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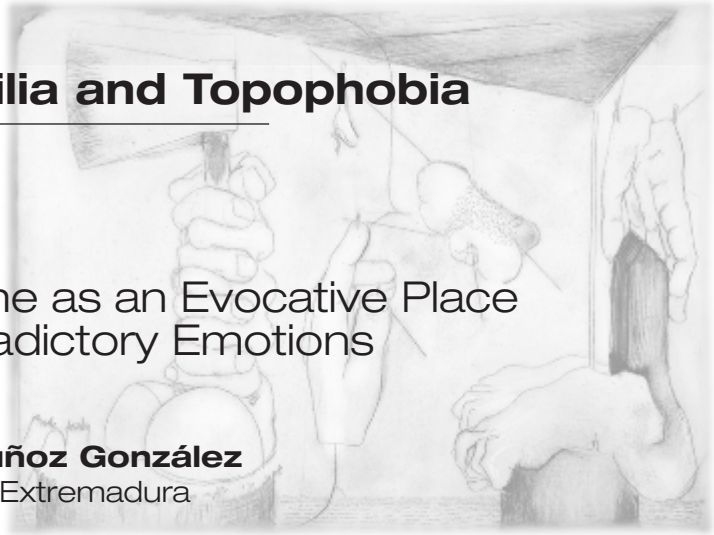
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Topophilia and Topophobia

The Home as an Evocative Place of Contradictory Emotions

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People's relations with places are frequently saturated with emotions. For places, it is possible to have feelings and bonds similar to those that are established between people and equally ambivalent. The perception that one has of places plays an important role in the production of emotions and, in this sense, the home provokes in those who reside in it, although especially in housewives, both negative and positive emotions. The testimonies given by a group of rural women from southwestern Spain allow me to establish a series of metaphors and antinomies of the home that transform it into a source of both satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Understood in this way, the home is neither a natural and desirable setting for women nor the locus that lays the foundation for their alienation but also a place of creation and of recreation of women; a fortress, prison, a place of conflict and of security.

Keywords: domestic space; topophilia; topophobia; gender ideologies; cultural meanings

Author's Note: This article presents some conclusions drawn from research conducted in Zangarillejas, a village in southwestern Spain, 10 km from the capital of the region. Zangarillejas has undergone a rapid process of social change, fundamentally as a consequence of a crisis in traditional agrarian economies, which has led to traditional farming activities being abandoned in favor of construction and service-sector activities. In this context, my aim was to find out up to what point discussions relating to domesticity in rural life were also seen as having been affected by this process of social change. With this in mind, prioritizing in my analysis one of my main lines of investigation, the sociology of emotions, I selected a group of 32 representative women from the village, that is, with few educational qualifications; housewives who had not been in paid employment and whose husbands fell within the wide-ranging category of the working class. Their ages ranged from 23 to 59. During a 6-month period, these women were interviewed, the results of which are presented in this article.

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Since the incorporation of gender studies as an important field of study into the disciplines of humanities and social sciences, what has been witnessed, among other things, is an opposition between men and women, an opposition that refers to the radical difference between male and female fields, in both work and life. The home versus the outside world, the private as opposed to the public, the invisible and the visible, the domestic versus outside the home, and the productive as opposed to the reproductive are some of the opposing terms that are deemed appropriate when it comes to analyzing gender relations.

Certainly, the ideological consideration of the housewife has changed in a pendular fashion; either history ignored housewives and denied significance to the home as entities because it was said that they did not contribute anything to historical knowledge, or it was passed over because of the belief that the relationship between home and woman was normal, natural, even innate, and so desirable for her. If anthropology could assume in the early decades of 20th century that Malinowski's candid affirmation that anthropology is the study of man embracing woman, or classical sociology tried to find explanations for social facts in public spheres, not at home, the emergence and significant development of "the new history of women," of the anthropology of gender sociology and of women, have contributed in radically altering this conception. In this way, not so much because the home is seen as a locus, capable of laying the foundations of history or of knowledge, but for incorporating, as an object of reflection, the idea that this is not the natural setting, neither normal nor desirable, of work or of women's lives, but is in fact a clear symbol of male dominance and that in confining women in this way they are excluded and become invisible. One might say that as an outcome of this pendular movement, we have gone from considering the home as women's natural space to understanding it as a place of suffering and alienation.

The ideas and suggestions of a group of rural Extremaduran women leads to the proposal of a third route that in some way adds precision to these two opposing positions. The home, although an essential setting for the woman, the "housewife" in Zangarillejas¹ is, at the same time, a source of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, of fulfilled wishes and of frustrations, of control and confinement, of joy and sorrow. Certainly, it is considered as a setting belonging to and exclusive to them, although as in any other area of work and of life, it is both pleasurable and loathsome.

I believe that it is worthwhile to begin by highlighting the important role that the perception of place plays in the production of emotions. Emotions are provoked in a relational context, with people as well as with objects, and therefore, the home, in the same way as any other territory or space, provokes in those who reside in it, although especially in housewives, emotions, positive or negative, pleasurable or not. In this sense, on one hand, it is possible to talk of "topophilia"² (Johnston, Gregory, & Smith, 1987; Tuan, 1990) in that a positive affective link is established between people—in this case, as we shall see later on, Zangarillejas housewives—and their material surroundings. Topophilia would imply a pleasurable habitat and, looked at from a unique and exclusive perspective, a vision of the home that is perhaps too positive and individualized, because if one accepts it to be a pleasant place, it is also the opposite. In this sense, it would no longer be depicted as a warm and comfortable place—which, in essence, is the dominant image of the home in modern societies—but instead a place of work, loathing, and alienation. Making use once again of the terminology of geography and urban studies, one could at the same time talk of "topophobia" (Tuan,

1990) in that the habitat would be an “enclosure” for places of conflict. The image of the home as a prison is extremely illustrative of this.

Nevertheless, I should clarify that if, as I have just pointed out, the perception that one has of places, of the home, is a source of emotions, it should also be pointed out that this emotional reaction turns out to be a reflection of images of the social and physical setting rather than of their true natures (Gómez Mendoza, Muñoz, & Ortega, 1982, p. 479), and as a result, the home becomes an idea, not just a material reality. Thus, it is cultural meaning that defines it and also ultimately defines the emotions that the house provokes. People act according to objects, places, and according to other people, depending on the significance that they have for them, and this perception is made up of, in effect, how people act and how emotions are provoked.

From this, it can be deduced that one of my points of departure is found in symbolic interactionism and, from the perspective of the sociology of emotions, more specifically in the analysis of the emotional link with domestic space, the structuralism of Hochschild (1979), concerned with the social order of emotions (i.e., with the social norms that control emotions in distinct social contexts). For her, emotional life is regulated by ideologies of feelings that function according to what are called “feeling rules”: rules that define what should be felt in each situation. One of the concepts dealt with is that of “emotion work,” used to refer to the “act of changing the degree or the quality of emotion or feeling” (p. 561). “Emotion work” would be the result of an awareness of social norms that must be sensed, leading to the suggestion that at least some emotions are produced by individuals in a deliberate way when they become aware of the existence of certain socially defined rules to which they should adapt. It is hoped that someone is happy on his or her wedding day or sad at funerals. If there is a transgression of these rules, the individual, in general, is sanctioned to varying degrees (Hochschild, 1979, 1983). In such a way, it is understood that the expression of a person’s emotion is socially formed and subject to a high degree of social organization. It is also recognized that there is an actor who is both conscious and feeling, whose emotions are oriented toward action although also toward cognition, conditioned by previous expectations and indicating the relevance that each given situation has for the actor. For him or her, the actor, the norms of emotional organization are defined as compelling and restrictive of the self, at the service of institutions, the economic system and social inequalities with the aim of maintaining and regulating social order in detriment to the social well-being of individuals. The role of power structures in the organization and expression of emotions stands out.

From the point of view of the relation that housewives have with their domestic space, this approach would maintain that the construction of the home, its work, and the relations implicit within it are the result of a gender ideology that defines, for example, what it means to be a good housewife, one that defines this identity as being constructed for “the other” and would include its emotional correlation, characterized by the carrying out of emotional management that for Hochschild would imply at the same time a state of alienation inasmuch as it would constitute a restrictive action of the self.

However, I do not share the view that the housewife’s identity is an alienated one, or at least, not solely. If domestic space—domesticity, the dominant concept held within it, a reflection of certain gender ideologies—constructs a conscious and feeling being that experiences its “being” according to “being for another,” it is also true that the home is built by the woman who acts on it, constructing a territory in which it is

able to reflect her “being” *per se*. The discourse constructed by the women interviewed, far from being a “yielding discourse,” also offers a critical discourse that not only reflects weariness but shows, in my judgment, the capacity of the social actor to act with a certain degree of independence in the framework of particular social structures.

The Metonymic Dimension of the Home

Not one woman in Zangarillejas will deny that the home is an almost private enclosure. What is inside the home or what is created inside the home belongs to and is carried out by women. Women’s lives are ordered and managed from this small domestic setting.³ It may be their exclusion in public life or the control that “the others” have over this sphere, together with the need for space in which women can be themselves that explains this reality (Darke, 1998, p. 97). However, whatever the reason, there is no doubt about the nature of the private enclosure that the home has for the housewives themselves. The game of possessive versus demonstrative pronouns, used to refer to things, highlights this difference. Women refer to the home and the items found within it using the possessive: “my house,” “my kitchen,” “my armchair,” “my little terrace,” “my plants,” “my little birds,” “my living room.” This deals with a classification that is not in any way related to real or legal ownership of objects, but the possessive is used to refer to shared goods or, in legal terminology, gains. Gurney (1999) has already demonstrated how the discourse of men and women highlight the different aspects of the home. In her sample, men more readily talked of home ownership (the burden of the mortgage, pride at being homeowners, etc.), whereas women granted the home a sense that had little or nothing to do with this and a great deal to do with the links that they had established with the house: for having been a privileged witness to important events, always loaded with a strong emotional component (the birth of children, the death of a family member, etc.). The discourse constructed and the language used differed considerably between men and women, women’s being a great deal more emotional and personal.

However, against this personalization of goods and effects in the home, a depersonalization of other goods of the family comes about. For example, the family car used by the husband to go to work will not be classified as “my car” but as “the car” or even, more significantly, “your car.” Conversely, no man would dare classify the living space of the house with the possessive. This is not to say that men don’t have particular “possession” over any item in the house; in fact, it is frequently the case that he alludes to “his armchair,” although here his link to the physical domestic sphere almost stops. I do not believe it extreme to talk of an “appropriation” of objects and domestic space by women in the sense given to this term by the sociology of consumption (Miller, 1987; Silverstone, Hirsch, & Morley, 1992), that is, that they are incorporated into the very notion of self, given that these objects and places—the armchair, the kitchen, plants, the terrace—are not only elements of everyday life but have also been endowed with meaning, implying, therefore, the existence of a relation between the object or the place and subjectivity. This link does not only suppose the existence of an affective component but also, in some way, a modification of the very nature of the object that is anthropomorphized in being linked emotionally to people.⁴ This meaning given to places is culturally defined and specifically corresponds to a gender ideol-

ogy or culture that subjugates places and objects to a process of appropriation on the part of women. They are, as a consequence, and as I have indicated above, not only a material reality, but also an idea.

In parallel to the female appropriation of objects and domestic space, I also believe that the expression that best characterizes the at least apparent lack of property or sense of belonging of men is that of "toponeglect," which could be understood as a lack of commitment and attachment to the home.⁵ In fact, with respect to the majority of settings and items of the house, the men end up being considered "incompetent." They do not know anything about how it is organized. Adela remembers a case that clearly shows this lack of knowledge:

It was just too much, after 7 years of having my son, I never move the pants from their place, always neatly arranged in a little drawer that I have like this, where my son has his little pants, I say [to my husband], "Bring me up a pair of pants for him"; I had forgotten the pants. "And where are the pants" [he says to me]...after 7 years! "Where are the pants?" They're always in the same place! I had an argument with him.... "If you had to ask for all the kids' clothes, you had to organize the clothes."

It is significant that the passage of time doesn't help in terms of men's knowledge about the house. It continues to be a great unknown for them, and they remain within this strange setting, up to the point at which it can convert them into a hindrance rather than a help. Among the families of Almadén⁶ with whom Manuel Delgado (1993) worked,

the husbands were aware that they spent a large part of their time out of the home, in settings exclusively male, mainly in the pub. The women, far from stopping them or feeling offended due to the lack of domestic assistance from their husbands, encouraged this type of behavior. In fact, they stated that they preferred their husbands to be out of the house, away from the tasks of organization and away from the kids, but justifying this preference by that fact that they were not in any way a help to them but rather the opposite, a hindrance. This view is frequently expressed in comments such as, "my husband is useless" or "my husband is no good for anything and I have to do everything myself." (pp. 282-283)

In the small sample, another general supposition was that men have an insurmountable natural clumsiness for housework and that, conversely, women are especially skilled for these tasks simply by being women. García Muñoz (1997) finds something similar with regard to Balalaita:

The women would not accept having their husbands in the house more than for eating and sleeping. In fact, when they retire, the men who do not have any activity to carry out wander around the village or take refuge in pubs, or in the "pensioners' club." The women don't want them in the house; at the very most, they allow them to help with some food shopping. More than once, I have been witness to how a woman told her husband in no uncertain terms to get out of the house, and I have heard them complaining when the husband is in the house for longer than is considered necessary. If one permits me to make the comparison, however *domesticated* the men may be in Balalaita, they have a relation with the house, differences accepted, in many ways comparable to that of cats: A place to eat and sleep is made available, and it's possible to see them discreetly passing by in the hall on their way to the patio or the garden.⁷

Male incompetence is typically expressed in an expression frequently repeated by the women: "Oh, if one day you were without me," giving the impression that relaxation of the norms and dirt and "living badly" would reign in the house. It is not only a question of thought, because when a woman is forced for some reason to be away from home for a time, generally because of illness, male incompetence in all its glory is tried and tested.⁸

Faced with the uselessness of a husband, the best thing that could happen is that he do nothing, because if he attempts it, it is very likely that he will make things worse, mess up everything, or damage things. As can be observed, this attitude is nothing more than a reflection of the traditional separation of family roles, because in effect, the female topophilia and its implicit cultural significance, such as the male toponeglect, are two sides of the same coin, from the same gender ideology.

Adelaida remembers an illness that forced her to be admitted to the hospital. In her absence, her mother, her neighbors, and even her sisters-in-law turned up to help, but not her husband: "Also, it's that I prefer that he doesn't give me a hand because he ruins everything, I don't want him and I don't want him near me." In the same way, when Amelia spent various days in hospital, she accepted help from her mother and mother-in-law, but when her husband wanted to help, she lectured him, "Here we don't need anybody!"⁹ Asunción, however, spent 5 days in the hospital for an operation and 2 months convalescing, during which time she couldn't even pick up her 6-month-old baby. She remembers her husband's incompetence during this period:

Hopeless. There I was, some years ago they operated on me [she points to the type of operation] and I was, nearly 2 months, nearly 2 months I couldn't pick up anything, and my mother had to come to my house because he, hopeless. Well, just by telling you that he didn't even spend 1 day with me in the hospital; he sent his sister one day, eh? So he wouldn't have to, and hadn't even made the bed. I came home and for the 5 days that I was in hospital, the bed was unmade! And I said, "Are you not ashamed of yourself?"

It is interesting to say something with respect to the link that the housewives establish between a physical setting and some kind of moral component. As if it were an extension of the female self, the house is identified with the woman; it is converted into a metonymy of herself: A disorganized house represents a disorganized woman, a dirty home is that of a dirty woman. The home is not only turned into a representation of the woman to the outside world but also internalized as an expression of her being, confirming the idea suggested by Nippert-Eng (1996, p. 34), for whom, as a result of the appropriation, the object can be understood as an extension of self in space, an extension of the self that the body surrounds. In this way, objects, in this case the home, would become autobiographical. The home is a place of work where the woman is responsible for any neglect, although it can also be a cause of prestige if the woman shows herself to be capable. In any case, it is always a source of opinions expressed by "others" on how it looks, as well as on the housewife's personality (Darke, 1998, p. 98).

The feelings that a woman can express because of an untidy or unattended-to house are ones of shame and blame, although shame is unleashed not only as a consequence of what others would think of her but also as a result of what the woman would think of herself. Shame is generated through the continual evaluations and controls that women make of themselves, emerging from the supervision of our own actions through the perception of the self of the person from the point of view of an-

other (Scheff, 1990b, p. 281). Arising from this is the importance of shame in terms of an autoregulative function that transforms it into a key element in a theory of social control (Scheff, 1990a, p. 95). Goffman (2000), in referring to embarrassment, points out that it has to do with unsatisfied expectations in such a way that social identities and setting define what is considered appropriate behavior and thus define the interaction conditions of the situation, making it "safer" for the actor and, in short, guaranteeing that embarrassment does not come about. The appearance of this emotion shows a strict correlation between identity and interaction, and it is always displayed when an individual has projected definitions that are incompatible with himself or herself before those present in a given situation. In this way, it is shown as being related to place and social setting, at the same time as reinforcing the social character of this feeling, given that it always appears in opposition to moral expectations "of someone who carries out social engagements" (p. 50). The idea of shame as an essential element for social control is also found contained in the question that Goffman asks when he continues by questioning "what would happen to the social system and network of obligations if embarrassment were not systematically incorporated into it" (p. 54).¹⁰

The "what will they think of me?" through what may be seen in her home coexists with the uneasiness that the woman feels independently of whether there are or there are no other eyes that can see it. Even if no one is going to see the house, "having it nice" is necessary for her to feel at ease, not to feel guilt or shame for not conforming to the norms that are laid down for how to be a good housewife. As Alba said, "my kitchen at night is exactly how it is during the day"; it is impossible that someone could see the kitchen during the night, but she is at ease, for it takes away any feeling of embarrassment. Similarly for Adriana, "For me, at times it embarrasses me, and I have to sort it [the kitchen] because it embarrasses me." The internalization of this idea, a product of socialization of specific values on what it is to be a good housewife, leads to identifying personal well-being with the well-being of the home; in this way, any anomaly in the home makes one uneasy because it generates uneasiness in the woman herself. Adriana recognizes that to feel good, she had to have everything "in order" when going to bed. Even if she remembered something that she hadn't done when she was in bed, she would get up to fix it, because if not, she would be unable to sleep:

Yes, I sort it. I like to leave the living room tidy...it's that if I don't, it seems that I'm not happy. There are times that I get up out of bed to sort something that's not done....I'm a bit fussy.

Evidence that the housewife feels that the house is an expression of herself can be clearly shown by the fact that domestic chores are done independently if they are appreciated by others or not. The important thing is that she herself appreciates it. It is possible to talk of the home as a modernization of a strategy such as it is defined by Bourdieu (1977), that is, as an action that emerges from the reflection and planning by a subject, the woman, who confronts specific situations that she has to resolve. The space created by the housewives of Zangarillejas originates from a detailed and conscious strategy to make the home a private place. The building of the home, the home-making, responds to the actual privatizing characteristics that this activity has acquired, in which the women have been taught, and that defines the modern model. In this homemaking, private space turns into a place of individuality. The women con-

tinually note this in relation to their husbands. The eyes of their husbands are incapable of seeing if the dusting has been done or not, if the floor has been swept or washed. When Agustina's husband sees her stressed he says to her, "Do you need to brush and wash the floor every day?" On top of everything, you happily do it so that the house is clean....Men don't care about the house."

The existence of some gender differences in the conception of the home is apparent, differences that are in reality one more element in the social construction of gender. However, in any case, and despite this general view, there is a hidden (and not so hidden) pressure exerted in a surreptitious way by other women whose eyes without doubt have the power to see the things that the men cannot. This invisible pressure compels the housewife to always have her house "presentable" in case other female eyes should arrive unexpectedly, be it her mother, mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, or neighbors. Thus, Darke (1998) states that

anybody who has visited women in their homes without prior warning, a friend, a market researcher, will have noticed that the majority of homes are immaculate, and the ritual excuse for the state of the house will also sound familiar: a declaration according to which the housewife aspires to higher levels of order and cleanliness that are visible at the present time. (p. 100)

The presence of these eyes provokes, if only in a remote way, the feeling of shame, and this functions in the way I have been stating, as an effective mechanism of social control that subjects a woman to playing the role of the good housewife.

On top of the feeling of fear of sudden absence (especially because of illness), a discourse is built up on the need for the house to always be "presentable" or "seeable," another adjective that is commonly used, so that no one at any time could ever say anything against the housewife. Alba often recognizes this possibility, and when she sees that the sink is filling up with dirty dishes, the idea immediately comes to mind: "God, if anything happens. If anything happens and I have to go into hospital or anything." A woman cannot allow herself to leave the house "unpresentable," because at any time, something could occur that forces her to leave the home. This is what happened to Alicia. She washed the dishes every night, but what a coincidence! One night she didn't do them: "The night before giving birth, I didn't do them. And in the morning, my mother appeared, my water breaks and my mother appears—and these dishes?" Alba backs up same idea: "It's that I'm perhaps going to my daughter's room and there's a pile of clothes on the chair. And I think, 'Well, if anything happens to me, what would they think about that?'"

In this way, the home, although viewed as private space, is seen conditioned (and therefore also the housewife) by the possibility of being scrutinized by the critical eyes of other women. Domestic privacy could be violated by these eyes that perhaps in exceptional circumstances could turn up at the house and judge it. Privacy is an essential element in a Western understanding of the home; it allows one to hide from others (Allan & Crow, 1989, p. 6), but this privacy can be ruptured; there is no absolute immunity when faced with the possible looks of others. The metonymic dimension of the home reinforces this element of privacy and domestic intimacy that explains how the house could be understood as a military fortress, as a territory conceived as property that can be "assaulted" not only by the eyes of others but also by hearing and even by smell given that domestic privacy can also come to light by being scrutinized by these senses.

In effect, a home's public quality and that of a woman is also tested by the quality of her cooking. The scrutiny that in private could be made of her cooking could lead to uneasiness or to anger, but cooking also has the possibility of escape, in the form of smells, through the cracks in the closed and private living space, and could reach the scrutinizing noses of other women whose judgment could cause shame to the female cook. Ascensión complained that her daughter publicly and critically talked about her cooking: "My daughter often comes up the stairs [saying], 'Phew, what's that smell? What have you made today?' ... I know what it is: baked potatoes. I say, 'Shut the door and shut up so that nobody can hear you.'"

Without a doubt, the pressure that their own scrutiny and the scrutiny of others exert makes the domestic day of chores never ending. In going over some of the descriptions that the housewives of Zangarillejas make give of their domestic day, one can appreciate up to what point their obligations reach.¹¹ In Agustina's story, for example, it is seen how, as well as run-of-the-mill domestic chores, there are others that now and again have to be attended to because in these chores, one's own worth is also reflected; whether a child has his or her nails cut is transformed into a reason for externally judging the woman:

I got up and I remembered that I had to take the car for service and then I went to the bank to pay for the service. Then I did something else that I had to do there, and then I arrived home and, what happened? Well, I made the beds, didn't I? Then I brushed and washed the floor, the washing, ah—yesterday I had to put on three loads of washing [they laugh].... For lunch... on Monday what did I do? Well, on Monday I made roast chicken, you see. I made roast chicken that I had in. I sautéed it.... And then, it was time to pick up my daughter. I came back, and I have to help feed her. Sometimes she feeds herself, but at other times, I have to help her because she gets hooked on the television.... Later, we started eating lunch, and, you can guess, can't you? You clear the table, tidy up the kitchen, rushing, rushing, at half past three. And then I went to my sister's to help her. She's getting her house decorated and everything, because it's the kid's first communion, and we were scrubbing tiles in the bathroom, in the kitchen, and everything. There, until 5 o'clock, then, at 5, I pick up my daughter, I help her with her homework, give her an afternoon snack and take her to dance class, and then I went back to my sister's. Then, someone collected her for me from dance class, so that I wouldn't have to go back, and at half past 8, I returned home. At home, at half past 8, there I was cutting my daughter's nails, on Saturday she didn't want me to, on Saturday she didn't want me to cut them, and so I cut them, I put her into her pajamas, I changed her, made dinner and then... where was I [they laugh]. Then, I tidied up the kitchen, took out the rubbish, and then I was watching the film that was on Channel 2, didn't you see it? Well, it was great. I had already seen it. Anyway, while watching it, what happened was that because it was so good I was rooted there, but I'm embroidering a hanky at the same time.

Therefore, completed domestic chores or clean nails could correspond to more or less traditional ideologies in terms of what is cleaning, although there are other emerging values associated with women that are converted into referents of her person. Although a large proportion of the "hard" work has been eliminated because of technological advances and the development of a consumer society, without a doubt, the expectations of intellectual work are greater. Being a mother, for example, no longer requires boiling nappies, but it has acquired a great deal of complexity. Currently, there are innumerable books published on child rearing that explain in a very detailed way the whole educational process of children and that end up confusing the mothers

themselves (Darke, 1998). In this respect, children's school marks take on great significance. Housewives "live" this experience as if they themselves were the ones being awarded a grade. In conversations among housewives, it can be observed how they argue about teachers, their marking systems, the "toughness" of the exams; and, above all, there is a great deal of talk or absolute silence when talking about grades, depending on what grades have been awarded to their children. This emerging value among housewives justifies the everyday status that the task of doing homework with children has now acquired.¹²

It could be said that the house, as a female setting, is perceived therefore almost as an organic entity that awakens early in the morning and doesn't stop moving throughout the whole day. The organic conception of domesticity is made more complex with the idea of tentacular enlargements of the home: The home and by extension the housewife are the head of this octopus, this operations center that is one's own home. However, it is also in the external manifestations of its action: The mother and the house are present at school or in the house, where birthdays are celebrated. They are also present in her husband's afternoon snack or in the clothes that he is going to put on, or in the home of some family member who is ill. All of these situations are also useful to evaluate the housewife's worth.

In this way, the tentacles of domesticity are extended and are adapted to modern times. The intensity of movement never stops; even though the eruption of domestic appliances in homes has undoubtedly led to a reduction in the time dedicated to certain tasks, others are sure to appear. The movement stops only when the house sleeps. First, however, before the house rests, the woman has some special time at the end of each day. It is interesting to note the references to these moments, because they are perceived as moments of tranquility, of peacefulness, moments that are used to evaluate the day and plan the next. This is about moments in which perhaps the "I" that during the day has been focused on others now at least in part is focused on herself. The armchair is idealized (Adriana: "I threw myself down on the couch"; Águeda: "I sprawled on the armchair"; Ascensión: "I wish the kid would go to bed so that I can relax a little on the couch watching television"; Ascensión: "There I relax in the armchair, as cozy as anything"; Amelia: "At night, you end up tired and the minute that you finally sit down is, I'll tell you, sitting myself down here is what it means to relax"; Angeles: "Oh, I love this, relaxing after dinner, sitting down"). The housewife has a moment to herself at a specific time. Alba says,

Round about 10 or thereabouts, I sit down in the armchair and completely switch off. I'll tell you: whoever wants to go to bed can go...but I stay sat in that armchair...until 12, half past 12...until I get tired and I'm as happy as Larry. I relax in my armchair and even if they shout on me, I don't lift a finger.

It seems as if dedicating time to oneself during these moments implies *switching off*, as if being a housewife is being connected to the movements of the house that are carried out for everybody else. Without doubt, what can be appreciated in the comments that the housewives make about their day is that the period of relaxation at the end of the day is enjoyed as a time of maximum personal happiness. Anabel's comment is exemplary in this sense: "...or simply sitting there, quietly smoking a cigarette. I feel wonderful."

During these moments of relaxation at the end of the day, in these moments when the house rests, assessments are made of domestic work, of the life of the house. It is

the time when, because of its privacy, emotional assessments are made, feeling content, thinking about the pleasantness of the day that, once again, is transformed into an assessment of what one likes or dislikes about the life of the house. During these moments, the house stops being a place of production or reproduction or a fortress to guard and is presented in its monastic dimension. It is transformed into a place of retreat, of seclusion, of peaceful reflection, of refuge, as if it were “a set of images that facilitates reasoning or illusions of stability”¹³ for the woman in juxtaposition with that other image of the home as a refuge that is reflected in some work focused on lesbian women (Egerton, 1990), disabled women (Morris, 1992), or women who belong to ethnic minorities (Hooks, 1990), which, if they recognize and identify this significance of the house as place of refuge, they do it from a negative perspective closer to the idea of a ghetto than that defined here, that is, as a place of finding oneself, a place of calm and contentment.

The Paradoxical Dimension of the Home

Among the thoughts that the housewives of Zangarillejas have of their surroundings, there are some that seem to reproduce the essence of feminist discourse; ones that identify the house as a prison, as a stressful place, monotonous and uncreative, highlighting the affective link that I have named topophobia. However, in parallel to this, the home, and housework within it, is spoken of as a place where peace and tranquility reign, where one lives “cozily” and where the woman herself is transformed into the main actor to build a pleasant and comfortable place for everyone who lives within it, highlighting, at the same time, the affective link called topophilia. It seems a contradiction that the housewife would express one value and its exact opposite in referring to the home. However, in the third route that I propose, the home and the work carried out within it can be analyzed by considering the unification of disparate meanings within it. Durkheim was fascinated with the problem of why many norms and many social needs are regarded by those who have to abide by them as “compulsory” and “desirable” at the same time. Without doubt, more than its economic and social value, the home is transformed into a place where a series of everyday rituals full of ritualistic symbols are at play. In his study of what meaning these could have, Victor Turner (1980) states that

these symbols are a result of contrary qualities....No profound knowledge of current psychology is necessary to guess that such juxtaposition, or even an interpretation of opposites in the symbols, maintains a connection to their social function....The participants studied realize that the ritual is precisely the mechanism that periodically transforms the compulsory into the desirable. Within its web of meaning, the dominant symbol exerts strong emotional stimuli. In the ritual in progress, with the social excitement and the directly physiological stimulus, the ritualistic symbol brings about, we could say, an exchange of qualities between two points of view: The norms and values are laden with emotion, while the basic and crude emotions are ennobled through their contact with social values. The bother of moral repression is transformed into a “love of virtue.” (p. 31)

Surely, the strongest emotional charge, and for the most part settled throughout history, refers to the identification between house and prison. Without doubt, in this

identification, it is not only recently dictated feminist considerations that carry weight but also that what we are dealing with is something that has been morally established from the traditional beginnings of Christianity. In any case, the idea of a prison or enclosure revolves around two points: For feminism, the seclusion of the home impedes creativity, makes self-development impossible, and is the basis of the housewife's subordination, in such a way that leaving the house is understood as "freedom" and as the only way in which the true independence of women in all its aspects, although above all economically and sexually, can be expressed. Contrary to these recent positions there are others, which carrying the full weight of the Judeo-Christian¹⁴ tradition believe that life within the woman's home, far from implying feminine constrictions, benefits women because they are able to avoid the contamination and evil that lies outside the walls of the house.¹⁵ Clearly, this largely incubated discourse touches on the benefits of confinement, not understood as a bad thing but rather as a way of protecting, in such a way that here it is clearly appreciated how the compulsory is transformed into the desirable. The theories that allude to evil being found outside the home and good inside it have clear links with the idea of danger associated with the female body, an idea summarized by Luis Vives (1948) in his *Training the Christian Woman* that, with some differences, has followed ideas from ancient times, extended up until the 20th century. Vives says,

The holy writers and teachers of human life say that death enters (as if by the windows) the soul through the senses, which are tired and weary because of the pleasures and flattery of the world, which with its tasty food deceives our willpower and holds it captive. In this way, it is preferable that women either never leave the house or never very late, her duties should not be so great that she has to walk in places where her honesty could stumble at each step. (p. 69)

Each time the woman goes out, according to Vives, she should be ready in her heart

as if going out to do battle with the world. Think what it is that she will see, what she will hear, what she will say, consider that at each step things will come up that will make her trip so that she stumbles and falls. (p. 93)

Up until the present time, there has been a sense of the meaning of *woman* in the Spanish-language dictionary of the Real Academia that allows us to understand this relation very well: In this way a worldly woman, lost or public, is a whore. The association between women who go out into the world, who leave the private space of the home to the public one of the outside world and the women who give their bodies "to the public" is made evident; a woman finds herself in the restricted space of the house and is lost in the public space of the outside world; the metaphoric sense of *lost* is more than clear and thus extends the literalness of being without spatial direction to being on a moral plane. It would deal with an ideological construction that has temporal continuity not only in the West but is also found present in other cultures.

Susan Tax (1980) studied the significance of the value attributed to female work as an activity of displacement in Zinacantán, Chiapas, Mexico. There, when someone does not spend his or her time "productively" (according to how each culture understands "productivity," which without a doubt goes beyond its purely formal economic sense), it is possible for him or her to think bad thoughts or do bad things:

Idleness has dangerous connotations that go beyond its economic meaning and should be avoided. The rules of what should not be done and the power of suggestion are such that it is suspected that a person has engaged in the worst activities when the products of their good activities cannot be specifically shown. (p. 307).

These suggestions are perfectly valid for Zangarillejas because, as I have already said, and I will continue to maintain, housework depicts both self-worth and worth from others that a housewife has, the “what will they say about me?” before the possibility of not fulfilling her domestic chores is not posed as an open question but as one that has a clear response: “They will say that I’m dirty and lazy or something worse.” All with clear moral links: If the housewife’s house is not “in order,” clean, she herself is disorganized and dirty, both literally and metaphorically. Thus, this ambivalent feeling toward the confines of the house is more than logical.

Alfonsina, after telling of her never-ending days in the house, clearly expressed the similarity between the home and confinement: “I’m like a prisoner, hoping to get out at the weekends!” Prison, like the home, has two negative aspects that are pointed out by the women of Zangarillejas: the lack of freedom and, above all, the routine. The concept of freedom linked with housework is related to the nonexistence of economic remuneration and also to the real impossibility of leaving, as Asunción affirms:

Oh, I don’t know. In the house it seems as if you’re more restricted than if you were working. And you say, “So I see something I like, and because I’m working, I feel like buying it.” And now, well, perhaps you have to think of other things, don’t you? And so, maybe more because of this, in order to have more freedom.

Adriana similarly understands that to a large extent, the devaluing of housework comes from the fact that “we don’t bring a penny into the house.” However, without doubt, the idea of loss of freedom is, for the most part, related to being “locked in within four walls” and not being able to go out because the day is never ending. This makes it difficult to have a social life in comparison with those who work outside the home. Ana has experienced both situations and talks knowledgeably about the cause:

You know, working life is different from being at home. To be working is really nice because you are with a lot of people. I worked with a really good group of people, work-mates both male and female...then Christmas comes, you have your nights out, I don’t know, you can relate to many people, it’s another type of life from being at home.

In the same way as the prisoner in jail waits for his daily walk or a weekend pass, the women of Zangarillejas wait with real longing for everyday or special events that allow them to leave the house:

Ana: The days that we don’t come here [to the interviews], we leave the kids [at school] and go walking along the road, we go for a short walk.

Ascensión: That is our way to relax.

Ana: That is our way to relax.

Ascensión: We get rid of all our adrenaline for the whole day [she laughs].

Ana: And afterward, you feel really good, and because we’re in the house all day. When the weekend comes, what we want to do is go out [they laugh].

Ascensión: And if we don’t go out, we go mad.

Ana: On top of this, I'm on my own. My husband comes at the weekend, and what I want to do is to be with him and go out to lots of different places.

In this way, the feeling of freedom is attained by going out. Even doing nonroutine things inside the home, such as having a beer, is not appreciated in the same way as a beer that is drunk outside the home, as if the special thing had to be taken out of the dull and tedious place:

Me, no, I love going out to have a beer during that the typical time for talking with one another and being a part of it. This thing about being in the house having a beer alone isn't for me. As I am alone all day, I'm always at home with the kids, what I want to do is go out....I don't like that. I like going out for a while and having a beer with you. But me at home, this thing about being in the kitchen and being...I don't like that at all! I stand with my cigarette and my beer and start chatting with whoever. (Ascensión)

Alicia is more explicit still. For her, what is special should happen always outside the home; if not, it is not special. Faced with the prospect of an out-of-the-ordinary event, her stock response is to escape:

Alicia: No, no. If I do something special, I go to someone's house, no one comes to mine [they laugh openly]. In my house, noooo!

Águeda: How nice!

Alicia: In my house, no, I escape, I escape.

However, many times, the joy at going out during the week or at the weekend, the excitement that getting out from within the four walls brings about, is nothing more than an illusion because frequently, the strong ideological responsibility that revolves around whatever the housewife does results in her domesticity being moved to where the woman is. If the family goes out, to eat in the countryside, for example, it is common that the concept of the home is simply moved, and there is no discernible difference between what is done inside the home and what is done outside.¹⁶ Others wait for the weekend as something special, and finally, when nothing extraordinary occurs, arising from this, as well as complaining, comes the contradictory feeling of resignation whose negativity has been understated during the long history of being linked to women. It is not only political discourse but above all religious discourse that has minimized the value of female work, coming from the premise of sacrifice and of resignation that appear in these discourses, inevitably linked to housewives:

Because it's an obligation, it's a routine and it's a duty and that's it. I neither like it nor dislike it, and bank holidays annoy me a lot because everyone else is...and I'll say: I have to do the same every single day, because I've no other choice, and I haven't got a holiday and everyone else has a holiday.

But apart from a lack of freedom, in the house-prison association, the other element to take into account is the routine and monotonous nature of the activities carried out within it. Alicia summarizes an idea that many of the interviewed women commented on:

There are times that you say, "Phew, it's always the same, the same boring thing every day." It's that you go to bed and leave everything nice and the next morning everything's

untidy again. And we're in the house and every day the same. It's just too monotonous. So monotonous that...God!

The women of Zangarillejas compare their routine work with that of their husbands, which is varied, and for this reason, it is suggested that it is more desirable, more creative, and therefore is not a "mindless" job like the routine one that women do:

Doing the job of fools; do and undo, do and undo....I sometimes think, look, now that I have finished everything in the kitchen, now that I've got it all done, now, we're going to, and then it's all dirty again!

Clearly, considering the house as a prison has emotional implications. The women of Zangarillejas allude to two types of emotional correlates linked with never-ending and routine work: the unwillingness and apathy on one hand and on the other rebellion in the form of voices or getting "upset," an emotional state that Alba describes as "being stirred up":

Because there are days that you get up...I start saying, how sore my back is, I feel awful....Carmen [her daughter] says, "Don't shout, don't shout! Don't get upset, don't get upset!" My husband says, "Leave your mother alone, leave your mother alone, leave her alone."... "Leave your mum alone, leave your mum. Leave her, leave her, don't say anything to her." And there are times that she says to me, "Well, what are you like today, mum? You're all stirred up! And my father says to her, "Leave her because today, it's that she's...today she's unwell, unwell." I say, "Well, you can all leave me alone. One day I'll leave this house and you'll never find me, you'll see!"

From the moment that housewives hear discourse from outside the home that talks of the negative aspect of women's routines, they start to think of the benefits of technology. In truth, this discourse has come about as a vector of modernity through imposition and without discussion, a great deal of the time provoking more emotional prejudices than the benefits that they supposedly bring. In the traditional rural society, the routine was not a curse but a clear element of normality and therefore of equilibrium and order. The introduction of change without a shock absorber or readjustment leads to the emergence of a kind of previously unknown discomfort in the housewife: *disappointment*, *disillusionment*, and *despondency* are the words that are generally used by the housewives themselves to define this situation. This is how Amalia feels when her break with normality is not appreciated:

Because many times I've made cannelloni, I've done my best in making something different, and it's that he doesn't even try it. So it's that I don't make the effort any more. As soon as I try something different, he doesn't want anything else....I tell you, what's the monotony like in my house! Always the same, so now I don't even bother. Because I've tried to do lots of things, and no one even tries it.

The need for recognition for the work done is asserted as the minimum emotional recompense hoped for before the impossibility of receiving any other type of remuneration. The disillusion, or, better said, the pain or sadness, emerges when one expects recompense that does not arrive, when voluntary recognition from others is not received, status that Kemper (1978a, p. 378) refers to as a type of social relation in

which there exists voluntary behavior directed at the satisfaction of desires, demands, deficiencies, and needs of others, and in the case of the housewives of Zangarillejas, these feelings are more frequent when they do not receive the type of recompense expected, particularly in the case of cooking, as I have just illustrated.

However, as I pointed out above, together with the conception of house-prison as a place of monotony and lack of freedom, as a "cold" place of chores, with no recompense expected, imposed by a depraved routine, we have another consideration that lives alongside this one and allows the creation of exactly the opposite symbolic associations. Thus, in different comments, the home is spoken of as a "warm" place where one's most personal emotions are intensely experienced. In the same way, home is spoken of as a setting where one can act freely, "doing and undoing" without anyone imposing. In short, the home is also spoken of as a place where the woman gains affective satisfaction that makes her feel more "complete," "from which her way of being in the world is shown, and sets in motion her vision, and with it her way of acting" (Yori, 1998, p. 14). Although the task of keeping a house has tedious and boring aspects to it, this could be said of most jobs. It does not seem 100% credible that this is the only meaning attributed to the home. In fact, displaying one's developed abilities could be a cause for satisfaction.

Without doubt, the emerging value of the home's creativity has a clearer way of expressing itself in cooking. Culinary activity is the greatest expression of the woman at home; thus, according to the results of her alchemy, we find ourselves with clearly polarized feelings. I have already talked about disappointment or disillusionment when a culinary innovation is not valued, but contradictorily, the appreciation of a meal results in a feeling of pride that is rarely achieved with other domestic chores. Pride, a result of recognition or voluntary granting of status, as Kemper (1978a, 1978b, 1991) points out, or pride as a manifestation of the existence of a strong social link, as Scheff (1990a, 1994) would say, of an awareness of one's own identity.

There is currently no better way for the woman to feel that her work is appreciated than through her cooking: Her husband and children don't appreciate it if the dust is cleaned or not, if the beds are made or not, or if the dishes are washed or not. Conversely, what she cooks is scrutinized daily and is equally judged. A dish that a woman brings to the table of fellow diners condenses the emotional ambivalence that can be unleashed as a reaction of scorn (as we have already seen) or as a reaction of appreciation, to which Anabel refers:

Look, not last Christmas, the Christmas before, I made a dessert that was that cake of tiramisu, and it didn't turn out well because, due to looking in a magazine, instead of using whipped cream I used egg, egg white in the egg white and I whipped it and so, of course, the cake didn't rise. So I put it on the table in its sorry state, because you practically had to eat it with a spoon. But it was a pity, you know, to throw it away because it tasted nice, it just didn't look nice. And when my brothers-in-law and everyone started to say, "Mmm, the cake's lovely! This is really lovely!" I said, "Well, how nice. When I make something and I say that it didn't turn out well."

In this way, the positive appraisal that the others make of housework transforms it into something very different from an alienating activity. It is converted instead into a rewarding task thanks to the awarding of status, up to the point that the housewife can go from a feeling of weariness to enjoying her work, as Águeda recognizes:

When I most enjoy cooking is when I have guests, when my nephew or someone else comes, because that is when it seems as if the effort that I make is appreciated, because I'll tell you...of the four of them...three don't thank me for it or anything. Yes, that's when I really enjoy it.

In this way, for example, faced with the idea of the house as an unchanging and inalterable place that arises when it is linked to a prison, we come across the idea of the home as a place of permanent construction and transformation. The women of Zangarillejas justify their habit of changing and moving furniture, pictures, and ornaments not only to make the work they do visible to the eyes of others but also because of the desire that they have to conceive of the house as a dynamic and nonstatic entity. The following dialogue is more than clear:

Águeda: I really like changing things around.

Ana: Me too, because, don't you see, I'm in the living room, and as you say: Ah, well, now I'm in the living room. I move around a lot.

Águeda: Me, yes. As soon as I put the table over there I put it back over here. It's as if you can tell that you've cleaned more...moving things around, even the pictures; "You're now going over here" [they laugh]. And the winter table I put near the large window and in the summer near the small... Well, I love everything like this. And the living room table is of glass and so I'm not going to haul it around [they laugh]....My husband says, when he comes home, "My God. Not again, surely we're not moving things again." And in the kids' room, as soon as I have the headboards under the window, I've got them above it [they laugh].

Equally, the idea of lack of freedom in the home coexists with another contradiction: In the home, one does not experience being under pressure at work; it is without the burden of complying with a timetable or a task and without the stress that the presence of a boss implies. Alicia expresses the benefits of being at home with working outside the home into her husband's mouth:

Here, nobody tells you what to do [her husband says]. If you had to work for my boss or someone who told you what to do—you do whatever you feel like. It's that you don't even realize it at times!

In this way, alongside descriptions such as the one we have already seen, in which the tedium and the unrewarding side of housework are highlighted, we find other ones such as the following from Ascensión, in which nuances are perceived, nuances that send out ideas of love and affection in domestic tasks.¹⁷ The use of diminutives, the use of humor to explain the day, and the narration itself in which the working day is filled with special moments for "a small coffee", as the following suggests:

We get up early, because the older kids go to secondary school. They leave, I go and put on the youngest's light, he gradually wakes up, I continue making the beds...we go to buy bread—well, bread, fruit, or whatever we need—and we have a cigarette and a small coffee. Well, and the coffee, that short time is our...

Finally, there are many expressions used by the housewives of Zangarillejas that refer to the house as a "warm" place, and in this sense it is linked with the complete sense of the concept of home and moves away from the other image of "imprisoning cold-

ness.” This warmth is attained in many ways, some to comfort all the family, others so that the housewife can feel happy with herself: The special arrangement of ornaments and pictures creates a home in the same way as attending to the houseplants. In this way, what sometimes happens is that the woman decides to “make a home,” paying attention to these small details, although to do so, she has to put some of her other everyday tasks to one side. When this happens, we could almost change Hölderlin’s verse: “poetically man dwells”—in its generic sense—for “poetically woman dwells,” in which this poetic dwelling is a building where man lives while he builds (Heidegger, 1994). Agustina recognizes that this is what happens to her:

Today, I’ve not done anything other than the bathrooms, the living room and the kitchen, but I’ve been in the patio seeing to the plants so as to do something different. And today I’ve spent longer with the plants, the geraniums were almost dead with the frost, I’ve used my time tending to the plants. I like plants a lot.

I would like to finish these lines by highlighting the idea with which I started: The relations of people with places are frequently saturated with emotions. They can easily lead to relaxation or excitement, provoke changes of mood, joy or melancholy, weariness or satisfaction. In some way, the emotional relation that is experienced with places, in this instance with the home, could imply the anthropomorphizing of oneself in granting it emotions that are similar to those that are experienced among people. Even if these are not produced, it is possible to experience feelings and bonds similar to those that are established between humans, positive and negative, equally ambivalent. Understood in this way, the home is a space of both creation and recreation for the woman; fortress, a place of seclusion, prison, a place of conflict.

Notes

1. The name of the town and the names of the women who participated in the study have been changed to guarantee and preserve anonymity.

2. I have adopted this concept, which in reality was coined and is used in human geography and urban studies and refers, above all, to settings such as the neighborhood or city but in some sense excludes the home.

3. This dichotomy between female private space and male public space is a clear symptom of social change experienced in many rural areas of Spain, specifically in Zangarillejas. In this respect, Otegui (2001) questions the validity of this separation in the traditional agricultural world, given that in her judgment, the home, as a place of production and reproduction, was understood as

what was inside and what was outside...as a whole that includes the family home or residence, the family members, who constitute labour resources and the means of production—principally the home and livestock. From this perspective, all individuals of the domestic unit, men and women, work for the home....the significance of the concept home was so rich and complex it would be excessive to say that women were dedicated to the home and men to external activities. (p. 131)

4. A similar consideration arises from the work of Komter (2001) in referring to “the social life of objects” and also to their “conflictive social lives” when individuals don’t share the same framework of importance with respect to these objects.

5. In its original sense, used by Yi-Fu Tuan (1990), toponeglect would be the lack of attachment to a city.

6. A Spanish village.

7. This quotation, like others from García Muñoz's article "Giving Shelter to the Husband: Women and the Domestication of Single Men" was translated from the original Spanish. Many similarities are found also in Fuenmayor, where, according to Gilmore and Gilmore (1970), male chauvinism is inscribed in an ideational discourse that does not correspond to what really happens.

8. María Ángeles Durán (1988) points out in this respect that

when housewives get sick, the family organization is affected much more than when men are ill, because an institutional system that protects them is missing. As opposed to the majority of workers in the domestic cleaning sector, who have some type of cover that substitutes for them, if not at work then at least in the form of benefits, housewives do not have any system available that allows them to pay for a replacement while they are ill. Arising from this, it is only possible to hope for help from their own domestic circle. (p. 95)

9. Durán (1988, p. 97) points out that taking care of health is a fundamentally female task and even more so if the ill person is the woman. Her study reveals that the position of the ill woman in the life circle and her age are important factors in relation to the type of family help that she can hope for. In this way, for example, widows cite in first place their daughters 48% of the time, as opposed to citing their sons 11% of the time, and single women cite their sisters 37% of the time. The younger women prefer to turn to their parents, specifically 4 times more to their mothers than to their mothers-in-law.

10. These ideas combine with some of the other conclusions that Goffman (2001) poses in his classic work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* in affirming that

when an individual appears before others, he or she projects, consciously or subconsciously, a definition of the situation in which the concept of himself or herself constitutes an essential part...and there is no other interaction in which the participants have a marked probability of feeling slightly annoyed or a slim chance of feeling deeply humiliated. (pp. 258-259)

11. For a description and detailed analysis of domestic chores, refer to the aforementioned work of Durán (1988), *Inside Closed Doors*, a precursor of housewife research and in my judgment the most detailed and complete. Also see *Investigation Into Family and Domestic Inequality* (Center for Sociological Research, 1985). For a comparative perspective, the work of Horrell (1994) in the United States stands out.

12. A task that they have taken on because of its extraordinary link with another task executed largely by mothers is contact with the children's schools. I should add that this extension of domesticity also puts into question the attribution of the spaces defined as public for men along the lines of that noted by Otegui (2001) given that the church and school and even the street, to cite some examples that she herself also points out, are female meeting points. From this perspective, as a result, the distinction between public and private "cannot do more that strengthen the empirical reality" (p. 132).

13. I have selected a phrase from Bachelard (2000, p. 48) because I believe that it reflects with some exactness the feeling expressed by the women interviewed, despite the reticence that the analysis about the home provokes in me, in regarding it as too oneiric, idealistic, and incomplete.

14. A useful example of the many that exist is the following excerpt of St. Paul:

As in all the churches of the saints, the women should be silent in the churches, for they are not permitted to speak. Rather, let them be in submission, as in fact the law says. If

they want to find out about something, they should ask their husbands at home, because it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in church. (1 Cor. 14:34-35)

15. A paradigmatic example of this is the house built by Carrizales, the main character in Cervantes's novel *The Jealous Extremaduran*, who at 68 years of age weds a young girl of 14, and to guard her, among other things, he ends up closing the windows that face the street and opening those that face heaven.

16. For the women of Zangarillejas, this situation is not an exception. Durán (1988) points out that

the boundary between free time and work or rest is, at times, difficult to trace for housewives.... Bank holidays do not bring with them a diminution in the number of hours worked but often lead to more domestic work because of the presence of other family members in the home. (p. 305)

17. These testimonies coincide with the statistical data provided by Durán (1988, p. 318). In this work, the interviewed women pointed out as positive aspects of housework those of a largely ethical-affective nature (e.g., being with the family more) or its high degree of independence or freedom to organize oneself. Among the negative aspects, the ones most cited were its monotonous nature; the criticism it receives because of the belief that in reality, they did not do anything; the long duration of the day (never ending); and the lack of free time.

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