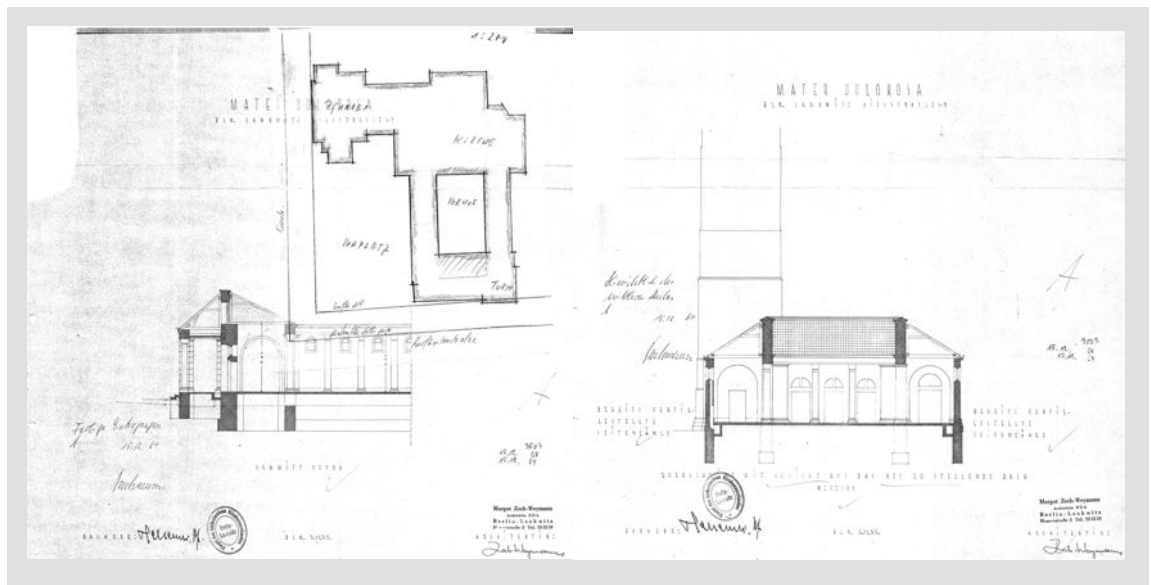


Illustration 7 | 51 Margot Zech-Weymann, Mater Dolorosa Church, in section, floor plan, and street view, Kurfürstenstraße 59, West Berlin, 1949 -1951

Mater Dolorosa Church is located in a late 19th century neighbourhood in Berlin-Lankwitz. The architect, commissioned by the Holy Family (*Heilige Familie*) Catholic parish in 1910, was Christoph Hehl, who collaborates on the design with his former assistant Carl Kühn. The parish priest asks for a “simple, calm, but at the same time monumental, baroque style design, in a modern rendering”. The design of the church, which opens in April 1911, causes a sensation with its modern facade, contrasted with a baroque onion-domed steeple and colonnaded porticos. In an August 1943 air raid, the church burnt down, apart from the entrance area, the vestry and the foundation walls. The new priest, Johannes Pinsk, commissioned Zech-Weymann to partly rebuild the church, within the old transept. It is projected as an emergency church (*Notkirche*) for about 200 people, to be further developed as a normal church, using the main aisle, once funding became available. A new gable towards the street is not affordable; the

⁵⁰ Source: Interview with Hannelore Kossel, May 2014.

old mansard-form gable is thus used, reshaped and adapted to the roof area of the nave aisle. The old main aisle is separated from the transept by a gable wall, forming an open atrium, enclosed on three sides by colonnades, offering churchgoers a space to meet and calm down before the service. Moreover, the steeple was refurbished, shortened by 10 meters. The onion dome was replaced by a gabled roof. The planning process is said to have been particularly participative with considerable input from parishioners, especially adolescents.⁵¹

The church was again enlarged, receiving its present appearance with the services of another architect between 1968 and 1970.

In conclusion

The architects presented in this section were successful women, designing according to the *Zeitgeist*, but with awareness for detail and the potential user. Nevertheless, each of them, even Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, experienced the closure processes of the culture of the architectural profession in their specific scope of action. They developed individual strategies to deal with experienced discrimination. Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, denied the esteem of the culture of the profession, played the *femme fatale*, both in social and in professional terms, in architecture and entrepreneurship. Hilde Weström focused on detail and woman-user perspective in housing. Neglected when the larger West Berlin social housing projects began, she downsized and focused on projects that matched her interests in art, philosophical and spiritual fields. Ingrid Biergans, who fought throughout her career against discrimination through formal instruments, more or less focused (or was dependent) on a single public client. Margot Zech-Weymann, who obviously had good reasons to avoid the public eye, withdrew into the confines of the Protestant community that entrusted her with challenging social infrastructural buildings. They all have the use of networks external to the culture of the profession to build their careers in common.

⁵¹ Sources: Katholische Pfarrgemeinde Mater Dolorosa Berlin-Lankwitz, ed. Berlin: accurat verlag, 2011, 3-6; interview with Annelen Hölzner-Bautsch in September 2011, and building documents, accessed in the building archive of the Berlin-Steglitz-Zehlendorf district.

7 II 2 WOMEN ARCHITECTS IN THE GDR: OPPORTUNITIES IN PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE CAPITAL AND BEYOND

The selection of case studies was more difficult in East Berlin than in West Berlin due to the changed culture of architectural practice and the fact that very few women reached a high rank in the planning collectives in the East German capital. Whereas a number of women architects actually working in East Berlin were presented in earlier chapters, the geographical scope of the case studies has been widened, in order to show principal career opportunities of women architects in the GDR building, political and social context. Although the consideration of women architects' career opportunities in the GDR has so far been described as limited compared to the political rhetoric, neither in West Berlin nor even in West Germany, had a woman architect achieved a position of a chief architect in a municipal planning department or a professorship at an architectural faculty. The biographies of the four architects introduced in this section respond to the institutional frameworks of the time and also to the design opportunities. At the same time, they depict the career progression and barriers of four outstanding women architects. The following section summarises the institutional framework of post-war East German building, and thus further contributes to an understanding of the building history context of the depicted works.

Institutional framework of the GDR building system: Institution, profession, "planned economy"

The discourse about architecture, building production and the individuals and institutions involved is based on the analysis of discourses, exhibitions and a wide body of literature that emerged since unification and has been widely discussed in earlier chapters. A major source, particularly for this chapter, were the (almost) annual Workshop Discussions on the Building and Planning History of the GDR at the Leibniz Institute for Regional Development and Structural Planning in Erkner (IRS)⁵², which most researchers cited and in which many GDR architects participated for many years. They provided a generation of researchers from East and West, many of whom had hardly experienced the GDR themselves, with a forum in which new perspectives could emerge in intergenerational debates. As far as *contemporary witnesses* are concerned, women were rarely present, apart from Dorothea Tscheschner, who played an important role in the earlier debates. She played a double role, as formerly practising architect and planner, and as architectural historian. Other women architects, like Anita Bach,

⁵² Ongoing documentation of the Leibniz Institute for Regional Development and Structural Planning (IRS). Werkstattgespräche zur DDR Bau- und Planungsgeschichte. Erkner: Historische Forschungsstelle/Wissenschaftliche Sammlungen, 1993-2014.

participated in the workshops if their works were debated or if they were specially invited.

The architectural history of the GDR is, as explained, closely connected with the idea of building a socialist society based on a rigid ideology and under the strict leadership of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) as the top-down steering institution. The construction and planning system was consequently subordinated to a large extent to socio-economic objectives and the constraints of centralised government and a planned economy. Under the premise of building a socialist society, devoted to the common good, a system of institutions was established for the building sector. It was dominated by direct political influence, even though distance from the capital and personal influence of regional leaders often fostered more liberal circumstances. Stressing the bipolar influence of politics and economics, Bruno Flierl provides an exhaustive account of "a progressive submission of urban planners and architects to the primacy of the maximum output."⁵³ Private architectural firms lost their influence, as start-ups were not permitted from the early 1950s on. The literature used for this thesis as well as anecdotes in the interviews proved that the vast majority of all construction was designed and planned by public design offices. It made no difference whether it was development of industrial types, residential categories, kindergartens or schools, type adjustments or multiple-use projects for mass production, cultural centres, theatres or hospitals. The public design offices were part of housing and industrial combines and under strict, centrally coordinated supervision, although the top-down models changed over time, giving collectives less or more autonomy. To build with a commitment to design quality and achieve international design standards meant that architects and planners had to turn to clandestine methods and inventively bypass the party dictates, at the same time, on giving lip service to government and party restrictions and dealing with limited material resources.

Political institutions

A main characteristic of the GDR's fragile development and problematic governance structures was the apparent conflict between long-term planning and continuous institutional and organisational change on national, regional and local levels. The Ministry of Reconstruction (*Aufbau-Ministerium*), under whose control the district building directorates worked, had the ultimate political responsibility for reconstruction and building. Renamed Ministry of Construction (*Bauministerium*), it was closely linked to the SED Central Committee, which imposed political objectives. Its claim was always

⁵³ Flierl 1998a, op. cit.

holistic, covering architectural form, urban design, technology, and economy of building and the spatial and financial organisation of implementation. In 1949, the Institute for Design and Construction (*Institut für Städtebau und Hochbau*) was founded under the direction of Kurt Liebknecht as a transfer belt between policy and professionalism. Following a restructuring in 1951, the German Building Academy (*Deutsche Bauakademie, DBA*), from 1973 Building Academy of the GDR, was the ideological and scientific lead institution of civil engineering. It developed designs and technical projects for urban ensembles, corporate and residential buildings during the 1950s and 1960s. In addition, the Building Academy was a controlling and advisory body that influenced all important building and design projects and developed the architectural principles of the new "socialist architecture". In 1952 the *Bund deutscher Architekten der DDR* (from 1971 Confederation of GDR Architects) was founded as a social and professional organisation of architects, urban planners and engineers. In the BdA significantly more women were members, due to the organisation's ideological status as a public body and the specific social objectives, than in the West German BDA⁵⁴ of the same era. However, Harald Engler⁵⁵ explains that numerical representation does not translate into influence. Only 1.2 percent of influential positions were held by women.

Regular meetings of regional groups promoted, despite political influence and control by the party, a critical professional exchange across the boundaries of (Eastern) institutions and beyond the cohesion of the still male-dominated architectural profession.

Local and regional structures

Also the organisation of building and planning itself was subject to numerous and partly contradicting changes from above with an increasing influence of the state planning commission. Whereas the municipalities were still responsible for the first (often unrealised) reconstruction projects, towards the end of 1950 a uniform administrative enforcement structure was set up. It had been the desire of the SED since 1948. Criticised for their bourgeois-democratic imprinting by the SED, traditional municipal planning authorities were abolished in 1953. The municipalities were subjected to planning authorities that worked directly under ministry guidance. Urban planning and construction were mostly delegated to the five state project offices, whose duties were defined in the first Five-Year Plan (1951-1955) in accordance with a Council of Ministers'

⁵⁴ Proportion of women architects in the BdA in the GDR districts: Cottbus 28.9 percent, Frankfurt (Oder) 27.4 percent, Potsdam 24.1 percent; source: Engler/ IRS.

⁵⁵ Harald Engler, "Architektur ohne Architektinnen? Frauen im Bauwesen der DDR," in 29. Brandenburg Regional Discourses (2010, 1-3).

decision in 1951. In the cities and counties, posts for chief architects, later city architects, were established, and small, subordinate city planning offices were founded. At the same time, however, higher-level offices for town and village planning were established on the district level. Their principal architects reported directly to the President of the District Council. After a first building conference (*Baukonferenz*) of the SED Central Committee in 1955, urban planning was directed more towards economic sustainability and integrated into the national system of economic planning as a result of previous economic failures in the sector.

Centralisation was partly revised in a 1958 structural reform, which was accompanied by an upgrade of the local bodies at city and district levels. Districts, counties and cities established building authorities under the direction of district building directors (*Baudirektoren*) under the Ministry of Construction, combining state and district administrative functions with construction management. City planning offices were turned into design groups for urban planning within the building authorities, and from the mid-1960s on, local and regional planning structures were established in a step towards localisation. In consequence of the Sixth Congress of the SED in 1968, municipal offices for urban planning again became more independent from central institutions and had a certain budgetary autonomy. Frank Betker⁵⁶ described them as “locally anchored islands of decentralisation, with a claim in a highly centralised system”, subjected to and responsible for the urban land use and building design to the city council or the district. Under the direction of a city architect, of whom during the whole GDR period only three were women, they drew up master plans and approved construction project sites, conducted analyses, inventories, and forecasts. According to Betker, interviews with the former employees show the political self-positioning of these offices as part of the state apparatus, “but architecture offices where the subject was the focus and politics were kept out”.

When, in January 1963, the SED introduced the New Economic System of Planning and Management (NÖSPL), which subjected city planning and housing production to the economic planning model, the districts established housing combines (WBK). Under rigid economic criteria they were deemed economically more successful than the previous structures. The local construction offices were dissolved and integrated into these conglomerates. Starting in 1963, on the district level, centrally directed large construction and assembly combines (BMK) were established, merging former companies of different size. They were responsible for industrial construction in the first place, but also active in housing and social infrastructure production. In these bodies, integrated “complex” design and production steering collectives emerged with the

⁵⁶ Frank Betker, op. cit.

“complex architect” responsible for planning and controlling. According to Thomas Topfstedt, this function was established everywhere before 1982 and allowed for the position of so-called brigade architects. This lower-to-middle management function was a more likely place for women.

Ideology and technology

During the early years of reconstruction, DDR building activities focused on Berlin and the capitals of the five states (Mecklenburg, Mark Brandenburg, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thüringen) and (after their formation) districts as well as on the newly founded socialist model towns. With the death of Stalin in March 1953, a change swept through the entire Soviet bloc, as Khrushchev demanded the industrialisation of construction and the development of type designs at the All-Union Building Conference of 1954. In an attempt to economise and speed up production, the SED Politburo decided to accelerate the implementation of prefabrication in the GDR building production. This initially led to confusion, because after the Stalinist wedding-cake-style reversal of modern building, the industrialisation of the sector was something like reversion to Bauhaus principles of replicability, albeit in a purely techno-economic implication of “faster, better, cheaper”.

In 1958, the Fifth Party Congress of the SED adopted a focus on housing, which was realised in the context of an overall enhancement of labour productivity. Until 1965, 772,000 new dwellings were to be built throughout the GDR as part of the Seven-Year Plan, although flat-space and quality reductions – especially in contrast to what had been built before – were a precondition of success. As of 1961, the growing GDR economic problems led to a concentration of investment in industry and consumption. The construction of residential buildings decreased drastically for some years, before renewed attempts to re-establish higher output were made to answer growing housing demand.

The threat of failure of the Seven-Year-Plan and the implementation of the New Economic System of planning and economic management again gave greater autonomy and thus responsibility to the various industrial sectors, including housing production. This led to even smaller flat sizes and higher density than originally envisaged. In 1963 residential construction again lost its top political priority, and housing was realised only when economically viable.

This political to and fro hardly changed with Erich Honecker's election as Secretary-General of the SED in 1971, even though the motto of "unity of social and economic policy" allowed a more focussed urban and housing development, for socio-political reasons. It was argued that an improvement of living conditions and living standards would provide incentives for increased economic efficiency.

From, socialist to "complex" housing, "building better, quicker, cheaper"

The forced industrialisation of building stripped GDR urban and housing development of much of its potential for detail and individual quality. "A flat for everybody" was set as a target. This had consequences for all levels of the building sector, new housing as well as the continuously neglected buildings of the pre-socialist periods. While women increasingly filtered into all spheres of industry, their role and weight in architecture and urbanism did not increase until the final days of the GDR. Planning and design of the habitat as well as political debates about housing was a mainly male domain, even though women were important second-line actors and set examples in a small number of cases.

However, in this homogeneous context it was difficult to find Berlin women architects with outstanding responsibility or even works, fulfilling the criterion of having applied different professional rationales or strategies to succeed in the profession. As explained in previous sections, this related to a large extent to the specific closure processes in the capital, and this is why Iris Grund, who moved for professional development opportunities from East Berlin to Mecklenburg-Pomerania, and Anita Bach, the only woman professor in architecture throughout GDR history, are, along with Dorothea Tscheschner and Ruth Krause, presented as cases in this chapter.

Planning for the GDR capital's centre: Dorothea Tscheschner

Dorothea Tscheschner was born in Brieg, Lower Silesia (at this time German eastern territories), in 1928. (Illustration 7 | 52 see following page) She was the daughter of an architect. In Chemnitz, where her father works after expulsion from Silesia as an urban planner (*Baurat*) at the public planning department, she is trained in 1948-49 as a carpenter and furniture maker. Her higher education from 1949 to 1952 is followed by a structural engineering degree at the Technical Academy in Chemnitz and the Technical College of Construction in Görlitz. These highly practical polytechnic courses prepare her for tasks of an architect and designer under supervision. For this reason, she continues her education with studies at the College of Architecture and Building

(HAB) in Weimar. As a child from the intelligentsia, she cannot benefit from a grant during the first years of her studies, but when her father is recognised as a victim of the Nazi regime, she receives a state scholarship for her academic education in Weimar, where she is awarded her diploma in 1956. Her required design task is a contribution to an all-Germany architectural competition, the design of a concert hall in Bad Orb. It is published in a volume of *Deutsche Architektur*. (Illustration 7 | 53 + 7 | 54)

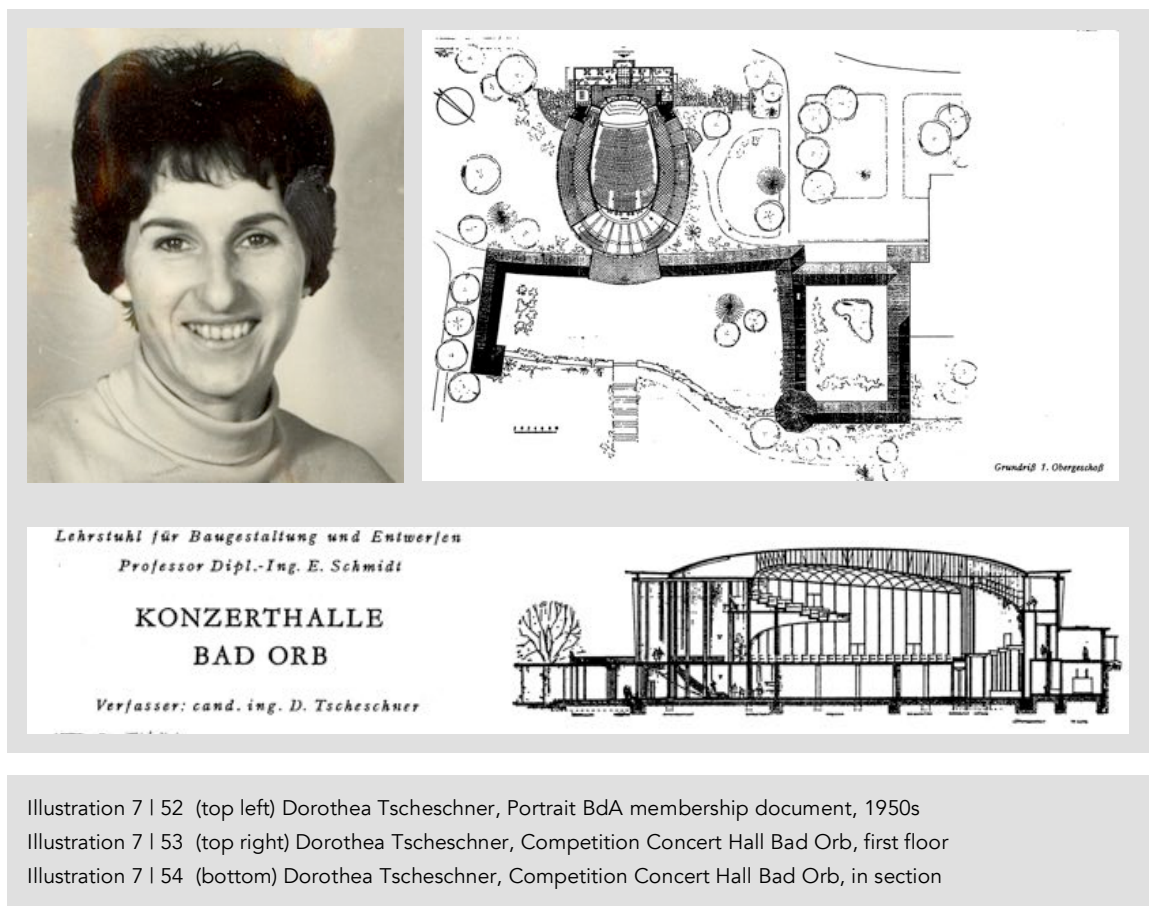


Illustration 7 | 52 (top left) Dorothea Tscheschner, Portrait BdA membership document, 1950s
 Illustration 7 | 53 (top right) Dorothea Tscheschner, Competition Concert Hall Bad Orb, first floor
 Illustration 7 | 54 (bottom) Dorothea Tscheschner, Competition Concert Hall Bad Orb, in section

After a year working as an architect and urban planner in the design of office buildings for the city of Gera, she is research assistant of Prof. Georg Funk at the TU Dresden Urban Studies Institute between 1957 and 1959.

As a co-author and temporarily also director, Dorothea Tscheschner worked for 15 years in the urban collective for the design of the centre of the GDR capital, which was after 1960 the Main Office of Urban Planning (*Hauptreferat räumliche Planung*) of the Berlin Magistrat. Thus she belonged to a generation searching for new and independent pathways and independence from previous plans and structures. One example is the 1961 design for the redevelopment of downtown Berlin with Peter Schweizer and Hubert Martinetz. In the centre of the planning group, she is, as author, responsibly

involved in the development plan for East Berlin (1961), the concepts for the urban *Unter den Linden* boulevard (1961-67), of *Marx-Engels-Platz* (1961-66), *Alexanderplatz* (1964-70) and *Leipziger Straße* (1962-71). (Illustration 7 | 55 + 7 | 56 + 7 | 57) In 1966 she contributes to the formulation of the "Principles for the development of urbanism and architecture in the GDR capital, Berlin, under the condition of building the socialist state", applying the 16 Principles of Urban Development. The meeting minutes concerning these planning processes, her official work diaries, and texts formulated for her superiors and the ministries exhibit competence and indicate a considerable influence. According to the minutes, she seems in most cases to be the only woman present at leadership-level meetings. Apart from the above-mentioned major projects, she is involved in the early 1960s traffic planning, and requires a more use-based planning and the prerequisite scientific expertise. "To achieve a maximum advantage of traffic planning, investigation of the different traffic streams (origin, destination and numbers) that may be expected is necessary. On their basis, the traffic network can be improved. Furthermore, large-scale improvements of traffic networks will only be approved on the basis of economic justification. So, where are the justifications in Berlin?"⁵⁷



Illustration 7 | 55 Unter den Linden, "Deutsche Architektur"

⁵⁷ Report presented at an (East) Berlin traffic planning colloquium, at Dresden Technical University, 9 September 1963; accessible at the Building Archive at IRS Erkner.



Illustration 7 | 56 Leipziger Straße
 Illustration 7 | 57 Berlin, Marx-Engels-Forum, Conceptual Draft

In 1961, Tscheschner becomes a member of the *Bund der Architekten der DDR* and the first corresponding member of the Academy of Architecture (*Bauakademie*). That same

year she is honoured for her achievements in the "Zoning of the Centre" with the Goethe Prize, which she wins a second time in the 1980s for her housing developments.

At the same time, in 1967, Dorothea Tscheschner begins PhD studies in urban planning. The thesis she submits to the Institute for Urban Design / HAB Weimar is entitled "Development tendencies of the socialist city centres' structure – as exemplified by the case of Berlin, capital of the GDR". Despite some constraints because of lacking party membership, she is awarded her doctoral degree in 1971.

She participates in various competitions, including for the town of Magdeburg (1958 collective Funk, 1st prize), the centre of Berlin (1959/60, Koll. Schweitzer), Rostock Lütten-Klein (1960, Koll. Schweitzer, 2nd Prize), for Thälmannplatz in Halle (Koll. Schweitzer, purchase) and for the city centre of Sofia (1963, Koll. Schweitzer, purchase).

From the late 1960s, she takes an increasingly critical stand on the effects of party interference in the planning processes and forecasts less promising perspectives for the construction industry and for the integration of urban development, architecture and socialist art than expected by policymakers. This is documented in minutes of a BdA meeting in 1969, and in an official statement for the building academy in 1974, signed by her and chief architect Korn.⁵⁸ Another critical perspective that she enunciates publicly is the changing task, role and image of both architects and artists in the context of the socialist building system. In a subtle statement, "The problem of a *ménage à trois* (*Das Problem der Ehe zu Dritt*) from the architects' perspective", she depicts the state imperatives and their impact on the culture of the profession. Seemingly distancing herself from the capitalist pattern of art production, she nevertheless opens a perspective on gaps in urban-development-related art, which might arise from the socialist system of art production. During the late 1960s/early 1970s she maintains contacts with her siblings in West Germany.

Possibly in consequence, she is, in connection with a general restructuring of the department of urban development and architecture in the early 1970s, transferred on paper to the Magistrat Department of Economy and Technology. However, her actual tasks remain closely linked to the chief architect's urban planning office and concern the large housing estate planning and the development of prototypes for panel prefabrication. From 1974 to 1990 she devotes herself primarily to the development of standardised buildings for residential areas and their application in urban planning

58 Sources: These documents are accessible at the Building Archive of the IRS Erkner, holding the pre-estate of Dorothea Tscheschner. Other sources used for this biography were interviews with the architect in 2000, her contributions to the IRS workshops on GDR building history and the database file on Tscheschner at the Institute for Art History, University of Leipzig (Doc. No. 3000-15602762).

issues. Retrospectively, she considers the “16 Principles of Urban Design”, which were adopted in 1950 as a first postulate for the design of the socialist city, as a key instrument to safeguard women’s needs in urban life.

Dorothea Tscheschner takes a new job as an insurance evaluator specialising in building issues (*Bauschätzerin*) and is employed by an insurance company from 1990 to 1999. During this decade she begins working as a freelance architectural historian of the GDR architectural heritage.

SELECTED WORKS

Socialist reconstruction of the GDR capital’s centre

The guiding principles for the planning of the GDR capital were adopted by the magistrate on 28 November 1949.⁵⁹ The Third SED Party Conference in 1950 considered them the basis for the architectural and urban planning for the rebuilding process, and the Fifth Party Conference in 1958 decided to go ahead with the rebuilding and new construction of the GDR city centres. The East Berlin focus was to be on *Unter den Linden* boulevard, *Marx-Engels-Platz*, and the urban space between *Alexanderplatz* and *Stalin-Allee*, including *Leipziger Straße* and *Spittelmarkt*, parallel to *Unter den Linden*. The basic idea was a central axis from Brandenburg Gate to *Frankfurter Allee*, with an urban dominate at *Marx-Engels-Platz*, as the location for a political centre to include the East German Parliament and the Council of Ministers. (Illustration 7 | 58 see following page) Several architects, e.g. Richard Paulicke, Edmund Collein, suggested concepts for this monumental project. In 1957 Hans Hopp, Gerhard Kosel and Hans Mertens provided a concept that was accepted by the Fifth Party Congress. However, Tscheschner states, “Like often in totalitarian regimes, Walter Ulbricht and Paul Werner, 1st Secretary of the Berlin SED district offices, had a very strong interest in the new urban and architectural development of the city centre. Here, ‘architecture should correspond to the victorious ideas of socialism’, and of course, their subjective perceptions of urban design and architecture had a decisive weight.”⁶⁰

⁵⁹ The following section, which summarises the process, is based on Dorothea Tscheschner, “Der Wiederaufbau des historischen Zentrums in Ostberlin” (The rebuilding of the East Berlin historical centre”), in ed. Berlinische Galerie, Hauptstadt Berlin. Internationaler städtebaulicher Ideenwettbewerb 1957/58 (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 1990), 217-248. Her text provides much more detailed knowledge, and using her reflection of the time and the process here is a way to give her a voice, since there are no building designs to be used as selected works in this thesis.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 225.

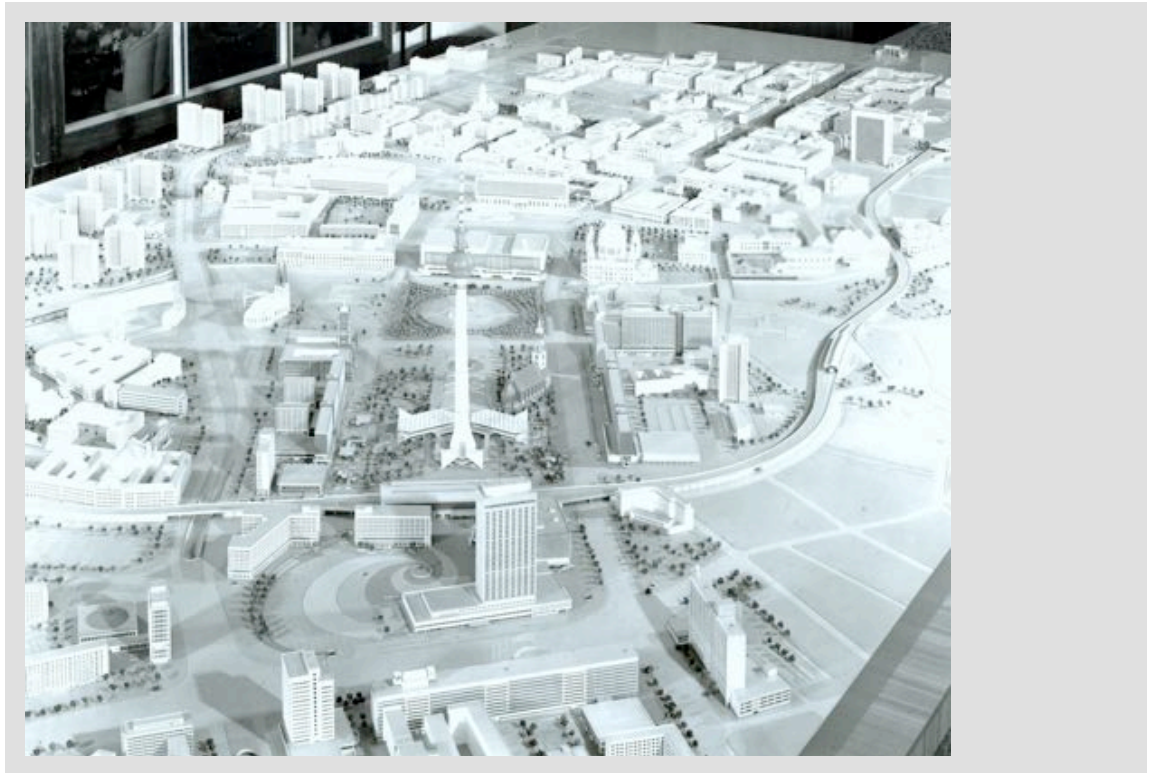


Illustration 7 | 58 Berlin, Modell Alexanderplatz with Television Tower

Thus, in 1958, an international competition was opened, however, excluding West German and West European architects. Despite 58 submissions, and concepts by Hermann Henselmann and Hans Hopp and his team, which were a non-competitive bid, this competition did not lead to the expected result. No first prize was awarded. In the meantime, the city-centre planning collective led by Peter Schweizer had provided an analysis of the whole inner city area and established priorities for a re-organisation of the centre, in terms of structure, functions, and spatial relations. Based on this analysis, which was not part of the competition material, Peter Schweizer, Dorothea Tscheschner and Hubert Martinez devised, also as an unofficial contribution, an urban design concept for the city centre. Their concept was finally implemented, including aspects of the other competition submissions, which had been selected by the Ministry, the *Bauakademie*, the president of the BdA and the first secretary of the SED district head office. The strategy involved, first of all, a traffic concept, the inclusion and reconstruction of the cultural heritage at *Unter den Linden* as representative space with its diplomatic and government institutions in the segment between Brandenburg Gate and *Marx-Engels-Platz*; hotels, restaurants and commercial space in the section closer to *Alexanderplatz*. This square was designed as a traffic node and a shopping area and provided a large public urban space, which gained its main symbolic significance and popularity with the construction of a television tower. From 1966 the site became a priority area for housing development, in an attempt to solve the housing question by

1971. The concept thus foresaw principally a mixed-use inner city centre and a city of short distances. In 1964 an internal competition for the final design of *Alexanderplatz* took place. Five planning collectives were invited: two *Bauakademie* teams (Henselmann's and Grotewohl's), the municipal planning department team (Schweizer, Tscheschner and Martinez) and a collective of the East Berlin construction company, led by Wolfgang Straßenmeier. Tscheschner's team won again, and Ulbricht again made precise corrections. From 1968, inner city housing becomes the major concern (Tscheschner is particularly engaged in the Leipziger Straße area.⁶¹ In a description of the project in *Deutsche Architektur*, one of Tscheschner's major concerns becomes explicit: "The collective is furthermore aiming at cooperation between architects and artists, in the interest of forging a synthesis between urban design, architecture and fine arts, and to gain new insights in practice."⁶²

From the late 1970s, the planning process for the centre focuses on the building of *Palast der Republik* and the reconstruction of the historic ensemble around *Gendarmenmarkt* and *Nikolaiviertel*, in which Tscheschner was not involved.

From the masters' workshop⁶³ in Berlin to Neubrandenburg – a GDR star architect's professionalisation: Iris Grund

Born in Berlin in 1933, the daughter of master builder Franz Dullin, Iris Grund has an eventful childhood. (Illustration 7 | 59 see following page) The family follows the father frequently to Poland, where he is employed during the war with the reconstruction of bridges. The high school which she leaves in 1951 was in the American sector of Berlin. In preparation for her architectural studies at the College of Fine and Applied Arts (*Hochschule für bildende und angewandte Kunst*) in Berlin-Weißensee, between 1951 and 1952 she completes two internships as a building helper in civil engineering at VEB Tiefbau Berlin and as a technical draftsperson. She studies from 1952 to 1957 in Selman Selmanagić's class. He teaches *Bauhaus* style architectural design although the *Nationale Tradition* doctrine is obligatory for academic education. After her graduation and diploma (thesis on a cultural centre for the city of Schwedt), the meanwhile single mother of a daughter applies for a job in several planning departments, but "what they wanted were engineers, not architects! (...) and after a very individualistic academic experience, it was not easy to accept that any design or planning had to be signed as a

⁶¹ See e.g. Peter Schweizer, "Der Aufbau der Leipziger Straße in Berlin", in *Deutsche Architektur* 9 (1969), 526-529.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 529.

⁶³ In German: Meisterwerkstatt.

collective contribution."⁶⁴ Finally, she and five classmates, including Gisela Jünger, are accepted in the office of Hermann Henselmann, chief architect of East Berlin. From 1957 she works as his assistant on urban planning projects. In summer 1959 Iris Grund works for a few months as an architect in the Hamburg office of architect and town planner Ernst May, whom she met in the context of the Berlin-Fennpfuhl competition. Although he offers her a permanent job, she decides to return to Berlin, intent on contributing to the establishment of a new (socialist) society in the GDR.



Illustration 7 | 59 Iris Grund, in her office in Neubrandenburg, 1970s

The research for this thesis had no access to her original submission to the Neubrandenburg House of Culture and Education (*Haus der Kultur und Bildung*) competition, but according to building history texts and interviews with the architect, she receives the first prize for the 1959 competition. In her autobiography, she states:

"Henselmann vouched for me, as a young architect who could suggest fresh ideas, so I was invited to participate in the competition. He was a reliable boss, and in a certain sense, also a good teacher. When he became head of a Bauakademie master workshop, I was employed there. I enthusiastically took on this big task. I intended to implement my ideas about a new architecture and use the chance to express the humanistic ideas

⁶⁴ Quote from an interview with the architect in 2000. Sources for the overall biography of Iris Grund are the interviews with her in 2000, her autobiography (*ibid*, *Geschichte einer Architectin. Visionen und Wirklichkeit*, published at her own expense in 2004), and articles by her and about her projects in the journal *Deutsche Architektur*, see bibliography.

of a socialist state in a new German state. (...) The idea developed on the basis of these and other thoughts and on discussions with Henselmann and other colleagues."⁶⁵

From January 1961 onwards she is employed at the state building and planning company *VEB Hochbauprojektierung Neubrandenburg*, commissioned with the implementation of this major project, expected to cost about 20 million East German marks. In this position she makes friends but also faces considerable mistrust. Her team of 30 architects, planners and structural engineers is based spatially outside the planning department, in a vacant shop premise.

The House of Culture project, with its meeting spaces and cafes, a library and a tower, which accommodates offices, studios and a restaurant with a view behind its ornamental and partially ceramic facade, can be seen as an urban architecture expression of the GDR *Zeitgeist*. Further stages of her career in Neubrandenburg are continuous activities as urban development department head with *VEB Hochbauprojektierung* (1965-68), as chief architect of the housing construction combine *Wohnungsbaukombinat*, (*WBK* , 1968-70) and as city architect (1970-90).

Iris Grund leads the work on the master plan for Neubrandenburg (1975 -1990) and the planning of residential areas with type WBS70 buildings, such as the new housing estates on Datzeberg (1976-81), in the Oststadt (1970-80) and along Leninstraße (collaboration with Günter Gisder and Manfred Hartung) and therefore has a significant role in creating the image of the city. After reunification she is personally blamed for the structural deficits of the large housing estates which she was instrumental in building, a reproach that deserves further research, notably concerning the relation between the quality of the buildings and the estate residents' (and journalists') post-unification abandonment and condemnation. In her autobiography she reports that her housing designs are attempts to optimise the floor plans within the given standards of production, aiming at a better adaptation to the needs of housekeepers, both women and men.^{p.90-91} Improving lighting, kitchen and bathroom design, positioning doors allowing location of a wardrobe in the bedroom and similar questions are issues in everyday negotiations with the building companies, despite support by the local branch of *Demokratischer Frauenbund Deutschland*. Her reflection on usability and flexibility of residential units and floor plans is also documented in various *Deutsche Architektur* articles.⁶⁶ She puts special emphasis on the assimilation of buildings and urban design to the landscape. In collaboration with Gisder she designs old town sites, including the

⁶⁵ Quote from her autobiography, 60-61.

⁶⁶ See e.g. *ibid.*, „Aktive Mitarbeit – nicht demokratische Geste“, in xxx

Behmestraße residential area (1985, 1st prize). Adapting the prefabricated buildings to match the old buildings was a prime target of her careful renewal concept, pursued within the limits of contemporary design and building opportunities. For example, construction material and design elements, such as ceramic tiles, a major feature of panel building facade design, were only available in a limited number and colour for each of the GDR districts. The residential area north of Katharinenstraße (1987/88) and the *Am Oberbach* residential area (1987-89) are also worth mentioning, especially because the latter employs geothermal heating.

However, Grund's sphere of activity is not confined to Neubrandenburg. In response to the capital's invitation to each GDR district to contribute to East Berlin's huge Marzahn-Hellersdorf housing project, she designs a housing estate in Kaulsdorf-Nord with 1,757 apartments, two kindergartens, two schools and a sports hall. In contrast to the large housing estates in Neubrandenburg, a library, a bank and commercial space is included. Two other East German regions are involved in this estate, enabling her to coordinate for the first time with other women architects: Ute Baumbach from Rostock and Traute Kazioch from Schwerin.⁶⁷

Iris Grund simultaneously holds a teaching assignment, lecturing in interior design at Dresden Technical University from 1965 to 1967. She earns a doctorate from the German Building Academy (*Deutsche Bauakademie*) in 1969. In 1966, she is appointed to the international commission of the GDR Association of Architects (*Bund Deutscher Architekten der DDR, BdA*). She is a member of the scientific council of the *Bauakademie* and member of the central committee of the Free German Trade Union Federation (*Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, FDGB*) from 1968 and from 1980 a corresponding member. In her numerous publications, e.g. in *Deutsche Architektur* and *Deutsche Bauinformation* (German Building Information), she always stressed the importance of architects' creativity as a complement to functionality and user-friendliness in building. Both were often repressed under the GDR building conditions.

1990, Iris Grund opens an office as a freelance architect in Neustrelitz. At this point she is a member of the West German *Bund Deutscher Architekten* (BDA). At the age of 57 she manages a new beginning. She realises various private homes and major projects, such as the double sports hall in Lychen (1996), the bus depot in Triepkendorf (1999) and the conversion of an agricultural cooperative (LPG) into a hotel with swimming pool (Neugarz in the Müritz region, 1999). In 2001 she moves to Nice, where she tries to establish another new office.

⁶⁷ Ute Baumbach, today a freelance architect in Rostock, is one of the contemporary witnesses interviewed for this thesis.

Initially supported by her mentor Hermann Henselmann, Iris Grund was one of the few GDR women architects who were in charge of planning in the dimensions of the redesign of the city of Neubrandenburg. Her person and work received wide media attention, nearly equalling Sigrid Kressmann-Zschach, whom she never met. Grund's renown even reached West Germany, where she was interviewed by *Der Stern* and portrayed on TV by *Norddeutscher Rundfunk*.⁶⁸ She was also the model for Brigitte Reimann's novel *Franziska Linkerhand*. She meets Reimann in the mid-1960s in Berlin, probably because both had close ties to Henselmann. They have long discussions on Grund's career situation and general building policies and conditions when Reimann moves to Neubrandenburg in 1968. The novelist mixed great respect with a measure of criticism towards Grund.

While Grund was able to contribute many of her ideas to Neubrandenburg's urban planning until 1990, the work that she realised in her private office from 1990 on was dominated by her architectural designing skills, finally enjoying more freedom to express her expertise in housing design. The analysis of her work in Neubrandenburg has so far played hardly any role in research on Neubrandenburg history. Her work after reunification has also been virtually neglected by historians. Possibly motivated through the interview for this thesis, and Brigitte Reimann's work, Grund self-published an autobiography in 2004.⁶⁹ This publication caused quite a stir in Neubrandenburg when she presented it. Meanwhile, she again lives in Berlin.

SELECTED WORKS

Haus der Kultur

Marktplatz 1, Neubrandenburg, Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, 1961-1965.

(Illustration 7 | 60 + 7 | 61 + 7 | 62 see following page)

⁶⁸ "Glücklich in der DDR", *Stern* 52/53 (1963), and "Menschen in der DDR – Portraits aus einem anderen Deutschland", broadcast 11 November 1975.

⁶⁹ Iris Dullin-Grund, *Geschichte einer Architektin. Visionen und Wirklichkeit*. Hamburg: Mein Buch, 2004.



Illustration 7 | 60 Iris Grund, Haus der Kultur (House of Culture), street view, Marktplatz 1, Neubrandenburg, 1961

Illustration 7 | 61 Iris Grund, Haus der Kultur, urban design scheme

Illustration 7 | 62 Iris Grund, and, to her left, Horst Sindermann, opening of Kulturhaus Neubrandenburg, 1961

Iris Grund develops the *Haus der Kultur* concept as part of an *Aufbauministerium* competition entry for the renewal of the old town and the *Zentraler Platz* in Neubrandenburg in 1957. The *Politbüro* criticised the architectural quality of her winning submission and awarded Hermann Henselmann the continuous direction of Neubrandenburg centre development. However, Henselmann arranged an internal competition amongst planning department architects, including young architects working at the *Bauakademie*. One of them was Iris Grund, who was already a member of his master workshop.

The overall design process is to be seen in the context of the implementation of the “16 Principles of Urban Development” and the inclusion of Neubrandenburg in the programme of “cities to be further developed” (*Aufbaustädte*) from 1951. This scheme, included upgrading the market square to a central square (*Zentraler Platz*).⁷⁰ The basic idea of the competition contribution was to incorporate all important cultural institutions of the then-young capital of the Neubrandenburg district under one roof. In contrast to West Germany, where town halls played the architectural role of the cultural dominant during the rebuilding process, in the GDR the creation of urban dominants was a major concern of the concepts for cultural buildings⁷¹, elevating the value of this operation in terms of the “noble tasks” in architecture. The young Iris Grund was the only woman who was commissioned with such a task during the 1960s.

In Grund’s design, the tower, which is slightly higher than the nearby church steeple, is not only designed as the urban dominant, but also to improve the spatial effectiveness of the ensemble. The ornamented tower, with a typical 1950s-style facade, differs from the originally envisioned building in the *Nationale Tradition* style by virtue of its proposed industrial construction. It also disregards the originally foreseen concept of a new town hall. Surprisingly, she is nevertheless asked to implement her proposal.

The GDR cultural centre normally entails a manifold spatial programme, including a theatre. However, the *Haus der Kultur* complex opened in 1965 lacks this asset. Its main spatial component, a multipurpose hall, an exhibition hall and district library, encircle a garden courtyard. On the north-east corner of the market, the campanile-like tower house creates a new urban landmark.

The west wing takes the multi-purpose hall with a stage and an orchestra pit. The campanile has a snack bar, a café and a large foyer on the market side. The eastern counterpart is the library with the open-access area for adults in the centre and the children's area to the north. Both parts are connected to the market through the generous exhibition hall with attached reading café. The northern wing contains library staff offices. Space for various technical and artistic circles was arranged in the tower, containing 18 work rooms, a restaurant and a wine bar.

In an article headed “Construction – the most beautiful occupation” Grund describes the challenges in maintaining the building schedule, due to a change in construction

70 For detailed treatment of the central square, see Brigitte Raschke, “Rathausdämmerung. Die Diskussion um den Zentralen Platz in Neubrandenburg bis 1958.” in Holger Barth, op. cit., 203-210.

71 See Ute Fendel, “Rathaus und Kulturhaus. Ein Vergleich zweier zentraler Bauaufgaben in Deutschland Ost und West.” in Barth 1998, op. cit., 79 – 87.

design because of supplier production problems and political intervention in the overall concept and cost management. Grund had a convincing political argument. As she said in one of the interviews, "the bonus of a woman who worked her way up to her position." She defends the tower building against cost-related criticism by the minister, admitting that the tower is not an economically effective building: "Had the tower been an office building or high-rise housing, it would have taken unreasonably long to pay for itself. But has a cultural building ever yielded a monetary return on investment? I know no methodology to measure this. (...) This tower is designed as a harbinger of Neubrandenburg's future as a modern industrial city. (...) If anything is photographed to typify Neubrandenburg, it is the tower. I want to point out, that, in my way of thinking, the modest luxury of an uneconomic tower building is justified by its immeasurable ideal values."⁷²

She concludes this article with a statement that needs to be seen as typical for its time, but may also be interpreted as a statement on the everyday experience of a woman architect in a leadership position: "Otherwise, since I am able to experience the building process with all its constraints, but also its pleasures on the construction site, I am more than ever before convinced that construction is the most beautiful occupation I could choose, particularly in these times, in our state, and despite the fact that I am a woman."⁷³

Concerning this building, she suffers a symbolic peak of discrimination when the official opening ceremony fails to foresee a statement by or congratulations to the architect.

Large housing estate "Datzeberg"

Neubrandenburg, 1976-1982

(Illustration 7 | 63 + 7 | 64 + 7 | 65 see following page)

⁷² Iris Grund, "Bauen – der schönste Beruf", Deutsche Architektur Vol. 3 (1965), 137.

⁷³ Ibid.



Illustration 7 | 63 Iris Grund, Large housing estate Datzeberg, model, Neubrandenburg, 1975

Illustration 7 | 64 Iris Grund, Large housing estate Datzeberg, residential housing, renovated in the late 1990s

Illustration 7 | 65 Iris Grund, Large housing estate Datzeberg, residential housing, library and shops, renovated in the late 1990s, Neubrandenburg, 2000

Based on the instructions of the general development plan which Grund and her team developed from 1975, several residential areas were built to the south and east of the centre in the 1970s. In considering further residential development, some arguments were aired in favour of the northern plateau of the Datzeberg elevation. The proximity to downtown and the business enterprises around Ihlenfelder Straße were also advantageous for the location, as well as the bioclimatic conditions above the lowlands and the resulting views. In addition, the development would have a special impact on the city skyline. All these factors also influence the rather unusual and non-linear design of individual streets and courtyards.

The moving topography with numerous road cuts enabled a good transport and urban technical development. For example, the transformer station for district heating could be inserted in a recess. The flat roof of the building served both as an extension of the central square and as a vantage point to the south. The development consists mostly of five-storey apartment blocks. In the west and south of the area, 11/14-storey residential towers were placed on several bastion-like projections that have significant impact on the overall urban effect of the quarter, underlining the landscape-oriented composition. On completion of the residential development, several children's facilities as well as a restaurant, a clubhouse and a library were added in the centre. However, other social, cultural and commercial opportunities were omitted.

In order to implement the ambitious urban concept, an additional conical segment had to be developed (6 to 3.6 m at 12 m depth) to allow the existing housing series 70 to follow the plan. These new panels could on the one hand provide space for extra four-room flats. On the other hand, an implementation of continuous building "snakes", following the contours of the terrain, became possible. The wandering sunlight emphasises and adds to the plasticity of the buildings. The facades are decorated with rolled gravel and Meißer gap-ceramic. Bright earthy colours were chosen as a contrast to the surrounding natural area with its subtle colour accents.

Professor in Weimar: Anita Bach

Anita Bach née Griebel grows up in Eisfeld, Thuringia. Her father, educated at the Dresden Academy of Fashion (*Dresdener Modefachschule*), managed a bespoke tailors. Like her mother, she shows early musical and artistic talent and, inspired by her architect uncle, develops an interest in his profession. This interest is strengthened in consequence of the experience of destruction of the cities at the end of World War II. In 1945 she completes an "emergency high school". Her career aspiration after the high school diploma in 1946 is to become an architect. She subsequently takes a building internship (*Baupraktikum*) in her native village until 1947, which at that time was very unusual for a woman.⁷⁴ (Illustration 7 | 66 see following page)

⁷⁴ The biography of Anita Bach is based two interviews with her and a comprehensive body of unpublished material and literature (see bibliography), which would support a monograph on her work.



Illustration 7 | 66 Anita Bach with colleagues in Weimar, late 1960s

In those years right after the war, study opportunities are rare. So she turns first to the Pedagogical Faculty in Greifswald, and transfers with support from Prof. Hermann Weidhaas, whose attention had been attracted by her unusual curriculum, to the College of Architecture and Construction (*Hochschule für Architektur und Baukunst, HAB*) in Weimar. After studying there between 1948 and 1952, in the classes of Professors Rettig, Weidhaas and Englberger among others, she works as an assistant, senior assistant, and finally as a lecturer at the Institute of Residential and Public Buildings chair of Otto Englberger (1953-69).

She completes her doctorate in 1960 with a thesis on mass housing construction in Classicism. The new Dr.-Ing is a mother of four children. From 1967 to 1971 Anita Bach leads the university's project design office. During this period, she develops, in addition to a variety of other projects and studies, her first major architectural designs: an experimental block of flats (economic construction) in Nordhausen (1954-56, member of a collective), a cube house in Weimar (see selected works) and the residence hall at Jakobsplan (see selected works). In the design of this project, she puts in practice the results of her research for living in communal residences, which also becomes a topic of her post-doctoral thesis (1966) and of the well-known publication *Wohnheime*

(dormitories).⁷⁵ Her responsibilities in the project planning office are to supervise the urban development planning studies of the HAB Weimar and Freiberg Technical College.

As a member, occasionally as a director of university collectives, Anita Bach takes part in the most important GDR competitions in the 1950s and 1960s, including the residential area of Fennpfuhl in Berlin (1957, coll., 2nd prize), the People's House in Magdeburg (1960, coll., purchase), the Hotel Bahnhof Friedrichstraße (1963, coll., purchase), and for the Rostock Lütten-Klein centre (1965, coll., 1st prize), at all more than 20.

During the late 1960s she finds that there is a lack of concepts for the completion of the buildings that were constructed in serial industrial housing production. Interior design no longer existed as a degree programme in the GDR, so she was asked by the school administration to develop a concept for the research field "building expansion, equipment and decoration" In 1969 she is appointed to succeed Prof. Horst Michel and becomes the only woman professor of architecture in the GDR. In many of her more than 60 scientific publications, she points out the importance of cooperation between teaching and research. Her goals are quality of life on the one hand, international competitiveness and export capability of designs and quality products on the other hand. Leading the design process for the HAB cafeteria linked these areas of work (1970/71 basic concept cafeteria, 1977/79 internal project).

As vice-rector for education, training and development (1980-85) and doctoral supervisor of 17 graduate students, she forges the HAB training methods. Besides teaching, she holds various social offices: chair of the Women's Committee 1950-55, and member of the central board of the Science Trade Union (*Gewerkschaft Wissenschaft*) 1958-67, chairperson of the university union executive 1971-75.

From 1966 she is a corresponding member of the German Building Academy (*Deutsche Bauakademie*) and a member of the scientific council and the governing board of the *Bund der Architekten der DDR* (BdA). Guest teaching activities and delegations provide diverse international contacts, including visits to schools of architecture in Havana, Helsinki, Oxford, Venice and Vienna. She goes on research trips to Czechoslovakia in 1956, and takes part in the UIA congresses in Paris in 1965 and in Prague in 1967.

75 Anita Bach, *Wohnheime* (Halls of residence). Berlin: VEB Verlag für Bauwesen, 1970.

Bach receives many awards for her work, such as the *Schinkel* medal and an honorary doctorate from the University of Havana.

After her retirement in 1987, Anita Bach lectures until 1990 at several architecture schools in the U.S. on the history of GDR architecture. At the end of her long career she collaborates with Joachim Bach, her husband, in their joint architectural office in Prerow, a small town on the Baltic coast. From 1990 until 1998, they work as freelance architects and create several projects in their new hometown, including the Prerow beach promenade (1992), the design for the Prerow urban planning framework (1993), several residential areas and a hotel.

Anita Bach's comprehensive research career, involving such varied subjects as residential building and social structure, interior design, and architectural education, is documented in numerous publications. It also had an obvious impact on her planning. Her engagement for women as caretakers of the family is better documented in lectures and public or university documents than in her publications, though she was for more than a decade responsible for women's issues in her department. In an official statement to the university, she assesses the ineffectiveness of the first period of GDR women's policies as follows: "*Another problem is the long-term preparation of women for more responsible work or for managerial functions. In industry as well as in scientific institutions we have the highest quota of female workers in lower levels of the occupation or profession, although I can talk easily about a considerable number of women who are directors, heads of departments or teaching at universities. This is a question of development, but it is also a problem which will not solve itself. We would only be using our equal rights partly if it were not possible for women to participate in responsible and creative work in top functions. The years when men gather experience and qualify for responsible work are often for women the years of childbearing and care for the growing family. However, this natural situation must not delay or stop the career of a gifted woman. A far-reaching system of different forms of further study and training for women, especially for women with children, has been established by a series of laws and regulations. With the help and support of the working collective and the family many women used these ways of further training in recent years. [sic]*"⁷⁶

As an architect and a professor, Anita Bach is one of the people who strongly shaped the architectural education and the following generation of architects, and in part the architectural history of the GDR. Bach lives in Prerow, Mecklenburg-Pomerania.

76 Original quotes from two typescripts by Anita Bach 1975, with permission of Anita Bach. Italics by the author of the thesis. She does not explicitly mention this here, but the long-term preparation for most women in responsible positions also included the development of "social work" in party-related organisations.

SELECTED WORKS

Mensa am Park

Marienstraße 15b, Weimar, University for Architecture and Construction
(HAB), 1969-1982

(Illustration 7 | 67 + 7 | 68 + 7 | 69)



Illustration 7 | 67 Anita Bach, Mensa am Park, street view, Marienstraße 15b, Weimar

Illustration 7 | 68 Anita Bach, Mensa am Park, view from the park, Photo Gilbert Weise

Illustration 7 | 69 Anita Bach, interior and light design 'Mensa am Park'

Between 1969 and 1973, Bach leads two student competitions for the design of a new *Park Mensa*. The results and their further development by Bach are the basis for internal transfer of project management to the project department of the Ministry of Higher

Education (*Projektierungsabteilung des Ministeriums für Hoch- und Fachschulwesen*), under Anita Bach's guidance. Various locations for the cafeteria are investigated. Finally the decision is taken to build directly adjacent to the main teaching building on Marienstraße. The planning office elaborates three urban and building design variants. While the 1974 plan accounts for 1,600 meals a day, the number of meals actually served rose to 2,500 before building started in 1979. In addition, the programme is augmented by a club space and a restaurant open to park visitors.

The mensa is the last individually planned mensa project in GDR time. The construction concept that was finally realised builds upon a skeleton structure. The upper elevations with their curtain facade are cantilevered over the ground floor. The window panes have aluminium frames, and the careful colour scheme differentiates the two floors and integrates the new building with the existing structure. The main student accommodation has as well a large self-serviced lunch room and a dining room. Its window frontages face the yard of the teaching building and its special narrowing segment opens towards the park on the River Ilm. The other guest and dining rooms are located towards the southern park side and enclose the central kitchen area. Since 2010, a local initiative of architects, architectural historians and other citizens supports and documents a vivid debate on the building's history and future, not least in terms of participative urban planning.⁷⁷

Würfelhaus (cube building)

Windmühlenstraße 31a, Weimar, 1968

(Illustrations 7 | 70 + 7 | 71)



Illustration 7 | 70 Anita Bach, Cube Building, view southern façade, Windmühlenstraße 31a, Weimar
Illustration 7 | 71 Anita Bach, Cube Building, floor plan ground floor

⁷⁷ See <http://www.mensadebatte.de/>

The Würfelhaus (cube building) design is, according to the architect, an attempt to combine Bauhaus style elements with contemporary GDR construction elements and conditions in an experimental building. Bach is the head of the design collective. The building is intended to serve as housing for assistants working for the university. The 16 one-to-four-bedroom flats of the four-storey building are arranged in a spiral system around the corridor in the centre of the building. Each flat has a balcony, southwards in the smaller flats, eastwards and westwards in the bigger flats. Kitchens are spacious compared to other GDR housing of the time and are supposed to give residents the impression of eating in a kitchen atmosphere, in the one-bedroom flat achieved through sliding doors. In its time a small, but outstanding project, the building was run down in the 1980s, when urgent renovation appeared necessary. Today, facades and overall appearance have improved thanks to a complete remodelling.⁷⁸

Studentenwohnheim am Jakobsplan (Jacobsplan hall of residence)
Jakobsplan 1, Weimar, 1970.

(Illustrations 7 | 72 + 7 | 73 + 7 | 74 see following page)

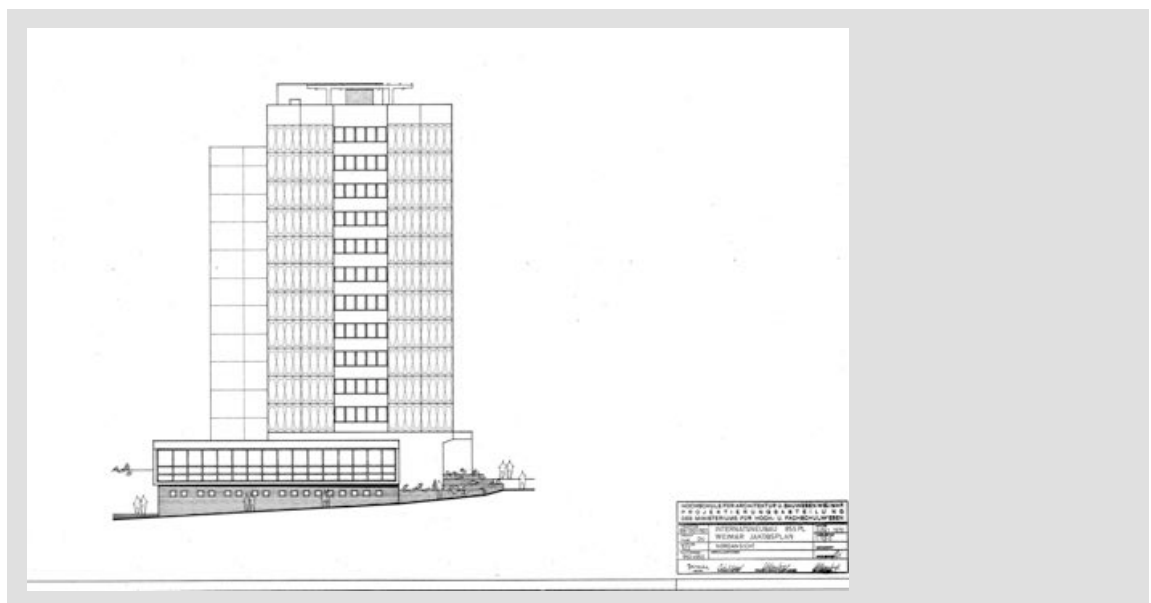


Illustration 7 | 72 Anita Bach, Residence Hall Am Jakobsplan, view from the east Jakobsplan 1, Weimar

⁷⁸ Sources: Interviews with the architect, her private archive, architect's portrait in *Deutsche Architektur*, Vol. 4 (1972), 248; and archive of the Bauhaus University, Weimar.

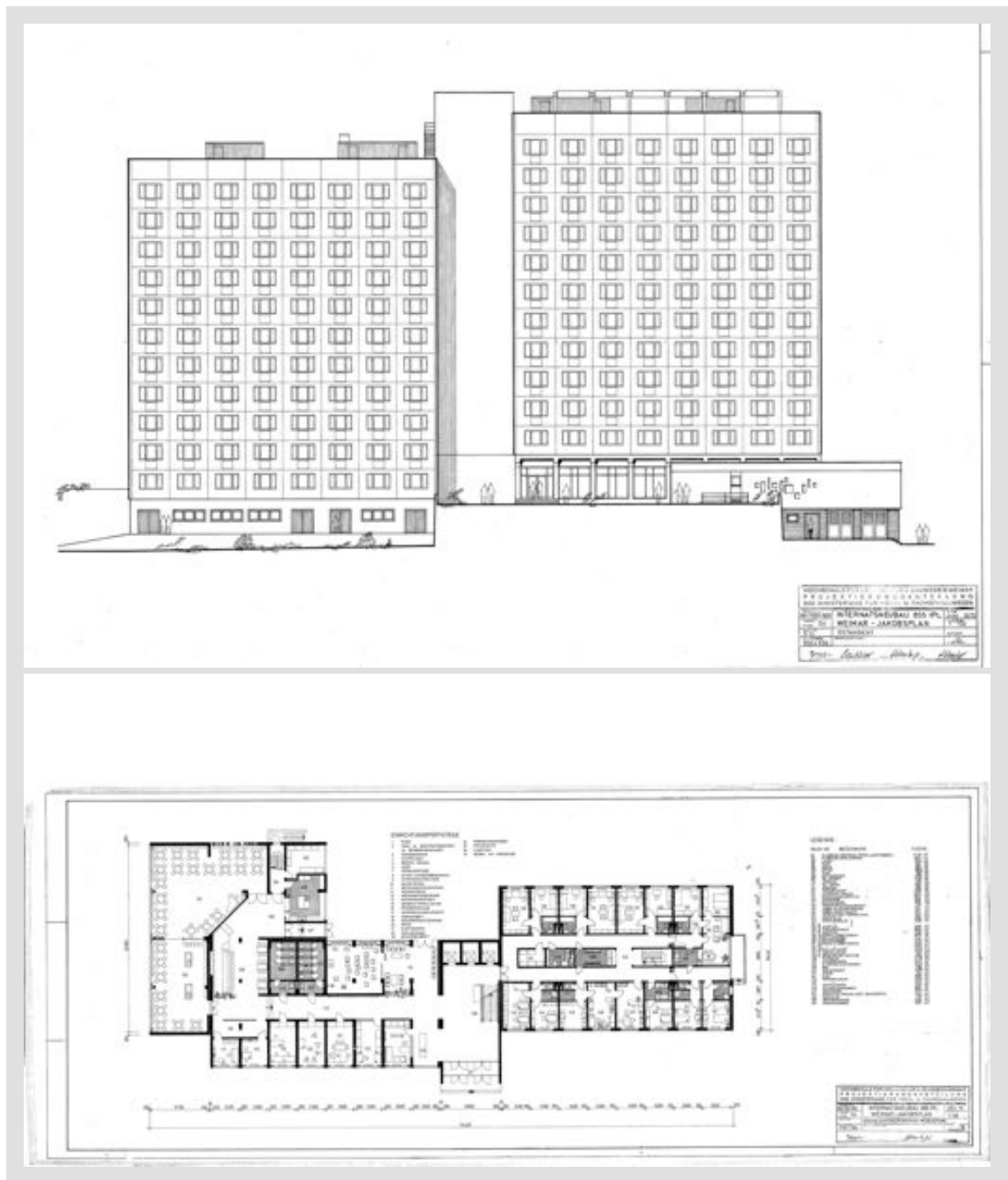


Illustration 7 | 73 (top) Anita Bach, Residence Hall Am Jakobsplan, view from the north

Illustration 7 | 74 (bottom) Anita Bach, Residence Hall Am Jakobsplan, ground floor plan with furniture plan

As a professor, Bach has very limited opportunities to put her research into practice. However, her internationally renowned publication *Wohnheime* is the basis for a student hall of residence in Weimar. Accommodation and living quality for the students, particularly young parents, is a topic which Bach pursued throughout her academic career. She considers the living quality in this phase of life as a crucial condition and resource for both personal development and one's academic career. In a number of

internal statements, she points particularly to women students' needs, "early facing the threefold challenge of fulfilling her tasks as a citizen, a student and a mother."⁷⁹

The *Am Jakobsplan* project is realised in the context of a great reform of the GDR universities, to meet the new principles of research and teaching, which were decided by the VIIIth Party Conference in 1967 and confirmed by the council of state in the same year. The postulated increased enrolment, particularly in engineering and construction professions, also required rooming facilities, notably because flats were only available to young people if married and building a family. The *Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen* thus needed a new student residence to sleep at least 900 persons.

The hall of residence *Am Jakobsplan* is located in a late 1960s urban renewal area that had an important urban function, to link the city centre and the northern part of town (*Nordstadt*), and provide different forms of housing, with a focus on student residences. Most of the run-down neighbourhood is demolished, apart from a church and a cemetery under cultural heritage protection. The *Jakobsplan* high rise is located in a predominantly small-scale building environment opposite the *Gauforum* and thus constitutes an urban dominant. Moreover, the high rise was accepted in the wider sense of a landmark in the socialist rebuilding of the city, as part of the educational institutions of Weimar, a traditional centre of academic research and education.

However, the building is even today a solitaire in the surrounding urban pattern. Bach's collective finds a unique mixed-construction solution, although the building design must be based on the "Erfurt" panel building type, generally used for new housing developments in Thuringia in GDR days.

The facade shows a typical panel building design, structured through horizontal and vertical joint gaps between panels. Only the gable facade benefits from a specific relief design, framing the windows of the shared spaces. The main body of the building is composed of two staggered structures, 10 and 11 floors high and attached by a central staircase. The floor plans generally follow Bach's basic planning concept and model plans. However, she refines the community-building facilities and family-oriented room structures. Shared space per flat and capita is reduced from 1m² to 0.5m², and the surface thereby gained is used as communal space on each upper floor and as a clubroom on the ground floor. This was greatly appreciated by the students. However, some of Bach's interior design principles were sacrificed to budget and occupancy requirements. Whereas her concept for the study places within the rooms could be

⁷⁹ Quote from official documents, provided by Bach for the HAB university administration in the early 1970s.

achieved, the single-bed option was eliminated and the rooms were furnished exclusively with bunk beds. The living space of the building is on the upper floors, and composed of living groups, each following the same structure: two three-bed-rooms, two two-bed rooms, a bath and toilets. Four such groups share a kitchen, a laundry and drying room and a guest room.

Adjacent to the ground-floor services, e.g. infirmary and kindergarten, are the club rooms. In the south-east direction of the building, there is a terrace for the club restaurant, which was exclusively for students, in contrast to other types of GDR hostels that opened their club restaurants to the public.

From prefabricated panel building to half timbering, competition and niches in the GDR building system: Ruth Krause

The case of Ruth Krause is very unusual, in terms of her being recognised in very different ways in the literature, in interviews with male and women colleagues, and in terms of providing an example for the difficulty to trace the contribution of an individual in the complex collective structures of large scale projects, even if the person was in a responsible position. The first trace of her work was found in an East Berlin architectural guide, which ascribed to her the further development of the prefab panel series *Type P2*, needed for the prestigious building project at Leninplatz in Berlin.⁸⁰ She is also mentioned by name in the publication of this (and other projects) in the professional journal *Architektur der DDR*. Interviews with her colleagues led to the conclusion that she had a leading role in the technical development of specific innovative elements of the P2 and W2 panel series, enabling new building forms in the two Leninplatz estates, and the design plan for this project. She is head of a production section in panel building technology and later becomes an expert in half-timbered housing renovation.⁸¹

So far, she seemed to be an interesting case, and in the interviews she was described as both an assertive person in professional debates and a considerate colleague, particularly in her ombudswoman role in her combine department. However, perusal of the first publication consulted in researching this thesis⁸² revealed severe rejection by renowned male architects involved in the Leninplatz project. The further the research went, the clearer it became that the valuation of contributions of this nature in the GDR

⁸⁰ See Gräbner, op. cit., 100.

⁸¹ The sources for the biography were a series of interviews, with her widower, her colleagues (Erika Bärhold, Gertraude Lehmann, Hans-Dieter Liepelt) and a GDR panel building expert (Brigitte Mann), her BdA application, and publications on the buildings to which she contributed, see bibliography.

⁸² See Droste 2001, op. cit.

building system is extremely difficult, particularly if it focused on lone authorship of “great architects”. (Illustration 7 | 75)



Illustration 7 | 75 Ruth Krause, 1960s

Ruth Krause (née Ahnert) grew up in Buttstädt, where she was born in 1934. Her father was trained at the Dresden Academy for Fashion, her mother was a housewife. Highly talented in mathematics, Ruth is easily admitted to architecture studies at Technische Universität Dresden, from 1953 until 1960. Her teachers include Manfred Rettich and Ludwig Trauzettel.

In 1958 she marries architect Carl Krause in Weimar. During her studies she does internships at the GDR train company in Naumburg and a carpentry workshop in Sömmerda, receives a number of grants for outstanding performance, and gives birth to her first daughter, Josefine. The couple shares childcare to allow Ruth to finish her studies on schedule. An excellent diploma project, the design of a bus terminal in Zwickau, helps her to leave the country for a short time and freelance for the office of the architect meinhard von Gerkan in Braunschweig. (Illustration) In 1961 she gives birth to her second daughter, Karoline. From 1964 to 1965, she works for the Dresden industrial planning office. In 1965 the family moves to Berlin, where she is first employed at *VEB Berlinprojekt* and then, starting in 1967, at *VEB Wohnungsbaukombinat Berlin (WBK)* in Ernst Mehlan’s collective.

In the 1960s she is involved in panel building technology development, the planning of the House of the Electrical Industries (*Haus der Elektroindustrie*) and the administration building of the structural engineering and panel building combine (*Montagekombinat Ingenieurhochbau, IHB*).

From the mid-1960s until the early 1970s she also contributes to technical and economical development of large housing estates, such as the prestigious *Leninplatz* project (1968-1969) and *Frankfurter Allee Süd*. Possibly due to mobbing and failing to advance from her WBK position, because of the objection of a superior, she leaves in 1981 and joins the *Bauakademie*, where she does research on the renovation of half-timbered housing. She works in this field until 1991 and develops considerable expertise. Her salary as a head of production was 1,400 marks, putting her in the highest income group, but she takes a salary cut when she changes jobs. Working in production was better paid than in research, even in superior positions.

Her move to the *Bauakademie* research department is typical for GDR women architects, whose careers hit the glass ceiling in planning practice. However, the research department provided opportunities for specialisation and work on intriguing themes. From a traditional architectural history perspective, careers focusing on existing buildings are of hardly any interest. From a feminist perspective, they help overcome difficulties in valuating teamwork and interpret interviews with concerned parties or gender-biased colleagues.

SELECTED WORKS

The information on Krause's works, emerging from the literature, press and interviews is contradicting. Three official documents however open up a more reliable perspective on Krause's achievements in her architectural practice for the housing construction combine (VEB Wohnungskombinat / WBK): the minutes of a staff interview (*Kadergespräch*) at the WBK, housing construction combine, where she was employed and annotations of an appraisal interview on August 23, 1979. „Colleague Krause has worked since 1968 as architect in the WBK's project development department. She contributed to the following tasks: *Leninplatz* (P2-Development), housing complex *Frankfurter Allee South*, housing construction series *Neubrandenburg* – Adaptation for Berlin, development for initial application (*Erstanwendungsobjekt*) and technical development (*Erzeugnisentwicklung*) for the housing construction series (WBS) 70/11, as adapted to the SU-Embassy (USSR). Furthermore, she independently developed the

products WBS 70/11-angle construction elements (*Winkelblockwerke*) and WBS 70/7-Binzstraße, and facilitated their production. In 1978, she was commissioned to develop basic construction elements (WHH-GT), which she completed in 1978 in good quality.

Since 1975, she held the position of head of work-group. When taking on tasks in housing estate planning by the brigade⁸³ 424.4, she actively contributed to preparing the construction tasks BA 5 and 6 in the housing area 3 of WG 3 (*Wohngebiet / housing area 3*) of the housing construction combine (WBK) Marzahn.

Today it was proposed to colleague Krause to take on the task: development of the products WBS 70/5 und 6 – closed angle-construction as the responsible production architect in Brigade 424.3. The relevance and challenge of this task requires an experienced architect. There was a consensus that colleague Krause has all necessary competences at her disposal.”

Furthermore, the minutes of an appraisal-interview on January 1, 1981, reveal amongst other things, that Krause had taken on the lead of Brigade 424.3 „WBS 70/overlay of various functions (*Funktionsüberlagerung*) and specific solutions“, and has taken on the position of a deputy of the head of the respective construction department. Her employer’s reference, as of Mai 8, 1981, states: „(...) Her work as engineer for architecture and design in construction development, particularly in large panel building, included application research, construction and process development, up to multiple-use (*Wiederverwendungs-*) and individual project development. She independently coordinated and led bid development (to the industry) (*Angebotsprojektierung*), (...) rationalisation and product implementation.

Due to her successful work as an architect in the development of serial housing construction, Krause was head of a design brigade and first deputy of the head of department. She considerably contributed to the design of working processes in her collective, which consisted of 75 – 90 persons permanent staff and contributed 80 – 90 % to the capital’s housing construction, and was responsible for the day to day service of about 8000 employees occupied with serial housing construction.

She is characterized by reliability, competence in technical and design tasks, shows outstanding preparedness, work intensity, practice orientation and comradely behaviour.

She contributed considerably to the development, project management, implementation and optimization of the construction series WBS 70/11, WBS 70/6 and

⁸³ East German term for team in the blue-collar-working areas.

housing high-rises, and specific projects within the production program of the housing construction combine Berlin.”⁸⁴

Despite the sometimes strange-sounding rhetoric about the tasks in serial housing production, these statements leave no doubt about her competence and specific contributions. Even though hers was not a department for general planning and development but for detailed design, her work’s importance for the involved ‘great architects’ success becomes obvious.

Inner city housing area Leninplatz

Platz der Vereinten Nationen, East Berlin, 1968-69

(Illustration 7 | 76 + 7 | 77 see following page)



Illustration 7 | 76 Leninplatz, view from Television Tower, Photo Karlheinz Krämer 1974

⁸⁴ Sources are the mentioned documents, provided in the context of an interview in June 2000 by her widower.

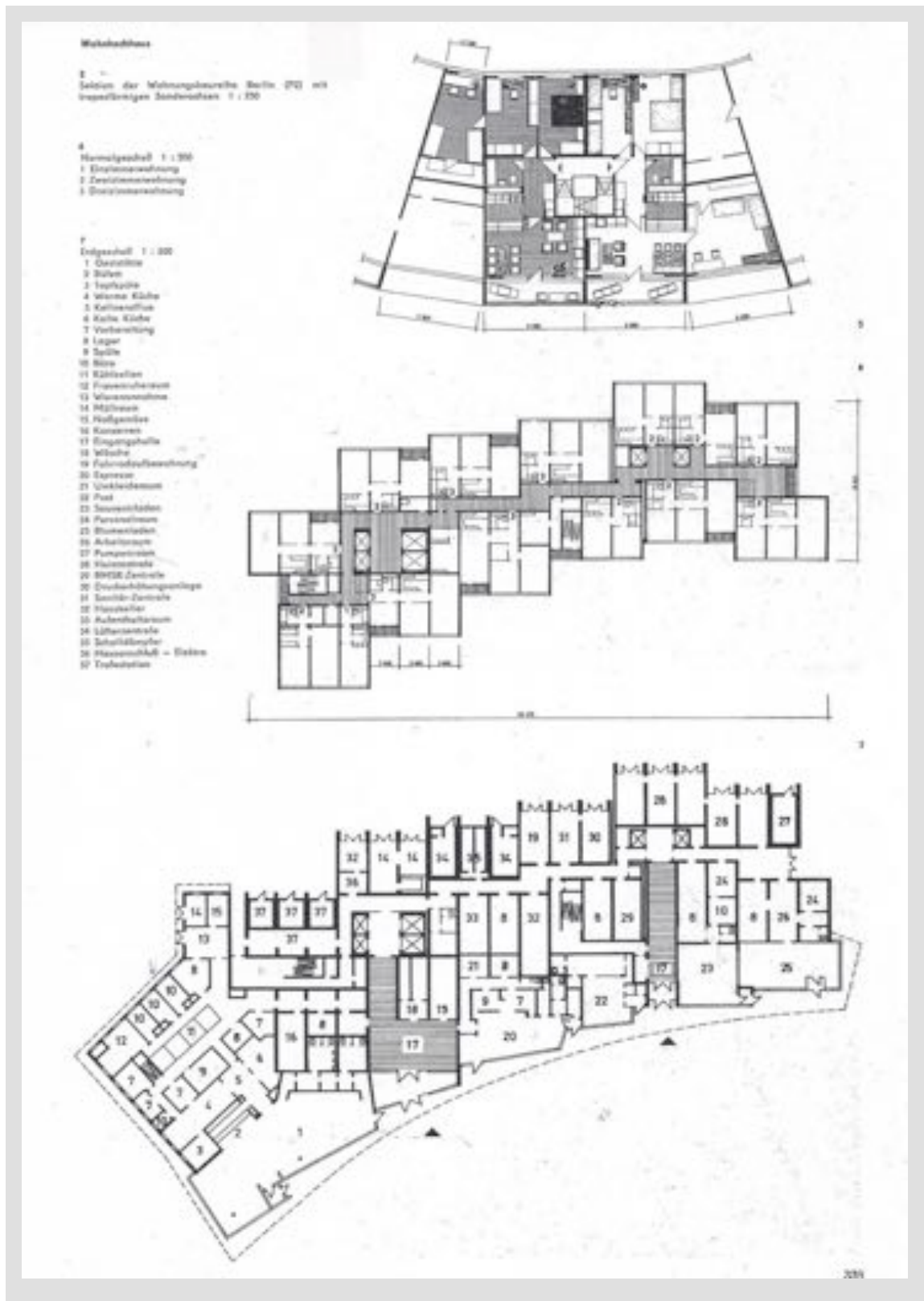


Illustration 7 | 77 Collective Heinz Mehlan, floor plans highrises Leninplatz

The inner-city housing area "Leninplatz" is the project that attracted the interest in Ruth Krause's work and biography. Leninplatz (today Platz der Vereinten Nationen) is an important traffic junction, which, on its northern side, lies adjacent to a popular park, Volkspark Friedrichshain. A main dominant is formed by three strongly vertically structured terraced high-rise buildings, 17, 21 and 24 storey. Constructed from P 2.11 construction elements, they form a circle segment. The whole ensemble of the square is completed by two 12 storey buildings called 'the serpentine' and the 'boomerang', showing a horizontal contrast to the south and west of the high-rises.

The sky scaper's façade is designed with white and red washed concrete panels. It provides 280 flats, a restaurant and various service functions, including a women's recreation room. The twelve storey convex and concave bended housing buildings respond to the dynamic of the square and contain 964 units (one, two and three-bedroom flats in each storey), a kindergarten, a nursery, a school and a supermarket. The used P2.11 type was, according to the architectural guide *Berlin-Architekturführer von Pankow bis Köpenick*⁸⁵, further developed by Ruth Krause, especially with respect to its trapezoid shaped elements and the loggia-construction. The strongly bending form is, however, according to his biography and an exhibition catalogue on his work⁸⁶, based on a "specific axes" (*Sonderachsen*) construction by Wilfried Stallknecht. The buildings' bended façades are decorated with colored ceramic tiles and enameled sheet metal, and horizontally structured by loggias, which are in the fourth, seventh and tenth floor glazed. Until shortly after reunification, the square in front of the estate was dominated by a huge Lenin sculpture, designed by Russian sculptor Nikolai Wassiljewitsch Tomski.

Several renowned architects were involved: the overall design is based on a competition contribution by Hermann Henselmann and his *Bauakademie* collective, including Wilfried Stallknecht. Egon Kreißl and Erwin Kussat further developed the architectural design of the Skyscraper.⁸⁷ According the catalogue on Stallknecht's work, the WBK collective (led by Heinz Mehlan), however, changed a number of elements of the competition contribution through their design plan. Within the collective, Ruth Krause and Erika Bärhold play an essential role, not least in the development of cost reducing construction elements and building process management. Both aspects have a considerable impact on the design of GDR panel housing estates. (Illustration 7 | 82 see following page)

85 Schulz and Gräbner, op.cit., 100.

86 See Harald Engler, *Wilfried Stallknecht und das industrielle Bauen. Ein Architektenleben in der DDR* (Berlin: Lukas-Verlag, 2014), and student exhibition catalogue *Entwerfen im System. Der Architekt Wilfried Stallknecht* (BTU Cottbus / IRS ERkner, unpublished)

87 Schulz and Gräbner, op.cit.



Illustration 7 | 78 Ruth Krause, Erika Bärhold and Eva Maria Rose in front of Leninplatz highrise, 1969

In conclusion

Concluding, the professionalisation of East German women architects was also not free from discrimination patterns. Deciding to live and work in other places provided more design opportunities and different participation than in the capital, where due to the centralist system, usual patterns of the culture of the profession intertwined with the ethos of designing and rebuilding the capital. In both samples of this collective biography of women architects, there were women without and with children, and the reconciliation of work and family life was in both systems an important issue, even though this problem was in the GDR social system less difficult to solve for the East German women. Further differences and similarities between the two groups of women observed throughout the research are elaborated in the concluding chapter.

8 CONCLUSION: DIFFERENCE RECONSTRUCTED.

Difference led the argument of this thesis on two levels: the difference between female and male architects' participation in architecture, and the different social, educational and building policy contexts that women architects experienced in West and East Berlin between 1949 and 1969. Apart from providing a more women-inclusive image of this phase of Berlin history of the built environment, an important related subject was to understand whether the representation of women architects in the literature mirrored the reality in architectural practice. If so, which patterns of exclusion other than limited access to education may have come into sway to limit women architects' participation in the rebuilding process? The research proves that women architects contributed in manifold ways to the rebuilding of Berlin after World War II, in West and East Berlin. But at the same time, in both German states until the late 1960s they remained marginal in their profession (with a higher share of women, notably engineers and technical workers, in the building industries in the East).

The competitive co-existence of the two German states' different social contexts and building cultures, which was nowhere so spatially connected as in Berlin, provided a promising opportunity to look at the effects of two different professionalisation contexts of women architects who in part still had the same educational background. The result, to anticipate the summary in the next section, is that these led to a smaller difference in women architects' opportunities for participation than expected.

Summary

This thesis is a feminist intervention in the Berlin history of the built environment between 1949 and 1969. Its main interest is to understand why women architects remained after a difficult, but promising departure in the first half of the 20th century, at the margins of the architectural profession until 1969. The motivation for this intervention was that, whilst the earlier history of the pioneering women architects is well documented for Berlin, their contribution to the city's post war-rebuilding so far found little appreciation.

The intervention takes place through elaborating and communicating knowledge about women architects' buildings, and their conditions of education and professionalisation. Its product, based on qualitative research including interviews with women architects, is a comprehensive picture of what women architects contributed and what the context of their achievement was. Moreover, it establishes an explanatory model to understand why there were, in the traditional perspective of

architectural history, no “*great women architects*” in this period in either part of the city.

The investigation starts out with an analysis of the literature on the Berlin history of the built environment, including the existing documentation of women architects’ earlier contributions to Berlin building history. It depicts and compares which women are represented in which publications (classical writings on Berlin building history, architectural guides, exhibition catalogues and professional journals). Explaining how women architects were included or neglected (in terms of selection, representation and language), and finding that generally the criteria for the valuation of architectural practice limit both women architects’ participation or exclude them entirely, it suggests at the same time how Berlin building history could become more women inclusive.

The comparison of these different types of literature on the Berlin history of the built environment revealed that women architects are most likely to be adequately represented if two criteria are fulfilled. The first is that it is a thematic publication, such as the core literature *Berlin und seine Bauten*, presenting Berlin buildings chronologically, by building categories (housing, social facilities, transport facilities, etc.) and embedded in the broader social context. The theme has to be oriented on both the design and the use of the built environment, in contrast to architectural publications that focus with a single-lens perspective on emblematic buildings or aim to build the image of a single architect. The second is, particularly because women are underrepresented as architectural critics, that there is a mixed team of authors. Most of the women architects presented here find recognition in the existing body of literature on the 1950s and 1960s, but just “here and there”, not necessarily in the same contexts or in documentation of the big architectural events, and even if they are identified with bigger projects, they are not often represented as prominently as their male colleagues. This needs mentioning because the *way of presentation* has high impact on the actual *representation* and *perception*. These results hold particularly true for the East Berlin or East German literature or literature on East Berlin/East German architecture. Difference became particularly evident on the level of professional journals, such as *Architektur der DDR*. On the one hand, it was evident for the retrospective analysis and contemporary professionals that the presentation of woman architects had a largely political background. On the other hand, the way in which the predominantly male-led collectives were depicted shed light on women architects and engineers who would have remained invisible (and thus hardly traceable) in West Germany. A reader with a trained eye could usually recognise the role of the women in a collective.

The analysis of representation explained a lot about the male-dominated and elitist culture of the architectural profession, but it did not yet account for the limited participation, nor did it explain why considerably more buildings by women architects could not be traced than were presented in the mentioned literature. Moreover, the analysis did not clarify why, although the access of these women to academic education seemed to be much easier than for the pioneering generations of women architects, and although the capacity for technical and design competence hardly remained a criterion for exclusion, the number of women architects who could be traced in practice was considerably smaller than the number of women who studied architecture. Due to the GDR policy of student admissions in step with market demand, this relation was considerably better in the GDR.

Mainstream approaches to architectural history would at this point possibly directly move from the analysis of representation to the architects and buildings. At this point, however, the research reached a kind of turning point, which reminded the author of the thesis about the introduction to Beatrice Colomina's introduction to her text *Battle Lines: E1027*. Reflecting of what she was asked to do in this text, she states: "Francesca Hughes asked us to do something we usually do and at the same time to reflect on that very practice. This is a very difficult thing to do. If you think about how to ride a bicycle, you may fall off. At the same time, rethinking the practice of history is what I usually do. History is always a practice of reconstruction. It reconstructs other practices and in so doing reconstructs itself. But it is difficult to talk about this reconstruction because it does not always follow a recognisable pattern. Indeed, every time is different. Research is something of which we are never completely in control. It leads us somewhere, but never to the place had we thought we were going."¹

To a certain extent, Colomina's account may hold true for any historical research and particularly for women's history. I certainly did for the development of this research that started from the assumption that Berlin women architects were – in relation to their built oeuvre - underrepresented in contemporary professional literature, journals and architectural guides, and ended with the insight that though representation was also a critical point, participation was the crucial issue. It became obvious that apart from discrimination within the culture of the profession, outside social factors played an important role in whether women were motivated and capable to pursue a freelance architectural career (if women practised in the West) or to take on a responsible position in collectives (if women practised in the East).

¹ Beatrice Colomina, „Battle Lines: E. 1027,“ in *The Architect: Reconstructing Her Practice*, ed. Francesca Hughes (Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1998), 6.

Explaining in this context the barriers for both, representation and participation, required a more complex grid of analysis, which was established through intertwining the feminist-oriented situational analysis with Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of *masculinity* and *state nobility*, and through composing, based on this, a *collective biography* rather than a history of female heroes.

Whereas the impact of role stereotypes concerning technical and engineering professions decreased in the GDR, the impact of motherhood and family-care-oriented role images showed little difference between the West and the East, although the full-time (employed) GDR architect enjoyed childcare from student days. In the West German society, women's politics and social facilities hardly supported freelance work (if work at all) and thus created a "natural environment" that did not support women's matching with the culture of the profession.

The East German society, in contrast, developed, due to market necessities, a women-promoting, but nevertheless role-stereotype social infrastructure which found its spatial representation, amongst other things, in the implementation of *16 Principles of Urban Development*. However, neither more favourable social infrastructure nor the women-friendlier legislative framework could overcome the role-stereotyped distribution of labour, in private and professional life, which also prevailed in the GDR.

Women architects' active engagement for social change remained limited, even if linked to professional subjects. Where such engagement was traceable, for example in the context of the preparation of the 1957 West Berlin International Building Exhibition, it was highly professional and included aspects of today's gender planning requirements. Some of the GDR architects saw such requirements guaranteed through the application of the *16 Principles of Urban Development*, including provision of neighbourhood-oriented supply and social infrastructure.

The findings on how women architects argued in this context and how this was related to their professional work, reminded expert readers women's contribution, and were a first contribution to the collective biography emerging from the feminist intervention.

Changing the perspective from this "natural environment" to the transitional phase of professionalisation revealed, in a retrospective feminist perspective, identifiable discriminating elements in academic education during the 1950s and 1960s. Moreover, neither the women interviewed nor the literature or contemporary student organisations provide evidence of professional networking amongst women students or with male fellow students during their education. It therefore seems obvious that

the male-dominated “comradely” structures of the educational context, lacking models for a female habitus in professional practice, made young women architects at the threshold between education and practice female lone warriors in a man-made professional environment.

After academic education, women architects’ contribution to the rebuilding of the city took place, if at all, in a highly competitive building phase, both within each part of the city and between the two parts of the city. The major expressions of this competition were the effects of the West Berlin building subsidies (*Berlinförderung*) on building commissions and their distribution, the 1957 International Building Exhibition in West Berlin, and the emblematic Stalinallee housing project in East Berlin. The West-East competition on the overall solution of the post-war housing question was a field of action to which many women architects contributed, in different capacities and building tasks, working freelance in the West, and often in responsible positions of technical development in the East.

A significant difference between West and East Germany was, although this is less evident in Berlin, women’s participation in technical building design. Depicting women’s participation across the entire range of different building categories (such as different forms of housing, social infrastructure, cultural buildings, commercial space, technical buildings, etc.) led to the biographies of 17 women architects whose career trajectories serve better than the biographies of the eight cases selected to understand why women remained at the margins of the profession. Placing them as “vignettes” to the main text familiarised the reader with them and gave an impression of a growing collective biography.

Eight women architects’ biographies (cases), depicted in the Chapter 7, underlined both the marginality of women architects and their capacities and contributions between 1949 and 1969 in both parts of the city. Although the situation in the West and the East has been depicted parallel throughout this thesis, the cases revealed differences between the West and the East, particularly in terms of choice of working environment and design opportunities.

The woman architects’ occupational choices were significantly more diverse and free in the West, despite the limitations on their scopes of action imposed by the market and the architectural elite. That was why Margot Zech-Weymann, Hilde Weström, and Ingrid Biergans worked with specific types of clients, such as the church or public administration. The most successful woman architect depicted here, Sigrid Kressmann-

Zschach, both architect and entrepreneur, was the most powerful woman architect of her time. Her practices and success as an entrepreneur caused a lot of debate and jealousy in the West Berlin building world. Her story is to a certain extent a story of discrimination "because of the means by which success was achieved", means that seemed then and seem now to violate the rites and culture of the architectural profession. That is to say, the potential heroine did not fulfil the criteria of the heroes of the profession, although some of her works merited recognition in professional literature.

In East Berlin, women architects had hardly any chance to achieve responsible positions due to the symbolic and functional status of the capital and the general devaluation of the architectural profession in the GDR. The search for East Berlin cases thus necessarily widened the focus to include one woman architect who left Berlin for better design opportunities in a peripheral district, Iris Grund; and to the only woman architect throughout the GDR's existence to hold a professorship in architecture, Anita Bach. The real East Berlin cases portray Dorothea Tscheschner, who worked in the centre of the GDR capital planning, and Ruth Krause, who worked in design planning of prefabricated panel construction and at the end of her career changed to the *Bauakademie*, where she worked on the preservation of half-timbered houses.

Throughout the two investigated decades, West Berlin architects pursued the pre-war tradition and pathways of the architectural profession and its forms of occupation, and freelance women architects occupied a niche in the overall market. Due to the state's building policies, GDR architects experienced a severe decline in the esteem of their profession, their role, their image as artist-architects. Opportunities to design changed dramatically, and this intensified the competition for the dwindling number of projects which designers found challenging. Women were able to obtain positions and challenging tasks, but rarely occupied leading positions within the limited scopes for action in the world of prefabricated building.

Women architects in the West remained marginalised during these two decades. Despite explicit political support of women in engineering professions, their more integrated colleagues in the East also failed to surpass the glass ceiling. However, the internal logic of *architectural history* forms only part of the patterns of exclusion that applied to the situation of women architects. The main explanation for their limited participation in the rebuilding process is, despite potentially beneficial women's policies, the intersection of the social context of the 1950s and 1960s in both West and East Germany with the overall culture of the architectural profession, affecting career trajectories from education to practice. This explanation mirrors feminist

conclusions of the sociology of other professions. As for the history of the built environment, above all Kingsley's and Pollock's suggestions to think about reshaping the overall concept of architectural history and their reflection about the criteria for "Who are the great women?" and "Who should be included?"², and about whether traditional frameworks or a "revised" intellectual framework of architectural history would better serve the inclusion of women in history of the built environment guided this research from the beginning until the end and supported its outcome.

However, only Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical explanation that women remain at the margins of the architectural profession because they cannot fulfil the criteria for forming part of the *state nobility* could fully explain this result. Women architects had undoubtedly achieved a level of professional competence in different building tasks that was weakly reflected in their continuously minor representation in practice. Thus, other criteria for exclusion must have been in force. Bourdieu considered the *State Nobility*, in which he explicitly includes architecture, to be a particularly masculine elite, a space of heroes and *illusio*, of which one forms part because of having a specific cultural capital and habitus, and which perpetuates an identity that is based on difference. Protecting this space against individuals or groups which only partly dispose of the required cultural capital aims at reproducing the entire system of differences constitutive of the social order, be it of a society or, here and more specifically, a profession. The strength of this perpetuation of difference became obvious in the context of the structural sexism pertaining in GDR architectural practice. On the one hand, the image of the architectural profession declined due to construction policies; on the other hand, there was a proclaimed equality-oriented cultural practice and particular affirmative action in the architectural professions from the early 1960s. However, by the end of the state socialist system, there were more women qualified and practising in the engineering professions in the East than in the West, but most of them also remained more or less excluded from the leading positions and the "heroes" networks.³

Conclusions and their limits

To conclude, it is helpful to recall the overall research question: to what extent and how did the processes of education, conditions of work, conditions of professionalisation and design opportunities open to post-war Berlin women

² Kingsley, op. cit., 253.

³ See Bourdieu, op. cit., notably the chapters *Introduction*, *Prelude* and *Social structures and mental structures*.

architects determine their contribution to the city's built environment? In principle, the answer is already given in the summary: the intersection of women's discrimination in each of these fields severely affected women's opportunities to contribute to post-war rebuilding of the city.

It turned out to be difficult, however, to relate the individual biographic experience directly to these structural aspects, notably because the women selected for cases were those who made their way into a successful practice, even if their personal perception may have been different in specific phases of their life. The development of the argument and the way in which the work for this thesis is presented make it obvious that throughout the research process the intended importance of the cases lost its weight to the benefit of a collective biography.

The research started from an assumption that the promising departure of the pioneering women architects and the opportunities which the last years of the war and the early post-war years provided were a favourable context for women architects to further develop this trajectory. However, the result of the research again demonstrates that times of crisis, such as wars or post-war periods, are not likely to leave latitude for women's empowerment processes. The male-dominated closure processes that were observed on two levels, both the post war-social effects and the declining esteem of the culture of the architectural profession in the East, deserve further research. Whereas research in the sociology of professions revealed that stronger participation of women often leads to a devaluation of the image of professions, it was here not possible to observe the inverse case that the top-down devaluation of the architectural profession led to an opening of the persistent elitist character of the professional networks and commissioning patterns for women.

In the context of having used Bourdieu's theories of the *State Nobility* and *Masculinity*, an even deeper understanding of closure processes might be achieved by also investigating the field employing his various works on culture and power and his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.⁴ In these works, he suggests to map the fields of power relative to class structure, different kinds of social and cultural capital, and artistic fields. It could be both interesting to do this mapping comparatively with usually applied definitions of social and cultural capital and economic power in architecture, and a gender differentiated perspective on the field. Also the aspect of class, which played e.g. for a short time after the war a minor role in architectural

⁴ For a critical discussion of Bourdieu's work in these fields see David Swartz, *Culture and Power. The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press books, 2012); Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology, 1977)

practice, might deserve research attention. This approach would, however, require a bigger, less locally focused sample and an investigation of the period between 1945 and 1989.

The results concerning the GDR women should be seen as preliminary because the policies promoting women in engineering professions became considerably stronger from the late 1960s, that is to say later than the period of this research. Though it is known that the GDR women architects' difficulty to achieve leading positions prevailed similarly as in the West, it would be of high interest to look at the following generation of East German women architects, and notably at their transition to the West German system, in which more than a few started to freelance successfully.

At closer inspection, the extent to which educational, social and professional processes determined women architects' contribution to Berlin's rebuilding during the two decades after the war could not be measured, due to the small and selective sample. Moreover, a comparison with male colleagues would have been enlightening but was beyond the scope of this thesis.. In addition, the small database hardly allows generalisations in any of the fields investigated. It is the perception of the situation of women architects until today rather than the size of the sample which strengthens the confidence that the answer given is reliable on a systemic level.

In addition, the focus on women who made their way into the profession explained strategies or rationales leading to success, but only to a limited extent their dealing with possible exclusion, except on a very personal level. It could thus, as Fowler and Wilson suggested, enhance further research to "put more stress on women's *resigned* accommodation and their 'usurpatory' strategies to challenge male monopolies, particularly from those well-placed through their cultural capital."⁵

Although the overall answer to the question, "Why have there been no great women architects?" seems to be given, further research comparing thesis findings with women working in partnerships or women working in public administration would provide more comprehensive knowledge on discrimination patterns and the essential question on strategies and rationales to deal with them. At the same time, such research could determine whether, and if so why, women may have developed their competences better within more regularly structured working contexts. This question refers to the fact that some of the women who avoided the high risk of freelance work through careers in public planning departments and who could be traced in public administration realised projects of considerable dimension.

⁵ Ibid, 107.

The methodology and the theoretical background of the research are considered transferable to further research. In its conceptualisation, an aspect which may be collateral but might be structural and thus to be further investigated, attracted attention. Analysing the literature from a gender perspective alerts the researcher to the fact that despite the recognition of the interface between gender, societal and spatial organisation in the works of Bourdieu, Lefèvre, Foucault and other sociologists, most basic research on gender relations in the production, meanings and interpretation of architecture is almost exclusively done by women. From a feminist perspective, this seems natural and reasonable, from a gender-studies' perspective, one might wonder about the risk of a gender bias on this level. Another remark is that there is a well-established referencing to British and American research in the German and European discourse but very little reference in the opposite direction.

It was already stated in the introduction that it remained difficult until the end to assess whether the women identified and those eventually chosen for the cases were "great" women in architecture, be it on traditional criteria or according to a more comprehensive view on product, practice and context and thus questioning the value systems of the profession.

Concluding, it remains an open question whether there is, from a feminist perspective, a need to define what a "great woman architect" is or whether changing the paradigms would not also include a change of symbols for reference.

Epilogue

Given the limited and hesitant advancement of women architects in the profession until today, generally and individually, this feminist intervention cannot end with the presentation of this thesis. It started earlier, in contributing to the establishment of a women architects' archive at the *Berlin Universität der Künste*. It took place through publications and contributions in explicitly non-feminist contexts and needs to continue with an exhibition and an open-source-oriented sharing of the knowledge that has been built in the context of the thesis. It is transmitted by the author's gender consultancy practice in the context of architecture and the built environment and her participation in a Berlin women architects' network. Its driving force may be depicted by a quote from Linda Nochlin, which the women architects who contributed their experience to this thesis would also have endorsed: Disadvantage may be indeed an excuse. It is not, however, an intellectual position.

(Linda Nochlin, *Why have there been no great women artists?* 1979)

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Andrä: Spatial organisation of further education in residential areas). Weimar: Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen, Sektion Architektur, 1975.

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WESTRÖM, HILDE. Was bedeutet Wohnen für die moderne Großstadtgesellschaft? Arbeitstagung des Ausschusses für Bau- und Wohnungswesen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Berliner Frauenverbände (What does housing mean for the modern urban society? Conference of the Berlin women’s associations’ committee for housing and the built environment). Unpublished manuscript. Berlin, 1957.

___ Erinnerungen 1933-47 (Memories 1933-47). Handwritten Notes. Berlin, 1999a.

___ Autobiographisches zu Fragen von Kerstin Dörhöfer (Autobiographic answers to questions by Kerstin Dörhöfer). Berlin, 1999b.

APPENDICES

(1) CATALOGUES RAISONNÉ

The catalogues raisonnés comprise, apart in the cases of Anita Bach and Iris Grund, mainly the Berlin works of the architects.

Adam, Gerda (West Berlin)	
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1911, Adam, Berlin-Schöneberg
Marriage	1942, Adalbert Huber (Architect)
Work placements	Six month internship in a mason's workshop
Studies	1931-1937, TH Berlin Charlottenburg
Employers	1934-1935, Johannes und Walter Krüger Architects, Berlin-Charlottenburg
	1937, Planning office Allgemeine Häuserbau AG
	from 1938, employee of a private Architectural office, Berlin
	from 1940, employee of the main SS Economic Administration in Berlin-Lichterfelde (SS-Hauptverwaltung für Wirtschaft)
Place and date of death	1988, Berlin-Zehlendorf
Source	Bundesarchiv Berlin, Case Adam, RKK 2400 / Box 0140 / File 22, archive no. AREP. 243/04

Bach, Anita (Weimar)			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1927, Griebel, Eisfeld		
Studies	Pedagogical College Greifswald		
	University for the Art of Building and Fine Arts, Weimar		
Marriage	Joachim Bach		
Children	Four children		
Employer / Office	from 1952 University for the Art of Building and Fine Arts, Weimar, lecturer / senior lecturer at the faculty of housing and social building		
	1953-69 University for the Art of Building and Fine Arts, Weimar, senior lecturer at the faculty of housing and social building		
	Planning collective Otto Englberger		
	1967-71 Head of the University's Department for University and College Planning		
Selected Works*	Building	Address	Year
	Experimental residential building (coll.)	Nordhausen	1955-1956
	Dwellings for farming cooperatives, with Joachim Bach	Thuringia	1956-1957
	Cube building	Windmühlenstraße 31a, Weimar	1966-1968
	Residence Hall Am Jakobsplan	Am Jakobsplan 1, Weimar	1969-1970
	Mensa Bauhaus University	Marienstraße 15b, Weimar	1971-77
	* Anita Bach lead or contributed throughout her career to more than 40 building projects and took part in about 20 competitions, which are however not subject to this dissertation.		
Office	from 1991 freelance architectural office, with her husband Joachim Bach in Prerow		
Selected publications / Lectures	Bach, Anita. "Einige Gedanken zur Planung und zum Bau von Wohnheimen." Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen Weimar 2/12 (1965): 139-147.		
	Bach, Anita. "Nouvelles methodes appliquées au cours des 2 dernières années a l'Ecole d'Architecture de Weimar." Report of the UIA congress, 210-212. Paris, 1966.		
	Bach, Anita. "Zu Problemen der Aus- und Weiterbildung von Architekten." Diskussionsbeitrag auf dem 5. Bundeskongress des BdA. Gedrucktes Protokoll, 58-61,		

o.O.: BdA, 1966.
Bach, Anita. "Zum Thema III: Wohnmilieu. Die Organisation des Wohnmilieus nach den Bedürfnissen der Bevölkerung." Manuskript für den IX. UIA-Kongress Prague 1967. Weimar, 1966.
Bach, Anita. Manuskript "Planung von Vorschuleinrichtungen", "Planung von Schulbauten", "Bauliche Probleme bei Gemeinschaftserziehung" und "Kinderspielplätze." In Kleine Enzyklopädie. Das Kind. Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut, 1967.
Bach, Anita. "Die Berücksichtigung von Sonder-Wohnbedürfnissen in Studentenwohnheimen." ("The consideration of special requirements for accommodation in halls of residence.") Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen Weimar 3/17 (1970): 227-232.
Bach, Anita. Wohnheime (Berlin: VEB Verlag für Bauwesen, 1970.
Bach, Anita. "Die Küche als offener Funktionsbereich in der Wohnung." Möbel und Wohnraum 12/ 25 (1971): 470-472.
Bach, Anita. "Gedanken zur Lehrkomponente Ausbau und Raumgestaltung in der Weimarer Architekturausbildung – Tradition und heutiger gesellschaftlicher Auftrag." Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der HFROM 3-4/21 (1974): 255-265.
Bach, Anita. "Actual Sociological Problems of Women-Scientists and Engineers in Connection with the Development of Technical Science and Economy in the German Democratic Republic." Proceedings of the IVth International Conference of Woman Engineers and Scientists, Cracow/Poland, 1975.
Bach, Anita. "Clemens Wenzeslaus Coudray (1775-1845). Das Wirken für die Stadtentwicklung und den Residential building der Goethezeit in Weimar." Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der HFROM 5-6/22 (1975): 501-509.
Bach, Anita. Gutachten zur Dissertationsschrift von Dipl.-Ing. Isolde Andrä mit dem Thema: Räumliche Organisation der Weiterbildung im Housing area. Weimar: Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen, Sektion Architektur, 1975.
Bach, Anita. "Erhöhte Gebrauchswerte und Volkswirtschaftlicher Nutzen durch erhaltungsgerechten Gebäudeausbau." Bauzeitung 5/30 (1976): 263-265.
Bach, Anita. "Gestaltung der Wohnung – gesellschaftliche und individuelle Aspekte." Presented at the symposium „Wohnen heute und morgen“, GDR/Finland, May, 1979.
Bach, Anita. "Lehren, erziehen, beraten." In Formgestaltung, ed. Horst Michel. Leipzig: Museum des Kunsthandwerks, Ausstellungskatalog, 1979.
Bach, Anita. "Soziale und kulturelle Aspekte zur Ausstattung und Ausrüstung der Wohnung." In Lebensweise und Lebensniveau, Wohnen und Wohnumwelt; ed. B. Koshiaho, T. Tanninen, F. Staufenbiel and K. Brand, 210-218. Tampere: Finnpublishers, 1979.
Bach, Anita. "Zur Entwicklung des Wohnens in der DDR." Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift

	der HFROM 2/26 (1979): 115-121.
	Bach, Anita. "Möbel und Wohnraum." Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der HFROM 1 (1980): 6-10.
	Bach, Anita. "Gedanken zur Integration von Bauwerken und Ausrüstung aus der Sicht des Architekten." Wiss. Berichte der TH Leipzig 18 (1981): 7-10.
	Bach, Anita. "Die Erfüllung differenzierter Wohnwünsche im Studentenwohnheim bei weitgehender Standardisierung der baulichen Lösung – Erfahrungen und Vorschläge für die Weiterentwicklung." Schriftenreihe Hoch- und Fachschulbau Dresden 22 (1982): 34-50.
	Bach, Anita. Studie zur Einführung eines Prädikates Dessau-Design zur Stimulierung der Entwicklung ausgewählter Qualitätserzeugnisse in der Möbelproduktion. Weimar: Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen, 1985.
	Bach, Anita. Gutachten zur Dissertationsschrift von Frau Dipl.-Ing. Krista Blassy mit dem Thema: Entwicklung von Systemgrundlagen für vereinheitlichte Küche/Bad-Lösungen unter dem Aspekt der gemeinsamen Nutzbarkeit durch Behinderte und Nicht-Behinderte. Weimar: Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen, Sektion Architektur, 1985.
	Bach, Anita. Gutachten zur Einschätzung des Inhaltes der Zeitschrift Guter Rat. Journal published by Verlag für die Frau, Berlin. Weimar, 1986.
	Bach, Anita. Formgestaltung in Weimar. Tradition und Gegenwart, Weimarer Schriften 29. Edited by Ständige Kommissionen Kultur und Stadtverordnetenversammlung Weimar, Kreistag Weimar-Land in cooperation with Stadtmuseum Weimar, 1988.
	Bach, Anita. Manuskript „Wohn-Leitbilder in der Alltagswelt zwischen Typisierung und individueller Aneignung – sozial-kulturelle Aufgabe oder Akzeptanz des Banalen“. Venice, 1988.
	Bach, Anita. „Architektur, die allen zugute kommt.“ Architektur der DDR 10 (1989): 42.
	Bach, Anita. "The Socialist City in East-Germany – Theory, History and Social-individual Relationships." Journal of the School of Architecture, Montana State University 7 (1990): 2-7.
	Bach, Anita and Joachim Bach. Ortsgestaltungssatzung Prerow. Prerow: Gemeinde Prerow, 1993.

Bärhold, Erika (East Berlin)			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1929, Becker, Berlin		
Studies	1945 - 1948, Building College for Construction, Technology and Interior Design (Bauschule für Raumtechnik und Raumgestaltung), Berlin		
	1951 - 1953, Correspondence degree course in civil engineering		
Marriage	1949 unknown , 1961 Gerd Lehmann		
Employer	1948 – 1949, Free German Federation of Trade Unions (Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund)		
	1949 - 1950 , Dipl. Ing. Werner Poppe		
	1950 – 1951, Architect Benno Dartsch		
	1951, Architect Otto Lopp		
	1951 – 1952, Residential building construction management, East Berlin		
	1952 - 1954, Construction project management Greater Berlin , publicly owned companies (Bauprojektierung Groß-Berlin, Volkseigene Betriebe)		
	1954 – 1959, Building Department I, East Berlin		
	1961 - 1967	Publicly owned Volkseigene Betriebe Berlin Projekt	
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Residential building	Berlin Weißensee	1958/59
	Kindergarten and nursery	Berlin Pankow	
	Residential building, construction series Q3A	Rüdigerstraße, Lichtenberg	1959/60
	Office building	Unter den Linden 32/34	1959 - 1960
	Rehabilitation Fischerkiez, facades Fischerstraße	Berlin Mitte, Fischerstraße 32	1960
	Berlin Municipal Library, Rebuilding former Royal Stables building	Breite Straße 9, Mitte, Berlin	1961 - 1967
	Seelenbinder-Hall (sports venue)	Berlin Friedrichshain	1967
	Central public companies' restaurant	Berlin Mitte	1964 - 1965
Employer	1968 - 1989 Publicly owned housing combine (WBK) East Berlin, Collective Heinz Mehlau		
	House of Statistics, interior design of the		1967 - 1969

	pharmacy		
	Leninplatz skyscraper	(today) Platz der Vereinten Nationen, Mitte, Berlin	1969
	Leninplatz	(today) Platz der Vereinten Nationen, Mitte, Berlin	1970
	House of Electronic Industries	Alexanderplatz	1970
	Residential building Frankfurter Allee South-East	Magdalenenstraße	1970 - 1973
	Ernst-Grube-School (boarding school part of the building)		1974
	Large housing estate Marzahn-Hellersdorf, head of collectives for civil engineering		1975 - 1991

Balg, Ilse (West Berlin)			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1907, Balg, Görlitz (Silesia)		
Studies	Berlin, Friedrich Wilhelm University (today Humboldt University), German University of Political Sciences		
Employer	1930s German Reich Planning Authorities (Reichshauptverwaltung für Planung)		
	from 1945, commissioned by the Brandenburg State Government		
	from 1950, commissioned by the Federal Academy for Spatial Research and Regional Planning (Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung), Hannover		
	from 1956, commissioned by the Federal Ministry for Building (Bauministerium)		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Urban renewal concept for old building neighbourhoods	Berlin-Wedding	Late 1950s
Employer	from 1970, lecturer at Berlin University of Arts and Berlin Technical University		
Place and date of death	Berlin 1999		
Foundation	Ilse Balg Stiftung, Accessed July 18, 2014. http://www.ilsebalg-stiftung.de/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=54&Itemid=67 .		

Biergans, Ingrid (West Berlin)			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1934, Biergans, Berlin		
Studies	From 1952, Arthur Werner Private Technical College, Berlin		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Rebuilding/Interior Design Ratskeller	Berkaer Platz 1, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1963
	Orthopaedic welfare centre /kindergarten	Heyden- /Schellendorffstr., Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1964
	Sports hall	Joachim-Friedrich-Straße Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1964
	Kindergarten Falkenhagener Feld	Westerwaldstraße 15/17, Spandau, Berlin	1965
	Schliemann Primary School	Großziethener Chaussee 73-81, Neukölln, Berlin	1966
	Kindergarten	Elsflether Weg 32/34, Spandau, Berlin	1966
	Rebuilding / interior design private Kindergarten	Oranienstraße 6, Kreuzberg, Berlin	1966
	Interior design surgery	Konstanzer Straße 9, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1966
	Moabit Primary School	Paulstr. 28- 33/Gerhardtstr. 4-15, Tiergarten, Berlin	1967
	Clubhouse tennis club	Wichernstraße 55, Spandau, Berlin	1968
	Kindergarten	Heydenstraße 9/Rheinbabenallee, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1969
	Special kindergarten for handicapped children (Sonderkita),	Dortmunder Straße 1-2, Berlin Tiergarten, West Berlin,	1973
Place and date of death	Athens, 2010		

Blank, Hanna (West Berlin)	
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1906, Blank, Berlin
Studies	1925 - 1930, TH Berlin-Charlottenburg
Employer	Until 1932 A. Sommerfeld Construction Company
	From 1932 Walter and Johannes Krüger
	Until 1945 Hermann Göring Factories Salzgitter-Lebenstedt (Hermann-Göring-Werke)
	ca. 1950 – 1970s West Berlin Senate for Building and Housing
Place and date of death	1998, Berlin

Bloch, Karola (West Germany / East Berlin)			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1905, Piotrkowska, Łódź (Poland)		
Marriage	1934 Ernst Bloch		
Children	One child		
Studies	1929-1930, TH Wien		
	1930-1933, TH Berlin-Charlottenburg		
	1933-1934, ETH Zürich		
Employer	1934 -1935, Office Jaques Groak (Vienna)		
	1935, Office Auguste Perret (Paris)		
Freelance work	Freelance work, collaborating with Friedel Dicker (Prague)		
Move	Immigration to Zurich, Vienna, New York (from 1933)		
Freelance work	Different freelance commissions		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Interior Design, various commissions	Prague	1938
	Single-family home	Andover, NJ	1939
Employer	Albert Meyer, architects, New York City		
Works	Apartment house	New York City	1939 - 40
Freelance work	Catalogues and advertisement illustrations, Gregg and Son Woodwork Mills, Nashua		
Employer	1942 -1944, Stone + Webster		
Move	1949 return to Leipzig, 1951 move to East Berlin		
Employer	1951-1961 Research department für social and industrial building, GDR Bauakademie		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Kindergarten / children's home	Leipzig	1950
	Kindergarten	Stalinallee Nord	1953
	Structural principles for kindergarten design		1953
Place and date of death	Tübingen 1994		
Publications	Bloch, Karola. Aus meinem Leben (My life story). Pfullingen: Talheimer, 1981.		

from and on Karola Bloch	<p>Bloch, Karola. „Ein typischer Lebenslauf? Vortrag auf dem 1. UIFA-Workshop in Berlin am 9.12.1979 – Tonbandaufnahme.“ In <i>Architektinnenhistorie. Zur Geschichte der Architektinnen und Designerinnen im 20. Jahrhundert. Eine erste Zusammenstellung</i>, ed. Union Internationale des Femmes Architectes, Sekt. Bundesrepublik e.V., 51-57. Berlin, 1984.</p>
	<p>Bloch, Karola, Anne Frommann and Welf Schröter. <i>Ich gehe zu jenen, die mich brauchen: zum 85. Geburtstag von Karola Bloch</i>. Mössingen-Talheim: Talheimer, 1991.</p>
	<p>Scherer, Irene and Welf Schröter, eds. <i>Karola Bloch – Architektin, Sozialistin, Freundin. Eine Neuentdeckung des Wirkens der Bauhaus-Schülerin</i>. Mössingen-Talheim: Talheimer Verlag, 2010.</p>
	<p>Vidal, Francesca and Irene Scherer, eds. <i>Bloch-Jahrbuch 2005. Ein Leben in aufrechter Haltung. Zum 100. Geburtstag von Karol Bloch</i>. Mössingen-Talheim: Talheimer Verlag, 2005.</p>

Braunschweig-Kessler, Nina			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1909, Kessler, Dorpat (Estonia)		
Studies	1929-1935, TH Berlin Charlottenburg		
Marriage	Adolf Braunschweig, Gerd Biermann		
Freelance work	1930, offices in Wilhelmshaven and Hamburg		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Design Gerd Rosen bookshop	Berlin	1952
	Bar Quartier Bohème		1952
	Hairdresser's shop Gladitsch	Meraner Straße 2, Lichterfelde, Berlin	1954
	Multi-family dwelling (client: Treuhand)	Holbeinstraße 70, Dahlem, Berlin	1956
	Kindergarten	Grazer Straße, Berlin	
	Primary school	Camp Foch, Berlin	1960-1962
	Lafontaine Primary School	Berlin-Waidsmannslust	1960-1962
	Scharfenberg school (residence hall, main building and pavilion)	Scharfenberg island / lake Tegel, Berlin	1956 - 1965
Move	1960s, to Bremen		
	Multi-family dwelling	Bremen-Huchting, Neue Vahr large housing estate	1971
	Residential building for singles (pilot project)	Bremen	1971
Place and date of death	1971		

Diehl, Edith			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1931, Jahnke, Grebs		
Studies	1951-57, Academy of Arts, Berlin-Weißensee		
Married	Stingl, Diehl		
Employers	1956-57, Hermann Henselmann		
	Public Planning Department, District Berlin-Pankow		
	1961-67, Publicly owned planning combine (VEB Berlin-Projekt)		
	1967-82, Publicly owned housing construction combine (WBK) Berlin		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Housing area	Heinrich-Heine-Straße, Mitte, Berlin	1967-69
	Large housing estate	Am Tierpark, Mitte, Berlin	1967-71
	Large housing estate	Am Springpfuhl, Berlin	1976-86
	Large housing estate	Bruno-Leuschner-Straße, Berlin	1980-86

Grund, Iris			
Date and place of birth	Dullin, 1933, Berlin		
Work placements	1951-52, Two internships, construction sites		
Studies	1953-57 Academy of Arts , Weißensee, Dissertation in 1969		
Marriage	Grund		
Children	One daughter		
Employer	1957-59 Hermann Henselmann, Bauakademie		
Employer	1959 Office Ernst May (Hamburg)		
	1965-68 Head of department for urban planning, Publicly owned (VEB) construction company, Neubrandenburg		
	1961 Publicly owned (VEB) construction company, Neubrandenburg		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Kulturhaus (Cultural Centre) Neubrandenburg	Marktplatz 1	1959-1961
Employer / position	1968-70 Publicly owned housing construction combine (WBK)Neubrandenburg, chief architect,		
	1970-90 Municipality Neubrandenburg, city architect		
	1975-90 Municipality Neubrandenburg,		
	Building	Address	Year
	Strategic plan urban development Neubrandenburg (Generalbebauungsplan)		From 1975
	Large housing estate	Datzeberg, Neubrandenburg	1976-81
	Housing area	Oststadt, Neubrandenburg,	1970-80
	Housing area	Behmstraße, Neubrandenburg,	1985
	Single-family homes	Großer See	1980s
	Large housing estate	Kaulsdorf-Nord, Berlin	1985
	Large housing estate	North to Katharinenstraße,	1987/88

		Neubrandenburg	
	Large housing estate	Am Oberbach, Neubrandenburg	1987-89
	Residential housing	Wilhelm-Pieck-Straße, Berlin	1989
Employer	1955-67 Teaching assignment interior design, TU Dresden		
Freelance work	1990 own office, Neustrelitz		
	Sports hall	Lychen	1996
	Bus company courtyard	Triepkendorf	1999
	Conversion farming coop building to hotel and pool	Domäne Neu-Garz, Müritz-Seenpark	1999
Freelance work	2000 – 2004, own office, Nice		
Selected Publications	Dullin, Iris. "Die Gestaltung des Zentralen Platzes in Neubrandenburg." Deutsche Architektur 10 (1961): 17-22.		
	Grund, Iris. "Bauen – der schönste Beruf." Deutsche Architektur 3 (1965): 137.		
	Dullin-Grund, Iris. "Neubrandenburg. Haus der Kultur und Bildung." ("Neubrandenburg. House of culture and education.") Deutsche Architektur 12 (1965): 712-727.		
	Dullin-Grund, Iris. "Neubrandenburg. Haus der Kultur und Bildung." Baudenkmale 25. Leipzig: Seemann VEB, 1969.		
	Grund, Iris. "Städtebau und sozialistische Demokratie: Aktive Mitarbeit, nicht demokratische Geste." Deutsche Architektur 1 (1972): 4-6.		
	Grund, Iris. "Zur Generalbebauungsplanung für die Stadt Neubrandenburg." Architektur der DDR 10 (1976): 584-591.		
	Grund, Iris. "Interview zum Thema: Schöpferium im Architekturschaffen – Probleme und Wege." Deutsche Architektur 4 (1982): 208.		
	Grund, Iris. "Wohngebiet Datzeberg in Neubrandenburg." Architektur der DDR 5 (1982): 265-271.		
	Grund, Iris. "Zum Wohnungsbau des Bezirkes Neubrandenburg in der Wilhelm-Pieck-Straße." Architektur der DDR 4 (1986): 236-243.		
Dullin-Grund, Iris. Geschichte einer Architektin. Visionen und Wirklichkeit. Hamburg: Mein Buch, 2005.			

Gebauer, Hilde			
Date and place of birth	1925, Gebauer, Pillau / Baltiysk		
Studies	1944, Danzig		
	1946-1950, Berlin Technical University		
Marriage	1950		
Children	Two daughters		
Employer	From 1950 Public planning department district Berlin-Tempelhof		
Move	1952, to Hamburg		
Employer	1952 – 1955 (City) State planning department Hamburg-Eppendorf		
Works	Contribution to dental clinic Hamburg Eppendorf		
Office	from 1957, freelance architect		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Her private single-family home	Hamburg	1957
	A number of small residential buildings	Hamburg	Not known

Herzenstein, Ludmilla			
Date and place of birth	1906, Herzenstein, St. Petersburg		
Move	1910, to Berlin		
Work placements	1929/30, Allgemeine Häuserbau AG Berlin, office Alexander Kleins		
Studies	1926-1933 TH Berlin-Charlottenburg		
Employers*	1935, Fiedler Company, Berlin		
	1935, Public planning department, Rostock		
	1935-38, Schock & zu Putlitz Architects, Hamburg		
	1939 Hopp & Lucas Architects, Königsberg		
	1939, E. Fabry Architects, Wiesbaden		
	1940-45, Erich Loos Architects, Konitz		
	from 1945, Berliner Magistrat , member of Hans Scharoun's team		
	from 1947, Institute for Building, German Academy of Sciences		
	1949 – 1958, Main public planning office, head of department for dwelling planning		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Laubenganghäuser	Karl-Marx-Allee 102/104/126/128, Friedrichshain, Berlin	1949
	Rehabilitation old residential dwellings	Bizet-/Smetana- /Meyerbeerstr., Weißensee, Berlin	1963
Employers	1958 – 1964, Planning Department Berlin- Weißensee		
	1964 – 1971, District chief architect , Berlin-Weißensee		
	Milchhäusschen am Weißensee (Milchhäuschen Café at Weißensee)	Weißer See, Weißensee, Berlin	1967
Place and date of death	Berlin , 4 August 1994		
	*According to Bauer, data in official documents are incoherent for the phase between 1933 and 1940.		

Krause, Ruth (East Berlin)			
Date, name of birth and place of birth	1934, Ahnert, Buttstädt		
Studies	1953-1960, TU Dresden		
Marriage	1958, Carl Krause		
Employer	1964-1965 VEB Industrial construction projects, Dresden		
	1965-1967 VEB Berlin-Projekt		
	from 1967 Publicly owned housing construction combine (WBK) Berlin		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	House of Electronic Industries	Alexanderstraße 1,43 und 5	1966-68
	Building for the publicly owned building construction company (IHB-Gebäude)	Liebknecht Str., Berlin	1967-69
	Leninplatz	Berlin-Friedrichshain	1968-69
	Extension of Frankfurter Allee South large housing estate	Frankfurter Allee, Berlin	1970-72
Employer	from 1973 VEB Residential building combine Berlin, research department		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Participation in construction development WBS 70, 5-storey	Berlin	1972/3
	Prefabricated panel building, WBS 70, 11-storey	Weißenseer Weg/ Karl-Lade-Str./ Jungstraße, Berlin, Lichtenberg	1972/3
Employer	1981-1991 GDR Bauakademie		
Selected publications	Krause, Ruth. "Fachwerkbauten und weitere Holzkonstruktionen. Verfahren zur Erhaltung und Sanierung. Expertentreffen vom 25.9.-29.9.1989 in Quedlinburg." In Fachwerk-Architektur, ed. Institut für Wohnungs- und Gesellschaftsbau, Berlin: Bauakademie der DDR, 1989.		
	Krause, Ruth. Fachwerkbauten: Erhaltung, Instandsetzung, Modernisierung, Rekonstruktion und Gestaltung. Bauforschung, Baupraxis, Heft 172. Ed. Bauakademie der DDR, Berlin: Bauinformation, 1987.		
Place and date of death	Berlin 1992		

Kressmann-Zschach, Sigrid			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1912, Zschach		
Studies	1947-1952, TH/TU Dresden		
Marriage	Peter Postel, Willy Kressmann, Donatello Losito		
Children	One daughter		
Freelance work	Continuously freelance, architectural office, building enterprise companies		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Multi-family dwelling	Wiesbadener Str. 35, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1955
	Single-family home	Krusauer Str. 37, Lichtenrade, Berlin	1955
	Multi-family dwelling	Berliner Str. 29/30, Reinickendorf, Berlin	1955
	Reconstruction residential building	Moritzstr. 11, Kreuzberg, Berlin	1956
	Residential building	Holzhauser Str. 85/87, Reinickendorf, Berlin	1957
	Single-family home	Laehrstr. 6, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1957
	Single-family home	Seebergsteig 6, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1957
	Residential building	Schubartstr. 17-19, Reinickendorf, Berlin	1957
	Church	Spandau, Berlin	1959
	Residential buildings	Wassertorstr. 49-50, Neukölln, Berlin	1959
	Residential buildings	Elsenstraße, Neukölln, Berlin	1961
	Residential buildings	Moritzstr. 16-19/Lobeckstr. , Kreuzberg, Berlin	1961
Residential buildings	Jahnstr./Urbanstr. ,	1962	

		Kreuzberg, Berlin	
	Residential building	Werbellinstr. 36, Kreuzberg, Berlin	1962
	Residential and studio building	Königsallee 9a, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1962
	Residential area	Gitschiner Str. 80-82, Kreuzberg, Berlin	1963
	Residential area	Rungiusstr./Britzer D./Jahnstr.	1964
	Residential buildings	Alt-Buckow 19-23, Neukölln, Berlin	1964
	Residential building	Meraner Str. 11, Schöneberg, Berlin	1964
	Residential and commercial buildings	Prinzenstr. 20-22, Kreuzberg, Berlin	1964
	Single-family home	Trabener Str. 68, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1964
	Residential and commercial building	Hindenburgdamm 39, Steglitz, Berlin	1964
	Housing area and shopping centre.	Krokusstr., zw. Prierosser Str. u. , Neukölln, Berlin	1965
	Office building Lloyd Insurance	Uhlandstr. 75/Lietzenburger Str. , Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1965
	Residential buildings	Köpenicker Str. 150-152, Neukölln, Berlin	1965
	Residential and commercial building	Hauptstr. 49, Schöneberg, Berlin	1965
	Residential buildings	Trabener Str. 40-42, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1965
	Residential and commercial building	Nollendorfplatz 1-3, Schöneberg, Berlin	1965
	Residential building	Machnower Str. 61-70, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1966
	Residential building	Koenigsallee 9, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1966

	Residential buildings	Hubertusallee 17, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1966
	Residential building	Wallotstraße 13, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1967
	Hotel Sylter Hof	Kurfürstenstraße 115/116, Schöneberg, Berlin	1967
	Residential and commercial building	Bundesallee 18, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1967
	Residential and studio building	Erbacher Str. 3a, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1967
	Owner occupied dwelling	Klopstockstr. 34, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1967
	Residential and commercial building	Winterfeldtstr. 11, Schöneberg, Berlin	1967
	Office and residential building	Albrechtstr. 34-35, Steglitz, Berlin	1967
	Office and residential building	Kurfürstenstr. 106-108, Schöneberg, Berlin	1968
	Jerusalem Church	Markgrafen-/Lindenstr. , Kreuzberg, Berlin	1968
	Residential and commercial building	Meraner Str. 4, Schöneberg, Berlin	1968
	Residential and commercial building	Badensche Str. 17, Schöneberg, Berlin	1968
	Senior citizen residence	Flughafenstr. 64-68, Neukölln, Berlin	1969
	Hotel, office, commercial building	Kurfürstenstr. 109-111, Schöneberg, Berlin	1969
	Residential building (skyscraper)	Waldsassener Straße 11, Tempelhof, Berlin	1969
	Terraced residential building	Königsallee 69- 71, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1969
	Housing area and shopping centre.	Hildburghäuser Str./Lichterfelder R., Tempelhof, Berlin	1970
	Residential and commercial building	Falkenseer Chaussee	1970

		178-185, Spandau, Berlin	
	Residence hall	Teltower Damm 118, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1970
	Senior citizen residence Bethanien Foundation	Stadtrandstr. , Spandau, Berlin	1970
	Residential and commercial building, including residence hall	Lützowufer/Landgrafenstr , Tiergarten, Berlin	1971
	UCC Office Building	Budapester Str. 1-3, Tiergarten, Berlin	1971
	Residential and commercial building, including student flats	Potsdamer Str. 51-65, Tiergarten, Berlin	1971
	Office DB-Insurance	Knesebeckstr. 56-68, Charlottenburg, Berlin	1971
	Residential and office building	Kurfürstenstr. 75, Tiergarten, Berlin	1971
	Residential buildings	Marienfelder Allee 78-83, Tempelhof, Berlin	1972
	Residential building	Schützenstr. 18, Steglitz, Berlin	1972
	Theatre Am Ku'damm, Rebuilding	Kurfürstendamm 208/208, Charlottenburg, Berlin	1972
	Ku'damm-Karree, shopping centre and skyscraper	Kurfürstendamm 208/209, Charlottenburg, Berlin	1974
	Steglitzer Kreisel skyscraper	Schloßstraße 74-84, Steglitz, Berlin	1975
Place and date of death	Berlin 1990		

Küster, Klara (West Berlin)			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1914, Brobecker, Berlin		
Work placements	1934, Internship in an architectural office		
Studies	1932-37, TH Berlin Charlottenburg		
Marriage	1940		
Children	1943, one daughter, single mother after early death of her husband		
Employers	1937, Planning department of the Ministry of Aviation		
	1939-1942, participation in the planning of the extension of a government building in Trier, commissioned by the Federal Ministry of Food, planning commissions for farm housing in Poland		
	1942, temporary participation in reconstruction planning for the Berlin Opera House		
	~1945 Völker & Grosse architects, Berlin		
	1946-1958, planning department Berlin-Steglitz		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Reconstruction Steglitz-Lyceum	Heesestraße 15, Berlin-Steglitz	Early 1950s
	Reconstruction Albrecht-Dürer-Lyceum	Emser Straße 134-137; Berlin-Neukölln	
	Reconstruction Clemens-Brentano Primary School	Kommandantenstraße 83-84, Berlin-Lankwitz	
	Reconstruction of home for the blind	Braillestraße, Berlin	
	Reconstruction of a cemetery chapel	Berlin-Lankwitz	
	Reconstruction of a stadium	Berlin-Lichterfelde	
	Freibad Am Teltowkanal, Freibad am Insulaner (swimming pools)	Munsterdamm 80, Berlin-Steglitz	1950s
	Kindergarten	Jeverstraße 10-11, Berlin - Steglitz	1956
Move	Aachen, late 1950s to Darmstadt		
Employer	1959, teaching in a school in Darmstadt		
Move	München-Grafring		

Place and date of death	München-Grafring 1998
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Lehmann, Gertraude (West Berlin)			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	Aubrecht, 1935, Schreckenstein, Bohemia		
Work placements	Two internships, in a carpenter's workshop and in a mason's workshop		
Studies	1953-1959, Architecture, Weimar University for Architecture and Building Industry		
Marriage	Lehmann		
Employer	1959-1970, VEB Berlin-Projekt and housing construction combine (WBK) Berlin, Collective Heinz Mehlan		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Nursery	Karl-Marx-Allee, Mitte, Berlin	
	Nursery	Weydemyerstraße 20, Mitte, Berlin	1963
	Nursery	Paul-Singer-Straße, Friedrichshain, Berlin	1964
	Music Library of the East Berlin Municipal Library	Breite Straße 31/32, Mitte, Berlin	1965
Employers	Bauakademie		
	1985, Housing construction combine (WBK) Potsdam		
	1980s, Comecon Council for Mutual Economic Assistance		

Lehning, Elisabeth (Elly) Dora Johanna (West Berlin)			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1914, Schulze, Berlin		
Employer	Apprenticeship draughtswoman at AEG (producer of electrical devices)		
Marriage	1934-1941		
Work placements	Several work placements, at a mason's workshop, a carpenter's workshop and in a public planning department		
Studies	1942-1945, Arts and crafts, at a private college		
	1945-1952, Berlin Technical University		
Employer	1930-1945, Stenographer (e.g. for public administration departments and Fritz Conrad company in Berlin- Oberschöneweide)		
Freelance work	Own office, collaboration with Peter Friedrich		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Contribution to Interbau contribution Peter Friedrich, housing area für 10,000 people	Berlin	1957-1958
	Collaboration with Peter Friedrich, competition "Hauptstadt Berlin"	Berlin	1957-1958
	Week-end home	Berlin-Bohnsdorf	1950s
	Competition contribution housing area Kassel-Dönche	Kassel	1960-61
	Single-family home with dental surgery	Berlin-Buckow	1961
	Single -family home	Berlin-Lichtenrade	1960s
	Collaboration with Peter Friedrich, competition "Melbourne Landmark Ideas"	Melbourne	1979
Employer	1952 – 1967, Max Taut		
Works supported at Max-Taut-office	Building	Address	Year
	Residential building for public housing companies Gehag and GSW	Berlin-Steglitz	Mid 1950s
	Residential area for industrial labourers (August-Thyssen-Hütte)	Duisburg	
	Multi-family dwelling	Berlin-Eichkamp	
	Ludwig-Georgs-Lyceum	Darmstadt	

	Training workshop	Berlin-Britz	
	Senior citizen's home		
	Reconstruction of the letterpress building of the Print- and Press Trade Unions	Berlin-Tempelhof	1954
	Reconstruction Jagdschloss Glienicke	Berlin-Wannsee	1967
	Reconstruction Hauptkinderheim		1967
Place and date of death	Berlin, 2001		

Sauerzapfe, Lotte (East Berlin)			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1924, Sturm, Danzig		
Work placements	Two years internship in a mason's workshop		
Studies	1946-1949, State School for Engineering, Greater Berlin (HTL)		
Marriage	Schildhauer, Sauerzapfe		
Employers	1949, Publicly owned construction company		
	1949, VEB Architekten-Forschung-Ingenieur-Büro		
	1952-1953 Publicly owned construction management company (VEB Bauprojektierung)		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Four-storey fire station	Marchlewski-Straße in Berlin-Friedrichshain	1952-1957
	Multi-storey office building and carpark	Berlin-Mitte	late 1950s
Employer	1954-1962, VEB Industrial building and IPRO II		
	Bus hall (maintenance, repair and breakdown service)	Indira-Gandhi-Straße in Berlin-Lichtenberg	1955-1963
	Velodrome	Berlin Weißensee	1955-1958
	Transformer station	Berlin-Karlshorst	late 1950s
Employers	1950-1960, Teacher at the College of the Industrial Trade Union (Construction and Timber)		
	1966, Construction site supervision for the district Berlin-Köpenick		
	1966 VEB construction combine Berlin-Köpenick (head of brigade and design collective)		
Place and date of death	1991, Berlin-Köpenick		

Schaar, Elfriede (West Berlin)	
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1911, Schaar, Berlin-Lichterfelde
Studies	1932-1937, TH Berlin Charlottenburg
Employers	~1945-1960s, Berlin districts' building departments
	From the 1960s urban planning department of the Berlin district Steglitz
Place and date of death	Berlin 1984

Selmanagić, Emira (East Berlin)	
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1922, Hadžibašausević, Sarajevo
Studies	1942-1944, Vienna Technical University
	1946-1948, Berlin Technical University
	1953-1957, Academy of Arts, Weißensee
Employer	Parallel to her studies, Main Public Planning Office, Magistrat of Greater Berlin
Marriage	1949, Selman Selmanagić
Children	Three daughters
Move	From West Berlin district Grunewald to East Berlin, district Weißensee
Employers	Until 1974 Municipal planning office Berlin-Weißensee, city architect (Stadtarchitektin)
	1975, Office for Industrial Design
	1977, Office for Standardisation
	1979-1983, Municipal planning office Berlin-Lichtenberg, city architect (Stadtarchitektin)
Place and date of death	2012, Berlin-Weißensee

Tscheschner, Dorothea (East Berlin)			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1928, Brieg		
Work placements	Apprenticeship as carpenter		
Studies	1949-1953, Technical college Chemnitz (from 1951 Karl-Marx-Stadt)		
	1952, Construction College Görlitz		
	1952-1956, University of Architecture and Building Industries, Weimar		
Employers	Public building department, Gera		
	1957-1959, Faculty of Urban Development, Dresden University, senior researcher ,		
	1959-1974 Urban planning collective, Magistrat von Berlin; collective Georg Funke; collective Peter Schweizer		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Urban planning strategy	Straße Unter den Linden, Mitte, Berlin	1961-67
	Urban planning strategy	Marx-Engels-Platz, Mitte, Berlin	1961-66
	Urban planning strategy	Alexanderplatz, Mitte, Berlin	1964-70
	Urban planning strategy	Leipziger Straße, Mitte, Berlin	1962-71
	B-Plan/ City Centre East	Brandenburger Tor to Alex, Mitte, Berlin	1970
	Urban planning project	Alexanderplatz, Mitte, Berlin	1971
	Urban planning project	Leipziger Straße (Fried-Spittel) , Mitte, Berlin	1977
	Housing area	Leipziger Str./Spittelmarkt, Mitte, Berlin	1977
Employer	1974-90, East Berlin Public Planning Office		
Freelance work	1990-99, Building assessor for an insurance company, freelance architectural historian		

Selected publications	<p>Tscheschner, Dorothea. „Der Wiederaufbau des historischen Zentrums in Ostberlin.“ In Hauptstadt Berlin. Internationaler städtebaulicher Ideenwettbewerb 1957/58 (Berlin the capital), edited by Berlinische Galerie, 217-248. Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 1990.</p>
	<p>Tscheschner, Dorothea. „Der Ideenwettbewerb zur sozialistischen Umgestaltung des Zentrums der Hauptstadt der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik“. In Hauptstadt Berlin – wohin mit der Mitte? Historische, städtebauliche und Architektonische Wurzeln des Stadtzentrums, eds. Helmut Engel and Wolfgang Ribbe, 201-220. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993.</p>
	<p>Tscheschner, Dorothea. „Der Alexanderplatz – Seine Entwicklung nach 1945“. In Alexanderplatz – städtebaulicher Ideenwettbewerb, ed. Verein Entwicklungsgemeinschaft Alexanderplatz, 30-69. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1994.</p>
	<p>Tscheschner, Dorothea. „Stadtplanung und Städtebau“. In Karl-Marx-Allee – Magistrale in Berlin, eds. Wolfgang Ribbe and Helmut Engel, 15-42. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996.</p>
	<p>Tscheschner, Dorothea. Das abgerissene Außenministerium der DDR in Berlin-Mitte. Planungs- und Baugeschichte. Berlin: Kulturbuchverlag, 2000.</p>
	<p>Tscheschner, Dorothea. „Sechzehn Grundsätze des Städtebaus und die Charta von Athen“. In Stadt der Architektur – Architektur der Stadt: Berlin 1900-2000, eds. Thorsten Scheer, Josef Paul Kleihues and Paul Kahlfeldt, 259-269. Berlin: Nicolai, 2000.</p>

Werner, Lotte (West Berlin)			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1906, Werner, Duisburg		
Work placements	Two three-month internships in a carpenter's workshop and a mason's workshop		
Studies	1927-1933, TH Berlin-Charlottenburg		
Employer	Luftwaffe, Köthen		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Housing area		
	Officers' Casino		
Employers	1940s, Office of the German Labour Front		
	1945-46 Freelance war damage analysis		
	From early 1950s Public Building Office Berlin-Charlottenburg		
	From early 1960s Public Planning Office Berlin-Charlottenburg		
	~1960 Public Planning Office Berlin-Schöneberg		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Preliminary design for a hospital		
	Preliminary design for an urban square	Nollendorfplatz, Berlin	
	Redesign of a school hall	Cauerstraße 36-38, Charlottenburg, Berlin	
Place and date of death	2001, Lower Saxony		

Weström, Hilde (West Berlin)			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	1912, Eberle, Neisse (Upper Silesia)		
Work placements	1932, six-month internship at a masons' and a carpenter's workshop		
Studies	1932-1935, Technical College Berlin-Charlottenburg		
Employer	1936, Berlin State building curator, commission: stocktaking of cultural and historic buildings		
Studies	1936-1938, Technical College Dresden		
Marriage	1938, Jürgen Weström		
Children	Four children		
Move	1942, to Breslau		
Employer	1942, Research commission Commercial Department Wholesale and Foreign Trade		
Move	1945, Flight from Breslau to Berlin		
Freelance work	1945, Freelance architect and production of wooden toys		
	1949, Opening of her own office		
Works in Berlin	Building	Address	Year
	Rebuilding residential building	Prausestraße, Steglitz, Berlin	1947
	Rebuilding "Jägerhof" in children's home	Jägerhof Glienicke, Wedding, Berlin	1950
	Multi-family residential building	Im Waldwinkel 2a, Reinickendorf, Berlin	1950
	Rebuilding private home	Am Schlachtensee 130, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1951
	Redesign / extension Rudolf Steiner School	Clayallee 226/auf dem Grat 1-3, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1951
	Extension senior citizen residence	Schillerstraße 7/9, Charlottenburg, Berlin	1952
	Redesign / extension residential building	Prinz-Handjery-Straße 75, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1952
	Reconstruction multi-family residential	Am Schlachtensee 151,	1952

building	Zehlendorf, Berlin	
Modernisation / rebuilding residential building	Lausitzer Platz 18, Kreuzberg, Berlin	1953
Reconstruction residential building / kindergarten	Planufer 75/77, Kreuzberg, Berlin	1953
Competition senior citizen residence	Schulstraße 91-97, Wedding, Berlin	1953
Reconstruction residential building	Wilhelmstraße 128, Kreuzberg, Berlin	1954
Reconstruction residential building	Wilhelmstraße 129, Kreuzberg, Berlin	1954
Reconstruction residential building	Meisenstraße 2, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1954
Residential and commercial building	Schloß24/25 Knobelsdorffstr. 2, Charlottenburg, Berlin	1954
Residential building	Körtestraße 4, Kreuzberg, Berlin	1954
Residential building	Markgraf-/Albrecht- Straße 3, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1954
Residential building	Müllenhoffstraße 3, Kreuzberg, Berlin	1954
Owner-occupied residential building	Teltower Damm /Mühlenstraße, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1955
Residential and commercial building	Otto-Suhr-Allee 125, Charlottenburg, Berlin	1955
Residential and commercial building	Otto-Suhr-Allee 127, Charlottenburg, Berlin	1955
Multi-family residential building	Schustehrusstraße 16, Charlottenburg, Berlin	1955
Loft conversion	Matterhornstraße 26, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1955
Multi- family residential building	Segitzdamm 28, Kreuzberg, Berlin	1955

	Multi- family residential building	Paretzer Straße 6, Wilmerdorf, Berlin	1955
	Multi- family residential building	Mecklenburgische Straße 88, Wilmerdorf, Berlin	1956
	Residential and commercial building	Otto-Suhr-Allee 25, Charlottenburg, Berlin	1958
	Single-family home	Harnackstraße 18, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1958
	Multi-family residential building	Bandelstraße 11-13, Tiergarten, Berlin	1958
	Multi-family residential building	Bonhoefferufer 10, Charlottenburg, Berlin	1958
	Multi-family residential building with entrance from balcony (haus)	Otto-Suhr-Allee 129, Charlottenburg, Berlin	1959
	Multi-family residential building	Otto-Suhr-Allee 133, Charlottenburg, Berlin	1959
	Owner-occupied residential building	Gritzner Straße 78, Steglitz, Berlin	1959
	Multi-family residential building	Herbststraße 28/30, Reinickendorf, Berlin	1961
	1960, Death of her husband, Jürgen Weström		
Works in Berlin	Owner-occupied residential building	Jungfernstieg 27, Steglitz, Berlin	1962
	Multi-family residential building	Otto-Suhr-Allee 124/125, Charlottenburg, Berlin	1962
	Multi family residential building	Düsseldorfer 10/Pfalzburger 71, Wilmerdorf, Berlin	1962
	Single-family home	Hainbuchenstraße 73, Reinickendorf, Berlin	1962
	House of Musical Education	Argentinische Allee 23/25/27, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1962
	Residential building	Fontanestraße 2b, Steglitz, Berlin	1963

	Rebuilding Emil Molt Special School	Claszeile 60-66, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1963
	Multi-family residential building	Leichhardtstraße 35, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1963
	Parish building	Ellwanger Straße 11, Steglitz, Berlin	1964
	Parish building	Kurfürstenstraße 166, Schöneberg, Berlin	1965
	Single-family home with pottery workshop	Stubenrauchstraße 52, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1965
	Owner-occupied residential building	Teltower Damm 55-61 / Mühlenstr. , Zehlendorf, Berlin	1965
	Senior citizen residence "Haus Christophorus"	Eycke-v.-Repkow-Plz 2/Tile-Wardenberg-Str., Tiergarten, Berlin	1965
	Multi-family residential building	Röntgenstraße 13, Charlottenburg, Berlin	1965
	Residence hall	Clay-Allee 190, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1965
	3-4 storey row houses	Nieritzweg 16/18/20, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1967
	Single-family building with sculptor's studio	Teltower Damm 139, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1968
	Multi-family residential building	Annastraße 5, Steglitz, Berlin	1969
	Owner-occupied residential building	Kurstraße 6, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1971
	Owner-occupied residential building	Kurstraße 7, Zehlendorf, Berlin	1972
Place and date of death	Berlin 2012		

Zech-Weymann, Margot			
Date, name at birth and place of birth	Weymann, 1911, Neisse (Upper Silesia)		
Work placements	1931, Joiner at Herzig and at August Höhe construction company in Berlin		
Studies	1931-1933, TH Berlin Charlottenburg		
Office	from 1934-1989, freelance architect		
Works	Building	Address	Year
	Single-family home	Waltraudstr. 39 (?), Zehlendorf, Berlin	1935
	Multi-family residential dwelling	Grabenstr., Lichterfelde, Berlin	1936
Marriage	1952, Hermann Zech		
Works	Reconstruction church	Kurfürstenstr. 59, Steglitz, Berlin	1949-55
	Reconstruction residential building	Bayerische Str. 9, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1952-55
	Reconstruction residential building	Möckernstr. 108/109, Kreuzberg, Berlin	1956
	Multi-family residential building	Paulsborner Str. 21, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	1956
	Multi-family residential building	Marienstr. 26, Lichterfelde, Berlin	1957
	Multi-family residential building	Kaiser-Wilhelm-Str. 12, Steglitz, Berlin	1957
	Two Residential buildings	Bismarckstr. 10/10a, Lichterfelde, Berlin	1958
	Nurses residence hall	Mozartstr. 37a/Calandrellistaße, Steglitz, Berlin	1959
	St. Francis School	Hohenstauffenstr.1/ Goltzstr. 31, Schöneberg, Berlin	1958 -1959
Reconstruction boarding home	Wilhelmstr. 34, Lichterfelde, Berlin	1959	

	Reconstruction Rittberg Children's Hospital	Berner Str. 9, Steglitz, Berlin	1965
	Order of St. John senior citizens residence	Finckensteinallee 125, Berlin	
	Bethel Hospital	Promenadenstr. 3-5/ Marienplatz, Steglitz, Berlin	1966
	Rebuilding Catholic orphanage	Pfalzburger Str. 18, Wilmersdorf, Berlin	
	Rebuilding Mortuary	Wilhelmstr. 36/36a, Lichterfelde, Berlin	1970
Place and date of death	Bad Steben, 2004		

(2) ARCHIVES AND INSTITUTIONS CONSULTED FOR THE RESEARCH

AIV BERLIN – ARCHITEKTEN- UND INGENIEUR-VEREIN ZU BERLIN E.V. (Berlin association of engineers and architects), <http://www.aiv-berlin.de/>, Bleibtreustraße 33, 10707 Berlin.

AKADEMIE DER KÜNSTE – BAUKUNSTARCHIV (Academy of Arts), <http://www.adk.de/de/archiv/>, Spandauer Damm 19, 14059 Berlin.

ARCHITEKTENKAMMER BERLIN (CHAMBER OF ARCHITECTS), <http://www.ak-berlin.de/>, Alte Jakobstraße 149, 10969 Berlin

ARCHITEKTINNEN-ARCHIV DER UNIVERSITÄT DER KÜNSTE BERLIN (Women architects' archive of the Berlin University of Arts), http://www.udk-berlin.de/sites/universitaetsarchiv/content/index_ger.html, Einsteinufer 43-53, 10587 Berlin.

ARCHITEKTURMUSEUM DER TECHNISCHEN UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN (Museum for architecture, TU Berlin), <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/>, Straße des 17. Juni 152, 10623 Berlin.

ARCHIV (BAUAKTEN) DES BEZIRKSAMTS CHARLOTTENBURG-WILMERSDORF (Building archive of the district Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf), http://www.berlin.de/ba-charlottenburg-wilmersdorf/abteilung/bau/bau_wohn_aufsicht.html, Hohenzollerndamm 174-177, 10713 Berlin.

ARCHIV DER MUSEEN TREPTOW-KÖPENICK (Archive of the Museums in Treptow-Köpenick), <http://www.museum-treptow-koepenick.de/archiv-und-bibliothek/>, Alter Markt 1, 12555 Berlin.

ARCHIV DES STADTGESCHICHTLICHEN MUSEUMS SPANDAU (Archive of the Museum for Berlin Spandau Urban History), <http://www.zitadelle-spandau.de/>, Zitadelle, Am Juliusturm 64, 13599 Berlin.

ARCHIV ZUR GESCHICHTE VON TEMPELHOF UND SCHÖNEBERG (der Museen Tempelhof-Schöneberg) (Archive for the history of Berlin-Tempelhof and -Schöneberg), <http://www.museentempelhof-schoeneberg.de/>, Hauptstr. 40/42, 10827 Berlin.

BAUAKTENARCHIVE DES BEZIRKSAMTS STEGLITZ-ZEHLENDORF (Building archive of the district Steglitz-Zehlendorf), <http://www.berlin.de/ba-steglitz-zehlendorf/>, Kirchstr. 1/3, 14163 Berlin.

BAUHAUS-UNIVERSITÄT WEIMAR, Universitätsarchiv (Archive of the Bauhaus-University Weimar), <http://www.uni-weimar.de>, Steubenstraße 8, 99423 Weimar.

BAUWELT, Archive, <http://www.bauwelt.de/>, Schlüterstraße 42, 10707 Berlin.

BDA – BUND DEUTSCHER ARCHITEKTEN, LANDESVBAND BERLIN E.V. (Association of the German architects), <http://www.bda-berlin.de/>, Mommsenstr. 64, 10629 Berlin.

BDB – BUND DEUTSCHER BAUMEISTER, ARCHITEKTEN UND INGENIEURE E.V. (Association of German Builders, architects and engineers), <http://www.baumeister-online.de/index.htm>, Willdenowstraße 6, 12203 Berlin.

BERLINISCHE GALERIE, Archive, <http://www.berlinischegalerie.de/sammlung/architektur/der-sammlungsbereich/archive/>, Alte Jakobstraße 124-128, 10969 Berlin.

BEZIRKSMUSEUM MARZAHN-HELLERSDORF (District Museum Marzahn-Hellersdorf), <http://www.kultur-marzahn-hellersdorf.de/>, Alt-Marzahn 51, 12685 Berlin.

BUNDESARCHIV BERLIN-LICHTERFELDE (Federal Archives), <http://www.bundesarchiv.de/>, Finckensteinallee 63, 12205 Berlin.

DAS VERBORGENE MUSEUM, DOKUMENTATION DER KUNST VON FRAUEN (The Hidden Museum. Documentation of women artists' works) <http://www.dasverborgenemuseum.de/>, Schlüterstraße 70, 10625 Berlin.

FEMINISTISCHE ORGANISATION VON PLANERINNEN UND ARCHITEKTINNEN E.V. (FOPA) (Feminist organisation of women planners and architects), <http://www.fopa.de>, c/o Ida Schillen, Postfach 301265, 18113 Rostock.

FHXB FRIEDRICHSHAIN-KREUZBERG MUSEUM (Museum for the History of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum), <http://www.fhxb-museum.de/>, Adalbertstraße 95A, 10999 Berlin.

HEIMATMUSEUM REINICKENDORF (Reinickendorf Museum of Local History), <http://www.heimatmuseum-reinickendorf.de>, Alt-Hermsdorf 35, 13467 Berlin.

HERMANN HENSELMANN STIFTUNG (Hermann Henselmann Foundation), <http://www.hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de/>, Str. 201 Nr. 2, 13156 Berlin.

IAWA, THE INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVE OF WOMEN IN ARCHITECTURE, <http://spec.lib.vt.edu/IAWA/>, Virginia Tech, 560 Drillfield Dr, Blacksburg, VA 24060, Vereinigte Staaten.

ILSE BALG STIFTUNG (Ilse Balg Foundation), <http://www.ilsebalg-stiftung.de/>, Flensburger Straße 5, 10557 Berlin.

IRS – LEIBNIZ-INSTITUT FÜR REGIONALENTWICKLUNG UND STADTFORSCHUNG, WISSENSCHAFTLICHE SAMMLUNGEN (Leibniz-Institute for Regional Development and Structural Planning, Archive) <http://www.irs-net.de/profil/wissenschaftliche-sammlungen/>, Flakenstraße 28-31, 15537 Erkner.

LANDESARCHIV BERLIN (BERLIN STATE ARCHIVE), <http://www.landesarchiv-berlin.de/>, Eichborndamm 115-121, 13403 Berlin.

LOSITO • KRESSMANN-ZSCHACH FOUNDATION, <http://www.lkzf.de/dev/>, Kranzer Straße 6/7, 14199 Berlin.

MUSEUM CHARLOTTENBURG-WILMERSDORF | VILLA OPPENHEIM (Berlin Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf District Museum | Villa Oppenheim), <http://www.villa-oppenheim-berlin.de/>, Schloßstraße 55, 14059 Berlin.

MUSEUM LICHTENBERG (Berlin Lichtenberg District Museum), <http://www.museum-lichtenberg.de/>, Türschmidtstr. 24, 10317 Berlin.

MUSEUM NEUKÖLLN (Berlin Neukölln District Museum), <http://www.museum-neukoelln.de/>, Alt-Britz 81, 12359 Berlin.

RIBA LONDON – ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS, <http://www.architecture.com/RIBA/Contactus/OurUKoffices/London/London.aspx>, 66, Portland Place, London, W1B 1AD.

STEGLITZ MUSEUM DES HEIMATVEREIN STEGLITZ E.V. (Museum of the Local History Club Berlin Steglitz), <http://www.heimatverein-steglitz.de/>, Drakestraße 64A, 12205 Berlin.

STIFTUNG STADTMUSEUM BERLIN, LANDESMUSEUM FÜR KULTUR UND GESCHICHTE BERLINS (Foundation Berlin City Museum, State museum for culture and history of the state of Berlin), www.stadtmuseum.de, Hans-Poelzig-Str. 20, 13587 Berlin.

TECHNISCHEN UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN, UNIVERSITÄTSARCHIV (TU Berlin Archive), <http://www.ub.tu-berlin.de/sammlungen-und-universitaetsarchiv/universitaetsarchiv/>, Straße des 17. Juni 135, 10623 Berlin.

Technischen Universität Dresden, Universitätsarchiv (TU Dresden Archive), <http://www.ua.tu-dresden.de/>,
Mommsenstraße 11, 01069 Dresden.

UNION INTERNATIONALE DES FEMMES ARCHITECTES (U.I.F.A.), <http://www.uifa.fr/>, 14 rue Dumont
d'urville, 75116 Paris, France.

ZEITUNGSABTEILUNG DER STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN (Journal Archive of the Berlin State Library),
<http://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/zeitungen/>, Westhafenstr. 1, 13353 Berlin.

(3) EXPERT-INTERVIEW PARTNERS

Apart from numerous discussions and experts interviews in the context of the GDR architectural history research work-shops at the Institute for Regional Development and Structural Planning in the early 2000s, guided interviews were done with the following persons:

A) CASES

Bach, Anita. Three interviews in Prerow, March - September 2000.

Biergans, Ingrid. Three interviews in Berlin, May - September 2000.

Iris Grund. Three interviews, April - August 2000, September 2004.

Krause, Ruth. Interview in Schweinitz, January 2000, with Carl Krause, her widower.

Kressmann-Zschach, Sigrid. Two interviews in Berlin, in October 2000, with Donatello Losito, her widower.

Tscheschner, Dorothea. Two interviews in Berlin, February - April 2000.

Weström, Hilde. Four interviews in Berlin, June-November 1999.

B) SHORT BIOGRAPHIES

Bärhold, Hannelore. Interview in Berlin, October 1999.

Gebauer, Hildegard. Interview in Hamburg, September 2012.

Diehl, Edith. Two interviews in Berlin, May 2000.

Lehning, Elisabeth (Elly) Dora. Two phone interviews with Ms. Delić, friend of the architect, June 2000.

Lehmann, Gertraude. Interview in Berlin, November 1999.

Selmanagić, Emira. Interview in Berlin, Oktober 1999.

C) CONTEMPORARY WITNESSES / EXPERTS

Baumbach, Ute, architect. Interview in Rostock, May 2000.

Bruch-Selmanagić, Azemina, landscape architect, daughter of Emira Selmanagić. Phone interview in January 2014.

Henselmann, Irene, architect. Two interviews in Berlin, September 1999.

Höltner-Bausch, Annelen. Author of the history of a church which Margot-Zech-Weymann rebuilt.

Liepelt, Hans-Dieter, architect and urban planner, colleague of Ruth Krause. Interview in Berlin, July 2013.

Mann, Brigitte, expert on GDR pre-fabricated panel building

Raap, Gisela, architect. Interview in Dresden, June 2000.

Schrader, Claudia, architect. Two interviews in Dresden, June 2000.

Zachmann, Karin, researcher. Interview in Dresden, June 2000.

Stockhausen, Walter. Architect, colleague of Ingrid Biergans. Interview in Berlin, Oktober 2013.

Housekeeper of Margot Zech-Weymann. Phone interview in September 2000.

Stolle, Bärbel, friend of Lotte Werner. Phone interview, May 2014.

Mann, Brigitte, employee of the Department for Building documentation of the Ministry for Transport, Building and Urban development. Interview in Berlin, July 2012.

Schulgen, Wolf, urban planner at the Berlin Senate for Urban Development and the Environment. Phone interview in September 2013.